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Salvatore Tufano

Boiotia from Within

The Beginnings of Boiotian Historiography





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T S O N L I N E

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Series Preface

Starting with this volume, Teiresias Supplements Online has moved from McGill University in Montréal to Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster. The move reflects Hans Beck's career change from Canada to Germany. The new TSO domain is accessible at teiresias-supplements.org.

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Salvatore Tufano

Teiresias Supplements Online, Volume 2

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Preface and Acknowledgements

The present book is based on a revised version of my PhD dissertation, defended in July 2016 at Sapienza University of Rome. It aims at putting together two interests which have rarely been studied together: Greek local historiography, a genre that is finally gaining more attention in recent years; and the “dancing floor of Ares”, Boiotia, in the moment of its highest international prestige in antiquity (404–362 BCE). Here, the region is seen for the first time from the perspective of the historiography of this period, and not merely as the birthplace of the military talents of Epameinondas and Pelopidas.

In its three main sections, I offer an interpretation of the relationship between the rise of Boiotian local historiography and the historical context of these years. The Introduction (1) lays the theoretical framework of my investigation, which consists of a political reading of the fragmentary texts of Boiotian local historiography and the re-evaluation of the emic perspective for the reconstruction of Boiotian history. The main body of the work is formed by the chapters on Hellanikos (2), Armenidas (3), Aristophanes of Boiotia (4), and Daimachos of Plataia (5). These four authors represent the best of this genre and offer a unique insight of Boiotian self-awareness in the years between the end of the Peloponnesian War and the Battle of Mantinea. Finally, the Conclusions (6) aim both at summarizing the main trends of this production and to align them with specific themes, such as regional myths and kinship ties with Thessaly. It is my hope that this instrument helps us re-evaluate the place of a class of evidence, fragmentary historiography, that lies too often hidden in footnotes or as secondary, minor sources after other names. The three Appendices (7) address two different audiences, one interested in the philological side of some issues, like the debate on local historiography (7.1; 7.2), and one in search of a clearer perspective on historical issues such as the Theban naval campaign (7.3). Of course, the structure and goals of the present monograph are to challenge any opposition between those two kinds of readership, in order to offer a holistic approach of the realm of *historie*.

Despite the topical meaning of the expression, whose frequency often makes its repetition meaningless, I need to state in advance that any responsibility for mistakes, faults, and shadowy points of the book remain mine. This point is central, as I was particularly lucky to work on this book in a variety of contexts and with the kind and exquisite help of so many experts. Indeed, this would be a very different work without their assistance. First of

all, I would like to thank my supervisor Pietro Vannicelli, who has encouraged and supported me during these years, with his mastery of Greek historiography and his matchless patience: his expertise and recommendations contributed to improving and expanding my passion and my study of ancient Greek history. Feedback from the examiners of my PhD dissertation was extremely constructive and helped me to improve many parts of my arguments: I therefore owe Jean-Jacques Aubert, Luisa Prandi, and Simonetta Segenni my sincerest thanks. Luisa Prandi also kindly assisted me during the revision of the text.

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In the final stage of my PhD, I spent a short period at the Fondation Hardt in Vandœuvres, where I developed some of these conclusions and where I received useful comments from the other guests. In general, the audiences of the places where I offered the preliminary results of this research were always supportive and offered interesting perspectives: I would like to remember here Sapienza University of Rome, the Institute of Classical Studies of London, McGill University, and the Université de Fribourg. I received valuable comments from Michael A. Flower, who offered useful advice on part of the work. Albert Schachter generously discussed, in electronic form and in person, some points of this text: I continue this dialogue with his reflections throughout the work. Nikolaos Papazarkadas replied to my questions and our short conversation was enough to allow me to develop one of my main avenues of research. I also have to recall fruitful discussions with three professors who, in Rome (Albio Cesare Cassio), in London (Paola Ceccarelli), and in Potenza (Aldo Corcella), were so kind to listen to my questions and to help me find a possible answer to them.

Ms. Chandra Giroux and Mr. Jordan Thomas Christopher generously and altruistically guided me to improve the language of the manuscript: our Boiotian interests built a friendship which I hope remains beyond the realm of Kithairon. I always specify ownership of the translations, but I have to warn the reader that these would have been sensibly less elegant (and/or simply wrong) without the invaluable support I received from Chandra, Jordan, and from the editors of this series. I do have to mention other people, whose precious advice and help supported me, in different ways, throughout the completion of the work: Ilaria Andolfi, Emma Aston, Lucio Bertelli, Luca Bettarini, Elisabetta Bianco, Francesco Gargiulo, Samuel Gartland, Claudio Giammona, Raffeliana Di Girolamo, Clizia Gurreri, Matthias Haake, Luigi Di Iorio, Yannis Kalliontzis, Lynn Kozak, Luca Macale, Martina Mampieri, Michiel Meeusen, Marco Merafina, Dario Morabito, Michele Napolitano, Roberto Nicolai, Giovanni Palermo, Marcel Piérart, Alessio Sassù, Martina Scarcelli, Sebastian Scharff, Marco Sferruzza, Tullia Spinedi, Marco Vespa, Roy van Wijk, and Giuseppe Zarra.

As with any effort that requires time, this achievement would have been impossible without the unending support of my beloved family and friends. I was lucky to receive more love than I could ever reciprocate, both in word and deed. In the book's final stage, life dealt me an ideal hand. For all this, I know I will eternally be buying coffee for all those pillars who supported me each day, but I would like to dedicate these pages to my granddad: you did not see the end of all of this, but there would have been no success without you.

Rome, December 2018

SALVATORE TUFANO

Abbreviations

Abbreviations follow the lead of the fourth edition of the Oxford Classical Dictionary (OCD⁴) for authors and books, of *L'Année philologique* for journals, and of the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (SEG) for inscriptions. Unless otherwise stated, “F” refers to a fragment; in the absence of another name, I refer to the corpus of fragments in the present book (Aristophanes F 3 = third fragment in the present edition; see 8.1 *Conspectus fragmentorum* for crossreferences). The following list includes the differences from the OCD and the aforementioned resources:

<i>ALGRM</i>	<i>Ausführliches Lexikon der römischen und griechischen Mythologie</i> , ed. W.H. Roscher, Leipzig 1884–1937.
<i>Arr. Ind.</i>	Arriani Ἰνδικά.
<i>DELG</i>	Chantraine, P., <i>Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque</i> , Paris 1999 ² (1968 ¹).
<i>DELL</i>	Ernout, A. and A. Meillet, <i>Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine</i> , Paris 1959 ⁴ (1939 ¹).
<i>FGrHist</i>	<i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> (= Jacoby 1923a–1955b).
Fowler,	Fowler, R.L, <i>Early Greek Mythography</i> , Oxford 2000–2013.
<i>EGM</i>	
<i>Historiographia antiqua</i>	<i>Historiographia antiqua. Commentationes Lovanienses editae in honorem W. Peremans septuagenarii</i> , Leuven 1977.
<i>JC</i>	Jacoby Continued (<i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> IV–V).
<i>K.-A.</i>	<i>Poetae Comici Graeci</i> , eds. R. Kassell and C. Austin.
<i>LGGA</i>	<i>Lexicon of Greek Grammarians of Antiquity</i> .
<i>Mélanges Glotz</i>	<i>Mélanges Gustave Glotz</i> . I–II, Paris 1932.
<i>Plut. de E apud Delph.</i>	Plutarch, <i>de E apud Delphos</i> .
<i>Plut. de Hdt. mal.</i>	Plutarch, <i>de Herodoti malignitate</i> .
<i>Str.</i>	Strabo.
<i>Storiografia locale</i>	<i>Storiografia locale e storiografia universale. Forme di acquisizione del sapere storico nella cultura antica</i> . (Bologna, 16 – 18 dicembre 1999), Como 2001.
<i>ThGL</i>	<i>Thesaurus Graecae Linguae</i> , ed. H. Stephanus, Paris 1572 ¹ ; 1831–65 ³ .

1. Introduction

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1.1 Local Historiography in Boiotia as a Historical Problem

1.1.1 The Limits of Literary Perspective

Greek local historiography includes those works dealing with the history of specific local traditions (cults, festivals), cities, and/or with other bigger political realities (e.g. *ethne* and kingdoms, among others). The genre was often studied in relation to Herodotus and Thucydides, to see whether the works of these two authors preceded or postdated local historiography.¹ On the one hand, Herodotus shared many communication strategies and stylistic features with local historians, judging from what we can read from authors who are generally dated between the second half of the fifth century and the first half of the fourth century.² On the other hand, a series of uncertainties plague a number of the historians coterminous with Herodotus: the chronology of many fragmentary historians is fraught with difficulties, and some dates have been blindly accepted, even if the only rationale behind them was the application of the evolutionary principle of Jacoby (1909). According to this scholar, local historiography developed after Herodotus. In the absence of clear witnesses, he applied the principle where any local historian most likely postdates Herodotus.

This consideration would solve the issue of the reciprocal relationship between local and universal history, as there are no compelling arguments against both genres being

1 On the relationship between “great historiography” and local historiography, and on the critical debate following the seminal article published by Jacoby in 1909, see Appendix 1 for more details.

2 Cp. e.g. Fowler 1996; Fowler 2006.

coetaneous.³ At the same time, the preexistence of an “historical thought” is another argument which adds to this view, along with the perception of the historiographical potential of the poetic Archaic foundational works.⁴ These works contributed to the formation of local imagery, as will be exemplified by the range of poetic texts coming from and dealing with Boiotian myths. As a consequence, more studies have been devoted to specific aspects of the various local contexts and to local epic cycles.⁵ As far as historiography is concerned, a re-evaluation of the dating systems in Classical historiography allowed Clarke (2008) to reassert the links between local historiography and universal history: in other words, there cannot be a local narrative without a consciousness of the contemporary association with a larger Mediterranean horizon.⁶ This is intended as a common cultural reference to a world of myths and historical references. From the second part of the fourth century BCE, universal history explicitly engaged with local chronologies.⁷

These literary approaches to the style, date, and internal chronological methods of the historians slowly shifted the perspective away from Jacoby. It seemed appropriate to focus on technical terminology and on ancient reflections, without a blind acceptance of the sources. In fact, other studies recognized the ancient perception of local historiography as a genre with its own label and definition.⁸ There is no ancient unambiguous label for local

3 This approach, however, is aporetic, since it forces the meaning of the points of contact between Herodotus and the local historians, or, sometimes, the weight of the local perspectives, into authors who mainly focus on other subjects.

4 Think of Ion's Χίου κτίσις, despite a growing belief that this actually was an elegy. A recent discussion in Federico 2015: 46–51; cp. Thomas 2014b: 163.

5 For instance, we may recall the recent start (2015) of an international research project, led by H. Beck and P. Funke, on *The Parochial Polis. Localism and the Ancient Greek City-State*.

6 Local history can also be seen as an instrument and an achievement of Mediterranean networks (on these networks, and their impact on local societies, see Malkin 2011 and, more to the point, Clarke 2008: 198). Connections among the Mediterranean coasts, in fact, can be detected through the exchange of goods, but these ties found expression also in the cultural sphere. It might not be coincidental that the supporters of a Phoenician origin, that of the myth of Kadmos, saw a confirmation of their supposition in 1963, when Babylonian cylinders were found on the Kadmeia in Thebes. The strongest advocate of an oriental origin of Kadmos was R.B. Edwards (1979); see 2.2.2 ad ὡς οὐχ εὐρήκει αὐτήν... for an overview of the problem.

7 Cp. Clarke 2008: 177. For instance, it has been suggested that Ephoros' point of view might be described as glocal, for the intertwining of the geographical plans (Nicolai 2013).

8 See Camassa 2010: 35–6, for the view that Clarke's position resembles the previous scheme of Jacoby.

history.⁹ Nevertheless, the adjective ἐπιχώριος is frequently applied to local contexts and the tradition has preserved titles (*Boiotian, Theban, or Argive Histories*), which are distinct from those we commonly associate with universal histories. Annulling any distance between the two genres would therefore mean forgetting that such a difference was perceived by ancient critics and readers.

Local sources are very rarely indicated or isolated with the use of the adjective ἐπιχώριος: the adjective has few attestations in this general sense.¹⁰ More often, it is used to distinguish and signal a tradition in the broader discourse of the author. In other words, defining a tradition as “local (*epikhorios*)” in the Greek world of the *poleis* and of the *ethne*, on the one hand, implied granting dignity to the *vox loquens*, so that there was a strong identification with the country of origin, as Thucydides does when he refers to ἐπιχώριος. On the other hand, in authors like Herodotus, defining a tradition as ἐπιχώριος marks it as distinct from the author’s Panhellenic voice and perspective; it sets it apart as a secondary stream of the tradition, so as to communicate these different layers to the reader.¹¹

To sum up, Herodotus and the other (for us) fragmentary historians arguably partook in the same method and phraseology, despite their different goals and approaches to what we usually call “historiography”. We cannot therefore conjecture too much on the chronological relationship between Herodotus and the other Boiotian historiographers, simply because they might sometimes look similar in their *modus operandi*. In researching these ideas, the scholar can only aim to improve a partial understanding of these common aspects. Any assertion of a hierarchy, or of an imitation process, would be hazardous.

9 The expression “*terminus technicus*” (Jacoby 1909: 109 n.2 = 1956: 49 n.89 = 2015: 49 n.89) is actually imprecise. The term Jacoby applied it to, ὥρογραφία, only occurs in relatively late sources (Diod. Sic. 1.26.5: τὰς κατ’ ἔτος ἀναγραφὰς ὥρογραφίας προσαγορεύεσθαι; Hesych. s.v. ὥρογραφοί; Et. M. s.v. ὥρος; Diodorus arguably first refers to the ἀναγραφαί and his reflection; this is not immediately concerned with local history: Thomas 2014b: 149–50). However, it seems that the adjective ἐπιχώριος signals the local origin of the tradition, together with λόγος, in Hdt. 7.197.1 (Ambaglio 2001: 18; Vannicelli 2017 *ad loc.*). More than the composite noun with ὥρος, then, ἐπιχώριος was seen as the most congenial, for the strong distinction it conveys between a Panhellenic plan and a tradition held at a local level (see *supra* in text). This seems to apply both to written references and to oral memories, such as in Joseph. Ap. 1.27 (περὶ ἱστορίας...τῆς περὶ τῶν ἐκάστοις ἐπιχωρίων) and Paus. 2.30.1 (τὰ εἰς αὐτὴν ἐπιχώρια). Interesting occurrences already appear in Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ant. Rom.* 2.49.4; 61.3; 56.4). For this terminology, see especially Ambaglio 2001: 18–20 and Thomas 2014b *passim*.

10 See Ambaglio 2001: 8–9.

11 For this analysis, see Goldhill 2010: 52–3 and Vannicelli 2017 *ad* Hdt. 7.197.1.

A more fertile outlook is one which focuses on the full context of the local perspectives that underlay these local historians. We need to ask ourselves what the particular conditions were in both the single regions and in the *poleis*, and try to see in which historical situations a local, historical discourse comes to light. This is a common approach for Athens (and at times, of Sparta), partially as a result of the relatively greater amount of information we have on these cities.¹² The historical context was permeated by a longing for a return to the *patrios politeia*: a conservative agenda that blossomed from the interest of intellectuals. Here, the emergence of local historiography coincided with an oligarchic agenda, as a recent study has suggested.¹³ Most of all, Attidography is a phenomenon which occurs in Athens without the necessary influence of the Herodotean work, needing no catalyst from the outside, despite the presence of Herodotus in the *polis* and the impact his work had in other genres of literature produced in Athens.

In the model proposed by Musti (2001a), great historiography with a general topic (for instance, Herodotus) was first followed by great historiography with a local topic and, lastly, by two kinds of local history, one with a local topic and another one with a general one. The second step of this development was *locally* dependent on the importance of the place and on preexisting conditions. The case of Charon of Lampsakos, in Ionia, therefore, even if he lived in the first half of the fifth century BCE, would be of no relevance for a reconstruction of the development of local history in other Greek regions.¹⁴ In other areas of the Greek world, there were other specific conditions which enhanced the development

12 Hellanikos was the first local historian of Athens, even though it must be admitted that his Ἀττικὴ συγγραφή was sensibly dissimilar from Androtion's work, which is now considered to be the first Attidography. On Spartan local historiography, see the discussions by Thommen 2000 and Tober 2010; on the role of the local audiences, cp. Tober 2017. On Hellanikos, cp. the overview by Ottone 2010.

13 Camassa (2010: 38–41) remarks that the possible repercussions of the double political fracture in Athens are represented first by the oligarchic *coup d'état* of 411 BCE and, secondly, by the events around the end of the Peloponnesian War.

14 Ionia had a cultural and political history, between the second half of the sixth century BCE and the following century, that was generally different from that of other regions of Greece and Asia Minor. When the Ionian philosophers started coming to Athens, there was a new phase of Ionic thought and of the history of Athens, but it would be preposterous to link the two areas, despite undeniable contacts, in a general history of the prose genres and of historiography. What can be positively ascertained is that, at its origins, historiography and what we now call “mythography” was an Ionic phenomenon with which the prose writers of the fifth century BCE interacted. The conception of this link with the Ionic world is already present in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who underlines (*Thuc.* 23) that Herodotus' predecessors wrote in the Ionic dialect.

of local historiography. The case of Charon only sheds light on his region of Ionia; thenceforth, his chronology is of little help when we try to uncover the chronological relationship between great and local historiography in regions other than Ionia.¹⁵

Boiotia, just like any other region, had its own autonomous development before local history. This is particularly relevant, in light of the numerous titles that the witnesses credit Hellanikos with; it could have been Hellanikos, who came to Athens from Aeolic Lesbos and certainly wrote the first local history of a city, Athens, where he was a foreigner (and, politically, in a dependent position at that time).¹⁶ Every region, therefore, should be considered with due respect to its political development, because a “political motivation”¹⁷ inspired the writing of local history.

1.1.2 Local Historiographers and Local Imagery

This study investigates the early stages of the development of local historiography in Boiotia and suggests an answer to the existence of a significant epichoric production in the region. Whenever we talk about Boiotian local historiography in Boiotia, we are referring, on the one hand, to the authors from Thebes and from other Boiotian towns, who wrote about Thebes or about Boiotia. On the other hand, we also need to include those authors of different geographical origins, who dealt with the same areas.¹⁸ Local historiography directly addressed the historical past of the community under investigation in a narrative form. As such, it represents only one of the literary genres which contributed to its representation and, at the same time, to the development of a sense of regional (Boiotia), local (sanctuaries, areas of contact), and civic identity.

15 This observation may have consequences for the meaning of the treatment of historical subjects in Asia Minor, by the ἀρχαῖοι συγγραφεῖς of Dion. Hal. *Thuc.* 5.2, as is correctly underlined by Breglia (2012: 282–4).

16 See Hornblower 1994: 23.

17 Thomas 2014b: 165 and Thomas 2019: 391. In Argos, indeed, Hellanikos seems to have introduced a local perspective, which was made easier by the existence of civic, temple, and family memories; Musti 2001a: 517: “[S]u un tema così tipicamente locale, così specificamente argivo, come le *Sacerdotesse di Argo*, spina dorsale della memoria storica e della cronologia argiva, sarà un iniziatore Ellanico di Mitilene, che, come è il primo degli autori di una storia locale attica, il primo degli Attidografi, è anche il primo, potremmo dire, degli ‘Argografi’, nel senso di una prospettiva locale.”

18 This corpus is therefore based on the definition of Boiotian local historiography provided by Jacoby (1955a: 151–3).

Among the other literary genres that engaged in this expression of identity of place was, first of all, local epic poetry. This genre reflected the emergence of a national conscience in the centuries of Late Archaism. Pindar, in the early fifth century BCE, was aware of and interacted with this tradition.¹⁹ Not only, in fact, as will be argued in the rest of this work, was Boiotia particularly rich in local historiographers, but the poetic sources for the study of regional ethnogenesis are numerous and various: ancient historians have long been able to work and profit from the Panhellenic and the local production of Pindar,²⁰ whose local horizon remains fundamental as a source on the internal perception of Theban and Boiotian audiences. We will see, for instance, how Pindar drew on a local tradition concerning a Theban site, on which a number of varieties coexisted during the fifth century BCE.²¹

We can easily imagine local historiographers at the end of the fifth century BCE being confronted with a variety of local traditions in verses, to which they reacted in a different way from Pindar. Another text which probably circulated in the region was the pseudo-Hesiodic *Shield of Herakles*, which may have a Theban origin. The verses concerning the shield of the hero and myths as important as the birth of Herakles or his fight with Kyknos, are the longest and best-preserved insights on local narratives in the city, since they can be dated to the middle of the sixth century BCE (local epics being largely preserved in fragments, and often epitomized).²²

Another poetic tradition which coexisted with local epics, the *Shield of Herakles*, and Pindar, and actually overcame all of them for its Panhellenic impact, was the list of the two armies (the Boiotian and the Orchomenian one) presented in the *Catalogue of Ships* in the second book of the *Iliad*. One reason why we need to read and study Boiotian local historiography is that this corpus of fragments gives us a view from within Boiotia itself of

19 See the complete commentaries on Theban local epics by Bethe 1891, Huxley 1969, and Davies 2015. Specifically on the *Thebaid*, Torres-Guerra (2015: 241–3) argues that the oral diffusion of this text may precede the actual composition of the *Iliad*. In fact, the *Iliad* seems to assume a previous knowledge of Theban myths as it was conveyed in the *Thebaid*. However, it seems that the written transcription of the *Thebaid* followed that of the *Iliad*, and it is argued that this happened in the context of the reorganization of the Nemean Games in 573 BCE.

20 See Olivieri 2011 for a systematic study of the meaning of Theban local traditions in Pindar.

21 Cp. Armenidas F 3. Here and afterwards, I refer to these fragments with their number in this collection; see the *Conspectus Fragmentorum* and the single titles for their places in the previous editions.

22 See *infra* 4.9.2 on this text.

the debate that those catalogues instigated in single Boiotian towns, centuries before the recollections of geographers and philologists interested in those texts. The two lists pertaining to Boiotian geography are documents of tremendous relevance on two levels: firstly, as a classified repertoire of regional geography; being listed there or not mattered in terms of the antiquity of single cities. More broadly, the list is also considerable for the alleged pivotal role it seems to tribute to the Boiotians in the Trojan expedition. If we accept the “ipotesi di lavoro” that this text reflects a *forma mentis* of the seventh century BCE, it becomes an important piece in the reconstruction of the meaning of “Boiotian culture” in the Archaic period.²³

Finally, a more problematic place is occupied in the poetic realm of local traditions by Korinna. The chronology of the poetess may raise issues on her inclusion in a study on the Archaic and the Classical periods, but there can be no doubt on the relevance of the preserved materials for the appreciation of Boiotian local imagery. All these poetic texts (Homer, local epics, the *Shield of Herakles*, Pindar, Korinna) will be duly considered with reference to local historiographers, in order to investigate the way in which these genres interact with both each other and their audience. As Olivieri (2011) showed for Pindar, however, there is still a lot of work to be done on single authors. One of the goals of this volume is to focus on the local historiographers, who, for a long time, have only been considered as a side to Boiotian poetic sources.

This limit also applies to that other vast group of prose authors who wrote centuries after the early development of Boiotian local historiography but are nonetheless inescapable sources to understanding and contextualizing the genre under scrutiny. No study of

23 “Ipotesi di lavoro”: Prandi 2011: 241, after Musti 2006: 108–9 (on the overwhelming literature on the *Catalogue*, see the useful overview of Dickinson 2011). The isolation of the army from Orchomenos and from Aspledon, in the second part, may derive from the historical experience of the Orchomenian hegemony, which was interrupted by Thebes at the end of the eighth century BCE. At the same time, this bipartition may mark a phase of decadence for Orchomenos in the middle Archaic age (Bearzot 2011: 272; cp. Beck – Ganter 2015: 134). In general, on the Boiotian army in the *Catalogue of Ships*, two starting points are Hope Simpson – Lazenby 1970: 19–29 and Visser 1997: 239–363. The verses on the Boiotians have been used to prove the existence of a form of federalism in the region before the fifth century (Bearzot 2014: 43 and 85; on the Boiotian army in the *Catalogue*, see further Vannicelli 1996). The debate centers on the function of the Boiotian section in the general *Catalogue*, as well as on the relationship with the so-called “Smaller Catalogue” of the thirteenth book of the *Iliad*. It is also debated what we should infer from the absence of some centers and from the description of Thebes as Ὑποθήβαι. See helpful overviews in Kühr 2006: 54–70; Larson 2007: 32–41; and Prandi 2011: 240–1.

Boiotian local imagery can ignore the weight of the biographies of single figures from this region, either mythical or historical (think of Plutarch). Herakles is certainly one of the first names in this field,²⁴ based on the importance that the figure gained in the work of Aristophanes of Boiotia in the early fourth century BCE (FF 8; 9A-B). At the same time, one of the advantages of local historiography is that it gives a literary and historical resonance to politicians like Anaxandros (Aristophanes F 6), who would have otherwise gone almost unnoticed in an historical reconstruction often limited to the more relevant names of the Theban fourth century BCE.

Another important source for the reconstruction of the locale is represented by two texts that directly address the region, despite their respective differences: Strabo's ninth book (9.1.2)²⁵ and Pausanias' ninth book offer a unique holistic approach to the Boiotian region and to the multiformity of its traditions. In particular, Pausanias can be considered an avid gatherer of local traditions, in light of the frequent “ἐπιχώριοι-zitate” (“quotes from local sources”), which constellate Pausanias' *Periegesis*, a tremendous collection of traditions otherwise unknown.²⁶ These statements, however, should never be taken at mere face value because they are part of a complex creation of a “third space”. The idea of *third space* implies, as will be made clearer in the conclusions (6), that the picture provided by Pausanias on single Boiotian centres is not a pure denotative description, but the result of three levels of descriptions (denotative, connotative, and the combination of these plans).

To these late observers, any Boiotian centre was inevitably the result of three dimensions: the original function of the centre, be it a sanctuary or a theatre; the meaning this had and its cultural impact; finally, the combination of those encounters between the observer and the observed space, and thus its literary and emotional aura. The difference between a study on Pausanias' or Strabo's Boiotia and the Boiotia of the early Boiotiographers lies in the fact that, while all these authors provide us with a “third-space” depiction of the area, the local historiographers seem to be less influenced by external literature and political

24 For a picture of Thebes under the symbolic and instrumental figure of Herakles, see still Demand 1982.

25 On Strabo, see Wallace 1979.

26 “Ἐπιχώριοι-zitate”: Jacoby 1955a: 153. We should be careful to avoid always referring, in Pausanias, “meccanicamente [...] a una fonte orale e locale ogni notizia introdotta da un “dicono” (Musti 1982: XLII). See also Pretzler 2005: 245-6, Gartland 2016b on Pausanias, and Luraghi 2001b for a study of the “λέγουσι” (“they say”)-quotes in Herodotus.

agendas. The view of local historiography presents an internal discourse, living after and in conjunction with the aforementioned poetical sources, but probably independent of what was being said about Boiotia, Thebes, and Chaironeia in Athens and beyond in the same decades.

1.1.3 Structure of the Book and Role of Local Historiography in Boiotian Studies

The present study focuses on the first stage of Boiotian local historiography, from the end of the fifth century BCE (Hellanikos' lifespan), to the age of the Theban hegemony, where we can very reasonably date Daimachos of Plataia. This universal historian represents a transitional figure towards a new phase of the genre and was consequently chosen as a *terminus post quem*. The choice to prioritize an emic perspective and a specific genre, often ignored or insufficiently used in the study of ancient Boiotia, distinguishes this book from the previous single studies on the other sources: what existed before (poetry) and after (Pausanias, Strabo) will be included in a bottom-up approach.²⁷ It is necessary to read Armenidas with the help of Pindar, and not the other way around.

It is also important to highlight the relevance of Boiotian audiences and their own experiences of the land. From this point of view, this investigation will be in line with current scholarly work that considers the central role of local audiences in the reception of local historiography.²⁸ It now seems less safe to place the development of a cultural phenomenon in a mere philological/literary perspective, as if the so-called “great historiography” justified and prompted the promotion and the very need of a local historiography. As a consequence, an emic outlook is useful, when applied to Boiotia, for a specific and verifiable approach to the birth of the genre.

In order for this emic perspective to be fully appreciated and gathered, it is necessary to closely reconsider a series of problems that pertain to the nature of the evidence under investigation. For this reason, this work is also a philological study of the fragments of the genre belonging to Hellanikos, Armenidas, Aristophanes of Boiotia, and Daimachos. The

²⁷ Cp. the previous paragraph.

²⁸ See e.g. Tober 2017.

philological approach is combined with an historical commentary on the fragments. The uneven treatment of these texts in the available collections has hindered a full appreciation of their impact on the historical landscape of Boiotia. Lastly, the conclusions place the results of this research in the wider spectrum of Boiotian history and society, in order to understand how this local culture improves our knowledge of Theban and Boiotian society in the fourth century BCE.

The conclusions will provide a general synopsis of themes dealt with in the fragments, such as the original population of the region (6.1.1), or the foundation traditions of cities like Thebes, Chaironeia, and Orchomenos (6.1.2). This quick exemplification shows a potential variety of topics, which could also directly include contemporary events (6.1.4), even though the commentary tends not to highlight extensively the potential reference to present events.

We benefit today from a renewed attention both to problems of cultural history and to Boiotia as a fertile laboratory for the historical issue of localism. Since the important publication of a *kioniskos* in 2006,²⁹ meaningful epigraphic discoveries have redefined our entire picture of the history of the region from the Archaic to the Classical Age. The proceedings of two important conferences on Boiotia held in 2011 and in 2012 made available new documents and analyses on the history of the region from the Archaic to the Roman period. As a result of these discussions, the idea that Boiotia was an area without any regional institution in the first half of the fifth century is rejected.³⁰ The explicit mention of federal magistracies, whose citation in the literary sources was subject to excessive scepticism in the past, deserves further thinking, in view of a necessary new history of both the region and Thebes.³¹ We are slowly beginning to become better acquainted with a number of characters of Classical Thebes who had only been mentioned once in our literary sources. From now on, for instance, it will be hard to read the well-

²⁹ Aravantinos 2006.

³⁰ The first conference, “The Epigraphy and History of Boeotia: New Finds, New Developments” was held in Berkeley in 2011 (proceedings: Papazarkadas 2014a); the second conference, “Boeotia in the Fourth Century BC”, was held in Oxford in 2012 (proceedings: Gartland 2016a).

³¹ Cp. Beck – Ganter 2015.

known *daphnerikon* of Pindar (F 94b S.-M.) without identifying his Agasikles with the namesake boundary-commissioner mentioned by an inscription only recently published.³²

The present research on localism in Boiotia also profited from the different studies by Angela Kühr (2006) and Stephanie Larson (2007), which were both momentous in redefining new perspectives on the birth of the Boiotian *ethnos* in the Archaic age. These monographs took advantage of a series of new anthropological and political trends in classics, such as studies on ethnicity,³³ intentional history,³⁴ and discursive theory.³⁵ We generally define “ethnogenesis” as a complex process whose artificiality should not be overstressed. Local historians, for instance, seem to have had a critical approach in the field of cultural contacts between Boiotia and Thessaly. In other words, the local population was engaging in a critical way with these traditions and did not blindly believe in one-way migration theories.³⁶

In addition, Daniel Berman (2015) expanded our picture of the real and imagined topography of Thebes, putting together the diverse strands which contributed to its description in the literary sources. The current study proposes a different perspective, drawing on a specific class of evidence to see what locales are studied and how they are described, instead of beginning from a “Thebanocentric” outlook. For this very reason, we must remember the studies on ancient federalism: after the relevant legacy of the last century,³⁷ new outlooks have drawn a more nuanced description of the relationship between the hegemonic city and the confederate cities.³⁸

While it is impossible to study Classical Boiotian history and historiography without acknowledging the central place of Thebes, other cities and stances gain prominence when we include new approaches on ancient federalism in our methodology. It is worth noting how, compared with the Thebanocentric administration of the League born after

32 Papazarkadas 2018.

33 On this influence, see the debate between McNerney (2008) and Zahrnt (2008).

34 See Foxhall – Gehrke – Luraghi 2010 for an introduction to this approach.

35 Consider the influence of philosophers like Bourdieu (1972) on Skinner (2012); on this matter, cp. Tufano 2014.

36 See *infra* ch. 6.

37 Sordi 1958; Moretti 1962; Larsen 1968; Aigner Foresti 1994; Beck 1997.

38 Bearzot 2004; Bearzot 2014; Beck – Funke 2015, presented as the “New Larsen”, which provides a comprehensive and updated study on Greek federalism. See *infra* on conflicting perceptions of Theban hegemony in the sources.

379 BCE,³⁹ in the same years the Boiotian historiographers were prioritizing other cities and traditions in the region. This divergence might reflect the simple reception of different traditions, but it is important to include this world and these options before excluding the “other Boiotians” from a history of these years. Tanagra, based on what we can see from Aristophanes’ fragments (FF 1-2), was still a powerful city and any political decline it may have suffered does not seem to have impeded the survival of a lively civic identity.

For all these reasons, recent developments in the study of the region require a renewed interest in fragments of Boiotian local historiography, because the light they shed on the region can now be better understood and contextualized. In the tradition of studies on Greek local historiography, this literary genre as an expression of localism has not attracted the necessary attention, with only a few recent contributions on the relationship between universal and local historiography.⁴⁰ The success of studies on mythography, exemplified by the two volumes of text and commentary of the early Greek mythographers by R. Fowler (*EGM* I and II), focused primarily on literary and cultural aspects. More relevance, for instance, could be given to the historical context.

In the specific case of Boiotian local historiography, this might be due to the lack of scholarship on the development of local historiography in Boiotia, with the notable exception, after the observations by F. Jacoby, of an overview by Zecchini (1997). Sparta, for instance, has attracted more interest, and its local historiography has received a number of relevant studies.⁴¹ A second reason for the reduction of local historiography to a “literary issue”, was the idea of the local historians being contemporary with and sharing crucial methodological points with Herodotus. This presumption shifted the focus of the discussion, which tended to deal with the political use of this literary genre, or with the complicated relationship between regional and poleic histories. Scholars were mostly

39 On the non-democratic character of this League, see, with further scholarship, Rhodes 2016.

40 Cp. Tober 2010; Thomas 2014a; Thomas 2014b; Tober 2017.

41 See Tober 2010, with previous scholarship.

attracted by Atthidography,⁴² while some partial exceptions generally limit themselves to the history of single *poleis*.⁴³

1.2. Boiotian Early Historiography in Context

1.2.1. The Tools of the Historian

By giving priority to the local and to the political perspective, we scrutinize both the historical frame and the local picture of a specific region that is the object of a historiographical work. This allows for a better understanding of the development of the genre and of the required prerequisites. This approach works for the Boiotian case: here, there is an interesting coincidence between the political upsurge of the Boiotian *koinon* in the late fifth century, after the battle of Koroneia (447 BCE), and the sudden emergence of several local historiographers, among whom we can count a foreigner, Hellanikos. This coincidence might be related, as will be argued in the next paragraph, to the demand of the audience and, at the same time, to the necessity to transcribe and fix a number of regional traditions, whose development in the realm of single areas had not yet found a compact regional framework. To briefly sum it up, while the idea of Boiotia was almost two centuries old, when the first local historiographers wrote *Boiotian Histories*, there existed a Boiotian League that had transferred that social construction into something more tangible to the same audience.

In fact, there is something concrete behind the formation of a cultural phenomenon like Boiotian local historiography. Despite the probable preexistence of a political and cultural regional entity, a political frame was necessary to foster attention to public archives and to their reorganization. This constitutes a premise for the birth of local historiography.

42 Political use of the literary genre: Fowler 1996. Relationship between regional and poleic histories: Fowler 2014a. Atthidography: Harding 2007.

43 See *supra* for the advantages and the limits of this literary perspective.

Aristophanes the Boiotian reportedly referred to lists of archons (T 2),⁴⁴ but we are poorly informed on where and how these structures were organized in Thebes. Civic reasons, namely rights of citizenship, and then religious administration and justice,⁴⁵ were the rationale behind the slow formation of an archival culture in ancient Greece: the phenomenon is attested from the seventh century BCE,⁴⁶ and reached Athens in the second half of the sixth century.⁴⁷ We can now prove the existence of public figures, in the function of secretaries, from the end of the sixth century:⁴⁸ sculptures understood as depictions of public γραμματεῖς seem to represent these public secretaries in Athens⁴⁹ and in Thebes (see a small statue now in the Louvre Museum, CA 684, showing a sitting scribe).⁵⁰

Local historiography in Boiotia was therefore later than Herodotus, not as a reaction to his *Histories*, but for different reasons. The choice to limit the study to Hellanikos, Armenidas, Aristophanes, and Daimachos is due to three considerations: first, these were the first authors who dealt with Boiotian local history. Second, a reappraisal of the evidence allows us to date them between the second half of the fifth century and the age of the Theban hegemony. In fact, we need to consider the new epigraphic habit in Boiotia in this period. The scanty linguistic evidence of the fragments can be linked to a general acceptance of the Ionic dialect and script in the years of the Theban hegemony. We cannot rule out the possibility that this regional evolution had an impact on other features of these works of Boiotian local historiography.⁵¹ Lastly, after Daimachos, Boiotian historiography seems to significantly differ from this phase (see *infra* 2.5 on this stage).

44 Cp. 4.1.

45 On the civic function of the archives, see in general Pébarthe 2013.

46 See Lazzarini 1997.

47 Sickinger 1999: 35–92; Rhodes 2001a: 33–44. As argued by Thomas (1989: 38–94), a primary instinct of conservation was caused by a documentary mindset, i.e. an appreciation and use of archive documents. According to Rhodes (2001b: 139), these conditions were effective in Athens – and, it would seem, in Thebes too – only from the last quarter of the fifth century.

48 Cp. the ποινικαστάς Spensithios in Crete (Effenterre – Ruzé n.22).

49 Three items on the Akropolis (530–20 BCE): cp. Boffo 2003: 9 and n.12; Faraguna 2005b: 68 and n.3.

50 See Sirat 1987, *spec.* 46–8.

51 See *infra* 1.2.2.

Although we would like to know more about local literary prose, for the time being the only evidence comes from epigraphic texts. The epichoric script survives until the second half of the seventies, when it is slowly superseded by the Ionic-Attic alphabet, perhaps as a result of the cultural tradition it was attached to. Scholars are now inclined to date this transition to the seventies.⁵²

Another recent development in Boiotian studies, which must be taken into account, concerns the reason underlying this pattern change from the epichoric script to the Ionic-Attic alphabet. The common view is that its introduction, probably imposed by Thebes, was the result of the democratic stance of the new leaders and institutions of the Boiotian *koinon*.⁵³ A further explanation, however, might consist both in Thebes' desire to assert itself as a Panhellenic power by means of a medium of high readability and, probably, in direct concurrence with the epigraphic habit of Thebes' main hegemonic rival in these years, namely, Athens.⁵⁴ We should also consider the circulation of Herodotus' *Histories*: we lack exact evidence of this, but time must be a factor of consideration so that his work could circulate and gain a potential influence in regions other than Attica.

This work therefore aims at an improvement and at an enrichment of our knowledge in two areas: in the first place, it is an original in-depth study on the history of Boiotia in a crucial age, when a lively political evolution was combined with an historiographical production, attracting external (Hellanikos) and internal voices. Secondly, the Boiotian case study shows how a different approach to the problem of the relationship between local *vs.* universal history (which gives dimension to the historical processes happening in the region dealt with by the historians) allows us to address, and possibly solve, the problem from a local point of view, without having to lean on the greater, better known historians.

52 See Knoepfler 1992; cp. Vottéro 1996, Iversen 2010, and the profile *infra* on Armenidas (1.3.2).

53 Iversen 2010: 262–3; Mackil 2012: 337–9.

54 Cp. Papazarkadas 2016.

1.2.2. Boiotian History and Historiography: The Birth of an Audience

To exemplify the impact of the first local historiographers in the region, we need to look to later sources that occasionally offer glimpses on the intellectual milieu of Thebes and Boiotia in the period under investigation. Among these sources, attention is often paid to notable figures who were considered the architects of Theban hegemony, such as Epameinondas:

[T]hat man is not a philosopher, and he has not enjoyed any remarkable or special education, like your brother Epaminondas. But you see that he is naturally guided by the laws to do the honourable thing [...]. Epameinondas, on the other hand, [...] regards himself superior to all the Boeotians because he has been educated for virtue.⁵⁵

This passage comes from Plutarch's *On the Daimonion of Socrates*, a short text which continues to fascinate us on many points:⁵⁶ this interesting narrative, composed as a dialogue on the liberation of Thebes in 379 BCE, interplays with Plato but also with other works by Plutarch, such as his *Life of Pelopidas* and, possibly, the lost *Life of Epameinondas*.⁵⁷ This eulogy of Epameinondas originates from one of the characters of the dialogue, Theocritus, who contrasts Chanor with Epameinondas: this second is marked as a philosopher, a man distinguished for his studies and his *paideia*.

It is now accepted that the real influence exerted by Pythagoreanism on Epameinondas was, when we carefully study the sources, cosmetic at best.⁵⁸ However, despite the exaggerations of the sources, the focus on Epameinondas' distinction in the Theban elites is an interesting observation. Plutarch had a good knowledge of Boiotian local historiography, even if his distortions and his agenda might mislead a modern reader. The cultivated milieu of the liberators of Thebes, in the *De genio Socratis*, is a probable reflection of the kind of learned men who listened to, and sometimes produced, history in Thebes in the first half of the fourth century BCE. These are the groups of people who,

⁵⁵ Plut. *de Gen.* 3.576e-f; tr. D.A. Russell.

⁵⁶ See the recent commentaries by Nesselrath 2010 and Donini 2017.

⁵⁷ See Geiger i.p. for the possibility that Plutarch echoed arguments expressed in this lost biography.

⁵⁸ Buckler 1993: 108. Buckler's article rebutted a previous contribution by Vidal Naquet and Lévêque (1960).

we can imagine, were around Herodotus during his short visit to Thebes in the previous century, retold by Aristophanes of Boiotia (F 5).

Our vague perception of the chronology of the historians limits any further attempt at contextualization. If Jacoby's succession is not completely challenged by the reconsideration of the witnesses, then an overlap of Aristophanes' lifetime with the decades coinciding with the death of the Classical Boiotian *koinon* (386 BCE) and the Theban hegemony (371–62 BCE) must not be excluded. The fragments restore a sense of the variety of civic traditions and convergences, which challenge and, at the same, confirm two commonly accepted prejudices on Classical Boiotia: the first being the mere acceptance of external narratives, be it from Homer or from the Athenian stage, and the second, the perennial strife, internal and external, as the common thread of the Boiotian Classical age.

Despite doubts on the exact chronology of these authors, their texts speak clearly about those idiosyncracies that were recognized long ago by Jacoby, in his introduction to Boiotian local historiography:

Die boeotische literatur zeigt [...] eigenheiten, die sich vor allem aus der politischen organisation der landschaft erklären, aus den spannungen zwischen dem für griechische verhältnisse straffen bund nominell gleichberechtigter städte und den ansprüchen Thebens auf die führende stellung im bunde (Jacoby 1955a: 151).

This general observation may still be considered valid, if we limit its extent to the first phase of the genre. Boiotian local historiography has a particular vitality during the decades which extend from the end of the fifth century BCE to the years of the Theban hegemony: during these years, the Boiotian *koinon* observes a number of transformations that depend both on the strengths and on the weaknesses of its federal institutions. The Classical *koinon* (447–386 BCE) represents the creation of a “Superstate” (Cartledge 2000), but the tendency of single cities to resist the hegemonic status of Thebes, and the recurrent re-emergence of different political agendas inside the *koinon*, confirms that this federal

institution was subject to constant political turbulence. Herodotus had already remarked on the limits of a monolithic view of Boiotian medism, insofar as single cities had chosen to partake or not to partake in an alliance with the Persians.⁵⁹ In Thucydides,⁶⁰ we observe how internal tensions still existed in the *koinon* as a result of oligarchic groups plotting against Thebes (424 BCE), despite the likelihood of previous support of the Theban siege of Plataia (431 BCE) on behalf of the Boiotians (two boiotarchs at Plataia: Thuc. 2.2.1).

Later events confirm this political entropy. During the years between 386 and 382 BCE, different political factions shared power in the local administration of Thebes, as exemplified by the fact that, in 382 BCE, both Leontiadas and Hismenias were polemarchs.⁶¹ According to the *Hellenica of Oxyrhynchos*, these men were two of the most important men of two different parties in Thebes.⁶² The disruption of the Classical *koinon* preserved their influence in town, before the Spartans occupied the Kadmeia and inaugurated an oligarchic government between 382 and 379 BCE. These are the years when the Leitmotiv of *autonomia* is variously declined by political actors on the international scene: Leontiadas pleads the rightfulness of the Spartan occupation of Thebes, on the grounds that Thebes might be trying to restore the old *koinon* and, therefore, attack the autonomy of single Boiotian towns (Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.34). These paradigmatic events speak of a perennial tension that has been summarized in these terms:

All'orientamento democratico od oligarchico all'interno corrisponde una diversa visione del federalismo, peraltro fortemente condizionata dalle scelte politiche e ideologiche di Sparta sul tema dell'autonomia, e una diversa posizione nello scenario internazionale (Bearzot 2008: 213).

59 Hdt. 7.132.1: τῶν δὲ δόντων ταῦτα [sc. γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ] ἐγένοντο οἶδε [...] καὶ Θηβαῖοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Βοιωτοὶ πλὴν Θεσπιέων τε καὶ Πλαταιέων.

60 Thuc. 4.76. Thucydides is referring to the plans of a group of Boiotians who were hoping to ally with the Athenians to change the internal constitution of the League: ῥαδίως ἤλπιζον, εἰ καὶ μὴ παραντίκα νεωτερίζοιτό τι τῶν κατὰ τὰς πολιτείας τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς (4.76.5).

61 Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.25: στασιαζόντων δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων, πολεμαρχοῦντες μὲν ἐτύγχανον Ἰσμηνίας τε καὶ Λεοντιάδης, διάφοροι δὲ ὄντες ἀλλήλοις καὶ ἀρχηγὸς ἑκάτερος τῶν ἐταίριων.

62 *H.Oxy.* 20.1 Chambers: ἐν δὲ ταῖς Θήβαις ἔτυχον οἱ βέλτιστοι καὶ γνωριμώτατοι τῶν πολιτῶν, ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον| εἴρηκα, στασιάζοντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους. ἡγοῦντο δὲ| τοῦ μέρους τοῦ μὲν Ἰσμηνίας κα[ι] Ἀντίθεος καὶ| Ἀνδροκλ<εῖδα>ς|, τοῦ δὲ Λεοντιάδης καὶ Ἀσίας| καὶ Κο<ιρα>τάδας.

This different reading of the federal principles also led to a different declension of the principle of autonomy and, therefore, of the very necessity to respect and preserve local communities.⁶³ After the dissolution of the *koinon*, what occurred in Thebes likely occurred in all the other cities of the region: a return to the “world of the *polis*”.⁶⁴ Despite the perennial existence of a push to autonomy and independence in the single Boiotian poleis, in the fourth century BC they had reached a strong feeling of a regional unity. This had been facilitated by the development of ethnicity in the archaic period. For these reasons, it was easier to periodically reunite around a political, regional structure such as the *koinon*: “[t]he true value of the federal venture was that the *ethnos* and *koinon* had become one” (Beck – Ganter 2015: 144). The fascinating result of this complex process was that it allowed the survival of parochial worlds alongside the emergence of a perceived regional world. The birth of the Boiotians did not mean the death of single towns that had contributed to the birth of Boiotos and of the regional culture.

This is the cradle of Boiotian local historiography, because the very concept of a “Boiotian” historiography necessitates both the preexistence of a Boiotian identity and the full emergence of all its nuances. The texts confirm that these authors struggled to shift between local identities and a wider *Traditionskern*: while the tensions resulting from the “vertical diversion of power” (Beck 2001) in Boiotia remained strong even under the centralized *koinon* born after 379 BCE, a common need for a national history, despite all its limits, had already developed. Boiotian local historiography took its first steps in the years of the Classical *koinon*, which differed from the Archaic *koinon* because of its arithmetic structure, and from the *koinon* of the fourth century because of the different power held by Thebes. This political climate explains the relevance of traditions concerning Tanagra,⁶⁵ the Tilphossion,⁶⁶ or the Encheleis⁶⁷ as part of an historical moment when Thebes is not at the political core of the Boiotian *koinon*. The fact that Thebes still looms large in the extant

63 There is considerable debate on the existence of federal thought in the fourth century; cp., with further scholarship, Funke 1998; Beck 2001; Bearzot 2004.

64 According to the *Hellenika of Oxyrhynchos*, already in 395 BCE, Theban contrasts reflected in the other cities of the region: διακε[μ]ένων δὲ τῶν ἐν [ταῖς Θήβαις οὕτω] κ[αὶ] τῆς ἐταιρείας ἐκατ[έρ]ας ἰσχυ[ρο]ύσης -- --]τα[] [..πρ]οῆλθον πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς [πόλεσι ταῖς] κ[αὶ] [τὰ τῇ]ν Βοιωτίαν κα[ὶ] μετέ[σ]χον ἐκ[ατέρ]ας τῶν ἐ[τα]ιρειῶν ἐκείνοις (20.2 Chambers).

65 Aristophanes FF 1-2.

66 Aristophanes F 11.

67 Hellanikos F 1.

fragments depends on the nature of the witnesses and on the fact that the later political evolution forced any external observer to delve more into this material.⁶⁸ To give an example of the interaction between the preexisting poetic traditions, as listed in the previous section, and the Theban culture of these decades, we can consider here a well-known passage of Pindar (*Ol.* 6.82-91, tr. A. Verity):

My mother's mother was Stymphalian Metope,
fair as a flower, who bore Thebe, driver of horses,
from whose enchanting spring I shall drink
while I weave an intricate song for spear-warriors.
Now, Aeneas, exhort your companions
first to proclaim Hera Parthenia,
and then to see if my truthful words
can deflect that ancient jibe, "Boiotian pig";
for you are an upright envoy,
a message-stick of the fair-haired Muses,
a sweet mixing-bowl of loud-echoing songs.

⁶⁸ An interesting parallel comes from the slow formation of the local historiography of a modern country, Switzerland. Here, the oral songs on local battles and official chronicles had, for a long time, a parochial perspective: these traditions did not anticipate the existence of a Swiss community before the actual birth of the Confederation (1291, as the result of the common rebellion of Uri, Schwyz and Unterwald). After that moment, as single communities entered the Confederation, traditions of a regional resonance and the perception of a common Swiss past slowly entered local history. A proper "Schweizergeschichte", however, only developed between the fifteenth and the sixteenth century. Only in the first printed text, the *Kronica von der loblichen Eydtnoschaft* by Petermann Etterlin (1507), did the Roman past officially enter the regional memory of the Swiss federate cities. Unlike in Boiotia, then, the feeling of a common belonging postdated the birth of a regional perspective, as established with the political union. At the same time, the continuity of local traditions, as outlined in Boiotia, for instance, by the production on Thespiiai until the third century BCE, is a fact that local historiography of federate realities never eliminates. For an introduction to Swiss historiography, see Im Hof 2004.

This passage is commonly seen as the first attestation of the ancient reproach that the Boiotians were an uncultivated, rude population,⁶⁹ with Pindar confirming that the Boiotians were aware of this tradition. This fact is in line with Aristophanes of Boiotia's remarks on the rudeness of the Thebans (F 5). Such a reading is confirmed by the context, because Pindar is inviting Aeneas not to underestimate the poetical virtues of the Boiotians and, more particularly, of Pindar himself.

The scholiasts (148ab) suggest, however, that there is an indirect reference to the ancient "Υάντες of Boiotia, from whose name the common saying Βοιωτῖα ὕς was derived and made its way down to Pindar. The Hyantes were a pre-Kadmean population of Boiotia: Pliny (*NH* 4.26) and Pausanias (9.5.1) relate that they were expelled by Kadmos and the Phoenicians, and that they were autochthonous (Pliny: *Boeotos Hyantas antiquitus dixere*). This suggestion might provide another aition for the etymology of the region, because it assumes that the ancient "Swines" had become "Boiotians" and thus lost their boorishness. The scholium to Pindar and further secondary sources confirm that even when the readers of Pindar connected the saying with this population, they felt the need to describe the population as uncivilized. The Hyantes are imagined like the Encheleis, mentioned by Hellanikos (F 1, *History of Boiotia*). The name of the Hyantes vividly recalls a characteristic with which the Boiotians were identified by external observers (namely of being uncivilized pigs, ὕες); so did the ancient Encheleis ('Eel-men') include a reference to the fame of the Boiotian eels abroad.⁷⁰ This external, derogating fame was therefore deconstructed and rationalized: it was set in the past, where it could not enact its negative impact on the contemporary Boiotians.

Thus, Pindar indirectly anticipates the later tendencies of Boiotian historiography and the formation of a historical conscience in Thebes and in Boiotia. His focus on his own persona links the poet with Thebes and the whole region at the same time: Metope, the daughter of the Arcadian river Ladon, married the Boiotian river Asopos and gave birth to

69 On this passage and on its connection with the later saying "Boiotian swine", see, as starting points, Burzacchini 2002; Giannini in Gentili 2013: 467-9; Adorjányi 2014: 282-3. Cp. Müller 2013: 275-6 on Polybius' reprisal of this accusation: in the view of this historiographer, the idea of a "Boiotian pig" is strongly associated with the decadence of the region, as outlined in Pol. 20.4-7.

70 It is possible that behind the tradition of the Boiotian Encheleis, there is a rewriting of the connection with the eels: see commentary *ad* Hellanikos F 1.

twelve daughters, among whom was Thebe.⁷¹ Pindar is therefore “a son of Thebes” in more than one sense, because he is alluding to his Theban and Boiotian identity. The regional horizon returns a few lines later through the apparently generic mention of the Muses. The epithet “fair-haired” (ἡυκόμων) is actually epic, but it could also imply that Aeneas, as the leader of the choir (σκυτάλα),⁷² becomes both a general messenger of poetry and of Pindar, as a disciple of the Muses. In other words, the passage shows the complex intertwinings between regional and local identities in Boiotia, through the production of a local voice.

Even before the birth of a regional historical production, expressed outside in the materials collected by Hellanikos and inside in Armenidas, the Thebans started their own recollections of the past. With reference to more recent events, it seems that local reflections on the Persian Wars were fostered by the survival of the families that obtained the highest ranks in that focal decade. During the years of the composition of Thucydides’ *History*, and before, the Thebans still went to the gymnasium to meet the descendants of Anaxander, a ruling figure in the year of the battle of Thermopylai.⁷³ Rethinking about the past was not an easy task, as the likely expulsion of Herodotus from Thebes reminds us.⁷⁴ The historians knew, however, that a variety of explanations and meanings was always possible. It was perhaps in this way that a certain view began, according to which an oligarchy had forced Thebes to medize.⁷⁵

The Thebans were willing to question the meaning of places such as the Seven Pyres.⁷⁶ Their acropolis, apparently a static *lieu de mémoire*, was open to new explanations, as the vagueness of the Theban Isles of the Blessed confirms.⁷⁷ Boiotian and Theban historians, moreover, do not seem afraid to question Panhellenic tenets such as the heroic status of

⁷¹ Cp. Diod. Sic. 4.72.1 and Apollod. 3.12.7.

⁷² On the complex interpretation of this noun, see Adorjányi 2014: 285–8.

⁷³ Aristophanes F 6: see the commentary for the relationship with the Anaxander mentioned by Thuc. 8.100.3.

⁷⁴ Aristophanes F 5.

⁷⁵ Thuc. 3.62.3. The Thebans reject, here, in their debate with the Plataians, a collective responsibility: ἡμῖν μὲν γὰρ ἡ πόλις τότε ἐτύγχανεν οὔτε κατ’ὀλιγαρχίαν ισόνομον πολιτεύουσα οὔτε κατὰ δημοκρατίαν. The medism of many Boiotians is described as an *akousion medismos* (3.64.5).

⁷⁶ Armenidas F 3.

⁷⁷ Armenidas F 4.

Herakles,⁷⁸ or the origins of the Aitoloi,⁷⁹ and therefore give the impression of a lively and rich atmosphere of cultural debates.

We also need to rethink our views on Boiotian patriotism, as it seems that the full inclusion of external traits, such as foreign characters in the genealogical tree of Boiotos,⁸⁰ challenges our current ideas of “national purism”. Thebes was not the only regional power in Boiotia, as centres like Tilphossa⁸¹ and Chaironeia⁸² interacted with the rest of the region in a fascinating remolding of their past. In Plataia, despite the long history of friendliness of this city with Athens and Athens’ influence on the city, Solon was not considered a military hero,⁸³ whereas people would willingly listen to what the Aeolian Mytileneans, their kin, had to say about Pittacus.⁸⁴ It is not clear when these traditions were diffused in Plataia by our source on them, Daimachos: his fatherland, Plataia, was destroyed in 373 BCE and refounded in 338 BCE⁸⁵, and yet his date in the fourth century BCE can be confirmed. Amphion,⁸⁶ possibly a Boiotian hero who was contrasted to the Theban Kadmos, preceded the Theban Pindar as the local founder of a certain poetic style.

Boiotian local history, then, collected and gave a systematic space to several polyphonic traditions. Take, for example, the undeniable idea that the Tanagrans⁸⁷ would want to know more on the background and the etymology of their fighting cocks, a source of local pride. The people living on the shores of Lake Kopais, who exported its famous eels, might have found it fair enough in a *Boiotian History* to see a gap in the past occupied by a group of “Eel-men”⁸⁸ who had preceded the very Boiotians in the region. In Orchomenos, in the meantime, the success of the Homoloia required some reflection on the prehistory

78 Aristophanes FF 9A and 9B.

79 Daimachos F 1.

80 Armenidas F 1.

81 Aristophanes F 11.

82 Aristophanes F 7.

83 Daimachos F 4.

84 Daimachos F 3.

85 *LACP* n.216.

86 Armenidas F 2.

87 Aristophanes F 2.

88 Hellanikos F 1.

of the festival:⁸⁹ part of the duty of Boiotian local historiography was also to comment on these moments of contact among the Boiotians.

Historiography can thus be seen as one aspect of a wider process of recollection and reformulation of the past, which extensively characterizes Boiotia in the early fourth century BCE. The attention paid in many centres of the region to monuments of war that commemorate military successes, points to the apt definition of the region as the “dancing floor of Memory”, which also applies to the later Hellenistic period.⁹⁰ The military aspect does not dominate in the local literary sources, which must, however, be considered to appreciate the cultural history of the region in this period. Local authors tended to accept external phenomena, in terms of the language they used, and recovered a number of civic memories, harmonized in regional histories where Thebes resonates as only one of the many voices of fourth century Boiotia. It was a genre destined to slowly diminish in intensity and variety of interests in the following centuries, but it was surely not up to chance that the success of Thebes, in the polycentric Greece of the years after the Corinthian War, would be accompanied by a small, cultural, local revolution.

1.2.3. A History of Boiotian Historiography from Hellanikos to Aristophanes of Boiotia

Among the authors of Boiotian local historiography, Hellanikos is the first one whose chronology is relatively well-known. Armenidas and Aristophanes may have been coterminous with him, if not slightly before his time (in the absence of explicit proof indicating that this is impossible). If the independent existence of Hellanikos’ Βοιωτικά can be maintained, the Boiotian case may be paralleled with Argos.⁹¹ In Boiotia, local historiography was a post-Herodotean phenomenon, if not contemporary with the first spread of the *Histories*, but this does not, however, imply a causal relationship, as previously stated.

⁸⁹ Aristophanes F 3.

⁹⁰ “[D]ancing floor of Memory”: Kalliontzis 2014: 367, after Plut. *Marc.* 21 (on Boiotia as the “dancing floor of Ares”, in Epameinondas’ words).

⁹¹ Cp. Musti 2001a.

Aristophanes of Boiotia has been considered the most convincing proof of a post-Herodotean genesis of local historiography in Greece,⁹² even though Jacoby himself recognized the peculiarities of Boiotia. This region is the only one where (unlike in the other local histories) there is a meaningful difference in the production between Βοιωτικά and Θηβαϊκά.⁹³ In other regions, the most important city either orientated the genre from the very title (like the case of the Ἀργολικά), or ceded, also in the light of this specific case, to the vaster toponym (Ἀτθίδες). The Boiotian distinctiveness consists, therefore, in the coexistence of two models: (1) the *polis* histories, from whose chronicles came the “*terminus technicus*” used by Jacoby, *Horographie*, which became an alternative to *local history / historiography* for the English readership;⁹⁴ and (2) the histories of people and regions of the Greek world. Despite a necessary caution in the acceptance of the transmitted titles, such a distinction seemed to be programmatic in Boiotia.

There can be no doubt that, from the very titles, Boiotian local histories have a uniqueness which derives from the aforementioned singularity of the history of the region, often permeated by the hegemonic plans of Thebes. Boiotian uniqueness is a side of the historical and historiographical problem that comes from the necessity to take into account the local perspective.⁹⁵

The highly problematic status of these local traditions already surfaces in Herodotus’ and Thucydides’ references to the history of the region in the period preceding the Persian Wars. The Battle of Keressos,⁹⁶ for instance, is subject to controversial dating, which may

92 The vast relevance of Jacoby’s studies in the field of Greek historiography certainly played a role in this belief; see his own presentation of Aristophanes in his seminal article published in 1909: “Der Lokalpatriotismus trat hier wie so oft der grossen historiographie entgegen. Das bekannteste Beispiel sind die Θηβαίων ὥροι des Boioters Aristophanes, die jedenfalls nicht später sind, als die Zeit von Thebens politischen Aufschwung. [...] Der deutliche Gegensatz gegen Herodot ist nicht etwa erst von Plutach hineingetragen” (Jacoby 1909: 118 = 1956: 59 = 2015: 63-4).

93 Jacoby 1955a: 151.

94 This lexicographical problem also derives from the necessity to recognize a specific characterization in the genre of *polis history*: see Schepens 2001; Clarke 2008: 173 n. 16, and Thomas 2014b: 146-8. On this *terminus technicus*, see *supra* n.9.

95 Cp. Jacoby 1955a: 151, quoted *supra* at 1.2.1.

96 Plut. *Cam.* 19.4; *de Hdt. mal.* 33.4. The heated debate on the date of this event, which is commonly dated either to 570 BCE or to the years between the two Persian Wars, also centers on its political significance. It is unclear, in fact, whether the Thessalians were directly attacking Thebes or Thespiiai; see an overview of the discussion in Larson 2007: 196-8; Bearzot 2011: 274; van Wijk 2017: 193 n.47.

echo the repeated conflicts between the Boiotians and the Thessalians in the sixth century BCE. This impression is supported by its instrumental use in Plutarch's account of Thermopylai (*de Hdt. mal.* 33.4). Moreover, it seems that the fight did not really entail or relate to the foundation of the Archaic League.⁹⁷ More probably, the tradition might relate to a specific moment of regional tension in Boiotia, in a moment when regional borders were fluid. The fragility of a national memory before the end of the fifth century BCE also concerns another event, which has often troubled ancient historians: namely, the fight around Plataia in 519 BCE.⁹⁸ The battle of Keressos, and this episode, anticipate two features of Boiotian history that are worth stressing in order to better understand the evolution and the nature of Boiotian historiography: on the one hand, the history of the region is characterized by profound internal rivalries,⁹⁹ which will be resolved, in different times, through the dominance of a single hegemonic centre. There appears to be tension on the northern (Keressos) and southern (Plataia) borders that reflects a moment when the conscience of an ethnic community does not coincide with a clear regional identification. The hegemonic stance of Thebes was contrasted not only by Orchomenos and Plataia, but also by the fierce animosity of these two cities towards Thebes, of which we are very informed.¹⁰⁰

On the other hand, the debate on the origin of Boiotian federalism echoes a contemporary interest, which is explained by the internal contradictions of the first sources and by the necessity to understand how far back in time we can predate the main line of the constitution of the Boiotian *koinon* reproduced in the *Hellenika of Oxyrhynchos* (19.2-4 Chambers). The political framework described by P, the anonymous author of *Hell. Oxy.*,

⁹⁷ On this reading of the battle, see Schachter 2016: 50.

⁹⁸ Cp. Buck 1979: 112-4 and, with a good discussion of the sources, van Wijk 2017.

⁹⁹ We can recall, here, the anecdote retold by Herakleides Kritikos (F I 14 Arenz). The author speaks of the vigorous quarrelsomeness of the Thebans, ἀδιάφοροι πρὸς πάντα ξένον καὶ δημότην καὶ κατανωτισταὶ παντὸς δικαίου, ("indiscriminately violent towards anyone, stranger and local, and they despise all justice", tr. S. Tufano); in general, it seems that the anti-Boiotian topic has a strong influence on this passage, on which see Arenz 2005: 204-5.

¹⁰⁰ Cp. Bearzot 2014: 81-99 for a comparison with other federal situations and on how these internal tensions were seen differently in the fourth century BCE: "[...] [L]a dialettica polis/koinon genera fazioni con diversi orientamenti interni e diversi schieramenti internazionali, come nel caso delle lotte civili cittadine. La questione della 'vertical diversion of power' [Beck 2001: 370] costituisce così, in contesto federale, un grave fattore di instabilità, che va ad accentuare i problemi di convivenza tra poleis che caratterizzano la scena politica internazionale greca" (Bearzot 2014: 99).

was definitely in place only after 447/6 BCE (and it is possible, indeed, that the description is the result of a long process).

Whereas contemporary scholarship is increasingly skeptical about the presence of an actual federal government in the region in the decades of Late Archaism in the beginning of the fifth century BCE,¹⁰¹ there is a growing understanding that a strong regional association was already in existence in Boiotia in the age of the Persian Wars. It is assumed that a form of political cooperation went further than regional religious meetings and participation in a common cultural milieu. This cooperation was able to express regional polities (and political offices), even if this was probably only for limited periods of time. A good example is provided by the early regional coinage with a “Boiotian shield”. The interpretation of this symbol has long connected it with the existence of a federal body that demanded its issue, but, in fact, these issues may have been more an example of “cooperative coinage”.¹⁰² In other words, the existence of a regional habit does not necessarily indicate a regional body, since the coins may have been mere facilitators in a series of trades, without further implications.

It could even be argued that in Boiotia there was a form of pre-federalism for the period that goes from the first conflicts with Athens to the end of Athenian domination of the region. Without the premise of this pre-federal experience, it would be almost impossible to imagine such a compact and politically complex development, since it emerges from the institutional architecture of the Boiotian *koinon* in the second half of the fifth century BCE. In various ways, the Boiotians were starting to act as a common group and, as will be shown in the commentary on Aristophanes F 6, there is evidence that regional policies could be sought and implemented. Only in the latter half of the fifth century BCE, however, can we be certain on the existence of a federal organisation in Boiotia. The coincidence with the contemporary appearance of local historiography is striking. It can be argued that the literary genre needed the impulse and the slow formation both of the national feeling and, as exemplified by Pindar, of the formation of a regional culture.

101 Cp. recently Beck – Ganter 2015.

102 Mackil – van Alfen 2006. On the limits of these coins, see also Martin 1985: 233 n.27 and Schachter 2016: 50 n.53.

If we associate, then, the development of local historiography only to the formation of a regional identity, it might be legitimate to postulate that the genre of local historiography was born in Boiotia at the beginning of the fifth century. Judging from the few fragments of these local historians, however, and from Hellanikos' activity (third quarter of the fifth century),¹⁰³ the last quarter of the fifth century is a more likely scenario for the development of the genre. Between the thirties and the twenties, Athens saw the arrival of groups of Theban and Plataian refugees, with the important addition of Plataians who permanently stayed in Athens from 427 BCE.¹⁰⁴ This second situation, in fact, could make it less coincidental that the city saw the circulation and the success of anti-Theban traditions. Hellanikos certainly had trustworthy sources on Boiotia. He applied to the material they offered the same principles he had followed in his non-horographical works, distinguished by a strong chronological structure and an unvarnished prose-style. This consistency in his organizational principle suggested to Fornara that it was “externally and internally applied –applied, that is, in large and in small”.¹⁰⁵

While this explains Hellanikos' place in the history of Boiotian local historiography, it remains to be seen how this context made space for local production. From the point of view of Boiotia, the birth of local history in the last third of the fifth century BCE can be understood as a concert of external (Athens) and internal impulses: the opposition to Thebes, and general opposition among the centres, elicited a number of local discourses and prompted a political interest in the writing of local historiography in Boiotia.¹⁰⁶

We might use the same symbolic date (446 BCE) of the Battle of Koroneia, when the Athenians were expelled from Boiotia, to describe the centripetal forces of Boiotian figures. On the one hand, victory was soon perceived as a collective achievement that

103 Third quarter of the fifth century BCE: Pownall 2016 *ad BNJ* 4 T 1.

104 See Buck 1994: 14–5 on the groups of Thebans and Plataians in Thebes. It is uncertain whether the Plataians who came to Athens in 427 BCE were made actual citizens. The most important sources are two passages of Thucydides (3.55.2; 63.2) and a chapter of Apollodoros' *Contra Neaeram* ([Dem.] 59.104), which quotes the alleged document (τὸ ψήφισμα) associated to the granting of citizenship. This second source may be the reformulation of an original decree (Prandi 1988: 113), but its authenticity has been criticised (Canevaro 2010).

105 Fornara 1983: 21. For this methodological constant in Hellanikos' work, see Fowler 2001: 97 (Ottone 2010: 55 stresses the varied features of his production).

106 Cp. Thomas 2014b: 164–5, for a reaction to the excessive weight given only to literary considerations in some of Jacoby's dates.

marked a new era in the internal regional discourse. A victory trophy was erected on the spot¹⁰⁷ and the Thebans are represented by Thucydides as claiming that, on that occasion, they had freed Boiotia.¹⁰⁸ Only then – so Xenophon – did the Boiotians find that the pride and the relationships between Attica and Boiotia had really changed (*Mem.* 3.5.4). On the other hand, the expulsion of the Athenians and the return of the exiles meant the end of pro-Athenian regimes that, to our knowledge, had not been managed or directly influenced by Athenian politicians on location in Boiotia. We know, for example, that between 382 and 379, in the Thebes occupied by Sparta, the politicians were pro-Spartan Thebans, such as the aforementioned Leontiadas. More concise notes on the returning exiles of 446 BCE define these people as “Orchomenizers” (see Aristophanes F 6) and clearly underline how the so-called “liberation of Boiotia” was an action perpetuated from the outside, from these external groups (so Thuc. 1.113.2 and Diod. Sic. 12.6.2).

Xenophon mentions the Athenian version of the clashes between Boiotians and Athenians (*Mem.* 3.5.4). He refers to the battles of Koroneia and of Delion (424 BCE) a turning point in the relationship between Attica and Boiotia, in the same way in which Koroneia is used in the debate between the Thebans and the Plataians in the third book of Thucydides. However, in the fictional dialogue of the *Memorabilia*, Xenophon states that one of the weaknesses of the Boiotians (i.e., by the time of Xenophon’s work, of the Boiotian League) is the selfishness of the Thebans, which makes the Boiotians less united than “the Athenians” (read: the Delian League).¹⁰⁹ In Boiotia, different traditions on the same battle could awaken both different sentiments and opposite tensions, namely, of being one and the same Boiotians while simultaneously being in single groups that developed out of violence with other groups. These specific traditions probably elicited the lively activity of

107 Plut. *Ages.* 19.1–2. On the national importance of this battle, cp. Mackil 2012: 193–4 and Schachter 2016: 72.

108 Thuc. 3.62.5; 67.3; 4.92.6.

109 Xen. *Mem.* 3.5.2: Βοιωτῶν μὲν γὰρ πολλοὶ πλεονεκτούμενοι ὑπὸ Θηβαίων δυσμενῶς αὐτοῖς ἔχουσιν, Ἀθήνησι δὲ οὐδὲν ὅρῳ τοιοῦτον (on the anti-Theban implication of this passage, which might indicate the existence of “antithebanischen Ressentiments einiger Poleis”, see Jehne 1994: 54 n.43). It is generally assumed that the *Memorabilia* were written after the Battle of Leuktra, because Xenophon’s picture of Theban manpower (3.5) seems to allude to the Spartan defeat (cp. also Xen. *Eq. mag.* 7.3 and Dorion in Bandini – Dorion 2011: 295 nn.2 and 8). For this reason, there might be anachronisms in this work, given the fact that Socrates is alive in the dialogue. At the same time, the generic representation of the distance between the Thebans and the other Boiotians does not refer to specific cities, and it is therefore equally true for the League of the fourth century BCE and for the likely tensions which occurred after 446 BCE (on the date of the *Memorabilia*, see Dorion in Bandini – Dorion 2000: CCXL–CCLII and Bevilacqua 2010: 25–34).

the local historiographers who needed to work with this conflicting memory of the past. To be more precise on the beginning of this moment, we need to know more concerning the dates of Aristophanes and Armenidas, and about their connection with the spread of the Ionian alphabet in Boiotia. This phenomenon probably occurred in the seventies of the fourth century.¹¹⁰ All in all, their similarity with post-Herodotean historiography, also from a stylistic point of view,¹¹¹ cannot be denied; especially the vagueness of the links with the Ionic of Herodotus (see Armenidas F 3), which indicates that there is no need to imagine these historians as necessarily inspired by him.

This connection between the history of the region and the emergence of the genre is based both on the content of the fragments and on the inclusion of the respective authors in a specific political climate. The historiographical description of single cities and their sanctuaries as “third spaces” may be seen as the literary result of a combination of lived and cultural experiences, which forces us to be extremely careful when we overstate any mythical reference. It is also hard to accept that the age of Theban hegemony represented, as in Jacoby’s reconstruction of the genre, a second stage in Boiotian local historiography. According to the scholar, after a first period characterized by a strong interest in mythical and antiquarian subjects, there was now a fertile terrain for the production of Ἑλληνικά.¹¹²

It is hard to believe that only now did it seem possible to narrate a story of the Greek world from a Boiotian point of view. The short life of the Theban hegemony¹¹³ was paralleled, for Jacoby, by the limited span of this phase. After the Battle of Mantinea, the absence of a *Constitution of the Boiotians* in the corpus of the Aristotelian constitutions, and the coexistence of works on single centres of the region, such as Orchomenos, Thespiiai, and Plataia, reflects the fate of Thebes, destroyed in 335 BCE. Between the third and the second century BCE, local antiquarian historians granted new attention to the myths and to the peculiarities of the region.

110 For the possible relationship with this phenomenon, see *infra* 1.2.2 and 3.3.3.

111 On the style of these fragmentary historians, useful insights in Lilja 1968 and in Fowler 1996.

112 Cp. Jacoby 1955a: 152.

113 From this point of view, a careful consideration of the sources has allowed us to abandon the idea of a city profoundly poor and weak after the Battle of Mantinea (Schachter 2016: 113–32).

Since the present work concentrates on the first four characters of Boiotian local historiography (Hellanikos, Armenidas, Aristophanes, and Daimachos), a systematic rebuttal of the previous scheme would be preposterous and outside the scope of this study. That being said, the limits of the reconstruction appear blatant, on the basis of the complex characteristics of early production: the connection with the evolution of the *koinon* and with the fixation of a federal body did not impede, but rather, elicited the representation, survival, and revision of single poleic traditions of the region. Boiotian historiography was born with and without Thebes and, once we accept that Boiotian histories were also created to focus on single cities, there is no need to believe that the disappearance of the *koinon* coincided with a direct and fast consequence on the genre. Moreover, we need to consider the limited knowledge of so many figures and of the content of their works.

This attitude towards local Boiotian historiography resembles the same stance held in the pioneering work by Head (1881) on Boiotian coinage: experimental data (in our case, the fragments) are forced into a fascinating model, which is simply an application to a single case of an overarching theory.¹¹⁴ A partial reconsideration of Jacoby's theory was at the core of the only study which has tried, so far, to revise some of those assumptions, as far as Boiotia is concerned.¹¹⁵ While restating the undeniable prominence of Hellanikos,¹¹⁶ further observations were made on the place of Armenidas and of Aristophanes in the evolution of the genre. It is not completely unlikely that Aristophanes' works still circulated in the second century CE.¹¹⁷ However, this fact may not necessarily place him in a higher position than Armenidas, whose Θηβαϊκὰ enjoyed minor fame. The fact that the content of Armenidas' work that is transmitted to us is limited to mythical subjects,¹¹⁸ does not allow us to rule out that these *Theban Histories* might also have touched upon contemporary history. Indeed, the model of Herodotean historiography was not the only one present at the emergence of local historiography, but there was also the impact of

114 For a reconsideration of the chronology of the Boiotian coins suggested by Head 1881, see Larson 2007: 68–73.

115 Zecchini 1997.

116 Zecchini 1997: 189; “Ellanico dovette dissodare un terreno vergine.”

117 In fact, Zecchini (1997: 190–1) gave new space to the thesis (Jacoby 1955a: 160; *contra* Wilamowitz 1922: 194 n.1), that Plutarch directly read Aristophanes. In any case, I would reconsider the reason why Plutarch referred to Aristophanes' works and whether the demonstrative function of his *De Herodoti malignitate* prompted a distorting picture of Aristophanes' original intent.

118 On the scarce fortune of Armenidas, and on the general tone of his fragments, cp. Zecchini 1997: 189–90.

Thucydides (note that nothing speaks against dating Armenidas to the beginning of the fourth century BCE). Furthermore, the ethnographic production beyond Hellanikos included names like Dionysios of Miletos, Charon, and Damastes, who could also have exerted an influence.¹¹⁹

Hellanikos' Βοιωτικά and Armenidas' Θηβαϊκά had to encompass the *spatium historicum*. Granting that it is hard to formulate a convincing suggestion on the chronological span covered in these titles, the tradition acts like a distorting mirror: the isolation of erudite observations on subjects like the original populations of Boiotia, or the mythical topography of Thebes, may be due to the overwhelming authorial weight of concurrent sources on evenemential topics, such as Herodotus and Thucydides. In sum, it can be hard to believe that, albeit in a biased way, Hellanikos and Armenidas, unlike Aristophanes (who may have cared more about this), narrated with completeness of detail the history of Boiotia and of Thebes. At the same time, it cannot be denied that when contemporary history found its space in ethnography (a genre not structurally different from local history), this attention also attracted early local historians of Boiotia.¹²⁰

The relatively major reception of Aristophanes of Boiotia, who must not have lived after the second quarter of the fourth century BCE, is not necessarily a consequence of the transitional role played by him.¹²¹ Writing at a local level about the Persian Wars in the fourth century, independently of where this happened, automatically implied facing Herodotus, both from a historical and from a literary point of view.¹²² Nevertheless,

119 Zecchini (1997: 189) himself observes that the “assenza di tradizione scritta” in the region does not necessarily correspond to the absence of mythical traditions of high relevance, as Armenidas could exploit a “materiale ancora grezzo, ma ricco e stimolante.” The genesis and the material of these local historical traditions can be found in this sector of the oral tradition. Despite the uncertainties which still surround the dates of Dionysios and of Charon (see n.1537), recent approaches (Skinner 2012) show how the existence of an isolated premise is not a mandatory premise for the formation of an ethnographic horizon.

120 On the similarity of titles between ethnography and local history, see Jacoby 1909: 109-10 n.2. Cp. Tober 2017: 481: “[T]hey [sc. local historians] actually approached their own communities ethnographically.”

121 Zecchini 1997: 191.

122 For a general view of the literary Ionic dialect, see Cassio 1996 and cp. *infra* Armenidas F 3. Herodotus, among others, is praised for the sweetness of his style by the obscure Heracleodorus, a critic quoted by Philodemos in the Περὶ ποιημάτων (F 10 Janko), and by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (in the chapter of the *De Thucydide* [23], dedicated to the style of Classical historiography). As far as the well-known definition of Herodotus as Ὀμηρικώτατος ([Longinus] *Subl.* 13.3) is concerned, we must turn to an important inscription found in 1995 in Kaplan Kalesi, known as the “Salmakis inscription” (Isager 1998; further bibliography in Priestley 2014: 187 nn.1-2 and Santini 2016). The text is dated between

believing that this relationship had to entail a polemical tone or an outright rebuttal, means relying too much on the reading of Plutarch: we need to remember the explicitly rhetorical texture of the *De Herodoti malignitate*.¹²³

1.2.4. Writing History after Leuktra: Boiotian and Theban Histories

The Thebans refashioned, in profoundly different ways, their medism in the second Persian War. During their debate with the Plataians in Athens in 427 BCE (Thuc. 3.62), and in the ambassador's speech in Susa in 367 BCE (Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.34–5), they were able to provide pictures of the Persian Wars that were politically and ideologically convenient to those single occasions.¹²⁴ In the same years, furthermore, there were internal divisions in the ruling elites of Thebes, with Pelopidas and Epameinondas representing just one example and one faction among these aristocratic families.¹²⁵ At a regional level, it is important to recall the tensions within the *koinon*, arising from a Theban desire to impose a foreign policy on behalf of the other Boiotians.

In the Congress of Sparta (summer 371), which preceded the battle of Leuktra, the Theban envoys first signed a common peace with the other Greeks, before asking, the day after, for a change: they wanted to sign not as “Thebans”, but as “Boiotians”.¹²⁶ This would have

the second and the first century BCE and it was found close to the Salmakis fountain in the modern site of ancient Halikarnassos (Str. 14.2.6.656: ἡ Σαλμακίς κρήνη; Vitr. 2.8.12). On the second column of this long text, we read that the city was proud for having “sown” (ἥρσεν) Herodotus, τὸν πειζὸν ἐν ἱστορίαισιν Ὅμηρον (2.43–4). This description confirms an important, local precedent for the literary definition to be found later in the treatise *On the Sublime* (*loc. cit.*). See Priestley 2014: 187–219 for a general review of the stylistic fortune of Herodotus.

123 On this treatise, see *infra* 4.6.1.

124 For an analysis of the meaning of these passages in Thucydides and in Xenophon, and for the reconstruction of the relationship between Athens and Thebes in the fourth century, see Steinbock 2013: 149–54; cp. concisely *infra* at 4.7.4. It has been suggested that the choice to erect a lion in Chaironeia, possibly thirty or fifty years after the battle of 338, was justified by the parallel lion erected at Thermopylai: the fallen Thebans, buried on the spot, were thus expiating the fault of their ancestors, and in fact the Thebans who fell at Chaironeia had also fought for Greek freedom (so Ma 2008: 85).

125 The reconstruction of two main factions in the internal politics of Thebes in the sixties of the fourth century BCE is not immediately easy, considering the scarcity of direct evidence in the sources. See Buckler 1980: 130–50, on the group around Meneklidas, a strong political adversary of Pelopidas and Epameinondas (*ibid.* 145–50; on political factions in Boiotia in these years, see Cook 1988; Landucci Gattinoni 2000; Lenfant 2011). It seems that the failed plot of the “Orchomenian men” in 364 BCE derived from internal opposition to these two men, as is argued by Bertoli 2005.

126 Xen. *Hell.* 6.3.19.

implied, at a Panhellenic and, given the characteristics of the *koine eirene*, at an international level, the official acknowledgement of the Boiotian *koinon*, a violation of the principle of autonomy stated by the Peace of Antalkidas in 386 BCE.¹²⁷ A number of historical problems concern the fact that, at that same congress, the Spartans signed as Λακεδαιμόνιοι on behalf of their allies without objection.¹²⁸ Moreover, during the previous common peace of 375 BCE, the Thebans did not ask for the right to sign as “Boiotians”, probably being listed as allies of the Athenians in the Naval League.¹²⁹ It is interesting, with reference to the external political resonance of the ethnics, that very often during the sixties, the Thebans would describe and present federal decisions and policies as “Theban” acts, in contradiction with their previous conduct at Sparta.¹³⁰

The situation might betray a political debate concerning the choice of what national adjective to use abroad, on how to describe oneself in the years of Theban hegemony. We may recall here doubts concerning the date of an inscription which imposes the leadership of the war (ll. 3–4: ἡγεμονία| -ν [...] τῷ πολέμῳ) of the Thebans to the Histiaians.¹³¹ The editors suggest two dates, one connected with events between the two cities in the years 378/7 BCE, the other one in the decade 371–62 BCE. The second date rests on the isolation of the Thebans as representatives of the whole *koinon*, a habit which is not infrequent in the so-called years of the hegemony. In the absence of certainty, this document, together with the literary witnesses of the common peace of 371 BCE, testifies to an inconsistency in the external representation of the Thebans as leaders of the league, and, consequently, to a possible internal uneasiness over the choice between “Theban” and “Boiotian”. A parallel problem is represented by our ignorance of the existence of territorial subdivisions in this period. Not every scholar, in fact, agrees with the idea that the seven Hellenistic *tele*, i.e. the seven units which formed the backbone of the Hellenistic

127 On the Congress of Sparta and on this common peace, see, with previous scholarship, Jehne 1994: 65–74 and Bearzot 2004: 93–107.

128 Cp. Buckler 1980: 51–2.

129 See Bearzot 2004: 96 and n.6.

130 See a list of these instances in Aravantinos–Papazarkadas 2012: 249 and nn.53–8.

131 Aravantinos–Papazarkadas 2012. The fact that hegemony is explicitly linked to war confirms, from a new perspective, what Bakhuizen (1994) argued with reference to the *synteleia*, the fiscal centralization which may coincide with a form of hegemony, but maintains, in theory, a different process of merging.

koinon attested in the third century BCE, can be attributed to this period.¹³² One might actually suggest that, from a fiscal point of view, the entire region was assimilable to a unique “telos”, and that the persistence of the various cities was not reflected in a proportional element of the administration of the *koinon* of these years.¹³³ In a way, there was only now a form of political realism in defining as “Theban” what external observers would have defined as a “Boiotian” decision, since the institutions attested for this period are merely a board of boiotarchs and an assembly that was definitely controlled and influenced by Thebes.¹³⁴

When one transposes this vagueness to the realm of local historiography, one sees how relevant the persistence of *Boiotian* and *Theban* histories might have been before and after Leuktra, if we can trust the witnesses on the titles of these works. With his annalistic work (*The Annals of Thebes*), therefore, more than with his Βοιωτικά, whose autonomy can be preserved, Aristophanes was offering a different perspective on the history of his region. Our fragments do not give explicit indications on how he judged Herodotus’ picture,¹³⁵ but, if Aristophanes wrote two works, this might imply that he wanted to specify different content through their titles.

One should also reconsider, perhaps, the very idea of a profound chronological distance between Aristophanes and the later authors of *Hellenika*, in view of the uncertainties which surround the dates of Armenidas and, especially, of Aristophanes. It can be assumed, in fact, that Anaxys (BNJ 67), Dionysodoros (BNJ 68), and Daimachos (BNJ 65) all wrote *Hellenika* and were active between the sixties and the forties of the fourth century, since they were all used by Ephoros for his *Histories*:¹³⁶

132 The suggestion, raised by Knoepfler 2000: 359–60, is discussed and redefined by Müller 2011: 265–6. We lack direct evidence that the seven boeotarchs of the seventies and sixties of the fourth centuries BCE could represent diverse territorial interests.

133 See Müller 2011: 266 for this suggestion.

134 For a recent discussion of the institutions of the Boiotian League in the period 378–38 BCE, see Rhodes 2016.

135 As a matter of fact, we can imagine, from F 5, that as a local historian Aristophanes was willing to admit and even accept what was normally considered external prejudices towards Thebes. Priestly (2014: 43) has recently tentatively suggested that this fragment may betray an assertion of Boiotian pride for Aristophanes, but she recognizes the limits of the available evidence to support this.

136 Cp., on Daimachos, T 1 (see 5.1.3).

τῶν δὲ συγγραφέων Διονυσόδωρος καὶ Ἄναξις οἱ Βοιωτοὶ [τὴν τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἱστορίαν] εἰς τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν κατεστρόφασι τὰς συντάξεις.¹³⁷

Since we are in the same years of composition of Xenophon's *Hellenika*¹³⁸ (even if one does not know when the historical work of Anaxys and Dionysodoros started¹³⁹), these local intellectuals may simply belong to the more general trend of completing Thucydides' text. Anaxys and Dionysodoros ended with the Battle of Mantinea, which had also been chosen as an ending point by Xenophon for his *Hellenika*. This coincidence, however, probably implies more about the common acknowledgement of the historical value of this military event than the forced promotion to a Panhellenic level of a local, irrelevant episode. Moreover, one should also consider Xenophon's stance, not always particularly benevolent towards Thebes.¹⁴⁰

It is therefore more appropriate to speak about the emergence, in fourth-century Boiotia, of a Panhellenic historiography *parallel* to the local production of Aristophanes, than to imagine a regional development of the genre in just one direction. If an inference can be drawn from their titles, the new works of Anaxys, Dionysodoros, and Daimachos mark the confluence in a new genre of the local perspective, one which could leave a sign, similar to how Xenophon's personal character and political experience influenced his output. It is hard to infer any more about the internal ideological view of these "böotischen Hellenika", as Thebes was characterized by a lively and conflictual internal politics in the years of the

137 Anaxys *BNJ* 67 T 1 = Dionysodoros *BNJ* 68 T 1 [Diod. Sic. 15.95.4]: "among the historians, the Boiotian Dionysodoros and Anaxis followed the story of the Greeks until this year."

138 The date of composition of Xenophon's *Hellenika* is a debated issue, especially for the distinct character of the first two books: see briefly Badian 2004: 42–52. It is generally assumed that they were finished by the end of the fifties.

139 Assuming that it was one and the same book, and that the two authors were not separate figures: cp. Engels 2008.

140 Xenophon's hostility towards the Boiotians expresses itself in the omission of important military successes of the Boiotian League. Since these were reported by Diodorus in his fifteenth book (whose main source is Ephoros), it was once believed (Stern 1877) that through Ephoros and Kallisthenes, the rich Boiotian local historiography on this period had found its way into Diodorus, as opposed to Xenophon's philospartan attitude. The causes of this critical stance have been identified, most of all, in Xenophon's personal relationship with the Spartan king Agesilaos, and, more generally, with Sparta (Buckler 1980; Cartledge 1987; Schepens 2005). However, it has also been recognized that the scale of this enmity should be judged with more prudence. In fact, in a few instances in his *Hellenika*, Xenophon acknowledges the military merits of the Thebans (6.4.10: praise of the Theban cavalry in Leuktra; 7.1.16; 5.8 and 19, for an exaltation of the capacity of respecting the order, which is also appreciated in *Eq. mag.* 2.1 and 4.10). It has also been suggested that Xenophon simply wanted to underline the structural limits, because Thebes could gain a lasting ἡγεμονία (Sterling 2004).

hegemony.¹⁴¹ Pelopidas' expansion towards the north of Greece and Epameinondas' moves in the south and on the sea experienced a lot of dissent in Thebes. We also know that the destruction of Thespiiai (371 BCE)¹⁴² and of Orchomenos (364 BCE)¹⁴³ confirms the persistence of a regional rivalry and of a hostility to the Theban hegemony and that this complicates the acceptance of a simple judgment, especially when we cannot read fragments that are clearly focused on political events.

One cannot say more on the political views of Anaxys and Dionysodoros, mentioned at the end of the fifteenth book of Diodorus, because Diodorus' witness of these two authors is too general to argue that Ephoros, his main source here in the fifteenth book, explicitly referred to them.¹⁴⁴ Despite the parodistic exaggeration, Lysimachos' remarks on Ephoros as a plagiarist, based on him copying Anaximenes, Kallisthenes, and Daimachos, is an indication of a historiographical debt.¹⁴⁵ But does this relationship exclude that Ephoros first, and then Diodorus, did not follow an independent line?

This Daimachos of Plataia, a universal historian, must certainly be another Daimachos than the namesake who wrote *Indian stories* in the third century. He was definitely “la più interessante figura storiografica della Beozia nel momento del suo apogeo” (Zecchini 1997: 193). However, the fragments of his Ἑλληνικά are not enough to make him a close supporter of Pelopidas and Epameinondas.¹⁴⁶ He puzzles the contemporary scholar, because, from a literary point of view, he was the first Boiotian prose writer who engaged in diversified production: he also wrote in a variety of genres characteristic of this age,

141 “[B]öotischen Hellenika”: Jacoby 1955a: 153; cp. Zecchini 1997: 191–3.

142 For the sources on this date, cp. Roesch 1965: 45; Buckler 1980: 21 [373 BCE]; Hansen 2004: 457. On the epigraphic habit of the city in the fourth century, from 371 to 335 BCE, see Papazarkadas 2016: 122–6.

143 “The *andrapodismos* visited on the city in 364 B.C. by Thebes [...] stands as the single most brutal act ever to have been exacted by one Boiotian community against another” (Gartland 2016c: 155). Cp. Diod. Sic. 15.79.3–6 (with Buckler 1980: 183 and Stylianos 1998: 497–8); Paus. 9.15.3; Plut. *Comp. Pel. et Marc.* 1.3. Orchomenos was punished, contrary to Epameinondas' will, who allegedly defined the decision to destroy the city as (Paus. 9.15.3). Three hundred Orchomenian knights plotted to turn the Boiotian League into an aristocratic institution (Diod. Sic. 15.79.3: εἰς ἀριστοκρατικὴν κατάστασιν). The moment was favourable, for both Epameinondas, who was then in the Aegean Sea, and Pelopidas, who was in Thessaly, were absent from Thebes. See Bertoli 2005: 129–30, who also claims that this plot reveals the internal divisions in the leading classes of Thebes in the years of the hegemony.

144 Cp. Stylianos 1998: 106, skeptical on the use, by Ephoros, of Dionysodoros and Anaxys.

145 Especially on Ephoros' use of Kallisthenes, see e.g. Prandi 1985: 128–9; Stylianos 1998: 104–7; Prandi 2013: 689.

146 Cp. Zecchini 1997: 192–3.

such as his work on siege machines and a piece named *On Piety*.¹⁴⁷ Maybe he was isolated by Lysimachos, along with Anaximenes and Kallisthenes, as a perfect foil to Ephoros (T 1). It is obvious that, since the *Histories of the Greeks* generally focused on recent years,¹⁴⁸ Daimachos had to represent an interesting local voice on those years, especially if his origin from Plataia implies hostility to Thebes.

1.2.5. Boiotian Hellenistic Historiography: Erudition and the Emergence of Thespiai

Among the Hellenistic authors of Boiotian local historiography, the majority belong to what may be defined as “Hellenistic antiquarianism”, or are obscure to us. The most interesting names are Aristodemos (BNJ 383), Nikander of Kolophon (BNJ 271-272) and Lysimachos (BNJ 382). They shared a lively philological interest in the past and were part of the Alexandrian milieu. Aristodemos lived in the third century BCE and wrote on Pindar and Θηβαϊκὰ ἐπιγράμματα. His vast production represents an erudite phase: while Armenidas was still working with the same imagery of Pindar, interacted with it, shared, and remoulded the same “Theban third space”, Pindar had, at this time, become a classical source to study and understand: a literary source.¹⁴⁹ Nikander and Lysimachos also wrote

147 See *infra* (5.1.1) for the existence of two namesake historians; on the first Daimachos as author of three projects, see 5.1.2; on the literary genre of the περὶ εὐσεβείας, 5.8.3.

148 *Greek Histories* were similar, in this respect, to universal stories, as Jacoby saw, before they were wrongly separated. The title of these works may be deceiving (Tuplin 2007: 161), because the continuous histories *On Greece* (Ἑλληνικά) were a subgenre of universal history (*Zeitgeschichte*, in the definition proposed by Jacoby 1909: 34-5, who wanted to avoid possible overlaps with the ancient use of ἱστορία), which dealt with a period contemporary with the author's life in a coherent and chronologically limited way. These works on a limited period of time can carry a title different from Hellenika (just think, for instance, of Diyllos' ἱστορίαι, BNJ 73, on the events of the period 357- 297 BCE). At the same time, there are Ἑλληνικά, like the ones by Anaximenes, which started from the origins and then continued as similar to the more general universal histories, to the point that Anaximenes, after Zoilos, may be considered the founder of universal history. The distinction between ἱστορίαι and Ἑλληνικά, in fact, is very hard to discern and even when we try to exactly define the genre of universal history (Tuplin 2007), apart from highlighting the turning point of Thucydides as a promoter of a “ciclo storico” (Canfora 1971), we are faced with new exceptions to the rule (cp. Nicolai 2006 on the meaning of this prosecution). We should therefore speak of different degrees of “universality”, distinguishing, in other words, whether the dimension of the subject lies in the spatial dimension or in the temporal one (Marincola 1999; Marincola 2007b). If we use these categories, Kallisthenes and Anaximenes belong to different categories of universal historiography, and Daimachos may have dealt with myths: we read in his FF 1-2, in the initial part of his work, if this started from the origins.

149 On the grammatical activity of Aristodemos, see Novembri 2010 and Poerio 2014. For an overview of Hellenistic Theban historiography, see Poerio 2017.

in a variety of genres and posit chronological problems which cannot be completely addressed here. Their Theban interests appear, on the line of those of Aristodemos, as one sector of a more global philological approach to the past.¹⁵⁰

In the third century BCE, Psaon of Plataia (*BNJ* 78) continued Diyllos' *Hellenika*, but his participation in a chain of authors of Greek histories (as if there had been no Anaxys, Dionysodoros, or Daimachos) implies an independent choice. In particular, the irrelevance of the regional criterion is shown by the choice to continue Diyllos, from 297/6 BCE (the date of the death of Kassandros: *BNJ* 78 T 1). Diyllos, moreover, started from 357 BCE (*BNJ* 73 T 1), the end of Kallisthenes' work, so that Psaon would be improperly ascribed Boiotian historiography. Anaxys and Dionysodoros closed their work with the Battle of Mantinea, but this choice was not followed in the region. For the same reason, the individuation of the end of Psaon's work with the death of Kassandros should not indicate a specific weight of the character in connection with his activity in Thebes, despite the association of Kassandros with the refoundation of Thebes.

Boiotian local historiography, therefore, had a short life from Hellanikos to Daimachos, going through Armenidas and Aristophanes. Not only did these four authors represent the beginners of a highly productive genre, but they were the only representatives of a historiographical interest for and in Boiotia. This interest would later assume forms different from local historiography: either merging in works of a different structure and inspired by another agenda, such as Psaon's *Hellenika*, or constituting one side of a greater learned project, to study myth and the past, most often with an eye towards the understanding of literary texts. If we were looking for phases in this varied production, we must first isolate a moment of undeniable liveliness, which we find in Hellanikos' early attempts to reach the richness of Daimachos' production, followed by a later age of refolding and deepening. The floruit of historiography coincided with the peak of the Boiotian *koinon* in the Classical period.

From the third century BCE, it looks as if the origin of an author from Boiotia is without consequence on his works. Moreover, the subjects studied are not seemingly evenemential. A possible infraction to this tendency might be represented by Lykos' *Περὶ Θηβῶν*, which

150 On Nikander, see *infra* 4.1.2; on Lysimachos, see *infra* 5.3.1.

Schachter (2011b) recently dated to the first quarter of the third century BCE. There are more concerns than that of the date of the work, however, as its title might actually suggest a different structure from that of the previous species of local history, like Armenidas' *Θηβαϊκά*. Based on the five extant fragments, Lykos shares many interests with the first authors of Boiotian historiography, such as the connection of Dionysos with Thebes (*BNJ* 380 F 1),¹⁵¹ the figures of Itonos and Boiotos (*FF* 2 and 4),¹⁵² and the mythical spring where Kadmos founded Thebes (F 5).¹⁵³

In the other cases of *Βοιωτικά* or of *Θηβαϊκά*, it is either hard to prove the existence of the authors¹⁵⁴ or to consider them historiographers in the first place.¹⁵⁵ Among the many names considered by Jacoby (1955a) in the section on Boiotia in *FGrHist* III B, we are left with very few candidates. First of all, we have Kallippos of Corinth (*BNJ* 385), who is quoted only by Pausanias (9.29.1–2; 38.9–10), and wrote an *Εἰς Ὁρχομενίου συγγραφή*, which Pausanias claims to have read.¹⁵⁶ In this text, there were some verses of Hegesinos

151 Cp. Armenidas F 4 and Aristophanes F 4

152 Cp. Armenidas F 1.

153 Cp. Hellanikos F 1.

154 Other *Βοιωτικά* are assigned to two *Schwindelautoren* (Jacoby 1940), quoted by Pseudo-Plutarch in the *Parallela minora*, Ktesiphon (*BNJ* 294) and Menyllos (*BNJ* 295 F 1). Only Menyllos, however, according to Ceccarelli (2011b), seems to be an actual figure: it was once believed that there were two figures, Μένυλος / Μένυλλος ([Plut.] *Parall. min.* 26.312b = *BNJ* 295, author of *Ἰταλικά*), and Μέρυλλος ([Plut.] *Parall. min.* 14.309b = *BNJ* 295 F 1, author of *Βοιωτικά*), but the second name was corrected in Μένυλλος by Xylander and identified with the first one from the *FHG* (IV 452) on. If the *consensus codicum* on the second name forces us to print it with the *rho*, in the text of the Pseudo-Plutarch (de Lazzer 2000: 70–1 n.281), we should keep in mind, however, the general method of the author known as “Pseudo-Plutarch”: Ceccarelli also repeated that, in fact, it could be one and the same historian (while de Lazzer follows the textual tradition, Boulogne [2002: 254] prints, at *Parall. min.* 14.309B, the correction Μένυλλος by Guarinus, despite the *consensus* on Μέρυλλος). Two other names that should be recalled, despite the uncertainties on their date, are Menelaos of Aigai (*BNJ* 384), a poet who composed a *Θηβαίς*, sometimes quoted as *Θηβαϊκά*, but hardly a local historiographer; and Timagoras, author of *Θηβαϊκά* (*BNJ* 381: see Poerio 2017: 9–38). On the basis of the content of our 3 fragments, Timagoras mostly focused on the Spartoi. We do not know anything on the historical persona (Kühr 2014b), so he remains a complete exception to us.

155 Demetrios of Phaleron wrote a *Βοιωτικός* (*FGrHist* 228 T 4 = F 80 Stork – van Ophuijsen – Dorandi), which must have been a dialogue set in this region, as maintained by Jacoby (1955b: 104 n.4). Among the other doubtful cases, it is now assumed that, in the voice of the *Suda* on the writer Paxamos (*BNJ* 377 T 1), the transmitted *Βοιωτικά* should be corrected, with Hemsterhuys, in *Βιωτικά*: the known content fits better with the characteristics of the content of the other titles (this Paxamos was a famous writer of cookbooks of the first century BCE: Schachter 2011d ad *BNJ* 377 T 1).

156 Cp. Lupi 2011: 344–5, for the hypothesis of an actual reading.

(*BNJ* 331 F 1), who wrote an *Atthis* and is almost unknown, and of Chersias, who must have been another Archaic poet.¹⁵⁷

In the second place, we should include a group represented by Ἀφροδίσιος ἥτοι Εὐφήμιος. This author is only mentioned by Stephanus of Byzantium, in a lemma on a harbour of Thespiiai, Aphormion.¹⁵⁸ Aphrodisios or Euphemios wrote about Thespiiai in his *Περὶ τῆς πατρίδος*, but Jacoby (1955a: 181) argued that there may have been two authors, Aphrodisios and Euphemios, and that the second one continued his predecessor's work. On the other hand, we know that, in his *Περὶ τοῦ ἐν Ἑλικῶνι Μουσείου*, Amphion of Thespiiai (*BNJ* 387 F 1) seems to have sponsored the refoundation of this festival on Mount Helikon, if we accept Schachter's assumption that Nikocrates, another local author (*BNJ* 386), was contemporary with the refoundation of the games on the Helikon in the last thirty years of the third century BCE. Probably at the end of the third century BCE,¹⁵⁹ this Nikocrates, a Boiotian author who was an expert in Thespiiai, wrote a book on Boiotia whose title is either *Περὶ Βοιωτίας* (*BNJ* 376 F 1) or *Βοιωτικά* (F 2). The inspiration came from a profound reorganization of the festival of the Mouseia, an event which is also behind an elegy to the Egyptian Arsinoe III, transmitted on papyrus.¹⁶⁰ Moreover, Nikocrates may have also written a *Περὶ τοῦ ἐν Ἑλικῶνι ἀγῶνος*, which would suggest that this work, with a historical section, was part of a narrative of contemporary propaganda. It would then be appropriate to ascribe it wholly to the category of "local historiography", because this variety of texts did not sensibly differ from the "sacred histories".¹⁶¹

Aphrodisios, Nikocrates, and Amphion give the impression of a lively Thespian production at the end of the third century.¹⁶² In a few years, a number of local historians

157 See Debiasi 2010 and Schachter 2012c *ad BNJ* 385 F 2.

158 *BNJ* 386 F 1 = α 557, *s.v.* ἀφόρμιον.

159 On this date, see Schachter 2010–1 and Schachter 2011c.

160 Cp. Barbantani 2000 on this elegy. It is also possible that the local theatre was renovated, in the same context (Germani 2015: 355).

161 See Dillery 2005 on the idea of sacred history and Schachter 2011c on the link between Nikocrates and historical propaganda.

162 See Schachter 2010–1; Schachter 2011c; Schachter 2012a. The Thespians actively participated in the destruction of Thebes in 335 BCE (Diod. 17.13.5), and during the third century their city was resettled (see *IACP* n.222). On the

engaged in the same activity, reflecting what seems to have been a prosperous moment for the city. In the Hellenistic *koinon*, in fact, Thespiiai was one of only three Boiotian cities, together with Thebes and Tanagra, that formed a *telos* on its own in seven subunits of the territorial organization of the *koinon*.¹⁶³ These subunits were probably formed, as outlined by Knoepfler, in order to respect a demographic balance, so that it would be legitimate to assume an equality of resources among them. While we lack direct proof that in the third century BCE, Tanagra attracted or elicited a similar interest in historiographical production, Thespiiai did in fact gain primacy in this field. Thebes, on the other hand, inspired a different kind of production. On the basis of the extant fragments, titles like the *Collection of Theban Epigrams* by Aristodemos suggest works with a weaker link to territory.

On a similar line, we know that, among his periegetic works, Polemon of Ilion (202-181 BCE) wrote a *Περὶ τῶν Θήβησιν Ἡρακλείων* (*FHG* III F 26), where he focused on the Theban festivals for Herakles. Other traditions assigned to Polemon are general writings on Boiotian matters (*ibid.* F 25).¹⁶⁴ This author certainly had a philological approach towards the region, which should not be considered alongside previous local historiography. Polemon may have preferred a literary perspective on the region and may have followed prejudices that were well-spread from the Classical period, since he is contemporary to Heraclides Criticus, the author of a *Periegesis*.¹⁶⁵ The date of this author is much debated, but, on the basis of the description of Thebes and of the rest of Boiotia, one can agree with Christel Müller in defining his work as “an assemblage of clichés and sketches about the Boiotians” (2013: 271).

All one can say concerning these later figures are mere hypotheses. We will never know how lively or productive these local traditions were, even if it is in itself remarkable that Thespiiai had a local production, which must be appreciated in comparison with other cities like Thebes or Athens. Kallippos, Aphrodisios, and Amphion gave a new outlook to

Boiotian third century BCE as a period of general prosperity, see, against the idea of decadence suggested by Pol. 20.4-7 and substantially accepted by Feyel 1942, Knoepfler 1999; Müller 2008: 32-3; Müller 2011; Müller 2013.

163 On the seven *tele* of the Hellenistic *koinon*, see Corsten 1999: 38-47; Knoepfler 1999; Knoepfler 2001.

164 On this variety of works among Polemon's titles, see Engels 2014: 75-6. On the Theban festivals for Herakles, and on their presence in Pindar, see Olivieri 2014: 42-4.

165 On Herakleides Kritikos, see Arenz 2006.

local historiography, which assumed new forms different from the ones it had taken at the beginning of its development. Amphion, in particular, can be associated with those local Greek historians, who used cults as the main focus of their work, adopting an alternative criterion, which underlied his monograph on the agons of the Helikon.¹⁶⁶ This new variety of authors abandons the goal of writing a *History of Boiotia*. Despite the success of the new *koinon* in the third century BCE, the civic traditions retain the capability of attracting the interests of the single historians and mark this period as a new phase, incomparable with the Boiotian historiography of the Classical period.

1.3. The First Boiotian Historiographers: A Profile

The general profile of the first authors of Boiotian local historiography differs from later ones: later works, in fact, detach themselves from Hellanikos or Armenidas. The new historical background after the destruction of Thebes (335 BCE) and its refoundation (316 BCE) did not elicit the same kind of historiography. Thus, there is a sense of unity among the first four authors, who form an isolable block, whereas the later Hellenistic *koinon* did not inspire or allow a similar or analogous experience. As seen in the section on the development of the genre (1.2), new interests and internal structures superseded the kind of histories produced between the late fifth and the early fourth century BCE.

The following commentary on single fragments will be preceded by a series of general and systematic profiles of the authors considered. This biographical prelude aims at introducing the chronological span of Boiotian local historiography and partially anticipates the results of the study of the witnesses, with the exception of Hellanikos (1.3.1). For this author, the variety and complexity of the materials, together with the advanced status of the research, suggests that an overview to introduce the writer is sufficient.

¹⁶⁶ Thomas 2014b: 161: “[C]ult details connected to local places were an important way of patterning and structuring local histories.”

Since the present book focuses on the early stages of local historiography in Boiotia, it must be clear which period is assumed by considering Hellanikos, Armenidas, Aristophanes, and Daimachos. The last three authors have almost no meaningful witnesses (with the exception of Daimachos) and Armenidas' personal name may actually benefit from a reconsideration of its Ionic suffix.¹⁶⁷ As far as Hellanikos is concerned, the present section focuses on the main output of the research on his chronology. Only Hellanikos and Daimachos can be positively dated, whereas we can only suggest plausible deductions on Aristophanes and Armenidas. By and large, if we include Hellanikos and Daimachos, we may consider Armenidas and Aristophanes as historians who lived in the period between these two figures, with Armenidas possibly closer to Hellanikos. We are therefore considering a period which goes from the last quarter of the fifth century BCE to the middle fourth century BCE.

1.3.1. Hellanikos

It might sound paradoxical that we are so uncertain about the exact chronology of an author who was among the historians mostly interested, during his lifetime, in problems of chronography and in defining new dating systems.¹⁶⁸ All we can positively maintain is that Hellanikos was still active after 407/6 BCE¹⁶⁹ and that Thucydides must have used him in the early stages of the composition of his work. When Thucydides mentions a date based on the office of the priestess of the Argive Heraion (Thuc. 2.2.1), he likely derives this piece of information from Hellanikos' *Priestesses*.¹⁷⁰

167 The codices of Photius which transmit Armenidas' F 5, have the form Ἀρμένιδας, which may be his original name. Ἀρμενιδας might then be the version of the literary sources, under the influence of the Ionic dialect (see *infra* 3.5.1). Here and elsewhere, however, I adopt the commonly accepted variation, despite the high probability of the form Armendas. I wish to thank here Prof. A.C. Cassio for the useful suggestion on this topic.

168 Cp. Möller 2001.

169 This view is based on the events which are alluded to in our *BNJ* 4 FF 171-2 = 323 FF 25-6.

170 Thuc. 2.2.1: ἐπὶ Χρυσίδος ἐν Ἀργεὶ τότε πεντήκοντα δυοῖν δέοντα ἔτη ἱερωμένης, "under the forty-eighth year of the priesthood of Chrysis in Argos" (tr. S. Tufano). It is generally assumed that Thucydides is referring to Hellanikos' *Priestesses of Hera* here; moreover, Fantasia (2003: 225) and Pownall (2016 *ad BNJ* 4 F 74, with further scholarship) suggest that the later mention of this same priestess (Thuc. 4.133,2-4) is another debt that Thucydides has to Hellanikos (Gomme 1956: 2 already linked the two passages, but did not argue for a second mention of Hellanikos). The fragments of Hellanikos' *Priestesses of Hera* are *BNJ* 4 FF 74-84.

In itself, the relationship between Thucydides and Hellanikos is a controversial matter upon which we are forced to limit ourselves to suggestions. The main problem is our scarce knowledge of Hellanikos' works.¹⁷¹ A partial exception is represented by a passage (Thuc. 1.97.2) where Thucydides arguably shows skepticism of the author of the *Atthis*, with an explicit mention of the name of the source, Hellanikos, and the title of his work (ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ξυγγραφῇ):

I have written the following account and made this excursus because all of my predecessors have omitted this period: their histories are either of the Greek world before the Persian invasion or of the Persian War itself. The only one to touch on this subject is Hellanikos in his *History of Athens*, but his treatment is brief and the chronology is imprecise (tr. M. Hammond).¹⁷²

This explicit mention may be taken to mean both a tribute to his predecessor, because Hellanikos is the only historian quoted by Thucydides, and the acknowledgement of the importance of that work to Athens.¹⁷³

Any further clarification on Hellanikos' lifespan, apart from single references in his fragments, seems questionable, or might prove debatable under closer scrutiny. The most explicit indication on his date of birth, may be what Gellius says on the subject. Aulus

171 Discussion and further references: Ottone 2010: 74–88.

172 = *BNJ* 4 T 16. It has been claimed that Thucydides' reference does not echo the exact title of Hellanikos' work, for it would be impossible that Hellanikos assigned a precise title to it (Jacoby 1949: 81–2; Ambaglio 1980a: 43 n.157; Harding 1994: 2; Sánchez Jiménez 1999; Nicolai 2010: 12; Ottone 2010: 56–9). Some scholars who support this view (e.g. Sánchez Jiménez 1999: 278) accept, however, that the work had a title, namely the one used by other sources, Ἀτθίς. The choice of giving a title might have had the purpose of isolating this text from the rest of his production. In general, it is believed that the forms of circulation of the historical works, in this period, are irreconcilable with the existence of a title for them (Ottone 2010: 57–8; Thomas 2014b: 157). The absence of an agonal context, nonetheless, may coexist with the necessity of choosing a title for a written work to signal it as different from the other works: for this reason, and for the undeniable chronological relevance of Thucydides as a witness, it is not impossible to seriously consider the possibility that Ἀττικὴ ξυγγραφὴ was the title of Hellanikos' *Athenian History*.

173 According to Hornblower (1991: 147–8), it is tempting to wonder whether the recent publication of Hellanikos made necessary a reference to a preexisting version of the text. Unfortunately, apart from the fact that we know that Hellanikos' *Athenian History* dealt with events of 407/6 BCE, we have no further indications on the moment when this work spread.

Gellius, in the second century CE, is drawing his date from Pamphila,¹⁷⁴ a historian of the first century CE. However, neither of them was the source of this calculation: it is extremely likely that the first to suggest this succession of authors was the chronographer Apollodoros (third century BCE).¹⁷⁵ It was Apollodoros, then, who was the first to assert that Hellanikos was born in 496/5 BCE, from the basis of his being 65 years old at the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War:

“Hellanikos, Herodotos, and Thucydides, writers of historical works, were in their prime and enjoyed great renown at almost the same time and were not terribly far apart in age. Hellanikos seems to have been sixty-five years old at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, Herodotos fifty-three, and Thucydides forty. This is written in the eleventh book of Pamphila” (tr. F. Pownall).¹⁷⁶

A scholarly tradition has also tried to infer a *terminus post quem* for Hellanikos’ date of birth based on his name: the literal meaning, with reference to a Greek victory, reflects a date in 480 BCE or in that span of time, to celebrate the victory over the Persians.¹⁷⁷ In fact, it was alleged that Hellanikos and Euripides were both born on the day of the battle of Salamis.¹⁷⁸

174 Pamphila was a historian: Photius (*Bibl.* 119b20–7) credits her with Συμμίκτων ἱστορικῶν ὑπομνημάτων λόγοι, in 8 books, whereas the *Suda* (π 139) records a different number of books (33: probably the exact number, according to Cagnazzi 1997: 32), and another title, Ἱστορικὰ ὑπομνήματα. From the same lemma of the *Suda* we learn that Pamphila also wrote “an *Abridged Version* of Ctesias, in three books, many *Epitomai* of histories, and of other books; *On the Quarrels*; *On Sex*; and many more titles” (tr. S. Tufano). Pamphila lived under Nero, but it is hard to speak much about her, because of the ancient prejudice towards the ability of a woman to write history (Ath. 10.44.434C; Marcell. 43; cp. Cagnazzi 1997: 108–9). We have 10 fragments of historical subject, apart from the summary in Photius’ *Library*; an overview of the witnesses is offered by Cagnazzi 1997: 31–102 and by Ippolito 2006.

175 For the origin of this chronological section from Apollodoros, see Jacoby 1902: 277–84; Apollodoros might also be behind the current F 2 Cagnazzi of Pamphila (Cagnazzi 1997: 58 and 85; Ippolito 2006). In general, however, we lack strong evidence that she worked with chronologically ordered materials (Cagnazzi 1997: 43–4).

176 BNJ 4 T 3 (Gell. 15.23 = EGM I T 3 = F 7 Cagnazzi). (*Hellanicus, Herodotus, Thucydides, historiae scriptores, in isdem temporibus fere laude ingenti floruerunt et non nimis longe distantibus fuerunt aetatibus. Nam Hellanicus initio belli Peloponnesiaci fuisse quinque et sexaginta annos natus videtur, Herodotus tres et quinquaginta, Thucydides quadraginta. Scriptum hoc est in libro undecimo Pamphilae*). See, on this witness, Cagnazzi 1997: 83–6 (who believes in its reliability, especially for Thucydides).

177 It was Kretschmer (1894: 184) who first suggested that Ἑλλάνικος might come, as per haplology, from Ἑλλανόνικος. However, any inference from Hellanikos’ personal name might be excessive, since we are not sure about the length of

As far as the chronology of Pamphila/Apollodoros is concerned, the value of this tradition needs to be considered with suspicion. It may suffer from the usual Hellenistic approach to look for a substantial and chronological sequence among authors of the same genre: Hellanikos' date of birth, in this reconstruction, deliberately coincides with the *akme* of Hekataios and the voice of the *Suda*, which also derives from an Apollodorean tradition, imagining Hellanikos as the successor of Hekataios.¹⁷⁹ Another possible interpretation of Pamphila's synchronisms is that the real focus was on king Alexander I from Macedon:¹⁸⁰ starting from the belief that Hellanikos and Herodotus both attended the Macedonian court,¹⁸¹ there was a backward chronological parallelism with the kingdoms of Amyntas' predecessors. From a different perspective, the alleged *akme* (at 40 years old) of Hellanikos in 456 BCE has been read as a forced coincidence with the first victory of Euripides on the stage, or as the central year of the *pentekontaetia* (whose bad treatment as a period is censured by Thucydides, in 1.97, where he mentions Hellanikos).¹⁸²

It must be admitted that none of the aforementioned hypotheses are really more convincing than the others. First of all, nothing strongly determines the placement of the *akme* of Hekataios in 496/5 BCE, and not, for instance, in 499 BCE, if the starting point of this was the occurrence of the figure in the *Histories* of Herodotus. The role played by Hekataios in the Ionian upheaval, according to Herodotus, also located him firmly in the

the iota in the suffix -νικος; only if this iota is long, would it support an etymological link with νικάω and, therefore, with the Persian Wars. Fowler (2013: 682-3) observed that the form *Ἑλλήνικος is never attested, which is in itself curious, "if it was really connected to (pan-)Hellenic ethnicity or victory" (683); all we have are some later forms like Ἑλλάνεικος (*CIG* 4300), which cannot be used to strongly support a causal relationship with the event.

178 *BNJ* 4 T 6 (Sat. *Vit. Eur.* 2; Diog. Laert. 2.45). Apart from doubts on the etymological inferences of this suggestion (on which, see *infra* in text), it is doubtful that the battle of Salamis may be considered the final and definitive victory of the Greeks over the Persians in this war. Schmid – Stählin 1934: 680 n.10, for example, suggest that a similar impression, especially for a Lesbian, might have been provided by the battle of Mikale, where the Lesbians were also fighting (*Hdt.* 9.106; *Diod. Sic.* 11.37).

179 *BNJ* 1 T 1 F: after Hekataios, Hellanikos; then, Herodotus, and so on. Mosshammer 1973: 7-9. The present reconsideration of biographical information on Hellanikos owes much to Porciani 2001a: 135-8 and Fowler 2013: 682-3. 180 Porciani 2001a: 137: "Non mi sembra [...] impossibile che Apollodoro (o già altri prima di lui: Eratostene?) abbia determinato la nascita di Ellanico in relazione al regno di Alessandro I di Macedonia, facendola coincidere con il suo inizio."

181 *BNJ* 4 T 1 (σὺν Ἡροδότῳ παρὰ Ἀμύντα: a plausible tradition, but ultimately unverifiable; Herodotus at Alexander's court: Hammond – Griffith 1979: 98-9).

182 Cp. Fowler 2013: 682 n.4.

first stages of the war.¹⁸³ As a consequence, this idea of a linear succession among historians, suggested by Mosshammer (1973), has its weaknesses and its importance should not be overestimated.

On the other hand, a number of doubts concern the years 496/5 (or, more precisely, 495 BCE), as the beginning of the kingdom of Alexander I. The beginning of this kingdom, in fact, and the moment when Alexander succeeded his father are an uncertain matter. For instance, a case has been made, not necessarily less cogent, that Alexander was ruling as of 498 BCE.¹⁸⁴ On the other hand, the parallelism with Euripides' career might be an autoschediasm, developed from the belief that the two authors were born on the day of the battle of Salamis (*BNJ* 4 T 6). In fact, the inclusive method of Apollodoros, if we take the year 431 BCE as the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, would force us to consider the year 457/6 BCE as the *akme* of Hellanikos (which would remove it from coinciding with the victory of Euripides). In sum, the use of the extremes of the *pentekontaetia* and the idea that the *akme* of Hellanikos coincided with the central year of the period are still likelier, if we consider a possible mistake by Apollodoros.

The previous observations deliberately omit other debated relationships, such as the one with Damastes.¹⁸⁵ In general, one is left in the realm of intertextuality, with all the limits of an excessive use of later sources. One might suggest that the biographical tradition concerning Hellanikos in the fourth century BCE must have been generally poor.¹⁸⁶ Since Alexander I was renowned for his efforts at presenting himself and his dynasty as belonging to and benevolent to the Greek culture, the presence of Hellanikos at his court

183 Porciani 2001a: 135–6.

184 See Porciani 2001a: 135–8. On the problem of Alexander I's accession to throne, see briefly Sprawski 2010.

185 Mazzarino (1966: 204) first suggested considering Damastes as being earlier than Hellanikos, despite an ancient tradition that Damastes had actually been his pupil. However, a prudent consideration of Hellanikos' lifetime supports the opposite view, if Damastes was active in 431 BCE, since, at this time, Hellanikos may have already started his works (Fowler 2013: 644). Moreover, since Dion. Hal. *Thuc.* 9 presents them as contemporaries, the same Classical sources appear uncertain on the actual chronological relationship between the two figures (Ottone 2010: 93). On Damastes, see in general Gallo 2004 and Fowler 2013: 644–6.

186 It will be no coincidence that only rarely does Hellanikos appear in a literary canon (Nicolai 1992: 208–9), because he was probably considered, in general, “a mythmonger, not a historian” (Fowler 2013: 689). The same Fowler assumes that it is quite hard to appreciate how much Hellanikos was used and present in the work of the later Atthidographers.

may derive from a philomacedonian tradition (especially since Hellanikos is mentioned with Herodotus).¹⁸⁷

Apollodoros' chronography, similarly, was probably influenced by the passage where Thucydides quotes Hellanikos (1.97.2). These ancient suggestions do not sound sensibly different from, or scientifically sounder than, other contemporary approaches on this theme. All our witnesses on Hellanikos introduce him with another figure, as if, in the absence of a set of traditions, an early autoschediastic activity developed around him. These deductions associate him with other great names (Euripides, Herodotus, and Thucydides), and Apollodoros was likely following this trend in making his own calculations. In sum, dating Hellanikos to the second half of the fifth century BCE, and accepting, as a consequence, that he was coterminous both with the later production of Herodotus, and with Thucydides, is the least slippery and most probable scenario for his lifespan.

The information on Hellanikos' production is inversely proportional to the opacity of the biography of the character. He wrote 23 books in prose and, according to a passage in the *Suda* (BNJ 4 T 1), also poems. His Βοιωτικά (FF 1-2) belong to a series of works on Greek regions and *poleis*.¹⁸⁸ These attest to the originality of Hellanikos, both as an early local historian, and as a scholar interested in an impressive variety of places, from Argos to Athens. The fact that a citizen of (or at least coming from) Lesbos would work on such a range of local areas, is in itself noteworthy, and should be considered in parallel with the activity of those sophists who worked on the constitutions and, in general, on Greek and barbarian *nomima*.

187 BNJ 4 T 1. See Vannicelli 2013a: 67–81 on Herodotus' description of this character; for his kingdom as a period characterized by “una prima collocazione culturale e politica della Macedonia all'interno del mondo greco” (*ibid.* 67), cp. Musti 2006: 588. Apart from this isolated witness, only one other feeble tradition of an alleged plagiarism directly links Hellanikos and Herodotus (BNJ 4 T 17 = Porph. F 409 Smith = Euseb. *Praep. evang.* 10.3.16). Porphyrios accused Hellanikos of plagiarizing Herodotus, but it is uncertain whether this was his own deduction or if the authors really reported the same content without knowing each other (Fowler 2013: 683): “it is difficult to know whether his [Hellanikos'] work was available to Herodotus or viceversa” (Pownall 2016 *ad* BNJ 4 T 1).

188 The known titles are: Αἰολικά (BNJ 4 FF 32 and 32a), Λεσβι(α)κά (BNJ 4 FF 33–35a and 35c), Ἀργολικά (BNJ 4 F 36b), Περὶ Ἀρκαδίας (BNJ 4 F 37), Βοιωτικά (BNJ 4 FF 50–1) and Θετταλικά (BNJ 4 F 52). A mere comparison of the number of preserved fragments shows the relatively bigger reception of Ἀτθίς (BNJ 4 FF 38–48).

Apart from this production, Hellanikos also engaged with ethnography¹⁸⁹ and with a work on foundations, which we know under three different titles¹⁹⁰ but might be better understand as only one entity. Finally, he is credited with four works of mythography (*Phoronis*, *Deukalioneia*, *Atlantis*, and *Troika*), whose reciprocal relationship is much debated. Over two centuries of scholarship have not been able to reach a unanimous perspective on the previous points.¹⁹¹ A stabler consensus has been attained on Hellanikos' contribution to chronography, and on the reasons behind such interest: his *Priestesses of Hera in Argos* has either been traced back to oriental annalistic models, or to the general scientific context of the end of the fifth century BCE.¹⁹² This approach, however, may be arguable for the *Atthis*, but it would be preposterous to apply it to Boiotia: in Attica there is a strong interest in the systematization of chronological information, since two fragments from the *Atthis* are explicit on its annalistic framework.¹⁹³ This is not demonstrable for the *Boiotian Histories*.

For the Boiotian case, in fact, there were other historical conditions that inhibited the birth of a fixed, stable political unity, with a regional calendar, before the forties of the fifth century. We have proof of a regional conscience and the acknowledgement of a common ethnicity, but nothing speaks for the actual preexistence of a local historiography, or production in prose, which Hellanikos could have referred to in his commitment to this subject.

189 Secure titles of ethnography are: Αἰγυπτιακά (BNJ 4 TT 26 and 29; FF 53-4; BNJ 608a FF 1-3), Περσικά (BNJ 4 FF 59-63; BNJ 687a FF 1-4) and Σκυθικά (BNJ 4 FF 64-5). We do not know, however, what approach was followed as far as other regions are concerned, namely if Hellanikos' Περὶ Λυδίας and Κυπριακά (BNJ F 57) were independent works, because they are only mentioned by Stephanus of Byzantium (ss.vv. Ἀζειῶται and Καρπασία). Finally, it is highly likely, as Jacoby (1913: 104-53: 129,53-8) first suggested, that his Φοινικικά, known only to Giorgius Cedrenus (I p.23 Bekker), derived from an inexact interpretation of a passage of Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities* (1.108): here, however, Josephus only declares that Hellanikos wrote on the antiquity of barbarian populations.

190 It is quoted as Κτίσεις ἐθνῶν καὶ πόλεων, Περὶ ἐθνῶν, and Ἐθνῶν ὀνομασίαι (BNJ 4 FF 66-70) It should be distinguished from the monograph Περὶ Χίου κτίσεως (BNJ F 71; cp. von Fritz 1967 I: 490).

191 The main commentaries are: Müller 1841; Koehler 1898; Jacoby *FGrHist* (4; 323; 608); Pearson (1939: 152-235; 1942: 1-26); Ambaglio 1980a; Caerols Pérez 1991; Fowler 2013: 682-98; Pownall 2016 BNJ 4.

192 Möller 2001.

193 Despite the skepticism of Joyce 1999, Clarke 2008 and Ottone 2010 have shown how more than a single chronological framework could be adopted in a historiographical work.

It is therefore better to stick to the general picture of the sources and accept that in the production of a prose author, generally known for his prolific activity,¹⁹⁴ there was space for a single monograph on Boiotia. The Boiotography starts, then, as a chapter in a wider historiographical framework, as if the original and vast spirit of the Ionic ἱστορίη gave rise to a development that went in many directions and used new methods.¹⁹⁵

1.3.2. Armenidas

Armenidas has been seen as the real beginner of Boiotian local historiography, since, as a Theban, he dealt for the first time with the history of his own town.¹⁹⁶ More precisely, in only one case is he credited with a *Theban History* (F 1: Θηβαϊκά), even if the immediate context, on the Itonion of Koroneia, is not directly related to the city of Thebes. It is likely that Armenidas' work dealt extensively with other centres of the region, and a number of hypotheses have been put forward to explain this geographical extent. In particular, we need to be conscious of the fact that the title *Theban Annals* was preserved, despite the absence, in F 1, of an immediate connection with Thebes.¹⁹⁷

As far as the origin of Armenidas is concerned, in the absence of explicit witnesses, one may suggest that his name is an Ionic form of an original Ἀρμένδης, which allows us to confirm a Boiotian origin. Without prosopographical indications, however, it is impossible to tell whether he was a Theban or a citizen of another Boiotian town. For

194 “Hellankos composed too many works, it seems, for the *Suda* to provide a catalogue” (Pownall 2016 *ad* BNJ 4 T 1, after Jacoby 1912b: 112).

195 Even though it is not properly a collection of local histories, Critias' collections of *Constitutions* may be compared to the extent of Hellankos' production, for the geographical horizon covered by this author. Critias wrote a *Constitution of Thessaly*, a *Constitution of Athens* and a *Constitutions of Sparta*; it seems that each of these texts was written both in prose and in poetry. For a commentary on this part of Critias' production, which centers on his philolakonism and might hint at his oligarchic thought, see Centanni 1997; Bultrighini 1999; Iannucci 2002; Centanni 2009. The *Constitution of Sparta* of Critias focused on the paradigmatic customs of the city, but may have also entailed some observations on its political institutions: Tober 2010: 419 n.46.

196 Jacoby 1955a: 155.

197 Schachter (2011a *ad* BNJ 378 F 1): “Since Armenidas' work seems to deal exclusively with Theban matters, we must assume that this passage comes from a description of the Boiotian sanctuary of Athena Itonia at Koroneia, and that the latter was somehow connected with an event in Theban legend.” Nonetheless, we cannot exclude that the details of other Boiotian centres may belong to excursuses indirectly or directly linked to Thebes (cp. 3.4.2).

Armenidas, just like for Aristophanes of Boiotia or other local historians, we should dismiss the myth of a recurrent and topical *Lokalpatriotismus*, which sometimes leads to wrong assumptions (as if only a Theban could write, for instance, a *Theban History*).

Armenidas' lifespan constitutes another possible conundrum. The aforementioned complete absence of details on his persona might represent, in itself, a hint of the scarce fortune of his text. Contemporary scholarship, then, has turned to the alleged direct quotes of Armenidas, in two (FF 3 and 6) of the seven¹⁹⁸ known fragments, because these quotes present isolated Ionic forms. These forms, however, are not enough proof of an early date for Armenidas: the ionisms in our F 3 are neither so typical, nor linkable to a specific moment of the literary development of this dialect. As I argue, with further details in the commentary, the status of the literary Ionic dialect was subject to such diachronic and diaphasic variations, that it is inappropriate to claim that the use of such forms implies a knowledge of Herodotus, more than that of, say, Ctesias, or other fragmentary historians of the fourth century BCE.¹⁹⁹ The contractions which we detect in Armenidas are already present in Herodotus, but they are also common in the so-called *Grossattisch* of the fourth century BCE, and they are not so peculiar as to suggest that all the text was originally written in the Ionic dialect. We could say more on this, if we had a better knowledge of the local (Boiotian) prose literature, but the only possible evidence that may be used for this problem comes from epigraphical sources.

As far as epigraphy is concerned, the growing predominance in Boiotia of the Ionic alphabet, from the second half of the seventies of the fourth century, after a relatively long survival of the epichoric alphabet, may indicate a general reception of the Attico-Ionic cultural tradition and, with it, one of its most characteristic registers, such as the literary Ionic dialect.²⁰⁰ The recent publication of a treaty between Thebes and Histiaia, dated to 377/6 BCE, adds a piece of evidence to the debate on the introduction of the Ionic alphabet in Boiotia, as it shows the coexistence of epichoric characters with Ionic ones.²⁰¹

198 An eighth fragment must be ascribed to another figure, Andromenidas: see the arguments at 3.8.2.

199 Cp. 3.3.3. On the literary Ionic dialect of the Hellenistic period, see Cassio 1996.

200 I wish to thank here Prof. N. Papazarkadas (*per litt.*), who provided immense help on this matter and wrote to me that he finds the scenario “definitely reasonable”. See *supra* on the relevance of the new discoveries for our understanding of Boiotian history.

201 Aravantinos – Papazarkadas 2012.

Whereas, therefore, the introduction of the Ionic alphabet in Boiotia must be posited in this period,²⁰² it is harder to agree with the traditional explanation: this phenomenon was not only due to the democratic ideas of the new leaders of the Boiotian League; the transition was not exclusively promoted by Thebes, given the previous acceptance of the Athenian epigraphic habit.²⁰³

As maintained by Papazarkadas (2016), in fact, the reception of the Ionic alphabet may betray the desire of Thebes to emerge as a Panhellenic power, through a writing form that had widespread readability. Furthermore, it can be argued that Thebes was deliberately challenging its main hegemonic rival, Athens: “[t]he form of the message now mattered as much as the message itself” (*ibid.* 139). For this reason the epichoric alphabet was abandoned, despite its strong identity value, as an indicium of ethnicity, and the “external” instrument was adopted since it was more functional to the internal political agenda.²⁰⁴ In the same decades, we should also take into consideration the reception of Herodotus in Greece, even if, in the absence of clearer signals (apart from the sharing of some strategies) it would not be fair to infer that Boiotian authors were willingly mimicking Herodotus’ style and method.

This second hypothesis tries to see the feeble linguistic evidence under a different light, but it also lacks explicit indications in this direction. All we can positively claim on Armenidas’ date, is that he was known to Aristodemos, who was active in the middle third century BCE,²⁰⁵ and that his prose was open to ionicising forms. I will therefore base the interpretation of F 4, as a possible reference to Epameinondas’ naval policy,²⁰⁶ only on internal hints and without forcing external indications.

202 Unlike what has been suggested by Taillardat – Roesch (1966), who associates the diffusion of the Ionic alphabet with the Corinthian War, a down-dating to the seventies, first elicited by Knoepfler (1992; cp. Vottero 1996; Knoepfler, in *BE* 2009 n.244; Iversen 2010; Papazarkadas 2016), is now accepted.

203 Iversen 2010: 262–3; Mackil 2013: 337–9. I follow the common contemporary approach in defining “democratic” as the new *koinon* established after the liberation of the Kadmeia (378/7 BCE), despite the good arguments of Rhodes (2016) against the ancient perception of this constitution as “democratic”, and its actual resemblance to the other democratic experiences of ancient Greece.

204 Cp. Luraghi 2010 on the relationship between epichoric scripts and ethnicity.

205 See the commentary *ad* Armenidas F 3.

206 Cp. *infra* 3.4.2 for this reading and 7.3. on the sea campaign.

1.3.3. Aristophanes of Boiotia

Aristophanes is the best-known local historian of Boiotia.²⁰⁷ Since Plutarch used Aristophanes to criticize Herodotus, Aristophanes has automatically become an outright critic of Herodotus: he was thence considered a source, also for other sections of the *de Herodoti malignitate* where Aristophanes is not explicitly mentioned.²⁰⁸

The recent research on Boiotia, however, has promoted a more complex and nuanced appreciation of his production, which also benefited from a reconsideration of the textual tradition.²⁰⁹ In fact, the witnesses of his persona are not explicit on his historiographical method, and it is still disputed whether he wrote one or two works of different character.²¹⁰ We depend on three pieces of information for the definition of his lifespan: first, the mention of Herodotus in his work (F 5) is a secure *terminus post quem* and we may assume that Aristophanes witnessed the arrival of Herodotus in Thebes.²¹¹ Second, the use of the Theban archives, reported by Plutarch (T 2), prompted some scholars to date Aristophanes before 335 BCE, when Thebes, along with its public archives, was destroyed. Finally, he must have lived before Nikander of Kolophon (F 6), representing a *terminus ante quem* of the middle third century BCE. However, we know almost nothing on the exact lifespan of Nikander (BNJ 271-2), and the association of Aristophanes with Nikander might be due to Plutarch's own reckoning.

Now, the use of the archives, which apparently is the most helpful evidence to date Aristophanes, is the hardest fact to accept at face value. On the basis of the fragments, we know that Aristophanes might have written both *Theban Annals* (T 3: Θηβαῖοι Ἱστορίαι)²¹²

207 He enjoyed notable attention in the scholarship on Greek historiography for the paradigmatic role played in Jacoby's seminal article of 1909 and in Chaniotis' book on itinerant historians in the Hellenistic period (1988: 290-1).

208 For instance, it is generally assumed that the passage on Leonidas' dream in Herakles' temple in Thebes derives from Aristophanes (Plut. *de Hdt. mal.* 31.865E-F; cp. Thomas 2014b: 154 n.28). It should be noted, nonetheless, that this anonymous tradition may be part of the more general narrative of the battle, which inspired manifold traditions in the Greek world (Bowen 1992: 132).

209 See Aristophanes F 1, a fragment on a papyrus published after the *FGrHist* and important for the light it sheds on the reception of Aristophanes.

210 TT 1-5, on which see 5.1.

211 We have internal and external sources on the presence of Herodotus in Thebes: see *infra ad* Aristophanes F 6.

212 I translate here and later Ἱστορίαι as "annals", for the richness of the echo of the Latin *annales*, because there are some cases, as maintained by Thomas (2014b: 120), where the Greek *Horoi* may have a similar structure. The *Theban Annals* may have had an annalistic framework, for the mention of some Theban officers: cp. F 6 (4.7.3 *ad στρατηγός*).

and *Boiotian Histories* (T 4: Βοιωτικά).²¹³ Especially in the first work, if we consider the recurrent stress on the use of *written* sources in other examples of Classical historiography, it is not impossible to think that this detail was emphasized as an inner quality. This does not mean, however, that the historian referred to this piece of evidence:²¹⁴ it is equally possible that, in the absence of a solid local tradition (either because Aristophanes ignored Armenidas, or because Armenidas lived afterwards), Aristophanes mentioned the κατ' ἄρχοντας ὑπομνήματα (T 2), because there were no other authors or internal sources on Theban history.

As for Armenidas, then, we are left in the field of hypotheses, even if probably, for Aristophanes, a date in the first half of the fourth century BCE seems to rest on stronger probabilities. If we can judge from the feeble linguistic forms in the existing fragments, we might infer a probable adhesion to a Boiotian and Theban cultural alignment to Athenian language and epigraphic habits. There could be, in other words, a formal re-management of local traditions (and a “Ionic trend” in Boiotian culture).²¹⁵

It might not be surprising, then, that the toponym Ἀργύνειον, ascribed by Stephanus to Aristophanes (F 10), does not show definite local features in its vowels or consonants, especially because the form in /u/ survived, for a long period, with the alternative -ου-. By and large, this local historian must have worked on local topics, with approaches and styles that are not uncommon in other species of local history of the fourth century BCE, but, for this field, are possibly closer to the Ionian reception.

1.3.4. Daimachos of Plataia

We have a relatively strong *terminus ante quem* for Daimachos of Plataia's lifespan, since Ephoros apparently used him in his *Histories* (T 1), and, therefore, he is generally dated to the years of the Theban hegemony. If we consider all the witnesses on the historiographer

213 The *Boiotian Histories* are also quoted by our witnesses, for the greater fortune of the previous work, with the title *Theban Histories* (T 5: Θηβαϊκά). The distinction between the two works, however, is not unanimously accepted: see e.g. Thomas 2014b: 154 and *infra* 4.1.1.

214 Cp. Porciani 2001a: 19–27.

215 Papazarkadas 2014b.

Daimachos, we can conclude that there were two namesakes between the fourth and the third century BCE: the second one surely wrote an ethnographic treatise on India, after an embassy to the Indian king Bindusāra, to whom he had been sent by Antiochus I in the beginning of the 270s.²¹⁶

The starting point for dating Daimachos is a quote from Lysimachos' *On the Plagiarism of Ephoros* (BNJ 382 F 22). This treatise is particularly relevant, since Lysimachos was a versatile figure, who was still able to read many local historians of Boiotia.²¹⁷ This witness might certainly exaggerate the extent of Ephoros' plagiarism, but it is extremely useful, for the direct parallel it posits among Daimachos, Anaximenes, and Kallisthenes. These three historians are considered usable sources when Ephoros was writing his *Histories* (T 1). If Ephoros read them, Daimachos and the other two names must have lived in the same period, i.e. in the middle fourth century, judging from what we know on Anaximenes and Kallisthenes.

Moreover, we know from Diodorus (15.95.4) that Ephoros also referred to other universal histories, written by Anaxys and Dionysodoros, two Boiotian writers, who concluded their work with the Battle of Mantinea (362/1 BCE).²¹⁸ It has even been suggested that Anaxys and Dionysodoros supported a political tendency, opposite to the one represented by Epameinondas and Pelopidas, implicitly shown by Daimachos. This controversial hypothesis does not add much to the few certain facts we have: Ephoros probably read (and used) these universal historians from Boiotia and he communicates the idea that there was very lively activity in this region in the sixties of the fourth century.

Daimachos' originality rests on a variety of topics touched upon in his production, which also included a treatise on siegecraft machines²¹⁹ and an *On Piety* (F 7). The authorship of these two treatises has often been disputed, but it is methodologically wiser to assign them to our Daimachos and not to the later namesake, who is always associated with a work on India. Daimachos' *Greek Histories* may have dealt with a chronological period that was particularly long, and, for this reason, they, more so than the rest of the Ἑλληνικά, may

216 On this second Daimachos, see 5.1.1.

217 On the difficult issue of Lysimachos' chronology, see 5.1.3.

218 On Anaxys and Dionysodoros, see *supra* 1.2.4.

219 Cp. 5.6.1 for the possibility that the actual title was Πορθητικά and not, as is commonly held, Πολιορκητικά.

resemble more closely what contemporary scholarship defines as “universal history”. The themes that we reconstruct from the fragments are far from those which appear in other Ἑλληνικά of the fourth century BCE. However, one can hardly suggest a specific hypothesis on the exact extent of these *Greek Stories*; it seems better to focus on the “not-local” nature of this work, and how this novelty was adopted in an author coming from a city, Plataia, which had not produced previous historians. A new phase in the history of Boiotography, or maybe, more probably, a local perspective on universal history.

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2. Hellanikos

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2.1. Hellanikos F 1

Previous editions: *BNJ* 4 F 50; *EGM* I F 50; F 136 Ambaglio; *FGrHist* 4 F 50 (Schol. R/Bar Ar. *Lys.* 36 (p.6 Hangard).

ἐν γὰρ τῇ Κωπαίδι λίμνῃ μέγισταί εἰσιν ἐγχέλεις ὥκουν τε τὴν Βοιωτίαν καὶ οἱ λεγόμενοι Ἐγχελεῖς, περὶ ὧν καὶ Ἑλλάνικος ἐν τοῖς Βοιωτικοῖς φησιν.

1 ὥκουν – Βοιωτίαν *omisit* Bar ὥκουν – Ἐγχελεῖς Γ 2 Βοιωτικοῖς Bar

“In the Lake Kopais, there are very big eels. Also, the so-called ‘Encheleis’ were living in Boiotia. Hellanikos speaks about them in his *Boiotian Histories*” (tr. S. Tufano).

2.1.1. Textual Transmission

The scholium²²⁰ focuses on v.36 of Aristophanes’ *Lysistrata*, a line pronounced by Kalonika. This woman has just met Lysistrata and they both long for a warless future, one without the Peloponnesians (33) and with the Boiotians finally destroyed (35: Βοιωτίους τε πάντας ἐξολωλέναι). Kalonika, however, is worried about this last wish, as it would imply the end of the importation to Athens of a much-appreciated delicacy: eels: μὴ δῆτα πάντας γ’, ἀλλ’ ἄφελε τὰς ἐγχέλεις (36: “But not all of them, please: spare the eels!”).

²²⁰ It belongs to the corpus of scholia transmitted by the Ravennas codex of Aristophanes (*Rav.* 49, *olim* I 374a, c. X^{ex}-XIⁱⁿ).

Verses 35–36 exploit two particularly frequent themes connected to Boiotia in Attic comedy: the first, more general one, is the traditional Athenian hostility towards Boiotia, a theme which supersedes contingent wars and represents a *topos* in literature.²²¹ More specifically, the eels fished in Lake Kopais were a largely appreciated and talked-about product in Attica and abroad.²²² This second theme suggests a link with Hellanikos' Βοιωτικά, for the curious detail of the previous presence in Boiotia of the “so-called Ἐγγελεῖς.”

The majority of our sources place the Encheleis in Southern Illyria.²²³ The name of the group, “Encheleis” (ἐγγελεῖς), as in the text of the fragment, differs from the plural nominative of ἔγγελος, “eel (*Muraena anguilla*: pl. ἐγγέλεις)”, only in the accentuation.²²⁴ The etymology of the ethnonym must obviously go back to the name “eel”, ἔγγελος.²²⁵ Thus, the proper translation of the ethnic should be “Eel-men”.²²⁶

In the fifth century BCE there was a well known tradition concerning the movement of Kadmos and Harmonia to the North among the Illyrians: the couple was escaping from

221 Cp. e.g. Ar. *Ach.* 623–5; 720–2; F 380 K. – A. and Henderson 1987 *ad loc.*

222 See the relevant passages in Douglas Olson 2002 (*ad Ar. Ach.* 880). This freshwater fish probably represented the most famous Boiotian speciality; some scholars, however, wonder how the eels could grow up in a closed basin, without access to a sea necessary for the eels to breed. It is possible that a channel went underground to the Kephisos river (Pownall 2016 *ad BNJ* 4 F 50).

223 It should be noted that the exact placement of the Encheleis in Illyria was subject to a range of alternatives (Philippson 1905; cp. the sites associated to Kadmos' Illyrian epilogue in Edwards 1979: 263).

224 Other attested forms of this ethnonym are ἐγγελέαι (Hekataios, *BNJ* 1 F 103; Hdt. 5.61.2; 9.43.2; Str. 7.7.8.326 [the transmitted form is actually Ἐγγελέους and the plural in –έαι is a conjecture by Kramer, recently refused by Radt (2003: 332)]; Steph. Byz. ε 10, *s.v.* Ἐγγελεῖς) and ἐγγελεῖοι (Ps.-Scymn. 436). According to Hammond (1967: 467 n.3), the use of the form ἐγγελέαι in Herodotus (5.61.2; 9.43.2) proves that Herodotus was drawing on Hekataios for this material. For a complete overview of all the variants, see the apparatus of *loci similes* on the lemma ε 10 (ἐγγελεῖς) of Stephanus of Byzantium's *Ethnika* in Billerbeck – Zubler 2011: 126. The same lemma has further etymologies on the single variations of the ethnic, but it seems that the most commonly used and known form was Ἐγγελεῖς; see further ε 6, *s.v.* Ἐγγελάνες.

225 Chantraine (*DELG s.v.*) suggested a relationship of ἔγγελος with ἔχλις, “snake”, but it is uncertain if the first name may be considered a diminutive form of the second one (conversely, in Latin, as argued by Ernout and Meillet in their voice on the *DELL*, *anguilla* can literally mean a “small *anguis*”). Durante (1974: 402–7), while accepting Chantraine's interpretation of the word, added that as an ethnic, Ἐγγελεῖς may be the translation of an epichoric ethnic form, effectively related to the eels (*ibid.* 407: “un *Sammelname* di genti illiriche meridionali”: see n. 227 *infra*).

226 Hammond 1967: 466 n.3: “The name ‘eel-men’ has reference to the eel-breeding lakes of Ochrid and Presba; there were Enchelei in the vicinity of Lake Copais in Boeotia.”

Thebes, which was under siege by the Argives.²²⁷ After their arrival, Kadmos and his wife ruled over the local Encheleis, a population which was to later engage in a harsh expedition towards the central regions of Greece.²²⁸ Among the possible explanations of this mythical relationship between Boiotia and Southern Illyria, is the idea that there was an actual migration of Boiotians to Illyria:²²⁹ the Boiotians took their own folktales and myths with them, and enhanced the proliferation of memory sites, such as the so-called Kadmos Stones, which depicted Kadmos and Harmonia during their metamorphosis into snakes (a possible acquisition of chthonic attributes).²³⁰ With his Boiotian Encheleis, then, Hellanikos could provide a “historicizing variant of the Kadmos and Harmonia story”.²³¹ It has been suggested that our short scholium was part of a separated section of the *Phoronis*, on Kadmos and Harmonia, and that Hellanikos was talking about the migration of the couple to the Illyrians.²³²

This reconstruction was accepted, among others, by Koehler (1898), who added that the tale of the presence of Kadmos in Illyria was a political invention to support the kingdom

227 Sources: Hdt. 5.61.2 (the Καδμείοι are expelled by the Argives and go to the Encheleis) and 9.43.1 (oracle on the arrival of the Illyrians and the Encheleis in Greece; cp. Flower – Marincola 2008: 186–7); Eur. *Bacch.* 1330–9 and 1355–60. See Vannicelli 1995a on Hdt. 5.61.2; 9.43.1 and the unease caused by the chronological setting of these passages, which cannot be aligned with Hdt. 1.56.3. Later sources claim that Kadmos and Harmonia were fleeing for other reasons: for example, because Kadmos was escaping from Ares, after having killed his son, namely, the dragon which had once protected a Theban spring (Ares could also be angry at him, for the death of the Spartoi: see *infra* the commentary on Hellanikos’ F 2); the couple could also decide to move after the death of Pentheus (see a complete list of these later interpretations in Vian 1963: 124–33 and Castiglioni 2010: 18–9).

228 On the Illyrian epilogue of Kadmos, and on the many myths which linked this character to Illyria, see in general Vian 1963: 124–33; Edwards 1979: 33–4; Kühr 2006: 117–8.

229 Vian (1963: 132) argued for the existence of a “substrat historique”. There have been further attempts to document these contacts between Boiotia and Illyria, for example, (over)interpreting a series of archaeological evidence (Šašel Kos 1993). Vian, however, thought that the two regions were in mutual contact and that the Illyrians had also once moved to Boiotia. This possibility was rationally studied, with prudent skepticism, by Lepore (1983: 129). Nonetheless, it is hard to accept at face value the different explanations in our literary sources on the origins of the Illyrian tribe of the Encheleis, as outlined by the overview of Proeva 2006: 563–4.

230 A possible acquisition of chthonic attributes, according to F. Pownall 2016 (*ad BNJ* 4 F 50). Sources on the Kadmos Stones and the metamorphosis episode: Ps.-Skyl. 23–24; Ap. Rhod. 4.516–8; Nonnus, *Dion.* 44.107–18. On the site, see Lisičar 1953 (summary in Latin at 261), Vian 1963: 126–8, and Edwards 1979: 34.

231 Fowler 2013: 357.

232 Pownall 2016 *ad BNJ* 4 F 50. The independent circulation of this narrative was first suggested by Pearson (1939: 170), who did not believe in the independent existence of many local histories by Hellanikos (see a list of the preserved titles *supra* at 1.3.1).

of a foreign ethnos (the Boiotians) over the Illyrians. The Kadmeids, in fact, were commonly believed to have ruled over the Encheleis,²³³ and the story of an original preexistence of Encheleis in their original region, Boiotia, may have helped them support their right to rule the Illyrians. Nevertheless, while we can imagine a more or less coherent route from Boiotia to Illyria, from an initial tradition on Kadmos to a subsequent proliferation of toponyms and further details and variations, we lack positive terms for comparison for the Encheleis in Boiotia and what was once defined “The Return of the Kadmeians” in Boiotia. In fact, an oracle quoted by Euripides (*Bacch.* 1355–60) only refers to Kadmos *and* the Encheleans in the context of a violent expedition to Greece.²³⁴ Therefore, it cannot be used as a telling parallel.

There are only three, relatively late sources that support Hellanikos on the existence of these Boiotian Encheleis, as Koehler (1898: 226–30) and Jacoby (1923a: 451–2) recognized. Such a collocation cannot be escaped, because the imperfect ὥκουν marks a continuity of presence in Boiotia rather than a temporary stay. Even if, as in the first source, which will be shortly analyzed, the arrival of the Encheleis in the region results from aggression, the dynamics slightly differ from the prophecies referred to by Herodotus (9.43.1)²³⁵ and by

233 Str. 7.7.8.326. On this passage, see the observations by Radt 2007: 325 and Hammond 1967: 463–7.

234 “The Return of the Kadmeians”: Schachter 1994b: 68. Oracle: Eur. *Bacch.* 1354–61: [...] βαρβάρους ἀφίξομαι/ γέρων μέτοικος, ἔτι δέ μοῦσι θέσφατον/ ἐς Ἑλλάδ’ ἀγαγεῖν μιγάδα βαρβάρων στρατόν,/ καὶ τὴν Ἄρεως παῖδ’ Ἀρμονίαν, δάμαρτ’ ἐμήν,/ δράκων δρακαίνης <τύπον> ἔχουσιν ἀγρίας/ ἄξω ‘πὶ βωμούς καὶ τάφους Ἑλληνικούς,/ ἡγούμενος λόγχασιον (“An old man, I must go to live a stranger among barbarian peoples, doomed to lead against Hellas a motley barbarian army. Transformed to serpents, I and my wife, Harmonia, the child of Ares, we must captain spearmen against the tombs and shrines of Hellas”; tr. W. Arrowsmith).

235 P. – W. 98; Fontenrose Q 150. The oracle is indirectly quoted at Hdt. 9.42.3 (ἔστι λόγιον ὥς χρεόν ἐστι Πέρσας ἀπικομένους ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα διαρπάσαι τὸ ἱρόν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι, μετὰ δὲ τὴν διαρπαγὴν ἀπολέσθαι πάντας, “There is an oracle, to the effect that the Persians are fated to come to Greece, sack the sanctuary at Delphi, and afterwards perish to a man. Armed with this knowledge, we’ll bypass the sanctuary without making any attempt to sack it, and so avoid this occasion for destruction”; tr. R. Waterfield). It is actually Herodotus’ commentary that associates this oracle with the Encheleis: τοῦτον δ’ ἐγώ γε τὸν χρησμόν, τὸν Μαρδόνιος εἶπε ἐς Πέρσας ἔχειν, ἐς Ἰλλυριοῦς τε καὶ τὸν Ἐγχελέων στρατόν οἶδα πεποιημένον, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐς Πέρσας (43.1: “Now, I happen to know that the oracle which, according to Mardonius, referred to the Persians was not designed for them, but for the Illyrians and the army of the Encheleis”; tr. R. Waterfield). Flower – Marincola (2008: 187) remember that the same oracle quoted by Herodotus was associated by Pherekydes to another population of invaders, the Phlegyans (*BNJ* 3 F 41e). The relationship between the versions provided by Herodotus and by Pherekydes suggests that Herodotus deliberately stressed (οἶδα) his interpretation of an allusion to the Encheleis (see also Asheri – Vannicelli 2006: 237). At the same time, this example of oracular reuse confirms the violent traits of the occupation of the land, which cannot co-occur with a conflict-free, permanent seizure of Boiotia (or of any affected region).

Euripides (*loc. cit.*). In these texts the Encheleis are mere destroyers with no interest in remaining in Boiotia (nor is there any specific sign of an attack on Boiotia as isolated from other parts of Greece). A second, possible interpretation of the fragment might imply seeing whether these “Eel-men” may be an invented label for a group of people derived from the common and widespread tradition of the Boiotian eels, on which Aristophanes is drawing in his *Lysistrata*. Both opportunities need to be assessed in order to understand the place and the meaning of this Boiotian ethnos.

2.1.2. Echoes of a Submerged Tradition

Our earliest source on the Boiotian Encheleis, as a distinct group in the history of the region, is the historian Diodorus. In a passage of his *Library* (19.53.3–8), he sums up the many and great vicissitudes of Thebes (53.3: πλείσταις καὶ μεγίσταις [...] μεταβολαῖς), from Deukalion’s deluge (4) to the destruction in 335 BCE (8). Diodorus’ narrative is extremely concise in this chapter, but the presence of alternative versions of single details, such as, for example, the identity of the comrades of Kadmos during the foundation of Thebes (53.4: the Spartoi or the *Thebageneis*),²³⁶ suggests that there may have been more than a single source behind the excursus.²³⁷

236 This alternative, in fact, may betray an awareness that the ethnic Θηβαγενεῖς may imply something more than the autochthony of this population. For example, Ephoros (*BNJ* 70 F 21), as maintained by recent scholarship (Breglia 2011: 301), considered the *Thebageneis* a mixed ethnos. The group arrived from the outside and was already in Boiotia when it was subsumed by Thebes in a new political union (on the *Thebageneis*, see also Prandi 2011: 246–7).

237 It has been suggested that all this material may come from only one source, namely, Hieronymus of Cardia (Jacoby 1955a: 158 *ad FGrHist* 379 F 2) or Duris of Samos (Landucci Gattinoni 2003: 109–10; Breglia 2011: 306–7). Landucci Gattinoni argues for the second name, because Duris looked at Kassandros, the new founder of Thebes in 316 BCE, in a hellenocentric, positive way, and the rebirth of the city was a much needed creation. Hieronymus of Cardia, on the contrary, favoured the Antigonids and was against the policies of Kassandros, as they are described in Diodorus’ 17th book. However, the specific section of the *excursus* on the remote origins of Thebes may have a different origin from that which can be assumed for the narrative of the refoundation of Thebes by Kassandros: the representation of the original foundation, with the order Kadmos > Amphion, follows a relatively recent pattern (attested from the fourth century BCE) and does not necessarily betray a political understanding. The section Diod. Sic. 19.53.3–8 may be considered, on a small scale, proof of what a work of *Thebaika* may have looked like, from the foundation of the Kadmeia to the destruction of Thebes. The particular nature of this section is signalled by the introduction (53.3: περὶ ὧν οὐκ ἀνοίκειον ἐν κεφαλαίοις εἰπεῖν), which refers to a lexicon proper of those *excursus* where the use of external, further sources is highly likely. In particular, the adjective ἀνοίκειος, “incongruous” (McDougall 1983 *s.v.*), can be compared to the Latin parallel *incongruens*; Diodorus uses it to signal mythographic digressions, clearly detached from the main

After the mention of Kadmos and his comrades, Diodorus focuses on a further development (19.53.5; tr. R.M. Geer, slightly adapted):

These people [the Spartoi, or the Thebageneis] then settled in the city, but later (ὑστερον) the Encheleis defeated them in war and drove them out, at which time (ὅτε δὴ) Kadmos and his followers also were driven (ἐκπεσεῖν) to Illyria. Later on (μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα) Amphion and Zethos became masters of the site and then built the lower city (ἄστυ) for the first time, as the poet say the inhabitants of the place were exiled (ἐξέπεσον) a second time, for Polydoros, son of Kadmos, came back.

This passage is not immediately clear, as there seems to be a different, continuous interchange of focuses on the various fates of the Kadmeid house and of the local inhabitants of Thebes.²³⁸ Since at 19.53.4, Diodorus has just mentioned the *Thebageneis*, and the temporal clause which follows the main one at 53.5 *in*. (ὅτε δὴ...) is on the same chronological plan, we can think of a subdivision: Kadmos, Harmonia, and the other people went to Illyria, while the Encheleis, after their military victory, reached Boiotia. The later presence of Amphion and Zethos coincides with a new fight, as is indicated by the verb κρατέω which documents their accession to power.

If we leave aside the problem of the potential refoundation of Thebes,²³⁹ the settlement of the Encheleis in Boiotia lasts, in Diodorus, only a relatively short span of time. After their

context. Cp., e.g., Diod. Sic. 2.44.3 (the Scythian rout of Cyrus opens the way for an ethnography of the Amazons, immediately followed –47.1– by the μυθολογούμενα on the Hyperboreans); 3.56.1 (from the African ventures of Myrina, queen of the Amazons, to a digression περὶ τῆς τῶν θεῶν γενέσεως, meaningfully interspersed with verbal forms at the third plural person); 4.25.2 (from Herakles' labours to the life of Orpheus, whose conclusion sheds light on the degree of authorial presence in these excursus: 25.4: ἡμεῖς δ' ἐπεὶ περὶ Ὀρφέως διεληλύθαμεν, μεταβησόμεθα πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα); 3.34.1 (Deianira's first husband, Meleagros, will be remembered, for it is appropriate to focus on his disgraces).

238 Moreover, the use of τόπος in this case does not help us to distinguish between Thebes and Boiotia. Such a distinction is important, because the diverse perspectives found in the foundation myths may indirectly constitute a hint for the chronology of the source that is followed. Looking for a synchronisation between the history of Thebes and that of Boiotia, as in Sturz (1826: 70), may be a deceiving, centralized version of this set of myths, which are not meant to be read in a continuous, rationalistic way.

239 In a remark omitted in the previous quote, Diodorus quotes Hom. *Od.* 11.263 in a verse which claims that Amphion and Zethos were the first, “real” founders of Thebes. See *infra* on the double foundation of Thebes: 3.2.1.

arrival in Boiotia, we are only told that some time later (μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα) Amphion and Zethos first reach Thebes, followed by the arrival of Polydorus (53.5). Moreover, on the basis of this short abstract in Diodorus (and in his source), the real inhabitants of Thebes and Boiotia (κατοικήσαντες)²⁴⁰ are first the Spartoi or the Thebageneis, expelled by the Encheleis, and, finally, the descendants of Amphion and Zethos, as probably united to one of the previous groups (this last conglomerate, in fact, can be referred to in the expression τὸ δεύτερον οἱ κατοικήσαντες τὸν τόπον ἐξέπεσον). Diodorus, then, does not explicitly support Hellanikos on the presence of Encheleis in Boiotia,²⁴¹ at least on the resident character of their presence:²⁴² they were there, but not explicitly as part of the local culture or among the ancient inhabitants of the region.

Our second source is a passage in a long fragment from Kephalion's *Various Histories* (BNJ 93 F 5 = Mal. *Chron.* II 16 Thurn). Kephalion probably lived under Hadrian²⁴³ and we know of him particularly from a few passages (FF 3-7) in John Malalas' *Chronography* (fifth and sixth century CE).²⁴⁴ Kephalion draws on the Classical myth of the birth of the founding twins Amphion and Zethos, Antiope's children. The story is attested in literature in the Homeric *Catalogue of Women* in *Odyssey* 11 (260-5), and was subject to many variations in terms of the fathers of the woman and in the plot.

In fact, the poet of the *Odyssey* is already aware of the opposite tradition, where Thebes was founded by Kadmos and not by the twins. Amphion's and Zethos' role, however, will

240 The verb κατοικέω means here “se fixer dans une ville dont on n'est pas originaire” (Casevitz 1985: 162), because the λαός encountered by Kadmos joined him (Diod. Sic. 14.53.4: συνῆλθε).

241 Koehler was also skeptical of a relationship, albeit mediated, between Hellanikos and Diodorus on this matter: “*Nego igitur ea, quae [Diodorus] de ipsis Encheleis memoriae prodidit, ex Hellanico hausta esse*” (Koehler 1898: 230).

242 This residential status is implied by the imperfect indicative ὥκουν used by the scholiast of Aristophanes, who quotes the fragment from the Βοιωτικά. The verb οἰκέω simply describes the permanence, in a site, and not its colonization (Casevitz 1985: 75-81). When used in the aorist, the verb can imply movement, but the imperfect tense, in Hellanikos, does not allow such a dynamic. As a consequence, there can hardly be a connection between the tradition followed by Diodorus and what we can reasonably infer from the short language of the scholium.

243 Jacoby 1921 was almost sure of this date; earlier dates have been suggested by later scholarship on Kephalion (cp. Squillace 2012).

244 Jacoby (1926b: 298) argued for the use of intermediate sources in John Malalas (“zwischenquellen”), whereas Squillace (2012) has recently argued that Malalas may have directly known Kephalion's writings. For our present commentary, if we consider the minimum, possible distance between Hellanikos and Kephalion, and that between Hellanikos and any intermediate source between Kephalion and Malalas (second through fifth centuries CE), there is no sensible difference in the appreciation of how such a tradition may have reached Malalas.

always remain central, even in those mythical histories of Thebes that repeat and assert the priority of Kadmos. The twins are always the builders of the Theban walls and they possess superior musical abilities. Among the twins, it is Amphion who is especially endowed with this talent.²⁴⁵ Kephalion focuses on this peculiar divine gift:

Amphion, the lyre-player (ὁ λυρικός), founds quite a big city, with twelve doors (δωδεκάπυλον),²⁴⁶ which was a village, in the past, known as Encheleia (τὴν πρώην μὲν οὔσαν κώμην λεγομένην Ἐγχέλειαν).²⁴⁷ The brothers call this city Thebes, from their father's name, following the advice of Antiope, their mother.

Kephalion is the first author who names Θεόβοος as Amphion's and Zethos' father. Theoboos was allegedly a noble fellow citizen of Lykos, Antiope's uncle, and king of Argos. Since Kephalion usually refers to allegories, this Theoboos may be a later hypostasis of Zeus: he is the new eponym of a preexisting center, if not a big (κώμη) one, like Encheleia, which must have had an indirect connection with the Encheleis.²⁴⁸ If, in

245 On Antiope, Amphion, and Zethos, see in general Rocchi 1989: 47–52; Hurst 2000; Kühr 2007: 118–32 (on their foundation myth as an example of “boiotische Konkurrenz”) and Moggi – Osanna 2012: 247–8 (on Paus. 9.5.6). On the twins, see *infra* 3.2.1.

246 The epithet δωδεκάπυλος is surprising when applied to Thebes, which was always a “Seven Gated” city, from Homer (*Il.* 4.406; *Od.* 11.263) on (on this epithet, and on its use, see Cingano 2000: 141–3). Wilamowitz (1891) opened the contemporary debate on the existence of Seven Gates in Thebes. In recent years, more and more scholars have reached a consensus on the skepticism around this configuration of the ancient city (see, among others, Osanna 2008 and Moggi – Osanna 2012: 263–8 on Paus. 9.8.4–7). The adjective δωδεκάπυλος is therefore a *hapax legomenon* for Thebes and may have an intensive meaning, as was suggested for the form δυωδεκατειχέος in *Timoth. Pers.* F 791,235 (Hordern 2002: 245–6: “Alternatively, *δυωδεκα-* may be equivalent to ‘many’, like *ModE* ‘dozen’; cf. *δωδεκαμήχανος* of a prostitute in *Ar. Ran.* 1327, where the sense is presumably ‘having many tricks’ rather than having exactly twelve”).

247 It was Dindorf who first corrected the transmitted Ἐνχιλίαν with Ἐγχέλειαν.

248 Theoboos as hypostasis of Zeus: Vian 1963: 72 n.6. When Kadmos, as in Kephalion, founds the only Kadmeid (*BNJ* 93 F 3), and the name of Thebes is linked to the second foundation of Amphion and Zethos, different characters can be mentioned to explain the new name. In the chapter on the mythical history of Thebes (9.5), Pausanias adheres to the version of the double foundation, and explains, without quoting any source: “[Amphion and Zethos] added the lower town to the Kadmeia (τὴν πόλιν τὴν κάτω προσώκισαν τῇ Καδμείᾳ) and called it Thebes, for their kinship with Thebe (κατὰ συγγένειαν τὴν Θήβης)” (tr. S. Tufano). However, the identity of this Θήβη is not clear (Moggi – Osanna 2012: 248 suggest that she might either be Asopos' daughter, mentioned elsewhere by Pausanias [2.5.2; 5.22.6; cp. Kühr 2006: 207 n.48], or Zethos' wife, as in *Apollod.* 3.5.6). The general impression is that this Thebe attracted more interest, or had a richer tradition on her kinship, than the male equivalent Theoboos in the Theban foundation myths (Theoboos descends from Pikos Zeus and may be a metempsychosis of the god).

Diodorus (19.53), the Encheleis do not spend a long time in Boiotia and reach the region during Kadmos' lifespan (in fact, he flees from them), Kephalion seems to pre-date their settlement in Boiotia: the context explicitly refers to the events following the death of Kadmos, with the accession to the throne of Nykteus, Antiope's father. But the village Encheleia already exists, when Amphion reaches it (πρώην μὲν οὔσαν).

Even though this tradition is attested later than Hellanikos, we cannot completely dismiss the possibility that Kephalion possessed good intermediate sources, ones of a local nature, on this subject. As far as Hellanikos is concerned, he mentioned him, for example, on Assyrian history.²⁴⁹ In other words, this tradition of a “pre-Theban” Encheleia is not necessarily a later, collateral story that is associated with the exile of Kadmos to Illyria. In its extreme conciseness, Kephalion reassures us about the possible association of the Encheleis with Boiotia, without a direct link to the personal legend of Kadmos.

The third source, which was quoted by Koehler and by Jacoby on the Encheleis in Boiotia, is a passage from John of Antioch's *Historia chronike* (seventh century CE *in*). This passage belongs to a series of fragments of the *History*, which scholarly tradition has actually assigned to Malalas.²⁵⁰ There are indeed some details which indicate the possible use of a further source, because this fragment, also on the foundation of Thebes, differs from the version of Kephalion/Malalas: the mother of the twins is Kalliope, not Antiope, and the brothers attain power with violence, whereas in Kephalion the succession is a peaceful moment (Nykteus dies from a disease, not as a victim: νόσῳ βληθεὶς τελευτᾷ). On the village of Encheleia, nonetheless, John of Antioch is particularly close to Malalas:

Where there was already a village, called Encheleia (τὴν πρώην οὔσαν κώμην καὶ καλουμένην Ἐγχέλειαν), they founded a city and called it Thebes, from the name of their father.

249 Kephalion, *BNJ* 93 F 1, quoting Hellanikos, *BNJ* 4 F 177. Cp. *BNJ* 93 T2a (Photius on Kephalion's library, a collection of 570 books).

250 *FHG* IV 545, 8 = Par. gr. 1630, f. 237r, 29-31; F 15 Roberto (Mariev 2008 does not take into consideration this material in his edition of John of Antioch, because he considers this passage spurious). On the relationship between Malalas and John of Antioch, see Roberto 2005: xi-xx and xlv-liii (on the textual transmission of F 8,1); Roberto 2016.

The transmitted toponym is Εὐθάλειαν, but the wording and the sequence of events are so similar that we can accept Müller’s correction to Ἐγχέλειαν. The only source, therefore, which can possibly support Hellanikos on these Boiotian Encheleis is Kephalion, because John of Antioch is drawing on Kephalion.

A second possible reading of the Encheleis may be that they were, for Hellanikos, “Eel-men”, meant as a derogatory or infamous label. In fact, the personification of the eels, in Archaic Comedy, is a frequent phenomenon, as the same Aristophanes shows, but this does not equate it with a proper piece of ethnography. Middle Comedy continued this *topos* of mocking Boiotia as a land of eels, and there are fragments, such as one from Antiphanes’ Φιλοθήβαιος,²⁵¹ which suggests to Kock (1884: 106) that “*immo Enchelys aptissimum meretricis cognomen [est]*”. The eels were, in a general sense, associated with beautiful women all over the Greek world,²⁵² and this comic flair for the association with Boiotia does not seem to improve our understanding of Hellanikos’ fragment.

In two fragments by Euboulos (FF 36,3; 64 K. – A.), the eels are considered divine, but the context is not clear enough to use these verses²⁵³ in order to prove the existence, in Boiotia, of a cult of eels.²⁵⁴ Apart from a potential parallel with Cos, where there was a monster *Enchelys*, the only possible proof for such a cult in Boiotia comes from a fragment of the second century BCE polygrapher Agatharchides of Knidos (BNJ 86 F 5; tr. S.M. Burstein):

Agatharchides says in the sixth book of the *European Histories* that the Boeotians, after putting wreathes and throwing barley corns on them like sacrificial animals, sacrifice, while praying to the gods, the largest of the eels

251 F 216,1-2 K. – A.: [...] ἢ τε γὰρ συνώνυμος/ τῆς ἐνδον οὔσης ἔγχελυσ Βοιωτία, “The Boeotian eel, whose name is the same as the woman’s inside” (tr. S. Douglas Olson). Antiphanes was the most productive poet of Middle Comedy, but many doubts concern both his exact date (he seems to have lived in the first half of the fourth century BCE, but some fragments refer to events and figures of the second half) and the exact extent of his production: see an introduction in Nesselrath 1990: 193-4.

252 On the eels as symbols of beautiful women, cp. Pellegrino 2008: 207-8.

253 In the first fragment, the divine eels come immediately after the θύνων [...] ὑπογαστρία; in the second, the θεά actually is a παρθένος Βοιωτίας Κωπαίδος.

254 Cult of eels: Tümpel 1905: 2550,1-17. Other scholars claim that Antiphanes (F 216 K.-A.) and Euboulos, in his *Medea* (F 64 K.-A.), refer to a character in their comedy who is really called “Eel” (Schiassi 1955: 14; Pellegrino 2008: 207-8).

from Lake Copais (τὰς ὑπερφυεῖς τῶν Κωπαίδων ἐγγέλεων). And to the stranger, who was puzzled by the strangeness of the custom (τὰ προγονικὰ νόμιμα) and inquired about it, a Boeotian said that he knew only one thing, and he declared that it is necessary to maintain ancestral customs and that it is not appropriate to defend them to other people.

If we put aside the aforementioned sources on the Encheleis as an independent population or memory of Boiotia and focus instead on the actual knowledge and spread of eels in Boiotia, we detect a clear awareness of the economic importance of this good to the region. This aspect underlies, e.g., the so-called Boiotian Price Decree of Akraiphia (*SEG* XXXII 450), which lists a series of fresh and saltwater fish with their prices in the beginning of the second century BCE.²⁵⁵ However, the recognition of the impact of eels in the internal production of the area does not in itself represent positive evidence of the narrative of Agatharchides.

This scholar reproduced a series of details on Boiotian history that are of the utmost interest to us: in another fragment of the *European Histories* (*BNJ* 86 F 8), for instance, he mentioned a site, Sidai, whose location is completely obscure, apart from some general indications on it being between Attica and Boiotia. The second century BCE scholar, therefore, had rich material on the subject, and it would be hard to deny any reliability of his anecdote on the sacrifice. At the same time, the story of τὰ προγονικὰ νόμιμα puzzled the same observer (F 5: παράδοξον), and it is not enough to improve our understanding of the features and the place, in Boiotia, of the “Eel-men” of Hellanikos.

2.1.3. The Limits of Our Evidence: Boiotian Encheleis Reconsidered

It is hard to go beyond the simple consideration of Hellanikos’ witness of the Encheleis. Since there were complex and varying series of explanations on why the Boiotians fought at Troy, even if they allegedly came to Boiotia only sixty years after that war,²⁵⁶ we cannot exclude that these Encheleis were not Boiotians, because the identity of this population

²⁵⁵ See on this text Roesch 1974; Lytle 2010; Mackil 2012: 268–9.

²⁵⁶ See on this Hornblower 1991 *ad loc.*, Larson 2007: 52–64 and *infra* 2.2.2 *ad ἡ Βοιωτία* [...].

shifts from an aggregative process to a definition per exclusion.²⁵⁷ Jacoby (1923a: 452), for instance, puts stress on a passage in Pausanias, where, after having mentioned the autochthonous Ektenoi, the author specifies that the newcomers Hyantes and Aones were Boiotian, not foreign, tribes:

“in the original history of Boiotia of Paus. 9.5.1 [...], they [*i.e.* the Encheleis] and the Τέμμικες [Steph. Byz. τ 87, *s.v.* Τέμμιξ], as well as Kadmos [who is remembered afterwards], are missing” (tr. S. Tufano).²⁵⁸

It is impossible to know to which period of Boiotian history Hellanikos refers when he mentions this population.²⁵⁹ It is probably better to stick to the hypothesis that the presence of the Encheleis in the region was interpreted and clarified²⁶⁰ (in ways unclear to us) in relationship to the famous goods that came from Lake Kopais. These Encheleis are one of the many populations that lived in a region where the Boiotians would later represent only the most relevant ethnic component.

2.2. Hellanikos F 2

257 Cp. Vian on Diodorus: “Les faits sont rapportés autrement par Diod. Sic. XIX 53, 4 s.: les Encheleis (béotiens?) chassent en Illyrie Cadmos et ses concitoyens (les Spartes ou Thébagènes); puis le fils de Cadmos, Polydoros, revient (aidé par les Illyriens?) chasser à son tour Amphion qui avait usurpé le pouvoir entre temps” (Vian 1963: 125 n.2). On the relationship between the Boiotians and these mythical populations, cp. Kühr 2014a: 229–30.

258 This fragment has been recently studied (Breglia 2011: 298) to prove how the Encheleis were one of the many “Pre-Kadmean” populations, imagined in Boiotia before the foundation of Thebes (for a complete list, see *ibid.* 298 and n.32).

259 Cp. Meineke’s observations, mentioned by Koehler (1898: 230), on a lemma in Stephanus of Byzantium (π 247): Προνάσται ἔθνος Βοιωτίας. Βοιωτῶν δέ τινες τὸ πάλαι {ἔθνος} Προνάσται καλέονται. Meineke thought that the *ionism* καλέονται may derive from a source like Hekataios or Hellanikos (“*videntur Hecataei vel Hellanici verba esse*”; “wohl Hellanikos”: Kirsten 1957). This proposal was viewed with skepticism by Koehler because of a lack of further evidence on this population. The debate is still remarkable, for it highlights a lemma where another Boiotian *ethnos* is recalled, and, in this way, it shows the risks that derive from refusing apparently isolated traditions, like the one on the Encheleis (for instance, Buck 1979: 51, ignores these Pronastai, in a table on an alleged reconstruction of the single populations that lived in Boiotia). It may be accepted, with Prandi (2011: 248), that “la Beozia è una terra in cui [...] sono stati posizionati molti etnonimi: [...] essi sono segno non soltanto di presenze prebeotiche (senza intendere con questo che fossero tutte preelleniche), ma anche di permanenze, coesistenze, stratificazioni [...]”.

260 Fowler (2013: 357; 687) also emphasises the link with Hellanikos’ etymological interests.

Previous editions: *BNJ* 4 F 51; *EGM I* F 51a; F 137 Ambaglio; *FGrHist* 4 F 51 (Schol. A, D codd. ZYQL *ad Il.* 2.494).

a. Βοιωτῶν μὲν Πενέλεως] ἡ Βοιωτία τὸ πρότερον Ἀονία ἐκαλεῖτο ἀπὸ τῶν κατοικούντων αὐτὴν Ἀόνων. μετωνομάσθη δὲ Βοιωτία κατὰ μὲν τινὰς ἀπὸ Βοιωτοῦ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Ἄρνης, καθ' ἑτέρους δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐλαθείσης κατὰ πυθόχρηστον ὑπὸ Κάδμου βοός. Εὐρώπης γὰρ τῆς Φοίνικος θυγατρὸς ἐκ Σιδῶνος ὑπὸ Διὸς ἀρπαγείσης, Κάδμος ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτῆς κατὰ ζήτησιν πεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ὡς οὐχ εὐρήκει αὐτήν, ἤκεν εἰς Δελφούς ἐρωτήσων τὸν θεόν. ὁ δὲ θεὸς εἶπεν αὐτῷ περὶ μὲν Εὐρώπης μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖν, χρῆσθαι δὲ καθοδηγῶι βοῖ καὶ πόλιν ἐκεῖ κτίζειν, ἔνθα ἂν αὐτὴ εἰς τὰ δεξιὰ πέσῃ καμουῖσα. τοιοῦτον λαβὼν χρησμὸν διὰ Φωκέων ἐπορεύετο εἶτα βοῖ συντυχὼν παρὰ τοῖς Πελάγονος βουκολίοις ταύτηι πορευομένηι κατόπιν εἶπετο ἡ δὲ διεξιούσα πᾶσαν Βοιωτίαν ὀκνήσασα ἀνεκλήθη ἔνθα νῦν εἰσιν ἡ πόλεις Θῆβαι. βουλόμενος δὲ Ἀθηναῖι τὴν βοῦν καταθῆσαι πέμπει τινὰς τῶν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ ληψομένους χέρνιβα ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀρητιάδος κρήνης. ὁ δὲ φρουρῶν τὴν κρήνην δράκων, ὃν Ἄρεως ἔλεγον εἶναι, τοὺς πλείονας τῶν πεμφθέντων διέφθειρεν. ἀγανακτήσας δὲ Κάδμος κτείνει τὸν δράκοντα καὶ τῆς Ἀθηναῖς αὐτῷ ὑποθεμένης τοὺς τούτου ὁδόντας σπείρει· ἀφ' ὧν ἐγένοντο οἱ γηγενεῖς. ὀργισθέντος δὲ Ἄρεως καὶ μέλλοντος Κάδμον ἀναιρεῖν ἐκώλυσεν ὁ Ζεὺς καὶ Ἀρμονίαν αὐτῷ συνώικισε τὴν Ἄρεως καὶ Ἀφροδίτης· πρότερον δὲ ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἀντὶ τῆς ἀναιρέσεως τοῦ δράκοντος ἐνιαυτὸν θητεῦσαι. ἐν δὲ τῷ γάμῳ Μούσας αἶσαι καὶ τῶν θεῶν ἕκαστον Ἀρμονίαι δῶρον δοῦναι. ἱστορεῖ Ἑλλάνικος ἐν Βοιωτιακοῖς καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τῷ Γ.

a 2 αὐτήν ZU ἐν αὐτῇ YQ ἐπ' αὐτῇ A 3 Βοιωτοῦ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος Z Βοιωτοῦ τινος καὶ Ἄρνης YQ Βοιωτοῦ υἱοῦ Ἰτώνου ἢ Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Ἄρνης L ἔτι δὲ καὶ (*om.* L; καὶ <νῦν> *dub.* De Marco) Βοιωτοὶ τιμῶσι τὸν προπάτορα αὐτῶν (αὐτὸν Y) Βοιωτόν, υἱὸν ὄντα (*om.* L) Ποσειδῶνος· καθ' ἑτέρους δὲ κτλ. *addunt* YQL “*quae manifesto in mg. initio adnotata postea in textum illata sunt*” De Marco 4 <τὸ> πυθόχρηστον A 5 ὁ *om.* YQAU 6 εὐρήκει Z^s(c) εὐρίσκει Z(U) εὔρεν A ἤλθεν AU 7 ἐρωτήσων ZAU πρὸς YQL 9 Φωκέων Z Φωκείων A Πελάγονος Z Πελαγόνος AQ Πελάγοντος **b** 11 ὀκνήσασα Z ὠκνήσασα A ὀκλάσασα Barnes (*ed.* 1711) Hercher ὀκνήσασα Z^s(c) ἀνεκλήθη ZA εἰσιν αἱ πόλεις A ἡ πόλις εἰσι L *del.* Ludwich (*cf.* **b**) 12 τινὰς UL τινὰ ZYQA *cf.* **b** ληψομένους UL ληψόμενον ZYQA 13 Ἀρητιάδος YQ Ἀρείας **b** 13 *et* 16 Ἄρεος YQ 15 σπείρειν ἀφ' οὗ A 17 συνοίκισεν Z “*qui fortasse –ki-voluit; Ionicus aoristus οἰκισα apud Herod. V 42 legitur; fieri igitur potest ut Ionicus aoristus συνοίκισε ab Hellanico huc fluxerit*” De Marco συνώικισε Q *teste* Ludwich 21 ἐν τῷ γ' *om.* QL

a: “Peneleus and Leithus led the Boiotians.] Boiotia was called Aonia in the past, after its inhabitants, the Aones; it was renamed Boiotia, according to some sources, after Boiotos, the son of Poseidon and Arne. According to others, it was because of the cow which had been led by Kadmos, as declared by the Delphian oracle. Since Europa, the daughter of Phoenix, had been kidnapped in Sidon by Zeus, and her brother Kadmos, sent by his father to look for her, could not find her, he came to Delphi to inquire about Europa. The god told him not to trouble himself about Europa, but to be guided by a cow, and to found a city wherever she would fall, weary. After receiving such an oracle he journeyed through Phokis; then falling in with a cow among the herds of Pelagon, he followed behind it. And after traversing Boiotia, the animal lay down where is now the city of Thebes. Wishing to sacrifice the cow to Athena, he sent some of his companions to draw water from the spring of Ares. But a dragon, which some said was the offspring of Ares, guarded the spring and destroyed most of those who had been sent. In his indignation, Kadmos killed the dragon, and by the advice of Athena sowed its teeth and from them came the Earthborns. Because Ares was angered and was going to kill Kadmos, Zeus forestalled him and had him marry Harmonia, the daughter of Ares and Aphrodite; still, he ordered him to serve him for a year, for his killing of the dragon. During the wedding, the Muses sang and every god gave gifts to Harmonia. That is what Hellanikos in his *History of Boiotia* and Apollodoros in his third book tell” (tr. S. Tufano).

****b. Apld. 3.4.1 (21-25)**

Κάδμος δὲ ἀποθανοῦσαν θάψας Τηλέφασσαν, ὑπὸ Θρακῶν ξενισθείς, ἦλθεν εἰς Δελφοὺς περὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης πυνθανόμενος. ὁ δὲ θεὸς εἶπε περὶ μὲν Εὐρώπης μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖν, χρῆσθαι δὲ καθοδηγῶι βοί, καὶ πόλιν κτίζειν ἔνθα ἂν αὕτη πέσῃ καμοῦσα. (22) τοιοῦτον λαβὼν χρησμὸν διὰ Φωκέων ἐπορεύετο, εἶτα βοὶ συντυχὼν ἐν τοῖς Πελάγοντος βουκολίοις ταύτηι κατόπισθεν εἶπετο. ἡ δὲ διεξιούσα Βοιωτίαν ἐκλίθη, {πόλις} ἔνθα νῦν εἰσι Θῆβαι. βουλόμενος δὲ Ἀθηνᾶ καταθῆσαι τὴν βοῦν, πέμπει τινὰς τῶν μεθ’ ἑαυτοῦ ληψομένους ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀρείας κρήνης ὕδωρ· φρουρῶν δὲ τὴν κρήνην δράκων, ὃν ἐξ Ἄρεος εἶπόν τινες γεγονέναι, τοὺς πλείονας τῶν πεμφθέντων διέφθειρεν. (23) ἀγανακτήσας δὲ Κάδμος κτείνει τὸν δράκοντα, καὶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ὑποθεμένης τοὺς ὀδόντας αὐτοῦ

σπείρει. τούτων δὲ σπαρέντων ἀνέτειλαν ἐκ γῆς ἄνδρες ἔνοπλοι, οὓς ἐκάλεσαν Σπαρτούς. οὗτοι δὲ ἀπέκτειναν ἀλλήλους, οἱ μὲν εἰς ἔριν ἀκούσιον ἐλθόντες, οἱ δὲ {ἀλλήλους} ἀγνοοῦντες. (24) Φερεκύδης δὲ φησιν ὅτι Κάδμος, ἰδὼν ἐκ γῆς ἀναφυομένους ἄνδρας ἐνόπλους, ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἔβαλε λίθους, οἱ δὲ ὑπ’ ἀλλήλων νομίζοντες βάλλεσθαι εἰς μάχην κατέστησαν. περιεσώθησαν δὲ πέντε, Ἐχίων Οὐδαῖος Χθονίος Ὑπερήνωρ Πέλωρ. Κάδμος δὲ ἀνθ’ ὧν ἔκτεινεν αἰδίδιον ἐνιαυτὸν ἐθήτευσεν Ἄρει· ἦν δὲ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς τότε ὀκτὼ ἔτη. (25) μετὰ δὲ τὴν θητείαν Ἀθηναῖα αὐτῷ τὴν βασιλείαν κατεσκεύασε, Ζεὺς δὲ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ γυναῖκα Ἀρμονίαν, Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Ἄρεος θυγατέρα. καὶ πάντες θεοὶ καταλιπόντες τὸν οὐρανόν, ἐν τῇ Καδμείᾳ τὸν γάμον εὐωχούμενοι καθύμνησαν. ἔδωκε δὲ αὐτῇ Κάδμος πέπλον καὶ τὸν ἡφαιστότευκτον ὄρμον, ὃν ὑπὸ Ἡφαίστου λέγουσιν τινες

b 3 αὕτη Hercher αὐτὴ *codd.* 5 Πελάγονος a 6 ἔνθα κτίζει πόλιν, ὅπου νῦν εἰσὶν αἱ Θῆβαι Epit. Vat., *cf.* a πόλις *del.* Hercher 7 τινὰς ληφομένους Epit. Vat., *singularia cett.* *cf.* a 8 Ἀρητιάδος a, *cf.* Steph. Byz. α 411, *s.v.* Ἀρεία κρήνη ὁ δὲ φρουρῶν Hercher 12 ἐκούσιον Epit. Sabb. ἀλλήλους *del.* Heyne² 554 = Heyne³ 254 14 ἔβαλλε Epit. Sabb. 16 Πέλωρ *apogr., epit., Tzetz.* Chil. 10.432 (*qui ex Apld. pendet*) Πέλωρος R αἰδίδιον: Ἄρεος υἱὸν Hercher Ἄρεος ἰδίων Ludwich ἀνδρῶν *anon. apud Wagner, prob. Wil.*³ 18 βασιλείαν Epit. Sabb. τὴν βασιλείαν Epit. Vat. βασι(λ-) R *unde* βασιλεῖ *rell.*

****b:** “When Telephassa died, Cadmus buried her, and after being hospitably received by the Thracians he came to Delphi to inquire about Europa. The god told him not to trouble about Europa, but to be guided by a cow, and to found a city wherever she should fall down for weariness. After receiving such an oracle he journeyed through Phocis; then falling in with a cow among the herds of Pelagon, he followed it behind. And after traversing Boeotia, it sank down where is now the city of Thebes. Wishing to sacrifice the cow to Athena, he sent some of his companions to draw water from the spring of Ares. But a dragon, which some said was the offspring of Ares, guarded the spring and destroyed most of those that were sent. In his indignation Cadmus killed the dragon, and by the advice of Athena sowed its teeth. When they were sown there rose from the ground armed men whom they called Sparti. These slew each other, some in a chance brawl, and some in ignorance. But Pherecydes says that when Cadmus saw armed men growing up out of the ground, he flung stones at them, and they, supposing that they were being pelted by each other, came to blows. However, five of them survived, Echion, Udaeus, Chthonius, Hypereneor, and Pelorus. But Cadmus, to atone for the

slaughter, served Ares for an eternal year; and the year was then equivalent to eight years of our reckoning. After his servitude Athena procured for him the kingdom, and Zeus gave him to wife Harmonia, daughter of Aphrodite and Ares. And all the gods quitted the sky, and feasting in the Cadmea celebrated the marriage with hymns. Cadmus gave her a robe and the necklace wrought by Hephaestus, which some say was given to Cadmus by Hephaestus, but Pherecydes says that it was given by Europa, who had received it from Zeus” (tr. J. Frazer).

This fragment must be analysed from three perspectives: first, we need to consider the stratification of the witnesses, the *D Scholia* to the *Iliad*. This is a class of scholia specific to the *Iliad*, resembling a building that was modified and expanded over the centuries.²⁶¹ After clarifying the uniqueness of this scholium inside its main *corpus*, we need to interpret what correlation exists among the three sources. Apart from the two names quoted at the end, Hellanikos and (Pseudo-)Apollodoros,²⁶² we should pay attention to the intervention of the scholiast.²⁶³ Finally, after attempting to provide a temporary selection of the information that may go back to Hellanikos, we can speculate on it. We must start from the observation, however, that this long scholium cannot betray in its entirety Hellanikos’ version on the arrival of Kadmos to Thebes and on the ensuing events.²⁶⁴

261 van Thiel 2000: 8.

262 Fowler (2013: 378–84) examines the correspondences between thirteen *D Scholia* to the *Iliad* and as many passages from Apollodoros’ *Library*. He thus demonstrates that it is possible to accept that the authors of the scholia really drew on Apollodoros. Here and afterwards, no mention is made of “Pseudo”-Apollodoros, since I agree with Fowler (*ibid.* 383–4; Fowler 2000: xxvii n.2) and, indirectly, with Pagès (2017: 68 n.13): we should accept the data of the tradition and not compare the later namesake with the learned Apollodoros, who lived in the second century BCE (*FGrHist* 244: Scarpi 2010: xi–xii has doubts on the onomastics and prefers to think of the *Library* as an anonymous text).

263 Sturz (1826: 68) assigned this fragment, for example, to the *Phoronis*: “*Haec [...] ita, ut Hellanici narrationi immixta sint verba Scholiastae, qui eam servauit, et Apollodori.*” In any case, it is technically improper to consider the existence of just one scholiast for this fragment, since it is transmitted by five manuscripts (Z, Y, Q, A, R). Each of these manuscripts has its own characteristics. Nevertheless, for convenience, I will refer to this stage of the transmission by mentioning “the scholiast”.

264 In his entry on Hellanikos for the *RE*, F. Jacoby suggested investigating the ethnographic interests of this author, without studying only the ones with an explicit mention of such a work (Jacoby 1912b: 136,1–6; cp. *ibid.* 135,22, on the dissimilarity in treatment of the same myth in different works, according to an adjustable “lokale Ersteckung”). Jacoby’s direct precedent was the scientific output by Koehler, who had already applied a similar approach when dealing with

2.2.1. The D-Scholia and the Subscriptions: A Stratified Fragment

The D Scholia to the *Iliad* are also known as *scholia minora* or *vulgata* and were the first scholia published by Lascaris in 1517. They take this name, albeit improperly, from Didymos, a grammarian who lived under Augustus. Didymos' actual contribution merged in the so-called *Viermännerkommentar* ("The Commentary of the Four Men"), behind the A Scholia, on the Ven. Marc. 454.²⁶⁵ The two main characteristics of the D Scholia are the great antiquity of part of their content, the lexicographical part,²⁶⁶ and their isolated presence, as a full and independent commentary on a number of manuscripts.²⁶⁷ Finally, it is generally also assumed that other scholia, transmitted by other codices, belong to the D Scholia, in particular, some of the scholia on the Ven. Marc. 454 (A.).²⁶⁸ For the study of our fragment, it is important to note that some D Scholia originally derive from the *Mythographus Homericus*, a mythographical commentary on Homer, which can probably be dated to the first century CE.²⁶⁹ This commentary, not transmitted in its direct form, is

Hellanikos' Boiotian studies, in the chapter "De Thebanis fabulis" of his *Analecta Hellanicea* (Koehler 1898: 213-44). This scholar, after considering our fragment and its complex stratification, reached this conclusion: "*Quae singulis Hellanicus prodiderit de Cadmi in Boeotia rebus gestis si quaeramus, remittamus oportet schol. B 494*" (*ibid.* 221). For a specific history of the scholarship of this fragment, see 7.2.

265 For an introduction to Homeric scholarship, see the concise profile by Dickey 2007: 18-23 (19-21 on the D Scholia; specifically on these, cp. Montanari 1979: 3-27 and van Thiel 2000).

266 According to van Thiel (2000: 5-8), the first element that entered this *corpus* was the series of *Wörterlisten*, which, judging from merely literary hints, can be postulated as existing from the fifth century BCE.

267 Here and later, I adopt the sigla used by van Thiel (2014), which differ from the ones suggested by de Marco (1946). Among the manuscripts of the D Scholia, we distinguish two families. The most important witness of the first family is Z (Bibl. Naz. Centr. Gr. 6 + Matrit. B. N. 4626, IX c.: see van Thiel 2000b: 9-10, for a short overview of the story of this manuscript, which is split today between Rome and Madrid; especially on the Roman half, now in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Roma, see Schimberg 1890: 423-7). The main manuscripts of the second family are Q (Vat. gr. 33, XI c.) and Y (Vat. gr. 32, XII c.); see van Thiel 2000: 8-13 and van Thiel 2014: 10-5 for a list of the main witnesses. Inside the second family of codices, van Thiel isolates a further group, formed by a version amplified through material coming "aus exegetischen Scholien ("T-Scholien"), Porphyrios und Etymologika" (2000: 2).

268 Dickey 2007: 19 n.1: "Identification as a D scholion takes precedence over identification as an A scholion, so material found in the main D-scholia manuscripts is considered to be D-scholia material even if it also occurs in A." The "Einbeziehung des Venetus A" (van Thiel 2000: 2) is one of the main features, which distinguish van Thiel's edition (2014) from the one by de Marco (1946), limited to the first five books.

269 Montanari 1995: 165.

reconstructed thanks to a series of papyri,²⁷⁰ and as a part of the aforementioned corpus of scholia.²⁷¹

The scholium on *Il.* 2.454 belongs to this last category of D Scholia, since it has all the features of the *historiae*,²⁷² short mythical narrations, which together constitute the *Mythographus Homericus* (= *MH*). First of all, we have an introductory clause opened by a specific lemma (Βοιωτία), followed by the body of the narrative. Finally, there is a subscription of the D-Scholia, which assigns all the previous story to Hellanikos and to Apollodoros. Such subscriptions have long been considered unreliable, especially by those scholars who thought that the origin of this material was a mythological digest written in the first centuries after Christ.²⁷³ Nevertheless, the discovery of a series of papyri has improved our understanding of the characteristics of the *MH*, along with a few D Scholia; the papyri often show some variants from the manuscript tradition of our material, and this fact has imposed a reappraisal of the subscriptions.

It is in fact possible that, starting from an original text, there soon developed a textual fluidity that gave rise to numerous variations and versions of the circulating *MH*. From the point of view of the textual tradition, then, we cannot think that our scholium appeared exactly in the way we read it today, in its original version, as a fragment of the *MH*. There were different “degrees of abridgement” (Pagès 2017: 67) and this was possibly due to the success of this mythological handbook.

A second, meaningful point is the role of these subscriptions: according to Lünstedt (1961: 35–6), these cross-references do not aim to bestow reliability to the reported version, but they might imply a suggestion of a parallel text or an erudite comparison. Montanari (1995: 166) went even further and, from a few cases where we can compare the version on the papyri with the manuscripts, he argued that a subscription can refer to the knowledge of a *commentary* on the text of the named author. The scholarship on the D Scholia,

270 The most updated inventory is van Rossum-Steenbeck 1998: 278–309, which considers these papyri as ὑποθέσεις, along with the papyri with the summaries of the single books of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* (*ibid.* 53–5). Cebrián 2007: 26–35 and Montanari 2012 offer a further update on the general state of the art.

271 See Montanari 1995; Dickey 2007: 26.

272 Cp. Montanari 1995: 136–7; Wilamowitz (1921: 64 = 1971: 442 n.1) was among the first scholars to include our scholium in the *MH*.

273 See, among the others, Schwartz 1881 and Panzer 1892. Cp. the *status quaestionis* in Cebrián 2007: 36–9.

therefore, allows us to be less skeptical towards the material they convey. It also recommends particular prudence since these scholia can communicate otherwise unknown information, which actually derives from the authors mentioned in the end, despite the multilayered tradition of their excerpts (text > commentary/note > *MH* > D Scholia).

From a personal reading of all the D Scholia in the recent edition by van Thiel (2014), it was possible to isolate 326 scholia which can be classified as *historiae*. 176 of these being specifically quoted in literary sources.²⁷⁴ Hellanikos is quoted four times,²⁷⁵ and in three of these instances there is mention of a specific book.²⁷⁶ At the same time, among the six references to Apollodoros' *Library*,²⁷⁷ four of them also specify the book.²⁷⁸ A further observation is that Apollodoros is only quoted with Hellanikos in our present scholium, representing an interesting case where a degree of detail coexists between both sources.

If we include the scholium in the material of the *Mythographus Homericus* while keeping in mind the independent and diversified nature of this commentary,²⁷⁹ we then have to explain this matching of Hellanikos with Apollodoros. The *Library* was probably written in Late Antiquity, but the first mention is in Photius (*Bibl. cod.* 186, p. 142 a-b), who defines it as a βιβλιδάριον. The Apollodoros who appears as its author cannot be the Athenian namesake who lived in the second century BCE (*FGrHist* 244): there is only a shallow connection as far as the content is concerned, and Apollodoros of Athens gave a euhemeristic reading of the myths.²⁸⁰ It is not impossible that anonymity was intentionally chosen by this author, who may belong to the Second Sophistic.²⁸¹ Carrière and Massonie (1991: I 11) have proposed the Severan Age because of the Greek language adopted in the text; the *Library* does not actually quote authors later than Castor (*FGrHist* 250) and Zenobios.

274 The most frequent opening formulas are the expression ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ (67 times) and the verb ἱστορέω, which occurs 27 times. Cp. Cameron 2004: 91 for the topical character of these expressions.

275 Schol. D *ad Il.* 2.105 (Z: BNJ 4 F 157), 494 (Zc: BNJ 4 F 51); 3.75 (ZQ: BNJ 4 F 36), 144 (Z: BNJ 4 F 134), 151 (Z: BNJ 4 F 140), 250 (Z: BNJ 4 F 139); 12.1 (Z: BNJ 4 F 145); 18.486 (Zc: BNJ 4 F 19); 20.145 (Z: BNJ 4 F 26b).

276 Schol. D *ad Il.* 2.494 (ἐν Βοιωτιακοῖς); 3.75 (ἐν Ἀργολικοῖς); 18.486 (ἐν τῷ Α τῶν Ἀτλαντικῶν).

277 Schol. D *ad Il.* 1.10 (Z), 42 (Z), 195 (Z); 2.103 (Z), 494 (Zc); 12.117 (Y).

278 These scholia are the first proof of an internal subdivision of this text (Scarpi 2010: x n.14).

279 Montanari 1995: 140–1.

280 The distinction became canonical after Robert's work (Robert 1873).

281 Fowler 2013: 384.

In Photius we have no sign of an internal subdivision of books, which first appears in the D Scholia to the *Iliad*: this signposting, however, is not confirmed by our manuscripts of the *Library*. The distinctiveness of the relationship between this class of scholia and the *Library*, therefore, supports the likeliness of an original tripartition of the collection,²⁸² as well as forcing us to see, in a different way, the attribution to Hellanikos. Either we suggest that another text of the *Library* made reference to Hellanikos, since this text offers references to Pherekydes and, in general, to other fragmentary historians,²⁸³ or Hellanikos had to be signalled in a *historia* of the *MH* and, since it seems verisimilar, we must then decide how to judge this second scenario.

This scholium, then, alludes to one of the most riveting features of the *MH*: those “mythographische Historiai” (van Thiel 2000: 2) that accompany the Homeric text, according to the papyri that we have, from at least the second century BCE. The complexity of the tradition of this fragment demands that we see it as a *unique* text, where the probable acquaintance with Apollodoros and other material (*MH* and, *perhaps*, Hellanikos, directly or, more likely, indirectly) constitutes a unity that can be compared, for the variety of its contents, to the Homeric *Kunstsprache*.

2.2.2. Commentary

ἡ Βοιωτία [...] ὑπὸ Κάδμου βοός. The introductory clause focuses on a much-vexed subject: the etymology of the region of Boiotia. The theme is relevant because of the participation of the Boiotians in the Trojan War being considered in contradiction to the tradition that had them migrate to Boiotia sixty years after the end of the conflict (Thuc. 1.12). Not only do we detect here the general interest of the author(s) of the D Scholia for the μετωνομασία²⁸⁴ (i.e. how a region would change its name over the course of time), but there is also a peculiar attention to this important aspect of Boiotian history.

In fact, in our fragment, the toponym Aonia is strictly connected to the problems related to the Boiotian ethnogenesis, since elsewhere the connection with the Aones is explained

282 Cp. Scarpi 2010: xiv n.3 and Fowler 2013: 383.

283 Cp. Scarpi 2010: 687–8 for a list of the sources quoted in the *Library*.

284 Cp. Cebrián 2007: 259.

by an explicit recourse to the noun Aonia or to a connected adjective.²⁸⁵ The alleged former name of Boiotia, Aonia, first occurs among our sources in the Hellenistic period in the works of Callimachus²⁸⁶ and Apollonius Rhodius (3.1178; 1185). However, we should remember that our general picture of local populations is extremely poor:²⁸⁷ consider, for example, a passage in Pausanias' Boiotian book (9.5.1), where we read a few names of the original people of Boiotia, people who are otherwise completely unknown.²⁸⁸ Besides, both Callimachus and Apollonius must have had a precedent for this toponym (it is hard to believe that a toponym would be a complete invention).²⁸⁹ In our fragment, the toponym Aonia is strictly connected to the problems related to the Boiotian ethnogenesis, since elsewhere the connection with the Aones and their link with the Boiotians is explained by an explicit recourse to the noun Aonia or to a similar adjective.

285 Cp. Schol. Ap. Rhod. 3.1177-87a, where the scholiast questions why the dragon defeated by Kadmos is defined Ἀόνιος by Apollonius.

286 Callim. *Hymn* 4.75; F 572 Pfeiffer. Cp. Pfeiffer 1985: 401 (on Callimachus' F 572): "*Nominis Ἀόνων nullum certum exemplum ante Call[imachum]*", exactly because the subscription in our fragment is considered doubtful; see Breglia 2011: 309 on Callimachus as a scholar "ben esperto di tradizioni locali beotiche."

287 On the so-called "Pre-Kadmeans", see in general Breglia 2011. In the Classical period, both Herodotus (5.57) and Thucydides (1.12.2) acknowledge that the toponym "Boiotia" was not original: Kadmos, for example, came ἐς γῆν τὴν νῦν Βοιωτὴν καλεωμένην (Hdt. 2.49.3; 5.57), whereas, for Thucydides, the preceding name was Kadmeis (*loc. cit.*). Neither Herodotus nor Thucydides offer a clear etymology for the new name, which in Thucydides is simply a consequence of the arrival of the Boiotians in the region. I agree with Hornblower (2013: 177; Hornblower 2015: 272) that later traditions, like the one on the Temmichia and on the Temmiches, might offer an example of the narratives which were spread concerning the region, before its "final" name Boiotia (Str. 7.7.1.321; 9.2.3.401; Lycoph. *Alex.* 644 and 768; Menelaos *BNJ* 384 F 1, with Jacoby 1955a: 179 and Ganter – Zgoll 2014 *ad BNJ* 384 F 1; *Suppl. Hell.* 994 F 1, for a possible presence of a [Τεμ]μίκειο[ν], according to Lobel). Contemporary scholarship has sometimes set these local populations in the period immediately before the arrival of the Phoenicians and of the so-called "Kadmeans", assuming that the Ektenes and the Hyantes lived in Boiotia between LH I-II A and LH II B, and that they were later substituted by the "Boiotian" Aones (Buck 1979: 45-6; Symeonoglou 1985: 77-80; Pownall 2016 *ad BNJ* 4 F 51; see the reasonable objections by Breglia 2011: 296). On the early population of Boiotia, see *supra* 2.1.3 (Hellanikos' contribution to this field) and *infra* 6.1.1 (Boiotian populations in Boiotian historiography).

288 Stephanus of Byzantium has a voice (α 347) on the Ἀοῖες: "Boiotian ethnos, whence Aonia [has its name]; ethnic forms are Aon, Aonios and Aonia" (tr. S. Tufano). The last part of the lemma must be read with prudence, as it may also be an autoschediasm from the name of the region.

289 Valckenaer suggested reading Ἀόνων *pro* δόμων at Eur. *Phoen.* 644. Metrical reasons (the length of the alpha) inhibit the acceptance of this conjecture, as Mastronarde 2005 *ad loc.* reminds us (cp. further Breglia 2011: 297 n.25). It is improbable that the other reason he adds is in itself sufficient, because the Hellenistic occurrence might use preexisting materials (see the prudence shown by Mineur 1984: 111 on Callim. *Hymn* 4.75 about Ἀοινή: "As a possible source one could think of the ancient Thebaid or of the version of Antimachos, from which Statius may have derived the patronymic *Aonides* (*Theb.* 9, 95).")

The second etymology mentioned here for Βοιωτία links it to the word for “cow”, βούς, and was particularly successful in the Augustan age, judging from its presence in Ovid’s *Metamorphoseon libri* (3.10–4)²⁹⁰ and in Castor of Rhodes (*FGrHist* 250 F 19). The following, explicative γάρ might suggest that the sources of the *historia* embraced this theory, but it is more likely, on the basis of the strong presence of the voice of the scholiast in this first section, that the connection between the pursuit of the cow and this etymology derives from the scholiast himself. The scholar cites two explanations: the first one on Aonia may be his own inference, on the basis of his working materials. This connection may very likely be seen as a trace of the lexicographical material that made its way into the D Scholia or, later, in the *Mythographus Homericus*,²⁹¹ whose first development is coterminous with the first Imperial Age. A likely scenario for the creation, or the promotion, of this pareymological link may have been the Thebes of the hegemony years, when the city pushed its hegemonic cultural power on the rest of the region²⁹² (the myth of the leading city, thus, became interwoven with the story of the entire region), but this hypothesis is not strongly supported by the literary evidence. It can thus only rest on our understanding that it promotes a strong connection between Kadmos’ journey in Boiotia, renamed after the cow, and the foundation of Thebes: this narrative inevitably assumes that Theban prehistory is a short chapter of the longer history of the whole region – but a political reading can only be a working hypothesis.

Despite the role of the scholiast, the first etymology (i.e. that Boiotia was named after Boiotos, son to Poseidon and Arne), has often been accepted as a genuine piece of

290 This is the Classical interpretation of Apollo’s warning to Kadmos (Bömer 1969; Barchiesi in Barchiesi – Rosati 2007 *ad loc.*): the appeal starts with a reference to the *bos*, which will guide the hero, and finishes with the injunction to call the entire region *Boeotia* (cp., on this episode, Hardie 1990: 226–7, who suggests that Ovid might be alluding, at the same time, to Virgil’s representation of the foundation of Rome).

291 The same link between the pursuit of the cow and this etymology is mentioned in another scholium, Schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 638, where the etymology closes the commentary. Other interesting parallels occur in the later sources: Stephanus of Byzantium, in his voice on Βοιωτία (β 116), recalls the two etymologies already attested in our scholium to Hom. *Il.* 2.454 (Boiotos and the cow), but adds further references for these theories and has another genealogy for Boiotos. Another useful example is offered by the scholium *ad* Ap. Rhod. 3.1177–87a, since, in the relevant passage, Apollonios explicitly focuses on Kadmos’ fight.

292 Cp. Breglia 2011: 294 and 297 n.24. If Antoninus Liberalis (*Met.* 25) took from Korinna the mention of Aonia (*ibid.* 308), we might infer that Korinna, too, had mentioned the toponym. Still, this scenario is highly conjectural and the probable mediation of a secondary source, between Korinna and Antoninus, further precludes its acceptance.

information from Hellanikos.²⁹³ This other theory serves the same purpose to explain whence Boiotia received its name. In order to understand this, we need to briefly return to the aforementioned chapter of Thucydides' *History* (1.12.2), which describes the movements of populations after the end of the Trojan War. Among these we have the Boiotians arriving in Boiotia because they were pushed out of Thessalian Arne by the Thessalians. This picture is hardly reconcilable with the Boiotian army in Troy,²⁹⁴ but Thucydides consciously adds that these Boiotians at Troy were already living in Boiotia (he claims that, even before the final migration from Thessaly, a Boiotian ἀποδασμός settled in the region).

A theory not directly connected with the story of Kadmos, that of Boiotos, highlights the importance of Arne as the mother of Boiotos and as the namesake of that city.²⁹⁵ This is strengthened by the existence of a Boiotian site named Arne, a fake center with only literary attestations.²⁹⁶ Its existence testifies to the Boiotian efforts to accept and, at the same time, reuse in a new way, the story of a migration from Thessaly by adding internal details in reaction to Thessalian elements. Finding their eponymous hero, a mother Arne or inventing a local Arne, possibly as antecedent to the historical Arne of Thessaly, are different strategies with the same consequence: building a national story with preexisting materials.

Boiotos was a relevant figure in the Boiotian ethnogenesis at least from the sixth century BCE. His parents were, as usual, of strategic importance:²⁹⁷ already in the *Catalogue of*

293 Cp. Fowler 2013: 190 and Pownall 2016 *ad BNJ* 4 F 51. The second family of the codices (Y and Q) records a cult of Boiotos in the region, which is not attested elsewhere (it is also absent from Schachter's *Cults of Boiotia*). A fragment of Euripides' *Melanippe Desmotis* (TrGF 489), quoted by Stephanus (β 116, *s.v.* Βοιωτία), may be the first literary occurrence of a link between Boiotos and Boiotia (see *infra* in text on this tragedy).

294 See Prandi 2011: 241 and Fowler 2013: 191: "The thing that made matters especially difficult for the Boiotians [...] was the need to believe that Boiotoi had fought at Troy."

295 There were two homonymous sites in antiquity, one in Thessaly and the other in Boiotia, but the second one was very probably a fictitious one, a literary creation: Bakhuizen 1989: 70; Hornblower 1991 *ad* Thuc. 1.12; Vannicelli 1996; Beck – Ganter 2015: 134. Ancient scholarship was already looking for the Boiotian Arne (cp. Schol. D *ad* Il. 2.507/Z^s Ἄρνη). This passage says that since it was not possible to locate a centre with this name in Boiotia at the time of the Trojan War, some identified it with Ἄσκη.

296 The sources are more interested in the Thessalian site than in the southern one, which only occurs, elsewhere, in a fragment from the *Catalogue of Women* F 218 M. – W. (with Larson 2007: 40–4).

297 See, on this figure, Tümpel 1897; Schachter 1997; Kühr 2006: 263 n.9; Larson 2007: 18–22; Kühr 2014a: 236–7.

Women (F 219 M. – W.), Boiotos is indirectly associated with Poseidon, since Onchestos, Boiotos' son,²⁹⁸ establishes a cult for Poseidon on a Boiotian site, later named Onchestos after him. More significantly, in Korinna's *Boiotos*, Boiotos was explicitly named Poseidon's son (F 6 P.).²⁹⁹ In any case, there were many variants on Boiotos' parents and children³⁰⁰ and he is not always associated with other foundation myths of Boiotian cities: in a fragmentary tragedy by Euripides, the *Melanippe Desmotis*,³⁰¹ and in a tradition collected by Diodorus (4.67), Boiotos was associated with the city of Metapontum. It could be that this was a consequence of Boiotian interests in this region, but a clear explanation is still far from being reached.³⁰² It seems that the Italian setting was not an echo of the Boiotian participation in Achaean colonization.³⁰³ More probably, Metapontum was mainly the fruit of Euripides' reception of a local, Italian tradition, because in this period Metapontum was trying to stress its Aiolian past against Taras' Doric ties.³⁰⁴

The epic poet Asius and Euripides, in his tragedies *Melanippe Sophe*³⁰⁵ and *Melanippe Desmotis*, identified Boiotos' mother as Melanippe, a representative of Aiolos' family.³⁰⁶ In contrast, among the τινες who reported the parents as Poseidon and Arne, were

298 Cp. Schol. D Il. 2.506/Z' Ὀγχεστόν.

299 Page 1953: 45; cp. Berman 2010 and Olivieri 2010-1: 87.

300 For an introduction to these variations, see Tümpel 1897, s.v. *Boiotus* 3. If it is undeniable that by the end of the fifth century BCE, Poseidon's fatherhood reached a "traditional" status (Pownall 2016 ad BNJ 4 F 51), it is less clear how much of a "canonical version" (*ibid.*) of his genealogy may exist in the first century BCE, as his motherhood was particularly subject to variations.

301 *TrGF* 489-96.

302 Schachter 1997, on the Boiotian interests. Useful observations on the relationships between Boiotia and this town in Mele 1998.

303 Boiotian participation in colonization was posited by Pais (1894: 542-3), but Bérard (1957: 332) remarked the absence of clear indications on Boiotian and/or Theban involvement. A possible hint might be the attestation of a *Thebae Lucanae* (Cato F 54 Cornell), albeit even later mentions of this toponym do not confirm its identification with Metapontum or a specific Italian centre (Steph. Byz. θ 40, s.v. Θήβη, with Cornell 2013 III: 103; Musti 1988a: 139; Castiglioni – Pouzadoux 2014: 15 and n.26).

304 See Castiglioni – Pouzadoux 2014 for a recent discussion on the Italian implications of the myth of Melanippe and Boiotos. The same discourse would also be detectable in a debated fragment by Antiochos of Syracuse (BNJ 555 F 12), who is actually contrasting Euripides. See helpful considerations in Nafissi 1997 and Corcella 2007 on Antiochos' fragment quoted above.

305 Asius, F 2 West, *GEF*; Euripides, *TrGF* 480-8.

306 Cp. Larson 2007: 21 and Breglia 2011: 294.

Nikocrates, who wrote local history at the end of the third century BCE,³⁰⁷ the poet Euphoriion of Chalkis (second century BCE),³⁰⁸ and Diodorus.³⁰⁹ If we consider the kinship ties of Melanippe and Arne with relevant characters of Aiolos' family tree,³¹⁰ it is remarkable that Hesiod was the first author to possibly see Arne as Boiotos' mother,³¹¹ but this does not grant more probability to the idea that this kinship may *also* be present in Hellanikos.

The most puzzling aspect of the etymology that linked Boiotia and Boiotos, is the underlying message that he was *Arne's* child: this is a genealogy that recalls the Thessalian past of the Boiotians. The parentage sums up, therefore, a paternal side, with Poseidon, purely *Boiotian* for his local connections, and a maternal side, with Arne, clearly *Thessalian*. Now, two contexts can be imagined to explain the emphasis on this interconnection, either the Thessalian expansionism of the middle sixth century, or the years of the Theban hegemony. The ambivalence of Arne does not grant any clear answer.

The overture of the scholium is therefore an insight into Homeric scholarship, inspired by the ancient problem of the domination of Boiotia. The two contraposed theses on Boiotos and on the cow, may have different origins and, especially for the second one, it is highly likely that it was already common knowledge in the Classical period.³¹² Nonetheless,

307 *BNJ* 376 F 5 = Steph. Byz. β 116, *s.v.* Βοιωτία. Billerbeck (2006: 357 n.105) accepted Jacoby's conjecture (Jacoby 1955a: 156) of Νικοκράτης of the manuscripts **QPN** against the variant Νικόστρατος on the Rehdigeranus 47, preferred by Meineke.

308 F 96.2 Powell, *Coll. Alex.* According to van Groningen (1977: 168 n.1), the relationship between Arne and Boiotos may imply that Arne wanted to be seen as the most ancient centre of Boiotia, but there are no certain indications of this Boiotian centre.

309 Diod. Sic. 4.67.2. Compare the important scholium B *ad Il.* 2.494, 137 Dind.: Ἄρνης τῆς Αἰόλου καὶ Ποσειδῶνος Βοιωτός, ἀφ' οὗ ἡ Βοιωτία κτλ. This class of scholia can only be read in Dindorf's edition (Dindorf 1877) and offers an interesting witness of how information not immediately pertinent to the context of the commented verse may only be connected in a second moment (Arne only occurs later on: Hom. *Il.* 2.507). The text goes on to offer a genealogy of the Boiotian leaders mentioned at vv. 494–5. The attention of the scholiasts behind the D scholium, instead, is on the etymology.

310 Larson 2000: 206. Arne is often considered a direct daughter to Aiolos (Diod. Sic. 4.67.3–6; Paus. 9.40.5), and, if Hellanikos mentioned this genealogy, it could be that he was maintaining the "Aiolid identity" of Boiotos (Pownall 2016 *ad BNJ* 4 F 51).

311 Schachter 2011c *ad BNJ* 376 F 5.

312 Etymology was a frequent tool among the mythographers and, more generally, among Herodotus' and Thucydides' contemporaries. Hellanikos was particularly fond of this system (Fowler 1996: 72–3; Fowler 2013: 687). Pownall (2016 *ad*

neither one is more likely than the other to have been used by Hellanikos. This section must hence be seen as a learned step in the reflection of the scholars on this vexed issue of the *Catalogue of Ships* and, more generally, on Boiotian archaeology. It provides us with two explanations on Boiotian ethnogenesis that tackle the same problem from different points of view: Hellanikos certainly dealt with it, but it is not certain that he adhered to either of these two theories.

Εὐρώπης [...] τῆς Φοίνικος θυγατρὸς: This Europa is the girl kidnapped by Zeus, a different character from the namesakes of other myths.³¹³ The narrative of her rape and of her father's appeal to Kadmos to look for her, constitutes a prelude to the *historia* and not the scholiast's autonomous output. Consequently, from this point on, particular attention must be paid to see if the overall similarity with the text of the *Library* does not inhibit us from recognizing relevant divergences.

In Apollodoros (3.2), Agenor has four children: Europa, Kadmos, Phoenix, and Kylix; however, the author also reports another tradition where Europa is the daughter of Phoenix. Nevertheless, in the narrative strand followed by Apollodoros, this second option (Phoenix>Europa) is not considered: Phoenix will give his own name to a region, Phoenicia, just like the other brothers who travelled to look for the sister (4). In the scholium, instead, Europa is described *only* as the daughter of Phoenix. This could be due to the synthetical style of the scholastic tradition, or it could also be related to the fact that the chosen variation is the first one attested in literature, specifically in the *Iliad*.³¹⁴ Since in another D scholium (*ad.* 14.321), the Homeric version of Phoenix as Europa's father is contrasted with the other one on Agenor,³¹⁵ it is possible that the scholium *ad Il.* 2.454

BNJ 4 F 51) finds it unlikely that this etymology derives from Hellanikos, because she supports genealogy as a Hellenic rationalization.

313 Still, prudence is always necessary, as Bühler 1968: 7 and Olshausen – Harder 1998 remind us. In the course of time, a conflation of the different data on the single Europas was inescapable: for example, a scholium on the *Timaeus* (24e) enumerates, among the different Europa fathers, Agenor, Phoenix, and Tytius, who was linked to another Europa in Boiotia, to be distinguished from our heroine in the scholium (Hom. *Od.* 7.324; Pind. *Pyth.* 4.46).

314 Hom. 14.321: Φοίνικος κούρης τηλεκλειτοῖο. Cp. Vian 1963: 25; Bühler 1968: 9; West 1985: 83.

315 There is no internal coherence in the *corpus* of the D scholia (Lünstedt 1961: 29 n.2), partially because of the different underlying sources of this corpus.

focused on this fatherhood not only for the sake of brevity, but also to respect the Homeric text.

After brevity and the weight of the Homeric tradition, moreover, we must take into account that the specific genealogy, reported as less diffused by Apollodorus, also serves to explain, in the scholium, the matching of the kidnapping of Europa and the foundation myth of Thebes by Kadmos. Only Herodotus, before the first century BCE, describes Europa as the daughter of Agenor (like Apollodoros).³¹⁶ While, however, the scholium may seem to prefer the older genealogy of Europa where she is the daughter of Phoenix, the idea that Kadmos is also the son of Phoenix is not as old; in fact, this genealogy of Kadmos only occurs in later and erudite sources.³¹⁷ At the end of the fifth century BCE, Kadmos was often considered Agenor's child,³¹⁸ whereas Europa was described as the daughter of Phoenix.³¹⁹ This picture must be kept in mind, as the presentation of Europa provided in the scholium does not conflict with the possible antiquity of this tradition:³²⁰ using a more recently affirmed tradition on Kadmos' genealogy is useful to directly link his involvement in the quest of Europa with his final landing in Boiotia.

The two themes (the quest for Europa and the foundation of Thebes) were not originally associated: the oldest literary witnesses to the myth of Europa³²¹ focus more on her kidnapping and do not directly associate her story with the myth of Kadmos.³²² This reciprocal independence might explain the incompatibility of the genealogies of Europa and Kadmos that prevailed until the end of the fifth century. Before Herodotus and

316 See Bühler 1968: 8 and Tiverios 1990: 863 on Hdt. 4.147.4 and *infra* in text.

317 Cp. West 1985: 83; the sources are Conon *BNJ* 26 F 1, XXXII and XXXVII; Schol. Ap. Rhod. 3.1177-87f. An isolated and almost certainly late tradition (Phot. *Lex.* II 658 Porson *s.v.* Ὠγύγια κακά) mentions Ogyges as Kadmos' father. This may be a late attempt from the Boiotian side to credit one of the most important figures of this region, Kadmos, with autochthony.

318 Bacch. 19.46; Pher. *BNJ* 3 21; Soph. *OT* 268; Hdt. 4.147.4; Eur. *Phrixos B' TrGF* 819.2 (Ἀγήνορος παῖς); *Phoen.* 281; *Bacch.* 171.

319 Asius F 7 West, *GEF*; Hes. FF 140 and 141.7 M. – W.; Bacch. 17.31 and F 10 S. – M.; Eur. *Cret. TrGF* 472.1 (Φοινικογενεοῦς παῖ; cp. Merro 2008: 156); Ant. F 3 Wyss.

320 See Pownall 2016 *ad BNJ* 4 F 36b.

321 Hom. *Il.* 14.321; Hes. FF 140-1 M. – W.; Asius F 7 West, *GEF*. For further sources, see Fowler 2013: 359 n.32. Olivieri (2011: 20) suggested that the Homeric version, with Europa as the daughter of Phoenix, influenced Hellanikos, but this cannot completely explain the stratification of the scholium.

322 As stated by Fowler (2013: 350), until the fifth century BCE, "[o]ne can easily imagine Kadmos without Europe – and Europe without Kadmos."

Euripides, the only indirect witnesses to a possible interweaving of the two storylines are a fragment from Stesichoros' *Europa*,³²³ on the sowing of the teeth by Kadmos, and a series of fragments by the poets Asius and Eumelos.³²⁴ It may be that Kadmos was mentioned in the *Catalogue of Women*, even though his name does not appear in the surviving excerpts: if so, Kadmos might have been Agenor's son but not necessarily the brother of Phoenix.³²⁵ All we know for certain is that the *Catalogue of Women* dealt with Europa's kidnapping: even if a mention was made of the foundation of Thebes, at this stage there was no need to combine the two stories, as in the scholium, with an overarching genealogy that explicitly connected Europa and Kadmos.³²⁶

Our scholium can be understood in this complex and fluid tradition where two branches have apparently been reunited. Here, Kadmos is explicitly Europa's brother as part of the coherent story, but until the Imperial Age, the pursuit of the cow could still be re-narrated without any reference to the girl (Paus. 9.12.1–2). Two further comparisons, one with Herodotus, who is chronologically closer to Hellanikos, and another with Apollodoros, suggest that the phraseology of the scholium reflects a particular stage of the tradition on the origins of Thebes, later merged in an intermediate source (the *MH?*).

Herodotus recalls the quest for Europa: her brothers left from Tyre³²⁷ after their father's appeal (4.147.4). From his sparse remarks, there are no explicit references to the

323 Stesichoros, F 96 Finglass. See Vian 1963: 26.

324 Asius: F 7 West, *GEF*; Eumelos: FF 26, 28 and 30 West, *GEF* Davies – Finglass (2014: 355 n.6) state that another fragment, from Eumelos' *Europa*, can be detected in F 4 (P.Herc. 1629) of Philodemos' *De Pietate* (Obbink 2011: 28).

325 Cp. West 1985: 83. It is not completely correct that, since some sources describe Kadmos as Agenor's son, and Phoenix as Agenor's and Europa's son, Kadmos can be considered Europa's uncle (Edwards 1979: 23–24). These two kinship ties (Kadmos' fatherhood; the parents of Phoenix) may be combined only in the scholium on the *Rhesus* (29), whose reading by R. Edwards (1979: 24 n.33) is not acceptable. In fact, Pfeiffer (1985: 423, on Callim. F 622) put forward a conjecture, which results in an alternative: Europa is not the daughter of Phoenix, Agenor's son (Φοίνικος τοῦ Ἀγήνορος), but either of Phoenix *or* of Agenor (Φοίνικος <ῆ> τοῦ Ἀγήνορος, with Merro 2008: 155–6; cp. Bühler 1968: 8, for a more nuanced and careful consideration of the other evidence). Moreover, the two pieces of information on Kadmos and on Phoenix do not necessarily mean to focus on Europa, so drawing consequences from two disparate sets might give a deceiving impression of a narrative on Europa.

326 Hes. FF 140–1 M. – W. Cp. Davies – Finglass 2014: 355–6, on the context of Stesichoros' *Europa*.

327 Hdt. 1.2.1 (Europa, daughter of the king of Tyre, is kidnapped); 2.44.3 (Phoenicians in Thasos looking for the girl); 4.9.3 (arrival of Kadmos and his comrades, from Tyre, to Boiotia); 4.45.4–5 (Europa comes from Tyre, but she never actually made it to Europe); 4.147.4 (Kadmos, Agenor's son, left his country to look for his sister); 5.57 (Phoenicians in Boiotia); 6.47.1 (the Phoenician Thasos gave his name to the Greek island); 7.91 (Kylis is Agenor's child).

consultation of the oracle, which inspires Kadmos to found Thebes after the pursuit of the cow and the birth of the Spartoi. Despite the absence of a separate Theban *logos* in the *Histories*, Herodotus describes the arrival of the Phoenicians and their settlement in Boiotia (5.57–8) as a peaceful occupation, close to the Ionians (58.2). If we take into account the other local inhabitants, the Gephyreans, and how these people react (57.1), we have a picture of a peaceful division of the territory. Herodotus reports, then, the original link with Europa and the arrival of Kadmos to Greece, but he does not mention the other elements that become common in the comprehensive narrations of the myth (from the kidnapping of the girl, to the wedding on the Kadmeia). Euripides' *Phoenician Women* presents the richest narration of the foundation myth of Thebes (vv. 638–75), but it also sacrifices a relevant piece of the story, i.e. the initial drive of the quest for Europa (a theme which Euripides touched, very probably, in his *Phrixos B*: *TrGF* 819).³²⁸ In conclusion, at the end of the fifth century BCE, the main knots of the story were all known and used in literary production, even though, for reasons both internal to the genres and sometimes depending on the fragmentary nature of our sources, it is impossible to find a reproduction of the myth that is as complete as it is in Apollodoros or in the scholium. This hinders our appreciation of the possible presence of an old, say “Hellanic” layer.

The essential version of the scholium, moreover, has an internal coherence that is lost through the desire for comprehensiveness in Apollodoros' *Library*. In Apollodoros, for instance, the initial quest for Europa is in vain and their desperation brings stable settlements by the many members of her family (3.4):³²⁹ Kadmos went with his mother Telephassa to Thrace. After this, the author follows other narrative options, and only later does Apollodoros add that, after Telephassa's death, Kadmos again started looking for his sister (22). The Phoenician went to Delphi to ask about her and received the well-known prophecy. The structure of the *Library* offers a useful example of the unnecessary direct relationship between the prelude of the kidnapping and the Theban appendix: the conciseness of the scholiast is not just a stylistic difference, but a different perspective and focus on the same material. Different materials and narratives are put together to better

328 V.4: ἡ δ' ἡλθ' ἀνάγκη πεδία Φοινίκης λιπῶν. Cp. Ogden 2013a: 50.

329 An alternative explanation for the otherwise obscure abandonment of the initial outset was the demand of the father: his sons must not come back before they find their sister (Hyg. *Fab.* 178; schol. Aesch. *Sept.* 486a).

show, from a local (Theban/ Boiotian) perspective, the connection between the myth of Europa and that of the foundation of Thebes.³³⁰

The inspection of the most ancient sources on Europa and Kadmos and an overall insight into Apollodoros do not indicate that the scholiast drew on Apollodoros for Europa's genealogy. It is not impossible that a relatively early stage of the tradition has been recovered. It is therefore meaningful that the version where Kadmos and Europa are the children of Phoenix and not of Agenor (as in Herodotus), is less common among the sources: we need to consider its ancient attestation, even if, in this instance, the scholium depended on the *MH*. The likely referral to the *MH* indirectly shows what a connection might have looked like at an ancient stage, with materials and narratives that were already circulating during Hellanikos' lifetime but have not otherwise been preserved.

ἐκ Σιδῶνος: The sources of the fifth century BCE are not consistent in associating Europa's cradle and Kadmos' origin with Tyre³³¹ or Sidon,³³² since both these cities probably espoused a general provenance from Phoenicia.³³³ Indirect support comes from the later sources, which preserve an all-inclusive reference to the East. We have, for example, a Kadmos ruling in Tyre *and* in Sidon, or Europa kidnapped by Zeus in a centre which is between the two.³³⁴

330 Delattre (2017) has shown that, in general, this “combination of list and narration, each expanding off the other” (193) derives from the specific readership of the *Library*: this text can be read on specific topics and did not necessarily expect from its audience “a continuous act of reading” (Pàmias 2017: 2).

331 Europa in Tyre: Hdt. 1.2.2; 4.45.4; Eur. *Hypsipyle* TrGF 752g, 21–2. Kadmos in Tyre: Hdt. 2.49 and 4.147.4; Eur. *Phoen.* 639 (with Mastronarde 2005 *ad loc.*, on the reuse of a verse from the parodos, namely v. 202, where the Phoenician Women claim to come from Tyre).

332 Eur. *Phrixos B'* TrGF 819; *Bacch.* 171 and 1025. See Bühler 1968: 9–10 and Edwards 1979: 46 n.49 for a list of the later sources on this detail.

333 Bühler 1968: 10.

334 Kingdom in Tyre and in Sidon: Euseb. *Chron.* 46 Helm. Europa in Sarepta: Lycoph. *Alex.* 1300. Bühler (1968: 10) argued that Lykophron chose Sarepta as an equally distant city from Sidon and Tyre. Nevertheless, this is topographically incorrect (Hornblower 2015: 457): it is indeed more plausible that the author of the *Alexandra* just wants to repeat a general origin from Phoenicia (Wilamowitz 1924 I: 157).

Both Tyre and Sidon tried to attach themselves with Europa and Kadmos from the late Hellenistic Age onwards.³³⁵ However, the interchangeable character of the adjectives *sidonius* and *tyrius* among the Latin poets³³⁶ makes it hard to recognize which city was more successful in communicating this link with the myth. Moreover, between the sixth and the fifth centuries BCE, the ethnic “Sidonius” was used generally by the Greeks and the Assyrians in reference to the Phoenicians,³³⁷ even though there were separate royal dynastic lists for Tyre and Sidon. This makes Bühler’s case of Tyre’s precedence over Sidon definitely less convincing. In contrast, if we focus on which city first valued this mythical kinship, we find that Sidon is first, according to an interesting series of coins from the late Hellenistic Age. Tyre apparently publicly sponsored these associations only from Elagabalus’ reign on.³³⁸

In the absence of unambiguous indications in the sources contemporary with Hellanikos and even later, the presence of Sidon cannot shed light on the date of the scholium. In any case, the omission of a version with a compromise on this detail in our scholium, is a further argument to the probable adaptation of a single source, for this part, likely in the Imperial Age (in line with Europa’s genealogy).

ὥς οὐχ εὐρήκει αὐτήν, ἦκεν εἰς Δελφούς. In the scholium, the arrival of Kadmos to Delphi is the direct consequence of the impossibility of finding his sister, whereas Apollodoros has him staying in Thrace for a period. This point is momentuous, since it constitutes, in this scholium and in all the narrations of the myth, the link between the quest for Europa and the foundation of Thebes. From Homer on,³³⁹ Thebes was “Kadmean” by means of antonomasia: even if we do not agree with the thesis by Schachter (1985) that Kadmos took his name (i.e. “was born”) from the toponym “Kadmeia”, Thebes must have quickly developed a narrative of its origins which included this character.

335 Vian 1963: 43–44; Bühler 1968: 10; Edwards 1979: 48; Tiverios 1990: 875–6 (with a specific reference to coins of the Severan Age).

336 Bühler 1968: 10; Virgil, e.g., calls Dido *Sidonia* (*Aen.* 1.446), despite the unanimous tradition on the Tyrian foundation of Carthage (on the Virgilian use of *sidonius* and *tyrius*, see Austin 1982 on *Aen.* 4.75; on Ovid, where Kadmos is a *Sidonius* over a group of *Tyrii*, cp. Hardie 1990: 228).

337 Albright 1975: 519; Boyes 2012: 38.

338 Cp. Hirt 2014.

339 Cp. e.g. Hom. *Il.* 4.385.588.391; 5.804 and 807; 10.288; *Od.* 11.276.

The mythical archaeology of Thebes is different from that of the other Greek cities because it resembles a colonization myth.³⁴⁰ Moreover, the origin of the city is a foreign hero, whose provenance is not in line with the early efforts, by Pindar, to highlight the autochthonous nature of the Spartoi, the “Earthborns”, for the city.³⁴¹ Delphi represents the complete inclusion of Theban history in the Greek world and the Apolline indication does not have the typical function of the other foundation myths, where a Greek sets off from a Greek city and has the authorisation to go elsewhere. In Thebes, a foreigner is accepted in traditional Greek heritage and, with his companions, peacefully becomes a part of it. This mixture conciliates the traditional view of the city (the relationship with Kadmos and his origins) with the possible limits deriving from the occupation of Greek soil by a foreigner.³⁴² This picture is supported by local sources and had an impact on the external investigation of the origins of the region: in Herodotus’ short remarks on the occupation of Boiotia by the Kadmeans, their arrival and their introduction of the alphabet do not represent a moment of violence or of contrast with the preexisting situation of the region (5.57–8).

The genesis of this foundation myth is probably quite early, not much later than the formation of the nucleus of traditions on the foreignness of Kadmos³⁴³ and the diffusion and perception of the role played by Delphi in the colonization movement. If we understand this tradition in a political fashion, we could then posit advantages for Thebes, which saw a balance between the infamous implications of a foreign hero and inclusion in

340 For this observation, cp. Nilsson 1932: 122–7; Vian 1963: 231; Schachter 1996: 25–6; Kühr 2006: 94 (on the Argive implications of Kadmos’ genealogy) and 115: “Durch die Befragung der Pythia wird die Gründung Thebens zur Kolonisationsgeschichte”; Olivieri 2011: 19: “L’opera di κτίσις [...] conferisce alla città di Tebe una leggenda eroica di fondazione che può essere in qualche modo considerata l’archetipo delle leggende di fondazione greche.” The closest parallels are probably Cyrene and Naxos (Berman 2004: 18 n.57). It has been argued that this “carattere ‘coloniale’” is a fake impression, because the Delphic prologue from which it derives is a later addition (Prandi 2011: 244–5); nonetheless, even if we did not have the oracle, the sacrifices of foundation would confirm the peculiar traits of this *ktisis*, by a character inherently different from the town.

341 Pind. F 29,2 S. – M. (Σπαρτιῶν ἱερὸν γένος ἀνδρῶν). Cp. Aesch. *Sept.* 412–4; Eur. *HF* 797; *Phoen.* 1006–8 and, on Pindar, Olivieri 2011 (*spec.* 38–9).

342 Kadmos is both a founder and a cultural hero, according to the studies by Brelich (1958: 172) and Nilsson (1932: 122). He is a “cultural hero lifting regional culture to a new level” (Kühr 2014a: 230).

343 Kadmos’ genealogy, in fact, dates back to the Argive Io, but this link does not make his arrival to Greece a “ritorno nelle terre di origine” (Brillante 2001: 256). It should be remembered that the myths around him always stress his foreign character when he lands in Greece.

Greek culture. This interpretation also implies that we should not consider the entire Delphian prelude and other internal parts of this foundation myth in direct antithesis with Delphi:³⁴⁴ this foundation tale can be read from within, in an emic perspective, rather than in political contraposition. It has been observed that, in local (and not local) histories, “stories of origin were always far too important to remain wholly loyal to original happenings.”³⁴⁵

Modern scholarship has often emphasized the value of certain texts, such as the so-called “Pythian Suite” (the second part of the homeric *Hymn to Apollo*), where Apollo, on his way to found the Pythian oracle, crosses Theban territory and finds it uncultivated and deserted (*Hom. Hymn. Ap.* 225–8). This observation is considered a literary answer by Delphi to Thebes, since it stresses the chronological precedence of Delphi (Thebes is uncultivated when the Delphian oracle is founded by Apollo).³⁴⁶ Nevertheless, we should recognize that “l’influsso di una prospettiva di matrice delfica” can coexist with the view that Delphi was not inventing, or adding a prelude to the narrative, since (likely in the same years) we have indirect evidence that both foundation myths of Thebes coexisted at an early age. In fact, the *Catalogue of Women* in the *Odyssey* introduces the founding twins Amphion and Zethos as πρώτοι (11.260–5), *the first founders*, probably as a result of an awareness of the myth of Kadmos.³⁴⁷ Their status can thus be understood only if the poet has in mind another version or another character, which allows and justifies their being “the first” to settle in Thebes.

From a local perspective, furthermore, we should consider that the oracular sites of Thebes were considered as relatively recent, from the outside, whereas their history goes back to the Mycenaen period.³⁴⁸ In particular, the sanctuary of Apollo Ismenios in Thebes offers traces of cultic activity from the Geometric period. It also underwent, with significant investment, a change in the late sixth century BCE. Its oracles were particularly important for the local community of Thebes, as a reinscription of the fourth century BCE of a late-

344 *Contra* Berlinzoni 2004: 16.

345 Thomas 2014a.

346 See e.g. Sordi 1966 and Prandi 2011: 242–4; cp. Vian’s caution: Vian 1963: 83.

347 Quote from Prandi 2011: 243. See the useful observations on *Hom. Od.* 11.260–5 in Prandi 2011: 243–4.

348 Cp. on this perspective Bonnechere 2003: 72.

sixth century BCE dedication proves.³⁴⁹ I wonder whether the importance of Apollo as an oracular numen of this sanctuary did not have an impact on the acceptance of an oracle by the same god (even if from Delphi) in the central myth of Kadmos.

The exceptional character of the myth of Kadmos is marked by other factors that granted Thebes an importance hardly touched upon by these verses. Already in Homer, the conflict of the Seven precedes the Trojan War, a chronological place that assured an antiquity as Panhellenic as Homer.³⁵⁰ Kadmos' "caractère préapollinien" might then explain the typical nature of the founding narrative that soon emerged, probably between the end of the seventh and the beginning of the sixth century BCE, in the probable context of the Theban *epos*.³⁵¹ Recent research on Greek colonization, moreover, tends to exclude a constant and direct influence of the Delphic sanctuary on the process. Instead, priority is put on the local traditions of the colonies (even in the Greek West)³⁵², even though there are other examples of the motif of the oracle being consulted for one reason but ending in the invitation to found a new site.³⁵³ This switch from the initial quest for Europa to a foundation myth may be a more recent adaptation (in the fifth century BCE) to conciliate the traditions of Kadmos and Europa with the foundation of Thebes. This impression is

349 On this sanctuary, see the overviews by Schachter 1981: 77–82 and Mackil 2012: 167–8. I refer here to the thoroughly discussed inscription of Amphiaraos, published by Papazarkadas 2014b and the object of a number of studies in recent years (see e.g. Porciani 2016; Thonemann 2016; Tentori Montalto 2017). This inscription has been properly investigated both for its fascinating connection with Herodotus, who probably saw the original Boiotian text (1.52), and for the text itself. It remains to be underlined, as Thonemann 2016 partially does, what the consequences were in Thebes of the choice of the *thespistai* to rededicate the votive gifts at the end of the sixth century BCE and two centuries after (even if the exact dating of the rewriting in the fourth century is unclear). L. 7 of the text defines Croesus' memorial α [Θε]βαίοισι δὲ θάμβος; the sanctuary probably also acted as a place where Theban collective memory was influenced and directed by the personnel, who might have been able to endorse specific versions of the Theban archaeology and of the ancient role of Apollo in the history of the city. It cannot be ruled out that the connection between Apollo and Delphi only occurred at a later stage, to explain why the Thebans had this memory of a Kadmos following Apollo's oracle.

350 Cp. Kühr 2006: 116 n.171.

351 "C]aractère préapollinien": Vian 1963: 83. On this topic, see Fontenrose 1978: 360; Parke – Wormell 1956: 151–2; Cappelletto 2003: 356; Kühr 2006: 115 n.165.

352 Among the overwhelming scholarship, see a concise summary of the issue in Mari 2014: 114 and n.52 for previous studies.

353 This is the case for Cyrene, Gela, and Croton (P. – W. 37–40, 43, 71 and 410; Vian 1963: 77; Fowler 2013: 358–9).

strengthened by a later tradition, which may derive from earlier sources, where Kadmos directly asks the oracle where to go (no mention is made of his sister).³⁵⁴

ὁ δὲ θεὸς εἶπεν [...] Θῆβαι: Here, the text of the scholium is almost identical with the parallel section in Apollodoros (3.22).³⁵⁵ There is only the added detail of the direction in which the cow falls (ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ). Whereas the motif of the quest for Europa could only be attached relatively late, it is possible that Musaeus (*VS*⁶ 2 B 1) already quoted a longer version of the oracle given to Kadmos.³⁵⁶ The attached commentary of the scholiast might reflect Mnaseas' aetiology in his *Περὶ χρησμῶν*,³⁵⁷ or simply echo the Hellenistic debate on the Egyptian origin of Kadmos.³⁵⁸ This Egyptian provenance was supported by the toponym Thebes, attested in Greece and in Egypt. The natural outcome was a contraposition between this eastern link and the Phoenician storyline, as Pausanias recalls in a passage of his *Periegesis* (9.12.2). Here, the pursuit of the cow becomes the aetiology or the epithet *Onka* of Athena, who was honoured in the spot where Kadmos stopped.³⁵⁹

If we try to fix a textual tradition for a text, an oracle, which by its nature escapes linear stemmatics, we might recall Müller's suggestion that the *Θηβαϊκὰ παραδόξα* by Lysimachos of Alexandria (*BNJ* 382 F1a) were the principal means of knowledge on Theban oracles in subsequent periods. Nevertheless, a similar hypothesis can be applied to

354 Schol. Aesch. *Sept.* 486a–c; schol. *MTAB Eur. Phoen.* 638. Cp. Ov. *Met.* 3.9 (*quae sit tellus habitanda*), where Kadmos' father Agenor threatens him with exile, should he not find his sister.

355 The *Epitome Vaticana* of the *Library* adds a detail on the first name of Thebes (ἔνθα κτίζει πόλιν Καδμείαν), which is commonly accepted by the editors of Apollodoros. For further, smaller discrepancies, see *infra* in text.

356 [Mnaseas] F 61 Cappelletto = 374 P. – W. Musaeus is not a historical figure: Mnaseas, in the preparation of his collection of oracles, started from epic sources (Parke – Wormell 1956 I: 151–2; Fontenrose 1978: 368).

357 Schol. *MTAB Eur. Phoen.* 638. The scholium does not quote its source, which is thought to be Mnaseas by Müller, Parke, and Wormell (see *prec. n.*); Cappelletto (2003: 356–8) doubts this identification.

358 On the Egyptian origins of Kadmos, see Edwards 1979: 48–9 and Berman 2004: 13–4; 14 n.40. They both refer to Spyropoulos' thesis (1972) that the Ampheion on the north of Thebes was a pyramid built by the Egyptians who came to Greece during their Middle Kingdom Period (see on this site *infra* 3.2.1). We know that Hekataios of Abdera (*BNJ* 264 F 6) supported this view, but it is not impossible that earlier historians demonstrated or reported it (Brillante 2001: 268; Cappelletto 2003: 357–8).

359 It is also possible that this Hellenistic debate derives from the Hellenistic tendency to consider many Greek traditions of Egyptian origin. For instance, a long and complex tradition declared that Athens was an Egyptian colony; on this “atteggiamento filoegiziano” (124), see in general, with a particular focus on Athens as an Egyptian colony, Roberto 2010.

Pausanias, but not to our scholium: the slight differences with the text of Apollodoros, in fact, can also be understood with the use of a copy of another *recensio* of the *Library* (if not, less likely, through the intervention of the scholiasts). This other *recensio* has been judged “better” than the version of the *Library* we read today, but such a judgment is both unfair and scientifically unsound. All we can reasonably infer is a different language texture and, possibly, the presence of more details.

Πελάγονος: The genitive form of -ονος is unanimously transmitted by the codices of the D Scholia, whereas the other sources on this name present the longer form *Πελάγοντος*.³⁶⁰ We do not know much about Pelagon: his father, Amphidamas, is only mentioned by Mnaseas.³⁶¹ Vian (1963: 92) evocatively interpreted this Pelagon as a symbol of Kadmos’ peaceful settlement: this irenic trait is best shown by the delivery or the purchase of cattle: the symbol of the acquisition of the territory.

Pelagon might coincide with the namesake child of Asopos, who is mentioned elsewhere by Apollodoros (3.156). In this case, two variants are transmitted for his name, *Πελάσγοντα* and *Πελάγοντα*, with the first one possibly hinting at an etymological relationship with the Pelasgians (Vian *loc. cit.*). This name may carry a historical hypotext³⁶² (Kadmos, new inhabitant, occupies the place of the previous Pelasgian culture); however, the identity of the shepherd and Asopos’ child is far from being certain, and is definitely less firm than the setting of the meeting with Kadmos in Phokis, the first region crossed by the Phoenician hero.³⁶³ The name can be a typically Phokian ethnic.³⁶⁴ From a geographical point of view, it seems natural to imagine Kadmos and the cow crossing the entire region (a 10: *διεξοῦσα πᾶσαν κτλ.*), before arriving to Thebes, immediately north of the Asopos river.

³⁶⁰ [Mnas.] F 61 Cappelletto; Apollod. 3.22; Paus. 9.12.1.

³⁶¹ Cappelletto 2003: 357 n.1363.

³⁶² Fontenrose (1959: 315) suggested an etymological link with *πέλαγος*, but this is not completely convincing. Hellanikos (*BNJ* 4 F 4) agreed to this use of the Pelasgians as a blanket term for the pre-Greek, autochthonous population of Greece.

³⁶³ Kallisthenes of Olynthos (*BNJ* 124 F 1; cp. Prandi 1985: 66–8) mentions the kidnapping of the daughter of a Phokian king, Pelagon (=LGPN IIIb s.v. 1). Jacoby (1930: 416) also thought that there might be an association between the cowherd who helps Kadmos and Phokian onomastics. On Kallisthenes, see generally Prandi 1985 and *infra* in 5.1.3.

³⁶⁴ Prandi 1985: 67.

The form Πελάγονος is one of the nine differences from Apollodoros signalled by Vian (1963: 21-2). The parallel with Pausanias (9.12.1) corroborates his idea that the form in -οντος is due to following the oracular tradition,³⁶⁵ where the genitive has to form a sequence -u. Hence, the slight divergence of the language of the scholium confirms a degree of independent choice by the scholiast that invites particular caution before asserting an assumed passive stance to him.

κατόπιν. This form is significantly different from the adverb κατόπισθεν found in Apollodoros (3.22).³⁶⁶ Apollodoros reports, then, a variation which is more frequent in poetry;³⁶⁷ κατόπιν, on the other hand, only occurs in poetry in Aristophanes,³⁶⁸ but appears frequently in Polybius³⁶⁹ and in Imperial prose. As for the other variations of the oracular text, the adverb could either be a sign of another *recensio* of Apollodoros, or an autonomous modification by the scholiast, who may have read a text not dissimilar from the oracle transmitted by Mnasiyas (F 61 Cappelletto).

Apollodoros and his predecessors were more influenced by the poetical language of the oracle, even when they offered a mere paraphrasis. The scholiast belongs, instead, to a stage of the tradition more prone to accepting contemporary innovations and uses. It might be more than a mere accident that, if there are no relevant parallels for Πελάγονος, the adverb κατόπιν is quite recurrent in scientific Imperial prose and, in general, from the first century CE on.

ὀκνήσασα ἀνεκλίθη: It has been suggested to correct this form to ὀκλάσασα, since this second verb is also in Pausanias (9.12.2).³⁷⁰ The lesson of the D scholia must instead be accepted, since the meaning of ὀκνέω, “to shrink, to hesitate, to hang back” (*LSJ s.v.* II), better fits the context than ὀκλάζω, “to crouch down” (*LSJ s.v.* I1). The movement of the

³⁶⁵ Vian 1963: 23 n.3.

³⁶⁶ κατόπισθεν has a more markedly poetic colour. “Poétique”: Vian 1963: 23 n.3.

³⁶⁷ Hom. *Il.* 23.505; *Od.* 22.40.

³⁶⁸ Ar. *Eq.* 625; *Av.* 1150. 1497; *Plut.* 13.757.1094.1209; F 493,1 K. – A.; cp. Philem. F 124,2 K. – A.

³⁶⁹ 1. (24; 26-7; 33; 46; 50-1; 76); 2 (25; 27; 30; 32-3; 66-7); 3 (19; 65; 68; 74; 82-3; 90; 93; 104); 4 (12; 71; 78) 5.40 and 82; 6 (29; 31; 33; 40; 55); 7.16; 8.18 and 20; 9.7; 12.4 and 18; 14.8; 15.11 and 13-4; 16 (18; 23; 37); 18 (26; 29; 35); 30.25.

³⁷⁰ Vian 1963: 88 n.4.

animal should be autonomous and spontaneous,³⁷¹ and this idea must be combined with the act of ἀνακλίνω, “to lean back, to recline” (*LSJ* s.v. I1). Traditionally, the cow falls down, fatigued (καμουῖσα), on the spot where Kadmos must stop; when, as in Pausanias, the verb used is ὀκλάζω, the act of falling is referred to without a preverb (ἐκλίθη).

βουλόμενος δὲ Ἀθήναι τὴν βοῦν καταθῦσαι: It is impossible to say whether and how Hellanikos introduced this dedication. In Apollodoros and in the scholium, the god associated with it, Athena, is chosen as the typical mistress of snakes, since in this aspect she is frequently matched with anguiform figures and helps the heroes in their battles against monstrous wardens.³⁷² Jacoby (1923a: 431) used the current *BNJ* 4 F 1a of Hellanikos, where Kadmos sows the teeth of the dragon κατὰ Ἄρεος βούλησιν (“in accordance with the advice of Ares”), to show how the absence of a fight among the Spartoi in the scholium implies Ares’ closeness and benevolence to Kadmos for the duration of the story in Hellanikos.

The later moment of the sowing, however, must not be confused with this initial sacrifice, which is directly associated with the foundation act and must be read in the spirit of other colonization stories. The sacrifice of the cow represents a sacred premise to the entire myth:³⁷³ it could even be argued that the epithet γηγενής (“earthborn”) for the dragon³⁷⁴ implies an original sacrifice to Gea, later substituted with Athena.³⁷⁵ This specific reading might depend too much on Euripides’ representation of the myth, since in this playwright the ransom motif is explicit (*Phoen.* 937–8: χθών δ’ ἀντὶ καρποῦ καρπὸν ἀντὶ θ’ αἵματος

371 Cp. Schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 638: οὗ ἂν αὐτόματος πέση κτίξειν πόλιν, “founding the city where it [the cow] would fall of its own accord” (tr. S. Tufano).

372 On this aspect, see Ogden 2013a: 195–8; Ogden 2013b: xxii.

373 Kühr 2006: 107.

374 See Vian 1963: 106–7. Eur. *Phoen.* 931–5. The scholium MTA on v.934 suggests a relationship between the genealogy, where the dragon is Gea’s and Ares’ child, and the later birth of the Spartoi, since these literally “Earthborns” (i.e. γηγενεῖς in the first meaning of the adjective; cp. Gourmelen 2005: 24–8), are described in the following way: ῥητέον ὅτι ἡ Γῆ ἀνέδωκε τοὺς Σπαρτοὺς πρὸς τὸ ἐκδικῆσαι τὸν φόνον τοῦ δράκοντος, “it should be added that the Earth begot the Spartoi, to avenge the killing of the dragon” (tr. S. Tufano).

375 Cp. Gourmelen 2005: 384.

αἶμα, “the land [receives] fruit against fruit, blood for blood”). A later tradition,³⁷⁶ and the rest of the narrative of our scholium,³⁷⁷ make the reconstruction of an original stage of the myth slippery, on the sole basis of the foundation sacrifice; more generally, we are now cautious when speaking about the original nature of a myth, and the reflections on the disparate genealogies of Kadmos and Europa show how different variations may coexist from ancient times.

Therefore, it is likely that the scholium, particularly close here to Apollodoros, reflects a stage of the tradition where the oecistic character of Kadmos’ arrival³⁷⁸ was further implemented through the explicit mention of Athena. This detail probably owes more to the external reading of the myth in Athens than to a local (Theban) origin of the motif. This seems to point to the conspicuous iconographic vase production in the second half of the fifth century BCE.³⁷⁹ The absence of Athena in Hellanikos’ *BNJ* 4 F 1a does not imply a complete absence of the goddess in the entire myth, since she is pivotal as the dedicatee in the foundation. We have no positive evidence, in fact, to argue that in Hellanikos, “the role of Athena as helpmate is conspicuously absent” (Pownall 2016 *ad BNJ* 4 F 51). The existing material simply focuses on different moments of the story and, in its current version, the identity between Apollodoros and the scholium does not allow us to say anything specific about how Hellanikos saw the connection between Kadmos and Athena.

πέμπει τινὰς τῶν μεθ’ αὐτοῦ ληψομένους: The dispatch of the companions is a detail of the narrative that entered the myth only from the third century BCE on.³⁸⁰ All the literary and iconographic sources in our possession for the sixth and fifth centuries BCE depict

376 The dragon is sometimes presented as Ares’ offspring: Ov. *Met.* 3.32; Hyg. *Fab.* 178; schol. *MTA Eur. Phoen.* 638. Derkylos (*BNJ* 305 F 6) and Palaephatos (3) add to this genealogy the personification of the dragon. It was a Theban, Drakon, who firstly fought against the invader, but was then defeated in battle.

377 Here Ares punishes Kadmos for killing the monster.

378 As the scholiast on v. 662 of the *Phoenician Women* comments, ἐβούλετο γὰρ θῆσαι τοῖς θεοῖς, ὅτι σύμβολον αὐτῶ αὐτόθι γέγονε τοῦ κτίσαι τὴν πόλιν (see Vian 1968: 60 on Kadmos’ “activité [...] essentiellement religieuse”).

379 Cp. Tiverios 1990: 875 for this motif in Athens. Robertson (1996: 423–7) argued that the presence of the goddess during this myth is an *aition* for the cult of Athena Onca, confirmed by the literary sources (mainly Paus. 9.12.2; cp. also Soph. *OT* 20; Eur. *Phoen.* 1372–3; schol. *MTAB Eur. Phoen.* 1062; schol. Aesch. *Sept.* 486a). Still, the precise place of the *agalma* and of the temple on the Kadmeia remains doubtful (cp. Berman 2007: 100–1). It might be dangerous to read the entire foundation myth from Pausanias’ passage, because the real focus of the narrative is on Thebes and on Kadmos.

380 Cp. Gourmelen 2005: 381 and Kühr 2006: 106 and n.125.

Kadmos *alone* as he collects water for the sacrifice (see, for example, Pherekydes' *BNJ* 3 F 88: ἐπὶ χέρνιβας μολῶν Κάδμος). The artistic representations only focus on Kadmos' comradry in those areas, such as the Etruscan world,³⁸¹ where these companions were claimed to have founded new towns. It is then likely that their presence was fostered by the necessity to imagine a group of colonizers that would not completely isolate the single oecist.

χέρνιβα: The scholium has a more specific word here than the *Library*, which uses the less marked substantive ὕδωρ. The noun χέρνιψ is already in Homer and is particularly recurrent in poetry,³⁸² in tragedy, and, less often, in comedy (*LSJ* s.v.1). It indicates water used for the ablution of the hands before a sacrifice, as the etymology confirms (χεῖρ and νίζω, “to cleanse”). It is likelier that the scholiast drew on a more sophisticated version of Apollodoros, even though the Homeric nuance should not be ruled out. This variant confirms the general impression, with the previous penchant for the Homeric genealogy of Europa, that the scholiast was particularly careful when he used his sources, and that different linguistic features might betray a different status of the text of the *Library*.

Ἀρητιάδος: This form with the dental extension –τιαδ– is a variation, as Apollodoros (3.22) has Ἀρείας, probably more than a mere “forme poétique” (Vian 1963: 23 n.1). The dental extension, in fact, strengthens the association of the spring with Ares, whose theonym is documented on Knidos with a dental inflection (Ἄρης, -τος).³⁸³ Contrarily, the adjective ἄρειος does not always refer to Ares, since it can be used as an epicleris for other gods too, such as Zeus³⁸⁴ and Athena.³⁸⁵

381 Tiverios 1990: 887.

382 See Vian 1963: 23.

383 Cp. Eust. *ad Il.* 5.31, p. 2.15.20–4 van der Valk. Eustathius quotes Herodian and explains the form for metrical reasons (the necessity of a further syllable, in an iambic context).

384 *IG* 5.2.343 C 7; Plut. *Pyrrh.* 5; Paus. 5.14.6.

385 *IG* 5.2.343 C 8.27 (IV sec.); *OGIS* 229,70 (= *LSmyrna* 573; 245/3 a.C.); Paus. 1.28.5; 9.4.1. Among the other gods, there was an Enyalos Areios (*IG* 5.2.343 C 9) and an Aphrodite Areia (Paus. 3.17.5).

Gallavotti (1957) associated ἄρειος with ἄρος, “profit”.³⁸⁶ The adjective possibly originally indicated the propitious character of the spring guarded by the dragon. Only later, when, as in our scholium, the idea of the dragon as the son of Ares took root, there was a re-semanticization of the adjective. This process further fostered the affirmation of variants with a dental inflection, which imply a focus on the relationship between the dragon and Ares.³⁸⁷ An indirect confirmation comes from a lesson from a fragment of the local historian Lykos (BNJ 380 F 5): here, Kadmos defeats τὸν τὴν Ἀρείαν κρήνην τηροῦντα δράκοντα; the scholium of the class ACMT on *Phoen.* 659 further proves our line of argument: λέγει δὲ περὶ τῆς Ἀρείας οὕτω καλουμένης πηγῆς.

Contrarily, the adjective ἄρητιάς always implies a reference to Ares.³⁸⁸ There was also an island, not far from Pharnakeia (on the southern coast of the Black Sea),³⁸⁹ whose name Aretias was sometimes associated with Ares, to the point that Timagetos (*JCV* 1050 F 4), a geographer who lived before Apollonius Rhodius, called it Ἄρεως νῆσος, “the Island of Ares”.³⁹⁰ Apollonius Rhodius (3.1180) is the first source to define “Aretiad” as the spring of the dragon defeated by Kadmos. It is not impossible that the language of the scholium, neither “Hellanic” nor poetic here, is due to the later origin of the source used here. This could either be, more probably, a different version of Apollodoros’ *Library* or, less likely, the medium of the *MH*.

386 Cp. Aesch. *Supp.* 884 and Maddoli 2007, on the epithet when it is applied to Zeus (Paus. 5.14.6).

387 A probable result of this process is the isolated position reported by the scholium on v. 105 of the *Seven Against Thebes*, which mentions a cult of Ares in Thebes, otherwise unknown (Schachter 1981: 91: “His connection with the town may have been early, but hard evidence of actual worship is not to hand”; cp. Vian 1968: 55). This attestation might be a sort of autoschediasm, conditioned by the tragic context (Hutchinson 1985 *ad loc.*). It is therefore hard to agree with Vian (1963: 108) and Kühn (2006: 108–9) that there are more reasons to affirm etymologically a possible original meaning of “Quelle der Krieger” (Kühn *ibid.*).

388 Cp. e.g. Hes. [*Sc.*] 57; *Cat.* F 150,32 M. – W.; Ap. Rhod. 2.966.1031. The only exception is a passage in the *Odyssey* (16.395 = 18.413), where Nisus is Ἀρητιάς since he is Aretias’ son. The context of the scholium confirms the reference of the adjective to Ares; a possible link with other figures does not seem, therefore, necessary, especially if they are absent from the rest of the tradition (see, e.g., Berman 2013: 41: “The spring of Aretias”).

389 On this identification, see Counillon 2004: 108–10.

390 The other sources are quoted by Meyer 2013 in the commentary on Timagetos (*JVC* 2050 F 4). Among these, we cannot count the passages in the anonymous *Periplus Ponti Euxini* (*FGrHist* 2037 F 36), which has been transmitted under Arrian’s name. The form Ἀρητιάδα is Müller’s conjecture, but it should remain ἄρητιάδα. The conjecture Ἀρείας, suggested by Snell and Maehler in Pind. *Nem.* 9.41, is doubtful and has not been unanimously accepted.

ὅν Ἀρεὼς ἔλεγον εἶναι: Both the scholium and Apollodoros agree on this point, without explicitly supporting it. Their knowledge of this hypothesis can nevertheless shed light on the narrative, since Kadmos' slavery is an office ἀντὶ τῆς ἀναιρέσεως τοῦ δράκοντος, “for his killing of the dragon”.³⁹¹ Only the *Library* and a fragment by Lykos (*BNJ* 380 F 5), a local historian of the Hellenistic age, report this same version, where the slavery becomes the expiation for the killing of the dragon, be this Ares' son or somehow otherwise connected to the god.

In his commentary on Lykos' *BNJ* 380 F 5, Schachter (2011b) suggests that this later author reported an ancient development of the myth. The detail on this fatherhood is not completely in line with the later wedding party on the Kadmeia (incoherently preceded by this expiation).³⁹² Moreover, it cannot be reconciled with one of the few sure details of Hellanikos' narrative, i.e. that Ares ordered Kadmos to sow the teeth of the dragon.³⁹³

This last piece of information from Hellanikos must be considered here, since it is indirectly pertinent to the fatherhood of the dragon. In a passage from Euripides' *Herakles* (252–3), Ares personally sows the teeth of the dragon. On the basis of this passage and of Hellanikos' fragment, Wilamowitz and Jacoby inferred that in a version of the myth Ares was a close, if not utter supporter, of Kadmos.³⁹⁴ Along this line, an interesting fragment by Pherekydes (*BNJ* 3 F 22a) has Ares and Athena conjointly give the teeth of the dragon to Kadmos and Aetas, after Kadmos' settlement in Thebes. We cannot know whether in these versions Ares was the dragon's father, but this option seems less likely, since the god protected Thebes mainly as Harmonia's father (*Aesch. Sept.* 135–42) and as a rescuer of Kadmos (*ibid.* 412). In other words, when there is a collaboration between Kadmos and

391 A later version, which has been rejected by Castiglioni (2010: 18–9), considers the later metamorphosis of Kadmos and Harmonia into snakes as Ares' revenge for the death of the dragon (*Hyg. Fab.* 6; Nonnus, *Dion.* 2.671; 4.420).

392 Vian 1963: 24–5.

393 *BNJ* 4 F 1a. The emendation from Ares to Athena, therefore, as suggested by Fowler (2000: 180; 2013: 360 n.35, after Kaye 1826: 104 n.1), does not seem necessary. Despite the apparent absence of a fight among the Spartoi, the nature of the scholium and his perspective do not confirm that “no danger was envisaged” (and that Ares should be excluded).

394 Wilamowitz 1895: 65: “Allein da dem Kadmos dieser ihr [of the Spartoi] selbstmord zum heile gereicht hat, so lag es nahe, dem gotte, der den mord bewirkte, auch die aussaat zuzuschreiben.” Jacoby 1923a: 431: “Da bei H[ellanikos] Spartenkampf und damit die gefahr für Kadmos fehlt, muß Ares diesem fremd gewesen sein, wie sonst Athena (Stesich. F 15 [...].)” The fragment is our F 96 Finglass: ὁ μὲν Στρήχορος ἐν Εὐρώπῃ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἐσπαρκέναι τοὺς ὀδόντας φησὶν, “Stesichoros claims, in his *Europa*, that Athena sew the teeth” (tr. S. Tufano). Cp. nevertheless Davies – Finglass 2014: 357, for the possibility that these verses should be understood in a literal meaning.

Ares, be it in the form of Ares' presence at the moment of the sowing or in Ares' benevolence towards Kadmos, Ares is not connected with the dragon of the spring.

Vian (1963: 107–8), in an isolated version, interpreted the original association of the spring with Gea as a local reminiscence, where the dragon is Ares and Tilphossa's child.³⁹⁵ This version would also redound to a minor importance of Ares, even though his role is hardly questionable in all the variants of the foundation myth. Apollodoros and the scholiast testify to the complexity of this tradition, which could either present Ares as an antagonist and punisher of Kadmos, or as a helping figure who can not be the father of the dragon killed by the hero. Since this passage depends on Apollodoros, it shows that it was hardly reconcilable with an explicit reference, for this part of the story, to materials from Hellanikos.

τούς πλείονας τῶν πεμφθέντων διέφθειρεν. If the myth of Kadmos originally presented the hero in isolation when he arrived to Greece, later developments introduced comrades (cp. *supra*). These figures are constantly killed by the dragon: in the scholium (a 17: ἀγανακτήσας) and in Ovid³⁹⁶ their presence directly explains the subsequent action by Kadmos, who acts to avenge their deaths.

A further possibility is that the myth might follow an Indoeuropean pattern, consisting of a semantic limit:³⁹⁷ the hero can either kill the dragon with a weapon or together with a companion, but these options must be separately justified and cannot coexist (furthermore, normally all the companions are killed if the main hero uses a weapon). At the same time, it is not immediately perspicuous why only a few companions survived after the killing of the πλείονες, because in the following part of the story these other men do not play any significant part. It could be that this “window” offered a few available slots, in this Phoenician foundation, from which a noble kinship could be deduced. If part of the families drew their genealogy from the Spartoi, another part counted on this Phoenician heritage. The detail, overall, refutes the hypothesis that the initial, exclusive

395 Schol. Soph. *Ant.* 126 (Tilphossa is an Erynis).

396 Ov. *Met.* 3.58–9: *aut ultor vestrae, fidissima pectora, mortis, / aut comes ero*, “I will either revenge your death, you most trustworthy men, or reach you” (tr. S. Tufano).

397 Watkins 1995: 361.

presence of Kadmos was meant to explain the survival of the Spartoi and a total break with the past.³⁹⁸

κτείνει τὸν δράκοντα: Other sources specify the weapon used by Kadmos to kill the dragon: it can be either a stone³⁹⁹ or a knife⁴⁰⁰ in the first sources, sometimes with both objects present;⁴⁰¹ there are also instances where he wears a generally richer outfit.⁴⁰² The recapitulatory character of the scholium and of Apollodoros⁴⁰³ cannot rule out the possibility, in this case, of a scarce interest in this tradition for this detail. We know that Hellanikos reported that Kadmos killed the dragon with a rock (λίθῳ). This could either be as a sign of bravery or be in connection with the later discovery of bronze in Thebes and Kadmos' first use of this metal for weapons – even though this would assume a specific relationship between events which cannot be assessed with the current evidence.⁴⁰⁴

τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς αὐτῷ ὑποθεμένης: Athena's injunction is in line, in Apollodoros' *Library*, with her previous entrusting of part of the teeth to Jason (1.128).⁴⁰⁵ If we omit the almost obligatory mention, in a summary, of the possible fatherhood of the dragon, the story seems to ignore any role by Ares, since Kadmos has just sacrificed the cow to Athena and then sows the teeth of the monster in accordance with the advice of the goddess. Apollodoros' version is here followed by the scholiast and distinguishes itself from that of Hellanikos, where only Ares invites Kadmos to sow the teeth (*BNJ* 4 F 1a), and from that of Pherekydes (*BNJ* 3 F 22a-b), where both Ares and Athena prompt Kadmos to sow

398 Kühr 2006: 106 n.125.

399 Hell. *BNJ* 4 F 96; Eur. *Phoen.* 663–5 e 1061; Hyg. *Fab.* 178. Mastronarde (2005 *ad loc.*) argued that the use of the stone, a chthonic symbol, fits with the killing of a monster that belongs to that world. The first artistic representations of the event prefer the stone, certainly from the forties of the fifth century BCE (Tiverios 1990: 877–8).

400 Pherekydes, *BNJ* 3 F 88.

401 Nonnus, *Dion.* 4.408.

402 Ov. *Met.* 3.53–4.

403 Cp. Hyg. *Fab.* 6.

404 Hellanikos, *BNJ* 4 F 96. See Ogden 2013: 177–8 and Pownall 2016 *ad BNJ* 4 F 98.

405 Cp. Scarpi 2010: 546. Pherekydes (*BNJ* 3 F 22a) has Ares and Athena distribute half of the teeth to Aietes. It is indeed possible that, already in the fifth century BCE, the myth of Kadmos was being overlapped/intertwined with the saga of the Argonauts (Kühr 2006: 109 and n.137). This interpretation is more in line with a natural development and spreading of the storyline, than thinking that Hellanikos might have chosen “to avoid the awkward doublet of having Kadmos and Jason both fight sown men” (Pownall 2016 *ad BNJ* 4 F 1a).

them. The later mention of Pherekydes, in Apollodoros, is limited to the narration of the fights among the Spartoi (BNJ 3 F 22c), and this fact confirms the singular characteristics of the version provided in the *Library* and in the scholium.

Many sources claim that Athena invited Kadmos to sow the teeth.⁴⁰⁶ It is indeed possible that Stesichorus, in his *Europia* (F 96 Finglass), provided a similar version of the myth, with this fragment being read as an injunction to the hero by the goddess.⁴⁰⁷ If the goddess is, as Ovid says, *uiris faulx* (*Met.* 3.101) during the battle between Kadmos and the dragon, her action in Stesichorus' fragment confirms the antiquity of her interference in the episode. This core still forms an important part of the narrative conveyed by the scholium and by Apollodoros, but hardly made its way in Hellanikos, where Kadmos acts κατὰ Ἄρεως βούλησιν.

ὀργισθέντος δὲ Ἄρεως [...] θητεῦσαι: A second genitive absolute, in contrast with Athena's will: the form remarks, if necessary, the simple syntax of the scholium, whose excessive use of participles resembles the style of *hypotheses* (Pagès 2017: 77). The scholium is different from Apollodoros, because it omits the version provided by Pherekydes (BNJ 3 F 22c), according to whom Kadmos provoked the civil fight among the Spartoi by throwing a stone at them. A second omission concerns the names of the five Spartoi that survive. This second indication, in Apollodoros, still belongs to the quotation in Pherekydes,⁴⁰⁸ since we know from another fragment (BNJ 3 F 22a) that he also named the five Spartoi. Furthermore, in Apollodoros, Kadmos has to serve Ares ἀνθ' ὧν ἔκτεινεν (b 16). This clause immediately follows the list of the survivors and the quote from Pherekydes, where the

406 Eur. *Phoen.* 667; Ap. Rhod. 3.1183–7; Ov. *Met.* 3.101–5; Hyg. *Fab.* 178 (*Minerua monstrante*). See further schol. *MTAB* Eur. *Phoen.* 1062. A fragment by Sostratus (BNJ 23 F 5) adds an interesting coda to the story: after the killing of the dragon, Kadmos hit his foot on the ground, κατὰ πρόνοιαν Ἀθηνᾶς, and thereby generates a river, “Kadmos' foot”. This would be the later Ismenos (on Sostratus' genealogies and on the learned and incongruous character of Sostratus, quoted by Pseudo-Plutarch in his *De fluviis*, see Ceccarelli 2010).

407 So Vian 1963: 26. Davies – Finglass (2014: 357), on the contrary, agree with R. Kassel that we have an application of the principle known as “*qui facit per alium facit per se*”: we should then read Stesichorus' fragment as the remains of a tradition where Athena was the one who sowed the teeth.

408 Vian 1963: 23. It is certain that, already in the fifth century BCE, the names of the five Spartoi had become canonical (Morison 2011 *ad* BNJ 3 F 22a; Pownall 2016 *ad* BNJ 4 F 1a).

Spartoi engage in an internecine battle. As such, the fragment from Pherekydes becomes important to understanding why Kadmos undergoes punishment.

In this part of the scholium, we can detect a neat difference from the text of the *Library*, which derives precisely from the omission of the material of Pherekydes and may imply the use of another source. Unless further evidence to the contrary exists, the ascription to Hellanikos of part of the content must be kept, even with the intermediation of the *MH*. A probable conflation of traditions has resulted in an incoherent narrative progression. In the scholium, Ares' wrath is followed by Zeus' intermediation, an act which consists of Zeus allowing Kadmos to marry Harmonia. Before the ceremony/party, nevertheless, the same Zeus imposes on Kadmos a one-year period of slavery, to expiate his crime.

This crime, however, cannot consist of the killing of the Spartoi, which is absent in the scholium. Instead, the text refers to the nature of Kadmos' crime with a clear causal clause: ἀντὶ τῆς ἀναιρέσεως τοῦ δράκοντος (a 19–20). The *Library* presents a sequence of events, where the hero has to atone for the killing of the Spartoi, despite the fact that it is not clear how he was responsible for their death. Before the quote in Pherekydes, in fact, Apollodoros claims that, in another version, the Spartoi ἀπέκτειναν ἀλλήλους (b 12), “killed themselves”. Pherekydes too (Φερεκύδης δέ, b 13), mentioned the throwing of a stone at the Spartoi, but immediately added that the Earthborns, after being hit, believed that they were hit by their own brothers (ὑπ’ ἀλλήλων νομίζοντες βάλλεσθαι, b 14–5).

Therefore, if the only reason Kadmos had to serve Ares was because he killed the dragon, we have a line of events (killing of the dragon > birth of the Spartoi > expiation), which is partially preserved by Apollodoros. This means, however, that we have to consider the relative clause ἀνθ’ ὧν ἔκτεινεν (b 16) as a deviation⁴⁰⁹ caused by the matching of the fragment by Pherekydes. In the scholium, Kadmos' expiation is preceded by Zeus' reconciling act, which is not completely in line with the period of slavery. If we add to this that Zeus appears in Apollodoros only *after* the slavery period, we can infer that the scholium conflated two narratives. The first narrative, which we will call “Apollodorean”, has the following sequence of events:

409 If we follow the syntax, the plural necessarily refers to the Spartoi (so Scarpi 2010: 546; *contra* Carrière – Massonnie 1991: III 24,1).

- Kadmos kills the dragon, in accordance with Athena’s instruction
- birth of the Spartoi
- expiation
- wedding/reconciliation, thanks to Zeus and Athena’s offices

The second narrative can be defined “Hellanic” and it only emerges in backlight:

- killing of the dragon
- birth of the Spartoi
- Zeus’ reconciliation
- Kadmos sows the teeth, in accordance with Ares
- wedding

Vian (1963: 25) was the first to suggest that this second sequence might belong to Hellanikos’ presentation of the events: the sowing of the teeth, according to Ares’ will (*BNJ* 4 F 1a), happened after the successful reconciliation,⁴¹⁰ achieved through Zeus. This hypothesis can only be accepted if we consider the high degree of contamination of the two narratives in the scholium. This degree also explains other discrepancies, such as Harmonia’s genealogy (different from the one in Hellanikos’ *BNJ* 4 F 23)⁴¹¹ and the sowing according to *Athena’s* will (only understandable in a version where Ares is overtly hostile to Kadmos, i.e. the “Apollodorean” narrative). The text of the scholium mostly depends on a strong analogy with Apollodoros, which probably derives from the common use of the *MH*. Despite this, the *MH* probably also referred to the variations that can be traced back to Hellanikos’ *Boiotian History*. It is hard to accept that the scholiast directly read and copied our text of Apollodoros’ *Library*, because the linguistic differences highlighted so far force us to at least posit a different stage of the *Library*. The most economic explanation, therefore, is that these differences depend on the fact that both Apollodoros and the D Scholia extensively used the *MH*, by variously adapting its text (cutting, merging, modernising or changing the lexicon).

410 Ogden 2013b: 110: “The sowing of the dragon’s teeth to produce a crop of indirect children may also be seen as a form of restitution.”

411 Cp. *infra* the commentary *ad* Ἀπολλωνίου.

Ἀρμονίαν. The scholium follows the widely diffused genealogy of this figure, who is already recognized as the daughter of Ares and Aphrodite in the time of Hesiod (*Theog.* 937; 975). Apart from this parentage, there was another version, whose first extant witness is Hellanikos (*BNJ* 4 F 23). He contends that Harmonia was Elektra's (actually, in his version, Elektryon's) daughter and Dardanos and Eëtion's sister. In this variant, she was born in Samothrace and then moved to Thebes, where she would later marry Kadmos.⁴¹² In this fragment from his *Trojan History*, then, Hellanikos accepts a double innovation: not only is Harmonia, elsewhere, the daughter of Ares and Aphrodite,⁴¹³ but in other sources Zeus and Elektra, in Samothrace, beget only two children, Eëtion and Dardanos.⁴¹⁴ Other discrepancies are noticed between the picture conveyed by the present *BNJ* 4 F 23 and other fragments from Hellanikos' *Atlantis*.⁴¹⁵ A telling one is the same difference in the name of Europa's mother, since we know that in the *Atlantis* Hellanikos called her Elektra and not, as we see here, Elektryon (*BNJ* 4 FF 19a and 135).

The "Einführung der Harmonia" among Elektra's children was fostered, in Jacoby's view, by the oriental traits of the cult of the Kabyroi in Samothrace⁴¹⁶ and by the existence of the Elektran Gates in Thebes.⁴¹⁷ Since the fragment belongs to a *Trojan History*, its place in the book may be explained by the importance of the island of Samothrace in the *Iliad* (13.10–

412 According to Kühr (2006: 102–3), it is possible that this association has something to do with the characterisation of Kadmos as a travelling hero – from which many other links with this hero derive in other centres of Greece and Asia Minor. A decisive role was also played by Hellanikos' well-known penchant for etymology (Fowler 2013: 687).

413 See Thgn. 15–8; Aesch. *Sept.* 135–42; Eur. *Phoen.* 7; *Bacch.* 1332; Ov. *Met.* 3.131; Hyg. *Fab.* 179; Plut. *Pel.* 19.

414 Hom. *Il.* 20.215–20; Hes. FF 177–80 M. – W.; Str. 7 F 20b Radt; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* I 61; Conon, *BNJ* 26 F 1,37; Apollod. 3.138.

415 See Pownall 2016 *ad BNJ* 4 F 23 for a list of these discrepancies. The local perspective could justify her conclusion that "Hellanikos may have revised the elaborate genealogies he constructed in his earlier works on the basis of new information, or to suit the immediate purposes of the work he was composing." On the coexistence of variations in different works, and on the feasibility of this plurality, see Fowler 2017: 161–2.

416 Jacoby 1923a: 442. Probably through the name *Kad(s)milos*: cp. Cole 1984: 3–4; Rocchi 1989: 34; Musti 2001b: 147; Clinton 2003: 66–70 (*spec.* 68).

417 Paus. 9.8.4. The Elektran Gates are the only gates to have been identified with certainty and are located to the south-west of the Kadmeia, in the lower section of Thebes. The Elektran gates, in particular, were the principal entrance from the south (Osanna 2008: 246.252; Osanna – Moggi 2012: 269–70, with further references). The association with Elektra, Harmonia's alleged mother, is not the only one found in the sources, who also associate her to (1) an Elektra who was Kadmos' virgin sister (Paus. 9.8.4; see Zeitlin 2009: 44 n.53 on the possible relationship with Eteokles' appeal to Artemis in Aesch. *Sept.* 449–50); (2) Elektrion, Alkmene's father (schol. *MTAB* Eur. *Phoen.* 1129); (3) and an Elektra, who was Amphion's daughter (*ibid.*; on the diverse etymologies of the Theban gates, see Kühr 2006: 212 and Olivieri 2014: 42 n.6).

6). It could also be that Hellanikos chose to convey this version in order to make a connection between Kadmos and Kasmilos, the father of the Kabeiroi worshipped in Samothrace. A further point of contact is the cult of the Kabeiroi, present both in Boiotia and on the island.⁴¹⁸

The few later sources on Harmonia as Elektra and Zeus' daughter,⁴¹⁹ offer a glimpse of the local interest, in Samothrace, to nourish this mythical memory of the territory.⁴²⁰ In any case, the Samothracian variant remained isolated, as Diodorus Siculus remarks,⁴²¹ against the principal version of Harmonia as Aphrodite and Ares' child.⁴²² This second option was chosen by the scholiast(s) and owes much, here, to the "Apollodorean" and not to the "Hellanican" narrative of the myth. We may actually expect Hellanikos, assuming that he only followed one version on Harmonia, to have also considered the daughter of Elektra/-ion in his *Boetian History*: if her father was Zeus, as is most common in the sources (even though *BNJ* 3 F 23 is not explicit on this), his reconciliation act and the choice to give his own daughter to Kadmos fits Hellanikos' version. This hypothesis, nonetheless, is no more likely than the opposite option that Hellanikos accepted another genealogy, since the choice of having Kadmos marry the daughter of his previous enemy, Ares, would not collude with the version of Hellanikos.

418 See a complete list of the hypotheses on this choice in Pownall 2016 *ad BNJ* 4 F 23.

419 On Samothrace in the *Iliad*, see further Rocchi 1989: 25. Ephoros, *BNJ* 70 F 120; Ap. Rhod. 1.916; Mnaseas F 41 Cappelletto; Idomeneus from Crete *BNJ* 547 F 1; *LPriene* 69 = *BNJ* 548 F 6 (on Herodes, who sang a poem in Samothrace on Kadmos and Harmonia); Demagoras *FHG* IV 378, F 1; Diod. Sic. 5.48.2; schol. *MTAB* Eur. *Phoen.* 7 and 1129. On the northern pediment of the building known as the *hieron* (but see Clinton 2003: 61-2 on its function) of the Sanctuary of the *Megaloi Theoi* in Samothrace, there was a representation of Kadmos and Harmonia (Rocchi 1989: 36), which may be considered a form of ritual drama (Nielsen 2000: 121-3). The nuptial dance shown on the frieze of the "Hall of Choral Dances", furthermore, has been associated with their wedding. For this goddess, there were dances during the enthronement that preceded the actual initiation (Clinton 2003: 67).

420 Further details of Mnaseas' version (F 41 Cappelletto) confirm an adjustment of the tale through a local perspective (Cappelletto 2003: 292). Ephoros' version reflects a Theban perspective, to be set in the sixties of the fourth century BCE, when the sea policy of the hegemony might have stressed Kadmos' portrait as a seafarer (Breglia 2011: 302).

421 Diod. Sic. 5.48.5: τὴν ἀδελφὴν τοῦ Ἰασίωνος Ἀρμονίαν, οὐ καθάπερ Ἕλληνας μυθολογοῦσι, τὴν Ἄρεος ("[Kadmos married] Harmonia, Hyasion's sister and not, as the Greeks say, Ares' daughter").

422 The parentage Ares – Aphrodite might be original, as the first Hesiodic attestations of Harmonia (Hes. *Theog.* 933-7; 975-8) form the basis of this family tree in Boiotia from a very early date (cp. Sittig 1912: 2380,18-20).

συνώικισε: De Marco and Fowler accept συνοίκησεν from the manuscript **Z**, instead of συνώικισεν (**Q**).⁴²³ Classical literary Ionic dialect ignores the temporal augment (cp. e.g. Hdt 3.91: οἴκισα), but textual reasons suggest that we respect the language of the scholium and accept the form with the augment. In fact, this form has attestations in the literary Ionic dialect of the Imperial period (cp. Arr. *Ind.* 1.5).

The verb συνοικίζω is the only one that fits the syntax of the clause, and it cannot be substituted by the intransitive συνοικέω. The form in Hellanikos might have been συνοίκησε (so, for example, de Marco *ad loc.*), but it is self-serving to look in the scholium for signs of the literary Ionic of the fifth century BCE. The previous case of κατόπιν confirms that prudence must be taken, as the intervention of the scholiast and the use of the commentaries of the *MH* have played a decisive role.

ἐνιαυτὸν θητεῦσαι: The scholion simplifies the forms of the expiation differently from Apollodoros, insofar as the scholiast depicts the slavery as being of one year when Apollodoros calls it an αἰδίων ἐνιαυτὸν: an “eternal year”, usually eight years in this context (3.24). Despite doubts raised on the adjective αἰδίων, a generic, emphatic meaning has Archaic attestations (Hes. [Sc.] 310).⁴²⁴ This one-year slavery represents a temporary death for the hero, since it prepares him for the necessary expiation and recovery of balance with the gods.⁴²⁵ Its levelling to a “big year” of eight years equates to the period necessary for the revolutions of the sun, the moon, and the other planets to return to the same point (Cic. *Nat. D.* 51). This understanding of the expression is also confirmed by the other principal source on this detail in connection with Kadmos, the local historian Lykos (*BNJ* 380 F 5).

We miss relevant parallels, because the supposition that there might be a link with the slavery of Herakles by Admetos does not consider the detail that this other period lasted eight years *and a month* (Apollod. 2.113). At the same time, the more fitting comparison with the banishment of eight years for the perjured gods (Hes. *Theog.* 801), recently

⁴²³ On these two mss., see shortly *supra* n.268.

⁴²⁴ See Scarpi 2010: 546, against the previous conjecture by Herscher ἄρεος ὑιόν. On the *Shield of Herakles*, whose attribution to Hesiod was already doubtful for Aristophanes from Byzantium (*Hyp.* A 2), see shortly *infra* 4.9.2.

⁴²⁵ On this aspect, see Vian 1963: 114–8.

suggested by Fowler (2013: 361), does not agree completely with the heroic status of Kadmos. The mention of this specific length of time, consequently, may be part of the myth of Kadmos not touched by external influences.

ἑκάστον δῶρον: The wedding of Kadmos and Harmonia in Thebes represents both a hierogamy and a new foundation act of the city. In fact, it symbolizes the reconciliation with Ares, when the god is angry with Kadmos, since the girl is often Ares' daughter. It is also a recovery of the order broken after the killing of the dragon by Zeus (where, as it might be the case for Hellanikos, Kadmos is helped by the king of the gods; as stated above, it might even be that Harmonia is Zeus' niece). The contemporary emphasis on the symbolic etymology of Harmonia's name has relevant precedents in the Classical sources;⁴²⁶ it confirms the pivotal role of the wedding for the foundation of the new civic order associated with Kadmos.⁴²⁷

Since this union has relevance on its own, it was also portrayed and retold without connection to previous moments of the story.⁴²⁸ Pindar, for example, mentions the wedding in the list of the καλὰ ἐπιχώρια, the local Theban glories that open his first *Hymn* (F 29,6 S. – M.). In the second *Dithyramb* (F 70b,29 S. – M),⁴²⁹ the voice of Zeus that Kadmos hears marks the intervention of the god in the local representation of one of the founding Theban myths.⁴³⁰ In the second century CE, Pausanias recorded that in Thebes there were still *lieux de mémoire* associated with the couple: for instance, their bridal-chamber (9.12.3) and three *xoana* depicting Aphrodite and dedicated to Harmonia (16.3).⁴³¹

426 "Schutzgöttin des bürgerlichen Verbandes" (Kühr 2006: 114): cp. *Hom. Hymn. Ap.* 194–6; Aesch. *Supp.* 1039–42; Plut. *Pel.* 19.2 (and Georgiadou 1997: 159).

427 Schachter (1981: 40) defines this wedding party as, "an allegorical representation of the formation of the community by a fusion of its destructive and generative, or its male and female, elements."

428 The wedding party is the first subject connected to Kadmos in the figurative arts (Tiverios 1990: 881). The presence of the motif on the Throne of Amykles (Paus. 3.18.12) might actually derive from the decision of the Spartan commissioners to exploit Boiotian connections, because of the kinship between Sparta and Thebes through the Aegeids (Musti – Torelli 1997: 240).

429 The intercession of Zeus predates Hellanikos (Vian 1963: 25; Olivieri 2011: 32 and n.69).

430 Cp. Villarubia 1992: 21. On the presence of the motif in Pindar, see further *Pyth.* 3.89–95 and Olivieri 2011: 28–32.

431 On these statues, see Moggi – Osanna 2012 *ad loc.* and Brillante 2001: 273–5.

The scholium also reports two elements consistently linked with this event: first, the singing of the Muses, which is attested in the *Corpus Theognideum* (1.15–8) as a moment of metapoetic reflection to mark the appeal to the gods who previously visited the Earth on this occasion.⁴³² Secondly, the gods offered the couple nuptial gifts not explicitly mentioned by the scholium. Other sources give more details on them: among these gifts, a golden necklace was to have great importance for its inauspicious character. This object belonged to the wife of one of the figures who joined Polyneikes on his expedition against Thebes,⁴³³ and it cast a shadow on the outcome of the foreign fighters.

As we read in a fragment (*BNJ* 4 F 98), Hellanikos knew that Harmonia was given two specific gifts, a chiton and the famous necklace.⁴³⁴ The isolated traits of this tradition suggest that it could either be an invention of Hellanikos or the recovery of an ancient *Märchenmotiv*.⁴³⁵ Nothing rules out the possibility that it was reported in Hellanikos' *Boiotian History*, as Ambaglio (1980: 108) once suggested. This hypothesis is strengthened by the presence of two other isolated versions in the fragments we possess, that of the Boiotian Encheleis (F 1), and the conciliatory version of the relationship between Kadmos and Ares (*BNJ* 4 F 1a and the present fragment).

It is not impossible that Hellanikos also reported the peplum and the necklace given by Ephestus in the list of the gifts (Apollod. 3.25).⁴³⁶ Unfortunately, in our *BNJ* 4 F 98

432 Cp. Olivieri 2011: 28–9.

433 In Apollodoros (3.60–1), the necklace is given by Polyneikes to Eriphyle, Amphiaraios' wife. In Hellanikos (*BNJ* 4 F 98), Polyneikes gives it to Argea, Adrastos' daughter. This disagreement between the sources may not be reduced to a unique version and it is better to accept this variation, instead of believing, with Fowler (2013: 409), that "the scholiast is mistaken in saying Polyneikes gave both gifts to Argeia."

434 The same fragment is also often studied for its specific version on the relationship between Polyneikes and Eteokles. In terms of the success of the *συνθήκη* between Eteokles and Polyneikes, Hellanikos differed from other versions, where the initial agreement is soon broken, either as a result of not rotating power (Apollod. 3.57), or for the immediate banishment of Polyneikes (Pher. *BNJ* 3 F 96). According to Vian (1963: 150), the necklace and the chiton resemble, as symbols of wealth and fertility, the kingship granted to Eteokles, but Hellanikos has Polyneikes give them as presents to Argea soon after, a detail that breaks this balance.

435 Fairytale *topos*: Jacoby 1923a: 460.

436 Hellanikos would thus be in contrast with Pherekydes (*BNJ* 3 F 89), who claimed that Europa received the necklace from Kadmos. In Statius (*Theb.* 2.265–305), Ephestus planned revenge against Aphrodite for her cheating on him, and gave Harmonia, Aphrodite's daughter, an ill-omened present (on this version which describes the ὄρμος as a "présent malefique", see Vian 1963: 147 n.3). The other sources which connect this gift with Ephestus seem to ignore the personal vendetta (Diod. Sic. 4.66.3; Hyg. *Fab.* 148; schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 3.167a Drachmann).

Hellanikos only says that the necklace was a present from Aphrodite and the chiton from Athena. Both are singular descriptions, in line with the presence of more gods (τῶν θεῶν ἕκαστος) in our scholium.⁴³⁷ The section on the wedding, therefore, has only been subsumed in the scholium on a general basis, which can only give us an imprecise, although not unclear, depiction of the event that this historian was to give in his *Boiotian Stories*.

2.2.3. A Fragmentary Authorship

This commentary shows that the scholium presents an overlapping of two narrative tiers: the first one, “Apollodorean” for its resemblance with the text of the *Library*, offers a traditional representation of the myth of the foundation of Thebes. The second tier, which we call “Hellanic” *ex antithesi*, can only be read between the lines. Apart from these tiers, attention should be paid to the intervention of the scholiast, who probably integrated his main source (*MH*) with Apollodoros and caused disharmony between the tiers, with the result that the tale looks like a syncretic summary of the myth.

The first section, on the etymology of Βοιωτία, is inspired by an ancient lexicographical commentary on the Homeric text, since the information it provides on Boiotos and on Aonia already attracts the interest of literary sources in the Archaic and Classical periods. This material probably made its way to the D Scholia through the *Mythographus Homericus*, whose initial development in the early Imperial period explains the number of variants and relevant consonances between the scholium and the literature of this period (Ovid, Hyginus). It is suggestive that Hellanikos might have been aware of Aonia as a former name for this region, but ultimately not clearly demonstrable.⁴³⁸

The sources of the *historia* are probably, therefore, two: the *MH*, which is also the basis of those significant variants against Apollodoros, and the likely, occasional use of the *Library*. The single linguistic texture of the scholium differs from Apollodoros (cp. e.g. χέρνιψ for ὕδωρ, or ἄρητιάδος for ἀρείας), but a single explanation is not valid for all of these

⁴³⁷ The most detailed list of the gifts received by Harmonia (even though the context is different with the wedding party set in Samothrace), is in Diod. Sic. 5.49.1.

⁴³⁸ “Suggestive”: Pownall 2016 *ad BNJ* F 51.

differences. If, for example, χέρνιψ belongs to a more elevated and technical lexicon, the adverb κατόπιν in the scholium is more in tune with an Imperial and later use, in the prose, in contrast to the poetical κατόπισθεν of Apollodoros. This fluid character makes it harder to think of a different version of the text of the *Library* in front of our scholiast(s).⁴³⁹ We should acknowledge a high degree of intervention by the scholiast in this middle part, the previous part, and in the final *subscriptio*.

The final section of the scholium presents, in terms of the actual evolution of the story, a *hysteron-proteron*: the wedding is followed by the mention of slavery, as if Zeus' help did not actually succeed in granting Kadmos his acquittal. In Apollodoros, in fact, the slavery is a consequence of the crime and, just like in Lykos, it is not Zeus who wants Kadmos to serve Ares: there, the period of slavery is the necessary condition for the happy ending to occur. The “Hellanic” version is more in line, in fact, with the picture that we can detect from Pindar on, where Zeus acts like a mediator and a supporter of the wedding. The final part of the scholium, then, indirectly confirms the use of a further, mythographic source (*MH*), that explains in a clearer way why, in another version of the myth, Kadmos does not serve Ares and, most of all, why there is no hostility between the god and the hero. We owe to this *MH* the survival of another version of the story, in line with local tradition, as it was retold by Hellanikos.

The “Hellanic” vein is therefore only present in the scholiastic tradition indirectly *through the MH*. In this commentary, the subscriptions have often been proved right.⁴⁴⁰ The presence of this vein is the cause of the not-immediately-clear expression which mentions the expiation in this scholion. The syntactic unease of this passage has often been recognized,⁴⁴¹ but more attention should be paid to the reasons underlying this. What we know from other sources on Hellanikos' representation of Boiotian history and myths

439 Kenens (2013) also excludes the use of a different text of the *Library* and suggests that the Apollodoros of the *Library* read the Apollodoros who wrote the *Commentary on the Catalogue of Ships* (see *ibid.* p. 108 and in general 103–8). Even though I disagree with her view that the scholia are independent from the *Library*, I share her prudence towards the existence of an alleged “Apollodoros alter”, unknown to us. See *infra* 7.2. on the critical debate on the fragment.

440 In an essay on the Ovidian representation of Boiotian myths, Schachter (1990: 106) suggests that the poet might have used a “mythographical handbook”: through this source, Ovid took themes that were originally present in Korinna's production. If we accept this hypothesis, we gain indirect evidence of the role played by this learned production as a mediator of local historiography in the first imperial age.

441 Vian 1963: 25; Gantz 1996: II 470.

explains why ancient scholars and learned people may be interested in him: Ares' friendly attitude towards Kadmos, the absence of an internecine fight among the Spartoi, and the settlement between Eteokles and Polyneikes, are all versions which detach Hellanikos from the main trends followed in Athens and in other parts of the Greek world, when dealing with the same plot. Hellanikos' *Boiotian History* was most probably characterized by a unique version of the subjects, and it therefore shows how an external perspective could accept a local narrative around figures as important as Kadmos and Harmonia.⁴⁴²

Unfortunately, we are missing too many details to be able to give a complete overview and explanation of how Hellanikos described the archaeology of Thebes and its foundation myth, from the beginning to the end. A careful analysis of the scholium may still help us understand the reasons for the fortune of Hellanikos as a "local" historiographer: he may have been an "iconoclast" (Pownall 2016 *ad BNJ* F 51) in his *Boiotian History*, but it is certainly true, as the same F. Pownall concedes, that space must be allowed for eventual contradictions in his works on some details of the saga.

442 The scholium on Eur. *Phoen.* 71 wonders whence Euripides took inspiration for the version he provides on the Theban cycle: Hellanikos or Pherekydes? See on this von Fritz 1967 I: 483–4.

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3. Armenidas

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3.1. Armenidas F 1

Previous editions: *BNJ* 378 F 1; *EGM* I F 1; *FGrHist* 378 F 1 (Schol. Ap. Rhod. I 551a [p. 81 Wendel]).

ἔργον Ἀθηναίης Ἰτωνίδος] Ἰτωνίας Ἀθηνᾶς ἐστὶν ἱερὸν ἐν Κορωνεαίᾳ τῆς Βοιωτίας· ὁ μὲντοι Ἀπολλώνιος οὐκ ἂν λέγοι τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἐπὶ κατασκευῇ τῆς Ἀργοῦς ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Κορωνεαίᾳ κλήσεως, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀπὸ Θεσσαλικῆς Ἰτωνίας, περὶ ἧς Ἑκαταῖος μὲν ἐν τῇ ᾧ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν λέγει. Ἀρμενίδας δὲ ἐν τοῖς Θηβαϊκοῖς Ἀμφικτύονος υἱὸν Ἰτωνα ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ γεννηθῆναι, ἀφ’ οὗ Ἰτων πόλις καὶ Ἰτωνὶς Ἀθηνᾶ. μέμνηται καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν τῷ ᾧ τῶν Κορίννης Ὑπομνημάτων.

5-6 ἀφ’ οὗ Ἰτων... μέμνηται P *om.* L 7-8 ᾧ τῶν Κορίννης L ᾧ Καρικῶν P

“Work of Itonis Athena.] The sanctuary of Itonian Athena is in Koroneia, in Boiotia. However, Apollonius must not be referring to the Athena associated with the epiclesis of Koroneia, during the construction of the (ship) Argo; this Athena must rather be associated with the Itonian goddess of Thessaly: Hekataios speaks about her, in the first book of his *Histories*. Armenidas, then, says in his *Theban Histories* that Itonos, Amphiktyon’s son, was born in Thessaly, and that the city Iton, and Itonis Athena, were named after him. This is also recalled by Alexander, in the first book of his *Commentary on Corinna*” (tr. S. Tufano).

3.1.1. Textual Transmission and Context

The scholium concerns the epithet Ἰτωνίς of Athena, who helped build the ship Argo used by the Argonauts.⁴⁴³ A learned tradition assumes that the reader falsely imagines the Itonian Athena worshipped in Koroneia, whereas here, according to the scholium, Apollonius refers to the Athena worshipped in Iton, in the Achaia Phthiotis (in Southern Thessaly, not far from Iolcos).⁴⁴⁴ The scholium then adds three sources (Hekataios, Armenidas, and Alexander) and lists them in an apparently chronological order: these authors dealt with these two different Itonian Athenas.⁴⁴⁵ The scholiast is particularly careful when he quotes his sources, because he always mentions the number of the book and the title.

Hekataios probably treated the cult of Athena in the first book of his *Histories* (BNJ 1 F 2), but we cannot be sure whether Athena was also instrumental in this case for the building of the ship Argo.⁴⁴⁶ The third source, Alexander Polyhistor (BNJ 273 F 97), probably agreed with Armenidas on the parents of Itonos, in his *Commentary on Korinna*, since the conjunction καὶ immediately follows this piece of information.⁴⁴⁷ Nonetheless, the fact that Alexander mentioned Itonos does not necessarily imply that Korinna also did it in her

443 On the construction of the ship, see Ap. Rhod. 1.18–9.721.768. For other formal variants of this epithet, cp. *ThGL* IV 723 CD–724 A and Burzacchini 1996: 87 n.1. The toponym and the epicleris do not have a Greek etymology (Fowler 2013: 68), even if the personal noun Ἰτων (*i-to*) occurs in Mycenaean Greek (Bearzot 1982: 43 n.1, 44 n.6; see *ibid.* 47–8 on the Athena who was involved in this expedition).

444 Located in the valley formed by the Kuralios/Kuorios, a tributary of the Penaeus, Iton was one of the oldest cities in the Thessalios (Hom. *Il.* 2.696; Str. 9.5.14.435; Paus. 10.1.10; on the sanctuary, see Schachter 1981: 119 n.4; Bearzot 1982: 43–4 n.4; Kramolisch 1998; Zizza 2006: 122; Fowler 2013: 64 n.245). The exact collocation in Thessaly is disputed, however, and an identification of the Thessalian sanctuary with Philia, as distinguished by the site in the Achaia Phthiotis, was recently suggested by Mili 2014: 230. There probably was more than an Itonion in Thessaly: Graninger 2011: 50–1.

445 Apart from these Athenas worshipped in Koroneia and Iton, there were other Itonian Athenas in Greece, and they were often linked to the movements of the Thessalians. On these other Itonian Athenas, cp. Nilsson 1906: 89 and Fowler 2013: 67 n.257. There might be an association with the presence of a group of Thessalians in Amorgos (*IG* 12.7,22–3.33–6; see Lagos 2009 on this attestation); cp. Moretti 1962: 100; Roesch 1982b: 220 and n.74; Kowalzig 2007: 362 n.72.

446 Hekataios dealt with the Argonauts (BNJ 1 FF 17–8), but we cannot be sure, on the basis of this fragment, that it belongs to the same part of the work.

447 See Burzacchini 1996: 88–9, against the previous thesis that it was Alexander Polyhistor, and that this author did not comment on Korinna. On the textual transmission of this fragment, see Burzacchini 1996. The verb μυνήσκω, in this diathesis, means “mention, quote” (*LSJ s.v. B*), from the Archaic Age. Therefore, it cannot be misunderstood as implying that Korinna referred to Itonos with the alternative name of Alexander (Larson 2007: 24–5; cp. Lachenaud 2010: 82: “Alexandre, *Hypomnemata* consacrés à Corinne, livre I, en fait aussi mention”).

work: our same scholium shows how a character (here, for instance, Amphiktyon) may be present in the commentary of the text of an author, Apollonius, who does not name it.⁴⁴⁸

This fragment is the only one that gives us a title for Armenidas' work, *Theban Histories* (Θηβαϊκά), and it is therefore puzzling that we immediately read a detail which concerns not Thebes, but another city, Koroneia. A possible link between this material and the ancient history of Thebes may be found if we associate this fragment with the other two (FF 3 and 7) where “the connection with Thebes is not immediately apparent” (Schachter 2011a *ad BNJ* 378 F 3). According to Schachter, Armenidas drew on the foundation myth of the Theban sanctuary of Dionysos Lysios, which was a thanksgiving, by some Theban prisoners, who escaped from the Thracians and freed themselves. The flight happened in a place which Herakleides Pontikos (F 143 Schütrumpf) identified as Lebadeia, although Pausanias claims it was in Haliartos (9.16.6). As far as the place where these Thebans were captured, two later sources connect the event with the celebration of a rite for Itonian Athena, not far from Lake Kopais, or else directly in Koroneia.⁴⁴⁹ According to Schachter (2011a), then, the fragment came from the description of the sanctuary of Dionysos Lysios, since Armenidas' work, in general, consisted of a study of Theban monuments.⁴⁵⁰

Such a scenario forces us to think, however, that only a part of Armenidas' work was still circulating in the Hellenistic period, the one on the topography of the city, and that even this was fragmentary. A further problem in our appreciation of the fragment is raised by the possibility that this information came to the scholiast on Apollonius only from Alexander's commentary.⁴⁵¹ A more prudent option is to see Armenidas' Θηβαϊκά as

448 Korinna treated, instead, or referred to the sanctuary of Koroneia, on the basis of F 667 *PMG*, where she mentions the “rash shield of Athena” (Olivieri 2010–1: 87). On the limits of these ascriptions, cp. Fowler 2017: 160: “The story may be ‘in’ Pherekydes only in the sense that he treated the subject; Pherekydes' details might have been completely different.”

449 Not far from Lake Kopais: Polyaeus, *Strat.* 7.43 (here the Boiotians, happy for the truce, sacrifice τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ Ἰτωνίᾳ). In Koroneia: Zen. 4.37, Θρακία παρεύσις. However, the indication of the place, περὶ Κορώνειαν, is not necessarily cogent for the placement of the event in the sanctuary; the syntagm is absent in part of the tradition, namely in the ms. Par. 3070.

450 Schachter (1981: 119 n.1) previously mentioned the “Thracian ruse”, arguing for a different thesis: “The story of the “Thracian Ruse” [...] might be connected with an early stage of the sanctuary's history, but any attempt to try to pin it down would be fruitless.”

451 According to Slater (2008; cp. Berman 2013: 11), when there is a sequence of two authors in a scholium, if the second author is preceded by the conjunction καί, the scholiast may actually be referring to, or have just read, this second

similar to Pausanias' ninth book, a composition where Thebes is the fulcrum of a narrative which can open itself, via the gates, and expand to other Boiotian towns (if with less details).⁴⁵² Itonos, for example, may also be quoted as Boiotos' father, and it is extremely unlikely that a figure like Boiotos was absent in a study of Theban history. The connection with Koroneia, therefore, is not mandatory, when we limit the extent of the fragment to the genealogy of Itonos.⁴⁵³

3.1.2. Itonos and the Hellenic Side of Boiotia

The sanctuary of Athena Itonia in Koroneia was a very popular center in Boiotia, already in the Archaic period.⁴⁵⁴ It hosted horse tournaments and, likely, military dances,⁴⁵⁵ because

author. In our case, Alexander would be the source both of Armenidas and of Hekataios. In the absence of further witnesses on the direct transmission of Armenidas, this hypothesis is likely and in line with the other occurrences of Armenidas in the scholia of Apollonius (F 2).

452 For this reading of the Boiotian book, cp. Musti 1988b; Pretzler 2007: 9; Gartland 2016b: 85. I do not agree with Kühr 2014a: 232, that "Boiotia is depicted as an extension or annex of Thebes": in fact, the organization of the material might also depend on the availability of sources for the other Boiotian places.

453 Diod. Sic. 4.67.7; Paus. 9.1.1. In his *Περὶ Θηβῶν*, Lykos of Thebes (BNJ 380 F 2) might share the genealogy Amphiktyon > Itonos > Boiotos, if we accept Schmidt's correction of κατὰ Λύκον for the transmitted κατ'αὐτόν in Stephanus' lemma Βοιωτία (β 116). However, Atenstädt (1922: 26), after Maas, suggests that, behind the pronoun αὐτόν in the transmitted text of the lemma, there may be a hint of Alexander Polyhistor. Atenstädt apparently ignored the fragment by Armenidas and the existence of a *Commentary on Korinna*; the scholar was convinced of Alexander's originality, in his genealogy Itonos > Boiotos, because he was aware that Korinna saw Poseidon as Boiotos' father (F 658 PMG, from Korinna's *Boiotos*). In any case, the poetess did not assume a kinship between Itonos and Boiotos, as is sometimes believed (Larson 2007: 25). The commentary on the genealogy of Boiotos, however, may be where scholars of their texts, like Alexander, could mention other hypotheses, which also included Itonos. On Boiotos, see *supra* 2.2.2 *ad* ἡ Βοιωτία.

454 On the sanctuary, see Schachter 1981: 117–27, Kühr 2006: 286–7; Larson 2007: 133–6; Manieri 2009: 96–7; Olivieri 2010–1. The exact position is debated: some scholars assume that the Itonion was in Metamorphosis, for the high number of proxeny decrees, which generally date to the Hellenistic period (Pritchett 1969: 85–8; Fossey 1988: 330–1; Deacy 1995: 92; Olivieri 2010–1: 81 n.1); others suggest an area to the north of the acropolis of Koroneia, where a building of the middle sixth century BCE, and coterminous pottery, have been excavated (Roesch 1982b: 221; Schachter 1981: 119). See an updated overview of this debate in Larson 2007: 136 n.33 and Moggi – Osanna 2012: 408–9.

455 Horse tournaments: IG 7.3087; SEG III 354 and 355. There were not, probably, musical contests, but more probably, following the witness of a hyporchema by Bacchylides (F 15 PMG), performances resembling "un canto culturale eseguito anche con movimenti orchestrici per accompagnare la processione diretta al santuario" (Olivieri 2010–1: 86).

the military character of the goddess was particularly relevant here.⁴⁵⁶ The representations of Athena found on local vases confirm these traits and concur with the seeming fame of the sanctuary outside the region.⁴⁵⁷ The same impression results from a consideration of the relevant literary sources.⁴⁵⁸

In Strabo's reconstruction, the cult came to Boiotia from Thessaly, when the Boiotians migrated to the region after the Trojan War.⁴⁵⁹ This hypothesis is important, because it is

456 Already from the middle of the sixth century BCE, however, there was a further deity worshipped on the spot, a snake, which is represented on an interesting *lekane* at the British Museum (BM B 80; Ure 1929: 167–71). Here there is a procession for Athena: the representation of a crow (Gk. κορώνη) on this *lekane* was considered a reference to the city of Koroneia (Ure recalled Paus. 4.34.4, on the foundation of Korone in Messenia, where a statue of Athena reproduced the bird; sometimes, however, the bird is understood as a raven, Gk. κόραξ; cp. Schmidt 2002: 51–62). As stated by Schachter (1981: 119–21), the second deity was later identified, during the fifth century, with Zeus, namely a chthonian Zeus (Bearzot 1982: 51). In the Hellenistic period, this Zeus was seen as Zeus Karaios, thus forming a couple with Athena, which is attested elsewhere in Boiotia (the picture is complicated, nevertheless, by the worship of Ares in the same sanctuary: Olivieri 2010–1: 83–4; it seems that, in a divine couple with Zeus, Athena Itonia was worshipped also on Amorgos: Lagos 2009: 83). The military character of Athena is also present in the Thessalian manifestation (Bearzot 1982: 44–5 and nn.; Olivieri 2010–1: 82–3; the Thessalian Zeus Laphystios may be a counterpart of the Boiotian Karaios, but he did not form a couple with Athena, as in Koroneia: Schachter 1994b: 73–5). The *lekane* of the British Museum was first associated with Athena Itonia by Harrison (1894) and Ure (1929), on three grounds, in the absence of indications on its findspot: the Boiotian fabric, the military character of the goddess on the vase, and the resemblance of the Athena of the *lekanis* with representations of the Thessalian Athena Itonia on coins of the second century BCE. Further studies (Scheffer 1993; Paleothodoros 2016) link the *lekane* to the “Silhouette group”, whose workshop is located in the area of Koroneia.

457 The first literary source on the cult is, in fact, a fragment by Alkaios (F 325,2 V.: cp. Page 1959: 268–9 and Olivieri 2010–1: 81): Fowler 2013: 65: “[T]his already is pan-Hellenic fame.”

458 We can remember, here, two vases found close to Koroneia: a *lekythos* of the middle of the sixth century BCE (Musée du Louvre, CA 3329), where a lyre player is depicted next to two dancers; and a *skyphos*, with athletes and komasts on one register (Maffret 1975: 433). The figures in procession on the *lekane* at the British Museum (BM B 80: see n.459) carry garlands, and some of them play flutes, according to the interpretation of some scholars (Larson 2007: 135; further references to the rich figurative scenario on the spot in Schachter 1981: 122 nn. 5–8 and Ure 1929; Ure 1935). All this supports the view that in the Archaic and Classical period there could be military dances in the context of rites in Koroneia, whereas the Hellenistic *Pamboiotia* did not systematically include musical contests (Manieri 2009: 140; for a partial exception in the middle second century BCE, see Schachter – Slater 2007). The literary sources are considered by Kowalzig (2007: 373–4), who mentions two fragments of *hyporchemata* by Bacchylides (FF 15 and 15a *PMG*; see already Schachter 1981: 123 on their pertinence to a “musical competition”), and two other fragments of a *partheneion* composed by Pindar for the Theban Daphnephoria (FF 94 a–c S. – M., not an *epinikion*, as in Larson 2007: 134 n.23; on the Daphnephoria and their importance for reconstructing the Thessalian origins of the Boiotians, see Schachter 2000; Kowalzig 2007: 379–82).

459 Str. 9.2.29.411: κατελάβοντο δ' αὐτὴν ἐπανιόντες ἐκ τῆς Θετταλικῆς Ἄρνης οἱ Βοιωτοὶ μετὰ τὰ Τρωϊκά, ὅτεπερ καὶ τὸν Ὀρχομενὸν ἔσχον (“It [Koroneia] was conquered by the Boiotians, after they came back from Thessalian Arne, after the Trojan Wars, when they also took Orchomenos”, tr. S. Tufano).

in line with other meaningful cultural isoglosses between the two regions, like the common names of certain months.⁴⁶⁰ Modern scholarship tends to accept this scenario,⁴⁶¹ which is of the utmost interest, because the story of the migration became part of the national story of Boiotia from an early stage (Kühr 2014). The Itonia would later become a pivotal knot of the political geography of Hellenistic Boiotia, when it hosted the federal festivals of the *Pamboiotia*⁴⁶² and reached a regional role, as a religious pole, which could be defined as “national” in contemporary terms.⁴⁶³

Armenidas and Pausanias (9.34.1) explain the link with Thessaly through Itonos, father of Boiotos. In both the sources, moreover, he is Amphiktyon’s child. Only Armenidas, however, explicitly asserts that Itonos was born in Thessaly; the resulting genealogy implies that Thessaly dominated both Boiotia between the seventh and the sixth centuries BCE,⁴⁶⁴ and the amphiktyony of Anthela. The Boiotians belonged to this Archaic amphiktyony, which had as its eponymous figure Amphiktyon, Itonos’ father. Amphiktyon’s parents, Deukalion and Pyrrha, were a good link for the Boiotians to officially associate themselves with the Aiolians and, through Hellen, with the Hellenic community as a whole.⁴⁶⁵ Armenidas’ quick information may then be a limited insight,

460 Cp. Trümper 1997: 246; Fowler 2013: 68; see *infra* (spec. 4.4.1) on the month *Homoloios* and 6.1.3. for an assessment of the local discourse on the relationship between Boiotia and Thessaly.

461 On Thessalian influences in Boiotia, see Moretti 1962: 100; Schachter 1981: 119; Bearzot 1982; Roesch 1982b: 220–4; Schmidt 2002: 57; Kühr 2006: 264–9.

462 Cp. e.g. Pol. 4.3.5, as the first witness of this *panegyris*. On the history of the *Pamboiotia*, see Olivieri 2010–1 and Tufano i.p. ii.

463 The first document that confirms regional importance in the Hellenistic period is a treaty among the Boiotians, the Aitolians, and the Phokians, dating to the end of the fourth century BCE (*IG IX²* 1,170, probably 301 BCE: cp. Schachter 1981: 123.127 n.2: “[T]he sanctuary was regarded as the sacred heart of Boiotia”; cp. Roesch 1982b: 39–41 [on the month *Pamboiotos*] and 357–9 [on the cult]; Larson 2007: 135–6; Olivieri 2010–1). For the previous period, the mentioned regional (and transregional) fame of the sanctuary does not necessarily imply a political role: the only indirect witness to this may be a verse by Pindar (*Ol.* 7.84) on the ἀγῶνες [...] ἔννομοι Βοιωτῶν. The scholiasts wonder what these contests were, but no definite answer was ever reached (Giannini in Gentili *et al.* 2013: 499); however, “non si può escludere un riferimento ai *Pamboiotia*, [...] occasione di incontro dei Beoti tutti, dal momento che essi, e non le singole *poleis*, sono espressamente rievocati attraverso l’etnico Βοιωτῶν” (Olivieri 2010–1: 85).

464 See Fowler 2013: 67; 187.

465 On Amphiktyon, who could also be Deukalion’s uncle, see Hdt. 7.200 with Vannicelli 2017 *ad loc.*; Wagner 1894; Graf 1996; Graninger 2011: 48. Itonos is Amphiktyon’s son also in Paus. 5.1.4, which could mean, in Maddoli’s (2007: 185) opinion, an attempt by the Delphic amphiktyony to join the Elean community. The political implications of this kinship of the Boiotians with Hellen were already recognized by Jacoby 1955a: 164, in his commentary on *FGH Hist* 380 F 2 (a fragment by Lykos of Thebes, which may imply a genealogy “*in maiorem gloriam* Thebens”). Lykos also considers

linked to a specific Boiotian place, where we can see how local Boiotian traditions resulted in vaster conclusions. To an ethnos, thinking about such a relevant genealogical tree is of immediate momentum, and the sixth century BCE, when the tree of Hellen was more and more influential in the definition of ethnic boundaries, is a likely scenario for such a definition (probably in the years after the First Sacred War).⁴⁶⁶

Itonos might have first given his name to the Thessalian city and to its relative sanctuary, before moving south and justifying, with this movement, the existence of an Athena Itonis in Koroneia. Armenidas probably differed from Strabo (9.2.29.411) because he explicitly claimed the priority of the Itonian sites in the North, which could explain the relevance of the detail ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ.⁴⁶⁷ Two passages in Pausanias' ninth book confirm the spread of the tradition, whereby Itonos was Boiotos' father (9.1.1; 34.1). This idea was probably accepted by another local historian of Boiotia, Lykos of Thebes (*BNJ* 380 F 2).

It is therefore remarkable to observe how the Boiotians accepted a genealogy, which included in an original way genuinely local information: the movement of the Boiotians from Thessaly. This local tradition was simultaneously used to convey a connection to the history of central Greece (ties with Thessaly and with the Amphiktion of Anthela),⁴⁶⁸ and to the genealogy of Hellen, which may have farther implications, even in a work explicitly centered on the local perspective.⁴⁶⁹ Armenidas' *Theban History* shows how, from within, another reflection on the Boiotian ethnogenesis may coincide with the belief that they had

Amphiktyon as Deukalion's son (*BNJ* 380 FF 2 and 4); despite the absence of Itonos, then, Amphiktyon could prove instrumental to link the Boiotians to Hellen, since Boiotos can be Aiolos' son (Fowler 2013: 190; cp. Paus. 10.8.4, on the Boiotians as Aioliens).

466 Cp. Fowler 1998. I am aware of the vexed issue of the historicity of this event, as shown, for example, by the thorough analysis by Franchi (2016: 199–230) and by the overview by Mari (2014: 116–9). These document how the likely creation of the tradition in the fourth century BCE does not rule out the stratigraphic feature of the history and a likely connection with drastic changes in the Delphic area at the beginning of the sixth century BCE. At the same time, I refer here to the “First Sacred War” as a period (say: early sixth century), when it is legitimate to assume a strong impact and Panhellenic influence of the genealogical tree around Hellen (on ethnicity and federalisms, in particular, see the overview by Hall 2015).

467 Visser 1998: “Als eponymer Heros wird I[tonos] allerdings nur im Zusammenhang mit der boiot[ischen] Siedlung erwähnt.”

468 According to Mackil (2014: 51–2), the presence of the migration motif in Armenidas and in Thucydides confirms the formation of a strong ethnicity in Boiotia, only in the second half of the fifth century BCE.

469 Armenidas was therefore “frei auch von übertriebenem lokalpatriotismus” (Jacoby 1955a: 158).

not been autochthonous: once their migration became part of Boiotian self-description, the Boiotians drew all the necessary conclusions to get the best out of this tradition.

3.2. Armenidas F 2

Previous editions: *BNJ* 378 F 2; *EGM* I F **2; *FGrHist* 378 F 2 (Schol. Ap. Rhod. I 740–1a [p. 56 Wendel]).

ὅτι δὲ ἠκολούθησαν τῇ Ἀμφίονος λύραι οἱ λίθοι αὐτόματοι, ἱστορεῖ καὶ Ἀρμενίδας ἐν ᾱ. τὴν δὲ λύραν δοθῆναι Ἀμφίονι ὑπὸ Μουσῶν φησι, Διοσκορίδης δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀπόλλωνος· καὶ Φερεκύδης δὲ ἐν τῇ ι ἱστορεῖ ὑπὸ Μουσῶν

2 Ἀντιμενίδας *codd.*

“Armenidas, too, narrates in his first book that the stones spontaneously followed Amphion’s lyre. He says that the lyre had been given to Amphion by the Muses, whereas Dioscorides says it was from Apollo; Pherekydes, too, in the tenth book, narrates (that it was given) by the Muses” (tr. S. Tufano).

3.2.1. Textual Transmission and Context

The restitution of the name of Armenidas in this scholium is based on the content and on another occurrence of his name in the *corpus* of the scholia on Apollonius Rhodius.⁴⁷⁰ The restitution must be kept, because we indirectly know that none of the people called

⁴⁷⁰ Fiorillo 1801: 17. Cp. Armenidas’ F 1 and 2.2.1.

Antimenidas wrote on the subject of the present fragment.⁴⁷¹ The name “Armenidas” appears here in a list of sources, as in the other fragment from these scholia (F 1). If we understood the order of the names as being in a chronologically decreasing order (from the most recent author, to the most ancient one), Armenidas would even predate Pherekydes. However, only Pherekydes can be dated with an acceptable degree of probability to sometime around the middle of the fifth century BCE. The other name, Διοσκορίδης, has been identified with a pupil of Isocrates who lived between the fourth and third centuries BCE.⁴⁷² Consequently, this material may very well come from an early, Hellenistic commentary where the names were associated, and we cannot use the scholium as evidence to date Armenidas.⁴⁷³

The commented verse belongs to an *ekphrasis* on the cloak given to Jason by Athena (Ap. Rhod. 1.763–7). This cloak showed a representation of the foundation myth of Thebes, through the joint act of the twins, Amphion and Zethos (735–41), Antiope’s children. They appear here, just as in the first literary witness on them (Hom. *Od.* 11.260–5), both as founders (Ap. Rhod. 1.737–8: βάλλοντο δομαίους / ιέμενοι) and as builders of the walls (736: ἀπύργωτος γ’ ἔτι Θήβη). This double characterization draws on an archaic view, which understands the foundation of a city as the moment when a space is surrounded by fences and defined by fortifications.⁴⁷⁴

The perspective adopted by Apollonius Rhodius distinguishes the two twins according to a trend which surfaces in our sources at the end of the fifth century BCE. The first known occurrence of the differentiation is in the *Antiope* of Euripides, performed at the beginning

471 We know two Antimenidas, (1) the brother of the poet Alkaios, a mercenary who lived between the seventh and the sixth century BCE (*LGPN* V 1 s.v.; Alc. F 350 V.), and (2) a Spartan ambassador, active around 420 BCE (*LGPN* III A; Thuc. 5.42.1).

472 Dioscorides, *BNJ* 594 F 12. It is, however, difficult to identify a specific work among the works ascribed to Dioscorides. The name Dioscorides is very frequent in the literary sources: it is almost impossible to infer either the production or the identity of the historiographical fragments, which have been assigned to a Dioscorides (Jacoby 1955a: 629–30). As a mere hypothesis, this material may appear in a work on *Nomima*, which is actually attested among the many titles written by a Dioscorides (*BNJ* 594 F 5; on its characteristics, see still Jacoby 1955a: 632).

473 *Contra* Hurst 2000: 65, who considers Armenidas a Hellenistic author on the basis of this fragment, and Berlinzani 2004: 56, who assumes that Armenidas and Pherekydes were contemporary. See the commentary on Armenidas’ F 3 (3.3.3) and the suggested date at 1.3.2.

474 Cp. Hom. *Od.* 11.263–4: οἱ πρῶτοι Θήβης ἔδος ἔκτισαν ἑπταπύλοιο, / πύργωσάν τε [...]; see Kühr 2006: 120 and Prandi 2011: 242–4. Double characterization: Kühr 2006: 119.

of the Dekeleian War (412/407 BCE).⁴⁷⁵ This drama proved influential, judging from the popularity of the traits of the single characters in the later sources, which seem to draw on Euripides.⁴⁷⁶ Amphion was considered a “second Orpheus”,⁴⁷⁷ as a civilizing hero prone to music, and as a possessor of the lyre, the instrument which symbolizes his intellectual aura. Zethos, conversely, did not possess the magical arts of his brother, and usually had to do the hard work: he carries the stones and the masonry from which Thebes was constructed.⁴⁷⁸

The relationship between the foundation myth of Amphion and Zethos and the one of Kadmos has been the subject of a long debate. Even if this fragment of Armenidas does not directly address the concurrent myth, the presence of this detail on Amphion, in the first book of a work on Thebes, is in line with the chronological order of the material in a history of Thebes. We cannot infer from these few words whether Armenidas adhered –if he ever needed to– to a specific order between the two myths.⁴⁷⁹ In Homer (*Od.* 11.263), Amphion and Zethos are the first inhabitants of the city, with a stress on this precedence –

475 Eur. *TrGF* 179–227. The date of the *Antiope* is a debated issue: cp. Jouan – van Looy 1998: 220–1 (on the tragedy in general, see Kambitsis 1972 and Collard – Cropp 2008: 170–5). A potential previous witness to such a differentiation of the twins may be found in a fragment of Panyassis of Halicarnassos (*ca.* 500–450 BCE), but the authorship is uncertain (F dub. °32 Bernabè: see Olivieri 2011: 26).

476 On the reception of the *Antiope*, see Jouan – van Looy 1998: 214 and Berlinzani 2004: 58. Euripides interacted with the coeval discussion on the divergence between a contemplative and an active life: his reading of the myth of Amphion and Zethos inspired Plato, in a passage of the *Gorgias* (41.485E), which is commonly used to reconstruct the fragmentary verses of the *Antiope* (on the relationship between the philosophical climate and the Boiotian twins, see Dodds 1959: 277–9; Nightingale 1992; Georgiadou 1995; Berlinzani 2004: 61–2). According to Moleti 2011: 330, the *Antiope* of Euboulos (middle of the fourth century BCE) tried to shed new light on this contraposition, because the twins Amphion and Zethos represented Epameinondas and Pelopidas. A consequence of this specific reading is the intellectual superiority of Athens, through Amphion, in contrast with Zethos, as a symbol of the mundane world of Thebes (cp. *infra* n. 477).

477 Kühr 2006: 120. Ap. Rhod. I 26–31; Merriam 1993: 75. The comparison with Orpheus is already in Paus. 6.20.18.

478 Amphion is defined μουσικώτατον in a fragment (F 10 Hunter) of the *Antiope* of Euboulos. According to a reprise (Moleti 2011) of a previous reading (Edmonds 1959: 86–8), this definition echoed the political relationship between Attica and Boiotia in the first half of the fourth century BCE (Amphion, as a Pythagorean philosopher, alluded to the Pythagoreans, active in Thebes at the time, and, therefore, to Epameinondas: Moleti 2011: 333). Compelling as this interpretation might appear, it seems to underestimate doubts concerning the real presence of Pythagoreans in Thebes at the time, and the serious issues concerning the appreciation of the sources on the Pythagorean background of Epameinondas: his alleged teacher, Lysis of Tarentum, might not have been as influential, in his circle, as it would appear from a first reading of the witnesses. The actual “pythagoreanism” of Epameinondas contrasts with the little we know on this philosophical school in this period. The “myth” of Pythagorean Thebes, well summed up by the article of Lévêque – Vidal-Naquet (1960), has been seriously scrutinized, among others, by Buckler (1993).

479 See *infra* and 6.1.2 for the frequency of foundation myths in our fragments of local Boiotian historiography.

πρῶτοι-, which may imply a contraposition with later occupations of Theban soil.⁴⁸⁰ Only later, in the fifth century, do we detect a clearer attempt at systematization, with Pherekydes (*BNJ* 3 F 41a-c), who may have started from Homer, to antedate the action of Amphion and Zethos to before Kadmos.

Pherekydes' position remains isolated in our sources, which generally postdate the twins, especially if we take into account the mythological handbooks of the Imperial Age. Nonetheless, these two foundation myths likely originally coexisted and were subject to distinct and diverse additions around their original Indoeuropean traits.⁴⁸¹ Later sources tried to explain this richness in the foundation myths of Thebes. It was claimed, for example, that the first foundations on the Kadmeia, in line with the participation of the “Kadmeans” in the Trojan Wars, was followed by the later building of the walls, when the lower town was constructed. Such a systematization is summarized at its best in the following chapter of the Boiotian book of Pausanias (9.5.6-7):

“While Lycus was regent for the second time, Amphion and Zethus gathered a force and came back to Thebes. Laius was secretly removed by such as were anxious that the race of Cadmus should not be forgotten by posterity, and Lycus was overcome in the fighting by the sons of Antiope. When they succeeded to the throne they added the lower city to the Cadmeia, giving it, because of their kinship to Thebe, the name of Thebes. What I have said is

480 Vian 1963: 70-1. Kühr (2006: 130-1) denied that the Kadmos myth might be implied in these verses, because in the eighth century BCE (the date she accepts for the *Odyssey*) it would be hard to posit the preexistence of this tradition; moreover, the building of the walls would be in contrast, according to this scholar, with a second, new foundation of Thebes by Kadmos. Nonetheless, this section of the *Odyssey* has a particularly late date, which may be the beginning of the sixth century BCE (Hirschberger 2004: 42-51; Most 2006: XLVII-LV; *contra* Gazis 2015, with further scholarship). At the same time, we must explain the superlative πρῶτοι, which, according to the same Kühr, can refer “auf weitere Gründe.” Now, Prandi (2011: 244-5) has suggested that the specific context may be Delphic intervention in the foundation myth of Thebes, with the addition of the Delphic oracle in the myth of Kadmos: these verses on Amphion and Zethos, then, would be a reaction to this Delphic innovation. The uncertain chronology of the verses of the *Catalogue of the Heroines* raises doubts about a direct dialogue with another text, the oracular response to Kadmos, which is not directly documented for this period (despite recent attempts at confirming the relationship of this section with the rest of the *Odyssey*: Gazis 2015). It is only a possibility that Delphi highlighted the necessity of a Delphic “authorization” in the narrative of the myth. A recent explanation, in fact, highlights the place of these verses in the *Odyssey*, and it may also be safe to assume, with Gazis 2015: 80, that “Antiope [...] remembers, or chooses to remember, only the version that elevates her children whereas the rivaling tradition is silenced”.

481 Kühr 2006: 126-7; Prandi 2011: 244. They can actually be read as complementary myths (Kühr 2014a: 233-5).

confirmed by what Homer says in the *Odyssey* [quote of Hom. *Od.* 11.263-5]. Homer, however, makes no mention in his poetry of Amphion's singing, and how he built the wall to the music of his harp. Amphion won fame for his music, learning from the Lydians themselves the Lydian mode [...]” (tr. W.H.S. Jones).

Since they are Antiope's children, and this woman is Asopos' daughter (i.e., daughter to a river flowing in the Parasopiad, in Southern Boiotia), Amphion and Zethos may embody Boiotian ambitions against the hegemonic stance of Thebes.⁴⁸² Kadmos, instead, despite his Phoenician origins, was the central hero of a myth that focused on Theban autochthony, exemplified by the birth of the Spartoi (also known as “the Earthborns”) on Theban soil. It is therefore possible that this second foundation myth has another origin and explanation, which pivots on the exact moment of the birth of the city and sees in it a cultural moment, with consequences on the whole community, instead of being merely for defense.⁴⁸³

Despite, therefore, the recent tendency to imagine the genesis of these foundation myths as being in distinct places and moments,⁴⁸⁴ the two stories are actually complementary:

482 The Boiotians were not completely intertwined with Theban legends, since they did not completely join the dynastic lines of Theban kingship: they also represented a parenthesis in the inclusive narrations of the origin of Thebes, where their external origin is always remarked. The principal sources on Amphion and Zethos are discussed by Hurst 2000, Berlinzani 2004: 70-92, and David-Guignard 2006. On the complex interplay between the Theban tier of the foundation myth and the Boiotian one, see Vian 1963: 69-75; Kühr 2006: 123.

483 According to a telling summary of a scholium BCMI on Eur. *Phoen.* 114, “Kadmos founded Thebes, whereas Amphion and Zethos fortified it” (tr. S. Tufano). However, this scholium does not show a clear and definite opposition of meaning between *τειχίζω* and *κτιζω* (Kühr 2006: 121 n.197), because, when used alone, *κτιζω* can also imply the building of the walls. Other sources credit Kadmos with the fortification of Thebes, without finding this fact puzzling: Eur. *Bacch.* 172; Ephoros, *BNJ* 70 F 119; Ov. *Met.* 3.13; Str. 9.2.3.401. On the Earthborns, see shortly *supra* 2.2.2 *ad βουλόμενος δὲ Ἀθήναι...*

484 Kühr 2006: 121-2; 131-2. Berman 2004: 16-9 argued that the myth of Amphion and Zethos may be parallel to those Indo-European foundation myths centered on the common action of a couple of twins. Since it may be associated to an LH cumulus, the *Amphion*, it would then be earlier than the story of Kadmos, whose later origin would be further proved by a possible etymology of the *Καδμεῖοι* as “Men from the East”, betraying a colonial context of the early archaism. This demonstration seems to undervalue the limited extent of the local sources from Thebes: all we know, for example, is that Pindar confirmed the relevance of Kadmos, at Thebes, in the first half of the fifth century BCE, but there is no certain evidence of a heroid cult at the *Amphion*. The twins Amphion and Zethos are often associated with Southern Boiotia, which complicates the reconnaissance of a purely “Theban” interest in the myth.

they may both have developed in the centuries of Middle Archaism.⁴⁸⁵ Subsequent rationalistic combinations, especially in those fields and cultural poles like the Athens of Pherekydes, enacted and operated an artificial order between the two myths, whereas, from a local perspective, they could both coexist in a “fluid” way.

The mention of Amphion and of the enchanting power of the lyre⁴⁸⁶ does not isolate Armenidas, then, from the other sources on the founding twins of Thebes, because he is in line with the aforementioned specialization of the twins. If we accept, nonetheless, an early date for Armenidas, he may be the first local voice to explicitly mention Amphion, who is absent from the surviving verses of Pindar. Despite the limited nature of the evidence on this author, we know that Pindar was not reticent of the great characters of the Theban past. The absence of Amphion invites perplexities, especially since it is not fully compensated by the ephemeral occurrence of Zethos, who is generally “a shadowy character”.⁴⁸⁷

485 On the possible independence of the two myths, see Gantz 1993: 467–8. A further proof against the antiquity of the myth of the twins may consist of the late nature of the Homeric verses on Amphion and Zethos (*Od.* XI 261–3): these lines actually belong to the so-called “Catalogue of the Heroines”, a series of women encountered by Odysseus during his journey in the Underworld. A long tradition of studies assumed a derivation of this part of the *Odyssey* from the pseudo-Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*, but recent research tends to recognize the many differences between these epic catalogues (see a discussion of the scholarship in Heubeck 2007: 278–9 and Gazis 2015: 69–70; cp. *supra* n.479). Nonetheless, even if we did not want to accept a Pesisistratid context for the origin of these verses, in light of the peculiar interest they seem to show for the Boiotian myths (Larson 2014), using the *Odyssey* as evidence for the antiquity of the myth remains questionable: the poem reached its final stage only in the Late Archaic period and this arch is not enough to prove the priority of the story of the twins over the tale of Kadmos.

486 Amphion’s lyre could also attract stones, animals, plants, or, more generally, inanimate objects: cp. e.g. Eumelos, F 30 West, *GEF* and Philostr. *Imag.* 14.2.

487 Schachter 1994a: 92. On the opacity of Zethos, see Schachter 1981: 29 and Olivieri 2011: 39–42. The only certain quote by Pindar is in his fragmentary *Paeon* 9, for Thebes, where the city is described in this verse: Κάδμου στρατὸν ἄν Ζεᾶθου πόλιν (F 52k,44 S. – M.); Olivieri (*ibid.* 40–1) understood this verse as the emphasis of the poet on the role of Zethos as a builder, contrasted with Kadmos as the founder of the Theban noble families. Scholars have hypothesized two other hints at the founding twins of Thebes among Pindar’s extant verses: first of all (1), in the adjective λεύκιππος (Pind. *Pyth.* 9.83), which may refer to the epithet λευκοπόλῳ, adopted by Euripides to describe the twins as future, divine Dioskouroi of Thebes (*HF* 29–30; *Phoen.* 606; *Antiope TrGF* 223.127; on these passages, see Schachter 1981: 29, Kambitsis 1972: 124–5 and Rocchi 1986: 272–3. However, we cannot rule out that Euripides was innovating here by deliberately assigning to Amphion and Zethos an epithet more common for the Spartan Dioskouroi, especially in light of the fame of the Theban horse games: see Ephoros, *BNJ* 70 F 119). A second, potential allusion in Pindar (2) is seen in a mention of the wedding of Niobe, Amphion’s wife (F 64 S. – M. = [Plut.] *de mus.* 15.1136C; see *infra* 3.3.2). These references are not enough, however, to prove that, already at the beginning of the fifth century BCE, the association of

In order to explain the isolation of Armenidas in the present fragment, Schachter (2012b) suggested that the fragment belonged to a commentary on the Theban *Amphieion*. This was the name of what has been identified with an LH II cumulus to the north of the Kadmeia, where the Thebans allegedly worshipped the corpses of Amphion and Zethos. However, the sources generally concentrate more on Amphion than on Zethos,⁴⁸⁸ in connection with this site. It is interesting to combine this literary “obsession” with Amphion with the toponym of this sacred space, where a cist grave has been associated with a cult of the twins.⁴⁸⁹ This cist grave may have acquired an exceptional status, since it is the only Late Helladic tomb of this kind in Thebes, until now.⁴⁹⁰ This fact does not prove, on its own, that it was a cult site for the two brothers, as might be indicated by a superficial reading of two passages in Pausanias (9.17.4; 10.32.11), where the Tithoreans from Phokis take some handfuls of terrain (a phenomenon, then, more linked to the cultural practices of other areas).

Pausanias recalls how these Tithoreans followed an oracle of Bakis, according to which every year they had to take a handful of terrain from the grave of the twins in order to have a fertile crop. The origin of the story is probably associated, as maintained by Rocchi (1986), with a dispute between Thebes and Tithorea around the place of the graves of the twins and of their mother, who was buried in Tithorea. The Tithoreans were likely trying to “host” the sacred corpses of the twins too (and a local tradition may have actually

Thebes with Amphion and Zethos was felt as compromising, or meant at advocating a hegemony over the rest of Boiotia.

488 Only Horace (*Ars* 4: *Thebanae conditor urbis*) and Kephalion (*BNJ* 93 F 5: κτίζει πόλιν) seem to ascribe solely to Amphion the foundation of the city, but I would not stress the importance of this tradition. For example, in Kephalion, immediately after, the name of the city is a common decision of the brothers.

489 See Aesch. *Sept.* 528 (τύμβος Ἀμφίωνος; on this reference, cp. Berman 2007: 103–4); Eur. *Supp.* 663 (μνήματα Ἀμφίωνος); Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.8 (τὸ Ἀμφεῖον); Arr. *Anab.* 1.8.6–7; Plut. *de Gen.* 4.577B; Schachter 1981: 28. Only Eur. *Phoen.* 145 imagines Zethos in this tomb.

490 The site is behind the contemporary Archaeological Museum of Thebes and has been thoroughly studied, because its conical size, with four layers, was suspected to betray an Oriental plan. If it is undeniable, as Loucas-Loucas (1987: 101 and n.56) claimed, that we cannot dismiss the possibility of an actual cult on the spot, we lack positive evidence which confirms it: the ceramics found and published by Spyropoulos 1981 are mostly of common use, so that it seems more likely that the site was conceived, in its early development, as a funerary grave of distinguished figures (as Loucas-Loucas 1987 correctly argue). The mound was considered sacred only later by the local population (see further scholarship on the site in Berman 2004: 6–8; Kühr 2006: 214–5; Moggi – Osanna 2012: 312–3).

achieved such an accomplishment, in the local mindset at least).⁴⁹¹ The marginal placement of the site, when compared with the Kadmeia, may indicate a liminal status, which argues against an ancient cult of the founders: these cults are generally placed at important crossroads.⁴⁹²

In other words, the only evidence we have for a heroic cult of the founders at the Ampheion may come from external sources (Athenian playwrights) and from an author, Pausanias, who may be attaching a local tradition to Thebes that was probably more meaningful for the Tithoraeans. The Thebans might have considered the Ampheion as a sacred *lieux de mémoire*, only from the Classical period on: it is in this context that we must understand both the content of Armenidas' fragment and the focus on Amphion to the detriment of Zethos.

3.2.2. Amphion and the Origins of Boiotian Poetry

The association of the fragment with a description of the *Ampheion* remains a fascinating scenario, which highlights the relevance of Amphion. At the same time, we should also be aware of the uniqueness of what is being assigned to Armenidas in the present fragment: apart from Hesiod, who mentions another instrument,⁴⁹³ in the other sources on Amphion he plays the lyre. Only the current text specifies that this lyre was a gift of the Muses to Amphion: the tradition is assigned to Armenidas and to Pherekydes (*BNJ* 3 FF 41d-e). The

491 Cp. Steph. Byz. τ 123, s.v. Τιθοραία on the alleged presence of a tomb of the twins in Tithoraia (not after Pausanias 10.32.11, as Rocchi 1986: 259 maintains, because Pausanias does not claim that there was such a monument in Tithoraia: is it possible that our *Epitome* of Stephanus has omitted a local source or historiographer?).

492 Only on a comparative basis (heroic cult: Antonaccio 1995: 169; typology of the male couple in Boiotia: Schachter 1972: 20; divine status of distinguished figures: Loucas-Loucas 1987), could we suggest that there was an actual cult of the twins in Thebes. The passage of Aeschylus on the *Ampheion* (*Sept.* 256-8) confers a highly emblematic meaning to the spot, in the internal narrative of the tragedy (Kühr 2006: 214 n.73; Berman 2007: 103-4). On the usual collocation of the *heroa* see Schachter 1992: 53.

493 Hes. F 182 M. – W.: κιθάρα τὸ τεῖχος τῆς Θήβης ἐτείχισαν. However, the name of the instrument may depend on the source of the fragment (Berlinzani 2004: 58 and n.35). As far as the “lyre” is concerned, the names used for this string instrument –κιθάρα, φόρμιγξ, and λύρα– refer to different objects, because the κιθάρα and the φόρμιγξ were considered proper to professionals, and the λύρα a more likely instrument for amateurs; David-Guignard (2006: 152) observes that they seem to be used without such attention, in these versions of the myth of Amphion.

other authors, in fact, claim that Amphion received the instrument from Hermes, probably because Hermes was considered the inventor of this instrument.⁴⁹⁴

The straightforward cultural reference for this tradition, is the cult of the Muses on the Helicon in Boiotia. The episode here echoed by Armenidas has therefore been tentatively associated with this area.⁴⁹⁵ The immediate context of the fragment, however, does not support this local reference, whereas we might learn more from observing that the variation of Dioscorides, on Apollo as the giver of the lyre, is as isolated as the one on the Muses.⁴⁹⁶ This interpretation of Amphion, surrounded either by Apollo or by the Muses, suggests a rereading of the foundation act that shifts the characteristics of the founder, making him a poet and not a simple musician.⁴⁹⁷ He becomes a poet, through a process of initiation, which is seen here in the pivotal moment of the granting of a symbolic gift: according to modern studies of poetical initiation in the ancient world, this gift is one of the six recurring motifs, which mark the transformation of a common man into an endowed artist.⁴⁹⁸

The gift of a lyre from the Muses, in particular, also appears in the Mnesiepes inscription on the poetical initiation of Archilochus.⁴⁹⁹ According to this text, around midday⁵⁰⁰ the poet met a group of maidens, who, after a joyful correspondence with Archilochus,

494 Cp. *Hom. Hymn Herm.* 24; Eur. *Antiope TrGF* 190 (Apollo invents the lyre and gives it to Hermes); Prop. 1.9.10; Hor. *Ars* 391-6; Apollod. 3.43.

495 Berlinzani 2004: 61.

496 The only other source where Apollo likely gives the instrument is Hyginus (*Fab.* 9), who does not focus on Apollo and speaks of a common action (*iussu Apollinis Thebas muro circumcinxerunt*). Moreover, we should consider the possibility that, in line with a Hellenistic representation (Callim. *Hymn* 2.55-7), Apollo was seen in these cases as an Apollo Archegetes, and then master of the walls, as protector of the colonization.

497 Amphion is a civilizing hero, endowed with a magical aura: because of these traits, it was easy to list further qualities, and we actually read that he was also seen as an inventor (Plin. *HN* 7.204; Paus. 9.5.7: introduction of the Lydian harmony in Thebes; 8.4: invention of the last chord of the lyre, called νήτη, whence the Neistian Gates got their name).

498 In the list of Dornseiff (1937: 232-5), the object which symbolizes the initiation is the fifth element, the others being: the encounter with a deity (1), a setting on a mountain (2), the identity of the poet as a shepherd (3), the reproach of mankind (4), and the new eloquence of the man (6). For a reconsideration of the initiation of Hesiod and of the peculiarities of this tradition, see Andolfi 2016.

499 *SEG* XV 517 = T 4 T.; m. III a.C. (edition: Clay 2004: 104-10).

500 This chronological indication is not explicit in the text, but internal data and comparisons with other sources confirm the collocation of the event during this meaningful time of day (on which, see Brillante 1990).

disappeared, only to let him find a lyre out of thin air.⁵⁰¹ Archilochus realized the identity of the givers from this gift. These anecdotes must be understood in the literary context that expressed them.⁵⁰² It remains true, however, that the frequency of the lyre as a symbol of poetic initiation, is a widespread phenomenon, confirmed also in the fine arts. It occurs, for example, on a relief of the so-called “Archilochus *heroon*”, with other symbols that mention the military commitment of the poet.⁵⁰³ There are also vase paintings,⁵⁰⁴ among which we signal a remarkable *pyxis* by the Hesiod Painter, dating to the central decades of the fifth century: here the poet is represented close to the lyre, even if the exact moment of the delivery is not explicit.⁵⁰⁵

The meeting of Archilochus has been specifically paralleled with another poetical initiation, the one evoked by Hesiod in the proem to his *Theogony* (22-4):⁵⁰⁶ the encounter with the Muses and the inspiration are symbolized, also on this occasion, by a gift to the poet of a laurel sceptre (30; cp. *Op.* 658-9). The real identity of the Muses met by Hesiod bewilders scholars, because the *Theogony* portrays both the Olympian Muses and the “Boiotian” Muses of the Helikon⁵⁰⁷ (probably for the open status of the Hesiodic *epos*,⁵⁰⁸ and not for poetical syncretism).⁵⁰⁹

501 E₁ I 1.38. Aloni (2009: 75-6; cp. Aloni 2011) argued that this tradition developed from the gift, which Archilochus claims to have received from the Muses, in a fragment which could constitute a self-representation of the poet (F 1 West, *IE*², tr. D.E. Gerber: “I am the servant of lord Enyalios and skilled in the lovely gift of the Muses”).

502 According to Ornaghi (2009: 136), for instance, the inscription would describe “una situazione rituale organica e facilmente assimilabile (soprattutto da parte di una *audience* paria) a manifestazioni proprio del rito demetriaco, in particolare tesmoforico.”

503 Kontoleon 1965; Gentili 2006: 268.

504 Cp. Clay 2004: 120.

505 *ARV*² 775.1. The poet portrayed on the *pyxis* has been identified either with Archilochus (Berranger 1992; Kivilo 2010: 95-6) or with Hesiod (Clay 2004: 120 n.652). Peek 1955: 23-6 and Corso 2007: 15 n.19 express skepticism on the possibility that the vase expresses a poetical initiation, but this hypothesis seems to be strengthened by the Panhellenic circulation of Hesiod, together with the more limited circulation of the traditions on Archilochus (Nagy 2009: 309-10; Rotstein 2010: 233-4 n.16; Rotstein 2016: 106).

506 Cp. Gentili 2006: 271-2 and Ornaghi 2009, with previous scholarship.

507 Doubt on the identity of the Muses is caused by the ambiguity of the text: Hesiod calls upon both the Olympian Muses (Hes. *Theog.* 22), and the Helikonian ones (Hes. *Theog.* 1). A possibility is that these sections have different origins: for instance, the Homeric model of the Olympian muses influenced the later reworking and additions of the “pseudo-Hesiodic” stage (Pinsent 1985). Alternatively, this coexistence may depend on the specific characteristics of the two groups of Muses (Pascal 1985); Nagy 2009: 277-8 suggested that the shifting identity of the Muses would depend on the “process of initiating Hesiod as a panhellenic poet” [278]: only gradually is he able to introduce himself as a valid voice

In any case, the model of the poetical initiation through a gift received from the Muses, apart from being a common Mediterranean model,⁵¹⁰ was already active in the imagery of the *epos*, as we see in the *Odyssey* when Demodocus, a pupil of the Muses, is inspired by them when he sings and plays his φόρμιγξ (Hom. *Od.* 8.261–81). According to Pinsent (1985), the *topos* may also be an echo, in Boiotia, of an actual rite of passage in a local poetical school: however, there is probably no need to infer a professional school of Boiotian poetry (*ibid.* 121) to accept and appreciate the similarity of this archaic model of representation of the poetical initiation through a symbolic object such as the lyre.

Furthermore, the main regional poets from Boiotia, Hesiod and Pindar, confirm the “necessity” to be called and inspired by the Muses:⁵¹¹ whereas in Pindar this consecration is not explicitly marked by a concrete gift,⁵¹² we have anticipated how Hesiod himself recalls the encounter with the Muses. The anecdote also found its way in the biographical tradition on the poet, who usually also receives a laurel σκῆπτρον.⁵¹³ An interesting *lapsus calami*⁵¹⁴ in Virgil might support the belief that the Muses actually gave Hesiod a musical instrument: in the sixth *Eclogue*, Virgil mentions a reed-pipe (69: *calamos*) in the group of verses dedicated to Cornelius Gallus (64–73). The reed-pipe was given by Linos to Hesiod and finally reached the Roman Gallus,⁵¹⁵ an author of elegies, who is described here as a

for all of Greece through the appeal to the Olympian Muses, and not only to the local, Boiotian world of the Helikonian Muses.

508 Cp. Ercolani 2010: 14–5, on the Boiotian debate on the authorship of the first verses of the *Theogony*, referred by Pausanias (9.31.4).

509 Pucci 2007: 54–6.

510 This pattern of the *Dichterweihe* has been compared with the prophetic calls in the *Bible*, where the prophet receives a concrete symbol, which signals his identity as a divine nuncio (Bertolini 1980: 129).

511 On the voice of the Muses, see Brillante 2013–2014.

512 Only the Muses can make a man σοφός (F 52f, 51–3 S. – M.; *Ol.* 11.10); in the seventh *Olympian Ode*, poetry is explicitly defined as Μοισᾶν δόσιν (8).

513 Hes. *Theog.* 30; cp. e.g. *AP* 9.64.2. The object has a thaumaturgical value (Bona 1995: 118–9).

514 The definition of *lapsus calami* was used by Bonanno (see *infra* in text). Scholiastic tradition seems to share the perplexities of assigning to Hesiod an instrument, the bagpipe, commonly associated with bucolic poetry. This is proved by an ethopea, where Hesiod refuses to play a bagpipe, donated by a group of goatherds (*POxy.* 3537r, 21–2).

515 It is not uncommon to see a poet being recognized as such, when he receives an object that originally belonged to a great poet (Clausen 1994: 203).

bucolic poet.⁵¹⁶ The Virgilian novelty was understood by Bonanno (1990: 183-93) as a *Leitfehler*, a “guiding error” which would imply, in Virgil, a reference to the *Thalians* of Theocritus. Alternatively, we may also recognize a return of the “paradigma esiodeo”,⁵¹⁷ in the form of a poetical initiation, which may present a variation on the actual identity of the instrument given by the Muses to the mortal poet.⁵¹⁸

It is therefore more likely that the variation proper to Armenidas, namely the provenance of the lyre of Amphion from the Muses, transforms the founder into a legendary poet, or at least into an artist, whose accompanying instrument, the lyre, may come from a deity of the world of poetry, such as Apollo (Dioscorides), or the same Muses.⁵¹⁹ A later reverberation of the myth of Amphion has Hermes introduce his invention, the lyre, first to Apollo, and then to the Muses and to Amphion (Philostr. *Imag.* 1.10,1): Philostratus could mention here the mythical connotations of the lyre and be aware of the characterization of Amphion as a famous λυρικός.⁵²⁰ At Thebes, this poetical and musical elaboration was probably enhanced by the number of the chords of the lyre and of the gates (seven). The result, in Philostratus, is an Amphion who sings a hymn to Gea and is described as a contemplating lyrical poet.⁵²¹

If we accept this reading of the fragment, the text likely becomes something more than an excerpt from a topographical commentary on the Ampheion. Such a presentation of the founder Amphion supports the local and learned character of Armenidas’ *Theban Histories*. The text showed an unusual perspective on Amphion, probably in tune with the rest of the

516 “In questo contesto si comprende bene l’investitura di Gallo sui monti delle Muse: è Gallo il poeta degno di diventare (anche perché in parte già lo è) l’alter Hesiodus” (La Penna 1985: 387; on the presence of Hesiod in Latin literature, see Rosati 2009, with previous scholarship, and other examples in Kivilo 2010: 18).

517 Agosti 1997: 3, in a paper on a much debated ethopea (*POxy.* 3537r), whose anonymous author personifies Hesiod at the moment of initiation (late third – early fourth century CE). On the text, see further West 1984; Bona 1995; Agosti 1997; Most 2008 and Hunter 2014: 290 and n.21.

518 It seems that in Armenidas and, with all probability, in Philostratus (see *infra*), the characterization of Amphion as a lyrical poet went through a generic indication of the instrument, without a clear indication of the genre.

519 Pindar defines the *phorminx* as “joint possession of Apollo and of the dark-locked Muses” (*Pyth.* 1.1-3: Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ ἰοπλοκάμων/ σύνδικον Μοισᾶν κτέανον).

520 Cp. Kephallion *BNJ* 93 F 5, who, however, sees both the twins as μουσικοί. Kephallion also claimed that τὸ δὲ τεῖχος ἐπτάπυλον, ὅσοι τῆς λύρας οἱ τόνοι (F 3).

521 Philostr. *Imag.* 1.10.4: κάθηται δὲ ἐπὶ κολωνοῦ τῷ μὲν ποδὶ κρούων συμμελές, τῇ δεξιᾷ δὲ παραπλήττων τὰς νευράς (“[Amphion] is seated on a low mound, beating time with his foot and smiting the strings with his right hand”, tr. A. Fairbanks).

work, which seems to be open to poorly attested and rare variations on important local myths. Amphion, as a musician, strengthened his nature as a founder and, probably, of a mythical lawgiver, as this characterization is in line with other representations of memorable lawgivers of the Archaic period, who were also described as prophets and musicians.⁵²²

3.3. Armenidas F 3

Previous editions: *BNJ* 378 F 6; *EGM* I F **6; *FGrHist* 378 F 6 (Schol. A Pind. *Ol.* 6.23a Drachmann).⁵²³

ἐπτὰ δ' ἔπειτα πυρᾶν] τῶν διαβεβοημένων ἐστὶ καὶ τοῦτο, πῶς ἐπτά φησι γενέσθαι πυρὰς τῶν ἐπτὰ ἐπιστρατευσάντων, καί<περ> οὐ πάντων καέντων· Ἀμφιάραος μὲν κατεπόθη σὺν τοῖς ἵπποις ἐν Ὡρωπῶι, Πολυνείκης δὲ οὐκ ἐτάφη (ἄταφος γὰρ ἔμεινεν), Ἄδραστος δὲ ζῶν εἰς Ἄργος ἀπῆλθεν· καταλείπονται δ, Τυδεύς, Καπανεύς, Παρθενοπαῖος, Ἴππομέδων. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀρίσταρχός φησιν ὅτι ἰδιάζει καὶ ἐν τούτοις ὁ Πίνδαρος ὡς καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις· ὁ δὲ Ἀριστόδημός φησι τὰς ἐπτὰ πυρὰς *** ἀπολομένων· οὕτως [καὶ Ἴππομέδων] καὶ Ἀρμενίδας γράφει· “καὶ πυρὰς ποιεῦντες ἐπτὰ ἐπὶ τοῖς τέρμεσιν† ἐνταῦθα ὅπου καλεῦνται Ἐπτὰ Πυραί, ἥ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπτὰ ἐπὶ Θήβας, ἥ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπτὰ παίδων Νιόβης ἐκεῖ καυθέντων” [ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδ χωρισθεισῶν τῶν συζυγιῶν].

7 καὶ Ἴππομέδων *del.* Boeckh καὶ Ἰππίας Bergk *** Α εἶναι τῶν στρατιωτῶν τῶν Boeck *coll.* Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 6,23d 8 Ἀρμενίδας Bergk Ἀρμονίδας Α Ἀρτέμων Boeckh γράφει Boeckh γράφουσι *codd.* 9 ἑρμαῖσιν Drachmann ἑρμεῶσιν Schroeder ἑρμασιν Boeckh *fortasse recte* ἔρκεσιν

522 On this ambiguity of the lawgiver, see Camassa 1986 and Andolfi 2016: 117–8.

523 It is here contended that this text might indicate, apart from a reference to the Seven Pyres of Thebes, a possible link to the myth of Amphion (cp. F 2 and 3.2.2), since Amphion was Niobe’s husband; for this reason, I anticipate its usual placement in the succession of the fragments of Armenidas.

Schachter 10-1 ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδὲ χωρισθεισῶν τῶν συζυγιῶν *secl.* Drachmann: “*fortasse posterius addita*”

“And the Seven Pyres] Among the debated issues, there is also the problem of why he claims that there were seven pyres for the seven commanders, even if everyone was not cremated. Amphiaraios, in fact, was swallowed by the earth with his cart at Oropos, whereas Polyneikes was not buried, as he remained unburied, and Adrastos came back alive to Argos. Four are left: Tydeus, Kapaneus, Parthenopaeus, and Hippomedon. Now, Aristarchos claims that on this matter, as on other topics, Pindar is peculiar; Aristodemos, on the other hand, claims that the seven pyres *** of the deceased; so [and Hippomedon]. Armenidas, then, writes: ‘And after realizing seven pyres, by the pillars, in the place which is called “Seven Pyres”, either from the Seven against Thebes, or from Niobe’s seven children, who were cremated there [from fourteen, subdivided in couples]’” (tr. S. Tufano).

3.3.1. Textual Transmission and Context

The *Sixth Olympian* was written to commemorate the victory in the mule-cart race won by Hagesias of Syracuse, celebrated in the Arcadian city of Stymphalos in 472 or in 468 BCE: this man was a soothsayer and belonged to the Syracusan branch of the Iamidai.⁵²⁴ Since the Iamidai focused on military prophecies, Pindar quotes Amphiaraios as an *exemplum* at the end of the beginning of the ode. In the words uttered to him by Adrastos, Amphiaraios becomes “the pupil of my army” (27). The seer Amphiaraios survived his Argive comrades, who tried to conquer Thebes through a siege, and had prepared seven pyres in Thebes (23-5): as the commenter Aristarchos (216-144 BCE) soon noticed, Pindar distinguishes himself (ἰδιάζει) because he locates the last burial of the Seven in Thebes, and not elsewhere.

⁵²⁴ Hubbard 1992: 94 e n.41; Giannini in Gentili 2013: 142.

Two main problems concern the tradition of the unsuccessful attack of the Seven Argives against Thebes: their number and their identity, both subject to variations, and the location of the corpses, variously imagined between Attica and Boiotia. As with the Seven Wisemen,⁵²⁵ an oscillation in the identity of the single commanders should not surprise us, because the figures who were not further enhanced by individual myths were often subject to variations in the canonical lists. The Seven Argives who fought against Thebes represent a partial exception, since five names are almost always present.⁵²⁶ The total number was always the same, despite the actual presence of eight figures: the additional name is then variously explained, for example, by assuming that one of them survived as Adrastus.⁵²⁷

This contradiction between the survival of a few names and the association with seven, and not eight or six pyres, is the main issue that is studied in the present scholium. Pindar himself was aware of such a complication, because he refers to seven pyres (*Ol.* 6.23), while assuming that Amphiaraos had disappeared (20–2) and that Adrastus had survived. Moreover, as the scholium recalls, since Polyneikes was not buried, the actual dead numbered four. The contemporary explanation of this difference of numbers is based on a Vatican scholium (23d), which claims that the seven pyres were actually for the seven subunits of the Argive army and not for the commanders. In this way, we may also understand how they could all be posited in a single place, such as Thebes.⁵²⁸

The exact location, however, was the second issue at stake, and the scholiast recalls, for this reason, Aristarchos' view, according to which Pindar was providing a very original opinion on the subject (ἰδιόζει).⁵²⁹ Aristarchos wrote what is probably the first complete

525 Cp. *infra* the commentary on Daimachos' F 4 (5.5).

526 Adrastus, Amphiaraos, Polyneikes, Tydeus, and Kapaneus. Cp. Cingano 2002 on the other figures.

527 In Aeschylus' *Seven Against Thebes* (50), Adrastus' chariot is adorned with the memories of the Seven, which implies his survival; on the contrary, he belongs to the Seven Argives and dies in Euripides' *Phoenician Women* (1134).

528 See Symeonoglou 1985: 192; Hubbard 1992: 96; Schachter 2011a *ad BNJ* 378 F 6.

529 The verb ἰδιόζει does not necessarily imply a unique and isolated position on a topic, as if Aristarchos were accusing Pindar of being the only advocate for a Theban collocation (Hubbard 1992: 79; Steinbock 2013: 167, on the verb as proof for Pindar's invention of this tradition). In the statement of an opinion, ἰδιόζει can also mean a generic distinction (*LSJ s.v.* II 1), without systematic research, in advance, on the entire lexicon of Pindar. It is then better to speak, in line with the analogous uses of the adverb ἰδίως in conjunction with *verba dicendi*, of the indication of "elementi di originalità sul piano lessicale, narrativo o strutturale" (Merro 2015: 214; it is moreover always dangerous to claim that an author invented or created a tradition, in the absence of explicit proof in this direction).

commentary on Pindar’s works,⁵³⁰ and he is the grammarian who is mentioned most often in the *scholia vetera*.⁵³¹ After Aristarchos, a new generation of scholars in Pergamon and in Alexandria, introduced a different approach with a focus on the *Realien* of Pindar. This new reading of his verses was particularly enhanced by Aristodemos of Thebes, a grammarian and a historiographer.⁵³² he notably contradicts his teacher Aristarchos in many scholia, where the two names are matched together. Our scholium confirms this trend and indicates, despite the tormented textual transmission,⁵³³ that Armenidas was probably quoted by Aristodemos against Aristarchos.⁵³⁴ Armenidas, consequently, was quoted from this intermediate source, even if this does not allow us to extensively doubt the quality of the citation.

530 Merro 2015: 214.

531 Aristarchos is mentioned sixty-nine times in the corpus of the *scholia vetera* (Deas 1931: 5). It is not easy to understand the originality of Aristarchos’ method, since the commentary was vastly reused and reworked by later scholars. In general, it is assumed that he was particularly careful in the wording of the text, but not reliable in the study of historical and mythic material present in Pindar (as our scholium seems to prove). On this feature of his method, see Deas 1931: 8; on the limits of this approach, cp. the criticisms in Irigoin 1952: 54; Muckensturm-Pouille 2009: 88; Vassilaki 2009: 124. However, Aristarchos was able to detect the difficulty, which might have been the starting point of the later scholarship on Pindar and the Seven Pyres (Merro 2015: 229).

532 See on this Deas 1931: 16; Hubbard 1992: 94 n.42.

533 The final interpolation is an example of the many problems of the Ambrosian *recensio* (A) of Pindar’s *scholia vetera*. This *recensio* shows greater attention to the names of the sources than the Vatican *recensio*, and is also more detailed for the paraphrases and other linguistic details (Deas 1931: 58–61; on the textual tradition of this scholium, see also Merro 2015: 214–6). Fowler (2013: 367–638), for example, suspects that the fragment ends at ποιεῦντες and that it might have the form Ἐρμαῖσιν: the adverb οὕτως, after the memory of the Argives, would then be Aristodemos’ way to indicate and present the third approach to the topic.

534 Aristodemos may be the source for Armenidas, because he shared his interest in myths and was probably chosen, here, as another “local” erudite, who objected to Armenidas on other grounds (cp. *BNJ* 383 F 3: οὐδαμοῦ φησιν ἐν ταῖς Θήβαις τῶν Νιοβιδῶν εἶναι τάφον). Jacoby (1955a: 159) suggests that this debate may derive from Aristodemos’ Θηβαϊκά, which may confirm Pindar concerning the link between the Seven Pyres and the Argives, in the missing portion of the text of the scholium. We would then have an opposition between (1) Aristarchos, puzzled by the singularity of Pindar’s position on the seven pyres (and, possibly, arguing for the identification of the spot with the Niobidai), and, secondly, Aristodemos (2), who suggested an identification of the site as the burial of the Seven (thence, his utter denial of the presence in Thebes of a burial of the Niobidai). Armenidas, between these two positions, may have then be quoted by Aristodemos, to confirm the certainty of his understanding. This reconstruction is extremely likely, despite the common view that the historical fragments in this corpus actually come from Didymos, the final “collector” of the *scholia vetera* (Deas 1931: 22; on him, cp. Irigoin 1952: 67–75; Negri 2004: 218–25; Braswell 2013: 114–6; Merro 2015: 216 and n.19; *ibid.* 231, on the mythographical interests of Didymos).

This critical debate in the *scholia vetera* testifies to a difficulty of proceeding on the steep terrain of a local and isolated tradition.⁵³⁵ Unfortunately, we miss the relative scholium, in the Ambrosian *recensio*, for the other verse, where the pyres are set in Thebes (*Nem.* 9.24: ἐπτὰ [...] πυραί), but this scholium to the *Sixth Olympian* is sufficient to instigate a debate, where Armenidas represents an important place for the local traditions he echoed.⁵³⁶

3.3.2. Parallel Traditions and Myths in Contrast

Between the fifth and the fourth centuries BCE, Athenian support of the Seven Argives became a constitutive element of the catalogue of Athenian mythical merits that the city earned in the past.⁵³⁷ This myth may have been quoted for the first time by the Athenians in the speech given before the battle of Plataia (Hdt. 9.27.3), when Athens argued that they should occupy the right wing of the Greek army. This *Tatenkatalog* may depend on the fortune of these motifs in the Athens of the third quarter of the fifth century, but it has been argued that already in the sixties, the burial of the Seven was part of this public discourse. In fact, the stress on the burial of the Argives has been associated both with the military alliance between Athens and Argos in the late sixties, and with the specific honours paid to the Argives who fell at Tanagra (458/7 BCE) while fighting with the Athenians (*IG* 1³.1149).⁵³⁸

The benevolent gesture of Athens put the city in contrast with the “inhuman” treatment that the defeated Argives received in the mythical past from the Thebans: in Athens, this uneven stance was read as a telling, mythical precedence for the isolation of Thebes against an alleged common culture of values in the Greek world. Only the Thebans, who had

535 On the *scholia vetera*, see Deas 1931: 27–42; On the textual transmission of Pindar, cp. Irigoin 1952, Negri 2004, and the scholarship quoted by Merro 2015.

536 The *Sixth Olympian* and the *Ninth Nemean* are strictly linked and share many topics (Hubbard 1992). On Pind. *Nem.* 9.24, see Olivieri 2014: 39.

537 Cp. e.g. Lys. 2.7–10; Isoc. *Paneg.* 4.53–8 (with Clarke 2008: 270–1); *Panath.* 168–72; Pl. *Menex.* 239B.

538 On the Athenian *Tatenkatalog*, see Proietti 2015, with a convenient list of the single motifs and their occurrences in Athenian public discourse (*ibid.* 523 on the burial of the Seven). For the possibility that the motif was particularly popular in Athens in association with *IG* 1³.1149 and a possible use of the myth as an *exemplum mythicum* on the *Stoa Poikile*, see Papazarkadas – Sourlas 2012: 607 and Proietti 2015: 523.

recently medized, could be expected to be so “un-Greek” in the past.⁵³⁹ The location of the burial of the Seven represents, therefore, a pivotal moment in the justification of a gesture that played an important role in Thebes and Athens: this myth involved three cities (Argos, Athens, and Thebes) and had been part of their public discourse well before its first literary attestation.

The limits of an interpretation that excessively focuses on Athens are shown by the fact that the first literary source, a fragment from Aeschylus’ *Eleusinians*,⁵⁴⁰ records a tradition that placed the bodies of the Seven Argives in Eleusis.⁵⁴¹ This version, where there is a peaceful agreement between the parties, has been linked to the discovery of a series of nine MH tombs on the spot. For three of them, Mylonas (1975) produced evidence of a Late Geometric heroic cult, allegedly confirmed by a *peribolos* around them (eighth century BCE *ex.*). The contemporaneity of this cult with the circulation of the first oral tradition on the attack of the Seven may prove an early and independent interest in this myth at Eleusis. The literary evidence is extremely obscure on this;⁵⁴² more likely, an original local cult was reread in this direction, in the light of the Argive re-evaluation of the middle sixth century BCE.⁵⁴³

539 Cp. Steinbock 2013: 155–8; on the Theban medism, see *infra* 4.7.2 and 4.7.4.

540 The most important witness to this work is Philochoros (*BNJ* 328 F 12). See, in general, Steinbock 2013: 174–86. The play has been tentatively dated to 475 BCE (Culasso Gastaldi 1976: 70). It certainly predates the *Seven Against Thebes* (467 BCE).

541 Cp. on this version Steinbock 2013: 177. Pausanias (1.39.2) claims to have visited this burial in Eleusis.

542 On the Eleusinian discovery, see Steinbock 2013: 161 and n.25. The interpretation has been debated, nonetheless, because the same number of tombs is uncertain (Antonaccio 1995: 114 counts eight and a half; Burkert 1981: 34–5 seven); all that can be positively assumed is that the site had “a special importance for the local population” (Papadimitriou 2001: 87); it has even been argued that, in light of the uncertainties, the link with Eleusis might have only been established by Aeschylus (Anderson 2015).

543 In the middle sixth century, the Argives established a heroon for the Seven Argives who were buried in Thebes (Pariente 1992); this may also have been the moment when, in Thebes, there already was an association with the burial of these figures, if they could be recalled in this way: ΕΡΟΟΝ | ΤΟΝ ΕΝ ΘΕ-| ΒΑΙΣ. This *lieu de mémoire* has been used to argue for the antiquity of ascription to Thebes of the tombs of the Seven. A further proof of the Theban setting is recognized in a verse of the *Iliad* (14.114), which mentions a tomb of Tydeus in Thebes. However, this verse was athetized by Zenodotus (schol. A *Il.* 14.114 Erbse: even if Steinbock 2013: 167 n.54 expresses doubts on this choice, because Zenodotus may have been influenced by Athenian playwrights). The Eleusinian findings do not represent a solid scenario to argue for the preexistence of the Eleusinian connection with the Seven, but they certainly enlarge the picture. All our early literary sources date to the fifth century BCE, but it would definitely seem that, from the middle

In the late Archaic period, in general, such a new interpretation of ancient monuments was not uncommon: for this reason, there are no compelling grounds to suggest that Aeschylus' own representation of the myth and the replacement of the burial at Eleusis indicates anti-Theban malice. In fact, Aeschylus may have been referring to different local traditions that were not centered on Athens or on Thebes.⁵⁴⁴

In Thebes, and in other parts of Boiotia, different places were associated with the burial of the Seven.⁵⁴⁵ The doubts of modern scholars on the antiquity of the connection with the "Seven Pyres" seems disproved by Pindar's mention of the toponym: if we consider that both the epinician odes where he quotes it (the *Sixth Olympian* and the *Ninth Nemean*) were composed for an external audience, it is hard to see how he could be inventing such a tradition to reply to Aeschylus' collocation of the Seven in Eleusis.⁵⁴⁶ The Sicilian commissioning would represent, in those years, the only possible common ground between Aeschylus and Pindar. Pindar and Armenidas are the only sources to recall this Theban setting, with an uncertainty in the second author that can only be understood in connection with the contrasting tradition that considers the Pyres to be the tomb of Niobe's children, as Pausanias also knows (9.17.2). It would therefore seem that local sources, namely Pindar and (partially) Armenidas, were conveying a tradition with its own life, independently from other versions circulating in the same years.

sixth century, Thebes, possibly Eleusis, and Argos were all actively engaging in local reflections on the fate of these characters well before the Athenians addressed this point.

544 This peaceful resolution of the conflict was probably a version of the myth, without a direct political *raison d'être* (Steinbock 2013: 158, against the skepticism of Nouhaud 1982: 18-9, who thought that Isocrates' use of the Eleusinian collocation in the *Panathenaicus* (12,168-9) was an invention of the orator and proof of the fortuitous manipulation of the myth).

545 Thebes showed the tombs of the Theban defenders (Paus. 9.18.3). Thebes rivaled Harma (Str. 9.2.11.404; Paus. 9.19.4) and Oropos (Paus. 1.34.2), whose communities also identified as the place where Amphiaraos was swallowed by the earth. An inscription from the Museum of Thebes (MΘ 40933; Papazarkadas 2014b: 233-47) confirms Theban interest in the fourth century BCE (either halfway through the century, or, more probably, after 316 BCE: *ibid.* 246 n.87), to repeat the link with Apollo Ismenios and with Amphiaraos. The text is a rewriting in the Ionic alphabet of an Archaic original, which was written in the epichoric alphabet, and indicates Theban interest to insist on a mythical memory that still held importance to the local community (Papazarkadas 2016: 135-6; cp. *infra* 4.6.2-3 and, specifically on the Theban interest in this text, Thonemann 2016). Pausanias visited the tombs of Polyneikes and Tydeus (9.18.1-3; cp. Hom. *Il.* 14.114).

546 Bethe 1891: 98-9; Jacoby 1955a: 455; Podlecki 1966: 150-1; Culasso Gastaldi 1976; Hubbard 1992: 99-100; Mills 1997: 233; Steinbock 2013: 166. Cp. Schachter 1994a: 24 n.4.

The same criterion of independence would seem to apply to the other option considered by Armenidas in his work, namely, the identification of the spot with the burial of Niobe's children. The myth of Niobe was centered on the *hybris* of Amphion's bride: she had dared show off in front of Letho the great number of her children, and Artemis and Apollo, Letho's offspring, massacred Niobe's children in revenge. The narrative is already present in the *Iliad* (24.604–20) as a consolation *exemplum* from Achilles to Priam, who lost Hektor; the association of the Niobidai with Thebes is a constant that is not directly confirmed in the figurative arts,⁵⁴⁷ but is present in literature from at least the sixth century BCE.⁵⁴⁸ Already in the *Catalogue of Women* (F 183 M. – W.), in fact, Niobe is Amphion's wife; their wedding was then at the center of a Pindaric paean (*13 = F 64 S. – M.), which is all the more surprising once we consider Pindar's relatively scarce interest in the figures of Amphion and Zethos as the twin founders of Thebes.⁵⁴⁹ As with the location of the burial of the Seven Argives, delving into this emic perspective also allows us to see who really mattered in the internal discourse of these communities and of their audiences, and on which grounds, which may not coincide with what external sources would suggest.

Only Aristodemos of Thebes explicitly denied the existence of a burial of the Niobidai in Thebes (*BNJ* 383 F 10). This position was hardly based on the actual conditions of Thebes at the time of his activity, since, during his lifespan, the lower part was in ruins and badly

547 Schmidt 1992: 912 and *passim*.

548 Schachter (1994a: 23) considers a likely original association with the city. Among the playwrights, Aeschylus and Sophokles wrote a *Niobe*: they confirm the general location of the death of her children in Thebes; Niobe, transformed in stone, came back to Lydia, according to Sophokles (*TrGF* 441a–451; on Aeschylus' and Sophokles' plays, see Totaro 2013 and Carpanelli 2017). This myth was subject to a number of local variations, which do not directly touch the belief that the Niobidai died in Thebes. There were local versions in Argos (Apollod. 3.45–7) and in Lydia (Xanthos *FGrHist* 765 F 20). The myth of Niobe was represented on the Throne of Zeus in Olympia, created by Pheidias, even though it is not certain whether Amphion was also there: here, Niobe was a symbol of a punished *hybris*, but did not necessarily refer to Theban medism, as maintained by Geominy 1992: 924 and Papini 2014: 185–6, who underlines the parallel with the other relief on the armrest of the throne with a Sphinx. The political interpretation of the iconography derives from Thomas 1976: 31, whereas Ganter (*ad BNJ* 381 F 1) remembers that only on the Athenian stage was a political meaning more likely. It is uncertain whether we can read the motif of the punishment of Niobe on two clay reliefs (Stilp 2006: 187–8) found on Melos and dated to the fifties of the fifth century BCE. The general variety of myths of this group of reliefs from Melos, dated from the seventies to the forties, and a male figure who could be a pedagogue (*ibid.* 93: after the theatre?) seem to confute an anti-Theban reading.

549 Pindar's paean *13 = F 64 S. – M. = [Plut.] *de mus.* 15.1136C. Cp. Olivieri 2011: 41–2 and D'Alessio 1997: 43–4 for the suggestion that the two fragments we possess from another paean (22) might refer to the same myth. On Pindar's disinterest on the founding twins, especially for Amphion, see 3.2.1.

preserved.⁵⁵⁰ More probably, Aristodemos, in his *Θηβαϊκά*, was defending the opposite interpretation that the spot was actually the burial of the Seven.⁵⁵¹ Only Armenidas accepted both traditions, which must therefore refer to the same spot: Pausanias, who, contrary to Pindar, knows about the burial of Amphion's children in Thebes (9.17.2: ἡ πυρά), does not refer to the different reading that identified the spot with the burial of the Seven Argives.

The ambivalence of the spot known as the “Seven Pyres” is proved by the fact that the number also seems to have played a part in the debate on the historical memory of this place. The number (and the gender) of the Niobidai are subject to great variations in our sources:⁵⁵² Homer counts twelve of them (*Il.* 24.602–4), whereas the playwrights⁵⁵³ and other sources of the fifth century BCE⁵⁵⁴ refer to fourteen children, seven boys and seven girls.⁵⁵⁵ Armenidas must have kept the same number of children accepted by Hellanikos (*BNJ* 4 F 21), which is not surprising, considering the importance of this number in Theban folklore, from the chords of Amphion's lyre to the gates of the city. The final remark of the scholium on the “couples” may derive from the necessity to align the later witnesses to the local historian. Under this respect, Armenidas differed from Pindar, who counted twenty Niobidai. The local historian may have drawn on another local tradition that is also reported by Hellanikos, who usually accepts rare and isolated information for Boiotian traditions. Hyginus, too, mentioned seven daughters born of Amphion and Niobe.⁵⁵⁶ It would be interesting to know the gender of the children, in Armenidas'

550 Jacoby 1955a: 159; Mastronarde 2005: 195.

551 Cp. Radtke 1901: 49–50 n.1; Hubbard 1992: 95 n.45; Schachter 1994a: 22 n.4; Steinbock 2013: 168.

552 A complete list of variations in Hubbard 1992: 95 n.46; Gantz 1996: II 536–40; Fowler 2013: 366 n.51; Oliveri 2014: 39 n.7.

553 Aesch. *Niobe TrGF* 167b Radt; Eur. *Cresphontes TrGF* 455; Ar. *Niobus* F 294 K. – A.

554 See Apollod. 3.45; Diod. Sic. 4.74.3; Ov. *Met.* 6.182.

555 In the Imperial Age, this *ridicula diversitas fabulae* (Gell. 20.7.1) raised a debate, which prompted Aelian (*VH* 12.36), Gellius (20.7.1), and Apollodoros (3.45) to mention the early interest of Archaic lyrical poetry on this detail.

556 Jacoby 1955b: 108 n. 20 and Ambaglio 1980a: 120. Hubbard (1992: 95–6 n.47) argued that this was a “late fabrication of mythographers”, but Armenidas contradicts this, as any possible ambivalence could only be argued if the audience was already aware of the possibility of seven children. If we consider that Hellanikos' fragment belonged to the *Atlantis*, where the same author associated a Theban gate to Elektra (*BNJ* 4 F 22), we could think that the innovation of the mythographers consisted in this association with the gates. Maybe Hellanikos distinguished three boys and four girls, to set himself apart from the Attic playwrights (Pownall 2016 *ad BNJ* 4 F 4).

version, even if the witness does not really help us with that.⁵⁵⁷ This was probably a detail of minor importance, as the focus lay in the number, because any possible double interpretation of the spot had to adapt both to the Seven Argives and to the idea of Seven Niobidai: if a larger number for the Niobidai was accepted, any identification with the location would have probably been lost.

Wilamowitz (1886: 163 n.3) once suggested that Pindar was drawing extensively on the *Thebaid*, because a scholium says that the poet was echoing, for a lemma, this epical poem.⁵⁵⁸ Nonetheless, it is not necessary to *find* literary evidence for the probability that Pindar was accepting a local tradition on the Pyres as the burial of the Argives. We are more accustomed today to the possibility that a local community could possess a variety of contrasting traditions; at the same time, the opposing tradition recorded here by Armenidas (on the Seven Pyres as the tomb of the Niobidai) might not necessarily be a pure reception of the Athenian/Panhellenic location of this burial: Thebans too may genuinely have believed in both of these versions and identifications.

This alternative explanation may refute modern attempts to distinguish the site of the Pyres from that of the monument for the Niobids,⁵⁵⁹ whereas it would seem to add new evidence in support of Symeonoglou's identification⁵⁶⁰ of the spot with the contemporary Pyri. This is a complex of two hills (*Mikrò* and *Megàlo*) east of the Kadmeia and west of the Ismenos river. The Archaic and Classical votive pottery on the spot is not quantitatively enough to suggest a large scale cult; the site was, therefore, more a "landmark" than an

557 The generic παῖς in Armenidas does not allow us to understand the gender of Amphion's and Niobe's children: when other sources, like Hellanikos (*BNJ* 4 F 21), reproduce the same number (7), the children are both male and female. Hyginus' isolation, on the presence of seven *filiae* (*Fab.* 66), seems to be preceded by a verse of Euripides' *Phoenician Women* (159), on the παρθένων τάφος. This verse is usually compared to a fragment of the *Cresphon* (*TrGF* 455) quoted by Gellius (20.7.1) and by a scholiast to Euripides (schol. *MTAB Phoen.* 159): in this other text, there are fourteen children, but we cannot rule out the possibility that the τάφος was built for female offspring (and it is not entirely impossible that Hyginus, in *Fab.* 66, draws on an ancient tradition). For Pausanias (9.16.7), there were different graves for the men and for the women, with a clear reminiscence of the model of Attic drama, where the συζυγίαί were often underlined.

558 Schol. A Pind. *Ol.* 6.26. Cp. Hubbard (1992: 96–7 n.51) on necessary prudence before assuming that all the mythical references in the Sixth Olympian Ode derive from the *Thebaid*. On this cyclical poem, see Torres-Guerra 2015 and 1.1.2.

559 Keramopoulos 1917.

560 Symeonoglou 1985: 250–1.25. Further scholarship in Schachter 1994a: 22.

actual heroon.⁵⁶¹ If this identification is correct, we have confirmation that such a spot could never properly disappear: it was vested with a number of different meanings throughout the history of the local community, which at times could coexist (Armenidas). At the opposite pole, we find the less equivocal positions of those like Pindar and Pausanias, who could only accept one history for this landmark of the Theban landscape.

3.3.3. Ionic Forms in Armenidas and Their Value

The alleged ionisms of this fragment, namely ποιεῦντες and καλεῦνται, have been used to date Armenidas, given the absence of further witnesses on him.⁵⁶² Wilamowitz and later commenters considered his use of the Ionic dialect as an archaic feature: Armenidas was choosing to write in Ionic to have a vaster audience, and his forms, in any case, would be rare after the end of the fifth century BCE.⁵⁶³ However, if we consider, first of all, that the epichoric form Ἀρίαρτος (F 6) coexists with Ἀλίαρτος until the second century BCE, it becomes obvious that these arguments are particularly dangerous in the absence of a rich original sample of texts.⁵⁶⁴

The issue concerns three main problems: (1) first, why and whether literary ionic could be used in a genre like Boiotian local historiography. Its production is so poorly attested in a direct form that we are forced to turn to the situation of Herodotus' dialect, and, in general, to post-Classical Ionic. Second (2), the scholium is textually troublesome, and it would be wrong to intervene on the transmitted forms, which are different from the overall language of learned *koine*. Finally (3), it would be misleading to include in our reflection the form Ἑρμαῖσιν, a modern correction of the transmitted ἑρμεσιν. By doing so, we assume that when the codices of the Ambrosian scholia were written (eleventh century CE), there was a process of homography.⁵⁶⁵ This correction brings a further disadvantage, because it adds two details to the text, namely the presence of the Herms on the site of the

561 Pyri: Symeonoglou 1973: 79 n.32. It would be the only toponym in the region to preserve a puzzling continuity, from the second millennium BCE on, together with *Thevai* (Symeonoglou 1985: 192). "Landmark": Schachter 1994a: 22.

562 Another alleged ionism is Ἀρίαρτος, in F 6 (cp. 3.6.2), but see *infra* in text.

563 Wilamowitz 1922: 35 n.1.49 n.3; Jacoby 1955a: 160; Jacoby 1955b: 107 n.2; Schachter 2011a; Fowler 2013: 639.

564 Cp. Schachter 2011a and 2.2.6.2.

565 For the date of the ms. A (= Ambr. gr. 886), see Mazzucchi 2003, with a refusal of the previous suggestion of 1280.

Seven Pyres and a long dative in $-\alpha\iota\sigma\iota\nu$ that could be deceptive for our comprehension of the fragment.

1. During the Hellenistic period, Herodotus' text was enriched with a number of hyperionisms,⁵⁶⁶ which were added to the preexisting Ionic forms in the original text. These hyperionisms, however, were distant from the everyday Ionic dialect: in fact, between the fifth and the fourth centuries BCE, the inscriptions also attest to the use of the contraction $-\sigma\upsilon-$ ⁵⁶⁷ against the often artificial diphthong $-\epsilon\upsilon-$ of Herodotus and of the literary Ionic dialect.⁵⁶⁸ Moreover, since local historiography may also have other prosaic models, such as Attic and Doric prose,⁵⁶⁹ we do not need to consider these forms with a contraction in $-\epsilon\upsilon-$ as univocal hints of how Armenidas used a learned and archaizing Ionic dialect: even if the use of the Ionic dialect seems more probable (also for the circulation in Boiotia of the text of Herodotus), the absence of clear information on the date of Armenidas and of long excerpts suggests that we must have great prudence. Together with the literary influence, we should also consider whether the Attic dialect might find its way into the creation of the language of Boiotian historiography.

The coexistence of Ionic and Attic forms is confirmed by an important witness of the Classical Ionic dialect, the Derveni Papyrus, which has both forms with an "Ionic" contraction and short datives of the declension in $-a-$ ($-\alpha\iota\varsigma$, not "typically" Ionic).⁵⁷⁰ Now, we must assume that Aristodemos (third and second centuries BCE) could still read Armenidas, and that Armenidas, being less popular outside Thebes than other "universal" historians like Herodotus and Thucydides, was less subject to dialect transformations: this fact hinders those phenomena of strong corrections and modifications that we can imagine

566 Heraclitus' and Hippokrates' works suffered from the same consequences: see Cassio 1996: 148 and *passim*.

567 Cp. e.g. $\epsilon\nu\alpha\iota\kappa\omicron\upsilon\nu\tau\alpha$ (Schwyzer 1923: 767, ll. 1–2, from Ceos, fifth century BCE *ex.*). In general, the contraction is attested from the middle fifth century BCE (Horrocks 2010: 62). Already in the sixth century, the letters $-\epsilon\sigma-$ reflect a probable diphthong $[\epsilon\upsilon]$ (cp. $\mu\upsilon\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ on a bronze letter from Berezan of the late sixth century [SEG XXVI 845] and $\Delta\epsilon\iota\nu\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ on the statue of Nikandre, where the last syllable must have a synizesis, because it falls on a strong tempo [IG 12.5,2]; see on these texts Horrocks 2010: 37–9 and Corcella 1989: 245, for the possibility that Herodotus used both forms in $-\epsilon\sigma-$ and in $-\epsilon\upsilon-$).

568 The contraction between two equal vowels has different results (Miller 2014: 172–3). See, in particular on the result $-\epsilon\upsilon-$ from $\epsilon+\sigma$ in other dialects, Buck 1955: 40.

569 On the variety of dialects in prose, see Vessella 2008.

570 Cp. Cassio 1996: 152–3 and Horrocks 2010: 75.

more easily for “successful” texts. It follows that that the short-transmitted text 1) had less possibilities to be reworked and transformed, and 2) must not necessarily convey archaic forms of the fifth century BCE. In fact, it may also be an early example of the “atticization” of literary Ionic.⁵⁷¹

2. Consequently, imagining a further original status of the texts, with forms like ποιέοντες and Ἐρμῆϊσιν,⁵⁷² would imply imposing to the text a view of the dialect that contrasts with our evidence. Literary Ionic did not have a linear and clear evolution in our sources, and we also ignore how the Boiotians may try to adopt it in a historiographical work. From the little that we do know, their language could develop independently from great models like Herodotus, and be closer to other plain prose authors of the fourth century BCE.⁵⁷³ Ctesias, for example, seems to have shifted between a closer adhesion to literary Ionic, in his *Indika*, and the reception of the “langue savante gagnante” in his *Persika*, probably for the variety of the preexisting models.⁵⁷⁴

It may be interesting, however, to note how local reception in Boiotia of the Ionic alphabet, in the seventies of the fourth century BCE,⁵⁷⁵ may be seen as a local and final chapter of the “Panhellenic” success of the Ionian epigraphic alphabet, beyond a strict chronological arrangement.⁵⁷⁶ Armenidas’ use of sparse, but seemingly Ionic forms, may be proof, then, of a receptivity that is a historiographical and erudite penchant⁵⁷⁷ in a general

571 “C’est surtout la prose ionienne du début du IV^e siècle qui nous donne à nous modernes une impression de ‘reddition’ à l’attique” (Cassio 1996: 152).

572 Fowler 2013: 639–40; the second form is particular risky because it is a conjecture.

573 Atthidographers, too, referred to the Ionic model, in the final stage of the genre (Horrocks 2010: 64).

574 Cassio 1996: 153–5.

575 This chronological span has been suggested by Vottéro (1996) and is commonly accepted by current scholarship on the region (cp. Papazarkadas 2014: 232 and n.40), even though the method of introduction is still debated (Iversen 2010: 262–3). Papazarkadas (2016; see *ibid.* 135 for a short overview of the debate) suggests that Thebes, intervening in an ongoing process, imposed this new epigraphic habit. In general, on the introduction of the Ionic alphabet, see *supra* in 1.2.1.

576 The use of the Boiotian dialect, in the inscriptions, does not imply a simple passive reception of “pan-Hellenic literature” (Levin 1972: 54; cp. Luraghi 2010 on the value of epichoric alphabets).

577 Fowler (2001: 111–3) argued that the use of literary Ionic was a common phenomenon in local historiography, because it appealed to a wide audience. This inference, however, assumes the Panhellenic popularity of this dialect, and an almost indistinct audience for all the species of local historiography, which may be reconsidered by moving the perspective to a local subspecies.

change of the Theban and Boiotian epigraphic habit in the years of the hegemony.⁵⁷⁸ The connection with this broader internal process also seems to liberate Armenidas from an exclusively literary perspective, whereby only authors like Herodotus or local historians from other regions could help forge the tools of the nascent Boiotian historiography.

3. Finally, the transmitted ἔρμεσιν makes no sense, whereas Drachmann's correction ἔρμαῖσιν implies locating the Seven Pyres "close to the Herms". This correction would imply the existence of Herms, in Thebes, in a place where this element is not normally found: herms were commonly found in a square or at a crossroads. We can accept this conjecture, only if the area of the *Kastellia* was considered to be on the borders, where the Herms were usually built, or by assuming that they were actually monuments, like the ones that Pausanias associates with the Niobids (9.16.7; this hypothesis, nevertheless, would partially force the usual meaning of the word). A better conjecture would then be ἔρμασιν (Boeckh): this word can have a rare meaning, once endorsed by Boeckh, as "on the piles". This interpretation has only one other occurrence in Classical literature, and even there the variation ἔργμα is preferred.⁵⁷⁹

Boeckh's ἔρμασιν may be accepted if we keep the more common sense of "pillars, props" (*LSJ s.v.* I 1), and imagine an absolute expression, as in ἔρματα τῶν θεμελίων ("foundation pillars"). This interpretation removes a long dative from the text (a dative, moreover, of artificial and not etymological nature), which would not lose its main texture, i.e. that of a non-Attic prose for the presence of not exclusively Ionic forms.⁵⁸⁰

578 I would then be closer to those who tend to date Armenidas to the first quarter of the fourth century BCE (Radtke 1901: 42).

579 Soph. *Ant.* 848. See Schachter 1994a: 24 and n.2; Griffith 1999: 271.

580 ἔρματα τῶν θεμελίων: Diod. Sic. 5.70. The great diffusion of the movable -ν in Ionic dialect may have influenced this case (Vessella 2008: 294).

3.4. Armenidas F 4

Previous editions: *BNJ* 378 F 3; *EGM I* F 3; *FGrHist* 378 F 3 (Ath. 1.56.31A-B).

καλεῖται δ' οὕτως (*scil.* ὁ Βίβλινος οἶνος) ἀπό τινος χωρίου οὕτω
προσαγορευομένου [...]. Ἐπίχαρμος δὲ ἀπό τινων ὁρῶν Βιβλίνων φησὶν
αὐτὸν ὠνομάσθαι. Ἀρμενίδας δὲ τῆς Θράικης φησὶν εἶναι χώραν τὴν
Βιβλίαν, ἣν αὖθις Τισάρην καὶ Οἰσύμην προσαγορευθῆναι. ἐπεικῶς
δὲ ἡ Θράικη ἐθαυμάζετο ὡς ἡδύοινος, καὶ συνόλως † τὰ ἀπὸ πλησίον αὐτῆς
χωρία.

“The Bibline wine takes its name from a territory which was thus named [...] Epicharmos says that it takes this name from some Bibline mountains. Armenidas, instead, says that Biblia is a region in Thrace, and that it was previously named Tisare and Esyme. Thrace, to be honest, was admired for its good wines and so were, in general, the territories close to it” (tr. S. Tufano).

3.4.1. Textual Transmission and Context

The fragment is quoted in the epitome of the first book of Athenaeus’ *The Learned Banqueters* (56.31A-B).⁵⁸¹ Armenidas appears in a list of authors who mentioned the Bibline wine in their works. The Bibline wine was an extremely popular variety that is attested in literature, for example, by Hesiod (*Op.* 589) and Euripides (*Ion* 1195). There were various speculations on its exact place of origin: Hippys suggested a connection with Italy;⁵⁸² he thought that the Bibline wine coincided with the Sicilian “Pollios” wine and that it had taken its name from the fact that the vine that twists itself (εἰλέον) is called βιβλία.⁵⁸³ Pollis

581 On the textual tradition of the *Learned Banqueters*, see shortly *infra* n.1040.

582 Cp. Arist. F 585b Ross and Vanotti 2003: 525–6.

583 This etymology suggests that we doubt the connection to the adjectives βυβλίαν and βυβλίναν, which are found on a Table of Herakleia (*IG* 14.645 I 58 and 93). The comparison is not fitting, as maintained by Ghezzi 2004: 44, because the two adjectives actually refer to a μασχάλα, which defines a palustrine wetland where papyrus grow (Uguzzoni – Ghinatti 1968: 63–4).

of Argos, then, imported this variety to Syracuse. His figure, however, is obscure, and his name might have been created based on that of the wine.⁵⁸⁴ Armenidas, instead, suggested, together with the comedian Phylillus (fifth and fourth centuries BCE), that this wine came from Thrace.⁵⁸⁵ Even if Epicharmus is mentioned between Phylillus and Ibycus, we cannot be sure that he shared their point of view on this, since other sources set the ὄρη βίβλινα⁵⁸⁶ on the Upper Nile, not far from the city of Βύβλος.⁵⁸⁷

In any case, the Thracian origin of the Bibline wine was considered the most likely one. The actual discussion of the sources concerns the exact point of where the toponym could be located in this region. The name of the vine, in fact, should be βιβλία, from the root βιβλ-, combined with a suffix -ινος for the materials (West 1978: 306). This etymology implies the existence of an original Βίβλος, which is mentioned by a scholium on Hesiod (*Op.* 589: ὥς φασι, ποταμὸς ἢ πόλις Θρακική). Despite this exact identification with either a river or a city, both Armenidas and the later Stephanus (β 92, *s.v.* Βιβλίνη) refer to a Thracian region, the Βιβλίνη, which must coincide with the centres quoted by Armenidas.

584 So, Jacoby 1955a: 485. Later scholarship tried to find more precise events that may lie behind Hippys' explanation: Italian scholars, for instance, suggest that Pollis belonged to a noble family that reached Syracuse at the moment of its early colonization (Manni 1989), and that Pollis, in particular, was a prytanis, who advocated for the title of *basileus* for himself (De Sanctis 1958: 7–8; Sartori 1997: 52; Ghezzi 2004: 44). Vanotti (2003: 529–30) argued that the fragment comes from Hippys' Σικελικά and that it originally referred to an oracle of foundation for the city of Rhegium. Hippys records a Messenian tradition, biased towards the tyrant Anaxilaos of Rhegium (494–76 BCE); Epicharmus, on the other hand, reasserted the Thracian origin of the wine, because of his political closeness to the Deinomenids of Syracuse, who fought Anaxilaos (F 96 K. – A.: Epicharmus' position, therefore, should be understood against Hippys and not as a fruit of his own inquiry). If a Sicilian context is likely, in the appreciation of a political connection, the extent of the witness of Epicharmus invites more prudence.

585 Cp. *Et. Gen.* β 114 *s.v.* Βιβλίνος οἶνος (p.63 Berger); Ghezzi 2004: 42 and n.78.

586 The form in βι- alternates with that in βυ-. The first one prevails in the ancient sources, and in fact the second one might be influenced by the word βύβλιον (West 1978: 306). The vowel is diriment, because the form Βύβλιος forces us to imagine a reference to the Phoenician Byblos (Βύβλος), like in a fragment by Arcestratus (59 Douglas Olson – Sens); however, even if, in this case, the link with wine seems certain (so Ercolani 2010: 357), the adjective βύβλινος only rarely definitely refers to the Phoenician city (Luc. *Syr. D.* 7).

587 Schol. Aesch. *PV* 807. On this tradition, see Ghezzi 2004: 42. Semus of Delus (*BNJ* 396 F 13) thought that the origin of the name of this wine lay in a river of Naxos. Since Athenaeus probably still read Semus, scholars suggest that Semus was also the source on the other authors, because he dealt with the same topic (Zecchini 1989: 158 and Zecchini 1997: 189). Athenaeus was probably drawing on a lexicon or on a Hellenistic *Book of Wines* (Wilamowitz 1884b), as he explicitly mentions Semus only for the Pramnian wine, and not for the Bibline (Bertelli 2009 *ad BNJ* 396 F 13b).

Thrace was already a well-known region for its wine in the *epos*;⁵⁸⁸ the Bibline wine represented one of its peak productions, not necessarily hard to find and therefore expensive: its mention by Hesiod does not betray an inclusion among luxury goods.⁵⁸⁹ As a consequence, this common association with Thrace suggests some prudence before immediately accepting that the vine was historically imported to Boiotia and Thrace from the Phoenician city of Byblos during the eighth century BCE:⁵⁹⁰ the link with this eastern Byblos is not immediately straightforward in our sources. It is interesting that some of them, like our Armenidas, could actually insist on the Greek origin of the vine, in possible opposition to other theories (Ghezzi 2004: 44): the oriental link, then, is not immediately transparent to the ancient scholars.

3.4.2. A Theban Scenario

Armenidas included under the toponym “Biblia” two centers, which were opposite of Thasos: the first one, Antisara, is also known as Tisara and has been identified with a settlement of the sixth century BCE on the promontory of Kalamitsa. The settlement was a Thracian emporium and never became a proper *polis*.⁵⁹¹ The second center, Oisyme, lay on Cape Vrasidas and was a more important spot than Antisara. It also showed clear trading interests, since it is the only place of the Thasian *peraia* that is already mentioned by Homer (*Il.* 8.304). Oisyme was a Thasian colony and enjoyed political independence in the fourth century BCE, as is evident from a series of autonomously issued coins.⁵⁹² The absence of the city on the Athenian tribute lists demonstrates its dependent status towards Thasos, directly confirmed by the common iconography shown on the coins of Oisyme.

588 On the prestige of Thracian wines, see Hom. *Il.* 7.467 (νῆες δ' ἐκ Λήμνοιο παρέσταν οἶνον ἄγουσαι); *Od.* 9.196–8 (Odysseus has the Cyclops drink wine from Ismaros, just like the one mentioned by Archilochus in our F 2,1–2 West, *IE*²: ἐν δορὶ δ' οἶνος / Ἰσμαρικός; cp. Ghezzi 2004: 36–7 and Ercolani 2010: 35).

589 Cp. Ercolani 2010: 357.

590 Salviat 1990: 466–7.

591 Cp. Steph. Byz. α 336, s.v. Ἀντισάρα and Loukoupoulou 2004: 856.

592 On Oisyme, see the voice in the *IACP* by Loukoupoulou (2004: 864–5). Thasian colony: Thuc. 4.107.3; Diod. Sic. 12.68.4. The issues seem to be associated to a series of turmoil after the Thasian expansion on the continent: Picard 1993.

Armenidas then gave literary recognition to these Thracian harbours, and to the particular stress displayed by the Thasians in the commerce and regulation of wine trade.⁵⁹³

Unless we posit another work for Armenidas, different from his Θηβαϊκά, the fragment poses difficulties, for it is hard to imagine the original context of this information on Thrace in a work allegedly centered on Thebes. According to his reconstruction of the work as a topographical commentary on Thebes, Schachter (2011a *ad BNJ* 378 F 3) believes that the mention of the Bibline wine refers to the *aition* for the foundation of the temple of Dionysos Lysios not far from the Theban temple close to the Proitidian Gates.⁵⁹⁴ A group of Boiotians was once captured through a ruse by the Thracians, but managed to free themselves by surprising the Thracians who were asleep: the Thracians were suffering from the after-effects of the wine they had been served by the Boiotians. The Boiotians, then, dedicated a cult to Dionysos in Thebes.⁵⁹⁵ Both the place where the Boiotians were captured⁵⁹⁶ and the location of where they freed themselves⁵⁹⁷ are subject to many variations. Aristophanes (F 4) is a partial exception, since he claims that the cult of Dionysos Lysios was established after the Theban abduction of *Ampelos* (the vine, or a mythical character): in his reconstruction, the local explanation for the epithet *lysios* focuses on the act of salvation, not on an exact toponym.⁵⁹⁸ The connection between the anecdote and the fragment may simply be that the Thracians served Bibline wine (or had already drunk it, for the fame of the wine), since a generic association with the region, in the context of a short anecdote, seems excessive.

However, we can imagine a different organization of the materials in the *Theban Histories* of Armenidas (with a possible inclusion of contemporary events in the work) and follow a

593 On the coins of Oisyme, see Picard 1993: 13. On the Thasian regulations, see Koerner 1993: 66 and 68–9.

594 Paus. 9.16.6. On the cult, see Casadio 1999: 124–43. Schachter (1981: 191) suggested that the cult of Dionysos was an emulation of the Athenian model, because its position in connection with the theatre resembles the Athenian temple of Dionysos Eleuthereios. The theatre of Thebes has possibly been identified (but see Germani 2012); there are no clearly associable structures for the temple, which is mentioned by an inscription, with a dedication by Eumenes II (*SEG* XV 328; cp. Symeonoglou 1985: 190 and Moggi – Osanna 2012: 306–7).

595 This plot emerges from the combination of Aristophanes F 4 (4.5); Herakleides Pontikos F 143 Schütrumpf; Ephoros, *BNJ* 70 F 119; Paus. 9.16.6; Zen. 4.37; Polyaeus, *Strat.* 7.43.

596 Polyaeus: Lake Kopais; Zenobios: Koroneia (not a real variation, probably, but maybe only a detail, in relationship with the lake). On this variety, see *supra* 3.1.1.

597 Herakleides: Lebadeia; Pausanias: Haliartos.

598 Casadio 1999: 126; Pausanias often refers to anecdotes, to explain single epithets (Gaertner 2006: 483).

date of the second quarter of the fourth century BCE.⁵⁹⁹ Another scenario then becomes possible, one that is linked to Theban politics in the sixties of the century. The remoteness of Thracia may be explained by the fact that Epameinondas was sailing in the region, in the context of the sea campaign,⁶⁰⁰ and used the harbors quoted in Armenidas' fragment.

The mention of Antisara and Oisyme may then acquire a new meaning in this context: these centers were, with Thasos, on an important route for any ship returning to Greece from the Hellespont.⁶⁰¹ The context of the fragment might then be a distorting mirror, since it is Athenaeus who quotes the cities for the Bibline wine; their original appearance in the *Theban Histories* had a different meaning. The historiographical tradition on the naval side of the Theban hegemony is nowadays dispersed and generally poor in detail, but the sources on Epameinondas and the traditions on him were probably richer and vaster than the ones we know directly.⁶⁰²

The fragment might then derive from a narrative of the events of the sixties of the fourth century BCE, even if such a scenario naturally conflicts with the (hypothetical) contrasting view that Armenidas lived at the end of the previous century. The absence of further "historical" fragments hinders our interpretation, and it is true that a date of Armenidas in the second quarter of the century does not necessarily authorize us to consider our interpretation as the only valid one. However, it is not less likely than any forced attempt to consider Armenidas as an early mythographer who could only refer to the wine as an erudite detail.

599 See *supra* (3.3.3) for this date.

600 See 7.3 for a short overview of this campaign.

601 The reconstruction of Carrata Thomes (1952: 37; cp. the map at Vela Tejada 2015: 54) suggests a diagonal crossing of the Thracian Sea with the direct arrival in the Malian Gulf. However, it is not necessary to suggest that Thasos was directly touched by Epameinondas: the island, in the context of a coasting navigation, just like the two centers mentioned in the fragment, may also be the object of a connection.

602 On these traditions, see Carrata Thomes 1952: 8–11. Cp. e.g., on Epameinondas' arrogance, Plut. *de Laude ipsius* 9.542C: "Hence Epameinondas said when Menecleidas derided him as prouder than Agamemnon: 'But it is your doing, men of Thebes; with your help alone I overthrew the Spartan empire in a day'" (tr. P.H. de Lacy – B. Einarson).

3.5. Armenidas F 5

Previous editions: *BNJ* 378 F 5; *EGM* I F **5; *FGrHist* 378 F 5 (Hsch. μ 110 [II 363 Latte] = Phot. [g, z] μ 44 [II 533 Theodoridis] = *Suda* μ 58, *s.v.* Μακάρων νήσοισιν = *Com. adesp.* *PCG* F 386 K.-A.).

Μακάρων νῆσος· ἡ ἀκρόπολις τῶν ἐν Βοιωτίαι Θηβῶν τὸ παλαιόν, ὡς Ἀρμενδᾶς.

1 μακάρων...θηβῶν Hsch. νήσοισιν *Suda* 2 ἀρμένδᾶς g z Ἀρμεν<ί>δᾶς Fiorillo 1801,117 Jacoby Fowler Παρμενίδης *Suda*

“Isle of the Blessed: once upon a time the acropolis of Thebes, according to Armendas” (tr. S. Tufano).

3.5.1. Textual Transmission and Context

Hesychius omits the name of the source, Armenidas; this omission might be due to the nature of the only preserved manuscript of his work, an abridged and interpolated version of the *Lexicon*, originally written in the fifth or sixth century CE. The version on the *Suda* also presents reasons for controversy, since its author probably misunderstood the name of the author as it was recorded on Photius’ *Lexicon*. The *Suda* drew on Photius “*suo Marte*”,⁶⁰³ because the text presents the trivialization Παρμενίδης instead of the transmitted Ἀρμένδᾶς. This is the form of the personal name on the ms. z of Photius, without the iota integrated by Fiorillo (1801: 117).

This form of the personal name is particularly interesting, because it is the only instance where the name of the historian is reported as ending in -νδᾶς and not in -ίδᾶς; since the suffix -νδᾶς, etymologically Greek, is particularly evident in Boiotia, it is advisable to

603 Theodoridis 1998: 533. Cp. Dickey 2007: 90.

accept the transmitted form *Armendas* (Ἀρμένδας).⁶⁰⁴ This may have been the real name of the historian, because it is easy to imagine how, from a very early stage, it could quickly be trivialized with the Ionic suffix –ίδας.⁶⁰⁵ In the rest of the work, however, I adopt the generally accepted form *Armenidas*, which is now common for his name.

The interest of the lexicographers is probably due to the singular identification of the Isles of the Blessed in Thebes, which were normally placed in an ultramundane area. This ultramundane place had no univocal location in the mental geography of the Greeks: Pherekydes (*BNJ* 3 F 84),⁶⁰⁶ for example, claimed that Alkmene's burial was in Thebes and that the woman was buried by the Heraklids; however, Zeus sent Hermes to move her body to the Isles of the Blessed, where the woman married Rhadamanthys. This example clearly shows the general tendency of the interpreters to detach an imagined place from a specific individuation, such as Thebes in this narrative.

The Isles of the Blessed are παρ'Ὠκεανὸν βαθυδίνην, “along the shore of the deep-swirling Ocean”, in the first literary source that mentions them, Hesiod (*Op.* 171).⁶⁰⁷ In the *Works and Days*, the islands host those blessed heroes (172) who fought against Thebes

604 I wish to thank Prof. A.C. Cassio for this suggestion.

605 The personal name Ἀρμενίδας is only known through literary sources. The only potential documentary evidence may derive from an inscription in Delphi of the fourth century BCE (*FD* III 4, 394, l.3), but here the suffix of the name is reconstructed as Ἀρμεν[ίδας]. In Lokris, in Phokis, and in the Megarid, we know of other personal names formed from the same root, such as Ἀρμενισᾶς, Ἀρμενίων, and Ἀρμενος (cp. *LGPN* s. vv.). The suffixes –ίδης and –ίδας have a different origin (Kereuntjies 1997: 397), as the first one is made of the pre-Greek element –ιδ–, which received a further suffix –ας to specify the masculine member of a group or of a family (*Maskulinisierung*: Meier 1975: §66; Ruijgh 1992: 559–60). The other suffix, –ιδας, i.e. –ιδα–, is a parallelism from pre-Greek roots and words. The suffix –ιδας is highly prolific in Boiotian and in the north-western dialects, mainly from roots of –ν– (Clinton Woodworth 1932: 344). It is possible, on the basis of other similar proper names, that *Armendas* (Ἀρμένδας) came from a root in epsilon, not dissimilar to the parallel case Ποιμενδαο (Te Riele 1975: 77–82; cp. also *SEG* XXXII 538): “il apparaît donc vraisemblable de considérer que les finales –αδας, –ωνδας (et on y ajoutera –ενδας) sont des combinaisons de –α + –ιδας, –ων + –ιδας et –εν + –ιδας” (Vottero 2017: 616).

606 The ascription of the fragment to Pherekydes has been contested by Jacoby (1923a: 415) and by Fowler (2013: 343), who think that the witness, Antoninus Liberalis (*Met.* 33), draws on a mythographical handbook. For the present discourse, we might accept, however, the name of “Pherekydes” as a sign of the great antiquity of the tradition, which is confirmed by Plutarch (cp. *infra*).

607 Cp. *POxy* 2510.2, and Bravo 2001: ἐς μακάρων νῆσους π[ί]ν[ειν] πόμ[ατ'] Ὠκεαν[οῖο]. If we accept Bravo's suggestion that the fragment comes from the *Small Iliad*, the poem and Hesiod might both be drawing on the Homeric verse ἐς πείρατα ἴκανε βαθυπόρου Ὠκεανοῖο (Hom. *Od.* 11.13), which locates the World of the Dead beyond the Ocean (Manfredi 1993: 28).

(162-3) and Troy (165). Even if the substantive μάκαρες originally refers to the gods,⁶⁰⁸ Hesiod uses it for these men, as is confirmed by a verse that helps us imagine the location of the Isles: they were a place inaccessible to other mortals, beyond a possible mythical geography.⁶⁰⁹ The location by the river Oceanus distinguishes the world of the dead from that of the living,⁶¹⁰ and all we can posit is a generic position in the West.⁶¹¹

After Hesiod, later speculation on this mythical spot highlighted its exclusive character, because the Islands were slowly reserved for privileged figures, like the initiates of a mystery. This is the picture that emerges, for instance, from what Pindar says in his Second *Olympian Ode* (61-83). Nonetheless, many contemporary speculations are constantly based on the myth of Rhadamanthys, whose earthly connections include the region of Boiotia and Crete.⁶¹² Of these two locations, the Cretan one is the more common: the poet Cinethon defined Rhadamanthys as a Cretan, whereas the *Iliad* simply attests an association with Europa, which only indirectly alludes to a Boiotian setting.⁶¹³ This would emerge from the association with Europa, who had been hidden by Zeus in a cave in Teumessos, according to one tradition.⁶¹⁴ We cannot rule out, however, that this Europa was a namesake of the girl kidnapped by Zeus and chased by Kadmos, and that the original Boiotian myth of the “other” Europa was only later bound with the Cretan myth

608 M.L. West 1978: 193; S. West 2003: 380.

609 Ercolani 2010: 192. In the Archaic period, apart from this representation, other people may be imagined on the Isles of the Blessed, like those semidivine heroes who are mentioned in a fragment of the *Small Iliad* (POxy. 2510 = F 32 Bernabé). Here, a god (Hermes, Athena, or Iris; see Bravo 2001: 62) invites the Achaeans to recover Achilles’ body, so that his corpse might be later moved by Rhadamanthys to the Isles of the Blessed (Il. 2-3). Rhadamanthys, the son of Zeus and Europa (Hom. *Il.* 14.322; see commentary on Aristophanes FF 9 A and B), was often placed in this imaginary place. The Isle(s) of the Blessed was also assimilated, and sometimes identical with, the Elysian fields, where Menelaus finally goes, according to what Proteus claims (Hom. *Od.* 4.561-9; cp. Bravo 2001: 96-7 and, on the association, Manfredi 1993: 5 and n.1; S. West 2003: 380-1). After Homer, the adjective ἡλύσιος reappears, in the extant literature, only in Apollonius Rhodius (4.811)..

610 West 1981: 364 mentions on this Hom. *Od.* 10.508; 11.157; 24.11.

611 Cp. Manfredi 1993: 25-33 and Debiasi 2008: 96. The general location ἐκαστέρω [...] Εὐβοίης (Hom. *Od.* 7.321) confirms the western place of the Isles and can be explained as being from the point of view of Asia Minor.

612 On Rhadamanthys, see also the commentary on Aristophanes FF 9A and B.

613 Cinaethon F 1 West, *GEF* (according to Diod. Sic. 5.84 and to Apollod. 3.6, he ruled over the island and over the Aegean islands); Hom. *Il.* 14.322.

614 Schachter 2011a *ad BNJ* 378 F 5, with reference to Antimachos FF 2-3 Wyss. Further sources on Rhadamanthys in Boiotia are discussed *infra* (4.10.3); in general, it is fair to admit that “Eurôpé est chez elle en terre béotienne” (Bonnechere 2003: 299).

of Rhadamanthys (for example, by considering Minos and Sarpedon as Europa's children).⁶¹⁵

3.5.2. The Sacred Space of the Kadmeia, between Tradition and Propaganda

Jacoby (1955a: 158-9) suggested three possible scenarios, which may explain the association of the Isles of the Blessed with the Theban acropolis. According to him, this might imply:

1. a reference to the birth of Zeus in Thebes, because Thebes was also the Διὸς γοναί, the “Birthplace of Zeus”,⁶¹⁶
2. a mention of the cenotaph of Hektor, sometimes imagined in Thebes,⁶¹⁷
3. a link with the traditions on Rhadamanthys' presence in Boiotia, because he had either married Alkmene and died in Haliartos,⁶¹⁸ or had reached the region as an exile from Crete, before stopping at Oichalia,⁶¹⁹ where he married Alkmene.⁶²⁰

615 Hes. *Cat.* FF 140-1 M. – W. On this hypothesis, see West 1985: 147. As a consequence of this syncretism, Plutarch records, in his *Life of Lysander* (28.4-5), that the Cretan storax-shrub grew at the Cissousa spring, which was considered proof of Rhadamanthys' stay in the region. Here this figure had a cenotaph, the Alea (on the identification of the two figures, suggested by Plutarch but debatable for modern scholars, see Schachter 1981: 9 and Parker 2010: 131 and n.9).

616 Aristodemos *BNJ* 383 F 7 (“For the Thebans in Boiotia, who were pressed by evil, consulted an oracle about deliverance. The oracular response they were given was that the terrible things would stop, if Hektor's bones were carried over from Ophryinion in the Troas to the place which was called by them *Birthplace of Zeus*. After they had done it and they were released from the evil, they esteemed Hektor, and during pressing times they invoke his appearance. The story is according to Aristodemos”; tr. Ganter – Zgoll); schol. *vet. Lycoph. Alex.* 1204.

617 Aristodemos *BNJ* 383 F 7; Paus. 9.18.5; schol. *vet. Lycoph. Alex.* 1204. Cp. Vian 1963: 123 nn.2-3; Federico 2008.

618 Plut. *Lys.* 28; *de gen.* 3-5.577E-578B.

619 The mention of Haliartos may be a simplification of the less-known Oichalia between the sanctuary of Poseidon in Onchestos and Haliartos (Schachter 1981: 13 and 2011a *ad. BNJ* 378 F 5, after *Hom. Hymn. Ap.* 239-43 and Str. 9.2.26.410). Other scholars suggest that, instead of the most known Haliartos, a more erudite option was chosen for the prestige attached to it by the Homeric verses: Schachter 1994a: 25: “Eventually, to give the tale a proper Homeric colour –or perhaps because by this time Haliartos had ceased to exist, that is, after 171 B.C. – the scene was shifted to Okaleia”; cp. Kühr 2006: 195 n.165).

620 Apollod. 2.11; Tzetz. *ad Lycoph. Alex.* 50. These hypotheses do not agree with the reading, suggested by Kühr (2006: 118 n.182), that the inscription *IG* 7.2452 (ἡαρόν| Γ[αία]ς [Μα]καίρα-| ς Τελεσσφόρο), might betray a reference to the acropolis as the Isle of the Blessed. Other interpretations held in the past, however, deserve mention here, like the

The further association with Herakles, resulting from the wedding of Rhadamanthys with Alkmene (3), suggested to Schachter (2011a) that this last scenario was more likely for a local history of Thebes. We know that another local historian, Aristophanes (FF 9A–B), named Rhadamanthus as a teacher of Herakles:⁶²¹ in that case, however, as shown by the commentary, it is possible that, already, Rhadamanthys was not Herakles’ stepfather. The traditions linking Rhadamanthys with Boiotia have a relatively recent development, from indirect indications in the *Iliad* (see 3.5.1).

The first two hypotheses have the advantage that they can be clearly identified both in the imagined and in the experienced Thebes, from what we know of the ancient city.⁶²² However, the relevance of Herakles in Thebes is probably an important detail that we cannot escape, and Jacoby’s aporetic conclusion should probably be espoused.⁶²³ The real uniqueness of this fragment lies, in any case, not generally in the presence of the Isles of the Blessed in Thebes, but in their presence on the Kadmeia. Since all the other “Panhellenic” sources tend to repeat a western identification of the isles, we must understand the originality of this local tradition and imagine how strong this connection could be felt in Thebes, to the point that a local historian decided to accept it in his work.

The lexicographers, in point of fact, link the Islands to the Kadmeia and specify that it was an ancient identification (τὸ παλαιόν, “once upon a time”). Whether this comes from learned scholarship (lexicographical sources), or from Armenidas, it forces us to historicize and locate in the tangible world, the ultramundane reality of the Blessed Islands. From a local point of view, this association may depend on the necessity to pinpoint in Thebes the presence of a figure who could be imagined, in general, as finishing her or his fate on the

one by Burkert (1961), who argued for a misunderstanding of the adjective ἐνελύσιος, “struck by lightning”, originally referred to by Armenidas as the place where Semele had been struck by Zeus. K. Latte linked the lemma to an anti-Theban *boutade* of an Athenian comedian, but it is hard to imagine how derogatory such an association could prove for Thebes (Latte 1966: 623: “[i]ocus comici Atheniensis ab Armenida vel excerptore male intellectus”). This last suggestion is considered plausible by Fowler (2013: 500).

621 Cp. *infra* 4.10.

622 However, Fowler (2013: 500) observes that the birthplace of Zeus and the cenotaph of Hektor were usually placed outside the walls and not on the Kadmeia (Paus. 9.18.5; schol. Lycoph. *Alex.* 1194).

623 Jacoby 1955a: 159 (“[D]ie beiden ersten möglichkeiten haben den vorteil, dass sie den τόπος καλούμενος Μακάρων νῆσοι [...] direkt für Theben bezeugen. [...] [E]s ist nicht möglich, sich für eine von ihnen sicher zu entscheiden”).

remote Isles of the Blessed (or, far from Thebes): this vagueness became an actual, close space in this local imaginary.

A possible candidate for this is Alkmene, who dies in Thebes (in the aforementioned fragment by “Pherekydes” [BNJ 3 F 84]) under the domain of the Herakleidai. Zeus, as we have seen, sent Hermes to move the corpse to the Isles of the Blessed, where the woman married Rhadamanthys. In the meantime, the Herakleidai discovered that the divine messenger had substituted the corpse with a stone, and they dedicated this object in a grove (ἐν τῷ ἄλσει),⁶²⁴ which became the seat of the ἡρώιον τὸ τῆς Ἀλκμήνης ἐν Θήβησιν. The same story is mentioned in Plutarch’s *Life of Romulus* (28), even if there is no explicit mention of Thebes, but only the missing corpses and the discovery of the stone.

Alkmene’s body was then the object of a theft during the Spartan occupation of Thebes, aimed at gaining its propitiatory aspect, according to what Plutarch says elsewhere (*de Gen.* 3–5.577E–578B). In this dialogue, Phidolaus of Haliartos recalls the impious action of the Spartan king Agesilaos (whose presence in Thebes and freedom of movement suggest a fictional date of 382–79 BCE for the dialogue).⁶²⁵ It seems that Agesilaos also wanted to open the grave but found other things instead of the corpse: (possibly) a part of it or a stone,⁶²⁶ a bracelet, two amphorae, and a tablet written in an ancient script.

624 The correction ἄσσει (Wilamowitz 1891: 210 n.2) seems trivial and we do not have strong evidence to support it.

625 Schachter 1981: 13 and n.2; Parker 2010: 135–7. Brugnone (2008: 46–9) suggests an earlier date, because she connects the quarrel to the events following the death of Lysander in the battle of Koroneia (394 BCE). Agesilaos took revenge upon the Haliartians, because a citizen from this city killed Lysander (Plut. *Lys.* 29.9; Paus. 9.32.5). The violation of the burial of Alkmene, in this scholar’s reconstruction, would then be an almost personal revenge, all the more impious because it was not sanctioned by a divine performer. A further private aspect of this was the anti-Theban policy of Agesilaos, who, as a Heraklid, had every reason to recover the remains of Herakles’ mother. The main issue with this reconstruction lies in the utter refusal of Plutarch’s version in the *de Genio Socratis*: Brugnone claims that Agesilaos did not control Boiotia, since Phidolaus was able to express his indignation. However, this same character maintains to have been absent when the events occurred (5.577E: οὐ γὰρ παρέτυχον). The god’s discontent for the inaction of the Haliartians, moreover, can only be understood if they were actually inhibited from reacting in the years of Spartan rule.

626 The text has a lacuna, which makes the exact nature of the findings hard to understand: εὐρέθη δ’ οὖν <...> σώματος (5.577F). The lacuna has been variously supplied with actual indications of what was found (Schachter 1981: 14, for instance, suggested τὰ λείψανα, “the remains”), but the most prudent conjecture is still, probably, the one suggested by Wilamowitz, <λίθος ἀντὶ τοῦ> (cp. Russell in Nesselrath 2010: 86 n.52: as Pherekydes and Plut. *Rom.* 28 confirm, something else was found “instead of the body”). The limit of this conjecture is that it transfers to the Haliartian setting

The episode was carefully studied and understood as an echo of the mythical *memorabilia* policy, already attested in the Archaic Age (just think, for instance, of the removal of Theseus' bones around the half of the seventies from Skyros to Athens).⁶²⁷ Even Alkmene's bones, or what remains of them, receive libations meant at granting benefits to those who enact them. This is shown by Lysanoridas' absence from the dialogue in the *de Genio Socratis* (5,578A), since he is in Haliartos to fill in the grave. The arrival of the woman in the Isles of the blessed, mentioned by Pherekydes before Plutarch, was probably rationalized in Thebes and given a close – and experienceable – setting; other places in town were credited with a cenotaph of Alkmene,⁶²⁸ but the acropolis naturally held a special place in the local topography.

The Theban acropolis had already accommodated a rare moment of cohabitation of mortals and humans, with the wedding of Kadmos and Harmonia.⁶²⁹ Therefore, it was the natural candidate for a singular destination for Alkmene, since the Kadmeia resonated with that ultramundane association and was clearly identifiable, at the same time, in Thebes. Secondly, the acropolis is the middle point in Classical gestaltic geography: its symbolism echoes an ideal city, which thus becomes the centre of the world.⁶³⁰

In his *de Genio Socratis* (5.578A), Plutarch mentions a draught followed by the flood of Lake Kopais in Haliartos. The event was considered as divine vengeance, because the local population allowed the sacrilegious theft.⁶³¹ If we accept the historicity of this episode, but

what is originally set in Thebes, but we cannot rule out that the “places of Alkmene” shared details in single aetiologies. Moreover, we will see (*infra* in text) that the Thebans may likely have been the ones who were inspired by the (previous?) Haliartian setting.

627 Parker 2010. See, on this topic, McCauley 1999; Patterson 2010: 38–44; Zaccarini 2015 (the story might actually be a tradition arising in the fourth century BCE).

628 Diod. Sic. 4.58.6; Paus. 9.16.7; Schachter 1981: 15–6. Pausanias (1.41.1) recalls another version where the remains of Alkmene were placed in Megara; on the cult of Alkmene, see Larson 1995: 83–5. For her association with Thebes, see Larson 2000: 199.

629 Paus. 9.12.3. Cp. Rocchi 1989: 41–58 and *supra* 2.2.2 *ad* ἑκαστον δῶρον for the meaning of the presence of the gods in Thebes during this event.

630 Kühr 2006: 118 n.182.

631 Plut. *de gen.* 5.578A: “At Haliartus the great failure of crops and encroachment of the lake are held to have been no mere accident, but a judgement on us for having allowed the excavation of the tomb” (tr. P.H. de Lacy – B. Emerson).

imagine it in Thebes and not in Haliartos,⁶³² the tradition may be understood as justification for the non-intervention of the Thebans when Agesilaos tried to recover this disputed corpse. The story of the actual presence of Alkmene may have served as a national apology: the Spartan king only found fake remnants, while the real Alkmene was laying in peace (and hidden?) on the Kadmeia.⁶³³ Armenidas, in this reading, is witness to a recent tradition aimed at defending the Thebans from an accusation of impiety: the hypothesis does not explicitly contrast the identification of Rhadamanthys' corpse in other areas of Boiotia.⁶³⁴

Finally, it might be worth considering the role of the Kadmeia and the possible association with the tradition that imagined the final fate of Kadmos and Harmonia on the Isles of the Blessed after they had been transformed into snakes. Even in this other interpretation, the location of these legendary figures in a mundane spot could grant the site the presence of a figure, Kadmos, who was actually a *genius loci* for Thebes.⁶³⁵ Just like in the tradition of the final fate of Alkmene, we should understand this location as an innovation, because the sources on the final journey of Kadmos and Harmonia imagine the couple moving to a place completely beyond the historical boundaries of the Earth. In one version of this section of the myth, they reach the Elysian Fields on a cart.⁶³⁶

However, both the fate of Alkmene and that of the founders have the same possibility of being linked with Armenidas' identification of the Kadmeia as the Isle(s) of the Blessed. Both these interpretations may be imagined in a history of Thebes, and they actually both agree in the social meaning that underlies this fragment: these Isles were located in time and space in Thebes by a local historian, who elsewhere (F 3, on the Seven Pyres) acknowledges the possibility of plural meanings for the same spot. The advantage of this

632 On the possible historicity of the episode, cp. Parker 2010. Mazzarino (1966: 430–1) suggested that an indirect proof may be the image of Agesilaos as an impious and sacrilegious king, which significantly contrasts the common view in the other sources of an “Agesilao religiosissimo” (Brugnone 2008: 45).

633 According to Ziehen (1934: 1495; cp. Schachter 1981: 15 and Larson 1995: 84; Kühr 2006: 195), the Theban *heroon* inspired the aition, mentioned by Pherekydes, because Alkmene had an “aniconical” representation here.

634 Fowler 2013: 500.

635 This hypothesis is recorded by Fowler 2013: 356. On this tradition, see Pind. *Ol.* 2.24–38 and 86; *Pyth.* 9.1; Eur. *Bacch.* 1330–9; Apollod. 3.39; schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 3.153b Drachmann; schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 9.1 Drachmann. On the heroization of this couple, see Vian 1963: 122–4 (*ibid.* 123 for Kadmos as a *genius loci*) and Kühr 2006: 117–8.

636 Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 3.153b Drachmann.

reading lies in its direct association with the short text of the fragment and in its complete focus on the implications of the association of the Kadmeia with the Isles of the Blessed; further interpretations might distract us from a more direct explanation.

3.6. Armenidas F 6

Previous editions: *BNJ* 378 F 7; *EGM* I F 7; *FGrHist* 378 F 7 (Steph. Byz. α 203 *s.v.* Ἀλῖαρτος, and Eust. *ad Il.* II 503, p. I 410,27 van der Valk).

Ἀλῖαρτος· πόλις Βοιωτίας, ἀρσενικῶς. Ὅμηρος “ποιήενθ’ Ἀλῖαρτον” (*Il.* II 503). λέγεται δὲ κτισθῆναι ὑπὸ Ἀλῖάρτου τοῦ Θερσάνδρου. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Ἀλῖάρτιος ὡς Βοιώτιος. Ἀρμενίδας δ’ ἐν τῷ ρ Ἀρίαρτόν φησι.

1 Ἀλῖαρτος *ed.* Aldina (1502): Ἀλῖαρτος *codd.* ἀρσενικῶς R Eust. *ad Il.* II 503, p. I 411,1-2 van der Valk -κόν P *compendio* Q Ἀλῖάρτου Fowler Ἀλι- R 3 Βοιώτιως Fowler Βηρύτιος *dub.* Meineke ἐν τῷ *codd.* δὲ τῷ Fowler δὲ καὶ τῷ ρ Holste δὲ διὰ τοῦ ρ Billerbeck Ἀρι- R

“Haliartos: Boiotian city. Gender: masculine. Homer has: ‘grassy Aliartos.’ Allegedly founded by Haliartos, Thersander’s son, the ethnic of the city is Haliartios, as in Boiotian. Still, Armenidas says ‘Ariartos’, with the *rho*” (tr. S. Tufano).

3.6.1. Textual Transmission and Context

The voice of Stephanus of Byzantium includes a short mention of the city of Haliartos, with an anonymous reference to the tradition of its founder. This indication cannot be automatically assigned to Armenidas, because it is directly followed by a note on the local

ethnic (Ἀλιάρτιος ὡς Βήρυτιος).⁶³⁷ The original form of Armenidas which follows could be corrected to Ἀριάρτ<ι>ον, but it is not mandatory to think that Stephanus mentioned Armenidas for the ethnic form; it is likelier that the transmitted form was chosen because it closes the lemma in a ring composition: it alludes with two differences (the aspiration and the liquid consonant) to the initial Ἀλιάρτος.

Müller and later editors of Stephanus dismissed the possibility of an indication of the number of the book of Armenidas' work, which would follow if we had ἐν τῷ ρ (unanimously transmitted); instead, they preferred reading the lemma, as if Stephanus were underlining the peculiarity of the form chosen by Armenidas ("with the *rho*"). The correction, however, seems unnecessary because this detail in the spelling can also be expressed with the transmitted text ("with the *rho*"), i.e. with the preposition ἐν.⁶³⁸ This reading seems better, in any case, than the indication of the number of the book, which should be ruled out, for the attention to the language that seems to characterize the whole lemma.⁶³⁹ Stephanus must draw on a lexicographical source, as the specific use of the instrumental ἐν indicates, but it is not easy to identify it.⁶⁴⁰

Haliartos was on the Southern coast of Lake Kopais, to the east of Koroneia and to the north-west of Thebes.⁶⁴¹ For this reason, it has been assumed that from an early period Haliartos was dependent on one of these two big cities. A further indication of this dependence comes from a passage of Herodotus (5.79.2), where the Thebans only define

637 On the founder of Haliartos, cp. Paus. 9.34.7. On the form Βήρυτιος, instead of the transmitted Βοιώτιος, see Billerbeck 2006: 158 n.288.

638 See Billerbeck 2006: 158 n.289, who, nonetheless, accepts in the text a new conjecture, διὰ τοῦ ρ. The instrumental use of the preposition ἐν is attested in Apollonius Dyscolus and in the grammarians of the Imperial period (Alpers 1981: 65–6). Together with a sound following of the transmitted text, this fact argues against a correction. In the *addenda* to the first volume of the edition of Stephanus (Billerbeck – Zubler 2011: 308), Billerbeck accepted a suggestion from S. Radt, who recommended the transmitted text, through a comparison with a few passages in Strabo (e.g. 9.4.5.426: ἀφ' οὗ Βησαιεῖς οἱ δημόται λέγονται, ἐν τῷ ἐνὶ σίγμα, "whence its citizens are called Besaieis, with a single sigma", tr. S. Tufano). I wish to thank Prof. A. Corcella here for kindly indicating this problem.

639 Zecchini (1997: 189 and 196 n.4) also doubts that the source might refer to the number of the book.

640 We cannot be sure of the identity of this source, because the text of the other sources who record the form with the *rho* is here reconstructed through Stephanus: Herodian (*De pros. cath.* 1.222.13), because the section on Haliartos was supplied by Lentz with the text of the *Ethnika*; Eustathius (*ad Il.* 2.503, p. I 410,17–8 van der Valk), on the other hand, explicitly quotes Stephanus (*ibid.* I 410,17 van der Valk: κατὰ τὸν τὰ Ἐθνικὰ γράψαντα).

641 See the surveys in the *IACP* (206) and Knoepfler 2008: 646–9.

the citizens of Koroneia and Thespias as their neighbours.⁶⁴² This dependent status probably lasted for the whole fifth century: in the middle of it, the city produced a series of notable silver coins, approximately in the years of the Athenian domination of Boiotia (456–46).⁶⁴³ In 424 BCE Haliartos participated with the other Boiotians in the Battle of Delion (Thuc. 4.93.4): in this period, it formed one of the eleven regional districts (*H. Oxy.* 19.3 Chambers) along with Lebadeia and Koroneia.

3.6.2. A Rare Form in Armenidas

The toponym Ἀρίαρτος, with a *rho*, is commonly attested on the documentary sources of the city.⁶⁴⁴ It appears, for instance, on inscriptions, amongst other forms of evidence.⁶⁴⁵ However, the literary sources tend to use the form with the lambda, which is thence commonly used in the modern languages.⁶⁴⁶ The isolation of the form “Ariartos” in Armenidas, then, is momentous, because it indicates that he used a local form of the toponym in a work generally characterized (very probably) by Attic prose, with occasional Ionisms.⁶⁴⁷

642 Hansen 2004: 442. Knoepfler (2008: 498) read, in Herodotus, an *argumentum e silentio*, for the inexistence of Haliartos before the Persian Wars. This skepticism seems, however, exaggerated, because there are ruins of a temple of Athena on the acropolis (Hansen 2004: 442); the city is also quoted in the *Catalogue of Ships* (Hom. *Il.* 2.503) and, even if such a verse may be a later interpolation, it would be extremely doubtful that an interpolation in the Boiotian army occurred after the beginning of the fifth century.

643 Pausanias (9.32.5; 10.35.2) claimed that the visible ruins of his time were still those caused by the destruction of Xerxes, since the city did not align with the Persians. Modern scholarship, however, starting from Holleaux (1895), doubts this tradition, which is based on the common motif of the Persian sack and on a probable confusion of the expression *περσικὸς πολέμος*. This syntagm could also mean the conflict between Rome and Perseus (Pol. 3.3.8 *et al.*), when Haliartos suffered greatly, without ever recovering (cp. Moggi – Osanna 2012: 400–1).

644 Probably until the second century BCE (Schachter 2007: 97). Cp. e.g. *SEG* XXV 554 (fifth century BCE); XXVIII 453, 8 (fourth century BCE *ex.*). There are, of course, rare exceptions: we find the ethnic Ἀλιάρτιος (*IG* 7.2724,4–5: 280–70 BCE), whereas an inscription dated between the end of the second and the beginning of the first century BCE has the form Ἀλιάρτος (*IG* 7.2850).

645 For general surveys on the use of the ethnic, see Knoepfler 2008: 646 and Schachter 2011a *ad BNJ* 378 F7. See Hansen 2004: 442 on the local legends.

646 Apart from the aforementioned chapter by Thucydides, see e.g. Xen. *Hell.* 3.5.17–8; Str. 9.2.33.412; Paus. 9.33.4.

647 See 3.3.3 on the language of Armenidas.

This epichoric choice was noted and possibly appreciated by the lexicographical source(s) behind Stephanus. In fact, we also see in Haliartos, from the end of the fourth century BCE, the form with the lambda beginning to appear on a few pieces of evidence, such as on *IG* 7.2724,4-5 and in a series of bronze coins with the legend ΑΛΙ, minted between 338 and 315. Nonetheless, since the form with the *rho* continues to be vital until the full Hellenistic period, as we have seen, we cannot infer anything from this toponym on Armenidas' date.

A possible context for the mention of Haliartos was seen by Schachter (2011a) in the foundation of the Theban temple of Dionysos Lysios, according to the general interpretation given by the scholars for fragments 3 and 5 of Armenidas. This is certainly a likely scenario, even if further context in a work on Thebes can be found. The absence of Haliartos from Herodotus' narrative, for example, does not mean that the city could not be mentioned in a local/different narration of the Persian Wars from the Boiotian point of view. It has been suggested that the protecting deity of Haliartos was Athena Itonia (Schachter 1981: 116): this may provide a potential alternative, if the mention of Haliartos came in the same context of our F 1 on Itonos.

3.7. Armenidas F 7

Previous editions: *BNJ* 378 F 8; *EGM* I F **8; *FGrHist* 378 F 8 (Suet. *Περὶ βλασφημιῶν* 4.92 [p. 54 Taillardat]).

Τελχῖνες· οἱ <φθονεροὶ καὶ> ψογεροὶ καὶ γόητες καὶ φαρμακεῖς. [...] ὧν δύο γένη φασὶ γεγονέναι, τὸ μὲν βάνανσον καὶ χειρωνακτικόν, θάτερον δὲ λυμαντήριον τῶν καλῶν. τούτους οἱ μὲν θαλάσσης παῖδ' ἀφασιν, Ἀρμενίδης δ' ἐκ τῶν Ἀκταίωνος κυνῶν γενέσθαι μεταμορφωθέντων ὑπὸ Διὸς εἰς ἀνθρώπους· <τοῦτο δὲ διὰ τὸ ἀγρίως ἔχειν ὥς καὶ μυθεύεσθαι σκηπτοὺς ἀφιέναι καὶ ποτήριον δοκεῖν ἔχειν ἐν ᾧ ῥίζας κυκλῶντες ἐφάρμασσον γοητευτικῶς. ἀνατίθεται δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἡ κατασκευὴ τῆς κατὰ τὸν Κρόνον ἄρπης ἧ τὸν πατέρα Οὐρανὸν εὐνούχισε>. ἄλλοι δὲ τοὺς τὴν Ῥόδον

οικοῦντας, ὅθεν καὶ Τελχινία ἡ νῆσος ἐλέγετο· τινὲς δέ, ὧν ἐστὶ καὶ Σιμμίας, τοὺς τῆς Κρήτης οἰκήτορας.

1 φθονεροὶ καὶ Eust. II 789,18 2 “Stesichori F 265 P. [280 Finglass] *omisi ex* Eust. [*ad* Il. IX 529, p.] II 789,19–20 [van der Valk]” (Fowler) 3–4 φασὶ Παρμενίδης Μ Ἐπιμενίδης Nauck φασιν Ἀρμενίδης Bergk 4 Ἀκταίωνος Eust. *ad* Il. IX 529, p. II 789,6 van der Valk Ἀκταίωνος Μ 5–8 τοῦτο δὲ...εὐνούχισε. *ad* Il. IX 529, p. II 789,6–10 van der Valk

“Telchines: the <envious>, the despicable, the cheaters, and the wizards. [...] It is claimed that there were two kinds of Telchines: the first one was made of artisans and handicraftsmen, whereas the second one destroyed all good things. Some sources claim that this second species of men were children of the Sea, but Armenidas claims that they were born from the hounds of Aktaion, when these were turned into men by Zeus: <this occurred for their rude behaviour, as it is also retold that they would throw thunderbolts; it also seems that they had a cauldron, where they minced roots and prepared potions, just like the magicians. It is added that they had worked on the sickle of Kronos, with which he castrated his father Ouranos.> Other authors claim that they lived in Rhodes, whence the island was also called ‘Telchinia’: others, finally, including Simias, record that they were Cretan inhabitants” (tr. S. Tufano).

3.7.1. Textual Transmission and Context

The Περὶ βλασφημιῶν καὶ πόθεν ἐκάστη (*On Swearwords and their Origin*) of Suetonius⁶⁴⁸ was originally assigned to Aristophanes of Byzantium.⁶⁴⁹ This original essay on swear

648 This title is attested on the most complete codex of excerpts, the manuscript **M** (on this ground Taillardat 1967: 3 suggested using it). However, the indirect tradition presents other titles (*Etym. Magn. s.v. ἀρχολίπαρος*, p. 151,35 Gaisford: περὶ βλασφημιῶν; *Suda* τ 895, *s.v.* Τράγκυλλος: περὶ δυσφημιῶν λέξεων ἦτοι βλασφημιῶν καὶ πόθεν ἐκάστη), which might indicate a shorter original form.

649 Boissonade 1819; Nauck 1848 (for the presence, on the codex **P**, of a work of Aristophanes immediately before the Π. βλασφ.). The present discussion of the textual tradition extensively draws on Taillardat 1967: 8–11.

words is known in an indirect form from two lemmata, which support the ascription to Suetonius,⁶⁵⁰ along with, in a direct form, three codices of Byzantine excerpts.⁶⁵¹

Bergk was the first to reconstruct the name of Armenidas, instead of the transmitted Παρμενίδης, on the basis of a possible wrong separation of the sequence ΦΑΣΙΝΑΡΜΕΝΙΔΗΣ.⁶⁵² The restitution of this name is convincing, because Suetonius probably quoted Armenidas through an intermediate source and not from the original: the later tradition simplified the sequence by supplying the name of a much more common author, Parmenides.

In the section of the text printed here with this fragment, Taillardat included a long passage (τοῦτο δὲ διὰ τὸ ἀγρίως [...] τὸν πατέρα Οὐρανὸν εὐνούχισε), which is mentioned by Eustathius (*ad Il.* 9.529, p. II 789, 6-10 van der Valk). The fact that it only appears on this secondary source of the text convinced Fowler (*EGM*) and Schachter (*BNJ*) to remove it from the fragment. Indeed, the section cannot relate to the contents of Armenidas' work, because Eustathius most probably took these observations from Suet. Π. βλασφ. § 92, but the wording indicates that he also considered further sources.⁶⁵³

It is almost certain that Eustathius suggests an explanation of the myth of the metamorphosis of the dogs into Telchines, which is based on the proverbial wild behavior

650 *Etym. Magn. s.v.* ἀρχολίπαρος, p. 151,35 Gaisford; *Suda* τ 895, *s.v.* Τράγκυλλος. See *infra* n.745 on the *Etymologicon Magnum*.

651 Among these three codices, the edition of the text provided by Taillardat (1967) favours the ms. **M** (=Par. suppl. gr. 1164, XIV c.), which was only discovered and appreciated for the *constitutio textus* after the previous edition of Miller (1868). Suetonius wrote this work in Greek, the same language he used for his *Περὶ παιδίων*. These two pamphlets echo the linguistic interests of the author, who was inspired by previous lexicographical collections. This inspiration indicates that he did not personally read all the sources which he found under the lemmata (see Taillardat 1967: 23; on the sources of the essay and on its place in the production of Suetonius, see Wallace-Hadrill 1983: 44-6). Eustathius used the *On the Swearwords*, in the twelfth century, through an abridged version of the text, which belongs to a branch of the tradition (ε) distinct from the branches α (codices **M** and **L** =Laur. plut. LXXX 13, s. XIV), and π (a further ramification represented by the manuscript **P** =Par. gr. 1630: cp. the *stemma codicum* in Taillardat 1967: 22, and, for Eustathius, *ibid.* 12-5). This short survey of the textual tradition confirms the relevance of the manuscript **M**, which is better than **L** because it usually respects the χρήσεις, i.e. quotes from the single authors (Taillardat 1967: 16).

652 See Taillardat 1967: 134.

653 My translation of the apparatus at p. II 789 van der Valk (Eusth. *ad Il.* 9.529, p. II 789,1-20 van der Valk: πολὺς δὲ ὁ περὶ Τελχίνων λόγος καὶ παρὰ πολλοῖς κτλ.).

of these characters. The subsequent remarks on the throwing of the thunderbolts,⁶⁵⁴ the use of a *poterion* for their potions, and the realization of the sickle of Kronos,⁶⁵⁵ are common traditions on the Telchines, which Armenidas may have ignored.

Suetonius confirms the use of “Telchines” as a swear word: there is, therefore, the transformation of this proper name into an antonomasia, with the formation of a παροιμία.⁶⁵⁶ The derogatory use was common in the Hellenistic period, as the notorious attack of Callimachus on the Telchines shows: the Telchines of the prologue to the *Aitia* (F 1 Pfeiffer) have often been identified with specific malevolent scholars.⁶⁵⁷ Originally, the Telchines were associated with the Cheres and were maleficent and envious demons (Stesichoros, F 280 Finglass). Their amphibious nature, a mixture of bird and fish, suggested a parallel with the seals⁶⁵⁸ and could reflect a double pertinence to two worlds, the sea and the earth.⁶⁵⁹ They were often imagined as being in Rhodes,⁶⁶⁰ but other islands like Crete or Cyprus concurred with that setting, since the Telchines were born either of Poseidon or of *Thalatta* (Sea).⁶⁶¹

3.7.2. Aktaion and the Boiotian Telchines

The events around Aktaion are constantly placed on the Kithairon. Other details further support the connection of Aktaion with a work on the history of Thebes, or on Boiotia: he

654 Diod. Sic. 5.55.3.

655 Str. 14.2.6.654; Eusth. *ad Dionysium Periegetam* 504 and Musti 1999: 71-2.

656 Alkiphron, *Letter* 1.15.5 Benner – Fobes; Eust. *ad Il.* 9.529, p. II 789,18 van der Valk; *ad Od.* 19.247, p. 1864,38 Stallbaum (εἰς παροιμίαν ἔκειντο).

657 On the Telchines of Callimachus there is now an overwhelming amount of scholarship: see at least Musti 1999: 59-65 and 93-105; Petrovic 2006.

658 See Musti 1999: 8-10.

659 On this double pertinence, cp. Musti 1999: 13. This scholar generally argues, in this book, that there is a functional affinity with the Sirens, who share the ambiguity of the Telchines and an evil side, for the negative effects of their θέλγειν.

660 Van Gelder 1900: 49; Musti 1999: 13 and 23-4; Davies – Finglass 2014: 567-8. These last scholars doubt that the presence of the Telchines in Stesichoros may depend on Rhodian participation in the foundation of many Sicilian cities (Blinkenberg 1915: 293-4 n.1), “but more probably there were familiar figures of myth across the Greek world by his time.”

661 Poseidon: Nonnus, *Dion.* 27.109. Thalatta: Diod. Sic. 5.55 (an excursus where the Telchines are Poseidon’s brothers-in-law, because Poseidon marries Halia, their sister). On this passage, cp. Musti 1999: 67-71.

was considered the son of Aristeus (Apollo and Cyrene's offspring) and of Autonoe, one of the daughters of Kadmos and Harmonia.⁶⁶² This genealogy shows the close relevance of Aktaion for a Boiotian audience, beyond his mere location on the Kithairon: shown by a possible understanding of Armenidas' F 5, the coupling of Kadmos and Harmonia represents a convenient link, in a work on Thebes, for a role in the cultural archaeology of Thebes.⁶⁶³

On the other hand, it seems that the Telchines had a connection with Boiotia, only in a tradition which locates an Athena Telchinia in Teumessos.⁶⁶⁴ Since Teumessos was to the north-east of Thebes, Schachter's suggestion that Armenidas dealt with this myth in the description of the oriental part of the city may be accepted (even if the placement of Aktaion on the Kithairon remains more convincing). The more secure "foreignness" of the Telchines in Thebes confirms the suggestion that they could be mentioned as a violent population, who raided Boiotia, just like the Phlegyans.⁶⁶⁵ If, nevertheless, their origin from dogs explains the negative picture of the Boiotian Telchines, the singularity of Zeus' intervention must still be understood: in what is probably the earliest version of the myth,⁶⁶⁶ Zeus sends Artemis to punish Aktaion for the violence he used against Semele. In this case, the goddess simply rouses the dogs against their owner, who is ripped to shreds by them, but there is no hint at what happens to the animals after the intervention of Artemis.

A possible explanation for the further development on the metamorphosis of the dogs, lastly echoed by Armenidas, may come from a tradition which gives the names of all of

⁶⁶² Setting on the Kithairon: Paus. 9.2.3. Genealogy: Hes. *Theog.* 977; F 217 M. – W.; Eur. *Bacch.* 230.

⁶⁶³ There is a possibility that the couple was actually mentioned in the context of Armenidas' F 5: see *supra* 3.5.2.

⁶⁶⁴ Schachter 2011a *ad BNJ* 378 F 8, and Paus. 9.19.1. Schachter (1981: 129) also suggested that the epithet refers to the protection of the artisans, whereas Pausanias' comments on the arrival of a group of Telchines from Cyprus to Boiotia would be Pausanias' original aetiology, without further precedents. On the contrary, Musti (1999: 24–5) maintained that the association preserves the characterisation of the Telchines as *glaukopeis* and, therefore, close to the bird dear to Athena, the owl: "l'animale malevolo riserv[a] ad altri la sua forza malefica e all'interessato il rovescio della medaglia di potenza, per lui stesso benefica (come nel caso di Atena, rispettivamente per i nemici di Atene e per Atene stessa" (24).

⁶⁶⁵ Fowler 2013: 48. The cruelty of the Phlegyans is already attested in the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo* (277–80; their violence, according to Pherekydes' *BNJ* 3 F 41, forced the Thebans to build their walls).

⁶⁶⁶ Hes. F 217 M. – W.; Stesichoros, F 285 Finglass; Akousilaos, *BNJ* 2 F 33. On this version, see Schachter 1981: 99 and Schachter 2011a *ad BNJ* 378 F 8; Fowler 2013: 370.

Aktaion's dogs.⁶⁶⁷ It was told that the hounds returned to Cheiron, Aktaion's teacher, who built them an *eidolon* for their master, whom they had just torn to pieces (Apollod. 3.31). Apollodoros considers this version later than the one according to which Artemis excites the dogs after having been seen naked. The author then adds a few hexameters (3.32), which mention the names of the dogs that tore Aktaion Διὸς αἰνεσίῃσι, “with the approval of Zeus”.⁶⁶⁸ These verses were first considered a Hellenistic epyllion and have consequently been variously dated to the Hellenistic period. Alternatively, it has also been suggested that they belong to a Hesiodic *Ehoia*. However, the explicit taste for the contradictory nature of the scene (with the beasts hunting the hunter), and additional metrical and stylistic observations give stronger credit to the hypothesis that these verses find a better setting in Hellenistic literature.⁶⁶⁹

The catalogue of the hounds of Aktaion was apparently a literary tradition which may have earlier attestations,⁶⁷⁰ and remained vital in Latin literature.⁶⁷¹ This curious tradition on their metamorphosis may be a local extension on this part of the myth, collected by Armenidas, who, starting from the repentance and remorse mentioned by Apollodoros, ignored the role of Aktaion's teacher and transformed the dogs into the craftsmen of the *eidolon*.

Wherever the Telchines were placed in Boiotia, the immediate reference was always to their master, Aktaion, and his impiety. Nikander of Kolophon also speculated on the later destiny of the dogs and had them reach India (*BNJ* 271-2 F 37). In the absence of further details, the fragments must be appreciated as a singular and interesting acknowledgement of local reflections on this myth. By focusing on this tradition of the Kithairon, local

⁶⁶⁷ On the dogs of Aktaion, cp. Forbes Irving 1990: 199.

⁶⁶⁸ Cp. Scarpi 2010: 550-1.

⁶⁶⁹ Epyllion: Powell 1925: 71-2; a *Ehoia*: Malten 1911: 20; Casanova 1969: 42; Gallavotti 1969; Janko 1984: 306-7. On the peculiarly Hellenistic style, see the observations by Grilli 1971: 363-7.

⁶⁷⁰ Twenty-one hexameters on the *POxy* 2509 (second century CE) were once assigned to Hesiod by Lobel (1964), Casanova (1969), and Janko (1984): here, a goddess goes to the cave of Cheiron and predicts that the hounds of Aktaion will be guarded by Dionysos. The style, however, has been considered “sub-Homeric rather than pseudo-Hesiodic” by West (1985: 88).

⁶⁷¹ Further examples include Hyginus (*Fab.* 181), with two lists of personal names, one of which (181.3) is identical with Ov. *Met.* 3.206-25 and 232-5. The other list of Hyginus (181.5-6), textually tormented, finds relevant parallels, according to Daris (1970) and Grilli (1971), with a list on P. Med. inv. 123 (second century CE *ex.*).

historiography also engaged in a Panhellenic myth and offered an original, local pendant to an old story.

3.8. [Armenidas] F 8

Previous editions: *BNJ* 378 F 4; *EGM* I F 8A; *FGrHist* 378 F 4 (Hsch. ε 3231 [II 106 Latte]).

Ἐνοδία Ἄρτεμις· καὶ κυνηγετικά, ὡς Ἀνδρομενίδης.

1 Ἀρμενίδας Valesius apud Albertum (ed. Hsch. 1746)

“Of the Crossroads’: Artemis. [It also means] ‘Of the Hunting’, according to Andromenidas” (tr. S. Tufano).

3.8.1. Artemis Enodia

The voice of Hesychius represents a possible interpretation of the epithet ἐνοδία, which originally refers to the identification of a deity at a crossroads. According to the source mentioned by Hesychius, this adjective was both used as a possible epithet for Artemis and to describe hunting tools. The second value is confirmed by previous sources, where τὰ ἐνοδία can mean the webs that were assembled at crossroads to block prey.⁶⁷²

As an epithet, *enodia* may also be attested in the Classical period for Persephone. However, it seems that, from quite an early period, εἰνοδίη mostly characterized a peculiar aspect of Artemis.⁶⁷³ This Artemis Enodia is imagined with a torch and a horse; the only other

⁶⁷² Xen. *Cyn.* 6.9; Poll. 5.27. In fact, Xenophon is among the principal sources of the fifth book of Pollux’s *Onomasticon* (Tosi 2007: 5); it is possible that the venatorial theme is an indirect homage, from Pollux, to Emperor Commodus, under whose rule and cultural politics Pollux was working (Zecchini 2007b, *spec.* 19–20).

⁶⁷³ Cp. already Hes. *Cat.* F 23a, 26 M. – W. On (Artemis) Enodia, see Kahil 1984: 688–9.

goddess who could act in the same sphere was Hekate, confirmed by other lexicographical sources.⁶⁷⁴

Artemis En(n)odia⁶⁷⁵ could also be known as Φεραία and her cult was correspondingly particularly popular in Thessaly and in Pherae.⁶⁷⁶ In the reconstruction provided by Robert (1960: 591 n.4), the original goddess was Enodia, who either kept her local name Pheraia outside of Thessaly, or attached herself to a more popular and “Panhellenic” deity, like Artemis.⁶⁷⁷ The Thessalian origin, however, seems the most likely one.⁶⁷⁸

3.8.2. A New Authorship

The name of Armenidas was tentatively suggested, in the present fragment, by Johannes Alberti in his edition (1746) of Hesychius’ *Lexicon*. Later, the main editor of the same text, Kurt Latte, preferred to print the transmitted Ἀνδρομενίδης. Jacoby (1955a: 168) prudently numbered the fragment in the corpus of Armenidas, because he could not think of any Andromenidas who worked on hunting techniques, despite a relatively high number of sources on Artemis Enodia and her epithet.

However, since then the scenario has changed, after the publication of the Herculaneum papyri of Philodemus’ *Περὶ ποιημάτων*.⁶⁷⁹ In the first book, the author extensively draws, probably through Crates of Mallus,⁶⁸⁰ on an Ἀνδρομενίδης who worked on both grammatical subjects and on poetry. This Andromenides was a peripatetic grammarian who lived in the third century BCE⁶⁸¹ and may have mentioned the cult of the goddess in a commentary on Xenophon, or in a more general way in a poetical work (we have seen,

674 *Etym. Magn. s.v.* Ἐνοδία, p.344,42 Gaisford assigned the information to a Neronian grammarian, Herakleides Pontikos (a namesake of the more famous predecessor). His *Περὶ ἑτυμολογιῶν* must often also be subsumed for the many ascriptions that wrongly referred to his more popular namesake (cp. Matthaios 2015: 224-5, for a short profile).

675 On the form of the epithet, see García Ramón – Helly 2007: 292-5.

676 Cp. e.g. *IG* 9² 358; 575; 578 and the various hypotheses on the Thessalian connections, as outlined by Mili 2014: 169-70.

677 This process seems confirmed by what we know of the cult in Demetrias (Mili 2014: 207).

678 See the general study by Chrysostomou (1998).

679 The reference edition of this text is Janko 2003.

680 Cp. Janko 2003: 144 and n.1.

681 See Janko 2003: 152.

for example, in Armenidas' F 2, how a commentary could imply a reference even to figures absent from the main text). We can therefore agree with Fowler (2013: 640) on the necessity to close this debate, once we can assign this fragment to Andromenidas⁶⁸² and delete it from the corpus of Armenidas.

682 This Andromenidas is still absent from the online corpora of the *LGP*N. If we had not known this papyrus, we could have temporarily accepted its ascription to Armenidas, either, with Schachter (2011a *ad BNJ* 378 F 4), by connecting Artemis to Armenidas' treatment of the myth of Aktaion (F 8), or, perhaps wiser, by focusing on the association of this Artemis with the Thessalian area.

4. Aristophanes of Boiotia

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4.1. Aristophanes and His Works (TT 1-5)

T 1 (= BNJ 379 T 1; FGrHist 379 T 1; cp. F 5 [Plut. *De Hdt. mal.* 31.864D]).⁶⁸³

Ἀριστοφάνους [...] τοῦ Βοιωτοῦ

“Aristophanes [...] of Boiotia”.

T 2 (= BNJ 379 T 2b; EGM I T 1A; cp. F 6 [Plut. *De Hdt. mal.* 33.866F-867A]).

ὥς Ἀριστοφάνης ἐκ τῶν κατ’ ἄρχοντας ὑπομνημάτων ἱστόρησε

“As Aristophanes retold, from the public records organized through the yearly archons” (tr. S. Tufano)

T 3 (= BNJ 379 T 2a; FGrHist 379 T 2; cp. F 2 [Steph. Byz. α 330, *s.v.* ἀντικονδυλεῖς]).

Ἀριστοφάνης ὁ τοὺς Θηβαίους ὥρους γεγραφώς

“Aristophanes, author of *Theban Annals*”.

⁶⁸³ Since these witnesses actually belong to the fragments, I comment on the textual problems in the commentary on the single fragments.

T 4 (= EGM I F 1A; cp. F 1 [*POxy.* 2463, ll. 14-16]).

Ἀριστοφάνης δ' ἐν | τῇι α' {πρώτη} τῶν Βοι[ωτι- | κῶν

πρώτη *del.* Fowler

“Aristophanes, in the first book of his *Boiotian Histories*”.

T 5 (= EGM I F 2; cp. F 3 [*Suda* ο 275, *s.v.* Ὁμολώϊος (= Phot. *Lex.* (g, z) ο 298 (III 82 Theodoridis)]).

Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν β' Θηβαϊκῶν

ὁ Phot. ὡς *Suda* Ἀριστόδημος Reines

“Aristophanes, in the second book of his *Theban Histories*”.

4.1.1. Title

The titles of Boiotian local historiography present problems that go beyond common doubts concerning the transmitted titles of any Classical historian: as with many other authors only transmitted in fragments, we lack certain information on many of the names of the genre.⁶⁸⁴ The parallel case of Hellanikos is paradigmatic, because the debate on the possibility that he could assign the title Ἀτθίς⁶⁸⁵ to his local history of Athens demonstrates the hardships of accepting that the same title Βοιωτικά (F 2) could be the original one.⁶⁸⁶

Aristophanes certainly wrote after Herodotus, since in the fragment (5) he comments on the arrival of Herodotus in Thebes. This tradition does not explicitly allow us, however, to

684 Cp. 1.3 for a summary of the (poor) knowledge we have on the biographies of the authors, discussed in the present book.

685 Cp. e.g. Nicolai 2010, on the possibility that Hellanikos' works did not have specific titles, and Ottone 2010, according to whom the Athenian history of Hellanikos originally had the title Ἀττικὸς λόγος.

686 On the specific problem of the early development of Boiotian historiography, see *supra* 1.2.1.

claim that Aristophanes was sensibly later than the author of the *Histories*. A prudent positioning between the end of the fifth century BCE and the beginning of the later century places Aristophanes in a moment when there was an early circulation of books and an incipient habit to assign a title to a literary work.⁶⁸⁷ Consequently, it is possible that Aristophanes was responsible for assigning a title to his output.

The second problem to address is the variety of titles that are transmitted to describe the specific book where a tradition held by Aristophanes was retold. Two opposing stances have been taken, one which reduces the variety of the transmitted titles to two main works, namely the *Θηβαῖοι Ἱστορίαι* (T 3), and a more generic work on Boiotia, titled *Βοιωτικά* / *Θηβαϊκά* (TT 4–5).⁶⁸⁸ The other assumes that the four known titles (T 2: *Κατ’ἀρχοντας ὑπομνήματα*; T 3: *Θηβαῖοι Ἱστορίαι*; T 4: *Βοιωτικά*; T 5: *Θηβαϊκά*) may be the result of pure invention or confusion in our sources: no possible conclusion on this detail, as a consequence, might be reached.⁶⁸⁹ In order to reconsider which option might be more probable, we will now shortly reflect on what has been generally transmitted in the tradition of the *horoi* and of the *hypomnemata*. In other words, it is useful to ponder whether the general picture which emerges from the titles transmitted under these titles may apply to the content of the fragments of Aristophanes.

The identification of local historiography with horography was first suggested by Jacoby (1909): by assuming that local historiography could coincide with a narrative based on local annals (*horoi*), he implied that all local histories generally follow a constant annalistic framework. Such a theory, however, might be profoundly misleading, as scholars like von Fritz (1967 I: 97) have shown how the first local histories did not always depend on a political or evenemential plan: they could follow other internal criteria, relevant to their respective audiences, as is maintained in our present study. Further chronographical studies confirm the relevance of this distinction and the importance of the geographic area that was the object of the local history.⁶⁹⁰ Today, an immediate correlation between titles like *Ἱστορίαι* and an annalistic partition is generally refused.

⁶⁸⁷ Schmalzriedt 1970.

⁶⁸⁸ Cp. Fowler 2000: 54.

⁶⁸⁹ Despite a preference for the first scenario (two works), Fowler (2000: xxxv) refers to a “confusion of titles.”

⁶⁹⁰ Cp. Tober 2017 on the role of the local audience and *infra* 7.1 on this debate.

Local historiographical works, in fact, were often organized according to other criteria or the interests of the author.⁶⁹¹ The chronological partition is not therefore a criterion upon which we can assess the relationship between local and universal history, in general. As Jacoby (1949: 68) said, the first one should be better understood as “that species of Greek historical writing, which we call Local Chronicle or better with *a more comprehensive expression* Local History” (my italics). On these grounds, the title itself, then, might not be enough to infer anything on the content of a work, and the existence of a title (Theban) “Horoi” could be the simple assumption of ancient scholarship.

However, in the specific case of Aristophanes, the title *Horoi* finds more support in our witnesses. Our sources on his framework stress the fact that he followed the events *kat’archontas* (even when the title is surprisingly broader, as in the case of *hypomnema*). We then need to seriously consider that this memory of the title *Horoi* was more than an easy label for this specifically local historian. Whereas, in the beginning, ὥροι mostly referred to works written in the Ionic world,⁶⁹² Diodorus Siculus (1.26.5) was also aware that a further specification might be necessary: he feels the need to clarify that only “yearly chronicles” (αἱ κατ’ἔτος ἀναγραφαί) can be called ὠρογραφίαι.⁶⁹³ Despite, then, Plutarch’s generic definition of ὠρογράφοι as all the local historians of Naxos,⁶⁹⁴ the witnesses on Aristophanes, and the overall development of the title *Horoi*, concur to suggest that, in *this* specific case, Aristophanes may have followed an annalistic framework (cp. F 6, on the possibility of the mention of an eponymous archon).

This annalistic framework was denied by Chaniotis (1988: 193 n.414), who thought that the *hypomnemata* (T 2; cp. Plut. *Sol.* 11.2) were the “Akten der Beamten”, i.e. official

691 Chronographical studies: Möller 2001. See e.g. Fowler 1996: 66 and n.28, for the mandatory caution to pay, before dismissing any possibility that these local histories were used by Herodotus. On the annalistic partition of the genre, see also *supra* 1.2.3. See Thomas 2014b: 160–2 for examples of the other criteria of local historiography.

692 Cp. Laquer (1926) on the origin of Greek local historiography from oral mythical traditions reported by the *hexegetai*, and from annalistic records from Ionia. Thomas 2014b: 164–5 concentrates on the political meaning of these works, where the foundation myths point out and stress their Greek origins.

693 Following this technical interpretation, only “horographies” suggest a strictly annalistic framework (Thomas 2014b: 150). On the Σαμίων ὥροι of Duris, see Landucci 1997: 205–6; Pownall 2009 *ad BNJ* 76 F 22; Thomas 2014b: 155–6. On local historiography and the use of the title “ὥροι”, see Thomas 2019: 36–8.

694 Plut. *de Hdt. mal.* 36.869A. Even in this case, nothing speaks against the possibility that these Naxian writers also adopted an annalistic model (Thomas 2014b: 155).

documents, probably fictitious, in light of the partisanship of Aristophanes (*ibid.* 207). Nevertheless, the syntagm τὰ κατ' ἄρχοντας ὑπομνήματα is a good periphrasis for ὧροι, as Schachter (2012b *ad BNJ* 379 T 2b) observed, since it reduces the vagueness of ὑπόμνημα and allows us to reject that they were simply notes or official documents. In fact, there is at least one meaningful parallel, the inscription of Sosthenes on Paros, whose first block (A 1 = *BNJ* 502 F 1) mentions the historical activity of Demeas. This figure mentioned other sources and events of the life of Archilochus, even if his work was generally open to myths and “non-political” subjects: the inscription says that Demeas “wrote archon by archon, and began from the first archon” (A1 ll. 8-9: κατ' ἄρχοντα / ἕκαστον καὶ ἦρκεται ἀπὸ ἄρχοντος πρώτου).⁶⁹⁵

The ὑπομνήματα can also mean, from the Hellenistic period, the “Archive von Höfen und öffentlichen Behörden”.⁶⁹⁶ The public sense and official aura coexist with the more general meaning of notes and private drafts (just like the Latin parallel *commentarius*). Plutarch's passage on Aristophanes (T 2), as a consequence, may be more than a punctual autoschediasm of the title of the work, since it can also shed light on the potential use of sources of an archival nature, like the chronicles (*Horoï*). An interesting parallel case is offered by the use of the ὑπομνήματα of Tyre, which apparently were read by Timaeus of Tauromenium (*BNJ* 566 F 7) and by Menander of Ephesos (*BNJ* 783 T 3).⁶⁹⁷

The variety of contents in Aristophanes' fragments might be reconcilable with a general subdivision *per annum*. We cannot exclude either an initial treatment of local myths with a specific chronological score for this section (as in Diodorus' *Library*), or, as more plausibly, the eventual treatment happened in concomitance with other historical events or with the description of singular sites of the city and or the region (exactly as it might be posited for Armenidas). It seems therefore legitimate to assume that Aristophanes wrote *Theban Annals* and that the title preserved respects the original structure of the work.

This conclusion invites us to see, under a different light, the other titles quoted by our T 4 and T 5: it is possible that Βοιωτικά and Θηβαϊκά may be more than overall descriptions

⁶⁹⁵ On Demeas of Paros, see Clay 2004: 112; Sickinger 2013; Thomas 2014b: 158.

⁶⁹⁶ Montanari 1998: 813.

⁶⁹⁷ Timaeus contemporarily used written and oral sources on issues of local history *BNJ* 566 F 59: παρὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων; on this, cp. Ambaglio 2001: 8-10 and Boffo 2003: 6-7, for the reading of an ἀναγραφή.

of the content of one and the same book. Whether they were *titelartig* words (Schmalzriedt 1970) created for librarian purposes and then accepted by the scholars, or they prove the actual existence of an additional *Boiotian History*, we can only infer on the basis of the fragments. These insist on a Boiotian horizon and are not limited to Theban materials. With due caution, the strength of the annalistic project suggests that we accept the existence of two projects with different agendas, and, not improbably, with different organizations of the materials.⁶⁹⁸ The variation Θηβαϊκὰ may have resulted from the greater fame of the *Theban Annals*. It is also supported by the fact that Stephanus quotes from two different titles, which would also indicate that, at some point, the original text of the *Ethnika* or its intermediate sources were aware of a differentiation.⁶⁹⁹

4.1.2. Date

In the absence of clear indications in our sources, the only references to the lifespan of Aristophanes come from his mention of Herodotus in Thebes (FF 5–6) and from his use of official documents (F 6). In the first case, the singular problem of Aristophanes' date also concerns the wider issue of the correlation between universal and local historiography: Aristophanes lived after (if not possibly in the same years of) Herodotus, evidenced by (F 5) his mention of Herodotus' trip to Thebes (cp. Hdt. 5.59; 1.29; 1.92). The polemical tone towards Herodotus, in fact, might not be intentional, but the result of Plutarch's intentional and biased reading.⁷⁰⁰ It can be argued that Aristophanes was not directly trying to address Herodotus' representation of the Boiotian conduct during the Persian Wars.

The access to Theban archives, secondly, may “likely”⁷⁰¹ suggest that the work was written before 335 BCE, when the city, along with its archives, was destroyed. The first limit of this hypothesis is the frequency in early attestations of the *topos* of the use of written sources in extant Greek historiography: despite all this exegetical complexity, the controversial chapter of Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Thuc.* 5.2) on the early historians

⁶⁹⁸ Zecchini (1997: 190) also supports the existence of two works.

⁶⁹⁹ See Thomas 2014b: 154 for this suggestion.

⁷⁰⁰ On this reading, cp. already Schachter 2012b *ad* BNJ 379 FF 5–6.

⁷⁰¹ Schachter 2012b.

clearly stresses that the use of the γραφαί was common among all the Archaic historiographers mentioned in the list, including names like Hekataios and Akousilaos.⁷⁰²

It is generally assumed that documents played a role in Greek historiography from the very beginning of the genre, even if the specific interplay of written and oral traditions is not clear.⁷⁰³ If this parallel holds true, we can posit that these local historians, just like Herodotus, were aware of the possible limits of the official documents, in light of their ideological propaganda (Corcella 2003). Another issue, however, is whether they publicly uttered this skepticism, but this hypothesis may be less true in this case. Being aware of the limits of a class of evidence did not mean that the author would censure his sources.

Since it is hard to imagine that Aristophanes only used the *hypomnemata* for the problem mentioned by Plutarch (F 6), the most convenient *terminus ante quem* will be the mention, in the same fragment, of Nikander's use (BNJ 271-272 F 35) of Aristophanes. This Nikander wrote Θηβαϊκά in verse, and his identification is much debated: not all scholars accept that he is the same poet from Kolophon, who wrote Θεριακά and Ἀλεξιφάρμακα, since an honorary inscription from Delphi (Syll.³ 452) mentions an antiquarian and historian who lived almost fifty years before the poet (middle second century BCE). It is also possible that the Θηβαϊκά was written by the first Nikander, possibly related to his later namesake.⁷⁰⁴

Aristophanes was probably still read at the end of the third century BCE, if we consider it safe to ascribe Nikander's Θηβαϊκά to the first of the two namesakes. Between the diffusion (and the presence) of Herodotus, which takes us to the twenties of the fifth century BCE, and this later *terminus ante quem*, there are almost two centuries. Inside this

702 See 7.1.

703 The conjecture ἦ, put forward by Aujac in the edition of Dionysius, was rejected overall: some scholars prefer thinking of a distinction between μνημαί and γραφαί (Porciani 2001a: 17-8), whereas others suggest that memory, in general, was instrumental in the formation of a "schriftliche lokale Überlieferung" (von Fritz 1967 I: 96-7; Gabba 2002). However, Dionysius is clearly derivative in this theory, and the passage shows the presence of more than one source; see a commentary on the passage *infra* at 7.1.

704 The two Nikanders receive separate voices on the BNP (Fantuzzi 2000; Fornaro 2000). The question is complicated by the fact that, as Pasquali (1913) observed, both the figures engaged in poetry and it is probable that they shared some interests. For an updated overview, cp. Jenkins 2012a *ad* BNJ 271-272.

chronological span, internal references in the fragments make the fourth century a likelier scenario.

4.2. Aristophanes F 1

Previous editions: *BNJ* 379 F 1b; *EGM* I F 1A (*POxy.* 2463v = *SH* 715, edd. Rea et Fowler, ll. 6–32).

6 Ῥιανὸς δ' ἐν [τῇι	20 περ ἢ πολλή δόξα· κ[αὶ
.· τῆς Ἡρακλείας Ποί[μαν-	Τοξέα φησὶν ὑπὸ το[ῦ πα-
δρόν φησι γῆμαι Στρ[ατο-	τρός Οἰνέως ἐπὶ τοῖς [αὐ-
νίκην τὴν Εὐωνύ[μου	τοῖς τελευτῆσαι· Γ.[
10 καὶ υἱοὺς μὲν γ' γεν[νῆσαι	οὕτως· τὸν γὰρ Πο[ίμαν-
Ἄ·χιππον καὶ ῥεπιπ[ον καὶ	25 δρόν φησιν, ὥς τῇ[ν τάφρον
Λεύκιππον, θυγατέ[ρας δὲ β'	τῇ πόλει περιεβά[λλετο
Ῥηξιπύλην καὶ Ἀρχ[επτο-	παῖδα αὐτοῦ τὸν ῥεπ[ιππον
λέμην. Ἀριστοφάνης [δ' ἐν	φάσκειν ῥαιδίως ὑ[περ-
15 τῇι α' πρώτη τῶν Βοιω[τι-	αλεῖσθαι τὴν τάφ[ρον· οὐ
κῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς Ποι-	30 φάσκοντος δὲ τοῦ Π[οιμάν-
μάνδρου τελευτῆσα[ί φη-	δρου, τὸν μὲν ῥεπ[ιππον
σιν τὸν ῥεπιππον τ[ὸν	διαπηδᾶν, τὸν δὲ [.
ὑπερ[α]λόμενον κ[αθά-	

7 “*fort. γ. potius quam [[γ]]ι*” SH 9 Εὐωνύ[μου] West “*cf. Korinna’s Εὐωνύμια*” Rea 10
 “*potissimum Ἀγχι-; sed Ἀρχιππον expectes, et fort. legi potest*” SH Ἀγχι- *potius legam* 15 πρώτη *del.*
 Fowler 18 τ[ὸν] Rea τ[ὴν] τάφρον Lloyd-Jones Livrea τ[άφρ(ον)] Lobel τ[άφρον (τινὰ)] West 20
 κ[αὶ τὸν] Maehler 23 *alterius auctoris nomen vel γί[νεται] vel γράφων* Rea γρ[άφει δὲ] Maehler
 Π[ι][νδαρος] De Luca γράφων Fowler γίνεται *fortasse recte* 26 περιέβα[λεν] Maehler περιεβά[λετο]
 Fowler 29 τάφ[ρον] οὐ Rea Lloyd-Jones ἀπο- Turner μή Mette

“In the (?) book of his *Herakleia*, Rhianos maintains that Poimandros married Stratonike, the daughter of Euonymos, and begat three sons (Anchippos, Ephippos, and Leukippos) and two daughters (Rhexipyle and Archeptoleme). In the first book of his *Boiotian Histories*, Aristophanes states that Ephippos was killed by his father Poimandros, because, according to the general opinion, he had leapt – Toxeus too, he affirms, was killed by his father Oineus, in the same circumstances. [It happened like this]: as far as Poimandros is concerned, he affirms that, while this man was trying to dig a ditch around the city, his son Ephippos maintained that he would easily leap over the ditch. Even if Poimandros, then, advised not to do it, Ephippos jumped, and the man [...]” (tr. S. Tufano).

4.2.1. Textual Transmission and Exegetical Problems

The text is transmitted on the *verso* of a papyrus dated between the end of the second and the beginning of the third century CE.⁷⁰⁵ Even if the first editor, J. Rea, still considered other genres plausible (like a mythology handbook or a direct example of local history), it was soon clear that this is an excerpt of an Imperial commentary. As for the identity of the commented text, it was once believed that this commentary dealt with three verses of

705 The papyrus is dated on the basis of the script and for the presence, on the *recto*, of a tax register that uses a cursive script, not dissimilar from the one on *P.Lond.* 109 and 333 (166 CE; cp. Rea 1962: 104–5). The reading is complicated by a break in the upper right side of the papyrus, which concerns 2 to 7 letters (Rea *loc. cit.*; McNamee 1977: 351).

Lykophron's *Alexandra* (326–8), which posit a link between the rather obscure substantive ποιμανδρίαν and Iphigenia and/or Polyxena's sacrifice.⁷⁰⁶ Later studies, however, indicate that this commentary better suits the meeting of Herakles with Molorchos, retold also in the *Aitia* of Callimachus (*Suppl. Hell.* 256–7).

The author of this commentary was probably Theon of Alexandria, a prolific grammarian who lived under Augustus.⁷⁰⁷ If this hypothesis is true, we have positive evidence for the circulation of the text of Aristophanes in the first century BCE. The detail goes beyond the mention of a single word and we can posit a direct reading of Aristophanes' Βοιωτικά.

The suggested hypotext would be the mention by Herakles, during his meeting with Molorchos, of his Argive origins. The papyrus actually has the name “Amphytrion” (4) in a line not reproduced in our text. One of the major problems of the fragment of Rhianos is the mention of Poimandros in an epical work on Herakles.⁷⁰⁸ Among the suggested hypotheses, there is a more simple line of argument that stresses the analogy between the myths and the lives of Poimandros and Herakles (if only because they both kill relatives); furthermore, their genealogy may indicate a close family tree, since, in the version of Poimadros' myth provided by Plutarch, the son of Poimandros, while looking to atone for his father's crime, goes to the Achaeans and calls Tlepolemos, Herakles' offspring, his relative (συγγενής).

Starting from this reconsideration of the myth and from an inscription published in 1836, but no longer preserved, Schachter (2014a) suggested that, behind this mythic kinship, there was a Theban desire to reassert, through Poimadros and Herakles, Theban links in the Tanagran region, i.e. at Aulis. Herakles then represents Theban efforts to associate the city with the ancient possession of that territory.

706 The scholia on Lykophron share this same doubt: which sacrifice did the poet allude to? It is likely, in light of Lykophron's usual style, that a reference to both the figures is intentional (Livrea 1989: 142; Hornblower 2015: 191). Hurst (2008: 147), nevertheless, remarks that in Lykophron, Iphigenia escapes sacrifice.

707 *Etym. Gen. A s.v. ἄρμιοι*. I refer here to the A version of the *Etymologicum Genuinum* (ninth century CE), transmitted by the Vat. gr. 1818 (Tosi 2015: 634). Theon as author of the *hypomnema*: Livrea 1989: 147 n.22

708 *Suppl.Hell.* 715; *BNJ* 265 F 54a, from the *Herakleia*. Schachter (2012b *ad BNJ* 379 F 1b) notes that Rhianos' work is quoted with a different title, Ἡρακλείας, in the lemma of the *Suda* on this poet (ρ 158, *s.v.* Πιανός = *BNJ* 265 T 1a).

If the extension of the fragment of Rhianos is not debatable, the quote from Aristophanes opens a series of issues: the lacuna at 1.23 makes it unclear where Aristophanes' quote ended. The main proposals were already put forward by the first editor of the papyrus, J. Rea: on the one hand, there are forms of the verbs γράφω or γίγνομαι, which would transform the successive part of the papyrus into an extension of the fragment of Aristophanes (in fact, with the verb γράφω, we would have a direct quote). On the other hand, there may be the name of a third author, followed by the adverb οὕτως, with a syntax that is attested elsewhere in ancient scholarship.⁷⁰⁹ Along this line, De Luca (1995) read Pindar's name here: this proposal is extremely enticing, because it adapts to the content of the anecdote and, probably, to the form of the consonant, which precedes the iota.

Since, however, the papyrus is extremely unclear on this point, we cannot put an end to these doubts, from a paleographic point of view. The best option, then, is to adhere to the linguistic features of the rest of the excerpt, where a name of a source is always followed by a transitional δέ, as in the cases of Rhianos and of Aristophanes, and by a precise arrangement of the information in the original work. Consequently, a form like γίνεται may be a good compromise since it does not contrast with the later φησί⁷¹⁰ and allows us to understand the rest of the narrative as an explanation of the short mention, in Aristophanes, of the murder of Ehippos by Poimandros.

4.2.2. Commentary

Since Aristophanes probably used the genealogy of Rhianos for Poimandros, I comment here on all the traditions attested in the *hypomnema*, even though only the description of the homicide and the parallel with Toxeus and Ainaios must be genuinely deemed as part of the Βοιωτικά.

709 Rea (1962: 109 nn.23–4) mentioned e.g. schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.185–8b: ὁ δὲ Ταρραῖος οὕτως (tr. G. Lachenaud 2010: 42: “Voici ce que dit Tarrhaïos”).

710 Even if there were a third author, moreover, this verbal form would imply that this third author was quoting Aristophanes (De Luca 1995: 195).

Ποίμανδρόν [...] γῆμαι Στρατονίκην τὴν Εὐωνύμου. The main character of these two fragments is Poimandros, who was considered by Classical sources as the founder of Tanagra.⁷¹¹ The foundation is usually linked to the missing participation of the Tanagrans in the Trojan Wars, which is a recurrent motif in the variations of this myth of synoecism.⁷¹² Other recurrent motifs are the formation of a ditch and the intentional, or unintentional, murder of a son by Poimandros.

When they claim that the wife of Poimandros was Stratonike, the daughter of Euonymos, Rhianos and Aristophanes follow a genealogy that differs from that of other sources of this family tree. First of all, in Pausanias, the wife of Poimandros is Tanagra, the daughter of Aiolos, or of Asopos, according to Korinna (F 1 Page n. p. 332);⁷¹³ in the scholia b of the *Iliad* (2.498), however, and in Eustathius (*ad Il.* 2.498, p. I 406,23 van der Valk), this same Tanagra, who is also called Graia, is the daughter of Meledon and the wife of Leukippos, i.e. wife to Poimandros' son (she then becomes the daughter-in-law of Poimandros, and not his wife). Secondly, Plutarch, in his *Greek Questions* (37.299C-E), claims that Stratonike was Poimandros' mother, not his wife (this chapter generally follows a version of the myth very different from the one reported by the papyrus: see *infra*). There were therefore distinct traditions on the identity of the wife of Poimandros (Tanagra or Stratonike) and on the genealogy of this female figure (different fathers for Tanagra: Aiolos, Asopos, Meledon; Stratonike could be Poimandros' mother).

Even in the genealogy, then, the two fragments suggest that our Hellenistic or post-Classical authors (Aristophanes and Rhianos) drew on a rare tradition, which had a more limited circulation than the others. It is remarkable, for example, that Korinna argued that

711 Defining Poimandros as a “founder” is partially incorrect, as Moggi (1976: 82–4) showed that the myth concerning Poimandros, who puts a ditch around Tanagra and thus includes more sites, more closely resembles the scheme of a synoecism than a common foundation myth (cp. Schachter 2012b *ad BNJ* 379 F 1b). Cp. Schachter 2003 in general on the history and the topography of Tanagra.

712 Plutarch (*Quaest. Graec.* 37.299C) and the scholia b to *Il.* 2.498 explicitly address the absence of the Tanagrans at Troy. This was a recurrent motif in the local traditions of Tanagra (Roller 1989: 42–3); other explanations were put forward, for example, by identifying the city with the Graia at Hom. *Il.* 2.498 (schol. D/Z *ad Il.* 2.498; Paus. 9.20.2; Eust. *ad Il.* 2.498, p. I 406,20–1 van der Valk; cp. Roller 1989: 37–8).

713 Tanagra, daughter of Aiolos and wife of Poimandros: Paus. 9.20.1. Tanagra, daughter of Asopos: Korinna, F 1 Page n. p. 332. Pausanias uses λέγουσι; the tradition could then be local. See Pretzler 2005: 245–6 for the meaning of λέγουσι in Pausanias, since this verb can also imply the use of written sources.

Poimandros' wife was Tanagra, the daughter of the river Asopos, which relates to a South-Boiotian area; at the same time, this woman was Meledon's daughter, in a Tanagran history, which explains the absence of the Tanagrans from Troy (and for this reason, they argued that they were the ancient Graia mentioned in the *Catalogue of Ships*).⁷¹⁴ While the identity of the male figure Poimandros remained constant, the female figure connected with him, be she his wife, mother, or daughter-in-law, could change, but constantly absolved the "function" of explaining something about the history of Tanagra.

There can be agreement, in fact, between the genealogy of the scholia b of the *Iliad*, where Tanagra/Graia is Poimandros' daughter-in-law (she marries his son Leukippos), and that of the papyrus, where Poimandros' wife, Stratonike, is Euonymos' daughter. This Euonymos was the father of Aulis, according to some sources, and he might reinforce a link with Tanagran land.⁷¹⁵ By and large, these variations concur in providing us with a rich scenario of how local Tanagrans reworked their past and stressed a link with their local territory, going far beyond the mere inclusion of a "Tanagra" in the family tree. Not only, then, do the connections with Herakles, which indicate a possible Theban interest, invite us to consider the middle fourth century as a stage of development of this myth, but the internal politics also suggest this, for in these very same years Tanagra was expanding towards Aulis' harbour. Rhianos and Aristophanes, therefore, turned to a relatively recent evolution of the foundation myth. On the other hand, the differences in Plutarch's version may depend on the fact that he availed himself to Diokles of Peparethos (*BNJ* 820), who wrote on Tanagran myths and on *Sanctuaries of the Heroes* in the first half of the third century BCE.⁷¹⁶ This detail on Stratonike may be understood on its own, without

714 Graia: Hom. *Il.* 2.498. The center may be mentioned on some Mycenaean tablets, if its identification with *ka-ra-wi-ja* or *ka-ra-u-ja* is accepted (Aravantinos – Godart – Sacconi 2001: 355–6). The location of Drameis, suggested by Fossey (1974), is nowadays refused, because it contrasts the context of the Homeric list (Visser 1997: 257–8) and there are no solid alternatives (Kühr 2006: 66). In the Imperial sources, variations in the spelling of the toponym seem to further show that the city was still trying to convey this tradition (Roller 1989: 12).

715 Steph. Byz. α 541, s.v. Αὔλις; schol. D/ Z^s ad *Il.* 2.496. For these parallels, see D'Alessio 2005: 184–5. He argues, after West 1985b: 5 and Hirschberger 2004: 450–1, that the v.10 in F 251a M. – W. of the *Catalogue of Women* mentioned Stratonike as Poimandros' mother: this hypothesis is supported by intratextual comparisons, since the woman takes her grandmother's name, according to the genealogy adopted by Hesiod (F 26 M. – W.). The poet would then come closer to the tradition followed by Plutarch.

716 Diokles as a source for Plutarch's *Greek Questions* was first suggested by Halliday (1928: 160). Since Fabius Pictor followed Diokles in his narration of the founding myth of Rome (*BNJ* 820 T 2: see Beck-Walter 2005: 89 and Beck

necessarily thinking of Theban interests in this tradition: it can be read from the point of view of a Tanagran who was trying to imagine her or his own mythical past and, as usual, attached a link with the territory (Tanagra, when she is mentioned) and with the chora (Euonymos) to the female figure close to Poimandros. These *Boiotian Histories*, even when they share details with other genres, are actually local narratives that we must understand from the point of view of the relevant populations.

καὶ υἱοὺς μὲν γ[...], θυγατέρας δὲ β': This list is puzzling for two reasons: it records a third son, Anchippos, absent in Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 37.299C-E, where Poimandros is only the father to Ehippos and Leukippos, and two daughters, whose names are equally unknown (nowhere else is Poimandros the father of two maidens).⁷¹⁷ The third son, Anchippos, requires a singular commentary, later in this text. As far as the two daughters are concerned, their complete absence in Plutarch is striking. All we can infer on this is a further confirmation of the use, by Plutarch, of a different (*qua* later?) strand of the tradition, since there is no space in the later action for them. The fact that the place of Poimandros' wife (as argued in the previous section) usually serves to further pinpoint the foundation myth to the territory, might indicate that these female figures could be used to absolve a similar function.

Ἀχιππον. One of the few common points between Plutarch and Aristophanes is Poimandros' begetting of Ehippos and Leukippos. Unlike Plutarch, however, Aristophanes recognizes a third son for whose name palaeographic reasons suggest that we read Anchippos (Ἀγκιππον), rather than Archippos.⁷¹⁸ The recent editors of the text, from the *Suppl. Hell.* (for Rhianos) to Fowler (*EGM* I), however, accept the form with a *rho* because it is more attested in Greek prosopography.

Attention should be paid to three occurrences on vase paintings of the hero ΑΝΧΙΠΠΟΣ, for example, on an Athenian black-figure amphora by Exechias, dated to 540 BCE:⁷¹⁹ on both

2010), the relationship between Plutarch's rendering of the myth of Poimandros and the myth of Romulus and Remus, might be explained through Diokles (Schachter 2012b *ad* BNJ 379 F 1b; see *infra* in text).

717 Rea 1962: 109.

718 Rea 1962: 108; *SH* 715.

719 Toledo 1980.1022. *LGPV* II s.v.; Bell 1983: 82-5; Immerwahr 1990: 32. Another Anchippos is documented on the amphora B of Group E at the Louvre (F 53), which also displays, on side B, the warrior Anchippos coming back home (see Beazley 1951: 59, for the possible ascription to Exechias, confirmed by Bell 1983: 82). A third occurrence is on a

sides of the vase are knights, one of these knights carries a Boiotian shield, but Anchippos is isolated. On the opposite side are Kalliphoras and Pyrrichus. Even if the Boiotian shield is not a sufficient piece of evidence, it is better to accept the positive reading of the papyrus, which is also advisable, for the general rarity of the version of the myth provided here.

The problem with Anchippos is the same as Tanagra, wife (Pausanias) or daughter-in-law (scholia to the *Iliad*) to Poimandros, according to the source: these other secondary characters are not associated to specific events in the corpus of the narrative, but the learned attention of the author of the commentary (and, of course, of his sources) preserved this third son.⁷²⁰ His role is nonetheless meaningful, because it seems to invalidate the assumption that this myth, through the twins Ehippos and Leukippos, preserved a Mycenaean cult of divine twins.⁷²¹ The importance of twins at Tanagra and, in general, along other sites of the coasts of Lake Kopais, remains noteworthy, but cannot be positively argued for this myth.

ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς Ποιμάνδρου [...] Ἐφιππον. Aristophanes differed from Plutarch not only for the identity of the son who was killed, but also for the reasons underlying the murder. The final lines of the fragment confirm that Poimandros willingly killed his son Ehippos. The attributive participle ὑπεραλόμενον, in fact, might carry a circumstantial meaning of cause, as in the translation provided by Schachter for the *BNJ* (“because he had leapt”). This absolute use of the verb, without a preverb, and the indication of the obstacle, is not rare for ἄλλομαι:⁷²² the concise phraseology may be due to the fame of the myth or, more probably, to the fact that the attention of the author, here, is on the murder of a son by a father (only later does he intend to clarify the ambiguity of the participle). Such a reading

hydria at the Museo Archeologico Etrusco of Florence (70994), which cannot be connected to the same hands (Bell 1983: 86 n.51).

720 If we accept a correction by Wyttenbach in Plutarch, we would have a third son, where Achilles is mentioned for having killed τὸν υἱὸν Ἐφίππου Ἀκέστορα (*Quaest. Graec.* 37.299C). However, the tradition here is unanimous and, if it is true that “[g]randsons are not wanted in this story” (Fowler 2013: 498 n.13), the presence of the two sisters in Rhianos and in Aristophanes shows that we can never be sure of the actual status of the family tree. It is therefore better (also for the later role of Ehippos in Plutarch) to accept the transmitted text (Schachter 2014a: 323 n.43).

721 Roller 1989: 42–3.

722 Xen. *Eq.* 8.4; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.87.4.

avoids the difficulty of supplementing a direct object at l.18, because the missing space does not fit the most reasonable explanation, τάφρος (Fowler 2013: 497 n.13).

καθάπερ ἡ πολλή δόξα: The (un)voluntary act of this murder distinguishes this version from the one in the *Greek Questions* (37.299D): Poimandros, in fact, kills his son Leukippos ὑπ’ἀγνοίας, “unintentionally”, since his first target was the architect Polykritos, who mocked the work on the ditch. Plutarch starts from the consideration of the cult of Achilles at Tanagra, where the inhabitants worshipped him, despite the violence in which they had assisted. This narrative has been deemed “artificial and derivative” by Fowler (2013: 498). Indeed, it aims at bringing together some Classical motifs on the past of Tanagra (Poimandros as a killer, the ditch and its synoecistic value, the absence from Troy), with the historical relationship with Thebes: this connection is represented by the person of Tlepolemos, kin of Herakles, the Theban hero *par excellence*.

According to Aristophanes, his version was the most widespread (πολλή δόξα),⁷²³ which means that the accepted facts were the intentional character of the murder and the kinship tie between Poimandros and Ehippos. Already in the Hellenistic period, however, there were many variations on this family tree so that the unifying factor of this *communis opinio* was, most probably, the murderous act of the founder. Plutarch presented an erudite variation as a local tradition, which could not be his own creation, but possibly a later development of the same myth that was studied by Aristophanes, as the vast amount of details on the papyrus suggests.

καὶ Τοξέα [...] ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς Οἰνέως: The only sources on the myth of Toxeus and Oineus are this fragment and a passage of Apollodoros’ *Library* (1.64). Toxeus was the child of Oineus and Altaea, and his father killed him because Toxeus crossed the ditch (ὑπερπηδήσαντα τὸν τάφρον).⁷²⁴ The desire and its cause, expressed with the same syntax (with an attributive participle), represent points in common that Aristophanes found. The

723 Cp. Rea 1962: 109 on this expression.

724 Lactant. schol. in Stat. *Theb.* 1.282 (*Polynicen per patris incestum et Tydeum, qui fratrem suum Toxeum occiderat*) cannot be used to argue for a different tradition where Toxeus and Oineus were brothers (Fowler 2013: 499). It is clear that the short observation of Lactantius may be influenced by the more famous case of Romulus and Remus, if not by that of Polyneikes and Eteokles.

episode of Toxeus belongs to the myths concerning the Kalydonian boar hunt, as Toxeus and his family are mentioned in the *Catalogue of Women*.⁷²⁵

At first glance, one might see a parallel between the death of Ehippos in Tanagra and the story of Romulus and Remus, since both the victims cross an assumedly insurmountable border. The similarity also entails the circumstances of the event, as it might seem that this act is a central part of the foundation myth of the two cities, Tanagra and Rome.⁷²⁶ Nonetheless, this comparison may be the object of many possible criticisms, which need to be clearly reassessed: first of all, Aristophanes underlines that it was a father (Poimandros) who killed his own son and not a murder between brothers.⁷²⁷ Secondly, the digging of a ditch by Poimandros, does not equate to the walls Romulus builds with the resulting material of the excavation: the ditch represents and sanctions the synoecism of Tanagra, where there were already villages;⁷²⁸ in Rome, the walls and/or the ditch constitute the borders of the city, which Romulus is founding.⁷²⁹

The death of Remus marks the inviolable character (*sanctus*) of the new border ordered by his twin: this act precedes and justifies the sanctity of the borders of the emergent Rome,

725 See Schachter 2012b *ad BNJ* 379 F 1b. The Kalydonian boar hunt was one of the most important Aitolian myths, even if we cannot be completely certain that this context was already mentioned by Aristophanes. On this myth and on Kalydon, see *infra* (5.2.2).

726 Rea 1962: 109; Ogilvie 1965 *ad Liv.* 1.6.3; Roller 1989: 43–4, on the knowledge of Tanagran myths in Rome. The main sources on the killing of Romulus are Diod. Sic. 8.6; Liv. 1.7.1–3; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.87.4; Plut. *Rom.* 10.1–2; *Quaest. Rom.* 27.270F–271B; Just. *Epit.* 28.2.8–10 (see a complete list in the section VE in Carandini 2006a: 220–43, with the commentary by Carafa at 440–52; in a minor version, Romulus died during a fight after an augural consultation: Carafa, *ibid.* 387–409, argues that this second tradition was the original one).

727 It is generally assumed that the foundation myth which involves the twins has a genuine Latin character (contrary to the non-Latin echoes of the myth of Aeneas). There is no consensus on the traditionalist view (on this adjective, which implies a total adherence to the sources, see Ampolo 2013 *passim*), that the myth dates back to the age of the foundation of Rome, namely to the middle eighth century BCE (Ampolo in Ampolo – Manfredini 1988: 297; De Sanctis 2009: 65–6 and n.6, with previous scholarship; the motif of the twins is studied, with many comparisons, by M.T. D'Alessio in Carandini 2006a: 469–76).

728 Moggi 1976: 82–4; Jaillard 2007: 150: “En rassemblant les Tanagréens en une *polis* ceinte de remparts, Poimandros leur a assuré une maîtrise durable de leur territoire, au prix de son abandon momentané”. Villages in the Tanagran area: Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 37.299C: ἔτι τῆς Ταναγρικῆς κατὰ κώμας οἰκουμένης.

729 The variations on the nature of the obstacle are not meaningful, as has been argued by De Sanctis (2007; De Sanctis 2009: 75–6; De Sanctis 2012: 117–8), especially after Varro, *Ling.* 5.143: *terram unde exculperant, fossam vocabant et introrsum iactam murum* (“they called ‘ditch’ the earth, from which they had dug, and ‘wall’ the earth, thrown on the outside”, tr. S. Tufano). On the foundation through the definition of borders, see, for Rome, Bremmer 1987: 35; Fowler 2013: 499.

and it is hard to believe that the myth recalls and echoes a human sacrifice of foundation.⁷³⁰ Despite the research conducted in areas like the so-called “muro di Romolo”, excavated in the northern Palatine between 1985 and 1992, there are still doubts on the plausibility of human sacrifice in Classical cultures.⁷³¹ Even those who argue that the tradition of Romulus and Remus might reflect an original sacrifice, tend to postulate that the detail of the murder was added at the beginning of the third century BCE.⁷³²

Even in the longer version of the foundation myth of Tanagra (Plutarch), the reestablishment of order either happens through the death of Ehippos, or that of the architect of the walls (in itself a meaningful variation, since in Rome it is always Remus who dies). The punishment that follows the murder requires that all of the city, and not only the killer, go through an expiation: this consists of the dispatch of the Tanagran army to Troy, something that finds no parallel in the Roman myth. Furthermore, in a part of the tradition, Poimandros is directly related to the toponym Poimandria, the previous name of Tanagra.⁷³³ Moggi (1976: 82-3) rightly maintains that Poimandria was a small settlement incorporated later into the larger city. Even if Poimandros can be equated to a founder, he has a vaguer and less strict relationship to the city than Romulus and Remus, who are directly associated with the toponym of Rome.⁷³⁴ Let us also recall how it is a woman of

730 Schwegler (1853: 436-8) originally established a relationship between the punishment of Remus and the *sanctus* character of the walls, which only thus become “holy” and then pertain to the sphere of the *sacrum* (De Sanctis 2009: 83-5 on the couple *sanctum* / *sacrum*). This consequential relationship between the death of Remus and the later sanctification of the borders is repeated by Fraschetti (2002: 33 and *passim*) and Ampolo (2013: 254-7), against the opposite view, held by Carandini (2006b), that it was the desanctification of the walls, through Remus’ crossing, which demanded punishment.

731 On the “muro di Romolo”, see Carandini 1992 and Ampolo 2013: 253 n.57 for later scholarship. Doubts on human sacrifice in Rome and in Greece: De Sanctis 2009: 71-4. Several important works were published to tackle both terminological and historical issues concerning human sacrifice in later years: I will only refer here to the detailed overview by Georgoudi 2015. To my knowledge, the foundation myths of Rome and Tanagra have not been reconsidered in this debate from a historical point of view (but see Gladhill 2013 on Virgil’s *Aeneid*).

732 Wiseman 1995: 107-17 and 125. See Carafa in Carandini 2006a: 447-8 and Ampolo 2013 for a detailed picture of the historical interpretations given to the myth of Romulus and Remus, from the possibility that it might be a backdating of the fight between the Patricians and the Plebeians (Mommsen 1881: 21) to a possible echo of an original double kingship (Alföldi 1974: 105-6).

733 Str. 9.2.10.404; schol. Lycoph. *Alex.* 326; Steph. Byz. τ 17, *s.v.* Τάναγρα; *Etym. Magn. s.v.* Γέφυρα, p. 228,58 Gaisford.

734 Cp. e.g. Liv. 1.7.3. The etymology of the toponym *Roma* is a vexed issue, which cannot be properly addressed here. Nowadays, it is believed that the name *Romulus* was archaic and probably widespread in Etruria between the eighth and the seventh century BCE (Petersmann 2000; De Simone in Carandini 2006a: 465). The etymological link with Rome,

his family, and never Poimandros himself or one of his male relatives, who gives a name to the new foundation.

It is ultimately hard to see how the myth of Poimandros and Ephippos, albeit through a parallel with the couple of Toxeus and Eneus, might have influenced and prompted the development of the episode of the killing of Remus (Schachter *ad BNJ* 379 F 1b). This hypothesis was suggested by Plutarch's knowledge of Diokles of Peparethos (*BNJ* 820). This author is probably behind Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 37.299C-E, but here the murder is involuntary. Moreover, there are many doubts concerning the weight of Diokles⁷³⁵ in Fabius Pictor's version of the foundation of Rome: it was this second author, Fabius Pictor, who influenced (molded?) the so-called *fama vulgatio* in Rome on the murder of Remus.⁷³⁶ Even if we hypothesize that the detail of the missed target discharged the father, the parallel case of Romulus and Remus (Plut. *Rom.* 10.2) shows that the responsibility always lies among Romulus' friends or sodals, even when moved to another circle of people (e.g. Celer/Celer(i)us).⁷³⁷ In Plutarch, instead, the entire episode is an *aition* for the later purification of the city, which occurs exactly κατὰ τὸν νόμον (*Quaest. Graec.* 37.299D), and for the participation of the Tanagrans in the Trojan expedition.

The differences between Aristophanes' version and Plutarch's one, and the consonances between Plutarch's narrative and the foundation myth of Rome,⁷³⁸ may be justified if we

however, does not necessarily have links with the original tradition, as it is similar to many other colonial tales of the Greek world.

735 Cp. Beck 2010.

736 Version of Fabius Pictor: *BNJ* 809 F 4a = F 5 Cornell. *Fama vulgatio*: Liv. 1.7.2. See Beck – Walter 2005: 89–91 on the possible topographical innovations of Fabius Pictor and Jenkins 2014 *ad BNJ* 809 F 4a on their connection.

737 The name Celer is variously transmitted (Κέλερος; Diod. Sic. 8.6.3; Κελέριος; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.87.4; *Celer*: Ov. *Fast.* 4.837–48 and 5.469; [Aur. Vict.] *De vir. ill.* 1.4; Festus, *Gloss. lat.* 48.2–4 Lindsay; Serv. *ad Aen.* 11.603); his job is also contentious (for Diodorus, he was a common worker; the sources of Dionysius describe him as an ἐπιστάτης τῶν ἔργων, whereas in Ovid he was a warden). On the basis of Festus and Servius, who consider Celer the one who gave the name to a group of knights, the *celeres*, I would consider him a late paronymological invention and would not stress the form in *iota*, present in Dionysius. Only Hieronymus (*Chron.* 152) has Remus killed by Fabius, in a way that makes him an alias of Celer: *Romuli dux*.

738 Polykritos, the architect, mocks the weakness of the walls of Tanagra, exactly as Remus does in some sources: Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 37.299C–D: Πολύκριτος ὁ ἀρχιτέκτων διαφαιλίζων τὰ ἔργα καὶ καταγελῶν ὑπερήλατο τὴν τάφρον, “Polycritus, the architect, after mocking and deriding the works, crossed the ditch”; cp. Liv. I 7.1: *vulgatio fama est ludibrio fratris Remum novos transiluisse muros*, “the more widespread tradition has Remus crossing the new walls, in order to mock his brother” (both tr. S. Tufano).

posit that Plutarch originally reread the foundation myth of Tanagra *in light of that of Rome*. This is recalled in a pamphlet, the *Roman Questions*,⁷³⁹ to explain the inviolable character of the Roman walls.

τὸν γὰρ Ποίμανδρόν [...] τὸν μὲν Ἐφιππον διαπηδᾷν. A lacuna at l.29 hinders the appreciation of this passage, likely without sufficient consideration of the previous lines that clearly mark (1) the intentionality of the murder of Poimandros and (2) its connection with Ephippos' crossing of the ditch. If we understand τὸν Ποίμανδρον as the subject,⁷⁴⁰ we infer that it was the father who proclaimed (φάσκειν) to his son Ephippos that he could easily (ῥάδιως) leap over the ditch. At l.29, nonetheless, even if we accept either an adversative conjunction, or a preverb that indicates a prohibition, like ἀπο-, it is undeniable that the father is utterly denying something, *despite which* his son leaps over the Tanagran border.

It is therefore advisable to accept Turner's suggestion, that τὸν [...] Ποίμανδρον is an "anticipatory accusative (of the verb of killing)."⁷⁴¹ The resulting interpretation is more in line with the rest of the fragment and generally more linear:

“as regards Poimandros, he [Aristophanes] says that, when this man was putting a ditch around the city, his son Ephippos declared that he could cross the ditch; despite, then, Poimandros' warning not to do it, Ephippos leapt over it, and that man [...].”

This reading also helps us to better understand the attributive παῖδα for Ephippos, which must refer to kinship, and not to his “childish mischief” (Fowler 2013: 498).

739 Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 27.271A. See De Sanctis 2009: 76–9; even later Roman laws used the myth to prove the *sanctitas* of the walls (De Sanctis 2012: 118).

740 Angeli in De Luca 1995: 196 n.13.

741 Turner (*apud* Rea 1962: 109 n.24). Or, more probably, as an accusative attracted to the close φησιν and the subject of the following temporal clause.

4.2.3. Aristophanes and Tanagra

This fragment shows that in the first book of Aristophanes' *Boiotian Histories* there was a section on the original synoecism of Tanagra. The identification of this piece of information in the work suggests either that in this part, all the regional foundation myths were collected, or that there was a Tanagran section in this book. Both speculations confirm that Aristophanes chose to reproduce the original traditions of Tanagra. The suggested interpretation of the historical context behind this variation indicates the placement of the author around the middle fourth century BCE.

Aristophanes' version of this myth attains distinction because it records the intentionality of the murder, whereas Plutarch does not stress this willingness and adds details that derive from a later development of the story. Aristophanes, however, is aware of contrasting alternatives, because he apparently introduces his version as closer to the πολλή δόξα (an observation which, lastly, cannot be of the commentator, since this commentary focuses on single authorities). The commenter, at the same time, is detectable, because he quotes Aristophanes in an indirect way so that we cannot use this fragment to infer anything on the language deployed in the *Boiotian Histories*. Overall, F 1 is useful because it sheds light on the contents of the first book of Aristophanes' Βοιωτικά, and it brings awareness to the richness of the local traditions of Tanagra, as far as the synoecism was concerned. The place of the female figures in the mythical past of Tanagra results both from the note on Stratonike, the wife of Poimadros, and from the singular detail on the two daughters of the couple: this singularity probably derives from a local narrative of these events, which found its written fixation in this work of regional local historiography.

4.3. Aristophanes F 2

Previous editions: *BNJ* 379 F 1a; *EGM* I F 3A; *FGrHist* 379 F 1 (Steph. Byz. α 330 *s.v.* ἀντικονδυλεῖς).

ἀντικονδυλεῖς· οἱ ἐν Βοιωτίαι Κολοίφρυγες, ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης ὁ τοῦς
Θηβαίους ὥρους γεγραφώς.

1 Κολοίφρυγες Berkelius Κόλοι Φρύγες *codd.* 2 ὥρους Meineke ὄρους *codd.*

“Those who hit with the knuckles: the fighting cocks, in Boiotia (so Aristophanes, who wrote the *Theban Annals*)” (tr. S. Tufano).

4.3.1. A Long Tradition

In a short hint of his work, Stephanus comments on a lemma, the ἀντικονδυλεῖς, on which we lack further sources. In the past, the form was understood as referring to the inhabitants of a Boiotian centre in front of the hill Κόνδυλος (“Those who live in front of the Kondylos”).⁷⁴² More recently, however, Schachter interpreted the prefix ἀντι- as meaning “similar, analogous to” and preferred concentrating on the literal and common sense of κόνδυλος, “knuckle, joint”: the suffix -εὺς, then, which normally forms a *nomen agentis*, gives a general interpretation of the substantive as “Those who hit with the knuckles, Knuckle-hitters.”⁷⁴³

These “Knuckle-hitters” were the fighting cocks of Tanagra, according to what Hesychius says, more explicitly, in his comment on the κολοίφρυγες.⁷⁴⁴ The emphasis on their knuckles, from their very name, may depend on the probable presence of supports of wood or iron on their claws.⁷⁴⁵ We know that for fights, roosters could be made more lethal by adding bronze points or other supports to their beaks or to their claws: the assumption mostly rest on literary sources, as it seems that figurative depictions of

742 Meineke 1849 *ad loc.* The scholar based his interpretation on Hesychius’ voice (κ 3364, κολοίφρυξ), where Κόνδυλος is presented as a Boiotian mountain.

743 Schachter 2012b *ad BNJ* 379 F 1a, on the basis of Hesychius (κ 3364, *s.v.* κολοίφρυξ) and of *Etym. Magn.* (*s.v.* κολοίφρυξ, p. 526,1 Gaisford; the *Etymologicum Magnum* is a lexicon written in the twelfth century CE, which strongly draws on the main preceding lexica, especially on the *Genuinum* [ninth century] and on the *Gudianum* [eleventh century]; on the relationship among these lexica, see the general overviews by Dickey 2007: 91–2; Dickey 2015: 472, and Tosi 2015: 633–4). For the use of the prefix ἀντι- in the sense meant by the scholar, cp. e.g. the Amazons are said to be ἀντιάνειραι, “equal to men”, in Hom. *Il.* 3.189.

744 Hesych. κ 3364: κολοίφρυξ· Ταναγραῖος ἀλεκτρυών.

745 Landsborough Thomson 1964: 138; 759–60; Dumont 1988: 36 and 42 n.30.

cockfighting did not reproduce this detail.⁷⁴⁶ The real noun used by Aristophanes, therefore, is this alternative label for cock fighting, ἀντικονδυλεῖς, and not the more common κολοίφρυγες: this other form is also not entirely persicuous in its etymology (“who carries noisy sticks”).⁷⁴⁷ Since the lexicographical tradition associates κολοίφρυγες with Tanagra, it is legitimate to assume that ἀντικονδυλεῖς may be understood as a synonym for the same variety of fighting cocks from Tanagra.

4.3.2. Cockfighting in Tanagra

Cockfighting was extremely popular in Athens and in other cities in the Classical period.⁷⁴⁸ This sport is mentioned by literary sources at the beginning of the fifth century BCE (Pind. *Ol.* 12.14), and the Panathenaic amphorae show the subject at least from the second half of the previous century:⁷⁴⁹ as a heraldic motif, in fact, it already appears *circa* 600 BCE.⁷⁵⁰ The Boiotian scenario was no exception, and single or couples of cocks were depicted on a limited group of vases from the third quarter to the end of the sixth century BCE. These are associated with a “Cockpainter”:⁷⁵¹ even if the depictions are not explicit in portraying a fight, they testify to the fame of the motif of the cock, whose violent

746 The main literary sources on this use are *Ar. Av.* 759, with its schol. *vet.*; *Nic. Alex.* 294; *Columella, Rust.* 8.2.11; *Luc. Somn.* 3 (on these passages, see Csapo 1993a: 9). For a general overview of depictions of cockfighting on vases, see Bruneau 1965 and Hoffmann 1974.

747 Lexicographical sources (*Etym. Gud. s.v.* κολοσυρτός, p.333 Sturz) explain φρύγες as a synonym of φρύγανα, “dry, pointed sticks”. This detail may refer to the dressing of the fighting cocks. The first part of the compound noun may derive from the adjective κολῳός, “brawling”, as in κολοιώδης, “daw-like”.

748 Cp. Müller 1998, in general, on this habit in Greece and in Rome. We also possess iconographic evidence for this sport for the Middle Kingdom of Egypt (Dumont 1988: 34).

749 Eckerman 2012. Comic poets often refer to cocks as particularly aggressive birds, and the metaphor seems quite popular on the stage (Caciagli 2016). On the social value of these contests, see Vespa 2019.

750 Cp. Tuplin 1992: 126–7.

751 On this Boiotian Cockpainter, see Kilinski II 1990: 24–5 and 66 (however, it must be stated that no explicit cockfighting can be detected on this selection of four items). There was another “Cockpainter” active in Athens at the end of the sixth and the beginning of the fifth century BCE: here a single cock is usually represented on the shoulders between two ivy leaves. The group consists of black-figure *lekkythoi* (see on this Cock Group Haspels 1936: 68; Boardman 1974: 115; Boriskovskaya – Arsenyeva 2006: 13–6).

nature coexisted with de-militarization, as testified by the fact that cock fighting could also be understood as a metaphor for homosexual intercourse.⁷⁵²

Since the sport was particularly popular among young aristocrats, on the basis of what we can gather from Athenian representations and literary sources,⁷⁵³ its specific attestation in Tanagra gives us insight into the habits of the local nobility. The upper class succeeded in making this sport one of the prime associations of Tanagra to the outside world: not only were these young spectators and breeders of cocks fond of this habit, as many other people in Greece were, but they specialized the breeding and cultivation of the birds to the point that Tanagra was universally renowned for this hobby.⁷⁵⁴

Since Tanagra was particularly famous for this sport, and the lexicographical sources repeat an association between the κολοίφρυγες and Tanagra, it is therefore reasonable to assume that Aristophanes recorded the local label ἀντικονδυλεῖς in an excursus on Tanagran customs. This topic may have been dealt with after the narration of the original myths of the city, demonstrable by the previous F 1. I would therefore agree with Schachter (2012a *ad* BNJ 379 F 1a) that the fragment comes from the first book of the *Boiotian Histories*, explicitly quoted in our F 1. A Tanagran section did not exclusively entail the history of the city, but also the specific mention of local habits and expressions: we see here how a specific label was invented to present local fighting cocks and, if we did not have the important witness of Aristophanes, we would not be in a position to appreciate how much the local community had produced a local narrative of this specific part of its identity.

It therefore remains for us to understand why Stephanus mentions Aristophanes as “the author of the *Thebaioi Horoi*”, despite the very likely possibility that Tanagra was studied in the other book on Boiotia. The greater fame of Aristophanes probably rested on his

752 Csapo 1993a: 19–20.

753 See Csapo 1993a: 21; Csapo 1993b and Csapo 2006/7.

754 On the fame of Tanagra, see Varro, *Rust.* 3.9.6; Columella, *Rust.* 8.2.4 and 13; Pliny the Elder (*HN* 10.48). According to Pausanias (9.22.4), the fighting cocks belonged to the local glories of Tanagra. We know from Lucian (*Somn.* 4) that the simple ethnic, “Tanagran”, could describe a particularly valuable cock: the epigrammatist Antipater of Sidon, in the second century BCE (*AP* 7.424.3), defined the city εὐρονίς (cp. Moggi – Osanna 2012: 342; see further sources on this fame in Roller 1989: 129–33).

Theban work, which was the only one known to Plutarch (FF 5-6).⁷⁵⁵ The expression used by Stephanus seems to imply that the information reached him through an intermediate source of a learned nature (a commentary?): Stephanus joined his own, poor knowledge of Aristophaes, to the detail of the fighting cocks. The original context, then, may be Aristophaes' *Boiotian History*, but the greater fame of the other work on Thebes influenced Stephanus in his own ascription of the material to the *Theban Annals*.⁷⁵⁶

4.4. Aristophanes F 3

Previous editions: *BNJ* 379 F 2a; *EGM* I F 2; *FGrHist* 379 F 2 (*Suda* ο 275, *s.v.* Ὁμολώϊος [= Phot. *Lex.* (g, z) ο 298 [III 82 Theodoridis]).

Ὁμολώϊος· Ζεὺς ἐν Θήβαις καὶ ἐν ἄλλαις πόλεσι Βοιωτίας καὶ ὁ ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ ἀπὸ Ὁμολωΐας προφήτιδος τῆς Ἐνυέως, ἣν προφήτιν εἰς Δελφοὺς πεμφθῆναί φησιν Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν β' Θηβαϊκῶν. Ἴστρος δ' ἐν τῇ δωδεκάτῃ τῆς Συναγωγῆς διὰ τὸ παρ' Αἰολεῦσιν τὸ ὁμονοητικὸν καὶ εἰρηνικὸν ὁμολὸν λέγεσθαι. ἔστι δὲ Δημήτηρ Ὁμολώϊα ἐν Θήβαις.

1 Ὁμολώϊος z Fowler *probante* –λάϊος *Suda* G Βοιωτικαῖς *Suda* (Βοιωτιακαῖς *codd.* SM) Βοιωτίας Phot. Βοιωτι(α)καῖς *Suda* SM ὁ *om.* *Suda post* Θεσσαλίᾳ *interpunxit Suda* 2 Ὁμολωΐας Fowler –λόας *Suda* A, –λῶα F, –λαΐας G, –λῶας *cett.* Εὐνέως *Suda* G; Ἐνυοῦς *dub. West* 3 φησιν Jacoby ὁ Phot. ὡς *Suda* Ἀριστόδημος Reines 5 ὁμιλον *Suda* A ἔστι δὲ καὶ *Suda*

“*Homoloios*: Zeus in Thebes, in other Boiotian cities, and in Thessaly. [The epithet comes from] Homoloia, a prophetess of Enyeus. In the second book of his *Theban Histories*, Aristophanes says that this prophetess was sent to Delphi.

⁷⁵⁵ Even those who, like Zecchini (1997: 190-1), think that Plutarch still read Aristophanes, doubt that his *Boiotian History* still circulated in the second century CE.

⁷⁵⁶ Cp. Zecchini 1997: 196 n.14 for the perplexities on the presence of this material in a work on Thebes.

However, in the twelfth book of his *Collection*, Istros says that [Zeus] is called this, because in the Aiolian dialect, something that is in harmony and at peace is called *homolos*. There is also a Demeter Homoloia in Thebes” (tr. S. Tufano).

4.4.1. A Controversial Etymology

The lexicographical voice may be understood as part of an ancient debate on the etymology of the adjective ὁμολώϊος.⁷⁵⁷ This adjective may describe a variety of realities:

1. a month in the Aiolian world and, more generally, in central and north-western Greece;⁷⁵⁸
2. an epiclesis for a deity;
3. a festival, the Ὅμολώϊα;
4. the formation of personal names, which are considered theophoric, in light of previous meanings;⁷⁵⁹
5. there was a hill, in Thessaly, the Ὅμολη, at the foot of the mountain Ossa;⁷⁶⁰
6. one of the most important Theban Gates, the Homoloid Gates, which are mentioned in our sources from a very early period.⁷⁶¹

The etymology of the adjective is still debated, as the presence of months with similar names in other regions complicates its association with a specific dialect. The suggestion of

757 Cp., for instance, a scholium to the *Phoenician Women* (1119): here, the use of the adjective for the Theban gates (use 6) gives the opportunity to voice the opinion held by Aristodemos of Thebes (*BNJ* 383 F 5b) and two other contrasting anonymous views, which share Aristodemos’ quest for an eponymous figure who gave his/her name to the site.

758 Cp. Trümpy 1997: 225–6.

759 The area of these personal names corresponds to regions where there was a month (Sittig 1911: 14–5; Robert 1960: 238–9). The available evidence confirms the existence of a woman named Homolois in Thebes in the fifth century BCE (*LGPV* III B s.v.).

760 This mountain was probably close to the city of Homolion (*IACP* 448): Ephoros, *BNJ* 70 F 228; Str. 9.5.22.443; Steph. Byz. ο 67 s.v. Ὅμολη. Cp. Fowler 2013: 61 and nn. 228–9.

761 Pind. F 113 S. – M. On the exceptional character of the Elektran, Proitidian, and Homoloid Gates, see Schachter 2012b ad *BNJ* 379 F 2a.

Istros (F 5 Berti) mentioned in our fragment is the likeliest, because it is in agreement ὁμο- and the extension may not be meaningful from a semantic point of view.⁷⁶² Ancient scholarship was particularly interested in the Theban gates (6)⁷⁶³ and in the epiclesis linked to this root (2): this may be attached to Zeus (in many areas, from Euboea to Thebes,⁷⁶⁴ and probably also in Orchomenos⁷⁶⁵ and Tenedos),⁷⁶⁶ to Demeter (in Thebes),⁷⁶⁷ or to Athena (in Thebes).⁷⁶⁸

In particular, the passage of the Argonauts through Mount Homole in Thessaly (5)⁷⁶⁹ attracted those who linked the epiclesis to the Thessalian area and, thence, to the mountain. This is also the basis for the artificial and highly combinatory version of Pausanias. According to this author, a group of Theban refugees fled from Thebes under the reign of Kadmos and were welcomed in the surroundings of the mountain before returning to Thebes by going through the future Homoloid gates.⁷⁷⁰ Nowadays, it is often

762 The final extension of the adj. may not be meaningful from a semantic point of view; on the etymology of the adjective, whose element -ω- may not be significant, see Fowler 2013: 61 and n.233; 62.

763 On the different explanations provided for the name of the Theban gates, see Kühr 2006: 212; 213 and n.69.

764 Zeus Homoloios in Rhodes (*ILindos* 26, l.2: Διὶ Ἀμαλῶ[ι]); Euboea (Eretria: *IG* 12.9,268 (Διὸς Ὀμ[ο]-| λωί[ο]); Thessaly (Atrax: *SEG* XXXV 493; Larissa *SEG* XXXV 608; Metropolis: *SEG* XL 482); Thebes (*IG* 7.2456, l.1: Διὶ Ὀμολοίοι).

765 Lauffer (1976) integrated the dative of the name Zeus ([Διὶ Ὀμολ]ωίῳ) in the first line of *SEG* XXVI 585, which continues ...]ωίῳ ἀνέθεκαν. The support of this is a federal dedication of a tripod, dated to the end of the third century BCE; other scholars disagree on the identity of the gods, but the epiclesis seems certain. Since, at this time, the *Homoloia* are clearly attested, but the dedicatee is not certain, the concurrent integration [τῷ ἥρῳι τῷ Ὀμολ]ωίῳ is just as likely (Schachter 1994a: 121 n.4).

766 The cult could be imagined on Tenedos, if we accepted Wackernagel's correction in a lemma by Hesychius, ἀμαλόν (α 3413; Breglia 1985: 159–60).

767 The Demeter Homoloia in Thebes is confirmed by the current fragment of Aristophanes and by comparisons with similar cases (Breglia 1985: 167); we cannot rule out, however, that the deity, with this epithet, was originally Thessalian (Schachter 1981: 168).

768 Lycoph. *Alex.* 520 and *schol.* (Scheer, however, corrected the transmitted παρὰ Ἀθηναίους [on the ms. Marc. 476] in παρὰ Θεβαίους); in this verse, the epithet is followed by two other epithets, βοαρμία and λογγᾶτις, which are typically Boiotian (Hurst 2008: 175; Berman 2015: 110; Hornblower 2015: 239).

769 Ap. Rhod. 1.592 (cp. further sources in Breglia 1985: 160 n.19).

770 Paus. 9.8.6–7: “When the Thebans were beaten in battle by the Argives near Glisas, most of them withdrew along with Laodamas, the son of Eteocles. A portion of them shrank from the journey to Illyria, and turning aside to Thessaly they seized Homole, the most fertile and best-watered of the Thessalian mountains. When they were recalled to their homes by Thersander, the son of Polyneikes, they called the gate, through which they passed on their return, the Homoloid gate after Homole” (tr. W.H.S. Jones – H.A. Ormerod). On the direction of the Kadmeans after their defeat against the Epigoni, see the commentary on Aristophanes’ F 11 and Vannicelli 1995.

assumed that this duplication of names and habits may be due to an ancient ethnic affinity, such as the Aiolian subgroups. It may also be a Boiotian reprise of Thessalian inheritances, as further cultural isoglosses confirm.⁷⁷¹

Aristophanes is quoted here with Istros as a source on the origin of the epiclesis: they are preceded and followed by notes of historical geography, which may derive from further undetectable sources of the lexicographical tradition. This tradition has already levelled different kinds of information, which must be considered before addressing what really derives from Aristophanes. The detail on the Homoloia must come from a passage in his work that does not directly discuss the epiclesis and could be unrelated to Zeus, since there are no clear signs that the discourse of Aristophanes was on Thebes. Istros, in fact, simply provides a general etymology that applies to the whole Aiolian culture (παρ'Αιολεῦσιν), whereas Thebes is only mentioned at the beginning of the lemma, among other centres (ἐν Θήβαις καὶ ἐν ἄλλαις πόλεσι Βοιωτίας). The final focus on the Theban Demeter does not depend on Istros:⁷⁷² it is a general comparison which confirms the association of these explanations only with the epiclesis of Zeus.

As far as the ascription to a “second book of *Theban Histories*” is concerned, we know that Aristophanes' *Theban Annals* were more popular and quoted than his *Boiotian Histories* (cp. *supra* F 2).⁷⁷³ Consequently, the ascription of our fragment may be a partial misunderstanding of the tradition that must not be corrected, because it reflects both the fame of the Theban work and the probability that the detail found space in a second book on Boiotia. In fact, the quote from Istrus, with an abridged version (Συναγωγῇ) of the more common title of this author,⁷⁷⁴ sheds doubts on the reliability of the overall tradition; at the same time, the “exact” quote from a specific book could be accepted in this

771 For this approach, see Trümpy 1997: 225 and Mili 2014: 94 on Zeus Homoloios in Thessaly; cp. Armenidas' F 1 (3.1.2) for another example of cultural isoglosses between the regions. I address the contrasting view in the Conclusions (6.1.3), held by Rose 2008 and Parker 2008, that these Aiolian traditions were inventions of the late fifth century BCE; the impact of this skeptical position on the interpretation of local historiography is not particularly strong, because the priority of this study is to understand these materials, not to prove them right or wrong.

772 Breglia 1985: 159; cp. the skepticism of Berti 2009: 69.

773 For the possibility that he wrote two works, see 4.1.1.

774 There are doubts on the exact title of Istrus' Atthidography, because in the longer version the title is Συναγωγὴ τῶν Ἀτθιδῶν (FF 14–5 Berti = *FGrHist* 334 FF 14–5), whereas originally it may have been Ἀττικά: see Jacoby 1954: 622–3 and Berti 2009: 7–8.

continuing shift between a level of precision for the title and another one for the number of the book.⁷⁷⁵

It may be argued that Aristophanes introduced this anecdote as a mere aetiology of the epiclesis, as the absence of Zeus confirms. There are no definite signs that Aristophanes was explicitly presenting an anecdote on the Theban gates, as in the other traditions where the adjective ὁμολώιος is explicitly associated with them: in these instances, the sources recall, for example, the hero Homoloos,⁷⁷⁶ Homoloeus (Amphion's son),⁷⁷⁷ or Niobe's daughter Ὁμολώϊς.⁷⁷⁸ The hero and the heroine were already associated with this place in the fifth century BCE because of the early connection between the Niobids and this local place.⁷⁷⁹ It is not very likely that, in his presentation of Homoloia, Aristophanes was mentioning a Niobid as a prophetess. The unlucky fate of this group was not associated with a tradition of prophecy.

4.4.2. A Possible Explanation for the *Homoloia* of Orchomenos

Homoloia is introduced as προφήτις τῆς Ἐνυέως: this expression emphasizes her role of prophetess more than her potential kinship, with the apposition that separates the genitive

775 The presence of Orchomenos, then, raises doubts on the possible presence of this material in Aristophanes' horographic work on Thebes (Zecchini 1997: 196 n.11).

776 Aristodemos *BNJ* 383 F 5a: Ἀριστόδημος δέ φησιν αὐτὰς οὕτως κληθῆναι διὰ τὸ πλησίον εἶναι τοῦ Ὁμολώου ἥρωος ("Aristodemus says that the gate was so called because it was close to the grave of the hero Homoloos", tr. A. Kühr – C. Zgoll). Fowler (2013: 61 n.230) confirmed the validity of ἥρωος, against the previous conjecture ὄρους, defended by Rabbow and Wilamowitz (1891: 215). There was no Mount Homoloos in Thebes, and Pausanias' observation on the Thessalian Mount Homole can only be suitable to this case if we accept that Aristodemos surely referred to the Theban Homoloia in another fragment (*BNJ* 383 F 5b: for the use of Pausanias, see Breglia 1985: 161 and n.23). Moreover, the most recent approach to Pausanias has shown that his own remarks on Theban topography might depend on the literary representations of the *chora* of Thebes, and not on actual autopsy (Berman 2015: 143–4; this was already theorized for the walls: Osanna 2008: 250–5; cp. Mozhajsky 2014). Consequently, we cannot believe that he saw a Mount Homole close to Thebes (Keramopoulos 1917: 376). An association among the festival, the mountain, and the hero, however, does not seem as firm as is sometimes suggested (Fowler 2013: 61): it could be that the Thessalian mountain and the hero were analysed in relation to a single place, namely the Homoloid gates, but it might also be that Aristodemos provided two different explanations for the Homoloia (the Orchomenian ones?) and the gates.

777 Aristodemos *BNJ* 383 F 5a; Σ *MTAB Eur. Phoen.* 1119.

778 Schol. *MTAB Eur. Phoen.* 1119; schol. Aesch. *Sept.* 568–72; Tzetz. *ad Lyc. Alex.* 520.

779 Radtke 1901: 46; Breglia 1985: 161; see 3.3.2 on the number of the Niobidai.

from the name of the woman. The internal topology and the context, then, exclude that the mentioned Enyeus could be her father; if this were the case, the only plausible explanation would be to connect him to his namesake, the offspring of Dionysos and Ariadne.⁷⁸⁰ The life of this Enyeus, however, hardly places him in Boiotia, since he ruled Skyros after Rhadamanthys granted it to him. This rather obscure reference should be dismissed in favour of an interpretation of Enyeus as hypochorist for Ἐνυάλιος, an ancient warrior god, homologous with Ares, to whose service our Homoloia was dedicated.⁷⁸¹

The related epiclesis of Zeus and the etymology of the name of the girl support this relationship with this deity. “Homoloia” refers to the harmony and the resolution of something, like the case of the Demeter Homoloia who closes the lemma under investigation.⁷⁸² Another context must then be considered, which does not force the evidence to find a possible connection with Thebes and explains the possible dispatch of the girl to Delphi, as part of a local necessity.

Her travel has been associated with a purification story, with Thebes needing to go through purification and liberation.⁷⁸³ Once again, even if the reading is in line with solid narrative parallels, it seems hindered by the necessity to find a place for Thebes in the story, in contrast to the fame and the diffusion in Boiotia, of the month Homoloios and the related epiclesis of other deities. In fact, during the third century BCE the month became a canonical month of the Boiotian League, as the sixth month of the federal calendar (May/June, as in Thessaly and in the Perrhaebia).⁷⁸⁴ The success of this operation might be a later confirmation of an antiquity which, according to Breglia (1985: 160), may find its roots in the period of the second colonization (ninth and eighth centuries BCE), judging from the diffusion of related cults in the Aiolian world.

780 So Schachter 2012b *ad* BNJ 379 F 2b.

781 Enyeus and Skyros: Hom. *Il.* 9.8.6–7. Grant: Diod. Sic. 5.79.2. On Enyalos, see Breglia 1985: 163, Guarducci 1985: 11–2 and Gordon 1997 (“Göttin des blutigen Nahkampfes”).

782 For this reading, cp. Müller 1844: 229 and Jacoby 1955a: 160–1. On the “livello funzionale per l’epiclesi divina” (Breglia 1985: 167) cp. *ibid.* 1985: 164–7 and Breglia 1986: 231–2.

783 Jessen 1913.

784 On the diffusion of the month and its period, see Trümper 1997: 244–6.

It is significant that the local festival of *Homoloia* took its name from the month: maybe it also took place in Thebes, but the evidence only concerns Orchomenos.⁷⁸⁵ Two catalogues of winners from the middle first century BCE⁷⁸⁶ and the dedication of a victorious boxer from Megara (second century BCE)⁷⁸⁷ mention the *Homoloia* as a poetic and musical contest: as such, it must be distinguished from the *Charitesia*, which precede the *Homoloia* in the first century catalogues and also included dithyrambic competitions.⁷⁸⁸ The origin of the Orchomenian *Homoloia* is connected to a cult that preexists the Sullan restructuration of local competitions in Orchomenos, which was in line with analogous interventions in Boiotia after the battle of Orchomenos (86 BCE). Further support of this theory may be the association of the *Homoloia* with the *Charitesia* that had been dedicated to the *Charites* since the fifth century BCE.⁷⁸⁹

Since it is only in the first century BCE that our epigraphic texts are explicit on these festivals, Manieri suggests that the *Homoloia*, based on a preexisting cult, only developed as a festival after Sulla. The previous dedications that have been found in the theatre of Dionysos, in fact, refer to another festival, the *Agrionia*, and in her view, Sulla may not have used this previous tradition, because he also moved the local statue of Dionysos to Thespiiai (Paus. 9.30.1).⁷⁹⁰ Nonetheless, the idea of dating the *Homoloia* to the first century BCE is also based on the assumption that the festival was dedicated either to Dionysos,⁷⁹¹

785 There are many literary sources and a dedication of a tithe (sixth century BCE *ex.*) that confirm a cult of Zeus *Homoloios* in Thebes (Schachter 1994a: 148 and n.3). The only piece of evidence for a festival, nevertheless, is a fragment by Aristodemos of Thebes (*BNJ* 383 F 5b), which does not immediately refer to a festival in Thebes (see *infra*). Radtke (1901: 44-5) and Jacoby (1955b: 117 n.58) observed that Aristodemos is called Θηβαῖος in this fragment to specify that he is quoted as a local historian, and not for his works on Pindar.

786 *Orc.* 24 (= *IG* 7.3196) and *Orc.* 25 (= *IG* 7.3197) in Manieri 2009.

787 *IG* VII 48; “Although no place is named, there is no reason a priori not to attribute it to Orchomenos” (Schachter 1994a: 122; see Knoepfler, in *BE* 2009 n.247, who doubts the location but recognizes the attestation of the festival). Only an excessive trust in the catalogues of the first century BCE can diminish the value of this dedication and of the fragment of Aristodemos *BNJ* 383 F 5b (Manieri 2009: 182).

788 On these two competitions, see Manieri 2009: 180-3.

789 Manieri 2009: 180 and nn. 4-5 and Olivieri 2014: 26 (on Pind. *Pyth.* 12.26). Theocritus (*Id.* 16.104-5) echoes this fame (on Theocritus, and on the Hellenistic fame of these agons, cp. Barbantani 2000: 132-3).

790 Cp. Plut. *Sull.* 20-1 on the sack of Orchomenos. The statue in Thespiiai dedicated by Sulla was crafted by Myron and the existence of another Dionysos, made by Lysippos, corroborates the idea that the Thespian association of Dionysos with the Muses makes a stronger case for the decision of Sulla (on this association, see, in the fourth century BCE, Philodamos of Skarpheia, *Coll. Alex.* 165; cp. Schachter 1986: 187).

791 Amandry – Spyropoulos 1974.

or to Zeus;⁷⁹² however, the absence of proof for an epiclesis Homoloios for Dionysos, and the most likely derivation of the name of the festival from the month (and not from the epithet of Zeus), hinder the use of the anecdote to show an intervention of Sulla against, or in favour of, *Dionysos Homoloios.⁷⁹³

There are, however, possible hints of the previous existence of a cult in the general “conscious cultural revival of old ethnic ways” that Sulla triggered in Boiotia in the second decade of the first century BCE: a dedication to a Homoloios in Orchomenos (*SEG* XXVI 585) might either refer to a local deity or to a hero to whom the Boiotian League dedicated a tripod in the third century BCE.⁷⁹⁴ The renewed organization under Sulla may have been inspired by this preexisting festival and cult, connected with the month and already present in literature in the local historians Aristophanes and the later Aristodemos (*BNJ* 383 F 5b). Aristophanes narrated the institution of the agon and/or of the cult, through the dispatch of an important personality (Homoloia) to Delphi: Delphi remained first for poetic-musical contests and was a reference point in the rest of Greece for its antiquity,⁷⁹⁵ and in Boiotia, for its close geographical proximity.⁷⁹⁶ Aristodemos, on the other hand, only mentioned the festival of the Homoloia:

“Homole is a mountain of Thessaly, as Ephorus (*BNJ* 70 F 228), Aristodemos of Thebes in his remarks on the festival of the Homoloia, and Pindar in the *Hyporchemata* (F 113 Schroeder) report” (tr. A. Kühr – C. Zgoll, with slight modifications).

⁷⁹² Breglia 1985: 160–1; cp. Manieri 2009: 207 and nn. 1–2, for a complete summary of the suggested identifications of this god.

⁷⁹³ For the role of the month, see Schachter (1994a: 121) and Manieri (2009: 181–2).

⁷⁹⁴ “Conscious cultural revival”: Schachter 1994b: 82. Hints of the preexistence: Schachter 1994a: 121 and nn. 4–5; 122. The integration Ὁμολῶν is highly likely, however, only on *SEG* XXVI 585, since the dedicatee of a tripod in *SEG* XXVI 588 might not be the same. It is possible that the remodelling of the theatre in Orchomenos is associated with this Sullan intervention; the connection, however, would necessitate a more serious study of the structures, which have only been presented, so far, by Germani (2015: 354–5).

⁷⁹⁵ Our sources (Str. 9.3.10.421; Paus. 10.7.2) locate the institution of the first musical competitions in Delphi; only later were other kinds of agons established (Manieri 2009: 21–2). Even if the inscriptions only confirm it from 380 BCE on (*CID* IV 1), already in the sixth century the Amphiktyony might have been responsible for the organization of the games (Scott 2010: 36 n.35; Scott 2014: 79–80; 287).

⁷⁹⁶ Manieri 2009: 34.

This fragment has been read as proof of the existence of a homonymous festival in Thebes, but only the contextual presence of Pindar and another fragment of Aristodemos (5a) on the Homoloia gates, may indirectly indicate a connection to Thebes. Conversely, it is interesting to note that the festival is connected here to the Homole, whereas the other fragment links the gates to the hero: perhaps there were two different etymologies for the two realities, namely the Theban gates and the Orchomenian festival.⁷⁹⁷

Despite the absence of evidence, then, of the existence of a cult of Zeus Homoloios in Orchomenos, the celebration in this town of the Homoloia, and the existence of the cult of an obscure Homoloios, suggest that Aristophanes' fragment on Homolois may be an aetiology of the Orchomenian festival. He may have reported the original official approval in Delphi⁷⁹⁸ and, at the same time, offered a plausible aetiology of the festival. The likely original relationship of the Homoloia with the namesake month hindered, especially in Orchomenos, the individuation of a secure connection with a god. The form of Enyeus' name might indirectly confirm the period of this tradition, which may then be considered the first literary witness to the Homoloia of Orchomenos.

4.5. Aristophanes F 4

Previous editions: *BNJ* 379 F 2b; *EGM I* F 9A; F 421 Slater (Phot. *Lex.* (g, z) λ 482 [II 526 Theodoridis], *s.v.* = *Suda* λ 867 *s.v.* Λύσιοι τελεταί).

Λύσιοι τελεταί· αἱ Διονύσου. Βοιωτοὶ γὰρ ἀλόντες ὑπὸ Θραικῶν καὶ
φυγόντες εἰς Τροφωνίου, κατ' ὄναρ ἐκείνου Διόνυσον ἔσεσθαι βροηθὸν

⁷⁹⁷ Schachter (1994a: 121-2) was open to the possibility that Aristodemos thought of the festival held in Orchomenos, because the only certain Homoloia are those of this city. On the possibility of a prehistory of the Homoloia of the first century BCE, see also Grigsby 2017: 124.

⁷⁹⁸ Emphasising the role of the festival and not that of the cult would rule out the possibility that here, in this local tradition, there could be a sign of “la pretesa delfica di esser l’origine del culto” (Breglia 1985: 161). The local genre seems enough to imagine this official authorization of the *Homoloia*.

φήσαντος, μεθύουσιν ἐπιθέμενοι τοῖς Θραιξίν, ἔλυσαν ἀλλήλους, καὶ Διονύσου
Λυσίου ἱερὸν ἰδρύσαντο, ὡς Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικός. ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης δέ,
διὰ τὸ λυτρώσασθαι Θηβαίους παρὰ Ναξίων ἄμπελον.

2 Τρωφωνείου g z^{ac} 5 Ἄ- Theodoridis

“Purification Rites: Those of Dionysos. For, when the Boiotians were caught by the Thracians and had fled to the site of Trophonios, this oracle told them in a dream that Dionysos would help them. The Boiotians attacked the drunk Thracians and thus freed each other and founded a shrine of Dionysos the Freer (*Lysios*), according to Herakleides Pontikos. Aristophanes, however, says that they are called thus because the Thebans took the grape-vine from the Naxians” (tr. S. Tufano).

4.5.1. Context

The position of Aristophanes on the origin of the λύσιοι τελεταί is clearly contrasted with that of Herakleides Pontikos (F 143 Schütrumpf). As mentioned (3.4.1) in the commentary on Armenidas’ F 4, Schachter (2012b *ad BNJ* 379 F 2a-b) considered this fragment in connection with a description of the Theban gates: more precisely, the presence of the cult of Dionysos Lysios by the Proitidian gates on the north-eastern part of the Kadmeia and close to the theatre,⁷⁹⁹ may strengthen the hypothesis that the excursus on this door included the “Liberation mysteries” associated with Dionysos (αἱ Διονύσου). Near the sanctuary of Dionysos Lysios, there were annual rites for its opening:⁸⁰⁰ the details of these rites can only be understood through a comparison with what happened in Sikyon.

We know from Pausanias (9.16.6) that there were yearly rites at the sanctuary of Dionysos Lysios, which must be differentiated from that of Dionysos Kadmeios: this connection

799 The proximity of this cult to the theatre and the celebration of yearly rites are important points in common between the Theban celebration of Dionysos Lysios and the analogous rites of Sikyon (Casadio 1999: 125). The Theban theatre might be in the current neighbourhood of *Neos Synoikismòs*: the preserved structures date from the early third century BCE, even if the date is far from being certain (Germani 2012).

800 Paus. 9.16.6. See Schachter 1981 *s.v.* “Dionysos (Thebes)” and Schachter 2014b: 330-1 on these sanctuaries.

with Ampelos, or with the grape-vine, as is argued here, confirms an association with Dionysism.⁸⁰¹

“Near the Proetidian gate is built a theater, and quite close to the theater is a temple of Dionysus surnamed Deliverer. For when some Theban prisoners in the hands of Thracians had reached Haliartia on their march, they were delivered by the god, who gave up the sleeping Thracians to be put to death. One of the two images here the Thebans say is Semele. Once in each year, they say, they open the sanctuary on stated days” (tr. W.H.S. Jones).

In his edition of Photius, Theodoridis printed the final ἄμπελον with a capital letter: in this way, the text speaks about Ampelos, known as the son of a satyre and a nymph in a tradition recorded by Ovid and by Nonnus.⁸⁰² Dionysos fell in love with this youth, who then died, either because he fell from an elm, and was then transformed into a star,⁸⁰³ or because he was transformed into a vine by Hera.⁸⁰⁴ As a personification of the vine, Ampelos is also mentioned by the poet Pherenikos of Herakleia, perhaps in the second century BCE (*Suppl. Hell.* 672); it is uncertain whether Ovid was inspired by this and by the figurative arts, or if the tradition of the *Catasterismi* exerted a greater influence.⁸⁰⁵ In any case, the connection of this Ampelos with Dionysos as the Freer (λύσιος)⁸⁰⁶ *par excellence*, and traditionally associated with wine, would not be particularly surprising.

801 Paus. 2.7.6. On the cult of Dionysos Lysios, see Casadio 1999: 124–43. Fowler (2013: 63) expresses doubts on this relationship with Dionysism.

802 Ov. *Fast.* 3.409–14; Nonnus, *Dion.* 11.212–4; 291. Especially on Nonnus’ representation of Ampelus, cp. Kröll 2016.

803 Ov. *Fast.* 414: *amisum Liber in astra tulit*, “Liber bore the lost youth to the stars” (tr. G.P. Goold).

804 Nonnus, *Dion.* 12.102: Ἀμπελος ἀμπελόεντι χαρίζεται οὖνομα καρπῶ, “Ampelos shall change form into a plant and give his name to the fruit of the vine” (tr. W.H.D. Rouse).

805 The date of Pherenikos is controversial (cp. Christ – Schmidt – Stählin 1920: 332. Role of the figurative arts: Bömer 1958: 171. Ampelos is a paretros of Dionysos on a white marble group, conserved at the British Museum and dated to the second century CE (but probably a copy of an original of the third century BCE). The figure has feminine traits, however, contrary to the constant masculine gender of Ampelos, and it is then more probable, as argued by Zagdoun (1981: 690 [1]), that it is Ambrosia. Role of the *Catasterismi*: Zagdoun 1981: 690.

806 The epithet is only used for Dionysos (Casadio 1987: 209; Casadio 1999: 123) and the liberation must be seen in a wider sense, not only as a cathartic experience (on this function of Dionysos, see *ibid.* 123–43 and Fowler 2013: 62–3 and 62 n.236).

The previous anecdote tells of the mythical liberation of a group of Thebans from the Thracians. This episode was a popular motif⁸⁰⁷ and the version in connection with wine may be seen as the popular etymology of the final sanctuary dedicated in Thebes.⁸⁰⁸ Our present fragment, however, only mentions the capture of some Boiotians and has a definite association with the Naxians. This switch from a focus on a Theban rite to a tradition that generally includes a group of Boiotians does not seem particularly relevant: the fact that the Thebans identify with these Boiotians does not necessarily mean that the tradition dates back to the age of Theban hegemony, when the Thebans allegedly aimed to highlight their Boiotian identity. Indeed, Theban hegemonic power over other Boiotian towns is a phenomenon that we already detect at the beginning of the fifth century BCE, and we cannot rule out an early date for the genesis of this definition of the ethnic borders between Thebans and Boiotians.⁸⁰⁹ Finally, the nature of the source allows a certain level of confusion in these details, which inhibits further reflection on the specific use of ethnics.

4.5.2. Naxos and Thebes

The main interpretative problem concerns the connection between the abduction of Ampelos and Naxos in a local work of Boiotian history. It has been suggested, for example, that Ampelos' life was treated as a deviation from the narrative on his lover, Dionysos, who spent some time on Naxos with Ariadne. Among the children of Dionysos and Ariadne, was Enyeus, the father of the Homolois mentioned in Aristophanes' F 3.⁸¹⁰ This Enyeus received the island of Skyros: "[i]t would be likely, therefore, that Enyeus and his people had migrated to Skyros from Naxos" (Schachter 2012b). The link between Ampelos, Dionysos' lover, and the migration of Enyeus is not completely clear. Moreover,

807 On these episodes, see the commentaries on Armenidas' F 1 (3.1.1) and F 4 (3.4.2).

808 Moggi – Osanna 2012: 306. The fragment is associated with the great interest of the early mythographers in etymology as a knowledge trope (Fowler 1996: 73 n.78).

809 Genesis in the age of the Theban hegemony: Schachter 2012b *ad* BNJ 379 F 2ab. For the hypothesis that, at the beginning of the fifth century there was already a series of "pre-federal" institutions, see *infra* 4.7.3.

810 Schachter 2012b Homolois, however, was more probably a priestess of Enyeus (see *supra* 4.4.1).

despite being necessarily prudent, we must remember that in all the traditions Ampelos dies a violent death.⁸¹¹

We then must reconsider the probability of an actual capital letter in the original text. It is more likely that there was a simple mention of the possession in Thebes of the grape-vine (ἄμπελος). A recurring aspect of the aetiologies, linked to the liberation from the Thracians, is the birth of the cult of Dionysos Lysios in Boiotia, since the event is, in any case, imagined as happening in this region.⁸¹² Against this almost canonical setting, Aristophanes reported a version of the myth where the grape-vine, only indirectly referring to Dionysos as a symbol and not as a personification,⁸¹³ comes from another region, i.e. from the island of Naxos.

This would be an extremely rare variation, because the cult of Dionysos Lysios, even in other centres, is linked to Thebes,⁸¹⁴ which Sikyon and Corinth acknowledged as its setting. If, however, we accept this relationship with Dionysos, we may think that Aristophanes was joining a debate on the origins of the god, to whom Pindar alludes when he recalls the birth of the dithyramb in Naxos. Not only, in fact, did Dionysos belong to the local traditions of Naxos (for his wedding to Ariadne on this island), but the Naxians also claimed to have been the cradle of the god. In this way, Naxos was the place where the dithyramb found its first expression: the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo* is one of the first witnesses to this claim, since it contrasts the Theban assertions with those of centres like Naxos.⁸¹⁵

The compromising solution offered by Aristophanes attaches the definitive possession of the grape-vine, the symbol of Dionysos, secondly to Thebes. We cannot be sure how this

811 Cp. Kröll 2016: 65 on the meaning of this violent death. The character may also be Oxylos' and Amandryas' son (*Suppl. Hell.* 672), without a connection to Dionysos.

812 Herakleides Pontikos F 143 Schütrumpf: Lebadeia; Pausanias (9.16.6): Haliartos; Zenobios (4.37): Koroneia; Polyaeus (*Strat.* 7.43): surroundings of Lake Kopais.

813 Fowler (2013: 63) recognizes the ancient link of the god with this island but does not accept this hypothesis.

814 On Phanes, a Theban who brought the cult to Sikyon according to Paus. 2.7.6, cp. Casadio 1999: 108. For the Boiotian origin of the Corinthian cult of Dionysos Lysios and Bakchios, see Will 1955: 216–21. On the Panhellenic fame of Thebes as a centre of the cult of Dionysos, see Demand 1981: 188.

815 Pind. F 115 S. – M.; *Hom. Hymn. Ap.* 5–6. Local historians of Naxos may also delve into the origins of the dithyramb, as in the proposal of Agl(a)osthenes (*BNJ* 499 F 3: possibly between the fourth and the third century BCE, according to Müller 2012; on the Naxian link, see Jacoby 1955a: 416–7; Kowalzig 2013: 57 and n.66).

happened, but the link with the epithet λύσιος may betray the idea of a liberation of the god from Naxos. Perhaps we have a sign of a contrasting tradition that granted to the inhabitants of Naxos an original connection of Dionysos with their island, before the Thebans obtained the symbol. If this hypothesis is true, this is a further indication of how Boiotian local historiography engaged with other traditions coming from external, local sources.

4.6. Aristophanes F 5

Previous editions: *BNJ* 379 F 5; *FGrHist* 379 F 5 (Plut. *de Hdt. mal.* 31.864D).

Ἀριστοφάνους δὲ τοῦ Βοιωτοῦ γράψαντος, ὅτι χρήματα μὲν αἰτήσας οὐκ' ἔλαβε παρὰ Θηβαίων, ἐπιχειρῶν δὲ τοῖς νέοις διαλέγεσθαι καὶ συσχολάζειν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐκωλύθη δι' ἀγροικίαν αὐτῶν καὶ μισολογίαν, ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἐστὶ τεκμήριον, ὃ δ' Ἡρόδοτος τῶι Ἀριστοφάνει μεμαρτύρηκε, δι' ὧν τὰ μὲν ψευδῶς, τὰ δὲ δι' ἀ[δικίαν], τὰ δ' ὡς μισῶν καὶ διαφερόμενος τοῖς Θηβαίοις ἐγκέκληκε.

1 χρήματα Stephanus ῥήματα EB 2 παρὰ Θηβαίων Pletho Amyot Reiske παρ' Ἀθηναίων EB 5 δι' ἀδικίαν Wyttenbach Hansen (*cfr.* 865 B διέβαλε ψευδῶς καὶ ἀδίκως τὴν πόλιν) *post* διὰ *octo litterae desunt* EB κολακείαν *vel* δι' ἔχθραν Turnèbe δι' ἄγνοιαν Amyot Meziriacus διαβόλως Madvig Cobet διαβάλλων Bernardakis δι' ἀ<μέλειαν> Pohlenz

“Aristophanes of Boiotia, indeed, writes that he [Herodotus], after asking for money, could not get any from the Thebans. Since, then, he was trying to converse with young people, and to study in groups with them, the archons inhibited him, for their boorishness and their hatred of arguments. There is no other evidence on this, but Herodotus confirms Aristophanes, through the accusations that he threw at the Thebans, partly for his lies, partly for his unfairness, and partly as one who hated them and was at variance with them” (tr. S. Tufano).

4.6.1. Plutarch's *On the Malice of Herodotus and Aristophanes*

The treatise *On the Malice of Herodotus* (854E-874C) belongs to the last period of Plutarch's production and is dedicated to an obscure Alexander.⁸¹⁶ It is the only writing where Plutarch directly addresses Herodotus, even if there are further hints of a critical reading of the *Histories* in the *Moralia*.⁸¹⁷ Moreover, internal indications suggest that the author read other sources to compare to Herodotus, even if it is uncertain whether he directly read all of these fragmentary historians. After an introductory part (1-10), the *De Herodoti malignitate* touches upon a series of episodes where Herodotus shows his κακοήθεια. These sections first concern barbarians (12-9), and then Greeks (20-43): among these, the Boiotians and Corinthians are the main victims of Herodotus' malice (1: μάλιστα πρὸς τε Βοιωτοὺς καὶ Κορινθίους).⁸¹⁸

816 On the date of the treatise, see Ziegler 1964: 234; Lachenaud 1982: 128-9; Bowen 1992: 2-3; Pelling 2007: 157 and n.41 (Plutarch promises here to write a *Life of Leonidas* [*de Hdt. mal.* 32.866B], but this is not sufficient as a hint on the date). According to some scholars (Magallon Garcia – Ramón Palerm 1989: 21 n.1; Bowen 1992: 105), Alexander was the same Epicurean quoted in *Quaest. conv.* 2.3.635F, since, in this other work, he is considered an expert on Herodotus' *Histories*.

817 On the implicit and explicit presence of Herodotus in Plutarch, see Hershbell 1993 and Inglese 2003. On the occurrences of Herodotus in the *Lives*, cp. Pelling 2007: 150-5. Plutarch quotes Herodotus more often in his *Moralia*, but not always to mock or correct him. The references, in fact, lack the fierceness of the attacks in his *de Herodoti malignitate*: *Con. praec.* 10.139C (οὐκ ὀρθῶς Ἡρόδοτος εἶπεν, on the coterminous loss, in a woman, of dresses and dignity; however, the same story of Gyges and Candaule [*Hdt.* 1.8] has a different interpretation in *Plut. De recta ratione audiendi*, 1.37D: cp. Inglese 2003: 228-9); *De mul. virt.* 4.245F (οὐχ ὥς Ἡρόδοτος ἱστορεῖ); *de Esu carniū* 2.3.998A (περὶ ὧν Ἡρόδοτος ἱστορῶν ἀπιστεῖται). Even the judgment on Herodotus' digressions and on their utility shifts between what Plutarch maintains in the *Lives* and what he claims in his *Moralia* (see Pelling 1990; Bowen 1992: 106-7; Hershbell 1993: 153-4).

818 The biographical tradition on Herodotus generally reproduces similar patterns when it focuses on the reaction of the Boiotians and of the Corinthians to the arrival of Herodotus (Lachenaud 1981: 164 n.2; Priestley 2014: 42-4). In Corinth, according to late sources (Dio Chrys. [*Or.*] 37.7; Marcellin. *Vita Thuc.* 27, which could draw on previous memories), Herodotus was recorded as particularly hated by the local population (Marcellin.: ὑπεροφθεῖς), because he tried to sell them histories of the city, after asking for a μισθός (Dio Chrys.). Since the Corinthians refused to pay him, Herodotus falsified his narrative of their committal during the Persian Wars: therefore, the locals argued, Herodotus mentioned the alleged desertion of the commander Adeimantos, in Salamis (*Hdt.* 8.94.1-3; however, Herodotus is aware of the local reaction to this story, and he reports it at 8.94.4; on the textual relationship between Marcellinus, Herodotus, and Dion, see Piccirilli 1985: 108). The pattern is similar to what happens in Thebes, but Aristophanes specifies that Herodotus also wanted to act as a “philosopher”, apart from ἀγοράζειν.

The pamphlet is generally characterized by a polemic and satirical vein,⁸¹⁹ which relates it to other essays written during the period of the so-called “Second Sophistic”.⁸²⁰ In the second century CE, a new historiographical model was being scrutinized opposite the Classical paradigm: consequently, the rhetoric texture of the *de Herodoti malignitate* and its participation in a widespread anti-Herodotean climate must always be kept in mind. Herodotus’ style was appreciated, while his genuine qualities as a historian were despised and revised.⁸²¹

In *On the Malice of Herodotus*, Plutarch confirms his appreciation for the γραφικὸς ἀνὴρ (43.874B), which is repeated in a passage of his *Non posse suaviter vivi* (10.1093B). Considering his Platonism, Plutarch likely shared this view. In his system, there was a dangerous contradiction between the qualities of a mimesis, reached through the quality of style, and the historical reliability of an author.⁸²²

Among the sources quoted by Plutarch in this treatise, we detect the high presence of local historiographers.⁸²³ Plutarch observes that Aristophanes of Boiotia reported exceptional

819 For this interpretation of the treatise, see Ramón Palerm 2000; Grimaldi 2004: 7-14, and Sierra 2014 (cp. already Pearson 1965: 5: “As a Platonist Plutarch was anxious that worthy characters and fit models for imitation by the young should be presented by poets and historians alike and [...] he is more seriously concerned that history shall offer edification and moral lessons than that it be written with critical accuracy”). Besides, in the historical tradition, a polemical tone towards a predecessor is a common *topos* from the beginning of Greek historiography, and it works as a starting point to mark the historian’s original stance and to define his method. On this, see Marincola 1997: 217-57.

820 Anderson (1989) defined Plutarch a “πεπαιδευμένος in action”. Plutarch’s actual participation or belonging to what literary histories define as the Second Sophistic is debated today on the grounds that he is both chronologically distant from many names who are defined in that context and that he does not share their rhetorical strategies (cp. e.g. Schmitz 2014). However, the parallels suggested for Plutarch’s commitment with Herodotus strongly place him in the contemporary debate of the second century CE, even if we accept the internal variety of the later figures and a number of differences on other areas of the respective production; recent scholarship on the Second Sophistic, moreover, tends to be aware that there are different opinions on the actual chronological extent of the movement (Whitmarsh 2005: 4).

821 Cp. Homeyer 1967: 185; Hershbell 1993: 161-2 (anti-Herodotean climate); Marincola 1994 (ethical and historiographical value of the treatise); Pelling 2007. Not only does Plutarch share Aelius Aristides’ point of view (Grimaldi 2004: 11 and n.13), but Aristides may have used Plutarch’s *De Herodoti malignitate* in his work (Milazzo 2002: 236; Berardi 2013). In particular, in his *Egyptian Discourse* (36; cp. Berardi 2013: 66-8), Aelius Aristides drew on Plutarch and repeated the harsh criticisms of Herodotus’ mendacity (cp. e.g. *Or.* 36.51 K.: εἰ τοίνυν Ἡρόδοτος εἰς Ἐλεφαντίνην ποθ’ ἦκεν, ὥσπερ εἶρηκεν).

822 Cp. Inglese 2003: 225-6, with further bibliography.

823 According to Lachenaud (1981: 114), this fact represents further proof of Plutarchean authorship. The historians mentioned are: Antenor (*BNJ* 463 F 2), Charon of Lampsakos (*BNJ* 262 FF 9-10), Diyllos (*BNJ* 73 F 3), Dionysios of Chalkis (*JC* IV 1773 F 9), Hellanikos (*BNJ* 4 F 183), Ephoros (*BNJ* 70 FF 187 and 189), Lysanias (*BNJ* 426 F 1), the

traditions, probably already notable for authors who lived before the second century CE. On the basis of this fact and, in general, of the high number of local historians recalled in this work, we should seriously consider the possibility of the use of intermediary sources that Plutarch may have read to find different traditions and information concerning Herodotus' narrative.⁸²⁴

The main textual problems of the present passage concern the final section, namely the second cause of Herodotus' stance towards the Thebans.⁸²⁵ It is unclear whether, after the preposition *διὰ*, there was a noun in the accusative case, or an adverb. From the point of view of meaning, we would expect this third explanation to differ from the first (*τὰ μὲν ψευδῶς*, “partly lying”) and third one (*τὰ δ' ὥς μισῶν καὶ διαφερόμενος*, “partly because he hated them, and was at variance with them”). In their adverbial use, *τὰ μὲν...τὰ δέ* generally introduce different aspects of an overall explanation.⁸²⁶ Consequently, the lacuna of 7 letters, signalled by Häsler (1978), can best be filled with the conjecture *δι' ἀδικίαν* (Wytttenbach; see Hansen 1979 *ad loc.*).

This option is the most likely, because it draws on a later passage of the same chapter (31.865B) where Plutarch summarizes the features of Herodotus' *κακοήθεια*, demonstrated by the wrong representation of the reason for the permanence of the Thebans at Thermopylai. For Herodotus, the men were forced, but for Plutarch, they remained because they wanted to. Herodotus – so claims Plutarch – was so imbued with rage (*ὀργή*) and ill-will (*δυσμένεια*), that

Ναξίων ὄρογράφοι (BNJ 501 F 3: see on them Thomas 2014b: 154–5), and Nikander (BNJ 271–272 F 35). Furthermore, Plutarch mentions an obscure Lakrates of Sparta (*de Hdt. mal.* 35.868F: a soldier, according to Bowen 1992: 138, or maybe the Olympionic winner from Sparta who lived in the fifth century BCE [LGPN IIIA 10712] and died in 403 BCE [Xen. *Hell.* 2.4.33]), the generic sources in the chapters on Thermopylai. Cp. on these and other fragmentary historians quoted by Plutarch Ambaglio 1980b: 124 n.2.

824 For the presence of Aristophanes, Wilamowitz (1922: 194 n.1) suggests that Plutarch may have known him through Nikander of Kolophon. Nonetheless, it is not impossible, for the single case of Aristophanes, that Plutarch could still read him directly, as Jacoby (1955a: 160) and Zecchini (1997: 190–1) have suggested (even though they accept that Plutarch should read his *Θηβαῖοι ὥροι*, but not his *Βοιωτικά*).

825 Our text is directly handed down by the codices **E** (Paris. gr. 1672, *post* 1302) and **B** (Paris. gr. 1675, XV c.), which show a similar version, despite the common belief that **B** is independent from **E** and of equal worth. Besides, an important means for the reconstruction of the text is represented by excerpts of Gemistos Pletho (1355–1452), which allow us to correct even obscure passages where **E** and **B** converge. For the importance of these excerpts for the *constitutio textus* of Plutarch's *De Herodoti malignitate*, cp. Hansen 1974 and Häsler 1978: ix–x.

826 *LSJ s.v.* τίς I 10c.

“not only did he attack the city with false and unfair accusations (διέβαλε ψευδῶς καὶ ἀδίκως), but he did not even care about the reliability of the accusations (τοῦ πιθανοῦ τῆς διαβολῆς ἐφρόντισεν); not to mention the fact that he will appear self-contradictory to many readers (αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ τὰ ἐναντία λέγων)” (tr. S. Tufano).

Accepting this version with ἀδικία has the further advantage that the motif of “unfairness” already appears at the beginning of Plutarch’s *On the Malice of Herodotus*, where Plutarch quotes a passage from Plato (*Resp.* 2.361A), according to whom ἐσχάτη γὰρ ἀδικία δοκεῖν δίκαιον εἶναι μὴ ὄντα (“the biggest injustice occurs when what is not just appears as such”).⁸²⁷

These textual parallels confirm the ascription of the final wording to Plutarch, because the narrative that derives from Aristophanes limits itself to the arrival of Herodotus in Thebes, and to the expulsion of the man from the town. It is not entirely clear how Herodotus confirms Aristophanes (μεμαρτύρηκε), since the present commentary will show how, in Aristophanes, there may be recognition of the discourse of the boorishness and hatred of the Thebans without necessarily implying a bad opinion of Herodotus’ presence in town.

4.6.2. Commentary

χρήματα μὲν αἰτήσας [...] καὶ συσχολάζειν. The characterization of Herodotus follows the model of the biography of early sophists, since he shares three features with them: first, he

827 Among the other conjectures to supply the lacuna, those concerning the area of the διαβολή, the slander (Madvig, Cobet, Bernardakis), appear too generic, in light of the precise tone of Plutarch. The κολακεία (Turnèbe), as an alleged further reason, seems to depend too strongly on chapter 9 of the treatise (856D), where Plutarch claims that another kind of mendacity is that of the people who pretend to praise a person, with minor and rare reproaches, but actually show their true intentions in the *pars destruens* of their speech. Nevertheless, Plutarch gives an interpretation of Herodotus’ representation of Theban medism, which does not leave room for any sort of praise or acknowledgement of Theban merits. Finally, we cannot accept, in the lacuna, a reference to an assumed ἄγνοια (Amyot) of Herodotus, because this ignorance does not appear as one of the reasons that led Herodotus, in Plutarch’s view, to his notorious *kakoetheia*: these reasons are explicitly mentioned in the first chapters of *On the Malice of Herodotus*, and are the use of ambiguous expressions and euphemisms (2); useless and trivial digressions on infamous episodes (3: let us only think of the branding of the Thebans); the *voluntary* omission of glorious deeds (4) and the choice to *record* only the derogatory versions of an episode (5). It is then inadmissible that, for Plutarch, Herodotus ignored the merits and the good will of the Thebans.

is asking for money, or at least trying to get some (χρήματα αἰτήσας); second, he converses with them (τοῖς νέοις διαλέγεσθαι) and creates (or tries to: the whole ἐπιχειρῶν casts doubt on his length of stay) a circle of learners (συσχολάζειν).⁸²⁸ These three moments may be read as single distinct aspects of Herodotus' actions in town, even if, from a mere syntactical point of view, his request for money is separated from the other two actions by the particles μὲν...δέ: the two *kola* are, however, analogous in the disposition of the internal syntagms, creating a chiasm that can be read distantly (χρήματα ... αἰτήσας/ ἐπιχειρῶν...διαλέγεσθαι καὶ συσχολάζειν). Another connecting structure is represented by the final remark on the audience (παρὰ Θηβαίων) and on their reasons for expelling Herodotus.

Herodotus comes to Thebes and engages in conversations with the entire population, but only the higher echelons of the city prevent him from continuing, and exile the man (ὑπὸ ἀρχόντων ἐκωλύθη: an official expulsion?). It was this awful experience that led Herodotus the sophist to nurture hostility towards Thebes (διαφερόμενος τοῖς Θηβαίοις). The greed, the encounter with young disciples, and the formation of research groups, are typical characteristics of sophists in the portrayal conveyed by Plato and by the platonic tradition.⁸²⁹ Other sources, however, often chronologically closer to the “sophists”, offer a more nuanced picture of their greed. This feature of their activity was as much a characteristic of the sophists as other philosophers and “masters of truth”, who belong to other philosophical schools.⁸³⁰

There are slight differences between the Platonic picture of the sophists and our Herodotus, since greed is a central and clearly negative trait of the sophists in Plato.⁸³¹ On

828 In the present passage, συσχολάζειν does not exactly mean “share their studies” (Bowen 1992: 130, who is, however, right, when he refers to a “practice of a sophist, in the fifth century sense of the word”); Priestley (2014: 43) claims that this is a portrait of a “travelling sophist or teacher.”

829 It was argued that Plato forged these characteristics, in terms of an explicit *detorsio* (Schiefl 2013: 104: “ein eigenes Bild von der Sophistik”, and *passim*; see Forbes 1942, for a list of the 31 passages where Plato refers to the wages of the sophists). “There is a remarkable unity of attitudes in the representations of the sophists in the Platonic tradition. As a whole, the tradition exhibits a thematic emphasis on money over wisdom, on body over mind—in stark opposition to the Platonic valorization of the intellect. [...] [T]he definition of sophist became based on a formal characteristic—teaching for pay – rather than on intellectual content” (Tell 2009: 18).

830 Seers, priests, and philosophers could also be called σοφισταί (Kerferd 1981: 24).

831 Cp. Pl. *Lach.* 186C; *Meno* 91B; *Prt.* 310D; 313C; 349A; *Grg.* 519C–D and the passages quoted by Tell 2009: 14 n.5. On the motif in Platonic representation, see Schiefl 2013: 1; 105. Socrates defended the sophists from the accusations of

the other hand, the travelling Herodotus of the fragment, even if he travels just like those philosophers,⁸³² is refused “because of the boorishness and the hatred for arguments” of the Thebans. This may actually imply that Aristophanes gave a positive evaluation of Herodotus, since he blames the population for the expulsion (which does not mean, however, that all of them disliked the new arrival, since it was the archons who prompted the decision).⁸³³ As a consequence, even if the Corinthians also claimed that Herodotus asked for a μισθός, it may not be entirely true that “the historian Herodotus was paid for public readings”: this depiction of Herodotus possibly depends on that of the sophists and, in fact, he never really receives the money demanded in these anecdotes (cp. ἐπιχειρῶν in the fragment).⁸³⁴

leading youths astray (references in Schrieffl 2013: 112–3). In the *Republic* (6.492A–493A), for instance, Socrates states that the real bribers of youths are those who accuse the sophists of ruining the youth. This topical charge was mentioned, for example, by Protagoras, among the risks that every sophist meets when he tries to sell and distribute his wisdom in a new city (Pl. *Prt.* 316C–E). On the popular hostility to the sophists, with particular focus on Athens, see Kerferd 1981: 20–2. It was Plato who deplored their request for money. The reasons for this different aptitude have been variously explained, especially because they are never explicitly mentioned by the author: in the second half of the fifth century BCE, the payment of a professional, be he a teacher or a physician, was considered socially acceptable and not necessarily despicable (Kerferd 1981: 25); the same Plato admits that sophists can be compared to other sellers of *technai* (*Prt.* 318E–319A; on this comparison between sophists and sellers, see Tell 2009: 15–6 and Schrieffl 2013: 127–8). A recent interpretation understands this closure in apologetic terms, as if Plato were contraposing his view of *arete* with an inconciliable venality of the virtues (Schrieffl 2013. See *ibid.* 14–9 for a complete overview of the interpretations given to this Platonic hostility). It is less probable that Plato shared the aristocratic perplexity towards the ecumenic stances of the sophists (if only, because not all of them would actually be speaking to a multitude of audiences who could afford their service: Kerferd 1981: 24–6. On this line, with Plato as supporter of a “selective” philosophy through initiation, cp. Hénaff 2002: 50–5).

832 Athens attracted many of these various figures, who we now label “sophists”, with due consideration that they were not a proper school and that there were immense differences among them. On the traditions of their travels, see concisely Bonazzi 2010: 15 and Kerferd 1981: 15–23 on Athens; however, we should not stress too much the extent of their stays in Athens, because a consideration of the biographical traditions shows that “Plato’s sophists traveled throughout the Mediterranean, wherever opportunities existed, and they were welcomed” (Wolfsdorf 2015: 65).

833 It would then be improper to speak, here, of an “atteggiamento antierodoteo, soprattutto in territorio beotico” (Grimaldi 2004: 155). The noun ἄρχων might have a generic meaning in this context, but it is interesting to observe that, in Boiotia, the author of the *Hellenika of Oxyrhynchos* uses it as a synonym for “boiotarch” for a context applicable to the years of Herodotus’ alleged visit (19.3 Chambers): in these years, it would seem that the term indicated the ruling elite of the federation (as later in time: cp. a series of inscriptions dating between the second and the first centuries BCE [IG 7.4127–8; 4132–3; 4148] with Orsi 1974: 44–8 and 45 n.1). We might wonder, assuming that Plutarch is directly quoting from Aristophanes, whether the local historian was not using a terminology typical of his own age, as reflected, roughly in the same period, by the *Hellenika of Oxyrhynchos*.

834 On the Corinthian tradition, see *supra* n.818. Quote from Wolfsdorf 2015: 65.

The research of the school (συσχολάζειν) is the last element that associates Herodotus to the sophists and may confirm the influence of Platonic imagery on Aristophanes' representation of Herodotus. Despite the absence of literary witnesses before Plutarch (which makes us wonder whether the use of the verb is a creation of Aristophanes),⁸³⁵ the form συσχολάζω is interesting, because it denotes one of the forms of the teaching of the sophists, namely, the private creation of circles, as contrasted with the public *epideixeis* ("lectures").⁸³⁶

Herodotus, then, is presented as a sophist according to a biographical model that was developed by Plato in his corpus. This relationship may also imply a *terminus post quem* for Aristophanes' work, if such a description depends on Plato. Between the fifth and the fourth centuries BCE, descriptions of sophists often depended on the potentially distorting image of Plato,⁸³⁷ but there were also minor strands of tradition, such as those represented by Isocrates⁸³⁸ and some playwrights.⁸³⁹ These other traditions, in particular, share a potential ambiguity and confirm the rich semantics of σοφιστής,⁸⁴⁰ as it can already be found, for example, in Herodotus.⁸⁴¹

835 Cp. e.g. Plut. *Lyc.* 16.5 (συνπαίζειν καὶ συσχολάζειν as constitutional part of the *agoge* established by Lycurgus); *Alc.* 24.5 (Alcibiades is affable ἐν τῷ συσχολάζειν καὶ συνδιατᾶσθαι); Diog. Laert. 4.24; 5.53 (Theophrastos leaves the Lyceum to his pupils, so that they might be able to συσχολάζειν καὶ συμφιλοσοφεῖν).

836 On the forms of teaching of the sophists, see Kerferd 1981: 28–30 and Bonazzi 2010: 18 n.7

837 Plato defined the past history of ancient philosophy, by unifying and associating under the label of "sophists" a variety of philosophical experiences: "I sofisti stanno insieme non perché difendano identiche dottrine, ma perché hanno gli stessi centri d'interesse [...], condividono lo stesso modo di condurre le ricerche e perseguono analoghi obiettivi" (Bonazzi 2010: 21; cp. Schrieffl 2013: 105; 108; 114: "[D]enkbar wäre etwa, dass er [*scil.* Platon] damit die Sophisten zu einer homogenen Gruppe stilisieren will, um sie besser von seinem Sokrates abgrenzen zu können"). Philostratus, in fact, already detected this internal variety in the ἀρχαία σοφιστική (*VS* 481).

838 Isoc. *Antid.* 15.155. In this passage, Isocrates reacts against a common view of the sophists as rich men: "Now, generally speaking, you will find that no one of the so-called sophists has accumulated a great amount of money, but that some of them have lived in poor, others in moderate circumstances" (tr. G. Norlin).

839 On the sources other than Plato, see the comments by Tell 2009: 18–26 and Schrieffl 2013: 105–8.

840 At the end of the fifth century BCE, σοφιστής means an intellectual who possess a σοφία meant as a vague form of knowledge and can share it; on this vague meaning, see Kerferd 1981: 37–59 and Bonazzi 2010: 14–5.

841 Hdt. 1.29; 2.49; 4.95, on Pythagoras. It is interesting to note how Philostratus (second-third century CE) traced a history of the sophistic, in his *Lives of the Sophists*, which is modelled on Classical representations of these figures, as started by Plato. On the relationship between the first and the second sophistic in Philostratus, see, with further scholarship, Whitmarsh 2005: 4–5; Tell 2009: 24; Kemezis 2014: 203–18.

Aristophanes might have offered a view of Herodotus as a sophist, profoundly indebted with Plato's (contemporary?) reading of the activity of the sophists. This conclusion is further supported by the remarks on the μισολογία of the Thebans that signal a "hatred of the arguments" and occurs for the first time, in a general sense,⁸⁴² in the *Phaedo*.⁸⁴³ Secondly, μισολογία normally causes "rusticity" (ἀγροικία). The two aspects are often associated, as the same Plato makes clear in another interesting passage from his *Republic* (3.411D-E): Glaukon is speaking about a type of man not accustomed to philosophy:

"Such a person indeed gets to hate argument (μισόλογος), I think, and lacks refinement (ἄμουσος). In discussion he no longer uses any kind of persuasion, but carries out all his business with brute force like a wild animal (ὥσπερ θηρίον) and lives in ignorance and is clumsy without elegance or grace."⁸⁴⁴

Even if, in Aristophanes, hostility to reason and boorishness are the cause, and not the output, of the refusal of a philosophical engagement, these terms always form the polarity of boorishness/love for wisdom, which fits the features of the sophist Herodotus in the fragment. Moreover, μισολογία was particularly associated, at a regional level, with the

842 In Plato, in fact, the term assumes two meanings: in the *Laches*, which was written before the *Phaedo*, the μισολογία is a contextual criticism by Laches against those who cannot be trusted, because their words do not correspond to their actions (188C-E: the dichotomy *ergon-logos*, in fact, is the fulcrum of this early dialogue). Along with the development of Platonic thought, and its growing hostility for the ἀντιλογικοί and the awareness that there can be truthfulness in a speech (assuming it refers to an unchangeable form), the μισολογία assumes a more general meaning, as a prejudicial close-mindedness, which inhibits a proper philosophical education. On such difference, see Dorion 1993: 608–16.

843 Pl. *Phd.* 89D–90D. *Phaedo* is recalling here a conversation with Socrates, when the second claimed that there could be no worse evil than a hatred for logic and argumentation (ὥς οὐκ ἔστιν [...] ὅτι ἂν τις μείζον τούτου κακὸν πάθοι ἢ λόγους μισήσας): the μισόλογοι are also, implicitly, μισάνθρωποι, as they are so close-minded that the later Plutarchean occurrences of the noun confirm the impression of mental stupidity (cp. *de gen.* 1.575E). Dorion (1993: 607 and n.1; 613; cp, however, the partial retraction at 616 n.16: "probablement forgé par Platon") argued that the word μισολογία was a Platonic neologism. However, apart from our ignorance of so many direct sources on the first sophistic, the paucity of the later occurrences and the obvious reuse in the commentaries on Plato are not sufficient arguments to claim that he deliberately introduced this word in the Greek language.

844 Tr. E.-Jones – W. Preddy. On the similarities between this conception of μισολογία and the previous definition in the *Phaedo*, see Dorion 1993: 615–6.

Boiotians: it has been considered, “une forme de béotisme”,⁸⁴⁵ on the basis of our current fragment and of a relevant passage from Plutarch’s *De genio Socratis*.⁸⁴⁶

It may even be noted that there are Platonic precedents for this assumed Boiotian reluctance to engage in philosophical enquiries. In the *Symposium* (182B), Pausanias asserts that in Elis, in Boiotia, καὶ οὐ μὴ σοφοὶ λέγειν, paederotic relationships are made easier for elderly people, since they are not forced to engage in long verbal courtship. In the *Phaedo* (64B), Simias confesses to Socrates that in his own Theban fatherland his compatriots are willing to condemn philosophers to death.⁸⁴⁷

Despite the absence of an exact verbal imitation, these passages and another passing mention of a Herakles who, though young, despises dialectics *qua* Boiotian, draw on a common, general climate of anti-Boiotian and anti-Theban prejudices.⁸⁴⁸ Along with the implicit defence of Herodotus’ merits, since the historian was expelled from Thebes, these traits indicate that our historian, Aristophanes, was not always benevolent towards his fellow citizens.

The tradition also assumes an interesting insight into the local reception of the presence of Herodotus in Thebes: this fact has long been suspected on the grounds of internal passages in the *Histories* where Herodotus claims to have been in Thebes.⁸⁴⁹ Since 2014, we are now able to add to the dossier the actual copy of an inscription,⁸⁵⁰ first written at the end of the sixth century BCE, and then recopied in the fourth century BCE, that Herodotus may have seen in Thebes in his first book (52). Croesus dedicated to Amphiaraos a shield and a

845 Dorion 1993: 617.

846 Plut. *De gen.* 1.575E. In this passage, Kaphisias replies to Archdamas and overcomes his natural shyness, going beyond that ἀρχαῖον ... ὄνειδος against the Boiotians, i.e. the accusation of *misologia*. Plutarch, here, might simply refer to a Boiotian reticence to talk about their own history, but the adjective used (ἀρχαῖον) suggests an almost solid association between the inhabitants of Boiotia and a certain hostility to engage in long talks and arguments.

847 For these possible Platonic echoes, see Russell – Parker – Nesselrath in Nesselrath 2010: 82.

848 Plut. *De E apud Delph.* 6.387D: νέος ὢν καὶ κοιμῶν Βοιωτίας. Ephoros, too, mentioned the Boiotian fame for τὸ λόγων καὶ ὁμιλίας τῆς πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ὀλιγωρεῖσαι (BNJ 70 F 119).

849 Hdt. 1.52 and 92.1; 5.59.

850 *Ed. pr.* Papazarkadas 2014b. See on this text Porciani 2016; Thonemann 2016; Tentori Montalto 2017. This discovery may shed new light on the alleged Theban informants mentioned by Herodotus at 8.135.1 (λέγεται ὑπὸ Θεβαίων): even if we know that the mention of local sources in Herodotus must be understood along with the internal issue of authorship (Luraghi 2001b), there are cases when we cannot completely dismiss such references at face value.

golden spear, present in Thebes when Herodotus saw them (Hdt. 1.52: κείμενα). The inscription refers to the same context:

Hdt. 1.52 (tr. R. Waterfield)	ΜΘ 40993 (Greek text as printed by Papazarkadas 2014b : 240; tr. P. Thonemann 2016)
τῷ δὲ Ἀμφιάρεω, πυθόμενος αὐτοῦ τήν τε ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν πάθην, ἀνέθηκε σάκος τε χρύσειον πᾶν ὁμοίως καὶ αἰχμὴν στερεὴν πᾶσαν χρυσεήν, τὸ ξυστόν τῇσι λόγχῃσι ἐὼν ὁμοίως χρύσειον· τὰ ἔτι καὶ ἀμφότερα ἐς ἐμέ ἦν κείμενα ἐν Θήβῃσι, καὶ Θηβέων ἐν τῷ νηῶ τοῦ Ἰσμηνίου Ἀπόλλωνος As for Amphiaraus, once Croesus had found out about his courage and his misfortune, he dedicated to him a shield made entirely of gold, and a spear which was made of solid gold from its shaft to its head. Both these items were still lying in Thebes in my day—in the temple of Ismenian Apollo, to be precise.	[σοῖ] χάριν ἐνθάδ', Ἀπολλο[ν, υ – ω – ω – υ] [κὲ]πιστὰς ἱαρῶστᾱσε κατ[ευχσά]μενος [μα]ντοσύναις εὐρὸν ἠυπὸ ΤΑ[....]ΟΙΟ φαενὰν [ἀσπ]ίδα τὰγ Φροῖσος κα[λφ]ον ἄγαλ[μα θέτο?] [Ἀμ]φιαρέοι μνᾱμ' ρετ[ᾱς τε πάθας τε υ – υ] [. .]μεν ἄ ἐκλέφθε ΦΟ[ω – ω υ] [Θε]βαίοισι δὲ θάμβος Ε[– ω – ω – υ] 8 [. .]πιδὰ δαιμονίος ΔΕ[ω – ω υ] As a thank-offering [to you, (?) lord] Apoll[o], the [pro]phet of the sanctuary set up [(?) this most beautiful ornament] here in ful[filment of a v]ow, having found through oracular consultation [of the god] the shining shield which Croesus [dedicated] as a beautiful ornament to [...] Amphiaraus, a memorial of his virt[ue and suffering;] ... was stolen (?) ... a

	marvel to the Thebans ... [the sh]ield, wondrously

Despite doubts concerning the original place where these gifts were dedicated, it remains true that the similarities between the text of Herodotus and that of the inscription are so striking that it is hard not to believe that Herodotus saw the text in Thebes. In fact, Herodotus seems to distinguish between “proper” gifts for Apollo Ismenios, recorded at the end of his excursus on Croesus (1.92.1), and other ones that were in a Theban sanctuary that was unusual for that kind of gift (1.52). Already, for Pindar (*Pyth.* 11.4–7), the temple of Apollo Ismenios was mostly characterized by golden tripods, not by other gifts.⁸⁵¹ It could be that the original Croesus of the text was another man, only later identified in Thebes with the Lydian king (so Thonemann 2016); what matters more to us, however, is that Herodotus accepted a narrative that may have a Theban origin.

The anecdote reproduced by Aristophanes represents how, from a local point of view, the presence of Herodotus was recorded. In Thebes, he was viewed as a travelling intellectual who was not completely successful in town: any speculation on the moment of Herodotus’ arrival would be naive, but it is not impossible to think that Aristophanes was among the young people who tried to hear Herodotus’ public lectures. Another inference from this local tradition is that Herodotus could not spend a long time in town: this fact would also explain why all the internal references in the text of Herodotus seem to refer to his frequenting of the temple of Apollo Ismenios,⁸⁵² without other details on the topography of the city or the real reception of a Theban *logos* in the *Histories*.

851 I agree with Porciani (2016: 103 n.6) on the fact that the original location of these gifts was not Thebes, as the same l.3 of the inscription would indicate. It was more likely the sanctuary in Oropos than the oracular cult of Amphiaraos in Thebes, on which we have less sources (Thonemann 2016: 159). In theory, both Thebes and Oropos may be the original setting of the dedication of the shield and the spear, but Herodotus seems to “forget” about these other gifts mentioned at 1.52 when he recollects the other *anathemata* left by Croesus in Greece (1.92.1). It would seem that the more common gifts in the temple of Apollo Ismenios were golden tripods and not other objects: perhaps this very originality prompted Herodotus’ interest in the first place.

852 Hdt. 1.52 (ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν κείμενα ἐν Θήβῃσι καὶ Θηβέων ἐν τῷ νηῷ τοῦ Ἰσμηνίου Ἀπόλλωνος) and 92.1 (ἐν μὲν γὰρ Θήβῃσι τῇσι Βοιωτῶν τρίπους χρύσεος, τὸν [Κροῖσος] ἀνέθηκέ τῳ Ἀπόλλωνι τῳ Ἰσμηνίῳ [...] ταῦτα μὲν καὶ ἔτι ἐς ἐμὲ

ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἐστὶ τεκμήριον. We have seen how there are no compelling reasons to doubt Herodotus' visit to Thebes, since we have external evidence of this experience. In fact, it is possible that it was this historical event that elicited the diffusion of traditions concerning the arrival of the “foreigner” in town.⁸⁵³ The choice of a specific sophistic reading of Herodotus' travel suits the preceding observation by Plutarch (*de Hdt. mal.* 5.855E) that sophists (τοῖς σοφισταῖς)⁸⁵⁴ “can, from time to time, embellish the worst speech, even if they use it to argue for an action or an opinion, because they do not claim the utmost faith in the uttered action.” (tr. S. Tufano).

Claiming that “there is no other evidence” of an event is a rhetorical strategy, frequently used in legal language,⁸⁵⁵ and serves Plutarch's argument, since the author further states that Herodotus' very *Histories* testify (μεμαρτύρηκε) in favour of Aristophanes.⁸⁵⁶ This is a subtle example of *occupatio*, with Plutarch immediately forestalling any possible objection by confirming the solid nature of the only favourable argument he advanced (in our case, the likelihood of the information). A similar example of a parallel *occupatio* occurs in Xenophon's *Symposium* (5.7), when Socrates tells Kreitoboulos that he does not need any further proof (ἐκεῖνο οὐδὲν τεκμήριον) of the fact that the latter is more handsome than the birth of the Silenoi from the Naiads (ὅτι καὶ Ναΐδες [...] τίκτουσιν).⁸⁵⁷ The expression in

ἢν περιέοντα); 5.59 (ἴδον δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς Καδμήϊα γράμματα ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Ἰσμηνίου ἐν Θήβῃσι). The focus on the Ismenion may depend on the great importance of the site in the Archaic period, and on the strong locale conveyed by this epithet of the god: as McInerney (2015: 113–4) noticed, the temple identified *per antonomasiam* the city of Thebes in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*.

853 Possible arrival of Herodotus: Bowen 1992: 130. Before the second century CE, there are no uncontroversial witnesses on Herodotus' own performance of his work (Momigliano 1978=1982: 111–2; Blösel 2004: 37). The hypothesis that he may have performed parts of his work in different cities is mostly based on a parallel with later, better known historians and erudites of the Hellenistic period (on these travelling historians, see Guarducci 1929, Chaniotis 1988 and Chaniotis 2013; for the role of this parallel and a careful study of single situations, cp. Priestley 2014: 19–50).

854 Bowen (1992: 107) reads this noun, here, as “professors of rhetoric”, in line with the most common meaning of σοφιστής in the second century. This alternative might be partially true, but the specific “historical” meaning may be kept, because the noun is “a loaded word in Plutarch's writings” (Schmitz 2013: 36) and it can also refer to the specific itinerant philosophers of ancient times.

855 For this and the later (6) fragment of Aristophanes, Bowen (1992: 4) has correctly affirmed: “There is a semiforensic air to the whole work.” The treatise deploys a judicial rhetoric, also in other sections (Hershbell 1993: 158–9).

856 For another example of the same use of μαρτυρέω cp. Daimachos' F 7.

857 Cp. also Arist. [Pr.] 951a26 and Julian. *Ep.* 41. Demosthenes offers a partial exception, because he uses the expression to introduce a second proof, but this is actually a variation of the Classical contrast between *logoi* and *erga*: “For in this again the defendant himself will be my strongest witness [τουτὶ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν τεκμήριόν ἐστιν]—not by words, heaven

Plutarch seems to communicate the idea that some people refused the historicity of Herodotus' presence in Thebes: for this reason, and in light of the general paucity of details on Thebes in the *Histories*, Plutarch felt the need, as if he were a lawyer, to use Aristophanes as an eye-witness in favour of the presence of Herodotus in Thebes.

4.6.3. Herodotus between Aristophanes and Plutarch

Plutarch witnesses an almost unique representation of Herodotus as a travelling sophist, which had strong literary texture that was possibly drawn from Plato, and a high degree of reliability through concurring evidence on Herodotus' travel to Thebes. While the episode can be easily imagined in Aristophanes' *Boiotian Histories* in a section on more recent years, it is not necessary to assume that the local historian was specifically talking about the hostility of Herodotus towards the Boiotians.⁸⁵⁸ We must repeat here that Plutarch, not Herodotus, suggests that the perspective of Herodotus was influenced by his experience in Thebes.

Aristophanes, in fact, focused on the reasons that lay behind the decision to expel Herodotus, namely, boorishness and *misologia*. This fact strongly contradicts an alleged *Lokapatriotismus* in Aristophanes as a local historian,⁸⁵⁹ and inhibits the complete appreciation of the quote by Plutarch, who may be partially misleading, on the original context of the anecdote.

The arrival of Herodotus in Thebes must then have left a strong mark on the local community. We unfortunately lack positive evidence on the exact date of Text B of *MΘ* 40993, the copy of the fourth century BCE, in Ionic-alphabet, of the text on the dedication of Croesus. It has been tentatively suggested that the text might date to the years of the reconstruction of Thebes after 316 BCE, even if, on the basis of the script, it is

knows, such as he utters now in opposing my suit—words are a criterion of no worth—but by manifest act" (41.20; tr. A.T. Murray).

858 Schachter 2012b *ad BNJ* 379 F 5: "Looking for a reason to explain Herodotos' antipathy to the Thebans."

859 The scholarship on the Persian Wars (Hauvette 1894: 103-9; Hignett 1963: 22-4) sometimes understands this fragment as proof of Aristophanes' factiousness (Hignett *ibid.* 22-3: "His tendency is sufficiently indicated by his assertion that Herodotus hated the Thebans because they had refused to give him money"). Nonetheless, it is Plutarch who links the description of Herodotus and the episode, and not Aristophanes, as is correctly signalled by Priestley 2014: 43.

possible to date it as early as the seventies. The rationale is particularly interesting: why rewrite a text, and make it available to the public again, when the previous text in epichoric script (Text A) is still in generally good condition? I would suggest that the circulation and the impact of the text of Herodotus were behind this choice, which can be understood in this climate, even if we ignore the precise decade of this copy.

This knowledge and appraisal of Herodotus did not equate, however, with a total agreement with his version of the Persian Wars, as we will see in the commentary on Aristophanes' F 6. The Thebans listened to his *logoi* but refused to allow Herodotus a long stay in the city. The same Aristophanes, albeit unwillingly, gave evidence in that other fragment that other sources existed concerning the same period. The internal discourse in Thebes engaged with Herodotus but did not need an external impulse to proceed: Theban historiography does not react to Herodotus, as Plutarch would want us to believe, but exists, *despite* and *independently* of Herodotus.⁸⁶⁰

4.7. Aristophanes F 6

Previous editions: *BNJ* 379 F 6; *FGrHist* 379 F 6 (Plut. *de Hdt. mal.* 33.866F–867A).

“τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπέκτειναν οἱ βάρβαροι προσιόντας” ὡς αὐτὸς εἶρηκε, “τοὺς δὲ {τι} πλεῦνας, κελεύσαντος Ζέρξεω, ἔστιξαν στίγματα βασιλῆα, ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Λεοντιάδεω”. οὔτε δὲ Λεοντιάδης ἐν Θερμοπύλαις ἦν στρατηγὸς ἀλλ’ Ἀνάξανδρος, ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης ἐκ τῶν κατ’ ἀρχοντας ὑπομνημάτων ἱστόρησε καὶ Νίκανδρος ὁ Κολοφώνιος, οὔτε γινώσκει τις ἀνθρώπων πρὸ Ἡροδότου στιχθέντας ὑπὸ Ζέρξου Θηβαίους.

3 <δὲ> *dub.* Hubert 6 ἀνθρώπων Leonicus ἀνθρώπους EB

⁸⁶⁰ I therefore disagree with Priestley (2014: 44), when she claims that “[e]ven the existence of hostile claims attests to the perceived importance of Herodotus’ work.”

““The barbarians killed some of the men who went towards them”, as he himself states, “but branded most of them with royal brands, following Xerxes’ orders, starting with the commander Leontiades.” Now, at Thermopylai, the commander was not Leontiades, but Anaxandros, as Aristophanes recorded, on the basis of the memories of the archons. So Nikander of Kolophon, nor any source before Herodotus, are aware of Thebans branded by Xerxes” (tr. S. Tufano).

4.7.1. Context

After the first mention of Aristophanes (31,864C-D), Plutarch recalls the unfair way in which, according to him, Herodotus depicted Theban participation in the Second Persian War. Herodotus omitted the participation of the Thebans in the Tempe expedition, and, subsequently, in the battle of Thermopylai. On the contrary, the author of the *De Herodoti malignitate* underlines that the Thebans willingly joined these two manoeuvres and that Herodotus maliciously chose to omit their efforts. According to this historian, in fact, the Thebans were first forced to back up the Greeks, before being able to voluntarily join the Persian cause (7.233). The whole of chapter 32 (*De Hdt. mal.* 866A-D) aims at defending Leonidas, who was not praised enough by Herodotus, in Plutarch’s opinion.⁸⁶¹ Such an unjust treatment would only confirm malevolence and mistakes in Herodotus’ *Histories*.

These chapters were probably written with the use of local sources,⁸⁶² especially in the case of Leonidas’ dream recalled at the end of chapter 31 (865F: the disappearance of a ship preludes to the unfortunate fate of Thebes, in the interpretation given to the dream). It is likely that this dream was reported by a Boiotian source, but it is not mandatory to assume that such a source was Aristophanes: Plutarch seems particularly keen, in fact, to acknowledge and signal the instances where he refers to Aristophanes.

861 The chapter is well-known, for Plutarch declares that he will write a *Life of Leonidas* (32.866B: ἐν τῷ Λεωνίδου βίῳ γράφήσεται), which he never actually composed. This promise is one of the few pieces of information on the date of the treatise (cp. *supra* n.821).

862 In general, we should also be aware of the existence of a variety of local traditions on the battle of Thermopylai (Bowen 1992: 132).

Chapter 33 (866D-867B) summarizes the main allegations against the Thebans, before addressing a passage in detail, in the seventh book of Herodotus' *Histories* (233.2), which allows Plutarch to contrast Herodotus with Aristophanes, Nikander, and unnamed Classical sources. Plutarch mentions them as sources that contradict Herodotus' version of the events. Here, Plutarch does not mean to be particularly specific, especially for the very general (and obscure) reference to authors who lived before Herodotus (τις πρὸ Ἡροδότου):⁸⁶³ these witnesses are convenient references to show the untrustworthiness of Herodotus. The syntax and the wording do not grant that Aristophanes and Nikander directly aimed at refuting Herodotus, nor that they wished to repeat his version in order to show his weakness.⁸⁶⁴ Nikander of Kolophon wrote on various subjects and he is variously placed in the second century BCE:⁸⁶⁵ he is the typical Hellenistic erudite man (*BNJ* 271-272 F 35), in whose rich production it is hard to recognize where he might have addressed this material. In general, it is safe to assume that he was speaking about the Second Persian War in a book of local interests.

4.7.2. Boiotian Medism: A Historiographical Legacy

Plutarch quotes, almost without mistake, the final chapter of Herodotus' narrative of the battle of Thermopylai (*Hdt.* 7.233.2).⁸⁶⁶ Here, Herodotus lingered on the reasons and on

863 This last reference is particularly ambiguous, especially in light of the poor knowledge of fifth century historians. Flower (1998: 372) temptingly thinks of Simonides and that Plutarch is merely isolating Herodotus on the detail of the brands: in other words, these unnamed, Classical sources share the version of the Theban presence at Thermopylai, but not this shameful detail.

864 *Contra* Grimaldi 2004: 158.

865 There are two Nikanders, who were probably relatives (the second being nephew to the first one) and lived between the mid third century BCE and the end of the later century (cp. Fantuzzi 2000; Fornaro 2000; on the poetical fragments of the second Nikander, see Lloyd-Jones – Parsons 1983: 274-7). The detail on the Thebans probably appeared in the *Thebaika*, an historical epic in three books (Jenkins 2012a *ad BNJ* 271-272 F 35). Nikander may have quoted Aristophanes as his source on this subject (Schachter 2012b *ad BNJ* 379 F6; we can remember, for example, how Callimachus used local history in his poetry). On the chronological relationship between Nikander and Aristophanes of Boiotia, see *supra* 4.1.2.

866 The only difference is in the verbal aspect of the verb concerning the branding: Herodotus' manuscripts have ἐστιζων. corrected by Hude as ἐστιζον, whereas Plutarch has ἐστιζαν. It would normally be unfair to correct Herodotus with Plutarch, but both Rosén and Wilson *ad loc.* print the aorist form; Plutarch mentions Herodotus more often in his *Moralia* than in his *Lives*, and the quotes of the *De Hdt. mal.* are generally more trustworthy. If in the other cases it is

the ways in which some Thebans survived this historical defeat. Even if Herodotus and Plutarch have different views (but not explicitly contrasting ones) on the presence of the Thebans in the expedition to Tempe,⁸⁶⁷ they both agree on the presence of Thebans, Thespians, and Spartans at Thermopylai.⁸⁶⁸ However, Herodotus' representation of the event is particularly equivocal to the treatment of the outcome for the Thebans: the author underlines that the Thebans, instead of retreating to the top of a hill (225.2), ran towards the Persians (233.1: an absurd representation, according to Plut. *de Hdt.* 33.866D-E). Among the fallen soldiers, only the Spartans and the Thespians, in Herodotus' view, died with honour (7.226.1).⁸⁶⁹ The chapters on the survivors mention some of the most notable cases:⁸⁷⁰ first, the Spartan Aristodemus (229-31), who unheroically survived, but later redeemed himself in the battle of Plataia (231; 9.71); then, Pantites, "the allhonourable man" (Macan), who hanged himself because he did not die on the spot (7.232).

The Thebans come in last place on this list: they finally found the chance to retire from the Greek alliance into which they had been forced to enter (233.1: ὑπὸ ἀναγκαίης ἐχόμενοι). Subsequently, they hurried, during the fight, to tell Xerxes of their past goodwill towards Persia. Despite the perplexities around this reconstruction, it is striking how Herodotus defines this appeal τὸν ἀληθέστατον τῶν λόγων, "the truest talk"; besides, they had witnesses to this (μάρτυρας), namely, those Thessalians whose recurrent enmity with Boiotia indirectly confirms the reliability of the narrative. The defection was not enough to save all the Thebans (233.2: οὐ μέντοι [...] εὐτύχησαν), since, after accepting them

likely that Plutarch was referring to the ὑπομνήματα of Herodotus' *Histories*, for this treatise Plutarch might have had a copy of the text, in most of the cases (Hirshbell 1993: 146-51).

867 See *infra* in text, on the Tempe expedition. It should be premised, however, that Herodotus is not explicit on the composition of the land army that marched to Tempe (7.173.1), but only recalls the two most notable lieutenants, Euenetus for Sparta, and Themistocles for Athens (173.2: on the judgment given to the military virtues of these men, which is not necessarily negative, see Blösel 2004: 108-31).

868 The participation of the Thebans and of the Thespians, nonetheless, was not recorded by many other Athenian sources between the fifth and the fourth centuries; Plataia was generally assumed to be the only Boiotian town that joined the Greek cause at Thermopylai. The cause of this treatment may be the diverse character of the single traditions conveyed in our sources: the particularly strong connection between Athens and Plataia, against the typical hostility between Thebes and Athens, and Thebes and Plataia, impacted the tradition of this battle (together, of course, with Theban behaviour at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War: for this perspective, see the analysis by Steinbock 2013: 106-12).

869 Herodotus, in fact, places more stress on the merits of the Spartans (Vannicelli 2007: 97-9).

870 It is common in Herodotus that, following a battle narrative, there is mention of the best and worst fighters (Vannicelli 2007: 95).

(ἐλαβον), the Persians killed some of them and marked others with “royal brandings” (στίγματα βασιλῆια), including their *strategos* Leontiades.

This chapter of Herodotus must be clearly understood, before investigating how and whether it was considered by Aristophanes, Nikander, and other obscure predecessors of Herodotus. On the one hand, Herodotus wants to underline the historicity of the Theban defection, and he emphasizes both their misbehaviour towards the Greek allies and their speech to Xerxes. Herodotus is particularly keen to remind his audience that the Thebans focused on their past goodwill (καλὰ ἔργα) towards the Persians. On the other hand, the text is unambiguous in recognizing that, despite this treatment, not all the Thebans were spared so that they were not completely lucky (οὐ εὐτύχησαν).

The Thebans and all the Boiotians, apart from the Thespians and the Plataians, sided with the Persians in two phases: first, as a precaution, they medised and sent earth and water to Xerxes (Hdt. 7.233.1)⁸⁷¹ before he reached Pieria.⁸⁷² This surrender happened before the battle of the Thermopylai and shortly after the Congress at the Isthmus, where they granted their help to the Greeks.⁸⁷³ This ambiguity was considered a form of political realism by Buck (1979: 129–33),⁸⁷⁴ who stated that, while substantially (and convincingly) adhering to the Greek cause, the Thebans were also cautious enough to send surrendering signals to the Persians. This interpretation can be substantiated, moreover, by the Greek decision to stop the Persians at Thermopylai, since this stronghold would not be strategically valid if Boiotia was considered lost. At the same time, Plutarch remarks that the Boiotians joined the other Greeks in their expedition to Tempe (*de Hdt. mal.* 31.864E): this information is almost surely derived from a local source and cannot be discredited since Herodotus says nothing about it.⁸⁷⁵ Herodotus is clearly influenced by anti-Boiotian

871 In fact, medising and giving earth and water are not exactly the same political action: cp. Corcella 2003: 131, Cawkwell 2005: 52, and Vannicelli 2008: 86 n.19.

872 Hdt. 7.131; 132.1: τῶν δὲ δόντων ταῦτα ἐγένοντο οἷδε [...] καὶ Θηβαῖοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Βοιωτοὶ πλὴν Θεσπιέων τε καὶ Πλαταιέων, “among those who gave these things [earth and water], there were these people [...], the Thebans and the other Boiotians, apart from the Thespians and the Plataians” (tr. S. Tufano).

873 Hammond (1996: 19): November 481 BCE.

874 Buck 1979: 132: “The Boeotian League, notwithstanding its insurance policy with Xerxes, played its part loyally on the Allied side until Thermopylae.”

875 Robertson (1976: 101 and n.3; cp. Steinbock 2013: 117 and n.70) believed in the plausibility of the presence of Mnamias and 500 Thebans, because Plutarch could hardly make up such a fact in his confutation of Herodotus. I disagree

sources, which show their impact, for example, when Herodotus deliberately lingers on Leontiades' genealogy (cp. *infra*).⁸⁷⁶ Besides, his description of the Tempe expedition (7.172–4) only mentions Spartans and Athenians (173) among those who followed the sea route to Halos. Mnamias and the five hundred Thebans mentioned by Plutarch may have reached the rest of the Greek army by land.⁸⁷⁷

The second phase of Theban medism consists in the fast acceptance of the Persian cause after the defeat at Thermopylai. This readiness has been deemed as evidence for a prolonged intention to back up the Persians. However, even on this occasion, the Thebans were moved by *Realpolitik*, by their own survival, and, on a regional plan, by the survival of the Boiotian cities under them. Even if the anecdote of Hdt. 7.233 is shown as biased,⁸⁷⁸ it still reflects the idea of necessity that lays behind this Boiotian move to the Persians immediately after the battle.

If we accept this reconstruction of events, Herodotus' bitterness towards the Boiotians can be understood as a form of irony, when he describes their luck as not benevolent, since they were forced to have “the royal marks”. Furthermore, in Herodotus' *Histories*, it is not uncommon that contrasting traditions undergo a personal revision, which causes the aforementioned stratification.⁸⁷⁹ The Thebans were treated as deserting slaves, according to a habit not uncommon both in the Greek world and in Persia:⁸⁸⁰ this treatment is

with the ascription of this detail to Aristophanes, for Aristophanes is a likely name but not the only local historian of Boiotia whom Plutarch will have known. In any case, in the light of the high number of the members of the League, and of Herodotus' narrative, this expedition will hardly have been “un episodio di portata più limitata” (Cozzoli 1958: 275).

876 Herodotus' sources on the Boiotians were probably Athenian (Moggi 2011: 265–6; Steinbock 2013: 105 and 114–117; the complex character of the *Histories*, which show the coexistence of more strands, however, hinder in this episode the appreciation of a “spirito di parte di uno storico filoateniese”, as Cozzoli 1958: 278 claimed).

877 See on this hypothesis Larsen 1968: 115 and Robertson 1980: 111; still skeptical on the Boiotian participation in the Tempe expedition Mackil 2013: 30 n.38. The position of Tempe, in general, justifies the dispatch of such a considerable land army (Blösel 2004: 114–5; the apparent contradiction of Herakleion for Tempe in the version of Damastes, *FGrHist* 5 F 4, could be a “*lectio difficilior* von vornherein gegenüber der Herodoteischen *lectio faciliior* mit dem allbekannten Tempe-Paß” [119]).

878 The Thebans, however, approach the Persians ἀποσχισθέντες τούτων χεῖράς τε προέτεινον (7.233.1), as typical suppliants (Moggi 2011: 264), which is puzzling, since they appear to draw on a previous friendship with the enemy.

879 Cp. e.g. Vannicelli 2007: 96; according to Schachter (2004: 348), “[w]hile the facts he reports are probably accurate enough, the spin he puts on them is all his own.”

880 Bowen 1992: 134.

actually in line with Herodotus' representation of Persian uses, since, after their initial medism, the Thebans and the Boiotians may be considered δοῦλοι of the king (7.96.2).

The στίγματα were not tattoos, as has been argued by some scholars.⁸⁸¹ We must see them as a form of branding, whereby the forehead of the people were burnt, in the majority of known cases.⁸⁸² Interestingly for our case, in the Achaemenid Empire they were also used on the foreheads of common slaves who had not deserted, probably following a Sumerian habit.⁸⁸³ Greek prisoners marked with these brands were seen, for instance, by Alexander in his expedition in the Persian empire (Curt. 5.5.6, where Alexander meets Greeks *inustis* [...] *barbararum litterarum notis*). The comparison with contemporary, or near-contemporary,⁸⁸⁴ sources confirm Herodotus' understanding that they were mainly used as a punishment: “è impossibile separare i termini che fanno perno su στίζειν da fatti e situazioni inerenti alla condizione servile.”⁸⁸⁵

Therefore, despite the semiofficial medism of Thebes, the Theban soldiers at Thermopylai were treated like other enslaved populations. This also implied that they were deported, and apparently, still in 324 BCE, there was a group of Boiotians in Celenae.⁸⁸⁶ A possible, further hint at the use of branding war prisoners is found in a funerary inscription from Megara (SEG XL 404; XLI 413): here, a hoplite claims to have suffered a not un noble death (l.2: οὐ κακὸς ἀπέθανε), which may have occurred in a battle against the Persians

⁸⁸¹ Jones 1987.

⁸⁸² Cp. Plut. *Per.* 26.4 and the passages quoted by Fantasia 1976: 1170.

⁸⁸³ Briant 2002: 458; some branded slaves are also mentioned in the Arshama archive (*AD* 5; see Tuplin 1987: 116 n.29). Greek miners, too, could be branded to identify them with their owner (Xen. *Vect.* 4.21): this use is also attested for a later period, in the Sicilian estates, and in Spanish and Egyptian mines during the Republican and Imperial periods (see sources and commentary by Paradiso 1991: 107 and n.8).

⁸⁸⁴ Ar. *PCG* F 67 K. – A. (*Babylonians*); *Av.* 760; Diphylus *PCG* F 67.7 K. – A.; cp. still Herod. 5.65 (a στίκτης brands a slave) and Men. *Samia* 654 (a menace). Cp. Fantasia 1976: 1168–74 on the servile use of this semantic sphere.

⁸⁸⁵ Fantasia 1976: 1169.

⁸⁸⁶ Diod. Sic. 17.110.4: εἰς τοὺς Κέλωνας. Alexander met a group of Boiotians on his journey from Susa to Ecbatana, and they are described as κατὰ μὲν τὴν Ζέρξου στρατείαν ἀνάστατον γεγονός. On this episode, see Cozzoli 1958, who argues that these people were Theban prisoners, and Buck 1979: 133–4, more skeptical on this identification. In fact, it is likelier that this group originally included not only the Thebans caught at Thermopylai, but also other prisoners of war. The exact location of Celenae is debated; the real toponym might be Colonus (see Diod. Sic. 19.19.2 and the sources mentioned by Prandi 2013a: 190).

or against the Thebans, because, in the last line, l.3, he claims to be ὑπὸ στίκταισιν, “in the hands of the tatooers”.⁸⁸⁷

In the meantime, during the fourth century BCE, the Thebans variously exploit their past alignment with the Persians, thus proving how important a reflection on one’s own past could be: this was a process occurring at an earlier stage in Thebes, as Aristophanes seems to show.⁸⁸⁸ Since Aristophanes certainly wrote after Herodotus, he may have reproduced the narrative on the στίγματα, because Plutarch only allows us to say that *before* Herodotus not a single source referred to this detail. Moreover, given the fact that it was not necessary to be a slave who deserted to be branded in the Achaemenid world, a tradition which demonstrates the harsh Persian reaction to, and the prompt identification of, the Thebans as Persian slaves *for the first time*, perfectly fits a narrative that tries to deny any previous contact with the Persians. In other words, the ambiguity of this gesture may serve different local traditions and purposes, depending on the final audience and characteristics of the work.

4.7.3. Commentary

ΛΕΟΝΤΙΑΔΗΣ: Herodotus (7.205.2: ΛΕΟΝΤΙΑΔΗΣ ὁ Εὐρυμάχου) introduces this character by immediately recording his father’s name, Eurymachus: from the common Boiotian use of naming a son after his grandfather, we can identify Leontiades’ son, Eurymachus, with the namesake who participated in the siege of Plataia in 431 BCE.⁸⁸⁹ This is one of the main

⁸⁸⁷ Corcella 1995; see the opposite position, however, held by Ebert (1996a and Ebert 1996b).

⁸⁸⁸ Pelopidas focuses on Theban medism for the years 480/79 BCE during his speech at Susa, where he went as part of an embassy in 367 BCE (Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.34; Plut. *Pel.* 30.2–4; on the episode, cp. Buckler 1982: 200–1 and Steinbock 2013: 151 on the echo in Athens, especially in light of the “Plataian debate” in Thucydides’ third book. See further *infra* in text).

⁸⁸⁹ Hdt. 7.233,2; Thuc. 2.2.3 (it is generally assumed, from Feyel 1942: 23 on, that in Boiotia it was common, at least in the fourth century, to call a child after his grandfather). Hornblower (1991: 240–1) and Stadter (2012: 48–9) argue that Thucydides deliberately engaged in a textual dialogue with Herodotus, when he decided to begin his narrative with the Plataian siege: “Thucydides’ starting point makes explicit the irony implicit in Herodotus’ forward reference, that the new war ‘for Greek freedom’ begins on the very site of the heroic battle which had won Greek freedom from Persia.” It has been argued that Thucydides corrects Herodotus by adding some details (Hornblower 1992: 152–3; Hornblower 2010: 123–4 and 278–9), but the contraposition is not explicit, and does not concern the dynamics of the siege: for example, Herodotus says that Eurymachos led the Theban contingent who entered and defeated Plataia (Hdt. 7.233,2:

points of contact between Herodotus and Thucydides. Besides, Herodotus' meticulous attention to detail seems to betray an anti-Theban malice, because, after repeating the kinship of the infamous son, Herodotus observes that Leontiades led the 400 Thebans to Thermopylai and

“[he] made a particular point (σπουδὴν ἐποιήσατο) of recruiting them, because they were strongly suspected of medising. [...] [H]e [Leontiades] wanted to find out whether they would supply men for him to take or whether they would shy away from such open support of the Greek alliance. They did send troops, but in fact their sympathies lay elsewhere” (οἱ δὲ ἀλλοφρονέοντες ἔπεμπον)” (Hdt. 7.205,2; tr. Waterfield, with modifications)

It can even be posited that Leontiades was associated through *xenia* to the royal Spartan family and that Timagenidas and Attaginus' rise to power coincided with the affirmation of another family that more strongly (and convincingly) sided with the Persians.⁸⁹⁰ Since Herodotus' presentation assumes that his audience was aware of the family history of Leontiades, this is very likely of contemporary interest in Thebes. Aristophanes, therefore, did not completely ignore the historical figure of Leontiades, but must have presented him

στρατηγήσαντα ἀνδρῶν Θηβαίων τετρακοσίων καὶ σχόντα τὸ ἄστυ τὸ Πλαταιέων), whereas Thucydides claims that the Theban force was led by two Boiotarchs (Thuc. 2.2.1: Pythangelos and Diemporos: both might be right, as the siege might be an act of foreign policy where the presence of two federal offices was demanded, while the coexistence of local subunits in the Boiotian army would not be surprising). At the same time, Thucydides acknowledges the pivotal role of Eurymachus (2.3: δι' Εὐρυμάχου τοῦ Λεοντιάδου, ἀνδρὸς Θηβαίων δυνατωτάτου), who arranged the opening of the gate of Plataia, in communication with the traitor Naukleides (2.2-3). Even if the Herodotean use of στρατηγέω might be exaggerated, it remains true that Thucydides does not explicitly deny the central role played by “a most important man of Thebes” (see Rubincam 1981, more cautious on this possible agreement of Herodotus with Thucydides). The actual difference, as far as this event is concerned, concerns the number of Thebans, who were little more than three hundred for Thucydides (2.2.1), and four hundred for Herodotus (7.233.2), but it could be maintained that, on this event, Thucydides had better sources (for example, he can give a number for the 180 Thebans who were put to death by the Plataians: 2.5.7); furthermore, the contemporary approach to these numbers is different from the ancient historiographical use of these pieces of information. In fact, it has been argued that we should not apply to ancient historians “anachronistic expectations about numeric practice” (Rubincam 2012: 108).

890 On Leontiades' possible *xenia* with Sparta, see Schachter 2004: 349 (more prudent, but possibly with reason, Munn 1998: 75, on the connections of his family and the long story of cooperation with Sparta). On Timagenidas and Attaginos, see Ruberto 2002.

with another title (which would explain why Plutarch read, in Aristophanes' text, that the Theban *strategos* was Anaxander: see *infra*).

When he was writing, Aristophanes must have been aware of the consequences of an allegation against Leontiades, since the same family had another famous politician in Thebes in the first two decades of the fourth century BCE. This was the Leontiades known for fighting Ismenias before 395 BCE (*H. Oxy.* 20.1 Chambers), and who was held responsible for the Spartan occupation of the Kadmeia in 382 BCE (*Xen. Hell.* 5.2.29–31).⁸⁹¹ If Aristophanes, as it seems, was active in the early fourth century BCE, restoring this detail of the Persian Wars may also have had a significant echo in the contemporary agenda of Theban politics, where links with the Persians were delegated and assigned to the group opposite that of Leontiades, namely to the family of Ismenias.⁸⁹²

στρατηγός: In this case, the word deployed by Herodotus might have misled Plutarch: this second author, in fact, is generally keen to reproach Herodotus and to quote sources who might be interested in other aspects of the events. In Herodotus there are two *στρατηγοί* for the Boiotian forces present at Thermopylai: Leontiades (7.205.2; 233.2), who led the Thebans, and Demophilus (222: ἐστρατήγεε), who led the Thespians. According to Buck (1974), then, Aristophanes, with his mention of an Anaxandros at Thermopylai, did not mean to refer to the Boiotarchs who were at Thermopylai, but only to the Theban *polemarch* Anaxandros, a local subcommander. Aristophanes had good sources on these local figures, for he allegedly referred to archives of archons (the κατ'ἀρχοντας ὑπομνήματα). In Buck's view, therefore, at Thermopylai there were two boiotarchs, Demophilus and Leontiades (thence, Herodotus' description of these men as general *strategoί*), and two polemarchs, one for Thespias and one for Thebes, namely Dithyrambos (*Hdt.* 7.227) and the Anaxandros mentioned by Aristophanes. Plutarch probably

891 Cp. Cook 1988: 59 n.8; on this Leontiades, and on the internal conflicts in Boiotia in the first twenty years of the fourth century BCE, see Landucci Gattinoni 2000 and Tufano i.p.i. (on Leontiades' family and on his career in the early fourth century); on his role in the Spartan occupation of the Kadmeia, see Tuci 2013 (on the trial of Hismenias, with a good overview of the sources).

892 On the choice of the Theban ambassadors and on the association of Hismenias with the Persians, see Lenfant 2011.

misunderstood this specific local position and deliberately considered Anaxandros a Boiotarch, only to prove Herodotus wrong.⁸⁹³

This picture, nevertheless, does not take into account the military and political lexicon of Herodotus, who knew the office of the Boiotarchs (9.15.2) and, consequently, their institutional role. Modern scholarship, indeed, has long downplayed Herodotus' and Thucydides' uses of the word “Boiotarch” (βοιωτάρχος) as an inappropriate anachronism:⁸⁹⁴ in short, it was believed that this office, which is explicitly attested in our documentary sources of the fourth century BCE, could not have existed in 480 BCE before the confederation born after 447 BCE. However, a more recent trend in scholarship on the history of Archaic and Classical Boiotia provides us with a different reconstruction of the political scenario of the region: these developments may shed new light on Herodotus' witness, and, at the same time, better explain why Aristophanes offered a different version of the events (or, better, of the offices).

The richest description of the complex architecture of the Classical Boiotian League is offered by a chapter of the *Hellenika of Oxyrhynchos* (19.2–4 Chambers): however, this form of government, with its complex balance between federal and local powers,⁸⁹⁵ was only effective, and slowly implemented, after 447 BCE. Our evidence suggests that a different “Boiotian union” was in place between the end of the sixth century BCE and the first quarter of the fifth century BCE. This picture emerges from important epigraphic texts, as well as from a reconsideration of our literary and documentary sources.⁸⁹⁶ This embryonal expression of the Boiotian *koinon* did not have a firm structure in terms of permanent institutions and government; nonetheless, on more than one occasion, the

893 Herodotus only confirms that Dithyrambus εὐδοκίμει: Macan *ad loc.* excluded that he was, in proper terms, the Thespian commander.

894 Jacoby 1955a: 162; Demand 1982: 18 and 141 n.30.

895 On this balance, see Beck 2001.

896 “Boiotian union”: Schachter 2016b: 62 (cp. Prandi 2011). Epigraphic sources: see Larson 2007: 145–9; Beck 2014; Schachter 2016b: 56–60. On the literary sources, see Kühn 2006: 262–9; Larson 2007: 129–63; Prandi 2011. As far as documentary sources are concerned, we should consider the spread of common monetary types, which share the shield and dimensions (Kraay 1976: 109–10; Schachter 1994b: 76 and 76–7 n.21, on the coins implying a common economic policy; Mackil – van Alfen 2006: 226–31; Larson 2007: 67–109; Parise 2011, with previous scholarship); archaeological findings also attest to the attending of the sanctuaries of Poseidon in Onchestos, and of Athena Itonia in Koroneia (on the role of the rites and of the cults, see Kowalzig 2007: 328–91 and Larson 2007 *passim, spec.* 134–6; on their relevance in Pindar, see briefly Olivieri 2014: 36).

Boiotians proved able to act jointly. Some scholars go so far as to assume that there were official elections for these “federal” offices (Schachter 2016). Even if such a rigid political infrastructure is likelier for the end of the fifth century BCE, the existence of common Boiotian policies can hardly be denied for the period between the end of the sixth century BCE and the Persian Wars.

Two episodes emerge with greater momentum: in 519 BCE, the Thebans fought against Plataia to force the city to join the rest of the Boiotians, but Plataia, supported by Athens, resisted. The subsequent Corinthian arbitration, as retold by Herodotus, forced the Thebans ἔαν [...] Βοιωτῶν τοὺς μὴ βουλομένους ἐς Βοιωτοὺς τελέειν.⁸⁹⁷ Thirteen years later, in 506 BCE, an unfortunate attack on Athens by the Chalcidians and the Boiotians, which is documented both at Athens⁸⁹⁸ and on the losers’ side,⁸⁹⁹ confirms a regional cohesion that we cannot reduce to a generic understanding of the ethnicity of the parties, or to their common acknowledgement as ethnic groups.⁹⁰⁰ Indeed, the Plataian affair

897 Hdt. 6.108.2–6 (cp. Thuc. 3.61–5). Not only does this episode confirm the hegemonic aims of Thebes, but it also attests to a common policy (Prandi 2011: 238), from a financial point of view. This reading of συντελείν has been suggested by Mackil (2014: 47–50; Matthaiou [2014: 220] links this Corinthian arbitration to the sale of lands, reported by MΘ 35909). The general overview argues against a generic meaning of the verb (so Hornblower 1991: 454–5; Kowalzig 2007: 356 n.63): the verb, in fact, has a frequent “connotation financière” in federal contexts (Knoepfler 2006: 18–9 n.50). Thucydides clearly implies that the Thebans were trying to force the Plataians to enter a common institution in 431 BCE, in the same way that they had tried to in 519 BCE (Prandi 2011: 239 and n.15; *contra* Hornblower 1991: 454–5). Cp. on the event Larson 2007: 168–71, with criticisms by Prandi 2011: 239 n.15. On this episode and on the battle of Keressos, useful observations in Beck – Ganter 2015: 136–7 and in van Wijk 2017, who also offers a new reading of the relationship between Thebes and the Peisistratids.

898 In Athens, there was a famous celebratory inscription on the acropolis (IG 1³.501; Hdt. 5.77), which defines Boiotians and Chalcidians as ἔθνεα (l.3): this word signals not only that they are seen as unitarian ethnic groups, but must acknowledge an internal, if not clear, political conduct. On this text, and on its meaning for the external perception of the Boiotians in the sixth century BCE, see Larson 2007: 150–2 and Berti 2010; Chaniotis 2013: 139–40 compares it with the Theban situation.

899 Cp. the inscribed *kioniskos* from Thebes, published by Aravantinos 2006, where the Thebans, after having been defeated, mention their raids and the victories at Phylai and Oinoe (Beck 2014: 25–7).

900 For this reading, see Beck 2014: 34 (with previous scholarship) and Mackil 2014 (45: “The formal institutions of the Boeotian *koinon* emerged and developed gradually from the interactions of individuals and communities within the region in specific historical contexts.”). Some of their arguments slightly reproduce, with greater prudence, the previous reconstruction by Buck (1979: 123–5), who anticipated the existence of a ‘hard’ structure, as the one in action at the time of the *Hellenika of Oxyrhynchus*. The skepticism of scholars like Hansen (1995), result from opposition to this extreme thesis.

testifies to that growing contrast between centripetal and centrifugal forces, which may be considered a recurrent motif in the behaviour of a federal state.⁹⁰¹

There probably was, in Boiotia, a permanent *symmachia*⁹⁰² that was broken in the months before the Persian Wars, as a result of the different, individual choices of Boiotian towns. This is in line with Herodotus' mention of a Theban ἀλία (5.79): this political organism, on whose function we are not informed, may be the place where common, regional decisions were made, such as the dispatch of an embassy to Mardonius (9.15.1). It is therefore hard to believe that this organization had solid federal institutions, but it is reasonable to suggest that there were Boiotarchs, in the Boiotia of this period, who acted in a way similar to the Thessalian *tagoi*, with tempory, limited tasks and functions.⁹⁰³

From a linguistic point of view, moreover, a bronze tablet found in Thebes at the Altar of Herakles (MΘ 41063) and dated to the first half of the fifth century BCE, recently offered the first, absolute mention of the present participle of the verb βοιωταρχέω (l. 8: βοιωταρχίον-ντος).⁹⁰⁴ Its editor, Aravantinos (2014: 202 and n.93), studied this occurrence in a document that grants some honours to a series of Thebans (l. 7: θ[ε]βαῖος): Herodotus' reliability on the use of the office is thus confirmed. We can add that, since the text displays an interaction between the Boiotarch and some Thebans, it confirms, at an early

901 Cp. Bearzot 2014: 83. According to the scholar, Thespiiai also resisted Theban will and might have exerted a local influence in the years between the end of the sixth and the beginning of the fifth centuries BCE.

902 Military tasks limited in time: Ducat 1973: 59–73; Tausend 1992: 26–34; Mafodda 1999: 29–43 (Thebans exploiting these figures); Larson 2007: 191. Actual magistrates: Schachter 2016b. According to Beck – Ganter 2015: 137–8, an inclusive approach is the most convenient solution, for the different plans were probably present in the same type. In their understanding of the phenomenon, there was a prototype of a Boiotian League (Beck 1997: 87), if not a real federal state in its early stage, as a compromise between the Theban hegemonic stance and the other communities (Kühr 2006: 309–13); any attempt at redeeming this early evidence, however, concludes that it was a “fragile structure” (Schachter 2016b: 63). In any case, it would be unfair towards the Herodotean text to dismiss the role of the Boiotarchs on the battlefield: “the ruling elites at Thebes and elsewhere strove to coordinate their military actions on the battlefield, but the Boiotians were still far away from a league that united the entire tribe” (Beck – Ganter 2015: 139).

903 Cp. Hansen 1995: 31 on the possible comparison. Larson 2007: 173: “It is [...] possible to categorize them [i.e. the boiotarchs] as *ad hoc* military leaders, chosen from prominent families of various *poleis* to lead an impromptu army on a certain pressing occasion of regional significance.” Nonetheless, Herodotus seems to be aware of their administrative functions, so that, together with Thucydides, he provides us with a picture of an “organismo strutturato e non [...] un generico insieme regionale, culturale o culturale beotico” (Prandi 2011: 239).

904 This text also invalidates the assumption of Roesch (1982b: 79), that “jamais on ne cite dans un décret un béotarque isolé.”

stage, internal dialectics between collective and local identities in Boiotia.⁹⁰⁵ The bronze tablet can therefore be studied on par with another interesting, if obscure, case: that of Epiddalos, “the Boiotian from Orchomenos” (*FD* III 1, 574, l. 2: Βοιότιος ἐχς Ἐρχ[ομενῶ]).⁹⁰⁶ Local and federal identities coexist in an ethnic “vertical diversion of power” (Beck 2001), where the different plans contribute to the slow formation of the *koinon*.

If Herodotus, therefore, can be trusted in his political lexicon, it becomes harder to imagine that there were Boiotarchs at Thermopylai and that Herodotus did not mention them with the proper name of their military office. His accurate terminology is punctual, and the very sequence of events supports it. In fact, we know that the Boiotians did not have a unanimous reaction to the Persian threat:⁹⁰⁷ it would then be improper to imagine a federal officer, such as a Boiotarch, on the field, if there were two sides in Boiotia, as documented by Herodotus.⁹⁰⁸ Plataia, and maybe Thespiiai (see n.907), were possibly outstanding centers of a more widespread resistance to medism.

We can therefore suggest two different hypotheses: (1) Herodotus deliberately mentioned Leontiades, instead of Anaxandros, maybe under the influence of a biased source, because he wanted to emphasize, with the presence of “a long-lived and mischievous family”, the history of a city hostile to the Greek world (i.e. to Athens) during the fifth century BCE.⁹⁰⁹ (2) Alternatively, we can posit that Plutarch incongruously compared the texts (as Buck suggests), but not because he misunderstood Herodotus and did not know the difference

905 I therefore disagree with the interpretation that this office has a Theban origin, at least on the basis of the bronze tablet (Mackil 2013: 30; Mackil 2014: 50–1). These Boiotarchs might not have had fixed duties, but their action during the Persian Wars confirms a regional identity.

906 On this text, see Larson 2007: 147–9 and Beck 2014: 38–9.

907 Herodotus is particularly careful in the description of the behaviour of single Boiotian centres: not only, in fact, does he distinguish between those Boiotians who medised and those who did not (7.132.1), but he also signals, during the description of the events of 504 BCE, which cities were considered “the closest” to Thebes, during a debate in the ἀλία (5.79.1, with Hornblower 2013 *ad loc.*, on the meaningful omission of Plataia; I doubt that Tanagra, Koroneia, and Thespiiai, as Virgilio 1975: 104 suggests, were chosen “in quanto appartenenti al κοινόν dei Beoti, e quindi, come tali, necessariamente coinvolt[e] nelle guerre dei Tebani”).

908 Hdt. 7.132,1: τῶν δὲ δόντων ταῦτα ἐγένοντο [...] καὶ Θηβαῖοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Βοιωτοὶ πλὴν Θεσπιέων τε καὶ Πλαταιέων.

909 Quote from Gomme 1956 *ad* Thuc. 2.2.3. Cp. Demand 1982: 22 on the tattoo as an interpretation *in malam partem* of a possible scar on Leontiades’ skin.

between the tasks of the Boiotarchs and those of the polemarchs (or of the local officers). Plutarch may have given different tasks to the same figure (Anaxandros) because Aristophanes mentioned Anaxandros as the eponymous archon of Thebes for 480–79 BCE, and Plutarch inferred from this, in the light of other calendars of archons, that this archon also led the 400 Thebans at Thermopylai. In other words, Plutarch thought that this Anaxandros was a polemarch, and that Herodotus reported a wrong identity for the polemarch. If it is likely that Aristophanes wrote *Horoi*, this second explanation is in line with the other titles that belong to the genre known with this title.⁹¹⁰

We have some direct indications that there could be eponymous archons in Thebes at this stage. What might seem controversial, however, is the fact that Aristophanes would mention the eponymous archon of Thebes in such a great moment of the narrative rather than, as one would expect, the *strategos* or the polemarch of the Theban force (assuming, since nothing strongly advises against it, that Herodotus is right on the other names).⁹¹¹ We either have (1) an example of Hellenistic chronography, i.e. a work mainly of a chronological scope, where the fixation of exact dates may have been followed by a cursory summary of yearly events (which is consistent with our F 5 and the mention of a visit by Herodotus, but less so with the mythological content of other fragments);⁹¹² or (2)

910 Cp., for example, Apollodoros' Ἀρχόντων ἀναγραφή (*FGrHist* 244 F 31), which also dealt with narrative subjects, like Thucydides' death (F 3).

911 There are two epigraphic documents that may confirm the practice of eponymous archons in Thebes for the Archaic period: the first one is a dedication on a *phiale*, between the seventh and the beginning of the sixth centuries BCE (Effenterre – Ruzé 1994 n.70: $\eta\iota\alpha\rho\acute{o}\nu\ \tau\omicron\ \kappa\alpha\rho\upsilon\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon\ \Phi\lambda\omicron\rho\alpha\kappa\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\omicron\upsilon\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \lambda\epsilon\omicron\tau\omicron\iota\{\varsigma\}\ |\ \Theta\epsilon\beta\alpha\acute{\iota}\omicron\iota\{\varsigma\}\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\epsilon\alpha\upsilon$; cp. Sherck 1990: 287). Here, Phloax may be the eponymous archon, in whose office the $\lambda\epsilon\omicron\tau\omicron\iota\ \Theta\epsilon\beta\alpha\acute{\iota}\omicron\iota$ dedicated the object, even if the text is not entirely clear (Jeffery 1962: 92 and n.2, for instance, suggested that we erase the two final sigmas; see Ma 2008: 83 for the possibility that these “chosen Thebans” were the ancestors of the later Sacred Band and Schachter 2016: 203–5 for another reading of the text). Secondly, Matthaiou (2014: 216) added a further piece of evidence, an inscription from the end of the sixth century BCE. It is an official document, where “certain landed properties or parts of them that were leased or sold by the Theban officers have been recorded” (*ibid.*). The inscription records a figure, who may be identified with an eponymous archon (MΘ 35909 l.3: $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\ \text{Ἀγέλα}$): it is also of the utmost interest, for it mentions other institutions, like the $\beta\omicron\lambda\acute{\alpha}$, and officers like the $\pi\rho\acute{o}\alpha\rchi\omicron\iota$, otherwise unknown: together with the previous document, it makes it harder to accept that there is no evidence for eponymous archons before the fourth century BCE, as maintained by Rhodes (2016: 184 n.20). By and large, federal and local eponymous archons are attested in Boiotia from 379 BCE (Barratt 1932; Buck 1979: 158; Roesch 1982b: 282–6). On the identification of the years with eponymous archons, a common use in Classical Greece and in Athens, see Camassa 2004: 48–51 and Clarke 2008: 20–1.

912 Clarke 2008: 54: “Study by ancient scholars of the calendar essentially means study of the festival, or archon’s, calendar.” The style of these chronographical works was concise and essential (*ibid.* 63). It is likely that, despite the greater prestige of Aristophanes’ annalistic work, his local work had a different internal organization (cp. *supra* 4.1.1).

a possible misunderstanding by Plutarch, who certainly referred to many local sources, but here might have speciously understood the original text, by lingering on the evident discrepancy of the names (the more striking, since it could free the Thebans from the embarrassing Leontiades). The strong affinity in the Hellenistic period between a form of local historiography and chronography, together with our witnesses on Aristophanes, may invite us to accept the second possibility as being the one of greater probability.⁹¹³

Ἀνάξανδρος: The Boiotian reuse of personal names in noble families is the reason why Schachter suggests that this Anaxandros was an ancient relative of the Theban commander who was in Lesbos in 411 BCE: κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενές, i.e. for that Aiolian kinship between the Lesbians and the Boiotians.⁹¹⁴ The Boiotians were constantly allied with Sparta during the Peloponnesian War, with the notable exception of Plataia:⁹¹⁵ they urged the Mytilenaeans into their second revolt in 411 BCE, similar to when a group of Thebans came to Mytilene in 428 BCE, led by a Spartan and the Theban Hermaiondas.⁹¹⁶

This kinship is further attested by the general proneness, in Thucydides, to signal moments when the Aiolian kinship diplomacy worked during the Peloponnesian War (for example, between Boiotians and Lesbians).⁹¹⁷ Anaxandros' family must then have held

913 Jacoby 1949: 68: "The *Atthis* as a literary form is not a specifically Attic product [...] but can easily be grouped together with that species of Greek historical writing which the ancients called *ὠρογραφίαι*, κατὰ ἔθνη καὶ πόλεις ιστορίαι or the like, and which we call Local Chronicle, or better with a more comprehensive expression (because the form of the chronicle is not present in all cases) Local History." Cp. Clarke 2008: 50-1 and the overview by Camassa 2010.

914 Schachter 2012b *ad loc.* (Anaxandros in Lesbos: Thuc. 8.100.3). The former Anaxandros may be the second's grandfather, if the grandfather died before the birth of the nephew (Schachter 2007: 98 and n.16). A comparative study on the eponymous archons of the fourth century allowed Barratt (1932: 73-4; 111) to infer that the minimum age for the archonship, in Boiotia, was thirty; this may agree with a kinship between the aforementioned Anaxandros, if the grandfather died in his sixties in the fifties of the fifth century. The Aiolian affinity between the Boiotians and Aiolians was known to Istros (F 5 Berti), who drew from it various etymologies, on common uses in the Aiolian world; see *supra* the commentary on Aristophanes' F 3.

915 On these relationships, see Buck 1994: 9-26; Fragoulaki 2013: 109-10; Steinbock 2013: 114. There was a historic rivalry between these regions, but we should also take into account Athenian interests for expansion into this area (Fantasia 2012: 82-3). The flip side of the coin is the political interest of the oligarchic Boiotian families to align with Sparta: Munn 1997: 68.

916 Cp. Thuc. 3.5.4; 13, on what the Boiotians promised the Mytilenaeans.

917 Thuc. 3.2.3; 8.5.2; 7.57.5; 8.22.3. On this specific kinship diplomacy, see Hornblower 1996: 74; Hornblower 2008: 1042; Hornblower 2010: 131-2; Fragoulaki 2013: 110-1.

important offices in Classical Thebes. The name, however, was more common in the later period, such as a *φανάξανδρος* attested only in the Hellenistic period at Hyettos and Thespiiai shows (*LGP*N III B s.v.).⁹¹⁸ Both Leontiades and Anaxandros confirm this trend in Classical Thebes to continue a sort of a political tradition in distinguished families.

4.7.4. Plutarch and the Necessary Medism

Plutarch refutes Theban medism and the representation of Herodotus in two ways: first of all, he emphasizes the sincerity of the previous Theban and Boiotian efforts to stay loyal to the Greek cause, before admitting the undeniable, but later and forced, medism of the Thebans. In order to achieve this first goal, he quotes further evidence from local sources, but not every piece of information must necessarily derive from Aristophanes: it is extremely likely that local traditions, as well as the reading of further authors, played a significant role in the writing of this man from Chaironeia.

Secondly, Plutarch undermines the meaning of the branding episode, a harsh treatment that is shameful for the Thebans. In this case, Plutarch prefers to explain the complex and nuanced reality of the relationships between the Boiotians and the Persians. If a source such as Herodotus can be proved wrong, in Plutarch's view, on details like the name of the Theban commander, can that source still be deemed reliable?

Plutarch's use of Aristophanes must be understood with regard to this agenda: matching him with Herodotus is a forced parallel that highlights every difference at the cost of factual honesty (if such an expression makes sense, in the literary genre of the *De Herodoti malignitate*). The Anaxandros mentioned by Aristophanes was probably not a *strategos*, as Plutarch represents him: he may just be the chronological pointer of events in a local perspective of history. Aristophanes, after all, reportedly used *hypomnemata* and Anaxander will hardly have been a Boiotarch or a generic local officer, in the same office of Leontiades. Herodotus was aware of this complex political reality, and it may be observed

⁹¹⁸ Also, for these later occurrences, Hornblower (2008: 1043) accepted this variation in the textual tradition of Thucydides, instead of the alternative *Ἀνάξαρχος*.

that it would be doubly infamous to say that a Boiotarch represented the entire treachery of his *ethnos*.

Aristophanes, therefore, did not mean to directly rebut Herodotus' arguments on the Theban participation in Thermopylai: his perspective was different because the original context in which Aristophanes operated was different. In fact, much more than the clear rhetorical context of Plutarch's *De Herodoti malignitate*, we should consider the way in which, between the fifth and the fourth centuries BCE, the Thebans represented and remembered their medism, at home and abroad. Thucydides⁹¹⁹ and Diodorus⁹²⁰ distinguish the responsibilities of the Theban elites, a definite pro-Persian ruling class, from the greater group of Theban citizens who were forced to accept the will of the powerful oligarchs.⁹²¹

This partially redeeming perspective was not allegedly assumed or defended by Aristophanes, or any other Boiotian source used by Plutarch to refute Herodotus. Herodotus was conscious of congenerous dynamics, if we focus on the distinction he records between the subterfuges of the Aleuads from Laryssa and the rest of the Thessalians (Hdt. 7.172). However, Herodotus is aware of a distinct reaction at Thebes, since, in a speech ascribed to Timagenidas, who speaks for the other Theban aristocrats, the man

919 Thuc. 3.62.4: "This act was done without the whole city having control of its own affairs (αὐτοκράτωρ οὐσα ἑαυτῆς)" (tr. M. Hammond). From the Theban perspective, as it is reproduced by Thucydides, the Theban alignment was an ἀκούσιον μῆδιμον (Thuc. 3.64.5). Thucydides, however, reproduces a debate that was probably held by the Thebans (Steinbock 2013: 120–2, on the possibility that there were witnesses to the debate): consequently, he does not lay any claim to a historiographic stance, even if we must take into account the rhetoric *mimesis* (see, for instance, on the kinship motif in this part of Thucydides' work, Fragoulaki 2013: 125). A revealing sign may be a series of discrepancies between the Theban speech (3.61.2) and the Thucydidean *archaiologia* (1.12; cp. Larson 2007: 177–8).

920 Diod. Sic. 11.4.7: διεφέροντο γὰρ οἱ τὰς Θήβας κατοικοῦντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους περὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας συμμαχίας ("as far as the alliance with the Persians was concerned, the Theban inhabitants were at variance amongst each other", tr. S. Tufano). Hammond (1996: 19–20) argued that this version may depend, via Ephoros, on a tradition opposite to Herodotus, probably philo-Spartan (maybe, the same Aristophanes, but this is only a hypothesis).

921 Herodotus cannot be set against Thucydides, as if the two authors presented "two diametrically opposed versions" (Cartledge 2006: 137). Thucydides, in fact, explicitly says that he is reporting a local version of the episode. A similar line of argument is reflected in a speech delivered by the Theban delegates in Athens in 395 (Xen. *Hell.* 3.5.8–15, *spec.* 8): in the aftermath of 404, not Thebes as an entire political community (οὐ [...] ἡ πόλις ἐκεῖνα ἐψηφίσατο), but a sole delegate (εἷς ἀνὴρ) in the Peloponnesian League, spoke in favour of the destruction of Athens (Krentz 1995: 198–9; on the possible anti-Theban malice in this case, and a parallel with Thuc. 3.62.3–4, cp. Bearzot 2004: 29–30).

claims: “Let us give them (to the Persians) money from our common treasury, for we decided collectively, not among us alone.”⁹²²

Assigning the responsibilities of a common political action to an oligarchic minority is not uncommon in Thebes,⁹²³ and Thucydides, therefore, is a meaningful witness to this intentional rewriting of the Theban past. Even if we posit a change of policy in the ruling class,⁹²⁴ which expressed and implemented the decision of a federal organization that was still somewhat strong, Herodotus and Aristophanes concur in the depiction of a convinced, and widely internally accepted, decision to medise. A distant descendant of Anaxandros was still active in Thebes during the Peloponnesian War: despite the change of government, Theban politics still identified itself, regardless of the actual process of decision making, with a restricted group of families who were truly responsible for forcing the foreign policy in one direction or another during the fifth century.

Even if they disagree on issues, which may derive from their different perspectives, Plutarch and Herodotus offer a similar picture of Theban politics during the second Persian War. In short, it was an evolution from an ambivalent diplomacy to a necessarily

922 Hdt. 9.87.2: χρήματά σφι δῶμεν ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ (σὺν γὰρ τῷ κοινῷ καὶ ἐμηδίσσαμεν οὐδὲ μοῦνοι ἡμεῖς). The use of a common treasury may be a further sign of federal unity or policy, which generally goes unnoticed. On this justification, cp. Hignett 1963: 24; Buck 1979: 135.

923 See Hignett 1963: 23–4 and Flower – Marincola 2008 *ad loc.* We can compare, for instance, Plut. *Arist.* 18.7 (προθυμώτατα τῶν πρώτων καὶ δυνατάτων τότε παρ’ αὐτοῖς μηδίζοντων καὶ τὸ πλῆθος οὐ κατὰ γνώμην, ἀλλ’ ὀλιγαρχούμενον ἀγόντων, “whereas then, among them [the Thebans], the most eminent citizens medised, with great effort, and led the people not with reasons, but forcing it to an oligarchy”), with Paus. 9.6.2 (τῆς δὲ αἰτίας ταύτης δημοσίᾳ σφίσιν οὐ μέτεστιν, ὅτι ἐν ταῖς Θήβαις ὀλιγαρχία καὶ οὐχὶ ἡ πάτριος πολιτεία τηρικαῦτα ἴσχυεν, “the public sphere is not responsible for this choice, because at that time there was an oligarchy, and not the ancient constitution, in force”, both tr. S. Tufano). These passages formally assimilate the Theban past to an oligarchy, like Thucydides, and show how a democratic reconstruction of the past may depict such an experience (medism) as being in contrast with the collective will. However, Herodotus (9.87.2: σὺν γὰρ τῷ κοινῷ) recognizes that these oligarchic institutions may express and enact decisions with strong popular support; in fact, since there seems to have been widespread consensus concerning these oligarchic alignments, Asheri (2006: 296 *ad* Hdt. 9.87.2) observed that: “[q]uesti passi sollevano il problema generale della responsabilità o irresponsabilità (‘acefalia’) politica nella *polis* greca, tema ripreso in senso antidemocratico da [Xen.] *Resp. Ath.* II 7, e, in senso encomiastico per la democrazia ateniese restaurata nel 403 a.C., da Aristotele, *Resp. Ath.* 40,3.” Finally, Herodotus and Thucydides’ representations of this dynamics must be read in light of Athenian polar political thought, since, from the second quarter of the fifth century, all political experiences were generally identified either with oligarchic or with democratic nuances (Ostwald 2000: 21–6): therefore, Thucydides’ distinction between a δυναστεία ὀλίγων ἀνδρῶν, which supported medism, and the possibility of a city κατ’ ὀλιγαρχίαν ἰσόνομον πολιτεύουσα (3.62.3), Theban apologetics might concur with contemporary Athenian political thought.

924 Schachter 2004; Steinbock 2013: 104.

straightforward medism –as necessary as the Thessalians had found it apt to medize (172.1: ὑπὸ ἀναγκαίης) after the failure of the expedition to Tempe.

4.8. Aristophanes F 7

Previous editions: *BNJ* 379 F 3; *EGM* I F 3; *FGrHist* 379 F 3 (Steph. Byz. χ 6, *s.v.* Χαιρώνεια).

Χαιρώνεια, πόλις πρὸς τοῖς ὅροις Φωκίδος· Ἑκαταῖος Εὐρώπῃ· “ἐν δὲ Χαιρώνεια πόλις τὰ πρῶτα”. κέκληται ἀπὸ Χαίρωνος. Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Βοιωτικῶν β’· λέγεται δ’οἰκιστὴν γενέσθαι τοῦ πολίσματος Χαίρωνα. τοῦτον δὲ μυθολογοῦσιν Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Θηροῦς, ὡς Ἑλλάνικος ἐν β’ Ἱερείων Ἦρας < > “Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ <οἱ> μετ’αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ὀρχομενίχοντας τῶν Βοιωτῶν ἐπερχόμενοι καὶ Χαιρώνειαν πόλιν Ὀρχομενίων εἶλον”. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ ἡ πόλις καὶ Ἄρνη τὸ ἀρχαῖον.

1 Χαιρώνεια *ed.* Aldina (1502) Κορ- *codd.* 2 τὰ α’ *codd.*, “quae cum sequentibus coniungunt; ita ut hic legis primus” (Meineke) 4 Θουροῦς Wesseling *coll.* Plut. *Sull.* 17-8 <...> *lacunam designavit* Meineke, *quam explet* Wilamowitz, *Aristoteles und Athen* (1893) 1.281-2 n.33 *e.g.* <ἦν δὲ Ὀρχομενίων, ὡς ὁ δεῖνα>; *quae sequuntur Theopompo iam dederat* K. O. Müller, *Orchomenos und die Minyer* (= *Geschichte hellenischer Stämme und Städte* 1, ²1844 *ed.* F.W. Schneidewin) 410 n.6 5 <οἱ> Müller 6 ἐπερχόμενοι Preller *p.63 n. 83* Meinke ἐπὶ Ὀρχομένοις/ -ενοῖς *codd.* ἐφορμώμενοι Müller Ὀρχομενίων Meineke Ὀρχομενῶν *codd.*

“Chaironeia, a city at the Phokian boundaries. Hekataios, in his *Europa*, says: ‘Right after, the city of Chaironeia comes first’. It is named after Chairon. In the Second Book of his *Boiotian Histories*, Aristophanes says: ‘It is claimed that the founder of this small city was Chairon’. They say that he was Apollo and Thero’s offspring (so Hellanikos, in the Second Book of the *Priestesses of Hera*). <...> The Athenians and their allies also conquered Chaironeia, in the hands of the Orchomenians, after having attacked, in Boiotia, the Orchomenizers. Once upon a time, the city was also called Arne” (tr. S. Tufano).

4.8.1. Textual Transmission and Context

This lemma defines Chaironeia as a πόλις, following a tradition apparently already attested in Hekataios' *Periegesis*.⁹²⁵ Aristophanes is the second source quoted on the mythical traditions of Chaironeia, as a witness to the name of its founder. Finally, the generic indication of the sources who specified the parents (μυθολογοῦσιν) may include the same Aristophanes, as well as Hellanikos. The alleged lacuna after the mention of the second book of the *Priestesses* of Hellanikos may be an unnecessary assumption: the mention of the occupation of Chaironeia, during the narrative concerning the events of 446 BCE, may also be Stephanus' personal integration, as can be posited from the appendix on the original name being Arne.⁹²⁶

The final mention of Arne surely depends on Stephanus' own intervention, since it does not derive from Hekataios, Aristophanes, or Hellanikos. Many Boiotian centres of the Classical period, as presented in the *Catalogue of Ships* of the *Iliad*, were not represented in the list of Boiotian cities that contributed to the Greek army at Troy. Chaironeia, in particular, was a flashy absence because of its dimensions and its political relevance in the Classical period.⁹²⁷ Chaironeians reacted, then, in the same way as the Tanagrans, who

925 Hekataios, *BNJ* 1 F 116. Hansen 1997: 20. Hekataios, however, considered the centre, the *polis*, as a human settlement, and not as a political community. According to Hansen, the noun πόλις can describe a settlement, a political community, or both. The political status of Chaironeia is explicitly stated in Thucydides (4.76.3; 89.2) and in the *Hellenica of Oxyrynchos* (19.3 Chambers).

926 Hellanikos, *BNJ* 4 F 81. According to the editors (Müller 1844: 410 n.6; Billerbeck – Neumann-Hartmann 2017: 71 n.11), Stephanus mentioned another author, i.e. Theopompos (*BNJ* 115 F 407); it is hardly believable that Theopompos dealt so deeply with the campaign of the Athenian Tolmides in Boiotia, mentioned by Thucydides (1.113.1; see also Morison 2014 *ad loc.*). This does not mean that it is impossible, for we know that Theopompos wrote about Cimon and talked about the battle of Tanagra (458 BCE): cp. *BNJ* 115 F 88, and, on Theopompos and the history of the fifth century, Connor 1968. The hypothesis of a third name may derive from the perplexities surrounding the mention of Hellanikos in this context, as recent scholarship has repeated: Bearzot 2011: 275–6, for example, has argued that Athens was trying to use Orchomenos as an opposing hegemony to Thebes, in Boiotia. This reading has been contrasted, in the past, by Moretti (1962: 131), but it is hard to escape a political interpretation of the label ὀρχομενίζοντας (Dull 1977), which forces us to think of political factions. Moreover, the sudden switch from mythical times to the fifth century BCE could also be an alternative explanation of a lacuna (Schachter 2012b *ad BNJ* 379 F 3; Pownall 2016 *ad BNJ* 4 F 81). In sum, we are faced with a conundrum of theories, none of which seems entirely convincing: these lemmata of Stephanus, in themselves a shortened version of the original lexicon, do not always provide a clear and linear storyline of the mentioned cities. According to the present author, there are no strong arguments to assume a lacuna and the mention of a third source.

927 On the absence of many Boiotian centres from the *Catalogue of Ships*, and on the possible explanations, see Vannicelli 1996 and Kühr 2006: 61–70.

alleged, according to the Aristophanes (F 1) and to other sources, to have been listed by Homer with the name of “Graia”.⁹²⁸ Chaironeia was identified with the Arne listed in the *Catalogue*,⁹²⁹ and, through this ruse, Chaironeia became one of the Greek cities that fought the Trojans.

Pausanias further recalls how the Chaironeians saw their town renamed, in the same way that can be inferred from the current fragment:

“once upon a time, this city, too, claimed to be Arne [...]; they say that the current name Chaironeia came from Chairon, who is alleged to be Apollo’s son.”⁹³⁰

Chaironeia was the most western city of Boiotia and was confined by Phokis to the west, and by the city of Orchomenos to the north.⁹³¹ The first border might explain why Hekataios described it as πρώτη, in his *Periegesis*, from the point of view of a traveller who comes from the west. The position of Chaironeia in the north of Boiotia made it a natural access to the region and elucidates the strategic place of Chaironeia as a military stronghold.⁹³² During the fifth century BCE, Chaironeia strongly depended on Orchomenos, as is made clear by a passage in Thucydides’ *Histories* (4.76.3). In 446 BCE Chaironeia was occupied by an Athenian garrison,⁹³³ because it gave hospitality to exiles

928 Cp. *supra* 4.2.2–3.

929 Hom. *Il.* 2.507. See the list of identifications in Kühr 2006: 66. Chaironeia was not the only city that identified itself with Arne: Strabo (9.2.34–5.413), for instance, remembers how Akraiphia, too, claimed to have been the old Arne (he then quotes Zenodotus on the verse of the *Iliad* (2.504) where Arne appears; philologists, in fact, suggest that we correct the toponym to Ἀσκη; on the opposition of Aristarchos, and on Strabo’s position towards this Homeric scholarship, see briefly Radt 2008: 62–3).

930 Paus. 9.40.5–6, tr. S. Tufano. On Chaironeia/Arne, and on the possibility that the city was a more likely candidate for adopting this Homeric toponym because of its position, see also schol. Thuc. 1.12.3; for the local origin of the tradition, cp. Hope Simpson – Lazenby 1970: 31; Kirk 1985: 194 e 197; Larson 2007: 40; Pownall 2016 *ad BNJ* 4 F 81. The translation of W.H.S Jones, for the LCL (“its name of old was Arne”), omits an interesting detail of the original text: ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ ἡ πόλις καὶ τούτοις Ἄρνη.

931 *IACP* n.201. Thuc. 4.76.3: ἔσχατον τῆς Βοιωτίας πρὸς τῇ Φανοτίδι τῆς Φωκίδος. See a careful description of the topography in Ma 2008: 72–3.

932 On Chaironeia as a stronghold, cp. Buckler 1980: 4–5 and 229 n.2.

933 After a first victory in 447/6 BCE, the Chaironeians were enslaved; then, the Orchomenizers (i.e. the Boiotians who rebelled after ten years of democratic and philo-Athenian governments in Boiotia) defeated the Athenians in the ensuing battle at Koroneia (cp. Buck 1979: 150–3 on the local echoes of this battle).

from Orchomenos (the Ὀρχομενίζοντες mentioned in Stephanos' lemma, i.e. oligarchic exiles who plotted against the philo-Athenian democracies of the region). In the political constitution of the later Boiotian League (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.2–3 Chambers), Chaironeia formed a district with Akraiphia and Kopai, which implies a medium dimension and a not sensibly high geopolitical importance of the settlement. Nevertheless, compared with other Boiotian centres of the same scale, the city attracted great attention in our sources for the two important battles of 338 BCE and 86 BCE that were fought there.⁹³⁴

4.8.2. Chairon and the Archaeology of Chaironeia

We have seen how the traditions on Chairon, the eponymous founder of Chaironeia, originated to justify local aspirations to join the Greek army who fought in Troy, despite the absence of Chaironeia in the *Catalogue of Ships*. This city alleged to be the ancient Arne, which was mentioned in this list of expeditionary members: the eponymous Chairon, subject of the present fragment, explained the new toponym of the city.⁹³⁵ This figure was already mentioned in the pseudo-Hesiodic *Megalai Ehoiai*, which means that Chairon was known at a relatively early date in local traditions: here, he was labelled as a strong tamer of horses.⁹³⁶

Chairon was Apollo and Thero's son:⁹³⁷ through his mother, he was related to Herakles, because Thero's parents were Phylas and Lipephyle, and Lipephyle was the daughter of

⁹³⁴ Plutarch, in fact, does not systematically describe cities of his region, but makes an exception for his hometown, especially in relation to these battles (Buckler 1992: 4801–5). I would like to thank here Ms. C. Giroux (McGill University), for her useful advice on the regional and transregional importance of Chaironeia, and on its presence in Plutarch's works, a fact which should never be overlooked.

⁹³⁵ For this hypothesis, see already Schachter 2012b *ad BNJ* 379 F 3.

⁹³⁶ Hes. F 252,6 M. – W.: [...] Χαίρωνος κρατερὸν μένος ἱπποδάμοιο. There are doubts on the relationship between the *Megalai Ehoiai* and the *Gynaikon katalogos*; the present author, in light of the open debate, prefers quoting the fragments of the first title with the second title, despite the strong reservations on their unity and the possibility that they actually had a different genesis (D'Alessio 2005). Among a few certain points, we know that the *Megalai Ehoiai* were known by Pindar and those, like D'Alessio, who argue for a specific genesis, suggest a development of the collection at the end of the sixth century BCE.

⁹³⁷ Hes. F 252,5 M. – W. Chairon's mother is Θουρώ in Plut. *Sull.* 17.7, as an aetiology for the temple of Apollo Thourios (Θούριος). Since Lykophron (*Alex.* 352) knows an epithet θοραῖος (referring, however, to Demeter, and not to Apollo: Schachter 1981: 151), Schachter (*ibid.* 44) thought that the original form would be θήριος, also on the basis of the name of the nymph, in the pseudo-Hesiodic fragment (Θηρώ: on the characteristics of this cult, see Schachter 1967: 6

Iolaos, a nephew of Herakles. This kinship between Chairon and Herakles is particularly meaningful from the perspective of the city of Thebes: in fact, it can not be coincidental that many fragments assigned to the *Megalai Ehoiai* underline the kinship between the descendants of Herakles and many other Boiotian centres.⁹³⁸ Focusing on the parentage of Chairon, therefore, may be more than an expected presentation of the character: Aristophanes was probably working at a time, the first fourth century BCE, when Thebes and Koroneia were on uneven grounds in terms of political activity. Reminding the audience of the Theban background of the eponymous hero of Chaironeia counterbalances the positive side of the tradition surrounding the participation of the city in the Trojan wars under the name of Arne. It is not irremarkably impossible that, in the picture of the new, “Theban” Boiotian League founded after 379 BCE, stressing the unity of the region under the shield of Herakles served Theban interests. This does not mean, for it cannot be proved, that Aristophanes willingly accepted a Theban clientele, or reflected a Theban reading of the Boiotian past. Attention should be given to the secondary meanings of these myths, productive and connective, which underlie local identities from a regional perspective.

Moreover, Aristophanes may have been the first author, in prose, to work and narrate the foundation myth of Chaironeia, even if the generic μυθολογοῦσιν between the mention of Aristophanes and that of Hellanikos may include a number of mythographers (without mentioning Armenidas). Indirect proof of this might be that the first two authors, for us, who explicitly focus on Chairon, are Plutarch⁹³⁹ and Pausanias (9.40.5): Plutarch certainly knew, and might have read, Aristophanes (FF 5–6), whereas Pausanias uses local traditions in his Boiotian book that may have a historiographical background, in more than one case.

and 8–9). The epithet has an unexpected Boiotian origin, just like, remarkably, the other epithet of Apollo mentioned in the same verse of Lykophron, Πτῶρον (Hornblower 2015: 196). Plutarch is the only literary source on the sanctuary of Apollo Thourios, which has been identified thanks to the discovery of the battle trophy installed by Sulla (Camp *et al.* 1992: 454–5).

938 D’Alessio 2005: 200–1.

939 Plut. *Sull.* 17.8 (τῆς Χαίρωνος μητρός, ὃν οἰκιστὴν γεγονέναι τῆς Χαίρωνείας ἱστοροῦσιν, “of the mother to Chairon, namely to those who they claim to have been the founder of Chaironeia”, tr. S. Tufano); *De curiositate* 1.515 C; one of Plutarch’s children, too, who prematurely died, was called Chairon (*Consolatio ad uxorem* 5.609D, if we accept Xylander’s correction Χαίρωνος, against the transmitted Χάρωνος). For Plutarch, of course, we must take into account his provenance from the city, which could mean that he was aware of these traditions on Chaironeia from oral/local sources, without necessarily perusing a literary witness.

A further interesting local tradition, also in Plutarch (*Cim.* 1), had Chaironeia founded by a group of Boiotians, who were guided by the Thessalian seer Peripoltas. This origin story may be compared with the Thessalian origins of Phylas, Thero's father in F 252 from the *Megalai Ehoiai*,⁹⁴⁰ but it is also possible that this alternative version had no relationship to the one on Chairon: there were many local Boiotian traditions, which recognized and accepted ties with Thessaly, and in some cases we can posit that the Thessalians were trying to become part of the historical background of these cultural hotspots of Boiotia.⁹⁴¹ Whereas the foundation by Chairon, who gives a new name to Arne, is very likely a local myth, the memory of the arrival of the Boiotians and of Peripoltas ἐκ Θεσσαλίας (Plut. *Cim.* 1), even if Arne was also notoriously a place in Thessaly, looks more like a matching or an adaptation of the Thessalian material, which may also have another local origin.

Aristophanes was therefore recording a profoundly locally embedded tradition for Chaironeia, which highlighted, through Chairon, two potentially interesting features of the history of the city: an autochthonous origin, through Chairon, who, through his ties with Herakles might associate the city with Thebes; and, secondly, the participation of the city in the *Troika*. The genealogy served this agenda and showed how local traditions of single cities in Boiotia may be externally received and find contrasting uses according to the author's perspective.

4.8.3. Chaironeia as a *polisma*

Only Aristophanes, among our sources on Chaironeia, defines the center as a πόλισμα: this noun is used with a series of different meanings in our sources, which vary from a small barbarian site to a poetic use for a great city.⁹⁴² Nonetheless, the dependent status of Chaeronea for most of the fifth century BCE, and its feeble political weight, shown by the fact that Chaeronea formed a federal district with two other cities after 447 BCE, are not

940 Schachter 1967: 6.

941 For the possible meaning of this special affinity between Boiotia and Thessaly, see the commentary on Armenidas' F 1 (3.1.1) and 6.1.3.

942 Sources on Chaironeia: Funke 1997a and *IACP* n.201. On the literary use of πόλισμα, see Flensted-Jensen 1995: 129–31.

sufficient motives to argue that the city was defined *polisma* by Aristophanes, like the other “Hellenic towns in the middle of Greece, [...] often [...] dependent *poleis*.”⁹⁴³

Since the oecist Chairon is associated with a foundation myth, which is pivotal to prove the diverse relevance of Chaironeia in antiquity (namely, its actual refoundation, despite its preexistence as Arne), it might be worth considering other occurrences and uses of πόλισμα. In some cases, in fact, this noun can describe a centre that used to be powerful in ancient times, but later lost some, if not all, of its power. For example, other *polismata* were ancient cities coterminous with ancient Athens in Herodotus (1.143.2), and with Mycene in Thucydides (1.10.1). In both these cases, the context is a remote past, namely, the first Ionic colonization, which started from Athens, in Herodotus, who claims that Athens was the only noteworthy centre at that time (ἦν οὐδὲν ἄλλο πόλισμα λόγιμον, “no other small centre was notable”). Thucydides, instead, compares Mycene to the other Greek centres which sent armies to Troy. He claims that, according to his contemporaries, none of these small places would look significant (τι τῶν τότε πόλισμα νῦν μὴ ἀξιόχρεων δοκεῖ εἶναι, “none of those small places, now, would look noteworthy”).

From the previous examples, it appears that Herodotus and Thucydides both use πόλισμα in a contrasting way: the substantive marks the small dimensions of a center in a time that is remote to the present of the writer and of his audience. In itself, πόλισμα does not convey an evaluation of inferiority or political dependency, it just establishes a comparison in time and in space (as a relative judgment).

For this reason, despite the extreme conciseness of this fragment, it is fair to admit that Aristophanes was clearly using this peculiar occurrence of *polisma*. Arne was a great city, but as a “relatively small” centre, Chairon founded it. The most proper translation would thus be “townlet”, or, as suggested by Billerbeck – Neumann-Hartmann in the edition of Stephanus, “Städtchen”.

943 Flensted-Jensen 1995: 130. The scholar recalls the parallel cases of Doris (Thuc. 1.107.2), Prasie (in Laconia! Thuc. 2.56.6), and Skandia (*ibid.* 54.4).

4.8.4. The *Boiotiaka* as a Network of Local Traditions

This fragment is the only piece of evidence we have, together with the explicit mention of F 1 on Tanagra, for the mention of a Boiotian centre in Aristophanes' *Boiotian Histories*. In the other fragments, it may be that the relatively major fame of his *Thebaioi Horoi* either suggested to the witness the existence of *Theban Histories* (F 3, on the Orchomenian Homoloia), or that the absence of the title of the work could be deceiving: this is also the case, for instance, with F 2, which deals with the fighting cocks of Tanagra, even if the source does not explicitly mention the city.

Moreover, F 7 is relevant for a direct quote from the work, but, just as in F 9, the citation is too short to show any peculiarity in Aristophanes' language. We can only gather that Aristophanes mentioned Chairon in an indirect way (λέγεται), but this use is so common, in historiography, that it does not communicate anything specific about Aristophanes' method.

Our attention is then mostly drawn to Chairon as a founder of Chaironeia, and to the definition of the city as a *polisma*. On the one hand, the family of Herakles must have played a pivotal role in Aristophanes' *Boiotian Histories*, even in those sections not directly linked to the city of Thebes. On the other hand, the use of *polisma* puts Aristophanes on the same plan as Herodotus and Thucydides with a definition of the centre *à rebours*, i.e. as a city that already enjoyed its greater fortune and was not important at the moment of its refoundation.

By and large, Aristophanes' F 3 (on Orchomenos) and 1-2 (on Tanagra) confirm a vast spectre of centres that were studied in these Boiotian histories. The structure may imply *excursus* on the different centres, maybe around their foundation myths (the *Homoloia*, Chairon) and most common habits (the fighting cocks of Tanagra). The affinity with Pausanias' book 9 is all the more surprising, because, following Musti's (1988b) reading, the region may be described in a radial direction, taking Thebes as the central focus, whence the other centres of the region were touched, starting from the Theban walls.⁹⁴⁴ In

944 Frazer (1913: xxiii-iv) was the first to recognize, in the description of the single centres of the region, a tendency to start from the most important one, and speaks of a *radial plan* for these cases. The Boiotian book is particularly relevant, from this point of view, because Thebes recurs more often than other important cities in the other books, as is clearly

the case of Aristophanes, the prevalence of details on the mythical characters of the region may be due to the erudite features of the sources; it is not unlikely, if the work consisted of at least two books, that Aristophanes had to deal with the topography of single cities, as Pausanias was to do in his *Periegesis*. As a local historian, Aristophanes is then probably closer to the model of the Hellenistic *Periegesis* than to the linear description followed by Herakleides Kritikos in his *Περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι πόλεων*.

4.9. Aristophanes F 8

Previous editions: *BNJ* 379 F 7; *EGM* I F 9B; *FGrHist* 379 F 7; F 439 Slater [*sp.*] (Schol. [R2WLZT1B] Hes. *Theog.* 126 [28.3–10 Di Gregorio]).

“Γαῖα δέ τοι πρῶτον μὲν ἐγείνατο ἴσον ἑαυτῇ / Οὐρανὸν ἀστερόενθ’ ἵνα μιν
περὶ πάντα καλύπτοι”· κέντρον ἢ γῆ· αἴτιον δὲ σφαίρας τὸ κέντρον· διὸ γεννᾷ
ἢ Γῆ τὸν Οὐρανόν. ἀλλ’ὁ Κράτης ἀπορεῖ· εἰ γὰρ “ἴσον,” πῶς δύναται
καλύπτειν; λέγει οὖν ἴσον ὅμοιον τῷ σχήματι, σφαιροειδῇ, τῷ μεγέθει δὲ
ἀπειροπλάσιον. Δίδυμος δὲ ὅτι ἐγεννήθη, οὗ καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν τῷ β’ λέγει
“Ἀμφιτρύων δὲ γενναϊότερον αὐτοῦ παῖδα γεννᾷ,” ἀντὶ τοῦ ὅτι ἐπηυξήθη [ὁ
Οὐρανὸς ἀστερόεις].

2 κέντρον Di Gregorio μέτρον Z ἢ γῆ Di Gregorio τῇ γῇ R2 γεννᾶν R2 3 λέγων *post* ἀπορεῖ
add. T τὸ *ante* ἴσον *add.* R2 πῶς [.....] καλ [.....] γει W λέγεται Λ 4 σφαιροειδὲς Λ τῷ
σχήματι ... ἀπειροπλάσιον *om.* Λ Δίδυμον Λ 5 ὅτι <...> ἐγεννήθη Fowler *posuit. pro* ὅτι ἐγεννήθη
haec T: τὸ ἴσον ἑαυτῇ κατὰ τὸν τῆς γεννήσεως λόγον, ἤγουν ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ὥσπερ αὐτὴ ἐγεννήθη
οὕτως Λ *om.* T οὗ *cett. post* οὕτως *distinxit* Slater †βίω† Fowler βιβλίω R2 βίβλω LZ
Ἀριστοφάνης *tantum* T Ἀριστοφ[.....]ιβλίω W βίω <ἔχειν> Di Gregorio β’ Gaisford 6

outlined by Pretzler 2005: 88–9; Kühr 2006: 79 and n.112; Gartland 2017b. For the hypothesis that Armenidas’ *Theban Histories* had the same structure, cp. *supra* 2.1.1.

Ἀμφιτρύων δὲ LZ αὐτοῦ γενναιότερον LZ γενναιότερον αὐτοῦ Τ ὅτε R2WLTB ὅτι fort. *Rectius* ηὐξήθη Β ὁ ... ἄστερόεις secl. *Gaisford cum ad scholium proximum pertinere videantur ὁ om.* TAB

“And then Gaia begat, equal to herself,/ the starry Ouranos, so that he would cover her everywhere’. The Earth is the centre, because the principle of the sphere is the centre. For this reason, Gaia, the Earth, bore Ouranos, the Sky. However, Crates retorts: ‘If it is “equal”, how can he cover her? He must say *equal* because they are identical in form, a spherical form, but in dimension it is infinitely larger’. Didymos, on the other hand, claims that he ‘was begotten’, whence Aristophanes too, in his second book, says: ‘Amphitryon, then, begat a son, nobler than himself’ (instead of saying that [starry Ouranos] ‘was increased’)” (tr. S. Tufano).

4.9.1. Textual Transmission and Context

The scholium derives from the first complete commentary on Hesiod’s *Theogony*,⁹⁴⁵ which comments on two verses of Hesiod’s *Theogony* that concern the genesis of Ouranos from Gea and the similar shape of the two gods, “so that he could cover her completely” (*Theog.* 127). This overlapping can only be understood if we assume, with the scholiasts (αἴτιον [...] σφαίρας τὸ κέντρον), and, more specifically, with Krates of Mallos (F 79 Broggiato), that in Hesiod, the Earth had a circular shape: the Sky, with a round shape, can thus completely surround the Earth.⁹⁴⁶ Krates solved the conundrum by giving a different interpretation of the adjective ἴσον, which he only used to refer to the shape of the globe;⁹⁴⁷ it is not clear how Didymos solved this issue, because his position is not immediately perspicuous.⁹⁴⁸

945 See Dickey 2007: 40–2 on the scholia on Hesiod and on their origin.

946 On the cosmology and the astronomy of Krates, see Mette 1936 and Broggiato 2001: li–lv.

947 The interpretation of Krates is probably quoted in his literal wording, even if we do not accept the integration λέγων of the codex T (=Marc. gr. 464, a. 1316–1319), a manuscript written by Demetrios Triklinios (1280–1340).

948 Textual tradition is particularly complex here, but it is not necessary to think of a *lacuna* after the mention of Didymos, as Fowler recently suggested, or that the final part on Ouranos belongs to the following scholium (Gaisford), since this second scholium actually concerns the sole v.127.

This Didymos was an erudite who worked on Hesiod under Augustus, and it is likely that all this subsequent section derives from him. It ends with a further comment on the genesis of Ouranos, because the subject of ἐγεννήθη (l. 5) is Οὐρανὸς ἀστερόεις (l. 6), which must refer to the same excerpt and not to the following scholium. The subsequent scholium, in fact, can hardly explain a diplology, since it starts with an accusative form of this syntagm, and it deals with a problem completely unrelated to the reciprocal dimensions of the Earth and Sky.

Didymos understood the Hesiodic verses at face value and suggested that Ouranos was begotten by his mother, Earth, but did not expand his dimensions, becoming larger than her (ἐπηυξήθη: “it was enlarged/increased”).⁹⁴⁹ The mention of Aristophanes therefore originates in Didymos, who was looking for a source that could support him on the interpretation that the Earth gave life to a more important/nobler (γενναιότερον) offspring than its mother.

Further textual problems concern the extent of the quote of Aristophanes⁹⁵⁰ and the section around the name of this author and the title.⁹⁵¹ The reconstructed text allows us to confirm

949 Demetrios Triklinios, the hand of manuscript **T**, probably inferred this line of argument when he added a personal comment, in which he highlighted that the assumed “equality” of the Sky and the Earth is such κατὰ τὸν τῆς γεννήσεως λόγον, “because of the genesis”.

950 Both Di Gregorio (1975) and Fowler (2000) edit the adverb οὕτως before the name of the author; this word is actually recovered only for its presence in the codex **Λ** (=Laur. gr. Conv. Sup. 158, XIV): this witness is generally worse than the other codices, because it belongs to a branch of the tradition already contaminated through the peruse of codex **T** (on the tradition of the *scholia vetera* on the *Theogony*, see Di Gregorio 1975). The ms. omits, then, the word before καί and is therefore isolated from the rest of the tradition, which has here the necessary οὕ. The genitive of the relative pronoun is required here, so that the logical relationship between the mention of Didymos and the quote of Aristophanes becomes clear: the pronoun οὗ results from the use, by Aristophanes, of the same verb γεννάω (“he uses [a form] of this when he says...”). Only in this way can we understand the prosecution of the scholium (ὅτι ἐπηυξήθη), generally unnoticed by scholarship, because of the unanimously transmitted ὅτε for ὅτι: Didymos was claiming that Hesiod used the verb γεννάω “instead of ὅτι ἐπηυξήθη”, employing a form whose use in this sense was already in Aristophanes. Triclinios must have understood the reason why Didymos mentioned Aristophanes, because codex **T** omits both the *verbum dicendi* for Aristophanes and the adverb or the pronoun before the conjunction καί.

951 It is not improbable that there was an early corruption in the indication of the title of Aristophanes’ work, because codices **L** (=Leid. Vulc. gr. 23, XV c.) and **Z** (=Pal. gr. 425, XVI c.) also transmit ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ, which lies behind the βιβλίῳ in **W** (=Vat. gr. 1332, XIV c., another codex which belongs to a parallel branch of the tradition, contrasted with that of **L** and **Z**, but depending on the same subarchetypes). In order to understand this syntagm, we must know that Aristophanes of Byzantium is quoted elsewhere in the *scholia vetera* (schol. Hes. *Theog.* 68a [=F 405 Slater, who classifies the fragment among the *studia epica* of Aristophanes of Byzantium]). However, external witnesses on the activity of Aristophanes of Byzantium confirm that he was never associated with a unique work on the *Theogony*: among his many

that Aristophanes was quoted for the lexical meaning of the verb deployed in his work and that it is safe to claim that this material appeared in a second book of his works.

4.9.2. Amphitryon and a Debated Fatherhood

The mention of Amphitryon directly refers, here, to the birth of Herakles. Aristophanes certainly dealt with this hero, as is shown by the FF 9A-B on the education of Herakles.⁹⁵² A not minor issue at stake here is the birth of Herakles, which must be briefly tackled to fully understand the meaning of the verb γεννᾷ in the fragment: the verb γεννάω implies that Amphitryon was his father (we must certainly exclude, here, an allusion to the human twin of Herakles, Iphikles).⁹⁵³

In our sources, Herakles' cradle is always Thebes.⁹⁵⁴ The earliest attestations are the *Iliad* and the pseudo-Hesiodic *Shield of Herakles*: already in these texts his fatherhood is presented with a degree of ambiguity, because in the *Iliad* Herakles is, on the one hand, the son of Zeus and Alceman, whereas he is also known as the son of Amphitryon.⁹⁵⁵

other commentaries, it would be hard to suggest one title over the other. Nonetheless, there is a parallel case, as Gaisford (1823: 480–1 h) noticed, where Stephanus of Byzantium identifies a tradition from Aristophanes of Boiotia ἐν Βοιωτικῶν β' (F 7). Since there are other quotes from Aristophanes which include both the number of the book and a title (F 4: ἐν β' Θηβαϊκῶν and F 1: ἐν τῇ α' τῶν Βοιωτικῶν), it is likely that the original text of the scholium included a reference to a second book of Aristophanes, in one of these options: ἐν τῷ β' τῶν [Θηβαϊκῶν / Βοιωτικῶν]. From a textual point of view, besides, Gaisford signalled other instances, where an abbreviation β^{ος} became either βίος or βίβλος. As in the case of the F 4, Aristophanes may also be credited with Θηβαϊκά, which might be an alternative title for his “horographic work” of Θηβαῖοι Ὅροι. Despite the extreme conciseness of the scholium, in any case, no evidence argues against the other work *Boiotika*. Only a discussion of the content might shed some light on the original context, even if, from a general point of view, both the historical works may include material on Herakles.

952 Since this second fragment includes a reference to Rhadamanthys, Schachter (2012b *ad BNJ* 379 FF 7–8) suggested that Aristophanes was also drawing on Armenidas' F 5 (assuming that Armenidas reported the wedding of Rhadamanthys and Alkmene, Herakles' mother, which is far from certain).

953 Iphikles is a shady character, without great momentum in all the available sources; cp. Sforza 2007: 137–9 and Ward 1970 on the couples of twins, born of different fathers. As a brother of Herakles, Iphikles is already quoted in the pseudo-Hesiodic poems, at the end of the sixth century BCE (Hes. [Sc.] 49–56, on which see *infra* in text), and later by Pindar: cp. e.g. Pind. *Pyth.* 9.79–88, *spec.* 86–8. On Herakles in Pindar, see Olivieri 2011: 89–118 (98–102 on the representation of his birth).

954 See e.g. Hom. *Il.* 14.323–4; 19.98–9; *Od.* 11.266–7; Hes. *Theog.* 943–4; Hes. [Sc.] 48–56, with the comments of Kühr 2006: 173–4 and Olivieri 2011: 89 n.2.

955 Hom. *Il.* 5.392; 14.323–4. Cp. Sammons 2010: 80 and Fowler 2013: 260 on Herakles in the Homeric *epos*.

However, the first fatherhood definitely seems to be the prevailing option, because the conception is explicitly assigned to Zeus, with Hera extending Alkmene's pain as revenge (Hom. *Il.* 19.98-119): consequently, Amphitryon is a putative father and can have literally generated (γεννάω) Herakles.

The situation is slightly different in the first section of the *Shield of Herakles* (1-56), which derives from the reuse of a pseudo-Hesiodic *Ehoia* on Alkmene. This text offers a version of the myth where Alkmene has two sexual encounters in the same night, first with Zeus, who profits from Amphitryon's absence (35-6), and then with her mundane husband, Amphitryon, who comes back home immediately after the first intercourse (37-45).⁹⁵⁶ Out of these intertwining, twins were born (49: διδυμάονε παῖδε): Herakles, half-divine and better (51-2), and Iphikles, the lesser twin (51: τὸν μὲν χειρότερον), as a result of being born of Amphitryon's seed instead of Zeus' (53-56).⁹⁵⁷

Despite the focus on the revenge of Hera in our biographical tradition of Herakles, there was frequent contrast between a putative fatherhood (Amphitryon) and a biological one (Zeus). Euripides explicitly reflects on this conundrum in a passage of the *Herakles* (1258-65), where the hero, speaking with Amphitryon, utters these words:

“First my origins (ἐκ τοῦδ’ ἐγενόμην): my father had killed the old father of my mother, Alcmene, and was guilty of bloodshed at the time he married her. When the foundation of a family is not laid straight, the descendants are fated to suffer ill fortune. Then Zeus – whoever Zeus is – begot me as an object

956 Pseudo-Hesiodic *Ehoia* on Alkmene: F 195 M. – W.; cp. F 139 Most. On the *Shield of Herakles*, see Cingano 2009: 109-11 for a short introduction to this text, which was probably recited during the Theban *Herakleia* (Janko 1986: 42-8; on the importance of Herakles in the pseudo-Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* and in the *Megalai Ehoiai*, cp. Haubold 2005). The language of the *Shield of Herakles* confirms that it was not written by Hesiod; it is interesting to note that this text has been read as an indirect indication of Theban efforts to gain hegemony in Boiotia in the sixth century BCE (Mackil 2013: 22-3).

957 There was once a suspicion of inauthenticity (Wilamowitz) on verses 55-6, but Russo (1950: 85-6) and later scholars defended them. On the ancient theories on the birth of twins in the Greek and Roman world, see Mencacci 1996. This version of the *Shield of Herakles* was followed by Pherekydes (*BNJ* 3 FF 13b-c) and by Herodorus (*BNJ* 31 F 17), with the only difference being that the author of the *Shield* imagines the wedding of Amphitryon and Alkmene before the departure of the man, whereas Pherekydes sees the event as an award for this mission. For Pherekydes' portrayal of Herakles, see Dolcetti 2004: 120-3.

(πολέμιόν μ' ἐγείνατο) of Hera's hatred (no, old sir, do not take offense: I regard you (ἡγοῦμαι σ' ἐγώ), not Zeus, as my father)" (tr. D. Kovacs).

Euripides is bringing forth the double fatherhood and its extreme consequences, without being able to explicitly deny the direct birth from Zeus' seed. Herakles himself accepts that he can *regard* Amphitryon as his father, but the verb that directly communicates the procreation of the hero is mostly attached to Zeus: this, whoever he is, begat (ἐγείνατο) Herakles.⁹⁵⁸ In the absence of further relevant comparisons, the fragment of Aristophanes must then be seen as an excerpt from a narrative of the birth of Herakles, described in the moment when Zeus, after assuming the earthly appearance of Amphitryon,⁹⁵⁹ lays with Alkmene: only in this way can we understand how a man, Amphitryon, could beget a nobler (γενναιότερον) son than his own father, because the Ἀμφιτρώων of the fragment is, in reality, Zeus.

Another possible interpretation may be based on a different reconstruction of the text, as far as the order of the words is concerned. These can almost form, in fact, a hexameter, which would make the fragment a possible hint at an original oracular expression: Ἀμφιτρώων αὐτοῦ γενναιότερόν ποτε παῖδα/ γεννᾷ.⁹⁶⁰ This arrangement of words is the one found on the codices **LZ**, which, however, have the determinative pronoun (αὐ-) and not the reflexive one; the reflexive form αὐτοῦ is on **T** (the codex of Triclinus), but after the genitive noun. Fowler, then, uses the word arrangement of **LZ** and the morphological innovation of **T**: this last manuscript, however, should be followed in this case, because it is harder to imagine that Demetrios Triclinius, a clever and even too invasive philologist,

958 It must be emphasized, however, that Euripides might operate a *damnatio memoriae* of the human twin, Iphikles, and present Herakles as the result of the combination of divine and human seed: Herakles is properly a hybrid (thence his heroic status, also from the side of the father). For a review of this double fatherhood in Euripides' *Herakles*, cp. Mirto 2006: 15–27.

959 This ruse of the disguise is mentioned by other sources: Pherekydes (*BNJ* 3 FF 13b–c: εἰκῶς/ εἰκασθεῖς Ἀμφιτρώωνι); Plaut. (*Amph.* 107–8: *uirum/ usuramque eius corporis cepit sibi*); Diod. Sic. 4.9.3 (Ἀμφιτρώωνι κατὰ πᾶν ὁμοιωθέντα); Hyg. *Fab.* 29.1 (*Alcimena aestimans Iouem coniugem suum esse*); Paus. 5.18.3 (Ἀμφιτρώωνι εἰκασθείς); Apollod. 2.61 (ὁμοιος Ἀμφιτρώωνι γενόμενος); see other references in Fowler 2013: 264–5. The same scholar (260) claims that it is not certain whether Zeus already used this trick in the Homeric *epos*. The first occurrence in Pherekydes may either confirm the influence, in general, of the Pherekydean representation of this myth on later authors (Angeli Bernardini 2010: 401) or, more probably, depend on the particular receptivity of this genre, towards these details which rationalize the myth.

960 Cp. Fowler 2013: 266.

would have ignored or changed such an elegant word order (where he intervenes, as in the other instances of this scholium, he changes the text for a clearer readability).

Changing the disposition to a more prosaic word order (γενναιότερον αὐτοῦ), therefore, hinders the possibility that Armenidas was quoting an oracle, in front of an astonished Amphytrion, who had just come back home and was surprised at the cold reception of Alkmene (as in Apollod. 2.61, because Fowler argues that Teiresias pronounced these verses to prove to Amphytrion that the woman is innocent). A more direct and less convoluted understanding of the fragment is the simple use of a disguise, by Zeus, which was already suggested by Pherekydes and was possibly alluded to in the *Shield of Herakles*. In any case, it is a traditional motif and, according to some historians of ancient religions, it could reverberate an actual rite, where men took on divine semblances.⁹⁶¹

4.9.3. Which Herakles in Aristophanes?

Aristophanes accepted the more common version of Herakles' parentage, in which the hero was a direct offspring of Zeus. It is interesting to note that another local voice from Boiotia, the poet Pindar, adopted a rarer version of the event, by assuming that Herakles was generated by a golden shower.⁹⁶² Since, however, this other conception of the hero is modelled on the birth of Perseus from Danae (a connection made even easier by the kinship between Perseus and Herakles), we can assume that Aristophanes was simply accepting, in his narrative, a common version that may be more popular than the idiosyncratic one recorded by Pindar.⁹⁶³

961 Pherekydes, *BNJ* 3 F 13b; Hes. [*Sc.*] 30: δόλον. Fowler 2013: 264-5. Hirschberger (2004: 369) recalls other episodes where a god assumes human semblances to be able to have sex with a mortal girl: this phenomenon is attested in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (1.47.14-48, 22) and in a series of texts connected with the genealogy of some pharaohs from Amun during the New Kingdom of Egypt. Other characters in the Greek world were suspected of being the result of a union between a woman and both a god and man, as in the case of Demaratos (*Hdt.* 6.63-9), where the Egyptian royal tradition was already suggested, as a parallel, by Burkert (1965).

962 Pind. *Nem.* 10.13-8. On this version, see Olivieri 2011: 90; 98-100.

963 Apart from this debate, we should remember here, in passing, the peculiar scission between a divine and a heroic Herakles in *Hdt.* 2.43-5.

The current fragment confirms, together with F 9, that Aristophanes dealt with the life of Herakles in his *Boiotian Histories*, maybe in connection with the history of a centre like Thebes, or Oechalea (cp. F 9A). These meagre excerpts, however, are not detailed enough to assume that he was offering a biographical sketch of the hero. Despite the presence of Herakles in other epical works of the Archaic period (let us remember, in passing, Pisander's production, and Panyassis),⁹⁶⁴ and a *History of Herakles* written by Herodorus at the end of the fifth century BCE,⁹⁶⁵ Aristotle (*Poet.* 8.1451a16–22) still regretted the absence of a compact and long narrative on Herakles. Contemporary scholarship confirms this judgment, because, despite the series of Archaic *Herakleidae*, for myths like that of Herakles, the focus on single events mattered more than the linear consecution of events.⁹⁶⁶

4.10. Aristophanes F 9A and F 9 B

Previous editions: F 9A: *BNJ* 379 F 8; *EGM I* F 8; *FGrHist* 379 F 8 (Schol. Theoc. *Id.* 13.7–9b [p. 259,15 Wendel]); F 9 B: Schol. Tzetz. in Lycoph. *Alex.* 50 (p. 38,17–26 Scheer).

9A

“καὶ νιν πάντ’ ἐδίδασκε, πατήρ
ὥσεϊ φίλον υἱόν,/ ὅσσα μαθὼν
ἀγαθὸς καὶ ἀοίδιμος αὐτὸς
ἔγεντο”. Ἀριστοφάνης φησὶν

9B

τὰ δὲ τόξα ταῦτα, ὥς ὁ
Λυκόφρων οὔτος φησι, παρὰ
Τευτάρου Σκύθου βουκόλου τοῦ
Ἀμφιτρύωνος ἐσχηκεν Ἡρακλῆς,

964 There is now a tremendous amount of scholarship on Herakles, which is summarized and mastered by Stafford 2012. On the presence of Herakles in the so-called “minor *epos*”, and on the Panhellenic character of the *Herakleidae*, see Angeli Bernardini 2010: 392–400.

965 See 4.10.1 on this work.

966 Cp. e.g. Haubold 2005: 87–8 and Angeli Bernardini 2010: 391.

ὑπὸ Ῥαδαμάνθους
 παιδευθῆναι τὸν Ἡρακλέα.
 Ἡρόδωρος δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν
 βουκόλων Ἀμφιτρύωνος, τινὲς
 δὲ ὑπὸ Χείρωνος καὶ Θεστίου.

7 Ἡρόδωρος Hemsterhuys (*ob.* 1766) *apud*
 Gaisford (*ed.* 1820) -δοτος *codd.* 9 Θεστίου
 Fowler Θεσπίου Wendel Θεστιάδος K
 Θεστιάδους Apogr. Barb. Θεστιάδου
 Hemsterhuys

“And just like a father to his
 dear son, he taught him
 everything/ from whose
 possession, he himself had
 become good and famous.’
 Aristophanes claims that
 Herakles had been educated by
 Rhadamanthys. Herodorus says
 that it was by Amphytryon’s
 cowherds, others, by Cheiron
 and Thesties” (tr. S. Tufano).

ὅστις Τεύταρος καὶ τοξεύειν
 τοῦτον ἐδίδαξεν. ἄλλοι δὲ
 Εὐρυτόν φασι διδάξαι τοῦτον
 τὴν τοξικὴν, οἱ δὲ Ῥαδάμανθυν
 τὸν Κρήτα πατρῶον τούτου
 γενόμενον. μετὰ γὰρ θάνατον
 Ἀμφιτρύωνος Ῥαδάμανθυσ
 ἀνελών τὸν ἴδιον ἀδελφὸν καὶ
 φυγὼν ἐκ Κρήτης ἐν Ὠκαλέᾳ
 τῆς Βαιωτίας ἀνελθὼν γαμεῖ
 τὴν Ἀλκμήνην καὶ Ἡρακλέα
 διδάσχει τὴν τοξικὴν.

“According to what Lykophron
 says, Herakles received these
 bows from Teutarus, a Scythian
 cowherd belonging to
 Amphytryon, and at the same
 time Teutaros also taught
 Herakles to shoot with the bow.
 Others, however, say that
 Eurytos taught archery to
 Herakles; others, that it had been
 his stepfather Rhadamanthys.
 After the death of Amphytryon,
 in fact, Rhadamanthys, who had
 killed his own brother and fled
 from Crete, established himself
 in Boiotian Ocalia and married
 Alkmene. He taught archery to
 Herakles” (tr. S. Tufano).

4.10.1. Textual Transmission and Context (F 9 A)

The versions of Aristophanes and Herodorus (*BNJ* 31 F 17) are transmitted by a scholium to two verses (7–8) of Theocritus’ thirteenth *Idyll*, where the poet mentions how Herakles taught Hylas, as if the young man was his child (ὥσεί φίλον υἱόν). The commentary focuses on the teacher, from whom Herakles received (μαθών) the same lesson that he now gives to Hylas. This kind of material is not a mere paraphrasis of the text of Theocritus, as in those scholia to this poet, which probably derive from Munatius of Tralles (a second century CE scholar). It is thus reasonable to infer that the present commentary derives from Theon, the Augustan grammarian, who worked on the comedian Aristophanes (cp. F 1). Theon’s commentary was later included in another work of the second century CE, which is the model of the so-called “ancient scholia” to Theocritus (the corpus of the present text).⁹⁶⁷

This *Idyll* is dedicated to Hylas, the young boy loved by Herakles. The subject was also mentioned by Apollonius Rhodius,⁹⁶⁸ and Theocritus uses it to defend the paederotic virtue of this paederotic love.⁹⁶⁹ Through the very act of loving Hylas, Herakles taught him (7: ἐδίδασκε) what made him ἀγαθὸς καὶ αἰσιδίμος (8): the hero is seen here, therefore, both as an *erastes* and as a “father surrogate” for Hylas.⁹⁷⁰ In an implicit way, Herakles is presented as having already gone through such a relationship, since he was just repeating what he had learned (8).

The scholium offers a selection of the countless figures who were considered as Herakles’ teachers. His training follows the main lines of the usual canonical life of a hero, which

967 See Dickey 2007: 63–4 for an introduction to the first scholarship on Theocritus. The main edition is still Wendel (1914), which is followed by Fowler (*EGM* I), except for the form Θεσπίου, corrected by Fowler to Θεστίου (see *infra*).

968 Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.1172–279. There are no sources on the assumption of such a relationship between Herakles and Hylas before the fourth century BCE (Dover 2016: 199). On the possibility that Apollonius Rhodius predated Theocritus’ treatment of this myth, see Gow 1952: 231–2; Köhnken 1965; Di Marco 1995.

969 For this appreciation of the paederotic connection as a formative moment, Theocritus was mostly drawing, but not exclusively so, on Platonic reflections, as is summarized e.g. in Pl. *Symp* 185C (“This is the Love that belongs to the Heavenly Goddess, heavenly itself and precious to both public and private life: for this compels lover and beloved alike to feel a zealous concern for their own virtue”, tr. W.R.M. Lamb); on this topic, see e.g. Sergent 1985: 142–3; Di Marco 1995; Hunter 1996: 169. Theocritus’ *Idyll* is both an epyllion and a love letter to his friend Nikias (Theoc. *Id.* 13.2; cp. Rossi 1972 for a reading of the poem, as an example of a Hellenistic mixture of genres).

970 Gow 1952: 233; Sergent 1985: 143; Payne 2006: 83–4.

includes a separation from their family or the exposition motif.⁹⁷¹ The first epical poems on Herakles dealt with this moment of his life;⁹⁷² in particular, Herodorus' version in his *History of Herakles*, where Herakles is tutored by Amphytryon's shepherds, may be seen as a sign of the expulsion of the hero from Thebes after his murder of the previous teacher, Linos.⁹⁷³ This sequence of events, however, is inferred from the reconstruction of Apollodoros (2.63–4), in whose *Library* the encounter of Herakles with these shepherds is mostly an occasion to show the semi-divine nature of the child.⁹⁷⁴ It is not impossible that, in Herodorus, these βουκόλοι had been teaching Herakles since his very early childhood. Apollodoros recalls other teachers, for different arts, in a short list that can be read as a “formative catalogue”.⁹⁷⁵

This scholium on Theocritus is similar, because it also aims to provide a paradigmatic list, if a short one, of the potential teachers of Herakles: among these are two further names, Cheiron and Thestios, mentioned at the end of the excerpt.⁹⁷⁶ The version on Thestios as a teacher is as isolated as the tradition on Rhadamanthys' place in the formation of Herakles. This idea was probably connected to another tradition on Herakles, who was credited with a child, Stephanephoros, from one of Thestios' fifty daughters.⁹⁷⁷ In other words, in the same work on Herakles, there could be more than a teaching figure, namely Amphytryon's shepherds and this Thestios. Aristophanes is isolated in his variety, because it

971 On the presence of these motifs in the heroic biography of Herakles, see Brillante 1992 (*spec.* 202–7).

972 Cp. a first selection of artistic representations in the voice on the *LIMC* (Boardman *et al.* 1998: nos. 2665–73) and Brillante 1992: 208 n.29.

973 Brillante 1992: 206; on Linos as a teacher of Herakles, see shortly Blakely 2011b *ad BNJ* 31 F 17. The main sources are Alexis *PCG* F 140 K. – A; Anaxandridas *PCG* F 16 K. – A.; Achaëus *TrGF* 20 F 26; Theoc. 24.105 and Apollod. 2.64.

974 Apollod. 2.64: “Fearing he might do the like again [as the murder of Linos], Amphytryon sent him to the cattle farm; and there he was nurtured and outdid all in stature and strength. Even by the look of him it was plain that he was a son of Zeus” (tr. J. Frazer). On this manifestation, see Brillante 1992: 206–7.

975 Early education: Fowler 2013: 267. The most detailed list, in the available sources, is offered by the second section of Theocritus' *Herakleiskos* (*Id.* 24.103–40). The *Herakleiskos* has a literary status between that of an epyllion and a proper hymn to Herakles. The poem is mutilated in its final part, as the traces of 30 more verses on a Papyrus of Antinoë have shown (*P. Ant.* s.n.; MP³ 1487).

976 On Cheiron, cp. Brillante 1992: 208. The form of the second proper noun, Θεστῖος, has been suggested because the consonant -τ- is closer to the transmitted forms Θεστιάδος and Θεστιάδους; in general, the eponym of Thespiæ can also be spelled with a -π-, but here it would be better to accept Fowler's consonance to the tradition (Fowler 2013: 307–9).

977 Cp. Hellanikos, *BNJ* 4 F 3; Herodorus, *BNJ* 31 F 20 Diod. Sic. 4.29.3; Paus. 9.27.6; Apollod. 2.66.

seems that he was the only source to record the curious name of Rhadamanthys as Herakles' teacher.

4.10.2. Textual Transmission and Context of F 9B

It is here assumed that this scholium on Tzetzes can be a further witness to Aristophanes' materials on Herakles. The commentary generally deals with Herakles' bow, despite the explicit mention of the verb ἐξηνάριζε (Lycoph. *Alex.* 50) that refers not to his weapon, but rather, to the death of the hero by Nexus. Starting from this story, Iohannes Tzetzes goes over a few episodes of Herakles' life and includes a section on his learning of the bowing technique, directly inspired by Lykophron's mention of Teutarus' arrows (*Alex.* 56: Τευταρείοις [...] πτερώμασι).

This inspiration is explained by the fact that the sources on Herakles' education almost always attribute Teutaros, a Scythian bower, with the teaching of the τοξικὴ τέχνη. The Scythian origin of Herakles' bow is further repeated by Lykophron later in the *Alexandra* (458), and even on that occasion Tzetzes recalls alternatives concerning the identity of the instructor.⁹⁷⁸ Other sources, like Theocritus in the *Herakleiskos* (24.106-7) and Apollodoros (2.63), assigned this process to Eurytos. Teutaros was probably considered Scythian, for the Classical association of this population with that ability, but he was also a Boiotian figure, known as a cowherd who obeyed Amphitryon. As a consequence, he was sufficiently both internal and external to the family, so that a permanence and a contact with him could be seen as a "necessary" detachment.⁹⁷⁹

Conversely, Eurytos was traditionally considered the king of Oichalia, the same Boiotian city mentioned in the section of the scholium that was reproduced as the fragment of Aristophanes and in the *Conquest of Oechalia*, ascribed to Kreophylos. In this Archaic epical

978 The usual names associated with this moment are Teutaros, Eurytos, and Rhadamanthys. Diodorus adds that "Apollo gave him the bow and taught him to shoot with it" (4.14.3): he was probably drawing on a pseudo-Hesiodic tradition (FF 29 and 33a M. – W.) also followed by Apollodoros (2.71), who simply says that the gods gave weapons to Herakles.

979 On Teutaros as a teacher, see Brillante 1992: 208-9.

work, Eurytos was killed by Herakles with a bow.⁹⁸⁰ This death finds interesting parallels in other cases, for Herakles' killing of a teacher is a recurrent motif: he allegedly also killed Linos, his teacher of arts,⁹⁸¹ and Cheiron.⁹⁸²

Tzetzes is one of the other two sources, apart from Aristophanes, who explicitly mentions Rhadamanthys as an alternative teacher for Herakles, even though he limits this mastership to the teaching of the *toxike*. This same tradition is recalled by Apollodoros (2.71), whose *Library* was probably used by Tzetzes,⁹⁸³ because the two texts also share the arrival in the city of Oichalia:

“And Rhadamanthys, son of Zeus, married Alcmena after the death of Amphitryon, and dwelt as an exile at Oechalia in Boeotia. Having first learned from him the art of archery, Herakles received a sword from Hermes, a bow and arrows from Apollo, a golden breastplate from Hephaestus, and a robe from Athena; for he had himself cut a club at Nemea” (tr. J. Frazer, adapted).

There is, however, a difference, insofar as Tzetzes dates the moment of the teaching to *after* the arrival of Rhadamanthys, whereas, in Apollodoros, there is a certain ambiguity. Here Herakles has already learned the bowing technique (προσμάθων δὲ παρ' αὐτοῦ τὴν τοξικὴν),⁹⁸⁴ before receiving further divine gifts.

For this reason, it is highly likely that Aristophanes of Boiotia was one of those who already offered the identification of this teacher as Rhadamanthys. Tzetzes might have known Aristophanes through the *scholia vetera* on Lykophron, which were used and reworked by Tzetzes for his own commentary.⁹⁸⁵ The information is presented differently

980 FF 2-3 West, *GEF* The kingdom of Eurytos in Oichalia is a common assumption, in the epical tradition (Hom. *Il.* 2.596 and 730; *Od.* 8.224; Hes. FF 26 and 28-33 M. – W.).

981 Cp. Brillante 1992: 206-7 and 215.

982 On this murder as a possible interpretation of Chiron as a hero of the Underworld, see Aston 2006: 250.

983 Scarpi 2010: 506.

984 Frazer (1921: 183 n.2) accepted the correction Εὐρύτου to the transmitted αὐτοῦ, because of a potential contradiction with Apollo. However, the indication of the gift can hardly be part of the same narrative as the name of a teacher.

985 Dickey 2007: 65.

in Apollodoros and in Tzetzes, but only this second name is aware of the tradition that emphasizes the role of Rhadamanthys.

4.10.3. Rhadamanthys and Herakles in Boiotia

Since Theocritus' poem deals with Herakles' affair with Hylas, we might infer, from our F 9A, a similar paederotic relationship between Herakles and Rhadamanthys. Apart from Hylas, Herakles reportedly had other lovers, like Iolaos and Eurystheus:⁹⁸⁶ here Herakles should be Rhadamanthys' *eromenos*, because these affairs can develop from a didactic connection. In point of fact, Radamantus was credited with a similar paederotic relationship in Crete, where he was associated with Talos and was both his teacher and his lover (*erastes*).⁹⁸⁷ This scenario might be supported by the generic use of the verb παιδεύω, but the other names recalled by the scholium on Theocritus give a more general impression of a simple list of teachers, which follows, as we have seen, a literary tradition in the presentation of Herakles. Moreover, in the extant sources, when Herakles is depicted as a member of a homosexual relationship, he is always the *erastes* and never the *eromenos*, as Plutarch noticed in the *Amatorius*:⁹⁸⁸ it would be extremely rare and difficult to imagine him as a boy loved by Rhadamanthys.

The scholium of Tzetzes simplifies a series of details on Rhadamanthys and on his continental ventures, because these details are subject to a series of variations in the other

986 Iolaus: Arist. F 97 R.; Plut. *Amat.* 17.761D-E; Ath. 9.47.392E. On this myth and on that of Hylas as examples of the "homosexualisation" of an event (i.e. a reading in homoerotic terms of an originally different relationship), see Dover 2016: 198-9 (*contra* Sergent 1985: 129-38). Eurystheus: only the obscure Hellenistic poet Diotimos (*Suppl. Hell.* 393) and Athenaeus, who quotes Diotimos (13.80.603D), record that Eurystheus was younger than Herakles. This sounds particularly exceptional, because all the other sources claim that Eurystheus and Herakles were coetaneous (Sergent 1985: 139-40; Brillante 1992: 210).

987 Ibyc. F 300 D. = 309 Wilkinson. From a lemma on the *Suda* (θ 41, *s.v.* Θάμυρις ἢ Θαμύρας), we learn that Rhadamanthys and Talos were the first couple to be in such a relationship; previous or alternative traditions, however, linked Rhadamanthys with the youth, only because Talos had also been the *nomophylax* of Minos (Pl. [*Minos*] 320C; Davidson 1999: 247 n.4).

988 Plut. *Amat.* 17.754 D-E: "The nurse rules the infant, the teacher the boy, the gymnasiarch the youth, his admirer the young man who, when he comes of age, is ruled by law and his commanding general. No one is his own master, no one is unrestricted [...]. "To sum up," my father said, "we are Boeotians and so should reverence Herakles and not be squeamish about a marriage of disproportionate ages. We know that he married his own wife, Megara, aged thirty-three, to Iolaüs, who was then only sixteen" (Tr. W.C. Helmbold). On these traditions, see Sergent 1985: 125-62.

sources. According to the earliest available sources, Rhadamanthys was the son of Europa and Zeus, and therefore Minos' brother.⁹⁸⁹ In another tradition, however, which is not necessarily later or derivative, he was the grandnephew of the eponymous hero of Crete, Cres, and the son of Hephaistos.⁹⁹⁰ In both cases, Rhadamanthys was strictly connected with the Aegean world:⁹⁹¹ a judge and a token of earthly justice, this figure mastered the islands and all those lands that did not fall under the jurisdiction of Minos.

According to a widespread tradition, then, which found its way in a recurrent saying, Rhadamanthys became a symbol of justice and of the respect of oaths, not dissimilar, in this respect, from his brother Minos.⁹⁹² When Rhadamanthys died, he continued practicing his functions in the Underworld, in conjunction with Minos:⁹⁹³ he was imagined either in the Elysian Fields or on the Isles of the Blessed.⁹⁹⁴ In particular, the alleged location of these Isles in Thebes (Armenidas F 5) suggested to Schachter that the current F 9 A of Aristophanes belongs to the same section of Armenidas' work.⁹⁹⁵ The connection of Rhadamanthys with the Underworld is actually quite intriguing, if we consider that he is

989 Hom. *Il.* 14.322; *Od.* 11.568. Judging from other sources (Hes. FF 140–1 M. – W.; Apollod. 3.3; Diod. Sic. 4.60.2), Rhadamanthys was also Sarpedon's brother.

990 Paus. 8.53.5; Cynaethon F 1 West, *GEF*. West (2003a: 253 n.30) prefers correcting the text of the fragment to Φαίστου, following here Malten (1913), because in Homer (*Il.* 14.338–9) Hephaistos is the son of Zeus and Phaestos, as Rhadamanthys' father seems more fitting for his Cretan connections. The transmitted Ἡφαίστου is indirectly confirmed by the fact that the source of the fragment, Pausanias, warns the reader, immediately after, of the frequent disagreement among the mythical genealogies (cp. Moggi – Osanna 2003: 527). For a complete list of the sources on Rhadamanthys' family, see shortly Davidson 1999: 247.

991 Pl. [*Minos*] 320B–C; Diod. Sic. 4.60.3; 5.79.1–2; Apollod. 3.6.

992 Cp. the saying Ῥαδαμάνθυος ὄρκος (Zen. 5.81). The saying refers to those foresworn oaths, which are not sworn in the name of a specific deity. It was already employed by Cratinus in his *Cheirones* (PCG F 249 K. – A.; on the possible connection with Socrates, cp. Lelli 2006: 460–1 n.535). Paradigmatic role of Rhadamanthys: cp. Thgn. 701; Eur. *Cyc.* 243; Pl. *Grg.* 523E–524A and *Leg.* I 624B.

993 Pl. *Ap.* 41A and *Grg.* 523E; Diod. Sic. 5.79.2.

994 Elysian Fields: Hom. *Od.* 4.564. Isles of the Blessed: Pind. *Ol.* 2.75–6. Rhadamanthys may be on the Isles of the Blessed already in the *Small Iliad* (F 32 Bernabè), according to Bravo 2001.

995 Schachter 2011a *ad BNJ* 378 F 5.

usually set in this area in Homer:⁹⁹⁶ in a prophecy (*Od.* 4.563–4), Proteus says to Menelaus that he will soon reach Rhadamanthys in the Elysian Fields.⁹⁹⁷

The fact that different settings in the Underworld were imagined for Rhadamanthys makes the connection with the Isles of the Blessed less certain. Despite the previous association by Pindar, another story that links Rhadamanthys with the region of Boiotia may better fit the context of Aristophanes (moreover, Armenidas may have recorded the Theban identification of the Isles of the Blessed only to refer to Alkmene). Once again, a leading passage comes from the *Odyssey* (7.321–6), where we read of Rhadamanthys' trip with the Phoeacians to Tityos, the son of Gaia who lived in Phokis (11.576–81).⁹⁹⁸ In other traditions, Rhadamanthys reached Boiotia after a quarrel with Minos,⁹⁹⁹ interpreted by Tzetzes as the murder of Minos, or as the second husband of Alkmene, Herakles' mother.

The union of Rhadamanthys and Alkmene either happened after the death of the woman, because of the association of Rhadamanthys with the Underworld, or after the death of Amphitryon: especially in this second case, Rhadamanthys is then presented as Herakles' stepfather.¹⁰⁰⁰ On the basis of the very early coexistence of a “Cretan” Rhadamanthys, as we have seen, and of a Rhadamanthys as judge of the Underworld, we can assume that the first arrangement of the event after the death of Alkmene is probably earlier than the second version. Moreover, Pherekydes (*BNJ* 3 F 84) may be a relatively early witness to this version (assuming that we accept Antoninus Liberalis' ascription of the material in *Met.* 33).

In an isolated tradition,¹⁰⁰¹ the tombs of Alkmene and Rhadamanthys were placed in Haliartos, but it cannot be determined whether this identification preexisted the

996 Hom. *Od.* 4.561–5, *spec.* 563–4: ἐς Ἠλύσιον πεδῖον καὶ πείρατα γαίης/ ἄθάνατοι πέμπουσιν, ὅθι ξανθὸς Ῥαδάμανθυσ (“to the Elysian plain and the ends of the earth will the immortals convey you, where dwells fair-haired Rhadamanthus”, tr. A.T. Murray – G.E. Dimock, with slight modifications).

997 Cp. Davidson 1999: 250.

998 The presence of Tityos in Phokis, however, according to the poet(s) of the *Odyssey*, is not enough to prove that these continental traditions on Rhadamanthys were earlier than the ones that put him in the Aegean world, as maintained by Davidson (1999: 250).

999 Apollod. 3.6, on the violence of Minos.

1000 On Rhadamanthys as Herakles' stepfather, see Davidson 1999: 248–9 and Schachter 2011a *ad BNJ* 378 F 5.

1001 Plut. *Lys.* 28. Schachter (2011a *ad BNJ* 378 F 5) recalls, for example, the discussions on the exact fate of the corpse of Alkmene, in Plut. *Rom.* 28.7 and *De gen.* 3–5.577E–578B.

assumption of their marriage on Earth. Even without going so far as to doubt any link of Rhadamanthys with the region,¹⁰⁰² the association of the graveyard with this couple reminds us of other cases where such mundane collocations of mythical spoils are the immediate and contextual result of specific events. We have seen, for example, in the commentary on Armenidas' F 5, that the location of Alkmene's tomb was debated by the Boiotians and the Spartans in the early fourth century BCE, as if there had been no previous interest in looking for its exact place on Earth.

Despite, then, the likely possibility of a recent character of the Boiotian associations of Rhadamanthys, Aristophanes is sometimes considered a witness to the antiquity of the tradition of Alkmene's wedding to Rhadamanthys in Boiotia, because the historiographer mentions the stepfather Rhadamanthys as Herakles' teacher.¹⁰⁰³ Such a modern interpretation only repeats the rationalization of Tzetzes, who put together the traditions on the arrival of Rhadamanthys to Boiotia with those on his wedding with Alkmene and the teaching of Herakles. The common ground of the two traditions on the second wedding of Alkmene (Underworld/Boiotia) is the fact that Herakles is already an adult when the couple marries: in fact, in an epigram, he brings his mother to the altar, implicitly authorizing her second marriage; he also accompanies his father Amphytrion in a battle against the Minyans, which immediately precedes the death of the character and the second marriage.¹⁰⁰⁴

It is therefore logically impossible to imagine an adult Herakles who might have fought in a war with his father, as the object of further teachings: how could Rhadamanthys be a teacher, a figure normally associated with childhood, when Herakles was already a man at Alkmene's second marriage? Since there were different (and potentially unreconcilable) traditions on the arrival of the Cretan Rhadamanthys in Boiotia, it seems rational to attach this formative action to the moment when Rhadamanthys was his stepfather. The real ancient piece of information, in Lykophron's narrative, is the *nature of the subject* taught by Rhadamanthys to Herakles, the τοξικὴ τέχνη (a detail unknown, or probably irrelevant, to the commenters on Theocritus, who only mention Aristophanes as a source on

1002 So Schachter 1981: 9.

1003 Davidson 1999.

1004 Herakles with his mother: *A.P.* 3.13, with Davidson 1999: 248; Herakles with Amphytrion against the Minyans: Apollod. 2.69.

Rhadamanthys). The tradition on the connection between Alkmene and Rhadamanthys, with all its variations (when they met; where they were buried) cannot therefore be rationally put in the same context of a narrative that has Rhadamanthys as the teacher of Herakles. This also explains why it does not follow that this story was connected with the Isles of the Blessed, which would be linked solely to Rhadamanthys.

If a paederotic relationship between Rhadamanthys and Herakles is hardly tenable, it is just as unlikely that Rhadamanthys, as his stepfather, taught Herakles after the second marriage of Alkmene. Aristophanes must have simply recorded a tradition on the presence of Rhadamanthys among the many teachers of Herakles, in a subtradition of the biography of the hero, as it also results from the rationalistic version of Tzetzes (and, probably, from echoes in Apollodoros, who focuses on the respect of the *young* Herakles for the ethics of Rhadamanthys).¹⁰⁰⁵ As far as the *Boiotian Histories* are concerned, we can only maintain that on a few points, probably close to the definition of Herakles as Amphitryon's son (F 8), Aristophanes introduced a version, which remained original and secondary (because it was local?) on the instruction of Herakles. This is another chapter of the rich world of Boiotian connections to Rhadamanthys, a chapter which is not directly interested in Alkmene.

4.11. Aristophanes F 10

Previous editions: *BNJ* 379 F 9; *EGM* I F 9; *FGrHist* 379 F 9 (Steph. Byz. α 402, *s.v.* <Ἀργύριον>).

1005 Apollod. 2.64. Herakles defends his right to self-defence after the murder of Linos, in what is, according to Scarpi (2010: 505), a “forma embrionale di processo.” In the Pythagorean ethics, the “justice of Rhadamanthys” is similar to a retaliation, which aims at restoring a broken equilibrium (Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 1132b: “The view is also held by some that simple Reciprocity is Justice. This was the doctrine of the Pythagoreans, who defined the just simply as ‘suffering reciprocally with another.’ Reciprocity however does not coincide either with Distributive or with Corrective Justice (although people mean to identify it with the latter when they quote the rule of Rhadamanthys – When a man suffer even that which he did/ Right justice will be done)”, tr. H. Raghav, with modifications).

<Ἀργύννιον· ***> Ἄργυννος, υἱὸς Πεισιδίκης τῆς Λεύκωνος τοῦ Ἀθάμαντος τοῦ Σισύφου τοῦ Αἰόλου, ἐρώμενος Ἀγαμέμνωνος, Βοιωτός, ὃς ἀνιών εἰς τὸν Κηφισὸν τελευτᾷ· ἀφ’ οὗ Ἀργυννίδα τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ἐτίμησε. λέγεται καὶ Ἀργουνίς. Ἀριστοφάνης δὲ Ἀργύνει<ον> διὰ διφθόγγου. ὁ οἰκῆτωρ Ἀργύννιος

1 lemma add. et lac. indic. Meineke, *quam ita fere explendam esse cens.* ἱερὸν Ἀφροδίτης ἐν Βοιωτίᾳ coll. Clem. Al. *Protr.* 38,2 et Ath. XIII 80,603D Ἄργεννος N Πεισιδίκης Leopardus Πισι- QR om. PN 2 ἀγαμέμνος R ἀνιών RQPN νέων *dub.* Meineke 3 Κηφισὸν et κι- R^p c -ισὸν QPN 3 ἄργυννίδα P ἄγν- RQ ἄργε- N ἐτίμησαν Leopardus ἄργουνίς V Meineke *tamquam formam Boeotiam* ἄργυννίς R^{ac} QPN ἄργυνίς R^{pc} ἄργεννίς Xylander †Ἀργυννίς Fowler 4 Ἀργύνειον Meineke Ἀργύννειον Fowler ἄργύνει RQPN Ἀργειννίς Leopardus Ἀργεῖνος Schneidewin ἄργύννειος R

“<Argynnion: ***. Argynnos (begotten by Peisidike, the daughter of Leukon, son of Athamas, son of Sisypheos, son of Aiolos) was the lover of Agamemnon. He was Boiotian and died when he fell in the Kephisos. After this episode, Agamemnon worshipped Aphrodite Argynnīs, who is also called Argounīs. Aristophanes says ‘Argyneion’, with a diphthong. The ethnic is Argynnios” (tr. S. Tufano).

4.11.1. Textual Transmission and Context

This lemma of Stephanus’ *Ethnika* is particularly troublesome, as a first glance at the apparatus criticus shows. The integration of the initial lemma Ἀργύννιον is confirmed by the parallel sources on this story, because both Clement of Alexandria and Athenaeus recall this sanctuary and the myth of Argynnos when they quote the previous sources that dealt with this myth.¹⁰⁰⁶ The integration of a reference to the ἱερὸν Ἀργύννιον founded by

1006 Clement (*Protr.* 38,2) quotes Phanokles (F 5 Powell, *Coll. Alex.*), author of *Loves, or Beautiful Boys*, who probably lived before Apollonius Rhodius (Di Marco 2000; see *infra* in text). In a section of his work on pederastic relationships, Athenaeus (13.80.603D) first tells the best-known version of the story, and then comments on Likymnios of Chios (F 1

Agamemnon, therefore, is highly likely, after the mention of the name of the young Ἀργυννος. Since, however, this can only be inferred by the *loci paralleli*, it seems too risky to print it, as is also avoided by the latest editor of Stephanus (Billerbeck 2006 *ad loc.*).

Another textual problem concerns the central vocalism of the word Ἀργουνίς (3) in the fragment of Aristophanes. This form of the epithet of Aphrodite, the dedicatee of a cult from Agamemnon, must be somehow different (λέγεται καί) from the previous Ἀργυννίς (cp. the previous accusative ἄργυννίδα).¹⁰⁰⁷ The digraph <ου> instead of <υ>, in the epithet ἄργουνίς, agrees with the Boiotian epigraphic habit, attested from the beginning of the fourth century BCE, but continuing into the late third century BCE.¹⁰⁰⁸ This was, in Boiotia, the conventional spelling to reproduce the original sound /u:/. In the field of anthroponymy, we have other examples in the same region¹⁰⁰⁹ that follow this trend, felt

Sutton). This dithyrambographer, who lived at the end of the fifth century BCE (Robbins 1999), assigned another lover to Argynnos, namely Hymenaios. In poetry, the myth was also touched on by Propertius (3.7.21–4) and by Martial (7.15.5–6): here, the poet addresses an *Argynnus*, who has been variously identified either with a statue on the fountain of Violentilla's house, or with a real *puer* (in fact, it may be that Martial is generally referring to a slave: Merli 2013: 12–3). Between the first and the second century CE, the name Argynnus was common among slaves (Galán Vioque 2002: 133). For a commentary on the early stages of the myth, see *infra* 4.11.2.

1007 The restitution of Ἀργουνίς is of immediate interest to our understanding of Aristophanes, because this author is mentioned for the form he used for the name of the sanctuary, namely Ἀργύνειον (same vowel of the alternative epithet Ἀργυννίς, but one nu as in Ἀργουνίς). As far as the epithet Ἀργουνίς is concerned, the diphthong <ου> is only attested in manuscript V (Voss. gr. F 20 *ante* 1522: ἄργουνίς), which depends on Q (Vat. Pal. gr. 253 *ante* 1485), but often innovates with conjectures that are not necessarily wrong (cp. Billerbeck 2006: 17*–18*). The vowel of this second epithet of Aphrodite, then, must be rendered either with <υ> or with <ου>, for the quality of the alternative lection ἄργυννίς is transmitted by N (Neap. III.AA.18., *ca.* 1490), and by R (Rehd. 47, fifteenth/sixteenth century), which belong to different branches of the tradition (on this branch, see Billerbeck 2006: 18*–23*. N, moreover, has a completely divergent and isolated beginning ἄργε- before, which makes this second option all the more trustworthy). Between ἄργουνίς and ἄργυννίς, Meineke and Billerbeck prefer the first form for its closeness to the features of Boiotian dialect. Moreover, the single consonant is also characteristic of the form of the name of the sanctuary, for which Aristophanes is quoted. As a consequence, in contrast to the initial name of the sanctuary *Ἀργύννιον, the variation Ἀργύνειον of Aristophanes only distinguishes itself for the final diphthong –ει-, διὰ διφθόγγου (the use of διὰ διφθόγγου, “with, through a diphthong”, is common in Stephanus, to indicate the variation in form of a toponym or, more often, of an ethnic; see, e.g., the lemma Ὑγασσός: [...] λέγεται καὶ Ὑγασσειον πεδίων διὰ διφθόγγου, ἀφ’ οὗ καὶ Ὑγασσεύς [υ 11]). The peculiarity is recognized as such by all the manuscripts, here, because they present ΑΡΓΥΝΕΙ. Finally, the ethnic of the inhabitants is misspelled by R with an improper <ει> (Ἀργύννειος, probably after the form of Aristophanes) which should be removed.

1008 Buck 1955: 28. The spelling shows that the Boiotian dialect could keep the original sound, contrary to the Ionic-Attic phonetic evolution in /y/ (Janda 2006: 18).

1009 Meaningful personal names are an Ἀργουνίων from Kopai (IG 7.2781, 34; third century BCE) and an Ἀργουνίς in Skaphai (Eteon, Boiotian centre not clearly identified), mentioned on a stele with a *dexiōtis* at Eleusis (SEG XV 161:

by the editors as typically Boiotian: it must be remembered, however, that the Thessalian dialect, among the Aiolian continental dialects, also shows this habit.¹⁰¹⁰ In the case of the text of Stephanus, the presence of the form ἀργουνίς on V allows us to print it, even if it is possible that Stephanus was only registering the variation for the diphthong in the second part (-νειον).

Indeed, internal and external reasons also prevent us from imposing the vowel <ου> in the form ἀργύνειον of Aristophanes, because he is only quoted for the diphthong <ει>.¹⁰¹¹ We should not automatically credit Aristophanes with a remarkably local form, because we lack strong evidence of his approach to this variation in spelling (in itself incoherent in the fourth century BCE).¹⁰¹² There is nothing specifically Boiotian in the retention of the single consonant in Ἀργουνίς, as Stephanus' Ἀργυννίς would make us believe. From the Indoeuropean root **h₂arǵunih₂*, there can be different renderings of the nasal consonants, with the gemination of the consonant possibly marking an emphatic function (“expressive gemination”).¹⁰¹³ Stephanus had good lexicographical sources on this form, which also transmitted local forms for the epithet of the goddess worshipped in Argyneion; Aristophanes of Boiotia had to opt for a form not explicitly marked as local.

middle fourth century BCE); cp. Schachter 2012b *ad BNJ* 379 F 9 and D’Alfonso 2014: 92. According to Janda (2006: 17), these names are theophoric, from Aphrodite’s epiclesis.

1010 Cp. Ἀργουν in Krannon (*SEG* LI 711.25-7) and Ἀργούνειος in Pharsalos (*IThess.* I 50.25 and 146: both inscriptions date to the third century BCE). On the relationship between dialect and ethnicity see shortly *infra* 6.1.3.

1011 As claimed by Fowler in his edition of Aristophanes for the *EGM*, we need to be careful when using Herodianus to support Stephanus: the editor of Herodianus, Lentz, often used the text of Stephanus in his edition of Herodianus and this gives misleading confirmation of the variety of the epiclesis in Herodianus (*Pros. Cath.* 1.364.5; *Orth.* 2.478.2). If we eliminate the integration of Herodianus with Stephanus, we eliminate the impression that Herodianus quoted Aristophanes (as stated by D’Alfonso 2014: 85). That Stephanus might depend on Herodianus, and that this might be true also in the current case, is a fact which cannot be proven.

1012 For a similar example in the case of the toponym of Haliartos, see Armenidas’ F 6 (*supra* 3.6.2).

1013 Janda (2006: 18) therefore suggested that the form with the double nasal consonant developed first from the epiclesis: this epiclesis, in fact, assimilates the Aphrodite of this myth, etymologically the “splendid, bright” (Stoll 1886: “Weißling, mit Bezug auf seine jugendliche Schönheit”; Jessen 1895), to the vedic goddess *Uṣas-*, a goddess of the aurora, one whose epithets is *árjuni-* (“shiny”: *Rig-Veda* 1.40,3 Aufrecht; cp. on her Janda 2006: 16-20 and Kölligan 2007: 120). Nonetheless, the cult of the young Argynnos was likely very old in the region and probably coterminous with that of the goddess (D’Alfonso 2014: 100), if he can be recognized as the hero to whom a dedication was found in Strowiki and dates from the sixth century BCE (*SEG* XXIX 442; see *infra* in text).

4.11.2. Argynnos and the Sanctuary of Aphrodite

The myth of Argynnos is a typical example of *Knabenliebe*, “love for youths”, because Agamemnon falls in love with Argynnos after seeing the youth swimming in the river Kephisos, not far from Lake Kopais.¹⁰¹⁴ Agamemnon then chased the boy, who died falling in the same waters where he was glimpsed. In order to expiate this crime, Agamemnon dedicated a temple to Aphrodite Argynnis, or, according to another version, underwent a ritual bath. The way in which some sources (Euphorion, Martial, and Plutarch) associate this myth to that of Herakles and Hylas suggests that the story was considered a common *exemplum* of an unhappy paederotic love story.¹⁰¹⁵ The aetiology of the cult and its location on the shores of the lake firmly resonate with two cultic models of Boiotia, that of the “Dying Boy” (like Narcissus, who died in Thespias),¹⁰¹⁶ and that of the couple of lovers, whose fate is linked to the establishment of a cult.¹⁰¹⁷

Aristophanes of Boiotia and Phanokles, a Hellenistic poet who wrote *Loves, or Beautiful Boys*, are the first authors who clearly document this myth of Argynnos, in the form that became the most popular one.¹⁰¹⁸ The story is better understood, however, only thanks to the later rewritings of Propertius and Plutarch.¹⁰¹⁹ This last author is the only one who bears witness to the ritual bath of purification,¹⁰²⁰ which Agamemnon took after the youth’s death.¹⁰²¹ If the *Catalogue of Women* (F 70.32 M. – W.) mentioned Argynnos as

1014 Ath. 13.80.603D.

1015 See briefly, on this, 4.10.1.

1016 Schachter 1972: 23–4.

1017 Schachter 1967; cp. D’Alfonso 2014: 95 on the same pattern.

1018 Phanokles, F 5 Powell, *Coll. Alex.* Magnelli (1999) recognized an allusion to this purification bath in two verses of a fragmentary text on *POxy* 3723,1–2, a catalogue of unhappy loves. The authorship and the date are, however, extremely debated, and Livrea considers it improper to force the evidence in the reconstruction of the myth.

1019 Prop. 3.7.21–4; Plut. *Gryllus* 7.990D–E. Despite the unanimous tradition of these verses of Propertius, they have been athetized by modern editors (e.g. Heyworth – Morwood 2011: 173; Fedeli 1985: 250–5 keeps them), for the alleged contradiction with the general development of the elegy, an epicedium for Petus, where Propertius invites his friend to consider the potential dangers of the navigation. Despite a few ambiguities, as the nature of the *Argynni poena* at 22 (cp. Gallé Cejudo 2006: 186–7 on this collocation), the group of verses can be understood as “necessary” once we compare them with the parallel passage of Plutarch on the same myth (*Gryll.* 7.909D; for a detailed comparison of the two sources, see Gallé Cejudo 2006 and D’Alfonso 2014: 101–2). Propertius was probably inspired not by Phanokles, but by Euphorion of Chalkis (*Suppl. Hell.* 428 = F 68 van Groningen; on this fragment, see Livrea 2002).

1020 Alfonsi 1953; Magnelli 1999: 88 n.10.

1021 Before Clement of Alexandria (*Protr.* 38,2), witness of Phanokles, and Plutarch, an epigram of Martial (77.15.5–6, cp. *supra* n.1006) confirms the popularity of the myth in Rome in the first century CE. Plutarch probably knew

Kopreus' child and Leukon's nephew,¹⁰²² Phanokles and Aristophanes *may* have drawn on Hesiod for the Boiotian setting of the myth and the plot.¹⁰²³ However, even if Argynnos was not mentioned in the *Catalogue*, we should still consider the possibility that he may have been mentioned as Kopreus' son in the *Thebaid*,¹⁰²⁴ which mentioned Kopreus as king of Haliartos. In short, before the fourth century BCE, in a Boiotian context, Argynnos may already have been the subject of a poem that specifically alluded to his fate as the unlucky lover of Agamemnon,¹⁰²⁵ even if the relevant sources are not explicit on this.

4.11.3. Argynnos' Family Tree

In contrast to the other versions of the myth, Aristophanes may have been more detailed than the other sources. Not only, did he consider the paederotic relationship between Argynnos and Agamemnon to explain the delay in Boiotia and the following sacrifice of Iphigenia,¹⁰²⁶ but he also mentioned the sanctuary, Ἀργύνειον, and focused on the family of the unhappy boy. It might not be coincidental that Argynnos' genealogy is only

Phanokles (Magnelli 1999: 89-90), but we cannot rule out that he might have also been aware of Aristophanes in his account of the story. On the basis of the current FF 5 and 6 by Aristophanes, quoted in Plutarch's *De Herodoti malignitate*, it would seem that Plutarch did not have poor knowledge of Aristophanes' books.

1022 Hes. *Cat.* F 70, 9-10 M. – W. (Λεύκωνος κοῦρ]αι Ἀθαμαντιάδασ ἀν[ακτος/ Πεισιδίκη τε καὶ] Εὐίππη δὴ θ' Ὑπερ[.]). This genealogy depends on an integration by Bartoletti 1951: 266, accepted by West 1985: 66-7. The second part of the second name is extremely hypothetical (D'Alfonso 2014: 88). Indeed, prudence is demanded by the fact that the *Catalogue* only explicitly mentions two daughters of Leukon, Euippe and Hyper(ippe) (F 70,10 M. – W.), whereas Stephanus connects Argynnos with a third daughter of Leukon, Peisidike (Ἀργυννος, υἱὸς Πεισιδίκης τῆς Λεύκωνος: see Oppermann 1937 on this difficulty).

1023 As a catalogical poet, Phanokles was probably inspired by Hesiod (Asquith 2005; Hunter 2005b).

1024 *Thebaid*, F 11 West, *GEF*. The fragment properly deals with the intercourse between Poseidon and an Erinys and mentions Kopreus just as Κοπρεὺς Ἀλιάρτου βασιλεύων πόλεως Βοιωτίας. However, this ascription is doubtful, because the scholium generally claims that the tradition was attested παρὰ τοῖς κυκλικοῖς (Torres-Guerra 2015: 235-6); moreover, given the pertinence of the source of the D scholia to the *Iliad*, it could be that the detail on Kopreus was not part of the original material reproduced by the cyclical poets.

1025 Argynnos was also the subject of a composition by the dithyrambographer Likynnios (F 1 Sutton), who lived at the end of the fifth century BCE. Likynnios assigned another lover, Imenaeus, to Argynnos, confirming the association of the figure to the north-eastern area of Boiotia (D'Alfonso 2014: 99 and n.77); the different identity of this lover seems to derive from another strand in the tradition and cannot therefore confirm the use, by Aristophanes, of a poetic source.

1026 Prop. 3.7.23-4: *hoc iuvene amisso classem non soluit Atrides,/ pro qua mactata est Iphigenia mora* ("after having lost this young man, Atreus' son did not weigh the anchor: because of this delay, Iphigenia was sacrificed", tr. S. Tufano). See on this passage Magnelli 1999 and D'Alfonso 2014: 99-102.

explicited in the present lemma of Stephanus of Byzantium, among the extant sources (with due prudence, a result of our poor knowledge of the pseudo-Hesiodic *Catalogue*).

We lack further explicit indications on the family of this boy, who includes, through his father Kopreus, connections with the Haliartos¹⁰²⁷ and Akraiphia, and the Athamantian plain (in its Boiotian extension).¹⁰²⁸ This second geographic association derives from the possible hypotext of Aristophanes, i.e. the F 70 M. – W. of the *Catalogue of Women*, where two daughters of Leukon cross the river Kephisos.¹⁰²⁹ More generally, the myth can be understood according to a widespread cult type in Boiotia (especially for its association with a spring and a river). The cult of Aphrodite Argynnis may predate the traditions on Argynnos, and it is likely that it was set on the same spot that the sources place the myth of the youth.¹⁰³⁰

If Aristophanes, then, is not quoted simply for the variation on the name of the sanctuary, but also for the genealogy of the character, he might be the only source for the genealogy that leads to Athamas, the most distinctive piece of information in this lemma. The other sources on Athamas and Sisypchos claim that they were brothers, since they are both generated by Aiolos.¹⁰³¹ Stephanus, instead, possibly after Aristophanes, asserts that Sisypchos was the father of Athamas. Since Aristophanes likely dealt with the origin of the cult,¹⁰³² he may also have explained the reasons underlying the new toponym, which are linked to an association with a new character (and, in fact, Stephanus also knows a specific

1027 Kopreus was considered the son of Haliartos and the nephew of Orchomenos (schol. D Hom. *Il.* 15.639; 23.346; D'Alfonso 2014: 88). For this reason, Schachter (2012b *ad BNJ* 379 F 9) attaches the fragment to a local tradition of Haliartos. The son of Kopreus, Argynnos, may thus be linked to this centre, but, in general, this hypothesis does not fully take into account the weight of the maternal figure of Argynnos. This woman is associated with an area to the east of the town, if the proposal of a location at (H)olmon is valid.

1028 Paus. 9.24.1–3; D'Alfonso 2014: 90. An alternative tradition, reported by Herodotus (7.197) and Apollonius Rhodius (2.514), placed the Athamantian plain not far from Halos, in the Phthiotid Achaia, and, therefore in Thessaly (on this tradition and on Mount Laphystios, cp. Gagné 2013; on Athamas as an Orchomenian hero – he is the father of Minyas – and a liminal figure between Boiotian and Thessalian/Argive traditions, cp. Kühr 2006: 278–85 and Bearzot 2011: 273; on the fortune of the myth in the fifth century BCE, cp. Vannicelli 2017: 541–2).

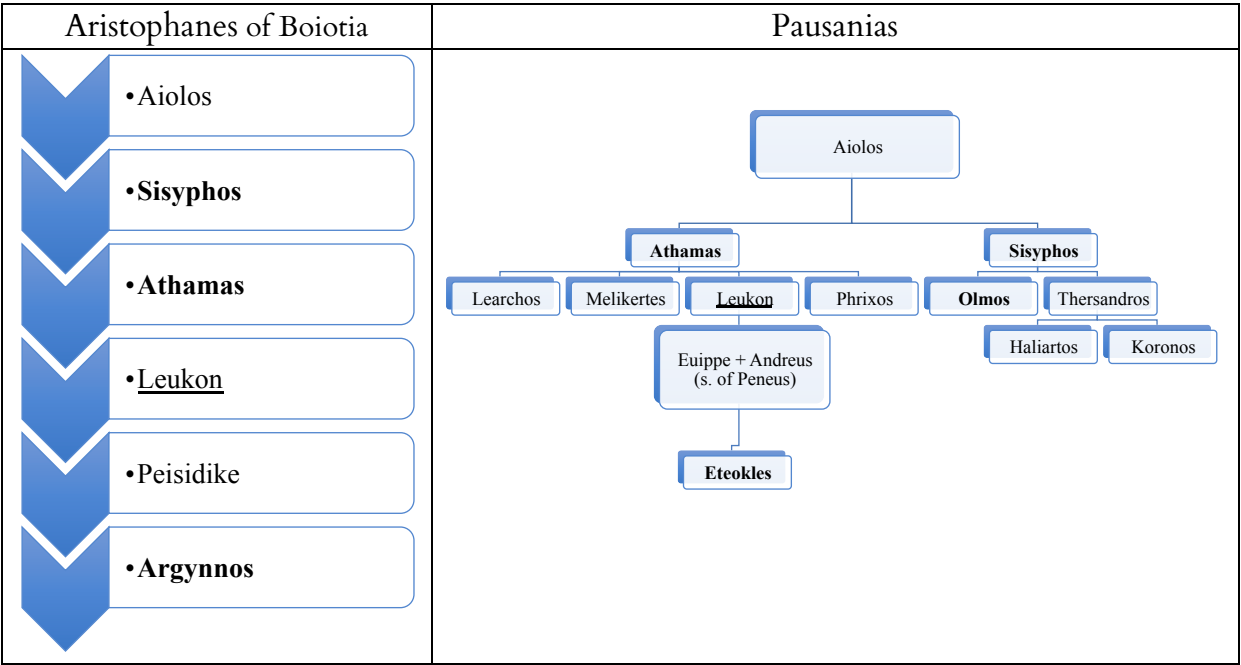
1029 Hirschberger 2004: 262; on this fragment, see West 1985: 65–7 and D'Alfonso 2014: 87–90.

1030 See D'Alfonso 2014: 95–100 on its antiquity and *supra* (4.11.2) on the underlying cultic types.

1031 Paus. 9.34.7 (“Athamas [...] adopted Haliartos and Coronus, the sons of Thersander, the son of Sisypchos, his brother”; tr. W.H.S. Jones – H.A. Ormerod). Cp. Gostoli 2012 on the Aiolian kinship ties of Sysiphus.

1032 Jacoby 1955a: 160: “Sicher scheint nur, dass A[ristophanes] vom Zeus Homoloios sprach und ihn [...] aus Thessalien ableitete.”

adjective for the inhabitants: ὁ οἰκῆτωρ Ἀργύννιος).¹⁰³³ Aristophanes was interested in these figures who explain the name change, as the fragment on Chaironeia and its founder (F 7) confirms. We know that Sisyphos was considered the father of Olmos;¹⁰³⁴ in a narrative by Pausanias, Olmos received from Eteocles, Athamas’ great-grandson, territory that would later be renamed Olmos after its new owner.¹⁰³⁵ Let us clearly summarize, in parallel trees, the two genealogies, one found in Aristophanes and one followed by Pausanias:



1033 Even if the sanctuary was at Olmones, it would not be a properly poleic cult, but it is interesting that such an adjective could develop around a sanctuary (West 1985: 67 n.85).

1034 Paus. 9.24.3; on this figure, see D’Alfonso 2014: 91 and n.30; 92. Pausanias calls him ‘Almos’ at 9.34.10, but the relationship with the village confirms that it must be the same character. Hellanikos (*BNJ* 4 FF 16a–b) mentions a Salmos in Boiotia, even if the same witness credits him with a Halmos, which may be a variation of the same toponym (Fowler 2013: 191; Pownall 2016 *ad BNJ* 4 F 16b).

1035 Paus. 9.34.7–10 and 24.3: Olmones is a village here, but the ethnic on *IG* 7.2808,13 could prove a dependent status in the third century CE (cp. Fell 2006).

If we accept the placement of Olmones at Stroviki,¹⁰³⁶ we might suggest a possible link to this interesting dedication to a hero, found on a black-figure vase of the sixth century BCE (*SEG XXIX 442*):

a -- ἄ]νέθ[έκε --

b -- μ' ἀνέθέκε

c -- ἡέρο[ι --

d -- τοῖ ἡέροι vac .

The association of Argynnos and this Almos/Olmos is indirectly confirmed, moreover, if we consider the aforementioned F 70 M. – W. (36–7), where the youth may be mentioned by Hesiod. A recent proposal, in fact, identifies the cult place of Argynnos in the connected sanctuary in the roundabouts of Olmones, adding new arguments to the mention of Sisypchos in the genealogy of Argynnos reported by Stephanus, which probably owes much to an aetiology of the cult already proposed by Aristophanes.¹⁰³⁷

Since Sisypchos, in Pausanias, is the father of Olmos, the Minyan center of Olmos must already exist before Agamemnon founds the sanctuary on the spot to commemorate Argynnos. But considering Sisypchos and Athamas as brothers would make Olmos almost contemporary with Argynnos: how could Olmos, eponymous (founder, perhaps?) of Olmones, be contemporary with the new eponymous youth? In Pausanias (where Athamas and Sisypchos, Olmos' father, are brothers), Olmos receives his land from Eteocles, Athamas' great-nephew (9.34.9–10; see the genealogical tree *supra*), but there is no mention of the new cult founded by Agamemnon after Argynnos' name. A possible explanation for the different kinship tree followed by Aristophanes, then, could be the necessity to anticipate the position of Athamas and Sisypchos in the family tree of Sisypchos,

1036 The village of Olmones is identified by archaeologists as either Pavlon (Fossey 1988 I: 296–300) or Stroviki; in fact, it may be the imagined setting of the meeting between Agamemnon and Argynnos. The identification with Stroviki was suggested by Étienne – Knoepfler (1976: 24–9) and further confirmed by later studies (cp. Moggi – Osanna 2012: 353 and D'Alfonso 2014: 91–2), because of the presence of a Mycenaean settlement and an Archaic sanctuary for a hero.

1037 Cp. Hirschberger 2004: 263. Argynnos in Olmones: D'Alfonso 2014: 93–5.

and to make sure that the transition from Olmones to Argynnum is consistent (whence, probably, the curious and isolated ethnic “Argynnian”, at the end of the lemma).

This interpretation does not imply that Aristophanes invented or artificially modified the genealogy, for he may simply have reproduced another local variation on this network of figures. The local dimension of this family tree takes us to two areas, starting with Aiolos: the north-east of Boiotia, which implicitly means a connection with Euboia¹⁰³⁸ and Thessaly. Among the many cultural connections, Thessaly is tied to this myth, since Herodotus (7.197) places the Athamantian field in this other region, and there is a tradition of a Thessalian (H/S)almos.¹⁰³⁹

The fragment, consequently, shows the peculiar characteristics of the aetiologies in Aristophanes’ *Boiotian Histories*: from a single cult place, the Argyneion, the historian offered the foundation myth and extended the genealogy of the connected characters. The mention of Sisyphos as Athamas’ father, despite the complexity of Aiolos’ family tree, deserves attention, because the features of the historical work are rooted on a different agenda than that of Pausanias. While Pausanias records a tradition that centers on the foundation of Olmones (9.34.10), the focus on the close Argyneion demanded a slightly different genealogy for some of the characters. This was not seen as proof of inconsistency, however. For this same region, we know from Pausanias (34.9) that the citizens (κατὰ τῶν πολιτῶν τὴν φήμην) had two different genealogies for Eteokles. It is therefore particularly interesting to retrieve this local tradition, in Aristophanes, which developed around a myth of unhappy love, to fit the connected sanctuary with other mythical characters of the area.

1038 See Marchand 2011 on the relationship between Euboia and Boiotia from an onomastic point of view.

1039 A city with a name similar to Holmones is located in Thessaly by later sources (Hyg. *Poet. astr.* 2.20.2; Plin. *HN* 4.29; Steph. Byz. μ 192, *s.v.* Μινύα); however, even if later scholars considered it proof of a Thessalian connection (Kirsten 1937; Buck 1968: 278 n.80), it may also be a local tradition not exploited in Boiotia, because “Hellankos [BNJ 4 F 16a] might [...] have drawn a link with Salmoneus, rather than with Sisyphus” (Fowler 2013: 191). On the Thessalian links of Athamas, cp. Schachter 1994b: 75.

4.12. Aristophanes F 11

Previous editions: *BNJ* 379 F 4; *EGM I* F 4; *FGrHist* 379 F 4 (Ath. 2.15.41E).

καὶ Πίνδαρος· “μελιγαθὲς ἀμβρόσιον ὕδωρ/ Τιλφώσσας ἀπὸ καλλικράνου”.
κρήνη δ’ ἐν Βοιωτίᾳ ἢ Τιλφώσσα, ἀφ’ ἧς Ἀριστοφάνης φησὶ Τειρεσίαν
πιόντα διὰ γῆρας οὐχ ὑπομείναντα τὴν ψυχρότητα ἀποθανεῖν.

1 μελιγηθὲς E καλλικράνου Snell-Maehler –κρήνου *codd.* 3 γῆρα B

“And Pindar: ‘Honeysweet, ambrosial water/ from Tilphossa, the beautiful spring.’ Tilphossa, in fact, is a Boiotian spring, whence, according to Aristophanes, Teiresias drank. Since he could not bear the coldness of the waters, he died” (tr. S. Tufano).

4.12.1. Tilphossa and Boiotian Myths

The fragment is transmitted by Athenaeus in the second book of *The Learned Banqueters*.¹⁰⁴⁰ Since this is the only fragment by Aristophanes quoted by Athenaeus, it is probable that this author knew the historian through intermediate sources.¹⁰⁴¹ In the absence of further indications, we depend on the supposition that the verses from Pindar (F 198b S. – M.) belonged to a narration or to a reference to the death of Teiresias, because this event is indissolubly linked to the characteristics of the spring.¹⁰⁴² In particular,

1040 For this section of the work, we lack the important codex **A** (= Ven. Marc. 447), whose complete text starts at III 2,74A, and so, we must rely on the manuscripts of the abridged version. The reference edition for the first two books of Athenaeus is still the one provided by Kaibel (1887a and 1887b; 1890); for the subsequent books, see Peppink (1937; 1939): cp. Arnott 2000 and Lenfant 2007: 383–4 on the textual tradition of Athenaeus. As far as our fragment is concerned, the text does not show meaningful variations, apart from three minor details: the first two concern Pindar, since the vocalism of the forms μελιγηθὲς and καλλικρήνου is likely a textual trivialization of the original Doric forms, whereas γῆρα instead of the expected γῆρας is a minor mistake in the tradition.

1041 See Zecchini 1989 and Zecchini 2007a on the historical culture of Athenaeus.

1042 Cp. Kowalzig 2007: 378 for a suggestion on the context of the execution and Olivieri 2011: 64–5 and Olivieri 2014: 36–7.

Athenaeus seems to adopt the original form of the toponym, which has strong Boiotian characterizations.¹⁰⁴³

The death of Teiresias is traditionally placed after the defeat of the Kadmeans, who were expelled from Thebes by the Epigonoι (“the Afterborn”), the descendants of the Seven Argives. The Epigonoι defeated the Kadmeans at Glisas in a battle that marks a turning point in the mythical history of Thebes, since it was the end of the so-called “Kadmean” phase.¹⁰⁴⁴ Teiresias advised his fellow citizens to flee and he followed them to Tilphossa: here he died and the Thebans built a cenotaph to commemorate him.¹⁰⁴⁵ Meanwhile, his daughter¹⁰⁴⁶ was captured in Thebes and sent to Delphi, as a thanks offering to the gods.¹⁰⁴⁷ In another tradition, followed by Pausanias, Teiresias was brought to Tilphossa as

1043 The name of the source Tilphossa is variously transmitted by Classical sources, just like the name of the related mountain (Brisson 1976: 64 n.75: Τίλφουσα, Θέλφουσα, Θέλπουσα, Τέλφουσα, Τίλφῶσα, and Θάλπουσα). The original Boiotian form must have been Τίλφῶσσα/ Τίλφῶσσα, which etymologically draws to the PIE **dhelbh-* “to dig, to carve” (cp. Old English *delfan*, “to delve”, and Russian *dolbit'*, “to engrave”; see Neumann 1979: 85–9; Neumann 1986: 45 n.3 and Schachter 1990c: 333–4 n.1; Schachter 1994: 61 n.2). This fragment and Eust. *ad Od.* 10.515, p.1668,3–8 Stallbaum (on which, see *infra* in text) do not support the opposite interpretation, held, for example, by Allen – Halliday – Sikes 1936: 239, that the toponym has a relationship with the root *θαλπ-, as if it were a “hot spring”; further suggestions, mentioned by Schachter (1990c: 333–4 n.1), seem to diminish the importance of the Boiotian association of the toponym. From a grammatical point of view, τιλφῶσσα is a participle form (Blümel 1982: 221 §236), like the variation Τίλφουσα in Paus. 9.33.1 confirms (cp. ἔχῶσα against ἔχουσα). The Boiotian characterization invites us to translate the toponym as “Tilphossa”, starting from Τίλφῶσσα/ Τίλφῶσσα (Olivieri 2011: 262 n.80; cp. Callim. F 652 Pfeiffer, where Callimachus, despite touching upon an Arcadian myth, uses the Boiotian form Τίλφῶσα, with Wilamowitz 1931: 398–400; Pfeiffer 1985 *ad loc.*; Schachter 1990c: 336 n.4).

1044 The expedition of the Epigonoι is already mentioned in the *Iliad* (4.403–10), but for a reconstruction of the event we must turn to later sources: Hdt. 5.61.1–2; Diod. Sic. 4.66.1–5; Paus. 9.5.13; 8.6; 9.4–5; 33.1–2; Apollod. 3.80–5. Among these sources, Diodorus and Apollodoros predate attempts at chronological rationalizations, made by some modern scholars (Clinton 1834: 70; Sakellariou 1990: 207–22): in fact, there is probably no need to conciliate the narrative on the escape of the Kadmeans to Illyria, mentioned by Hdt. 5.61, with the expulsion of the Dorians from the Istiaetis after the arrival of the Kadmeans (Hdt. 1.56: on this aporia, see Vannicelli 1995a: 20–1). Cp. Schachter 1967b: 4 and 9–10, for a skeptical position on a second destruction of Thebes in the years of the Trojan Wars. For the battle of Glisas as the end of the Kadmean story of Thebes, see Vannicelli 1995a.

1045 Advice: Diod. Sic. 4.66.5; Zen. 1.30; Apollod. 3.84. Cenotaph and death on the spot: Str. 9.2.27.411 and 36.413; Paus. 3.33.1; PSI 1398 I 10–1 (on the monument).

1046 The name of the girl differs in our sources (cp. Diod. Sic. 4.6605). The variation Daphne may be “un tentativo di ricondurre ogni tradizione mantica al ruolo centrale di Delfi” (Magnelli in Mariotta – Magnelli 2012: 237; Parke 1988: 113).

1047 From Delphi, the girl went to Claros, where she founded an oracular cult: [Hes.] F 214 Most = 277 M. – W. (from the *Melampody*); *Epigoni* F 4 West, *GEF* (cp. Davies 2015: 187 on the place of this fragment in this work, despite the indication of the sources which assign it to οἱ τὴν Θηβαΐδα γεγραφότες); Theopompus *BNJ* 115 F 346 (foundation of

a prisoner by the Argives.¹⁰⁴⁸ It is interesting to observe how the final destination of this man does not change, despite the variations.

The spring Tilphossa was between Haliartos and Alalkomenai: the exact site is convincingly located at the modern spring Petra, at the base of the homonymous mountain, the ancient Mount Tilphossion.¹⁰⁴⁹ The location at Petra is confirmed by an important Archaic source on the spring, the *Hymn to Apollo*, whose pythic section (179–546) was conceived in the first quarter of the sixth century BCE.¹⁰⁵⁰ A passage on the encounter between Apollo and the local nymph Telphusa/Tilphousa, indicates that this happens in the surroundings of a very busy road: the hotspot was a strategically relevant

the Claros oracle); Paus. 7.3.1–2 (Mantho in Kolophon); 9.33.2 (Mantho marries Rhakios in Kolophon); Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.85 (Mantho in Delphi); Apollod. *Ep.* 6.3 (Mopsus, Apollo's son, and Mantho in Kolophon). On Mantho and on the Claros oracle, see Sakellariou 1958: 146–72; Prinz 1979: 16–34; MacSweeney 2013: 104–13. Other traditions place the wedding with Rhakios, a Cretan man, in continental Greece (schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.308b = *Epigoni* F 4 West, *GEF.*); in the *Alcmaeon in Corinth*, Euripides has Mantho marry Alcmaeon, the new king of Thebes (Apollod. 3.94 and *TrGF* 73a). The couple have two children, Amphilocho and Tisiphon (see on this version Moggi – Osanna 2007: 203 and Olivieri 2013: 161–2). Sakellariou (1990: 148–50; 160) doubts the historicity of the presence of Thebans in Kolophon, but there are other sources who claim that the Kadmeans joined the Ionic colonization (Hdt. 1.146.1; Hellanikos, *BNJ* 4 F 101); furthermore, the detail can also be seen as a sign that the colonists were trying to find some links with their related “continental” people (Vian 1963: 87 n.6; Schachter 1967b: 4), and we should not dismiss the strong possibility that there were groups from other Greek areas who arrived in Ionia in later periods (Asheri 1997: 350; Niemeier 2007; Greaves 2010: 222–30).

1048 Paus. 7.3.1; 9.33.1–2. Diodorus (4.66.5) seems to compromise between the two versions, since he maintains that the Kadmeans were surprised, at Tilphossa, by the arrival of the Epigoni. The Epigoni then captured only Mantho, and Teiresias died on the spot, during his stay close to the spring (67.1: no details on the circumstances of the death).

1049 Between Haliartos and Alalkomenai: Ephoros *BNJ* 70 F 153 (ἐν Ἀλαλκομενίᾳ); Str. 9.2.27.411 (πλησίον Ἀλιάρτου καὶ Ἀλαλκομενῶν); Paus. 9.33.1 (τὸ δὲ ὄρος τὸ Τίλφουσιον καὶ ἡ Τίλφουσα καλουμένη πηγὴ σταδίου μάλιστα Ἀλιάρτου πεντήκοντα ἀπέχουσι, “Mount Tilphossion and the so-called Tilphossa spring lie circa 50 stades away from Haliartos”). On these and other sources, see Schachter 1990c: 334–5 and 335 n.3; Schachter 1994: 60–1. The location of Petra was suggested by Wallace 1979: 145, Buck 1979: 9, and Schachter 1990c; Schachter 1994: 60–2, after Fossey (1972) argued that Mount Tilphossion included both the top of Petra and that of Paleothivai. The recent GIS surveys in the area of Haliartos (Farinetti 2011: 145) refute the alternative location of Hagios Nikolaos (Guillon 1943: 105 n.2 and 196; Fontenrose 1969; Breglia 1986b: 107–8 Magnelli in Mariotta – Magnelli 2012: 236; further scholarship on this in Schachter 1990c: 334 n.1).

1050 On the development of this myth and its date, see Cassola 1975: 97–102; West 2003b: 9–12; Sbardella 2012: 67–84.

stronghold,¹⁰⁵¹ valuable for the control of the Helikon (and the mountain Tilphossion is actually a spur of the Helikon).¹⁰⁵²

Apollo passes through all of Boiotia and initially wishes a temple and a grove for himself, not far from the spring of the nymph Tilphossa (*Hom. Hymn Ap.* 245: νηόν τε καὶ ἄλσεα δενδρήεντα): the nymph, however, opposes this project, and deviates the god to Delphi, because she claims that the area of Tilphossion is too rife with men and trade (261–5).¹⁰⁵³ After founding his temple in Crisa, nevertheless, Apollo realizes that he has been deceived by Tilphossa (375–6) and, as revenge, he covers her with rocks and stones before establishing his own cult as Apollo Tilphossios (375–87).¹⁰⁵⁴

The oracle of Tilphossa is analogous to other sites around ancient Lake Kopais that were characterized by the cult of a nymph associated to a spring (here, Tilphossa), and of a masculine prophet (Teiresias).¹⁰⁵⁵ After an original deification of the nymph, the arrival of new inhabitants on the spot brought about the institution of an oracular cult associated with Apollo, to whom a sanctuary (ἱερόν) was consecrated. The nucleus of traditions on the relationship of the spring with Teiresias, judging from the antiquity of this figure as a seer, must date back to this phase.¹⁰⁵⁶ Finally, a further building was erected in this place, probably not for Apollo, as Spyropoulos (1973) suggests, but for a feminine triad: Pausanias (9.33.3), in fact, mentions a ἱερόν for the Praxidikai, three mythical daughters to Ogygos, in the area of Haliartos and the Tilphossion.¹⁰⁵⁷ The strong Boiotian connotations of this

1051 The Phokian Phalekos occupied the Tilphossian stronghold in 349 BCE after defeating the Thebans at Koroneia (Theopompus *BNJ* 115 F 228; cp. Dem. 19.148: τὸ Τιλφωσσαῖον; Diod. Sic. 16.58.1). This place must be identified with the sanctuary.

1052 Brisson 1976: 64 and n.75.

1053 The nymph suggests to Apollo that he move to Krisa, where the disorder of the horses and the carts will not disturb the cult of the god (*Hom. Hymn Ap.* 270–1); cp. Aloni 1989: 24, on the relationship with the introduction of horse races in the Pythian games, in 582 BCE.

1054 Apollo's victory over Tilphossa has been read as an echo of Delphic propaganda against the Boiotian cult (Defradas 1954: 67; Breglia 1986b: 108), but the situation is probably more complex (Prandi 2011: 242–4).

1055 Cp. Schachter 1967a on this cult type in Boiotia, and Larson 2001: 138–43 on the Boiotian cult of nymphs.

1056 Sanctuary: Str. 9.2.27.411. See Schachter 1990; Schachter 1994: 61–2 on the development of the site and its three main phases. Cp. Brisson 1976 and Ugolini 1995 for two diverse, though complementary, analyses of the traditions on Teiresias.

1057 For this interpretation of the building, see Schachter 1990c: 338; Schachter 1994: 62. The Praxidikai were born of Ogygos and Praxidike: their names were Alkomenia, Thelchinoia, and Aulis (see Schachter 1990c: 338; Schachter 1994: 5–7 and 61–2). Their mother was worshipped in Laconia (Paus. 3.22.2; cp. Dionysios of Chalkis, *JC* IV 1773 F 4).

later cult, which is not associated with the Kadmean (Theban) myths, may have prompted a reaction from Thebes to the addition of figures and characters originally absent in the myths of Tilphossa, who served as arguments to characterize a Theban association to the site of the Tilphossion.¹⁰⁵⁸

According to an anonymous tradition, in fact, Tilphossa (under another name, Erinys) begat, in union with Ares, the dragon who guarded the Theban source and was later defeated by Kadmos.¹⁰⁵⁹ A rational approach to Theban myths detects a contradiction between this genealogy and the concurrent version, where Teiresias is a descendant of one of the Spartoi born of the teeth of the dragon.¹⁰⁶⁰ It may be wiser to read this variety of traditions on Teiresias as an example of how, in the fifth century BCE (namely in a period where the Kadmos myth was particularly popular in Thebes), Thebes was trying to appropriate figures who were indirectly representative of other centres and areas that were reluctant to accept the regional hegemony of Thebes. We might read, using the same perspective, the existence, on the Kadmeia, of an *oinoskopeion* associated to Teiresias, even if the structure dates to an earlier period.¹⁰⁶¹

Finally, in a tradition that might predate the previous one, Tilphossa was birth place of the horse Arion, offspring of Erinys (not necessarily the same nymph)¹⁰⁶² and Poseidon: its first owner was Kopreus, king of Haliartos and Argynnos' father (cp. F 10 of Aristophanes). This pedigree was mentioned in the *Thebaid* (F 11 West, *GEF*), which touched on a series of events before those in the *Epigoni*, for the principle of “non interferenza” in the epical subject.¹⁰⁶³ In the same *Epigoni*, there was the first probable mention of the curious circumstances of the death of Teiresias at the Tilphossion, if we follow this pattern.

1058 For this interpretation, see Breglia 1986b, *spec.* 120–1; Olivieri (65 n.94), suspects, furthermore, the role of Orchomenos, judging from Paus. 9.34.6–7, whose description places the centre immediately after that of the Tilphossion.

1059 Schol. Soph. *Ant.* 126. On this tradition, see Fontenrose 1959: 366–74.

1060 Apollod. 3.69 (ἀπὸ γένους Οὐδαίου τοῦ Σπαρτοῦ); on the relationship between Teiresias and Thebes, where there was a cenotaph (Paus. 9.18.4), cp. Olivieri 2011: 66–7.

1061 For the Theban popularity of the Kadmos myth, see Vannicelli 1995a: 25 n.18; cp. 2.2.2 for a possible date of the spreading of this set of traditions. On the Theban *oinoskopeion*, cp. Bonnechere 1990: 59.

1062 Breglia 1986b: 108.

1063 Sbardella 1994; West 2013: 17–20.

4.12.2. Traditions on the Death of Teiresias

The first literary sources on the death of Teiresias do not directly address the place and the circumstances of the event: in the *Odyssey* (10.492–5), Teiresias is only mentioned for the positive treatment granted by Persephone, who allowed him to keep his φρένες ἔμπεδοι (493: “healthy mind”), whereas the pseudo-Hesiod *Melampody* (FF 211–2 Most = 275–6 M. – W.) describes Teiresias as a long-lived man, who lived for seven generations.¹⁰⁶⁴ There are no relevant variations on the place where Teiresias died. Other options concern not Tilphossa, but the spot where a cenotaph was built for the seer, such as in Thebes and Macedonia.¹⁰⁶⁵

Aristophanes of Boiotia might have been the first prose author to record the death of Teiresias: according to a recent reading of the fragment, he might have provided a rationalizing version of the story,¹⁰⁶⁶ as if Teiresias died from congestion from the coldness of the waters. Only Pausanias (9.33.1) and Apollodoros (3.84), among the other sources on the event, specify that Teiresias drank from Tilphossa spring, and Pausanias adds that Teiresias was simply thirsty (εἶχετο γὰρ δίψη). This last explanation sounds redundant in this context, but it might also be an addition of the author, because the detail of Teiresias’ drinking must have been considered an inescapable part of the story.¹⁰⁶⁷ This basic version, of Teiresias dying after drinking from the spring, is the basis from which Aristophanes

1064 The *Melampody* was falsely assigned to Hesiod and did not only deal with the seer Melampus; for an introduction, see Most 2006: lx; Cingano 2009: 121–3 and the scholarship in Vergados 2013: 8 n.9. Even if it is possible that the *Epigoni* already alluded to his death, the only figure directly mentioned in a fragment from this poem is Teiresias’ daughter, Mantho (F 4 West, *GEF*). Mantho was considered the founder of the mantic cult in Claros, not far from Kolophon, whose Apollonian character, and consequent association with Delphi, may be the starting point of a tradition according to which there were also Thebans among the colonizers of Kolophon after the arrival of the Ionians (Paus. 7.3.1–2). The tradition probably depends on the Apollinean claims concerning the oracle of Claros, but we should also consider the possible presence of actual Theban migrants in Ionia: see *supra* n.363.

1065 Thebes: Paus. 9.18.4. Macedonia: Plin. *HN* 37.180. The exceptional detail of the *Nostoi* (*arg.* 2), where Teiresias dies in Kolophon, may be the result of a mistake by Proclus, the abridger of the poem, who must have referred to another character, Calchas. The presence of Teiresias here does not seem reasonable: see Fowler 2013: 546 and West 2013: 254–5.

1066 Fowler 2013: 402.

1067 Olivieri (2011: 65) also acknowledges that the divine virtues of the water (on which, see Schachter 1990c: 337) and the mention of the death of Teiresias are always associated in the same context. This scholar believes that this depends on the peculiar characteristics of the spring, whence a divine water would flow, according to the adjectives used by Pindar to describe it (*ibid.* 66).

provided an allegedly “rationalistic” version. He could not remove this common ground, and, therefore, he tried to clarify why old age was the cause of his death.

4.12.3. A Death Investigation

If we carefully focus on the previous reading, however, we do not understand what version was rationalized by Aristophanes. The association of old age with congestion, in itself, does not seem to be a strong innovation. Useful help comes from a papyrus of the middle first century CE, concerning a version of the death of Teiresias mentioned by an anonymous mythological narration.¹⁰⁶⁸ The first column of the papyrus recalls the death of Teiresias, in a style that closely resembles that of Apollodoros in the *Library* (3.84): for this reason, Lloyd-Jones (1959: 113–4) used Apollodoros to correct and edit the papyrus. This is the section that directly interests us, in the last edition provided by Vergados (2013: 6–7):

[οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ]ς ἀμά[ξας τὰ τέκνα]

[καὶ τὰς γυ]ναῖκας ἀναβι[βάσαντες]

[φεύγουσι ἐ]κ τῆς πόλεως. ὁ δ[']ἀό]κνως

[παραγενό]μενος ἀναγγέλλει τ[ῶ Δι]ῖ

5 [τοὺς ῥηθέν]τας λόγους, Ζεὺς δὲ δ[']ὀρ-]

[γῆς γενόμ]ενος ἐμβάλλει λήθην

[τῶ μάντει. οἱ δὲ] φεύγοντες ἀφικνοῦν-

[ται ἐπὶ τὴν] κρήνην Τελφοῦσαν,

[ἧ ὁ μάντις κα]τὰ[σ]τρέφει τὸν βίον, θά-

1068 *Ed. pr.* Bartoletti 1957.

10 [πτουσι δὲ τὸν Τειρε]σίαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι

[παρὰ τῇ κρήνῃ---] καὶ τοῦ σή-

[ματος -----] δ[.]ον αὐτοῖς

1 οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ] Lloyd-Jones [-ξας τὰ τέκνα Salvadori 2 καὶ τὰς γυ-] Bartoletti [-βάσαντες Lloyd-Jones 3 φεύγουσι ἐ-]κ... δ[']άό-]κνωσ Vergados 4 παραγενό-] Salvadori 4-5 [-ῶ Διὶ] | [τοὺς ῥηθέν-] Vergados 5-6 [-ὶ ὄρ-] | [γῆς γενόμ-] Vergados cf. δ[ιὰ τούτους] | [ὀργιζό]μενος Bartoletti *exempli gratia* 7 τῶ μάντει. οἱ δὲ] Vergados 8 ται ἐπὶ τῇ] Salvadori 9 [--- κα]τ[σ]τρέφει Maas [[ῆ ὁ μάντις...] *suppl.* Vergados 10 [πτουσι δὲ τὸν Τειρε-] *fortasse* Vergados 11 [παρὰ τῇ κρήνῃ---] *fortasse* Vergados 12 [ματος ---] Bartoletti

“And they (*sc. the Thebans*) flee from the city, having led their children and wives onto the carriages. And he (*sc. Apollo*), without delay goes to Zeus and announces to him the words uttered (*sc. by Teiresias*); and Zeus, having been angered, inflicts on him (*sc. Teiresias*) forgetfulness. And they flee and arrive at the spring Telphousa, where Teiresias ends his life, and having died (*or: they bury him?*) [...] (*Teiresias*)’ grave?” (tr. A. Vergados).¹⁰⁶⁹

As far as his death is concerned, the available text does not allude to the act of drinking (which was hardly mentioned in the non-transmitted section); nevertheless, the papyrus (ll.

1069 The last reproduction of the papyrus (see a picture at Vergados 2013: 15) allows, from a palaeographic point of view, the reading suggested by Schachter (1994a: 39 n.3): if we accept that the first letter on l. 10 is an E, we might read θά- | [νοντος δ’ αὐτοῦ μαντ]είαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι | [ἵδρυσαν ἐκεῖ ---] (ll. 9-11: “after his death, the Thebans founded an oracle there”, tr. S. Tufano). This integration, however, is not completely convincing: on the one hand, it is necessary to assume that, after a few lines, the name Teiresias is repeated for clarity (Vergados, l.10: Τειρε]σίαν); on the other hand, the aorist indicative ἵδρυσαν is admissible, but the rest of the text adopts a narrative in the present tense (l.4: ἀναγγέλλει; l.6: ἐμβάλλει; ll.7-8: ἀφικνοῦν[ται]; l.9: [κα]τ[σ]τρέφει). Vergados’ edition, moreover, is confirmed by Diodorus 4.67.1: Τειρεσίας μὲν ἐτελεύτησεν, ὃν θάψαντες λαμπρῶς οἱ Καδμεῖοι τιμαῖς ἰσοθέοις ἐτίμησαν, “Teiresias died and the Kadmeans, after splendidly burying him, worshipped him with godlike honours”, tr. S. Tufano.

5-6) adds the cause of Zeus' wrath. Zeus caused Teiresias' forgetfulness after Apollo brought his attention to the impious words uttered by the seer.

The loss of prophetic power is a common punishment of Zeus.¹⁰⁷⁰ The reason for this punishment was the disruptive action of Teiresias, according to Lloyd-Jones (1959: 113-4), who based his reconstruction on the narrative of Apollodoros (3.84). By advising his compatriots to flee, while working on a truce, the prophet hampered Zeus' plans of destruction:

“But as Tiresias told them to send a herald to treat with the Argives, and themselves to take to flight, they did send a herald to the enemy, and, mounting their children and women on the wagons, themselves fled from the city. When they had come by night to the spring called Tilphussa, Tiresias drank of it and expired” (tr. J. Frazer).¹⁰⁷¹

An alternative to this reconstruction was put forward on the basis of the aforementioned F 212 Most (=276 M. – W.) of the *Melampody*, where Teiresias disapproves of his longevity and speaks angrily to Zeus. According to Vergados (2013),¹⁰⁷² in the papyrus previously mentioned, Zeus was angered by the same thing depicted in the pseudo-Hesiodic *Melampody*, because Teiresias regretted the gift of prophecy, once granted to him to compensate for the blindness inflicted by Hera (*Melampody* F 212 Most = F 276 M. – W):

1070 Vergados 2013: 8.

1071 Apollod. 3.84: Τειρεσίῳ δὲ εἰπόντος αὐτοῖς πρὸς μὲν Ἀργείους κήρυκα περὶ διαλύσεως ἀποστέλλειν, αὐτοὺς δὲ φεύγειν, πρὸς μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους κήρυκα πέμπουσιν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀναβιβάσαντες ἐπὶ τὰς ἀπήνας τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἔφευγον. νύκτωρ δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν λεγομένην Τίλφοῦσαν κρήνην παραγενομένων αὐτῶν, Τειρεσίας ἀπὸ ταύτης πίων αὐτοῦ τὸν βίον κατέστρεψε.

1072 This scholar also investigates the nature of the text of the papyrus: this might come either from a literary commentary (Vergados 2013: 12-3) or from Philochoros' *Περὶ μαντικῆς*. We possess four fragments of this text (BNJ 328 FF 76-9): Philochoros touched on traditions from several different cities. Athenaeus, the source of Aristophanes' fragment on Teiresias, knew Philochoros' *Ἀτθίς* quite well and also quotes from the *Περὶ μαντικῆς*. Since Costa (2007: 274-5) suggested that, rather than from lexic and erudite treatises, Athenaeus directly read a summary of the *Ἀτθίς* (that by Asinius Pollio, dating to the end of the first century BCE), it is possible that Athenaeus knew both Pindar and Aristophanes through the *On divination* of Philochoros.

“Father Zeus, if only, if only a shorter period of life you had given to me, and to know in my spirit counsels similar to mortal human beings! But as it is you have not honored me even a little, you who established that I would have a long period of life and live as long as seven generations of speech-endowed human beings” (tr. G.W. Most).

Consequently, the *Melampody* may already have dealt with the death of Teiresias, since we have seen that this character was present in the poem, which not only spoke about Melampus. Forgetfulness was, in itself, a punishment given to Teiresias, but one that cost him his life in the end. If Apollodoros, as the author of the papyrus, follows the same tradition of the *Melampody*, we might think that Zeus chose to remove his special power in a moment when it would have been most helpful, i.e. to remind the seer to avoid drinking from the water of the Tilphossa spring.¹⁰⁷³ Despite the absence, therefore, of the final moments in the papyrus, this text helps us understand the causes of the event: Zeus is punishing Teiresias for his insolence and the real purpose of the forgetfulness is to prevent the prophet from foreseeing the lethal effect of the waters which Teiresias could not help but drink, being moved by thirst like any other traveller (so Pausanias 9.33.1: εἶχετο γὰρ δίψῃ).

Nothing explicitly confirms, therefore, that Aristophanes’ version reveals “a hint of rationalization” (Fowler 2013: 402), because the historian simply claims that Teiresias could not stand the frigid temperature of the spring, seeing as he was old (διὰ γῆρας). This does not explicitly exclude that Aristophanes accepted the version of a lethal forgetfulness. His peculiar stance on this tradition may have been the *further* addition of the mortal reason behind the death of Teiresias, which was properly caused by the obnubilation. Eustathius, finally, suggests a telling parallel with information from Ptolemy VIII’s *Memories* (BNJ 234 F 6 = Eust. *ad Il.* 22.156, p. 4.596,9-11), according to whom, in Corinth, there was a spring of water as cold as snow (cp. Athen. 2.18.43E). Despite the suggestion of many advisors, the king drank from it and survived –this was not the case for Teiresias at Tilphossa, who died because he forgot about the risks of drinking such cold water. The alleged rationalism of Aristophanes, therefore, might only be a detail in the

¹⁰⁷³ Fowler (2013: 402) also thinks that Zeus had Teiresias forget not to drink from the spring, but he does not explain why.

final section of a murder planned by Zeus. The tradition represents the vivacity of this local tradition in a moment quite distant from the circulation of the *Melampody*: local historiography could also refer to these mythical narratives and adapt them to its own standards, for instance, by explaining to the audience, in concrete terms, what a “mythical” forgetfulness might imply.

4.13. [Aristophanes] F 12

Previous editions: *BNJ* 737 F 1; *EGM* I F 9C; *FGrHist* 737 F 1 (Joseph. *Ap.* 1.215–7 [5.38.20 Niese] unde Euseb. *Praep. evang.* 9.42.2 p.458b [I 553,16 Mras]).

ἀρκοῦσι δὲ ὅμως εἰς τὴν ἀπόδειξιν τῆς ἀρχαιότητος αἱ τε Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Χαλδαίων καὶ Φοινίκων ἀναγραφαί, (216) πρὸς ἐκείναις τε τοσοῦτοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων συγγραφεῖς ἔτι δὲ πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις Θεόφιλος καὶ Θεόδοτος καὶ Μνασέας καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης καὶ Ἑρμογένης Εὐήμερός τε καὶ Κόνων καὶ Ζωπυρίων καὶ πολλοὶ τινες ἄλλοι τάχα, οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγε πᾶσιν ἐντετύχηκα τοῖς βιβλίοις, οὐ παρέργως ἡμῶν ἐμνημονεύκασιν. (217) οἱ πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων ἀνδρῶν τῆς μὲν ἀληθείας τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς πραγμάτων διήμαρτον, ὅτι μὴ ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἡμῶν βίβλοις ἐνέτυχον, κοινῶς μέντοι περὶ τῆς ἀρχαιότητος ἅπαντες μεμαρτυρήκασιν

1 Αἰγυπτίων] Σύρων Euseb. 3 ἔτι δὲ Euseb. ἔτι δὲ καὶ L *Theodorus* Joseph. interpr. Latina 4 Κόμων Euseb. *Cinun* Joseph. interpr. Latina 6 μεμνη- fere Euseb. *codd.*

“The Egyptian, Chaldaean, and Phoenician Chronicles are sufficient to prove the antiquity of the Jews. Besides, there are these Greek writers; apart from the aforementioned names, consider Theophilus, Theodotos, Mnaseas, Aristophanes, Hermogenes and Euhemerus; and Conon, Zopyrion, and many others, probably, mentioned us not incidentally, because I did not look through all the literature. Many of the aforementioned figures went quite astray from

the truth on our origins, for they did not read the Sacred Scripture: however, overall, they testify to our antiquity” (tr. S. Tufano).

4.13.1. Textual Transmission and Context

The *Against Apion* of Josephus Flavius is his last work and was written between 93/4 CE and the first years of Trajan (98-117).¹⁰⁷⁴ The first book aims at proving the antiquity of the Jews: after an introduction on the differences between Greek and Jewish historiography (6-56), Josephus demonstrates the antiquity of his nation by mentioning non-Jewish sources, i.e. Egyptian (73-105), Phoenicians (106-27), Chaldaeans (128-60), and Greek authors (161-214). These four groups confirm the long existence of the Jews independently from Jewish sacred scripts. The second book of the *Against Apion* is the apologetical part of the essay, which generally addresses a non-Jewish audience. This part assumes a reader interested in, and prone to, accepting the confutation of all the alleged offences and fake news, which, according to Josephus, were still so popular in ancient Jewish history.¹⁰⁷⁵

1074 For this date, see Barclay 2007: xxvi-iii, which I also follow for the present introduction to the *Contra Apionem*. His commentary completes, for the historical part, the previous works of Troiani (1977) on the entire essay and of Labow (2005) on the first book. The critical edition provided by Siegert (2008) has short notes on selected passages. In the absence of explicit hints from the author, we have doubts on the actual title of the essay. The commonly accepted *Contra Apionem* derives from the way in which the work is quoted by Hieronymus (*Ep.* 70.3; *De uir. ill.* 13) and by the Latin tradition, where the title is *De Iudaeorum vetustate sive contra Apionem*.

1075 On the original traits of this apology, which is actually a comparison of Jewish culture with the Classical one, see Momigliano 1931. The main issue with an inclusion of the *Contra Apionem* in apologetic literature is the ample section of the second book (145-286), where Josephus simply praises the Jewish laws and has an enthusiastic tone towards his own religion. This strong and almost prevailing *pars construens* might be due to the fact that this was the first unprecedented apology in this genre: as maintained by Barclay (2007: xxxiii-vi), Josephus' aim at an apology is all the more convincing insofar as his speech does not always keep a defensive strategy. The stress on the longevity of the Jews may actually depend on the much-appreciated correlation between the antiquity of a culture and the validity of its tradition, especially if we consider the importance of this motif in Imperial Stoicism (Boys-Stones 2001 *passim*; Barclay 2007: xliii; Aubert 2015 *ad BNJ* 737 F 1). Josephus' work draws on this atmosphere but combines this philosophical thought with proto-Imperial Judaism, because it rereads the Platonic tradition in a religious/Jewish way, as in the production of Philo of Alexandria: cp. Barclay 2007: lviii-lix, also on the important difference between Jewish philosophy and Classical authors on this topic.

For this passage of the *Contra Apionem* (1.215–7), we can avail ourselves of the direct tradition and of the indirect sources, i.e. of Eusebius' paraphrase in his *Praeparatio evangelica* (9.42.2),¹⁰⁷⁶ and of the Latin translation commissioned by Cassiodorus, known as the *interpretatio Latina*.¹⁰⁷⁷ This indirect source offers a variation for the name of one of the sources (*Theodorus*), which cannot be accepted, seeing as it is isolated, so that the unanimous Greek tradition cannot be doubted here.¹⁰⁷⁸

The fragment belongs to a transitional section, where Josephus is listing a series of Gentile witnesses on the antiquity of the Jews. On the one hand, there are the ἀναγραφαί of Egyptians, Chaldaeans, and Phoenicians. The Chronicles of these other Eastern populations confirm the solid written tradition of the Eastern sources against the later interest of the Greeks in the birth of a written historical reflection.¹⁰⁷⁹ On the other hand, there are Greek authors (τῶν Ἑλλήνων συγγραφεῖς),¹⁰⁸⁰ who should be reliable sources on the subject.

Since many of the listed names are extremely obscure, it is hard to accept that Josephus actually read all these names, despite the rich Roman libraries he had access to in the last couple decades of his life. In fact, his use of the verb ἐντυγχάνω, in this context, might be misleading, because it should not mean “to read”, as it does in Polybius (1.3.10), but more probably designates the action of “looking something up” in a series of texts, i.e. research

1076 The ninth book of the *Praeparatio* is devoted to the ancient history of the Jews and shows a good knowledge, if second-hand, of Jewish-Hellenistic literature; on the sources and the features of this book, see e.g. Zamagni 2010.

1077 The *interpretatio Latina* is fundamental for a section of the second book (52–113), which is not transmitted in Greek. Here all the manuscripts share a lacuna, which does not depend on the tradition (Siegert 2008 II: 72; *ibid.* 71–2 on the limits of the edition of the *interpretatio Latina* by Boysen 1898, which is still the only one available).

1078 The name Θεόδοτος is rarer, whereas there were many more Theodoruses, who probably influenced the translation (on this figure, see *infra*). The main critical edition of the Greek text is provided by Siegert (2008) and overcame the previous one of Niese (1889ab) because it reconsidered two direct witnesses of the text, manuscripts E (=Eliensis Cant. LI IV 12, XV c.) and S (=Schleusingensis gr. 1, XV–XVI cc.), that belong to a different branch from the one used by Niese, L (=Laur. 69,22). Another reason for profiting from a renewed attention to the text is the fact that we now have a better edition of Eusebius, the main secondary source on the text (Mras 1954), even if, in general, the current fragment does not present relevant textual problems.

1079 Cp. Barclay 2007: xxix on the transitional character of *Ap.* 1.215–7. See Magnetto 2007: 44 for this use of ἀναγραφή in Josephus and Porciani 2001a: 23–5 on the polemical tone of Josephus towards Greek historiography.

1080 Josephus' use of συγγραφεύς is quite generic, because the noun can also be applied to poets (1.172; cp. Barclay 2007: 95 n.529).

for a specific reference. A more drastic view¹⁰⁸¹ has Josephus derive the entire list from two authors, whom he certainly read, Alexander Polyhistor (110/5–40 BCE), a polygrapher who lived in the first century BCE, and Nicolaus of Damascus (64 – *post* 4 BCE), a versatile learned Jew, who engaged in history and philosophy.¹⁰⁸²

This interpretation, however, might be excessive, because the lithotes οὐ παρέργως, “not cursorily”, may simply indicate the tendency to overinterpret texts and may not immediately refer to the Jews.¹⁰⁸³ We need not assume that all the names of this list were as obscure to a reader or a scholar of the early second century CE as they are to a contemporary one. The majority of them seem to have lived in the Hellenistic period, generally later than Theophrastos, who is the first Greek writer, of whom we know, to mention the Jews in his work.¹⁰⁸⁴ After him, it is completely possible that other scholars followed him on this or in mentioning other Semitic populations, which were considered assimilable or close to the Jews. The *Zitatennest*, in itself “a familiar feature of the scholiastic genre”, has both the function of impressing the reader with a meaningful number of sources, and confirming the authorial persona of a learned scholar, Josephus, obsessed with the necessity to support his argument.¹⁰⁸⁵

4.13.2. The Other Authors

The inclusion of this fragment in the *corpus* of Aristophanes of Boiotia represents a debated issue. The current approach is almost unanimous on its refusal: Fowler (2000, *EGM* I) places it among the *dubia* of Aristophanes, but the more common view is that the Aristophanes mentioned here by Josephus is the grammarian of Byzantium, who lived in

1081 Barclay 2007: 122 n.730.

1082 On Alexander's rich production see Blakely 2015 *ad* BNJ 273. The Greek fragments of Nicolaus of Damascus (*FGrHist* 90) are now edited and commented on by Parmentier – Barone 2011, who discuss his *Histories*, the *Life of Augustus*, the *Collection of Costumes* and the *Autobiography*; see *ibid.* xx–xxi on his philosophical production (*On Plants*, *On the Gods*, *On Beauty in Practical Life*, a *Comment on Aristotle*, and other titles), which is mostly transmitted in Syriac. We do not possess anything of the tragedies and the comedies, which a witness assigns to him (*FGrHist* 90 F 132).

1083 Cp. Barclay (2007: 123 n.741).

1084 Cp. Stern 1976: 8–17; Bar-Kochva 2010: 15–39.

1085 Quote from Fowler 2017: 160. Cp. Labow 2005: 217; Barclay 2007: 122 n.731.

the third century BCE.¹⁰⁸⁶ It is definitely excluded, but not completely unreasonable as is sometimes repeated, that, through intermediate sources, Josephus might be referring to the comic poet of the fifth century BCE.¹⁰⁸⁷ However, since Josephus does not mention any other Aristophanes in his work, Fowler's inclusion of the fragment among the *dubia* must be considered in order to see how plausible it is and whether the almost certain mention of the Phoenician Kadmos in the *Boiotian Histories* of Aristophanes – and, then, of his homeland? – may represent evidence supporting the assignment of the fragment to the local historian.

Θεόφιλος: Theophilus is mentioned among the sources of the *Περὶ Ἰουδαίων* of Alexander Polyhistor, who lived in the first century BCE.¹⁰⁸⁸ According to Eusebius, Alexander quoted Eupolemos (*BNJ* 723 F 2b), a Jewish historian of the middle second century BCE: it was this Eupolemos who used Theophilus (*BNJ* 733 F 1) in the first place, in an excursus on a gift of the king Salomon to the Tyrian king Hiram.

We then have a complex system of secondary sources (Theophilus > Eupolemos > Alexander Polyhistor > Eusebius): on this basis Mendels (1987) inferred that Theophilus lived in the early second century BCE, now generally accepted. The Theophilus read by Eupolemos may be the same historian of our fragment, even if we lack further evidence on his works or identity.¹⁰⁸⁹ Any possible hypothesis on his origin is limited by the extremely weak evidence.

1086 Müller 1877: 181; Stern 1976: 91; Troiani 1977: 122; Schreckenberg 1996: 56; Barclay 2007: 123 n.735; Siegert 2008 II: 90–1; Aubert 2015 *ad BNJ* 737 F 1.

1087 For a recent reconsideration of this hypothesis, see Siegert 2008 II: 90–1 and n.1. The idea is quite strained and derives from the association, once put forward by Latzarus (1920: 171 and n.1), of the obscure *βερέσχεθαι* of *Eq.* 635 and the Hebrew *incipit* of the *Genesis* (*בראשית*, *brāšīt*, “in the beginning”). A scholiast to Aristophanes, in fact, connected the demons of the *Knights* to an errant population that walks in the desert (cp. *Suda* β 244, s.v. *βερέσχεθαι*, and Austin, *CGFP* 343,45: it is probably a neologism by Aristophanes, according to Kanavou 2011: 64). Nonetheless, a simpler link with the poet may let us consider it as a mockery, uttered by Aristophanes in the *Birds* (465–9), of Egyptian and Phoenician circumcision. The most important argument against this is that Josephus does not quote the poet Aristophanes elsewhere.

1088 Alexander Polyhistor, *BNJ* 273 F 19a = Euseb. *Praep. evang.* 9.17.1–40.1.

1089 Stern 1976: 126–7; Aubert 2015 *ad BNJ* 733 T 1.

Θεόδοτος: We do not know whether the Phoenician historian Theodotos can be identified with the epical poet Theodotos of Jewish origins (maybe a Samaritan),¹⁰⁹⁰ who was read by Alexander Polyhistor (BNJ 273 F 19a). This poet wrote a poem, *Περὶ Ἰουδαίων*, of which we can read relatively long excerpts. The identification of the historian with the poet should not surprise us, if we think of the examples of local poets and historians like Nikander of Kolophon (BNJ 271-2) and Theolytos of Methymna (BNJ 478). In the present context, however, we can only be sure that the poet Theodotos lived before Alexander Polyhistor. Furthermore, it was argued that Theodotos treated the fortification walls of Schechem in a way that might date him to any moment from the beginning of the second century BCE to a century and a half later.¹⁰⁹¹

Μνασέας: Mnaseas of Patara is probably the best-known figure in this list, before the mention of Euehemerus. In the voice of the *Suda* on Eratosthenes, we learn that Mnaseas was Eratosthenes' pupil, but not his most distinguished one (at least, not as distinguished as Aristophanes of Byzantium).¹⁰⁹² On the basis of the alleged date of the death of Eratosthenes, we can infer that Mnaseas was active in the Lycian city of Patara around 200 BCE.¹⁰⁹³ He wrote a *Collection of Oracles* and a geographical work, probably organized around settlements, in three sections (Asia, Europa, Libya), transmitted with the general title *Periplus*. This work certainly dealt with the Jews, as is confirmed by the story of an alleged golden head of an ass in the Temple in Jerusalem, quoted by Josephus (*Ap.* 2.112-4). When Josephus quotes Mnaseas, however, it is likely that he either knew him through Nicolaus of Damascus, who was used by Josephus for a series of parallel episodes on the universal deluge in non-Jewish writings (*AJ* 1.93-5; F 72 Parmentier – Barone), or through Apion, as in the aforementioned story of the golden head (*Ap.* 2.112-4).

1090 Phoenician historian (date unknown): BNJ 732 T 2 = Tatianus, *Ad Gr.* 37. As a matter of fact, the position of the poet Theodotos towards the Jews is a controversial topic (Holladay 1989: 58-68); his belonging to "Jewish-Hellenistic" literature must be understood for the features of his work.

1091 Excerpts of the *Περὶ Ἰουδαίων*: BNJ 732 F 1; *Suppl. Hell.* 757-64. Observations on the treatment of the walls of Schechem: Schroeder 2010. Barclay (2007: 122-3 n.733) can only base his preference for the poet on the derivation that Alexander Polyhistor, deemed a source for Theodotos, is also used in this case. Siegert (2008 II: 90) claims that "nach einem griechischen Autor dieses Namens zu suchen, wäre vergebliche Mühe."

1092 *Suda* ε 2898, s.v. Ἐρατοσθένης.

1093 Cappelletto 2003: 13-6.

The loss of the work of Mnaseas seems to have been quite early,¹⁰⁹⁴ and it is likely that Apion, in the first century CE, only knew it through the intermediate sources that he was reading that had an anti-Jewish agenda. It would be circular reasoning if we considered Nicolaus as the source on Mnaseas, because, among the sources mentioned after Josephus, another two names may have talked about the deluge.¹⁰⁹⁵ Besides, we infer from the whole *Contra Apionem* that Josephus knew quite well the production of the grammarian Apion and the name of Mnaseas, especially for the infamous tone of his narrative, which must have been a reassuring and safe witness on the antiquity of the Jews.

Ερμιογένης: Müller (1877: 181) first suggested that this Hermogenes, on whom we do not know anything, was the same author of a *Phrygian History* (BNJ 795 F 2). Since this other Hermogenes mentioned a Phrygian version of the deluge, such identification may be accepted.¹⁰⁹⁶ This suggestion is actually more likely than the eventual alternative that the Hermogenes mentioned by Josephus was the same Hermogenes of Tarsos, the Elder mentioned by Suetonius. In the *Life of Domitian* (10), we learn of a Hermogenes who was executed *propter quasdam in historia figuras*. It would be hard to imagine that a recently deceased person could attain such a relevant place in a list that was likely of a derivative nature, when Josephus was writing his *Against Apion*.¹⁰⁹⁷

Εὐήμερος: Doubts on the identification of this figure with Euhemeros of Messene (BNJ 63) seem unfounded. We can accept the identification with the author of the *Sacred Scripture*,

1094 See Douglas Olson 2005.

1095 Barclay 2007: 123 n.734.

1096 Cp. Labow 2005: 218 n.6; Jenkins 2009a; Aubert 2015 *ad* BNJ 737 F 1. I agree with Aubert on the slim possibility that this Hermogenes may be identified with other namesakes, because one (BNJ 481) wrote on architecture and is basically only known through Vitruvius (Stronk 2007); another Hermogenes, more famous as a rhetor, wrote an interesting *Περὶ Κοίλης Συρίας* (BNJ 851 T 1, the ascription has been doubted), but he lived between the second and the third century CE (Jenkins 2009b); Hermogenes of Smyrna (BNJ 579) wrote extensively on local history and on numerous subjects, despite his greater fame as a physician, but is slightly later than Josephus (Budiga 2010).

1097 Hermogenes of Tarsos the Elder: *PIR*² H 147. It seems that the execution of Hermogenes occurred after Domitian's reign, in Syme's words, "began to take an evil turn" (Syme 1980: 107): this was after 89 CE and, together with the general place of Hermogenes in this list, makes the identification with the Greek scholar of the first century extremely unlikely.

who presented a rationalizing, humanized vision of the Greek gods.¹⁰⁹⁸ The great popularity of Euhemeros, confirmed in Rome by Ennius' *Euhemerus*, signals and isolates him among this group of authors: this may also be the reason for its place at the beginning of the second subset of names, among which he is the best known. We have 30 fragments and it is certain that Euhemeros was known by Callimachus and operated for Kassandros.¹⁰⁹⁹ The date would put Euhemeros among the earliest Greek sources to confirm the antiquity of the Jews. However, we must consider the possibility that this author may also be mentioned because his Panchoans are very close to the Panchaia of Hekataios of Abdera (late fourth century BCE).¹¹⁰⁰

Κόνων: Conon (BNJ 26) lived under Augustus and wrote *Narrations*. It has been suggested that this Conon, quoted by Josephus, is another Conon, who wrote on Italy (BNJ 26 F 3) and, probably, on Herakles (BNJ 26 F 2). However, it is not impossible (and actually, in line with the varied production of these learned figures) that it was one and the same author who wrote the *Narrations* and these other works.¹¹⁰¹ In any case, the contemporaneity with Nicolaus of Damascus hinders the possibility that Nicolaus quoted Conon in a list accurately copied by Josephus (if it is possible that the link with Jewish history came via the narration of the deluge [BNJ 26 F 1 *narr.* 27],¹¹⁰² also attested for Hermogenes [BNJ 795 F 2]). Alternatively, we can ponder that there was a reference to a tradition, also recalled by Tacitus (*Hist.* 5.1.2), whereby the Jews came from Aethiopia and descended from Andromeda, a prisoner in Joppa (Tel Aviv); the mythical memory around

1098 Doubts: Troiani 1977: 122; Barclay 2007: 123 n.737. Identification: Aubert 2015 *ad* BNJ 737 F 1. On Euhemeros' fragments, see the commentary by Christesen (2014) and the work by Winiarczyk (2013; the same author edited the text (Winiarczyk 1991), currently followed by the BNJ).

1099 BNJ 63 T4a; Callim. *Ia.* 1.9-11; BNJ 63 T 1.

1100 Euhemeros, BNJ 63 T 4e. Hekataios, BNJ 264 FF 7a and 21. Cp. Lang 2012 *ad* BNJ 264 F 8 on the difficult issue of whether Hekataios was inspired by Euhemeros, or vice versa.

1101 Two Conons: Stern 1976: 350; Troiani 1977: 122-3. Same author: Blakely 2011a. Jacoby (1923a: 499) had a more varied opinion: in his view, the author of the *Narrations* was the same rhetor mentioned by Dio Chrysostomus (*Or.* 18.12); on the other hand, Jacoby thought that there could be more than two authors for the ἱταλικά "und die in verschiedener weise zweifelhaften bücher über Herakles und die Juden."

1102 See Barclay 2007: 123 n.738, for the possibility that Josephus quotes from the mythographer and not from the historiographer.

the site of Joppa might then suffice as evidence for seeing Conon as a witness to the antiquity of the Jewish people.¹¹⁰³

Ζωπυρίων: Despite unjustified skepticism, this name is not completely obscure to us:¹¹⁰⁴ Müller (*FHG* IV 531), and Stern (1976: 450,) in fact, point to a lemma of the *Suda* on the grammarian Pamphilos (π 142, *s.v.* Πάμφιλος), a scholar who lived in the first century CE and wrote a lexicographical work *Περὶ γλωσσῶν ἧτοι λέξεων*. The first part of this accomplishment was allegedly written, from alpha to delta, by Zopyrion, who may be the same grammarian mentioned by Plutarch.¹¹⁰⁵

There may be a relationship between this Zopyrion and a Zopyros who wrote on Cilicia and is quoted by Alexander Polyhistor (*BNJ* 273 F 29), but this suggestion is not endorsed by the vague knowledge we have of Zopyros (*BNJ* 336; 494). These two Zopyros wrote on Theseus as well as geographical works; besides, we know that the name was extremely popular, and it would thus be improper to reduce all the witnesses to a single historian.¹¹⁰⁶ It is therefore better to accept general ignorance on this character, on whom we know only of a possible connection with Pamphilos, which makes him one of the most recent names of the list.

1103 Conon, *BNJ* 26 F 1 *narr.* 40. For this link with the setting of the myth of Andromedas at Joppa/Jaffa (contemporary Tel Aviv), see Stern (1976: 353), who considers Conon the mythographer a figure distinct from the historian Conon, the one implied by Joseph. *Ap.* 1.216. The setting in Judaea of Andromendas' exposition, when the woman is the daughter of Cepheus, king of the Aethiopians, was a Hellenistic innovation (Heubner – Fauth 1982: 25); more commonly, the myth takes place in Aethiopia, and it is subsumed in this traditional way, probably through Conon, by Tacitus, when he reports the theory of the Aethiopian origin of the Jews (*Hist.* 5.1.2).

1104 Labow 2005: 218 n.9; Barclay 2007: 123 n.739.

1105 Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 9.3.3, 738F; 4.1.739B. For this identification, cp. also Aubert 2015 *ad BNJ* 737 F 1. Diogenianus later abridged the glossary, under Hadrian: *Suda* δ 1140, *s.v.* Διογενειανός. The *Lexicon* of Pamphilos and Zopyrion was the first volume with an alphabetical organization. Unfortunately, we only have some information on Pamphilos, whereas scholars generally see Zopyrion as a “a shadowy character” (Matthaios 2015: 288).

1106 Relationship: Fowler 2013: 605. Cp. the skepticism of Jacoby 1955a: 82–3.

4.13.3. Aristophanes of Byzantium

Josephus' list has two sections: the first one includes Theophilos, Theodotos, Mnaseas, Aristophanes, and Hermogenes (Θεόφιλος καὶ Θεόδοτος καὶ Μνασέας καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης καὶ Ἑρμογένης); the second one goes from Euhemerus to Zopyrion (Εὐήμερος τε καὶ Κόνων καὶ Ζωπυρίων). Even if the discrepancy between these two sublists may only be a subtle example of *variatio* to relieve the reading of eight names, Josephus' knowledge of the Greek, at the end of his career,¹¹⁰⁷ invites us to use some prudence and consider whether the conjunctions may not betray a different origin for the two lists.

On the one hand, there are two Hellenized Jews (Theophilos and Theodotos), followed by a pupil of Eratosthenes, Manseas, and another possible pupil of the same figure, Aristophanes of Byzantium (if we accept the identification with the grammarian); finally, we have Hermogenes, on whom we know almost nothing, but who is probably of the third century BCE, if we exclude the later namesakes. Consequently, we are faced with four figures, whom Alexander Polyhistor may possibly know and mention in the first century BCE, and already configure into a coherent ensemble, as there are two distinct and parallel subgroups: Hellenized Jews and Eratosthenes' pupils, characterized by a vehement anti-Jewish stance.

On the other hand, there are authors who lived from the end of the fourth century BCE (Euehemerus) to the first half of the first century CE (the most likely chronological span for Zopyrion, probably known to Josephus for his observations on the Jews quoted by Apion). This second list matches names that are profoundly different, among themselves, and we cannot exclude that he either knew them directly or, if we think of Zopyrion, through Apion. We must take into serious consideration the option that, after having used Alexander Polyhistor for the first names, Josephus might have added other names from his own background while looking for a high number of *auctoritates* to impress his reader.¹¹⁰⁸ With these three names, the superficial link between Jewish history and their original

¹¹⁰⁷ Van der Horst 1996.

¹¹⁰⁸ Our ignorance of the direct text of all the eight mentioned names, in fact, should not mean that Josephus was already not in a position to read longer parts of their works. In his *Against Apion*, Josephus shows an awareness of previous scholarship, which cannot all be derivative (Barclay 2007: xxiv).

writings, such as the case of Euhemeros, may confirm a certain insouciance by Josephus in his quest for “objective” witnesses for his main argument.

The presence of the first Aristophanes immediately after Mnaseas in the first sublist, and the provenance of this section from Alexander, make an ascription to the historian not very likely. If ever, moreover, Josephus could find a mention of Kadmos or of the Gephyreans as proof of the antiquity of the Jews, the evidence of a minor local historian would probably be superseded by plenty of other sources. Since Josephus tends to force the evidence, in some instances, to refer to the Jewish sources which were meant to describe other nations, it would be specious to infer in which work Aristophanes of Byzantium, a prolific grammarian, was possibly mentioning that piece of information. Therefore, the context seems to confirm the position of the fragment in the production of the grammarian, where it should have a higher status than *dubia*.

5. Daimachos of Plataia

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5.1. The Two Daimachi: Analysis of TT 1-2 and [TT] 3-5

T 1 (= BNJ 65 T 1a; *FGrHist* 65 T 1a [Euseb. *Praep. evang.* 10.3.3 p. 464b Mras]).

“καὶ τί γὰρ Ἐφόρου ἴδιον”, <ἔφη>, “ἐκ τῶν Δαιμάχου καὶ Καλλισθένους καὶ Ἀναξιμένους αὐταῖς λέξεσιν ἔστιν ὅτε τρισχιλίους ὅλους μετατιθέντος στίχους;”

1 ἔφη Stephanus 2 ὅλους BN

“And what does really belong to Ephoros, then’ – he went on, ‘who literally copied, without exceptions, three thousand lines from those writings of Daimachos, Kallisthenes, and Anaximenes?’” (tr. S. Tufano).

T 2 (= BNJ 65 T 1b; *FGrHist* 65 T 1b [Euseb. *Praep. evang.* 10.3.23 p. 467d Mras]).

ἀλλ’ ἵνα μὴ καὶ αὐτὸς κλοπῆς ἄλλους αἰτιώμενος κλέπτῃς ἄλῳ, τοὺς πραγματευσαμένους τὰ περὶ τούτων μηνύσω. Λυσιμάχου μὲν ἔστι δύο Περὶ τῆς Ἐφόρου κλοπῆς· Ἀλκαῖος δέ, ὁ τῶν λαιδόρων ἰάμβων καὶ ἐπιγραμμάτων ποιητής, παρώιδηκε τὰς Ἐφόρου κλοπὰς ἐξελέγχων.

“So that I myself might not be found guilty of plagiarism, while accusing other people, I will mention all those authors who focus on this topic. First, there are two books by Lysimachos *On Plagiarism*; then, Alkaios (that poet of railing

iambes and epigrams), confuted and made fun of Ephoros' plagiarisms." (tr. S. Tufano).

T 3 (= *BNJ* 716 T 1; *FGrHist* 716 T 1 [Str. 2.1.9 C 70]).

ἅπαντες μὲν τοίνυν οἱ περὶ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς γράψαντες ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ψευδολόγοι γεγόνασι, καθ' ὑπερβολὴν δὲ Δηίμαχος, τὰ δὲ δεύτερα φέρει Μεγασθένης [...] ἐπέμφθησαν μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὰ Παλίμβοθρα ὁ μὲν Μεγασθένης πρὸς Σανδρόκοττον, ὁ δὲ Δηίμαχος πρὸς Ἀμιτροχάδην τὸν ἐκείνου υἱὸν κατὰ πρεσβείαν, ὑπομνήματα δὲ τῆς ἀποδημίας κατέλιπον τοιαῦτα, ὅφ' ἧς δὴ ποτε αἰτίας προαχθέντες.

2 φέρει Radt λέγει mss. ἄγει Aly 4 Σανδρόκοττον Korais ἀνδρόκοττον Λ ἀνδρόλοτον BCE Ἀμιτροχάδην Lassen ἄλλι- mss.

"Sure, all the authors of works *On India* have generally been lying, but Daimachos exceeded them all, and then comes, in second place, Megasthenes. [...] They were both sent as ambassadors to Palimbothra: Megasthenes, to the court of Sandrocottos, Daimachos to that of Amitrochades, Sandrocottos' son. They left us *Commentaries* of such a (bad) sort, moved by mysterious grounds." (tr. S. Tufano).

T 4 (= *BNJ* 716 T 2; *FGrHist* 716 T 2 [Str. 2.1.19 C 76]).

πάλιν δ' ἐκείνου τὸν Δηίμαχον ἰδιώτην ἐνδείξασθαι βουλομένου καὶ ἄπειρον τῶν τοιούτων.

"And also, when he wants to show that Daimachos is a layman and has no expertise of these subjects." (tr. S. Tufano).

T 5 (= *BNJ* 716 T 3; *FGrHist* 716 T 3 [Str. 2.1.4 C 68-9]).

πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἀπόφασιν ταύτην ὁ Ἱππαρχος ἀντιλέγει διαβάλλων τὰς πίστεις. οὔτε γὰρ Πατροκλέα πιστὸν εἶναι δυεῖν ἀντιμαρτυρούντων αὐτῷ, Δηϊμάχου τε καὶ Μεγασθένης, οἱ καθ'οὺς μὲν τόπους δισμυρίων εἶναι σταδίων τὸ διάστημά φασι τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ μεσημβρίαν θαλάττης, καθ'οὺς δὲ καὶ τρισμυρίων· τούτους τε δὴ τοιαῦτα λέγειν καὶ τοὺς ἀρχαίους πίνακας τούτοις ὁμολογεῖν.

2 οὐδέ Meineke δυοῖν B 3 τε Korais γε mss.

“Hipparchos answers by disproving these causes. Because Patrokles was not reliable, as he is contradicted by two witnesses, Daimachos and Megasthenes, who say that the distance from the southern sea is, at some points, twenty thousand stadia, in others, thirty thousand. He says that they mention these numbers and that the ancient maps confirm them.” (tr. S. Tufano).

5.1.1. The Namesakes: Two Biographies

Our witnesses on Daimachos as a historian can hardly all be connected to the same figure. A first group of sources (TT 1-2) revolves around information ascribed by Eusebius to Porphyrios, who probably read Lysimachos of Alexandria (cp. *infra*). Another series of passages in Strabo’s *Geography* refers to an ambassador who wrote on India. Strabo also mentions him along with Megasthenes: Strabo’s probable intermediary source was Eratosthenes, who could probably still read Daimachos and Megasthenes.¹¹⁰⁹

The first Daimachos was plagiarized by Ephoros in his *Histories* (*BNJ* 70 T 17), which means that Daimachos finished his work by 340 BCE, the date of the siege of Perinthos,

¹¹⁰⁹ TT 3-5. Cp. *BNJ* 716 F 3. For the origin from Eratosthenes of the quotes from Daimachos and Megasthenes, see Dognini 2000: 100 and Roller 2010: 138-9.

the last event personally touched upon by Ephoros in the composition of his work.¹¹¹⁰ The second consequence of this tradition is that Daimachos was coterminous with Anaximenes (BNJ 72 T 28) and Kallisthenes (BNJ 124 T 33), the other two writers of Ἑλληνικά who are mentioned in the same context. In fact, we must consider that Ephoros had all these books available when he finished the draft of the first twenty-nine books of his *Histories*: this gives us a *terminus ante quem* of around 330 BCE.¹¹¹¹

There is a high degree of homogeneity in the list of Anaximenes, Kallisthenes, and Daimachos, if we consider their dates and the characteristics of their production. Despite the impossibility that Daimachos also wrote the *Hellenica of Oxyrhynchos*,¹¹¹² as suggested by Jacoby (1924; 1950), the detail on the plagiarism of Ephoros is explicit in defining Daimachos' work on the same level as that of the other names that occur with him.

Since no witness explicitly mentions Daimachos' Ἑλληνικά, the existence of this title has been strongly suspected, but this is not enough to doubt the value of Lysimachos' comparison: this author, in his *On the Plagiarism of Ephoros* (BNJ 382 F 22), was probably comparing Daimachos with two other universal historians (T 2) and not contrasting a

1110 The suggestion of later dates for the completion of this part of the work does not take into account the fact that both Aristotle and Lykourgos used Ephoros. We infer from an observation by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* 1.139.3 = BNJ 70 F 223), that Ephoros probably meant to deal with events until 335 BCE, but the project was interrupted from a lack of time (Breglia 1996: 63–4; Prandi 2013b: 684–5).

1111 Davies 2013: 59 and n.11. On Ephoros' method and on his work in general, see Barber 1935, Schepens 1977, Parmeggiani 2011, and the essays edited by de Fidio – Talamo 2013 (among which, Landucci Gattinoni 2013 confirms the main date which I follow in the text).

1112 To respect the structure of the *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, J. Engels (2011a), editor of Daimachos of Plataia for Brill's *New Jacoby* (65), re-quotes the *Hellenika of Oxyrhynchos* as a fifth fragment (BNJ 65 F 5), despite discrediting Jacoby's trust in this authorship (1924). However, it now seems better to align it with the few certain data we possess on Daimachos and deny him this work, as G.L. Barber first suggested (Barber 1935: ix n.1; for a critical overview, cp. Camacho Rojo 1994: 537–40, *spec.* 537–8). We still lack positive evidence on the authorship of the *Hellenika Oxyrhynchia*; see, at least, Grenfell – Hunt 1909; Meyer 1909; Gigante 1949; Jacoby 1950; Bartoletti 1959; Bruce 1970; Accame 1978; Canfora 1988; McKechnie – Kern 1988; Chambers 1993; Bianchetti – Cataudella 2001; Behrwald 2005; Bleckmann 2006; Cuniberti 2009, and Occhipinti 2016. It is sometimes forgotten what H. Bloch (1940: 303–76, *spec.* 344) and R. Nicolai (2006: 693–720, *spec.* 708 and n.53) rightly observed, i.e. that Dionysius of Halikarnassos (*Thuc.* 9) does not know any historian who, like the author of the *Hellenika*, organized their subject matter for military campaigns: this means that he might as well be a writer whose name is completely obscure to us.

local historian, Daimachos, with different figures.¹¹¹³ If, moreover, it is uncertain whether these authors are listed by Porphyrios in chronological order (Daimachos > Anaximenes > Kallisthenes),¹¹¹⁴ the witnesses on Anaximenes (*ca.* 380–20 BCE; *BNJ* 72)¹¹¹⁵ and on Kallisthenes (*ca.* 370–27 BCE; *BNJ* 124)¹¹¹⁶ confirm that these two wrote before Ephoros.¹¹¹⁷

This same Daimachos was quoted by Athenaeus Mechanicus in a passage, which consists in a series of sources: according to Jacoby (1926a: 4) and to Zecchini (1997: 192–3), the names are registered in chronological order,¹¹¹⁸ even though the section (F 5) is textually troublesome and it is not completely certain whether Daimachos worked after Aineas Tacticus, whose *Poliorketika* were written in the first half of the fifties of the fourth century BCE.¹¹¹⁹ This fragment was not considered a witness, in previous scholarship, because of doubts that still exist on the authorship of the mentioned work (*cp. infra*) and on the chronological criterion behind the list.¹¹²⁰

The second Daimachos wrote a treatise on India¹¹²¹ as a result of his mission in the region. Daimachos was sent by a Seleukid king, probably Antiochos I,¹¹²² to Palimbothra (*skr.*

1113 Dognini 2000: 103–4. *Cp.*, from a different point of view, Zecchini (1997: 192): “Dalla testimonianza di Lisimaco [...] si può [...] ricavare che [...] Daimaco dovette scrivere un’opera analoga a quelle di Callistene e di Anassimene, con cui è citato, cioè *Elleniche*.”

1114 For the suggestion of a chronological disposition of these names, see Zecchini 1997: 192. However, it is not completely certain whether Anaximenes actually lived long before Kallisthenes.

1115 On Anaximenes, see *infra* in text.

1116 Prandi (1985; 2013b, *spec.* 692–3) confirmed both the plausibility that Kallisthenes’ work was known and usable by Ephoros, and his chronological precedence (*cp.*, on the precedence of Daimachos and Kallisthenes over Ephoros, Niese 1909: 175 n.2). Therefore, it should no longer be repeated that Ephoros lived and operated before Kallisthenes (Parmeggiani 2011: 62 n.125).

1117 For this reason, Dognini (2000: 101) suggested that Daimachos was born *ca.* 370 BCE.

1118 The passage is discussed as Daimachos’ F 5 (=Ath. Mech. 5.11–6.1).

1119 On the date of Aeneas Tacticus, see Bettalli 1990: 5 and the scholarship mentioned by Zecchini 1997: 198 n. 39. Zecchini considers the production of Aeneas Tacticus a “certissimo *terminus post quem* per la composizione dell’opera” (*ibid.* 193), because he credits the first Daimachos with the Πολιορκητικά.

1120 *Cp.* Engels 2011a *ad BNJ* 65 F 3: he is skeptical on the documentary value of this list, whereas Primo (2009: 82 n.128) and Jacoby (1926a: 4: “deutlich chronologisch”) believe that the order is chronological.

1121 The transmitted titles are ὑπομνήματα (*BNJ* 716 T 1), Περί Ἰνδικῆς (F 1) and Ἰνδικά (F 4: probably the original title: Schwarz 1969: 296; Primo 2009: 82–3; I doubt, however, that the variation ὑπομνήματα, in Str. 2.1.9.70, has the goal of diminishing the work, because, in the same context, two despised authors like Daimachos and Megasthenes are credited with a περί Ἰνδικῆς).

Pāṭaliputra, today Pāṭnā)¹¹²³ to visit Bindusāra/Amitraghāta,¹¹²⁴ a Maurya king, who was the son of the founder of this Indian dynasty, Çandragupta/Sandracottus.¹¹²⁵

Bindusāra was Ashoka's father, a kinship which partially helps us date this Mauryan king, because Ashoka is better known, thanks to an important series of bilingual edicts, discovered and published in the last century.¹¹²⁶ On the basis of the date of king Bindusāra's death (273 BCE), he succeeded to the throne sometime between 301 and 298 BCE.¹¹²⁷ Since Daimachos' embassy was planned by Antiochos I (on the throne since 281/0 BCE), we should imagine the trip to India in the first half of the seventies.¹¹²⁸

1122 On this Daimachos, see Schwartz 1901; Schwarz 1969, *spec.* 295 and n.12; Meister 1990: 142; Dognini 2000; Primo 2009: 82-5; Engels 2011b; Kosmin 2014: 34-5 and 267.

1123 For an introduction to the history of this city, capital of the Maurya kingdom, see Kosmin 2014: 21-2 (on Megasthenes' description as of *BNJ* 715 F 27b) and Lahiri 2015: 43-65 (with due consideration of the non-Greek sources).

1124 The second name is a military epithet, whence the Greek rendering Ἀμιτροχάτης/-δης. See Karttunen 1997: 264 and Kosmin 2014: 34-5 on this name and on the variations in Sanskrit, *Amitraghāta*/*-khāda*. Radt printed Ἀμιτροχάδην (T 3), with a conservative attitude in the second part of the personal name, despite the variant Ἀμιτροχάτης of Hegesandros, *FHG* 43 = Ath. 14.67.652F; the mu in the first part is based on the intervention of Lassen, because the transmitted Ἀλλιτροχάδης cannot be accepted, since it would add an otherwise unattested *Allitrochades (considered likely by Dognini 2000: 96-7). The form must be a mistake in the passage from the capital to the minuscule writing, from an M read as ΛΛ. There are no clear indications on the reign of Bindusāra, since we only know that he succeeded to the throne 24 years after his father Çandragupta, but this event is subject to strong variations in our sources (324/ 317/ 312 BCE); a second ambiguity concerns the length of his kingdom, from 24 to 27/8 years, according to the available sources.

1125 The founder Σανδρόκοττος already received the visit of Megasthenes, according to our T 3. This king had a positive relationship with Seleukos I Nikator, and the two kings signed a treaty (known as the "Treaty of the Indus") in 305 BCE. This treaty may be considered "a constitutive act of the Hellenistic state system" (Kosmin 2014: 33): as a result, Seleukos received 500 elephants and recognized the annexion of the Paropamisos, the Arachosia and the Gedrosia to the Mauryan kingdom (Str. 15.2.9.724; App. *Syr.* 282; Just. *Epit.* 15.4; Plut. *Alex.* 62.4). On this event, see Skurzak 1964; Karttunen 1989: 199 and 260-1; Wheatley – Heckley in Yardley – Wheatley – Heckley 2011: 291-6; Kosmin 2014: 32-7.

1126 On these inscriptions, cp. Pugliese Carratelli – Garbini – Tucci – Scerrato 1964 and Pugliese Carratelli 2003; on Ashoka, see Lahiri 2015.

1127 See, on these chronological issues, Dognini 2000: 97; Kosmin (2014: 362) and Lahiri (2015: 25) suggest the extremes of 298/7 and 273/2 BCE.

1128 The tradition on this embassy (T 5) has been considered the historical background of the anecdote assigned by Athenaeus (14.67.652 F-653A) to the grammarian Hegesandros of Delphi, according to whom Bindusāra wrote to Antiochos to ask for sweet wine, dry figs, and a philosopher. Antiochos only declined the last request, because it was against Greek habits. The anecdote probably derives from actual contacts between the Seleukids and the Maurya (Karttunen 2001: 173), but on its own does not prove, as maintained by Dognini (2000: 97-8), that Daimachos was sent

It is therefore impossible that the first Daimachos, who lived in the central decades of the fourth century BCE, also wrote *Indika*.¹¹²⁹ We can only concede a kinship tie between the two namesakes, on the basis of the few occurrences of the name in Boiotia (grandfather and nephew?).¹¹³⁰ The origin of Plataia is certain for both namesakes: the first Daimachos is

to India by Antiochos I and not by Seleukos (Primo 2009: 20–1. 83–4, after Virgilio 2003: 84, thinks that the story might be an autoschediasm from Daimachos' works, which is hardly demonstrable based on the fragments; on the story, see shortly Kosmin 2014: 35). On the level of cultural contact between these reigns, see Schwarz 1969: 303–4 and, in general, Tarn 1938; Schwarz 1966; Karttunen 1989 and 2001; Primo 2009; Bianchetti – Bucciattini 2014 and Kosmin 2014. On a second level, this plausible chronology is confirmed by the fact that Daimachos' mission seems to have been later than Megasthenes' one (T 3). Megasthenes' mission is usually imagined after 305 BCE (Zambrini 1985), even if Bosworth (1996) suggests that we might anticipate his presence in India, on the basis of Arr. *Ind.* 5.3 (BNJ 716 T 2b), where Megasthenes is credited with a visit to Sandrokottos and to Poros, who died in 318 BCE (cp. Roller 2008 *ad loc.*). This witness, however, is ambiguous and may not refer to a trip to the predecessor of Çandragupta (Zambrini 2014: 244–5): in fact, even if there is no reason to change the text of Arrian, it is more likely that the first travel was to Sandrokottos after 305 BCE (Roller 2008; Zambrini 2014). This scenario confirms, then, the posteriority of Daimachos (Primo 2009: 82) and definitely excludes that the second Daimachos, later than Megasthenes, may be the same source of Ephoros.

1129 The incompatibility of the first witness (T 1) with the traditions on the second Daimachos has long been perceived by scholars like Clinton, who preferred correcting Eusebius (cp. Stemplinger 1912: 47–8 and Gudeman 1928: 36, with previous scholarship). The existence of a single Daimachos was once suggested by Voss (1624: 60–1), who was replying to Casaubon (1583: 11, where Casaubon assigns to the first Daimachos of Diog. Laert. 1.30 [F 3] the historical work, the siegecraft and *On Piety*). The thesis was then revived in the nineteenth century (Müller *FHG* II 440–2) and found new arguments with Schwartz (1901; 1909: 405–6). Recently, the inexistence of a Daimachos of the fourth century BCE has been repeated by Parmeggiani (2011: 62–3 and n.125), according to whom “che sia veramente esistito un Daimaco di Platea predecessore di Eforo e autore di una *Zeitgeschichte*, diverso dal Daimaco di Platea autore di *Indika* nel III sec. a.C., è una certezza solo per Jacoby” (62). Eusebius (*FGrHist* 65 T 1a–b), however, was not the only basis on which Jacoby (1926a: 4) built his subdivision, and we should take into account that Athenaeus Mechanicus (F 5) quotes Daimachos in a context of authors of the fourth century (for this reason, too, Bayle 1740: 363 n.C had to admit that “il est sûr que celui qu’Athénée cite avoit fait une Relation des Indes” and that Ephoros lived until the middle third century BCE). There is now, moreover, a growing appreciation of Ephoros' original contribution to historiography: it is this new reading of his method that should reassure us on the possible reliability of these witnesses, with all due consideration of their excesses, despite Parmeggiani's criticisms of these philological attacks on Ephoros (*ibid.* 61–2). Hornblower 1995: 672: “It certainly seems that history-writing was something of a family tradition among the Daimachi.” On the reuse of personal names in Boiotia, cp. *supra* 4.7.3. *ad* Ἀνάξανδρος.

1130 Since he came from Plataia, the original form of the personal name must be Δαίμαχος and not, as in Strabo, Δηίμαχος. The personal name Δαίμαχος has only five occurrences in Boiotia: three come from Plataia, namely the two historians and Eupompidas' son (Thuc. 3.20.1); the other two lived in Tanagra (*IG* 7.882: first century BCE *ex.* – first century CE *in.*) and in Thebes (*IG* 7.2557: a Δαίμαχος who may have lived in the fifth century BCE). The greatest number of figures with this name comes from the Peloponnese from the early fourth century BCE (in Triphylia: *SEG* XXXV 389,8) to the middle of the third century BCE (in Sparta: *IG* 4.1.².96,30). In other regions, there are sparse and limited occurrences: in Asia Minor, Megara (third century BCE), and Pergamon (145 BCE: *LGPV* V A s. v.), whereas an inscription from Oropos (*I.Oropos* 170,3: second half of the third century BCE) recalls a Δηίμαχος from Phaselis, in Lycia. On the basis of evidence collected in *LGPV* III A, we know that there were four Daimachi in total, considering

claimed as Plataian only in our F 4, where Plutarch calls him Πλαταιεύς; the other occurrence of the ethnic, in a fragment on the Seven Wisemen, is only valid if we accept the correction Πλαταιικός suggested by Casaubon (1583), but the transmitted Πλατωνικός can actually be kept (F 3).¹¹³¹

An explicit confirmation of this family tradition comes from a character mentioned by Thucydides among the Plataian exiles, namely Eupompidas, Daimachos' son (3.20,1: τοῦ Δαϊμάχου: according to Hornblower, an important informer of Thucydides on the siege of Plataia).¹¹³² Since Thucydides shows an exceptional knowledge of the siege, it could be that he got his information from Eupompidas, who may then be the father of the historian who worked in the fourth century BCE.¹¹³³ If we compare this prosopography with Plutarch's clear mention of the origin of the historian Daimachos as being from Plataia (F 4), we can gather that there was a family in Plataia that can claim two historians between the fourth and third centuries, and that they occupied the higher echelons of the city.¹¹³⁴

5.1.2. Works and Authorship

On the basis of the previous discussion of the respective chronology of the two Daimachi, we can only be certain that the first one wrote a universal history, used by Ephoros, and that the second one wrote a monograph on India. The main issues concern the other titles assigned by our witnesses to a Daimachos: Jacoby (*FGrHist* 65) maintained that the first Daimachos wrote on siegecraft and the *On Piety*, whereas Engels (2011a *BNJ* 65), while confirming this picture, is more doubtful on its subdivision.

Only three (FF 5–7) of the seven fragments, in fact, include the title (Πολιορκητικά and Περὶ εὐσεβείας), whereas the other four cases are not assigned to any specific work. A

Western Greece (in Aitolia [*Syll.*³ 499,2: 232/228 BCE] and, maybe, in Ambracia [*SEG* XXXV 665 A 1.5; 665 B 23]), Magna Graecia (Tarentum: *LGP*N III A s.v. (9)), and Sicily (a Syracusan, mentioned by Polyaeus, *Strat.* 1.43.1).

1131 See *infra* 5.4.1.

1132 Hornblower 1991: 405–6; Hornblower 1995: 672–3 [=2012: 124–5]; Hornblower 1996: 136.

1133 Trevett 1990: 417, according to whom Daimachos was also Apollodoros' source on the Plataian siege, the real author of [Dem.] 59.

1134 I would therefore not share Zecchini's skepticism (1997: 192) of Daimachos' origin from Plataia, which probably derives from the uncertainty of this scholar (*ibid.* 198 n.40) on the ascription of F 3.

scrutiny of these fragments will confirm their likely provenance from a universal history, because the disparate character of the themes depends on the agendas of the witnesses. Moreover, the chronological distance between the subjects, from the traditions on Aitolos (F 1) to Achilles (F 2) and the Seven Wisemen (F 3), does not necessarily mean that this was a local history, since the geographical horizon is too vast.¹¹³⁵ The case of Aristophanes, who covered both myths and the so-called *spatium historicum* in his *Boiotian Histories* and in the *Theban Annals*, shows how universal history can also imply such a variety, if it found a place in such a different genre.

Much more problematic is the situation concerning the other two writings attributed to Daimachos (FF 5-7): first of all, the list where Athenaeus Mechanicus (5,11-6,1 = F 5)¹¹³⁶ quotes Daimachos, author of a treatise on siegecraft, before Diades, Carias,¹¹³⁷ and Pyrrhos,¹¹³⁸ might not be enough to date the Πολιορκητικά to the second half of the fourth century BCE (excluding, in this way, that they were written by the second Daimachos). After Jacoby, a few scholars have therefore tried to assign the work on siegecraft and the *On Piety* to the second Daimachos.¹¹³⁹ It will be shown that, in the absence of compelling proof that the siegecraft treatise belongs to the second Daimachos, it is wiser to assign it to his homonymous predecessor.

1135 Dognini 2000: 103-4; Prandi 2013b: 691 n.35.

1136 The passage is textually vexed and the name of Daimachos is a correction to the transmitted διηνέχου; for a discussion of the main issues, see Gatto 2010: 262 and *infra* 5.6.1.

1137 Diades is considered Alexander's assistant during the siege of Tyre (Engels 2011a *ad BNJ* 65 F 3) and is generally associated with Carias, with whom he might have written on siegecraft (Whitehead – Blyth 2004: 71-2). However, there are no precise details on their chronology, apart from their placement at the end of the fourth century BCE, and from their participation in Alexander's campaigns; see *infra* (5.6.1) for the possibility that Carias is not actually quoted by Athenaeus.

1138 Most certainly, the king of Epirus and Macedonia (319-272 BCE; cp. Engels 2011a *ad BNJ* 65 F 3; Whitehead – Blyth 2004: 72 on his writings on siegecraft and his *Hypomnemata* [BNJ 229]).

1139 Engels 2011a, for example, follows Jacoby's subdivision, with strong skepticism. Gärtner 1964 and Schwarz 1969 assigned the Πολιορκητικά and the Περί εὐσεβείας to the second Daimachos, while Dognini 2000 thinks that the ambassador only also wrote an *On Piety*. Gatto (2010: 500) seems to assign to the second Daimachos *Indika* and *Poliorketika*. For example, Schwarz (1969: 297-8) suggested that a work on siegecraft would better suit a courtisan than an ambassador who wrote on India: this is not enough to ascribe it to the second Daimachos, especially because the circular argument ends with a completely hypothetical relationship between the military innovations of the Maurya and the arrival of Daimachos. If the second Daimachos could be a typical Hellenistic writer of many genres, the same hypothesis should be considered for his predecessor (Hornblower 1995: 673).

The production of works quoted as *On Piety* is attested from the beginning of the history of Greek philosophy: it continues until the first Hellenistic period, and manifests a constant interest in the motif of εὐσέβεια.¹¹⁴⁰ Any visiting Greek would have been impressed by the connection that the edicts of Ashoka assume between the Indian concept of *dharma* and the Greek *eusebeia*.¹¹⁴¹ Yet, if we only consider Theophrastos' earlier Περὶ εὐσεβείας (written around 315/4 BCE),¹¹⁴² we understand the risks of a teleological reconstruction, where every argument is meant to show the presumption that visiting or being in India necessarily elicits certain interests, or justifies the writing of certain works.¹¹⁴³ In the middle of the fourth century BCE, there may already be a strong interest in themes like the *hereumata*,¹¹⁴⁴ which invites us to use some prudence on the nature and authorship of *On Piety*. It is methodically wise to assign to the first Daimachos the works on siegecraft and *On Piety*, if, prudently, because we should eventually consider the further existence of

1140 On the popularity of this topic, see Schwarz 1969: 298–303; on the writings Περὶ εὐσεβείας, see shortly *infra* 5.8.3 (the title does not necessarily assume a treatment of εὐσέβεια).

1141 Schwartz 1969: 301–3 (on a possible analogy between the two concepts, see already Pugliese Carratelli 1953; however, the concept of *dharma* is extremely complex, as was observed by Karttunen 2001: 175, who recalls how, on some Greek coins of the first century BCE, the adjective *dharmika* is translated δίκαιος).

1142 Theophr. FF 580–8 Fortenbaugh. On the fragments of this essay, possibly a dialogue (Fortenbaugh 2011: 57 n.177), see Pötscher 1964 and Ditadi 2005 (with Fortenbaugh 2007).

1143 Dognini (2000: 102), who follows Schwarz, adds that the testimony of Pliny the Elder further demonstrates that the second Daimachos wrote an *On Piety* (HN 69.149, on the prediction of Anaxagoras, which is also the subject of Daimachos' F 7). Since the Latin author claims to have read and known the writings of Hipparchos, a mathematician and astronomer of the second century BCE (Dicks 1960; Repellini 1984; Bianchetti 2001; Shcheglov 2005, on the connection with Daimachos), and this Hipparchos praised and liked the writings of the second Daimachos (Hipparchos F 12 Dicks = Daimachos BNJ 716 T 3), Hipparchos could only have known the second Daimachos, to whom we must owe the indirect anecdote of Plin. HN 69.149. This argument fails to consider, however, the richness of the cultural interests of Hipparchos: from what we know, this mathematician turned to a variety of sources, and cannot simply be considered an imitator or follower of Daimachos on the basis of one fragment (Shcheglov 2005). It is therefore hard to imagine how many and whether there were many admirers of the second Daimachos: another potential risk comes from the consideration of Str. 2.1.17.74 (Dognini 2000: 100–1), which refers to οἱ περὶ Δημάχων. The expression does not qualify his followers or admirers, because περὶ with the accusative of a personal name can also be used as a periphrasis for the name of a single person, and this is certainly the case, for example, in Str. 2.1.18.75: κατὰ τοὺς περὶ Δημάχων (cp. the translations of Aujac 1969: 23 and Radt 1980: 53; on this use of περὶ, see LSJ s.v. περὶ C I.2; Kühner – Gerth 1898: 269–70; Radt 1980: 48; Radt 1988).

1144 Fortenbaugh 2011: 136–42. It should also be noted that the Indian production of *Dharmaśāstras*, writings on the idea of *dharma* meant as a royal homage, actually began in the same years, if not slightly later, as Daimachos' trip to India. The ascetic and ritual ideal of *dharma* was especially developed under the Maurya dynasty, and, more specifically, after Aśoka's implementation of Imperial theology (on this, see Olivelle 2009).

more namesakes and it would be ultimately unfair to ascribe to the second Daimachos, clearly and always attached to the works on India, all the other titles.

Since the main aim of the present investigation is to study the development of local Boiotian historiography, and the place of Daimachos is as a representative of a different and new approach,¹¹⁴⁵ I will follow the prudent option to only exclude Indian ethnography. It will be assumed that the first Daimachos very likely wrote the three works considered here.

5.1.3. Eusebius and Literature on Plagiarism

The most important witness on Daimachos claims that the historian was a plagiarist. The information comes from Eusebius' *Praeparatio euangelica* (312–25 CE), written as a prelude to his *Demonstratio Euangelica*. The *Praep. evang.* represents the summa of the previous Christian apologetic literature: the overall project of the author is mostly a positive demonstration of the greater validity of the new faith, as opposed to previous pagan culture.¹¹⁴⁶ The text has been read as a library in prose because, through the long quotes from pagan, Jewish, and Christian sources, Eusebius recalls his own activity as a librarian; he was trying to put forward a new model, ideologically conceived, from his perspective, to reflect the greater prestige of Christian culture.¹¹⁴⁷

1145 Jacoby 1955a: 152: “[W]ährend in Athen die epichorischen nachfolger des Hellanikos dabei bleiben die geschichte Athens in der lokalen form der *Atthis* zu schreiben, wählen jetzt böotische historiker – Daimachos (no. 65), Anaxis (no. 67), Dionysodoros (no. 68) die panhellenische form der *Hellenika*.” Anaxis (*BNJ* 67) and Dionysodoros (*BNJ* 68) are little more than names to us, as they are only mentioned once by Diodorus (15.95.4), who claims that their works extend to 361/0 BCE; apart from a further fragment of Dionysodoros on Samothrace (*BNJ* 68 F 1), the vast debate on their works exclusively concerns assumptions, which cannot often be substantiated (Engels 2008 *ad BNJ* 68 T 1; on these historians, cp. also *supra* 1.2.4).

1146 For this reading, cp. Inowlocki 2011: 221. Eusebius pursues this aim by showing an articulated and ample knowledge: after refuting pagan culture (books 1–6), he goes on to defend Jewish culture in books 7–9 and then directly addresses the weaknesses of pagan philosophy (books 10–15). On the structure of the *Praeparatio*, and on its relationship with *Demonstratio*, see Morlet 2011, *spec.* 124–5.

1147 Cp. Inowlocki 2011 for this interpretation of the text (*ibid.* 201: “In the *Praeparatio*, the extensive number of citations calls up the image of a collection of books, not only because of the quantity of authors quoted, but also because of the large size of the quotations”).

The subcontext of the witness on Daimachos is a quote from Porphyrios' *Φιλόλογος ἀκρόασις* (FF 408–10 Smith): in this work, Porphyrios described a banquet held in Athens at Longinus' place. Longinus, the dedicatee of the treatise, was the teacher of Porphyrios and was executed in 273 CE.¹¹⁴⁸ Eusebius knows Porphyrios' *Φιλόλογος ἀκρόασις* quite well, and does not always refer to it with a polemical vein:¹¹⁴⁹ in fact, he sees a valid witness in Porphyrios, who, as a pagan, was aware of the limits of his own culture.¹¹⁵⁰ The first part of the discussion of Porphyrios is on Ephoros and Theopompos,¹¹⁵¹ in contrast to the main tendency of contemporary rhetorical treatises, where historians of the fourth century BCE were generally ignored; older and Classical names like Herodotus and Thucydides were more popular in the third century CE.¹¹⁵²

Ephoros and Theopompos were often accused of plagiarizing their predecessors, but, as the same characters of the dialogue admit, an almost literal quote from a previous work was a habit that crossed many literary genres beyond historiography (F 410 Smith). The peripatetic Proxenes concedes to his fellow neo-Platonicians that Plato extensively copied Protagoras, as a long tradition of criticism towards Plato had repeated for centuries.¹¹⁵³

As a guest at the banquet, Porphyrios adds a series of Classical loci, to show the popularity and the diffusion of this habit. Replying to him, the wise Caustrios signals the impressive case of Ephoros, who transcribed three thousand lines from Anaximenes, Kallisthenes, and Daimachos. Caustrios' source for this was the *On Plagiarism of Ephorus* by Lysimachos (BNJ 382 F 22), who was among the first authors who systematically organized observations on the plagiarisms of a single writer into a monograph. A further, but less likely, source for this material is represented by the work of the poet Alkaios, who

1148 On this figure, see Männlein-Robert 2003.

1149 Cp. Carriker 2003: 115–23.

1150 Eusebius' entire production has been read as that of an "Anti-Porphyrios", although there are many possible criticisms of this simplistic view; see Morlet 2011 and, for his use of Porphyrios, Hofsky 2002: 273.

1151 Porph. F 408 Smith = Euseb. *Praep. evang.* 10.3,1–15.

1152 Stemplinger 1912: 46. According to Männlein-Robert (2003: 271–2) and Parmeggiani (2011: 58 and n.113), the choice of Theopompos derives from the accusations that this historian acted against Plato (see Morison 2014 *ad* BNJ 115 F 338) and in general from his hostility towards the philosopher.

1153 Euseb. *Praep. evang.* 10.3.24–5. On the allegations of plagiarism against Plato, see Brisson 1993 and Roscalla 2006b: 82–102.

probably did not write a book exclusively devoted to this subject, but only accused Ephoros in his verses.¹¹⁵⁴

Both Lysimachos and Ephoros, anyway, were to pave the way on this topic.¹¹⁵⁵ This Lysimachos is probably the same author of *Thebaika Paradoxa* and *Nostoi* (BNJ 382),¹¹⁵⁶ generally dated somewhere from the beginning of the second century to the middle of the first century BCE; he may come before other authors who lived at the beginning of the Imperial period and gave rise to an actual scholarship on plagiarism – a “Tendenz”, which answered to a new stance towards this behaviour.¹¹⁵⁷

Originally, plagiarism and imitation may have also be seen as neutral hommages, signs of the fortune of an author or of a work; with the contraposition of Asianism and Atticism, deflexed as an antithesis between the acceptance of linguistic innovations *v.z.* a conservative classicism, a new negative judgment started to gain fame. It was by no chance that a negative stance developed on this aptitude of revival and mimicry.¹¹⁵⁸

1154 Cp. Stemplinger 1912: 33. Some scholars claim that the poet Alkaios was inspired by Lysimachos in his accusation of Ephoros (Gudeman 1928: 34; Ziegler 1950: 1980; Männlein-Robert 2001: 279; Parmeggiani 2011: 59 n.118). However, it is not certain whether Lysimachos preceded Alkaios (Schachter 2010), because this Lysimachos may have lived later (cp. *infra* and Meliadò 2010): the date of this poet between the third and the second centuries BCE, would make the two names almost contemporary, even if we accept an early date for Lysimachos (see on this problem Bonsignore 2015: 4-5).

1155 Ragone (2013: 190-1) suggests that such traditions lay behind the scommatic literature on Ephoros, finally echoed by Strabo (13.3,6.623), who recalls such accusations when dealing with the difficult relationship between Ephoros and Kyme (BNJ 70 F 36).

1156 As maintained by Schachter (2010), there are doubts on the exact authorship of the *Returns* (cp. Jacoby 1955a: 165-7): it is probable that the Lysimachos who wrote *Nostoi* and *Thebaika Paradoxa* is not the same writer of *Aigyptiaka* (BNJ 621; on the contrary, Bar-Kochva 2010: 307-16 has argued for the existence of only one Lysimachos). In both cases, despite the uncertainties on his chronology, the work *On the Plagiarism of Ephorus* is an expression of the Alexandrine philology and, in its method, does not contrast the picture we gather from the Lysimachos who wrote *Nostoi*.

1157 “Tendenz”: Peter 1911: 450; see Stemplinger 1912: 36-8 for the reasons and the forms of this change.

1158 On plagiarism in Classical literature, see Peter 1911; Stemplinger 1912; Hosius 1913; Ziegler 1950; Ackermann 2003; Roscalla 2006 and McGill 2012 (on Latin literature). Given the semantic closeness to the area of the theft in both Classical languages (κλοπή, *furtum*: on the Latin *surripio*, more frequent than *furor*, see McGill 2012: 8-9), the reuse of a previous source, without the acknowledgement of the debt, was not always appreciated, despite some reconstructions on the topic (Engels 2011a *ad* BNJ 65 T 1ab, who recognizes the limits of our evidence; only μίμησις, as shown by Stemplinger 1912: 30-1, was never considered a possible allegation). In the history of the theoretical approaches to this topic, in fact, the beginning is represented by the frequent accusations of indebtedly copying predecessors, first in comedy (Sonnino 1998), and then among different philosophical schools (cp. e.g. Brisson 1993 and Roscalla 2006b).

The accusations against Ephoros are not very different, in their hatred, from the assumed plagiarism, which Malone denounced in his edition of Shakespeare in 1790, where Malone identified the literal copy of 1771 verses from contemporary or preceding playwrights. The parallel was suggested by Stempler (1912: 33), who noticed the great attention of Classical sources to the theme of plagiarism: such a comparison is all the more compelling, once we observe how Ephoros' work appears as a wise rereading of, and literary dialogue with, a number of sources. These could be literally quoted, but also reorganized and matched in an original way in a historiographical program. Ephoros' outlook was characterized by polycentrism, which is among the brands of his age: the explicit use of written sources, with a verbatim quote, is one of the main features of this literary period.¹¹⁵⁹

When Ephoros used or mentioned a source, however, he was not hiding his authorial persona in order to plagiarize the source without mentioning it: for example, it has been shown that, in the description of the participation of the Naxians in the Battle of Salamis, Ephoros drew on Herodotus, but also critically interacted with this relevant predecessor.¹¹⁶⁰ The fourth century historian is aware of the idiosyncracies of Herodotus' text and contrasts him with local historiographical traditions to provide the reader with a wider historical

passim; this first moment of the history of ancient plagiarism theories was partially neglected by Stempler 1912: 12–6 and has been recently reconsidered by Roscaglia 2006b). These first attacks were mostly “ritualised insults” (Heath 1990: 152) and they slowly gave way to a more varied production, in the later period, which not only focused on the demerits of the alleged plagiarist (see, for instance, Stempler 1912: 6–10, on the single works and on their not necessarily derogatory intent). This scholarship moved from a series of titles that systematically studied literal reprises (Stempler 1912: 17–8 recalled how Eratosthenes nicknamed his pupil Andreas βιβλιαίγιθος, because, just like the fraudulent Aigisthos, he published Eratosthenes' writings under his name) and the parallels (e.g. Aristophanes of Byzantium's *Παράλληλοι Μενάνδρου τε και ἀφ' οὗ ἐκλεψεν ἐκλογαί* [F 376 Slater]: see Sonnino 1998: 24 n.28); furthermore, there was an interest in apparently casual overlappings (e.g. the *Περὶ συνεμπτώσεως* of Aretades, *ap.* Porph. F 409 Smith, who will hardly coincide with the namesake historian Aretades [BNJ 285; see Ceccarelli 2011a]). Ephoros' work is an intermediate stage between the two periods, since his reuse of his predecessors is not a proper form of pseudigraphy, or a sign of admiration.

¹¹⁵⁹ Stempler (1912: 34–5) suggested that Lysimachos' interest in Ephoros was inspired by his personal research into the characteristics of a perfect historical work. On the overall use by universal historians of preceding authors, as a general new historiographical method, useful comments in Marincola 2007b: 178–9.

¹¹⁶⁰ Vannicelli 2013b. For other examples of Ephoros' commitment with these sources, see Stempler 1912: 47.

picture to enlarge the perspective.¹¹⁶¹ The reuse of Ephoros, then, is an indirect homage to the quoted authors, with a critical approach to them, because,

“nella letteratura antica [...] il confine tra plagio ed influsso è tenue: tutto dipende dalla volontà di chi accede all’opera dell’autore preso a modello o come punto di riferimento.”¹¹⁶²

This critical engagement with the sources must also be assumed for the association with Anaximenes, Kallisthenes, and Daimachos, who are mentioned together, because they all dealt with contemporary events. Anaximenes of Lampsakos studied in Athens with Diogenes the Cynic¹¹⁶³ and learned rhetoric from Zoilos of Amphipolis;¹¹⁶⁴ he later had a strong connection with the Macedonian court, first with Philip II, and then with Alexander.¹¹⁶⁵ He also wrote rhetorical works, like the *Τρικάρανος* and a *Rhetoric to Alexander*,¹¹⁶⁶ and histories (*Ελληνικά*, *Φιλιππικά* in more than eight books, and *Τὰ περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου*).¹¹⁶⁷ His *Ελληνικά* in twelve books covered the period from the origins of mankind to the Battle of Mantinea, and they therefore anticipated a “new” concept of universal history, if he worked in the second half of the forties, as outlined by Ephoros in his *Histories*. His rhetorical expertise and an indirect suspicion raised by Didymos of Alexandria, the scholar of Demosthenes (BNJ 72 F 11a), support the ascription to

1161 Cp. the analogous case of the traditions on the battle of Thermopylai, such as how Ephoros differs on it, compared with Herodotus (Flower 1998).

1162 Roscalla 2006b: 86.

1163 BNJ 72 T 3.

1164 Anaximenes BNJ 72 T 1; Zoilos BNJ 71 T 7 and F 15 Friedländer. Zoilos is also nicknamed Ὀμηρομάστιξ for his Homeric scholarship, because he vehemently attacked Homer in the *Κατὰ τῆς Ὀμήρου ποιήσεως*. He wrote *Histories* in three books (BNJ 71 T 1), from the Theogony to the death of Philip II of Macedon (cp., however, the skepticism of Ferrucci 2010: 163), a monograph *On Amphipolis* (*ibid.*), and a series of epideictic speeches, whose independence from the other works is debated (Regali 2008). As a consequence, Zoilos seems to anticipate the variety of the production of Anaximenes and, more specifically, both Anaximenes and Ephoros, as an author of universal history (on this point, see Jacoby 1909: 23 and *ibid.* 43 n.75 on the role of the rhetorical education, in the selection of his material).

1165 On Anaximenes in general, see Canfora 2006, Ferrucci 2010 and Williams 2013 (BNJ 72).

1166 *Τρικάρανος*: BNJ 72 FF 21-2. The three polemical goals of this work were Sparta, Athens, and Thebes; from Pausanias (6.18.5 = BNJ 115 T 10a), in fact, we learn that the *Trikaranos* was once ascribed to Theopompos, who was an adversary of Anaximenes. This ascription has sometimes been accepted by contemporary scholarship (see a summary of the debate in Morison 2014 *ad* BNJ 115 T 10a and Ferrucci 2010: 175-6). *Rhetoric to Alexander*: this book is transmitted in the corpus of Aristotle, but there are very few doubts on its actual authorship (Chiron 2002).

1167 On the last work, cp. Jacoby 1923b.

Anaximenes of two pseudo-Demosthenic speeches, the *Reply to Philip's Letter* (Dem. [11]) and *Philip's Letter* (Dem. [12]): it has been argued, in fact, that these two speeches were originally written by Anaximenes, who inserted them in the seventh book of his *Φιλιππικά*, in the absence of the actual speeches delivered in the crucial year of 340 BCE.¹¹⁶⁸

Kallisthenes of Olynthos, the son of a nephew of Aristotle and a direct disciple of this cognate philosopher, wrote a register of the winners of the Pythian games with Aristotle, a panegyric for Hermias, and three historical works: *Ἑλληνικά* in ten books, a monograph on the Third Sacred War, and *Ἀλεξάνδρου Πράξεις*. His *Histories of Greece* covered the period from the King's Peace (387/6 BCE) to the outbreak of the Third Sacred War (357 BCE): they partially follow the model of the historical cycle, in their aim to follow Thucydides and complete the chronological span; at the same time, it seems that Kallisthenes was particularly interested in the aftermath of the liberation of Thebes (379 BCE).¹¹⁶⁹ Whereas Ephoros was not able to include the Third Sacred War in his work, for a lack of time (see n.1190), Kallisthenes deliberately engaged with this conflict in a monograph; this choice preludes to a new development in the genre of the *Hellenika*, and, at the same time, seems to betray the acknowledgment of a new turn in Greek history.

A recent reconsideration of Porphyrios' witness offers useful parallel passages on the way in which Ephoros referred to his predecessors in his treatment of the contemporary age.¹¹⁷⁰ Anaximenes comes alongside Ephoros in two other sources, who confirm their affinity in the handling of the Battle of Koroneia,¹¹⁷¹ and in the tendency to indulge in prolixity in the discourses before a battle.¹¹⁷² Furthermore, Diodorus usually associates Anaximenes to

1168 On the universal history of Anaximenes, see Mazzarino 1965: 405–6. On the hypothesis that Anaximenes originally wrote the two pseudo-Demosthenic speeches, see Canfora 1974: 72–3 and Canfora 2006.

1169 Kallisthenes as disciple of Aristotle: *BNJ* 124 T 7. For this coauthored work with Aristotle, a list of winners and participants of the Delphic Games, Kallisthenes and Aristotle were honoured in Delphi (Tod 187, a decree destroyed after Alexander's death: Rhodes 2001b: 137; on the *Pythionikai*, see Christesen 2007: 180–91). For his panegyric of Hermias, see *BNJ* 124 FF 2–3. On Kallisthenes in general, see Prandi 1985; Stylianiou 1998: 94 n.249; Nicolai 2006: 711–2; Tuplin 2007: 163–4; Rzepka 2016.

1170 Prandi 2013b: 689–92.

1171 Ephoros, *BNJ* 70 F 94.

1172 Ephoros, *BNJ* 70 T 21.

Ephoros for the continuous treatment of the deeds of Greeks and barbarians.¹¹⁷³ As far as Kallisthenes is concerned, Ephoros quoted the interpretation given by this predecessor on a comet that appeared in the sky around 373/2 BCE, even if Ephoros probably gave a different interpretation of such a phenomena.¹¹⁷⁴ Ephoros also shared Kallisthenes' interest in Theban hegemony and in Messenian history.¹¹⁷⁵ Consequently, we see how the use and knowledge of an author, even via a quote, does not negate an original contribution by Ephoros.

The indication of this behaviour may be a sign of Ephoros' critical comparison with these previous sources, and not necessarily of an unpaid debt. In the case of Daimachos, Prandi (2013b: 692 and n.41) notices, for example, that both the authors were particularly interested in the history of Aitolia (cp. Daimachos F 2). Moreover, we should consider the possibility, already suggested by the use of Kallisthenes (BNJ 70 F 212), that Ephoros was also reading Daimachos for his other work *On Piety* (F 7), where Daimachos mentioned the appearance of a meteor, sixty years before the battle of Aigospotami.

The extreme variety of subjects touched on in the current FF 1-4, indirectly confirms the high probability that Daimachos may have chosen a universal perspective for his work: this openness should call for great prudence before we credit Daimachos with every piece of information on Boiotian history in the fourth century BCE that reached later sources, like Diodoros or Plutarch, simply because of his provenance from Plataia.¹¹⁷⁶ Moreover, we should carefully take into account that Lysimachos immediately juxtaposed Daimachos, without further details, as the provenance to the other names: the parallel and opposite

1173 Diod. Sic. 16.25.5 (= BNJ 70 T 10) and 15.89.3 (= BNJ 72 T 14).

1174 Stylianos 1998: 104-5. 376-8. 381-2; Prandi 2013b: 691 n.36 (*contra* Jacoby 1930: 423). Only in Ephoros (BNJ 70 F 212) does the comet split into two stars before its destruction, whereas Kallisthenes mentions only one star (BNJ 124 FF 19-21). Ephoros will probably have drawn, at the same time, on Herakleides Pontikos and on Demokritos (Stylianos 1998: 105). Daimachos' astronomical theories, on the basis of our F 7, were also different from those accepted by Aristotle, and probably inspired by fifth century approaches: see in particular 5.8.2.

1175 Prandi 1985: 40-2. 55-8; Prandi 2013b: 691.

1176 For instance, we should probably credit Kallisthenes, and not Daimachos, with the similarity of information between Diodorus (15.67.3-4, after Ephoros) and Plutarch in his *Life of Pelopidas* (27-8), on Pelopidas' actions in Macedonia and in Thessaly, which may come from a common knowledge of Kallisthenes (see Westlake 1939: 11-2; Sordi 1958: 103-4; Georgiadou 1997: 15-24; Stylianos 1998: 105).

stance of Athenaeus, who tends to specify the ethnic of namesakes, might illude us,¹¹⁷⁷ but Lysimachos probably did not feel a necessity, as the later Porphyrios/ Eusebius did, to explain to which Daimachos he was referring.

The witness can then substantiate the existence of a historian who certainly focused on contemporary history too, even though we are not in a position to decide whether his was a universal history or a work of *Hellenika*, extending until the middle fourth century BCE.¹¹⁷⁸ The hyperbolic number that quantifies the plagiarism of Ephoros (three thousand lines) hardly needs to be taken at face value:¹¹⁷⁹ we cannot rule out that it is a parodic exaggeration from a verse of Alkaios, and not from Lysimachos himself.¹¹⁸⁰ The verb μετατίθημι, nonetheless, is explicit and forces us to see it from only one point of view, the forms and means of this plagiarism.¹¹⁸¹ Ephoros (or his son?)¹¹⁸² copied the three historians, not necessarily for the contemporary period. It is impossible to claim that Ephoros'

1177 Cp. Jacob 2000: 97 on Athenaeus' habit to distinguish among namesakes through details such as provenance. Since Athenaeus specifies the work (*Indika*) of the Daimachos he quotes (BNJ 716 F 4= Ath. 9.51.394E), this could mean that this Daimachos was sufficiently (only?) known for his Indian ethnography; the same principle applies to Harpocration, a rhetor who lived in the second century CE, who also needs to clarify the work of Daimachos (BNJ 716 F 1 = *Lex. in dec. or. att. s.v. ἐγγυθήκη*). Jacoby (*ibid.*) also remarked that Athenaeus knew two studies on homonymous poets and authors, one by Demetrios of Magnesia, a friend of Atticus mentioned by Cicero (*Att.* 4.11.1-2; 8.11.7, 12.6; 9.9.2), and another written by Herakleides of Mopsuestia, a grammarian only known from Athenaeus and Stephanus of Byzantium (μ 225, *s.v.* Μόφου ἐστία). It is not rare, in fact, to detect, in the *Learned Banqueters*, a quest for clarity and to enlighten ambiguities on an author (cp. 14.15.648D-E); since Strabo is the only witness of the second Daimachos who does not always record the title, and he knows Daimachos through Eratosthenes, the absence of a disambiguation in the witnesses on the other Daimachos, may depend on a minor need of disambiguation (maybe because he was better known?).

1178 The real uncertainty on the context of his fragments does not allow us to exclude that he also touched upon contemporary matters, as does Stylianou (1998: 106).

1179 Zecchini (1997: 191) recalls how this quantity roughly equates the extent of a book of Thucydides.

1180 Parmeggiani 2011: 59. A further perplexing aspect, mentioned by Prandi (2013b: 692), is that the number of the books of Anaximenes and Kallisthenes was, in any case, much lower than that of Ephoros.

1181 Cp. Dickey 2007: 247 on the technical use of this verb. Μετατίθημι represents, unlike other strongly negative verbs like κλέπτειν and ὑφαίρεισθαι, a more neutral voice. As such, it is used in alternative with μεταφέρω (on the lexicon of plagiarism, see Ziegler 1950).

1182 Demophilus, Ephoros's son, is traditionally considered the author of the thirtieth and last book of Ephoros' *Histories* on the Third Sacred War (Diod. Sic. 16.14.3 = BNJ 70 T 9; Prandi 2013b: 686; *contra* Parmeggiani 2011: 590-605). Since Demophilus used his father's notes, which remained drafts because Ephoros preferred to follow his narrative on themes and events external to that conflict, it has been assumed that these "bibliographical" references from Anaximenes, Kallisthenes, and Daimachos were casually transcribed by the son, and not by his father (Cavaignac 1932: 156; Schepens 1977: 106 and n.65; Vannicelli 1987: 171; Prandi 2013b: 685). Parmeggiani (2011: 61) claims that only Demophilus might have known all three authors, even if he assumes that Daimachos is the writer of *Indika* (*ibid.* 62-3).

excerpts were interspersed in the works of others, or that, vice versa, sections of their works were improperly put inside Ephoros’ *Histories* without anybody noticing before Lysimachos.¹¹⁸³ This is an unnecessary hypothesis that only derives from a refusal to recognize that Ephoros had the time, the way, and the will to use Anaximenes, Kallisthenes, and Daimachos.¹¹⁸⁴

5.2. Daimachos F 1

Previous editions: *BNJ* 65 F 1; *FGrHist* 65 F 1 (Schol. T Hom. *Il.* 13.217–8 [III 441 Erbse]).

ὅς πάσῃ Πλευρῶνι <καὶ αἰπεινῇ Καλυδῶνι/ Αἰτωλοῖσιν ἄνασσε>: Αἰτωλὸς ὁ Ἐνδυμίωνος, Ἡλεῖος τὸ γένος, Ἄπιν ἀκουσίως τὸν Φορωνέως ἀνελὼν φεύγει εἰς τὴν ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ Αἰτωλίαν προσαγορευθεῖσαν, ἴσχει δὲ παῖδα Πλευρῶνα, οὗ ἐγένοντο Κούρης καὶ Καλυδών, ἀφ’ ὧν αἱ πόλεις. οὕτω Δηίμαχος.

1 lemma Erbse *supplevit* 2 ἔνδυμιονος T Ἐνδυμίωνος Maas *collato* schol. D *Il.* XIII 218/Z^s van Thiel *probante* (cf. PSI 1000,2) ἡλεῖος Eust. *ad Il.* XIII 218, p. III 462,3 van der Valk αἰτωλός T “manifesto errore” (Erbse)

“[Thoas] who ruled over all Pleuron and on lofty Kalydon,/ and on the Aitolians’. Aitolos is Endymion’s son, Elean of birth. After involuntarily killing Apis, Phoroneus’ son, he flees to the region currently called ‘Aitolia.’ He has a son, Pleuron, whence Koures and Kalydon were born (from them, the [homonymous] cities). So Daimachos” (tr. S. Tufano),

1183 Parmeggiani 2011: 62.

1184 On Ephoros’ use of contemporary sources, see *BNJ* 70 F 9 and Parker 2011 *ad loc.*; Marincola 2007b: 173; Clarke 2008: 101–3; Engels 2011a *ad BNJ* 65 T 1a; Prandi 2013b *passim*.

5.2.1. Textual Transmission and Context

This scholium belongs to the scholia on the *Iliad* of manuscript T (= Townleianus, XI c.): this manuscript inherits a scholarship on the poem, whose first nucleus is a commentary of Late Antiquity. This alleged original commentary, defined by the editor Erbse with c, further developed into two branches: the first branch is represented by the codex T, which presents a more detailed commentary on the verses and preserves details, like this final ascription to Daimachos; the second branch is constituted by the descendants of a lost manuscript, b, which offered a shorter version of the same material.¹¹⁸⁵

The verse of the *Iliad* here commented upon (13.218) centers on Thoas, an Aitolian warrior who is often praised in the *Iliad* for his military virtues.¹¹⁸⁶ The present commentary does not prioritize the quest for possible historical or mythical echoes of Boiotian history, only because Daimachos came from Plataia. While Aristophanes of Boiotia was certainly a local historiographer, the paucity of details on the general features of Daimachos' work does not support any link either with the treaty between the koina of the Boiotians and of the Aitolians (370 BCE),¹¹⁸⁷ or with the help given by Epameinondas to the Aitolians during his third expedition to the Peloponnese (366 BCE), when he returned control of Naupaktos and Kalydon to them.¹¹⁸⁸ If we accept, then, that such

1185 A telling parallel of the degree of analysis preserved by the Townleianus, is offered by a short excerpt on a papyrus (PSI VIII 1000), which only presents the name of Endymion next to that of Pleuron (l.2). For a short presentation of these scholia, see Dickey 2007: 19–20; on the exegetical scholia, Schmidt 1976 is still useful. Cp. Montana 2013: 11 n.3 on later scholarship.

1186 Hom. *Il.* 9.529 and 549; 23.633. Thoas has been seen as a prototype of the Homeric hero by Antonetti (1990: 45); in the *epos*, he is praised for his military virtues, as the Aitolians generally are in the Classical period (cp. Thuc. 3.94.4 and the observations by Bearzot 2014: 47 on their status vs. the world of the *poleis*). As far as Thoas is concerned, there was also a heroic cult, as some literary sources indicate (Antonetti 1990: 267–8).

1187 Antonetti 1994: 126; Zecchini 1997: 193; Antonetti 2005: 59; Antonetti 2010: 165. Diodorus (15.57.1), in truth, only claims that the Boiotians “later, having made friends of the Phocians, Aitolians, and Locrians, returned to Boeotia again” (tr. C.L. Sherman). Xenophon presents a partially different list of Boiotian allies, gained between 371 and 370 BCE (*Hell.* 6.5.23; *Ages.* 2.24: Arcadians, Argives, Eleans, Euboians, Lokrians, Acarnanians, Enyans, Malians, and Thessalians), probably through the use of a different source. Despite the lexicon used by Diodorus, which might suggest an effective military alliance, the better-known case of the Phokians indicates that it was more likely a defensive union (Buckler 1982 = Buckler 2008: 134–5); Aitolian participation has been doubted (Stylianou 1998: 411).

1188 Jacoby 1926a: 4; Zecchini 1997: 192–3; Antonetti 2005: 59; 2010: 165 and n.11. The tradition of this restitution depends on scholium B to the *Iliad* (2.494: Καλυδὼνα μὲν Αἰτωλοῖς ἐχαρίσατο ἀμφισβητοῦσι πρὸς Αἰολέας, μνησθεὶς αὐτῆς ἐν Αἰτωλῶν καταλόγῳ, “Kalydon was granted to the Aitolians, who fought against the Aiolians for it, because he [Epameinondas] recalled that it was present in the Catalogue of the Aitolians”; tr. S. Tufano). Wilamowitz (1921)

references to Boiotian history need not be necessary, we can concentrate our analysis on the three main topics of the fragment, namely, (1) the origin of Aitolos from Elis, (2) the reason for his escape from this region to Aitolia, and (3) his begetting of Pleuron, the father of Kalydon and Koures.

5.2.2. Commentary

Αἰτωλὸς ὁ Ἐνδυμίωνος, Ἠλεῖος τὸ γένος: There was a very old tradition of kinship ties between the regions of Aitolia and Elis.¹¹⁸⁹ Ephoros (*BNJ* 70 FF 115 and 122a-b) is the first literary witness of this tradition, which is characterized by a philo-Elean stance, since it granted them priority in the historical tradition. Before Ephoros, however, we have clear indications that the story was already being diffused during the Archaic Age.¹¹⁹⁰ The Aitolians were originally Eleans, because the Eleans were the first ones to occupy and colonize Aitolia (thence, the philo-Elean nature of the tradition): the migration followed a crime committed by the Elean Aitolos, Endymion's son from Selene. In this version of the story, Endymion represents the Elean ruling family:¹¹⁹¹ after a variable number of

claimed that this tradition came from Ephoros, and this same interpretation was endorsed by later scholars (Jacoby 1955a: 8-9; Bommeljé 1988: 302-3; Breglia 1991-4: 138-9; Antonetti 2005: 59 and n.22). The assignment of Kalydon to the Aitolians is echoed by Diodorus (15.75.2), where he mentions the actions of Epameinondas against the Achaeans and the liberation of Dyme, Naupaktos, and Kalydon (Δύμην δὲ καὶ Ναύπακτον καὶ Καλυδῶνα φρουρουμένην ὑπ' Ἀχαιῶν ἡλευθέρωσεν). However, it is not entirely probable, as noted by Stylianos (1998: 481) and Engels (2011a *ad BNJ* 65 F 1: "this suggestion [the reference of Daimachos to the liberation of Kalydon by Epameinondas] is incapable of proof").

1189 On this mythical kinship, Antonetti 1990: 58-61; Antonetti 1994, *spec.* 128-30; Taita 2000; Nafissi 2003; Möller 2004; Gehrke 2003 = Gehrke 2005; Roy 2009; Antonetti 2010: 165 n.9; Patterson 2010: 132-7; Engels 2011a *ad BNJ* 65 F 1.

1190 On the philo-Elean nature of this tradition, see particularly Ulf 1997. Bilik (1998-1999) was the first to suggest that Ephoros was following the philosopher Hippias of Elis on this subject; the theory was further developed by Taita (2000: 156), who saw the lifespan of Hippias as a reference point for the spread of the traditions on the Aitolian institution of the Olympic games. According to this scholar, such traditions were "miranti ad associare l'elemento etolico non più, soltanto e genericamente, all'Elide, ma, più specificamente, all'ambito olimpico" (161). However, the sources on the arrival of Oxylos and on the foundation of the Olympic games antedate Hippias by at least two centuries (see *infra* in text); for the philo-Elean source of Ephoros, Nafissi (2003: 29 n.59) signals the complexity of the potential sources, speaking of "elementi di origine disparata."

1191 See Taita 2000: 153-4 and Möller 2004: 259-60 on these discrepancies. While Pausanias (5.1.3) claims that the father Aethlios reigned first, Apollodoros (1.56), despite following the same genealogy, has Endymion found Elis, where he reigns first, because his parents were in Thessaly.

generations,¹¹⁹² Oxylos, a descendant of Aitolos, guided a group of Aitolians back to Elis and re-colonized this region, where he founded the sanctuary of Olympia.

I. Aitolos' birth from Endymion was only one of the four different genealogies that developed around him.¹¹⁹³ When Aitolos is Endymion's son, Endymion is the son of Kalyx and Aethlios: this parentage links him, through his father Aethlios, with the family of Deukalion (father of Protogenia, Aethlios' mother), and, through his mother Kalyx, to the branch of Aiolos, as Kalyx was his daughter. This complicated family tree is based on the combination of two fragments from the *Catalogue of Women* (FF 10a, 58-60 and 245 M. – W.) with a passage of Apollodoros' *Library* (1.56: probably deriving, like other passages of this book, from the same *Catalogue*). By claiming that he was Endymion's child, Daimachos would therefore seem to have followed this version on the father of Aitolos, who was thus perfectly intertwined, via Deukalion and Aiolos, in the family of Hellen.

Since the connection Endymion-Aitolos was already alluded to in the *Catalogue of Women* (directly, in the fragments, and indirectly, in Apollodoros), this means that the idea already circulated in the Middle Archaic. This is the likely date of the formation of the *Catalogue of Women*, which cannot be earlier than the second half of the seventh century BCE: this is therefore a *terminus post quem* for the traditions on the kinship between the Eleans (through Endymion) and the Aitolians.¹¹⁹⁴ Aitolos' "duplice ascendenza deucalionide",¹¹⁹⁵

1192 Ephoros, *BNJ* 70 F 122a (=Str. 10.3,2.463: ten generations, according to the epigram shown at Thermos [Page, *FGE* 1516-9]); Apollod. 2.175 (four generations); Paus. 5.3,6 (eight generations); on these discrepancies, see Taita 2000: 155 n.20.

1193 See Antonetti 1994: 131-3 for a general overview of the four genealogies of Aitolos.

1194 One would therefore disagree with the later dates suggested, the year 580 BCE and the Elean War, fought at the end of the fifth century BCE (ca. 402-400 BCE). The first date (580 BCE) was espoused by Taita (2000), on the basis of the alleged defeat of Pisa in this year: in her view, after an initial attempt by the Eleans to prove their antiquity, especially through Endymion, they further stressed these traditions from the end of the fifth century when they gained exclusive control of the sanctuary (only then did the Eleans argue that Aitolos also founded the Olympic games: Taita 2000: 174-5). A reconsideration of the sources on Pisa and on its war with Elis, suggests that this nucleus of stories only started after the Elean-Arcadian war (365-2 BCE: Roy 1971; Roy 2000: 135). In this war, Pisa was helped by the Arcadians and therefore promoted a new national story where the ancient administration of the Olympic Games played a pivotal role (for this late dating of the tradition, originally proposed by Niese 1910, see Nafissi 2003, Möller 2004, and Roy 2009, with some corrections; even if Ruggeri [2004: 181-3] accepts the date of 580 BCE, she acknowledges the development of Pisan propaganda between 365 and 363/2 BCE). The second *terminus post quem* that has been suggested for the development of kinship ties between Aitolia and Elis, is the Elean War, when Pisa was defeated: Jacoby 1926a: 5; Sordi 1991: 35; Sordi 1994. This later date seems unlikely, because, even if we want to deny any relevance to the Archaic

moreover, links Aitolos to the Aiolians and to Endymion, and these characters were already imagined in Elis by Ibykos (sixth century BCE).¹¹⁹⁶

Another proof of the antiquity of this tradition of kinship ties, as hinted by the mention of Aitolos' father, is the association of Oxylos, the descendant of Aitolos, with the traditions on the return of the Herakleidai, the descendants of Herakles. Oxylos was considered the leader of the Herakleidai in a series of sources, which date back to at least the middle seventh century BCE (the same period, as we saw, of the early literary fixation of the relationship between Aitolos and Endymion).¹¹⁹⁷

The historiographical and philosophical thought of the fourth century further underlines and draws on this philo-Elean tradition by representing peaceful relationships between the Aitolian conquerors and the Eleans, who had never moved, and by describing Oxylos as a paradigmatic lawgiver.¹¹⁹⁸

Daimachos, therefore, limits himself, from this point of view, to drawing on a consolidated tradition of kinship diplomacy in the fourth century BCE. This heritage was publicly

witnesses of the mythic kinship, the epigrams quoted by Ephoros (BNJ 70 F 122a) are not a mere homage to the military virtue of the Aitolians, or to the outcome of a joint campaign. The texts draw on typical features of mythical founders, especially for Aitolos (Antonetti 2012: 189-91). Finally, Funke (1985: 18 and nn.51-2; Funke 2015: 92) isolated the year 471 BCE as a starting point, because in this year Elis' synoecism occurred; however, Roy 2009 remarked on the preexistence of the *polis*. In truth, the *longue durée* of these contacts between Aitolia and Elis is sometimes accepted even by those scholars who concentrate on single events (cp. Funke 2015: 92 n.14).

1195 Antonetti 1994: 132. The descent from Deukalion is the only detail that puts the four family trees of Aitolos on the same plan.

1196 Ibyc. Davies, *PMGF* 284: "Ἡλιδος αὐτὸν βασιλεῦσαί φησι. This very short fragment does not explicitly deny the possibility that Ibykos knew the genealogy where Endymion is Aethlios' son and Aitolos' father, as is claimed with excessive skepticism by Taita 2000: 159-61. Gehrke (2005: 31-2) objected, in fact, that Ibykos may be aware of the same relationships accepted in the *Catalogue of Women* (FF 10a and 245 M. – W.): if the written fixation of this text can be reasonably posited in the central decades of the sixth century BCE (cp. the same Taita 2000: 161 and 170-3, after West 1985: 136), it is almost certain that the oral circulation, in the entire Greek Mediterranean, was a process present in Ibykos' poetry (which does not, at the same time, mean that a date as early as the beginning or the end of the eighth century BCE is entirely possible, as suggested by Antonetti 1994: 30 and n.70, and Patterson 2010: 135).

1197 See Paus. 5.3.6; Apollod. 2.175; schol. Theoc. *Id.* 5.83b-c, with Prinz 1979: 307; Gehrke 2005: 29-30; Antonetti 2010: 165 n.9 for the date.

1198 Arist. *Pol.* 1319a12; on this aspect of Oxylos, cp. Gehrke 2005: 42.

broadcast by two epigrams, quoted by Ephoros and written under two statues, Aitolos in Thermos (A= Page, *FGE* 1516-9) and Oxylos in Elis (B= Page, *FGE* 1520-3):¹¹⁹⁹

A

χώρης οἰκιστῆρα, παρ' Ἀλφειοῦ
ποτε δίνειαι
θρεφθέντα, σταδίων γείτον'
Ὀλυμπιάδος,
Ἐνδυμίωνος παῖδ' Αἰτωλοὶ
τόνδ' ἀνέθηκαν
Αἰτωλόν, σφετέρας μνημ'
ἀρετῆς ἐσορᾶν

“Founder of the country, once
reared/ beside the eddies of the
Alpheios, neighbor of the race-
courses of Olympia,/ son of
Endymion, this Aitolos has been
set up/ by the Aitolians as a
memorial of his valor to behold.”

B

Αἰτωλός ποτε τόνδε λιπών
αὐτόχθονα δῆμον
κτήσατο Κουρήτιν γῆν δορὶ
πολλὰ καμών.
τῆς δ' αὐτῆς γενεᾶς
δεκατόσπορος Αἴμονος υἱός
Ὀξυλος ἀρχαίην ἔκτισε τήνδε
πόλιν

“Aitolos once left this
autochthonous people,/ and
through many toils took
possession with the spear of the
land of Kouretis;/ but the tenth
scion of the same stock, Oxylos,/
the son of Haimon, founded this
city in early times.”

The interest shown by Ephoros and Daimachos echoes the historical background of their century, as this kinship was initially promoted especially in Elis,¹²⁰⁰ so that some sources of

1199 *BNJ* 70 F 122a (=Str. 10.3.2.463-4). On these texts, see Antonetti 2012. The translation is that of H.S. Jones for the *LCL*, with slight revisions.

1200 There have been suggestions to pinpoint the genesis of this tradition to a specific moment, such as the alleged victory of the Pisates in 580 BCE (Taita 2000: 171; *contra*, in light of a reconsideration of the chronology of the *Catalogue of Women*, Möller 2004: 260 n.60). It seems, nonetheless, that despite the constant contact between Aitolia and Elis and the possible, actual origin of the Eleans from the North, there were more advantages for the Eleans to perpetuate this tradition. For example, the epigram on Oxylos displayed in Elis insists on the autochtony *topos* (Ephoros *BNJ* 70 F 122, vv. 1-2: Αἰτωλός ποτε τόνδε λιπών αὐτόχθονα δῆμον/ κτήσατο Κουρήτιν γῆν, δορὶ πολλὰ καμών); on the philo-

the fifth century BCE only stress the Aitolian origins of the Eleans.¹²⁰¹ In other words, only later would the original travel of Aitolos become part of the typical narrative of this kinship, and it is therefore likely that the Elean side previously developed a stronger historical tradition on this.

In the fourth century, the Aitolian *koinon* was more and more interested in international affairs: it took steps in the Peloponnese against Sparta, and in 367 BCE Athens addressed the Aitolians in a complicated affair that entailed the release of two hostages.¹²⁰² It was probably this new international perspective that made the summing up of preexisting kinship ties necessary. This necessity found its way in public acts, such as the realization of statues of mythical figures. It is not by chance that the first of these statues, the one with Aitolos, preludes the important, later personification of Aitolia, which was shown in

Elean character of the kinship motif between Aitolia and Elis, cp. Antonetti 1990: 61, who argued that the Aitolians accepted “une histoire nationale qui n’était pas la leur”; Taita 2000: 168; Gehrke 2005: 32–3).

1201 The choral lyrical poets stress the Aitolian origin of some figures and elements of the Olympic games (Pind. *Ol.* 3.9–13, on the rightful judge, who is an Αἰτωλὸς ἀνὴρ; Bacchyl. 8.28–9, on the prize, a γλαυκὸν Αἰτωλίδος ἄνδρῳ ἑλαίας; on both these passages, see Taita 2000: 147–51). Herodotus (8.73.2) only mentions the Aitolian origin of the Eleans. The references to the Olympic games have been considered as evidence of the participation of the Aitolians in the Olympic Amphiktyony, “in virtù di una designazione oggettiva ed ufficiale [...] di tutto l’apparato agonistico come ‘etolico’” (Taita 2000: 151 and *passim*), but this hypothesis seems confuted by the more probable Elean administration of the sanctuary in the first part of the fifth century BCE (cp. e.g. Gehrke 2005: 43 and Roy 2009; the persistence of the Aitolian nomenclature, however, may actually depend on a historical common cultural *koine* of the northwest, on which see Taita 2000: 163–8 and Gehrke 2005: 34–8, who argues for the permanence of a *Traditionskern*). In the second half of the century, then, Hellanikos (*BNJ* 4 F 195) and Damastes (*EGM* I F 5) remember the presence of the Epei in Aitolia, without mentioning the inverse direction of the colonization; it is plausible that single elements were isolated by the sources, even if they were aware of a double colonization (on the Epei, see Taita 2000: 155 n.20; for the possibility that Herodotus and the lyric poets assume a double colonization, cp. Parker 2011 *ad BNJ* 70 F 122a).

1202 *SEG* XV 90 = *RO* 35. In this text, the Athenian *boule* decides to send a herald to demand the liberation of two ambassadors, who had been sent to demand a sacred truce in reference to the Eleusian mysteries: they were imprisoned by the Triconians, and the Aitolians were ultimately held responsible for this act. The inscription may be read either as a *terminus post quem* for the development of the Aitolian *koinon* (Sordi 1953b; Landucci Gattinoni 2004: 107–8, at 107: “un sicuro e definitivo *terminus ante quem* per la fondazione del *koinón* stesso”; Bearzot 2014: 44; Lambert – Rhodes 2017), or as a sign of the federal evolution of this institution (Funke 1997b: 150); see a discussion of these interpretations in Antonetti 2010: 173–7 and Mackil 2012: 76–7.

Thermos: here was the main central Aitolian cult, and the ethnic festival of the *Thermika* testifies to the importance of the city for the Aitolians from an emic perspective.¹²⁰³

II. Daimachos might have dealt with this matter before Ephoros, who probably just drew on, and gave order to, a preexisting narrative of colonization from the south to the north and vice versa. In the same century of Ephoros, in fact, Aristotle (F 560 R.) and Pseudo-Scymnus (588–90) offer a different genealogy for Aitolos;¹²⁰⁴ Ephoros (BNJ 70 F 122a), in the same years, ascribed two children to Aitolos, Pleuron and Kalydon, and distinguished himself by adhering to the widespread tradition, in contrast to Daimachos (Aitolos > Pleuron).

III. The other two genealogies of Aitolos were respectively quoted by Pausanias (5.1.3; 8) and by Hekataios of Miletos (BNJ 1 F 15). The first author claims that Endymion had four children: Paeon, Epeus, Aitolos, and Eurycida: this last offspring, a girl, begot Eleus, in a tradition that probably aimed to explain the discrepancy between the presence of the Eleans in Homer, in historical Elis, and the later presence of Eleans in this part of the Peloponnese.¹²⁰⁵ The learned character of this genealogy suggests a late development,

1203 This statue was the first personification of the eponymous figure of a federal union and it was probably erected at the beginning of the third century BCE; see on it Knoepfler 2007; Antonetti 2012; Mackil 2012: 212–3. On Thermos and its central role, see briefly Bearzot 2014: 48 and Funke 2015: 91–2 and 110.

1204 Cp. Steph. Byz. φ 116, s.v. Φύσκος; here, Aitolos is the son of Amphiktyon as well as Deukalion's nephew. Aitolos, then, is Physkos' father and becomes related to the western Lokrians (Antonetti 1994: 131; cp. Antonetti 1990: 114–8 on the relationship between the Aristotelian *Constitutions* and the development of local historiography in the region). This tradition may be due to the attempts in Aitolia to associate “their” Aitolos with the Lokris of the years of Aitolian expansion in central Greece. This reading is further supported by the location of the meeting between Endymion and Selene in Aitolia, in Nikander's *Aitolika* (BNJ 271–2 FF 6a–b and, if written by the same author, *Ther.* 214–5; cp. Antonetti 1990: 117–8). Other authors, in fact (and, not surprisingly given the diverse perspective, the same Nikander in his *Europia*: BNJ 271–2 F 18), agree on placing the event in a cave of Latmos, in Caria. The myth of Selene's love for Endymion was widespread in the Archaic and Classical periods and many other sources mention the eternal sleep of Endymion (cp. e.g. Sappho F 199 L.-P.; Akousilaos BNJ 2 F 6; Pherekydes BNJ 3 F 121; Pl. *Phad.* 72C; Pisandros BNJ 16 F 7 and the commentary by Ceccarelli 2011c, for a detailed analysis); it seems that the Aitolians only profited from this preexisting memory outside of Greece in the third century BCE. An inscription of this period (FD III 3,144) is the basis for this assumption, because here the Aitolians publicly recognize a kinship tie with Herakleia on the latmos (l. 4: τ]ὰν συγγένειαν ἀνενεώσαντο): Robert (1978: 479) already remarked how such a tie may be explained by imagining that Herakleia was founded by the Aitolian Endymion (further on this text, see Robert 1978; Antonetti 1990: 58–9; Curty 1995: 31–2; Patterson 2004 and Patterson 2010: 132–7).

1205 On the different strategies of the Eleans and on their ethnic name, which probably derives from their connection with the land (Ἡλεῖοι < φαλεῖοι, “the men from the valley”), see Gschnitzler 1955: 125 and Gehrke 2005: 25–9.

probably in the Imperial Age, since the main progression is also in Conon (*BNJ* 26 F 1 *narr.* 14): Conon is nevertheless different in his reworking of the original genealogy, because he explicitly emphasizes the kinship tie with the Eleans (Elis, here, is Aitolos' nephew, from Aitolos' sister Eurypile).

IV Hekataios (*BNJ* 1 F 15) is the only source where Aitolos is a descendant of Oineus, the main character of the Kalydonian boar hunt story, and not a forefather as in other traditions. This myth provided further occasions for the organization of the genealogy on the single implied figures in Aitolia.¹²⁰⁶ Finally, only Pliny the Elder (*HN* 7.201) claimed that Aitolos was Ares' son, i.e. of one of the most important Aitolian deities.¹²⁰⁷ This genealogy, like the previously mentioned one from Hekataios, is probably the fruit of a local reflection on Aitolos that offers an alternative to (or maybe independently of) the kinship ties.

On the one hand, then, Daimachos shares many similarities with Classical traditions on the origins and genealogy of Aitolos. On the other hand, he may have been among the first authors who were interested in the exact nature of the events immediately before and after his travel from Elis to Aitolia. In the very rich network of genealogies and connections activated through Aitolos, Daimachos offers an interesting insight into the early stages of this process: fourth century Aitolians were just beginning to write the history of their eponymous hero.

Ἄπιν ἀκουσίως τὸν Φορωνέως ἀνελών. Daimachos is our first source, who insists on the circumstances that allowed Aitolos' flight to Elis. The other sources are Pausanias (5.1.8),¹²⁰⁸ Apollodoros (1.57),¹²⁰⁹ and a scholium on the third *Olympian Ode* of Pindar (22c

1206 On this fragment, see Antonetti (1990: 59–60) and Fowler (2013: 135–6), who underline the artificial character of the figures between Deukalion and Aitolos; they would be “figures of folklore and cult, useful as buffers between him and Deukalion” (Fowler *ibid.* 136).

1207 Antonetti 1990: 100.

1208 Αἰτωλῶ [...] συνέπεσεν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου φυγεῖν, ὅτι αὐτὸν οἱ Ἄπιδος παῖδες ἐφ' αἵματι ἀκουσίῳ δίκην εἶλον· Ἄπιν γὰρ τὸν Ἰάσονος ἐκ Παλλαντίου τοῦ Ἀρκάδων ἀπέκτεινεν Αἰτωλὸς ἐπελάσας τὸ ἄρμα τεθέντων ἐπὶ Ἀζᾶνι ἄθλων. ἀπὸ μὲν Αἰτωλοῦ τοῦ Ἐνδυμίωνος οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀχελῶον οἰκοῦντες ἐκλήθησαν φυγόντος ἐς ταύτην τὴν ἥπειρον, τὴν δὲ Ἐπειὼν ἔσχεν ἀρχὴν Ἥλεϊος (“Aitolos [...] was forced to flee from Peloponnese, because the children of Apis tried and convicted him of unintentional homicide. For Apis, the son of Jason, from Pallantion in Arcadia, was run over and

Drachmann).¹²¹⁰ These later texts only diverge on single details and, more importantly, on the immediate consequences of the gesture.

The only common grounds are the casual murder of Apis and the context, a chariot game in memory of Azan, the son of Arcas (Paus. 7.4.5), i.e. of the eponymous hero of Arcadia. There are two main variants: first, the identity of the father of the victim Apis: Apis is the son of Phoroneus in Daimachos and in Apollodoros, whereas Pausanias claims that Apis was born of Jason of Pallantion, in Arcadia. Second, our sources diverge on the later fate of Aitolos: in Apollodoros and in the scholium to Pindar, Aitolos goes to the Kouretis (still in the Peloponnese), before his arrival to Aitolia, while Pausanias and Daimachos directly mention the final destination.

The first discrepancy may possibly be clarified by the consideration that there were four Apis' who were in the Peloponnese: they all suffered a violent death and they can be compared to the Pelasgians, because an "Apis" often appears in those places, which do not yet have an explicit ethnic identity before the arrival of Pelops.¹²¹¹ As the son of Phoroneus, Apis is imagined in Argos by Apollodoros, who claims that Apis was violently killed by the Telchines and by Telxion, and then avenged by his nephew Argos¹²¹² (I); Pausanias (5.1.8), instead, mentions Apis as Jason's son and locates him in Arcadia, in Pallantion (II), but he also knows an Apis in Sikyon (2.5.7) (III); Aeschylus (*Supp.* 262-70),

killed by the chariot of Aitolos at the games held in honor of Azan. Aitolos, son of Endymion, gave to the dwellers around the Achelous their name, when he fled to this part of the mainland"; tr. W.H.S. Jones, with slight revisions). Cp. Paus. 8.4.5, with the same explanation.

1209 Ἐνδυμίωνος δὲ καὶ νηίδος νύμφης, ἣ ὥς τινες Ἰφιδάσσης, Αἰτωλός, ὃς ἀποκτείνας Ἄπιν τὸν Φορωνέως καὶ φυγὼν εἰς τὴν Κουρήτιδα χώραν, κτείνας τοὺς ὑποδεξαμένους Φθίας καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος υἱούς, Δῶρον καὶ Λαόδοκον καὶ Πολυποίτην, ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ τὴν χώραν Αἰτωλίαν ἐκάλεσεν ("Endymion had by a Naiad nymph or, as some say, by Iphianassa, a son Aitolos, who slew Apis, son of Phoroneus, and fled to the Curetian country. There he killed his hosts, Dorus and Laodocus and Polypoetes, the sons of Phthia and Apollo, and called the country Aitolia after himself"; tr. J. Frazer). On this passage, see Parker 1983: 375.

1210 Αἰτωλὸς ἀνήρ] ὁ Ἥλεϊος, ἥτοι ἀπὸ Αἰτωλοῦ τοῦ Ἐνδυμίωνος, ὃς ἦν Ἥλεϊος, ἀποκτείνας δὲ Ἄπιν ἐν τοῖς ἐπ' Ἀζάνι ἄθλοις ἔφυγεν εἰς τὴν πρότερον Κουρήτιν, Αἰτωλίαν δὲ ὕστερον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ κληθεῖσαν. ἢ ἀπὸ Ὀξύλου, ὃς ἦν Αἰτωλὸς τοῦ Ἀνδραίμονος, διεῖλε δὲ τοῖς Ἡρακλείδαις τὴν Πελοπόννησον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐδωρήσαντο αὐτῷ ἐξαίρετον τὴν Ἥλιν ("The Aitolian man]: the Elean, either from Aitolos, Endymion's son, who, after killing Apis in the games for Azan, fled to the contemporary Kouretis, then called Aitolia after him; or from Oxylos, who was an Aitolian man, son of Andraimon, and shared the Peloponnese among the Herakleidai, and was then given the chosen Elis"; tr. S. Tufano).

1211 See the general overview by Wernicke 1894.

1212 Apollod. 2.1; schol. *MTAB* Eur. *Or.* 932 and 1246.

finally, knows an Apis who is the son of Apollo and comes from Naupaktos, before naming “Apia” the ancient Peloponnese (IV). The commonality between all these different stories is that Apis can only die or exist before something more important than him occurs.

These diverse genealogies cannot and must not be rationalized to find either an agreement or an artificial harmony between them, because their only common ground is the desire to place Apis in the Peloponnese. Daimachos could hardly have been behind any of the previously mentioned sources, because we do not know exactly where he placed the murder; we can only ponder on the fact that he thought that Apis’ father was Phoroneus.

This might not be a minor detail, because Pausanias’ specification on the origin of Apis from Pallantion¹²¹³ may then be more significant than his birth from Jason. Pausanias needed to clarify that “this” Apis was not the same son of Telchines, who lived in Sykion (2.5.7). We can then imagine and justify placing Apis in Arcadia, for the dedicatee of the games, Azan, was Arcas’ son, and secondly because Apis was profoundly rooted in the Peloponnese and in Arcadia.¹²¹⁴ The scholium on Pindar also presents an interesting resemblance to the fragment of Daimachos.¹²¹⁵

The main difference between these two versions consists in the fact that Daimachos focuses on the (not)voluntary murder (ἀκουσίως) of Apis, which is hardly an ancient version of this myth connected to Aitolos.¹²¹⁶ The topical and usual element of the story is,

1213 *IACP* 289. Pallantium was inhabited by the Menelians; an initial plan, later abandoned, was to include Pallantium in the synoecism of the new capital Megalopolis (Paus. 8.27.3).

1214 According to Sakellariou (1980: 213 n.2), the kinship between Apis and Phoroneus derives from the greater probability that the Apis killed by Aitolos was Jason’s son.

1215 Scholium: ἀπὸ Αἰτωλοῦ τοῦ Ἐνδυμίωνος, ὃς ἦν Ἥλεϊος, ἀποκτείνας δὲ Ἄπιν ἐν τοῖς ἐπ’ Ἀζάνι ἄθλοις ἔφυγεν εἰς τὴν πρότερον Κουρήτιν, Αἰτωλίαν δὲ ὕστερον ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ κληθεῖσαν; Daimachos: Αἰτωλὸς ὁ Ἐνδυμίωνος, Ἥλεϊος τὸ γένος, Ἄπιν ἀκουσίως τὸν Φορωνέως ἀνελὼν φεύγει εἰς τὴν ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ Αἰτωλίαν προσαγορευθεῖσαν, ἵσχει δὲ παῖδα Πλευρῶνα, οὗ ἐγένοντο Κούρης καὶ Καλυδῶν,

1216 The episode has either been considered the memory of “una fase molto antica della civiltà greca” (Antonetti 1994: 131 and n.64; Hiller von Gaertringen 1894: 1129), or, more precisely, the echo of an Indoeuropean model (Sakellariou 1980: 211–3; Antonetti 1990: 62). Only Gehrke (2005: 40 n.6) suggests the possibility that this tradition developed in the context of the Arcadic–Elean War, without hypothesizing, however, that the episode present in Pausanias (5.1.8) may already be in Daimachos.

more probably, the understanding of the colonization as a result of an expiation that followed an involuntary crime.¹²¹⁷

The epigrams mentioned by Ephoros on the kinship ties between the Aitolians and Elei, show an initial convergence on the necessary fight that was implied by the conquest of future Aitolia. The texts, nonetheless, ignore the motif of the involuntary murder, which causes the departure.¹²¹⁸ Since, right after Daimachos, only Ephoros¹²¹⁹ recalls another version of the escape of Aitolos (the expulsion by Salmoneus, king of the Epeans and of the Pisates),¹²²⁰ it is not unlikely that, in the fourth century, there was a richer development of traditions on this specific moment of Aitolos' mythical life.

On the one hand, we have, in Ephoros, the voice of a representative of philo-Elean traditions. He specifically mentioned Salmoneus, king of the Epeians and of the Pisates, i.e. of the Eleans, alongside the Homeric nomenclature (Epeans/ Epei), and the community, the Pisates, which, after their precocious hostility towards the neighbours of the *koile Elis*, came to a short stable political unity in the sixties of the fourth century. This is documented both by the existence of public acts and by the diffusion of eponymous characters, like Pise¹²²¹ and Pisos,¹²²² who were promptly associated with Arcas.¹²²³ Ephoros, then, confirms the original expulsion of Aitolos from Elis, in a way that agrees with the

1217 Aitolos shares this necessity of expiation with his descendant Oxylos (Paus. 5.3.7); the motif is usually linked to the foundation of a heroic cult (Antonetti 1990: 62).

1218 Antonetti (2012) suggests that we date the two texts to the end of the fourth century BCE on the basis of their lexicon, even if the rest of the scholars generally date them to a century before. Indeed, the later chronology is further determined by the three features that distinguish Aitolos in the epigram at Thermos (athletic virtues, oecistic status, and kingship), which are central in the other traditions of the fourth century on Aitolos, like the one in Daimachos.

1219 Ephoros, *BNJ* 70 F 115: "Εφορος δέ φησιν Αἰτωλὸν ἐκπεσόντα ὑπὸ Σαλμωνέως, τοῦ βασιλέως Ἐπειῶν τε καὶ Πισατῶν, ἐκ τῆς Ἠλείας εἰς τὴν Αἰτωλίαν ὀνομάσαι τε ὑφ' αὐτοῦ τὴν χώραν καὶ συνοικίσει τὰς αὐτόθι πόλεις κτλ. ("Ephoros says that Aitolos was driven out of Elis into Aitolia by Salmoneus, the King of the Epeians and the Pisates. He named Aitolia after himself and collected the cities there into a large one"; tr. V. Parker, with slight modifications).

1220 On Salmoneus' *hybris*, see Frazer 1921: 81 n.3; Antonetti 1994: 131 and n.65; Scarpi 2010: 466-7.

1221 Pise may be the Elean answer to the Pisatan traditions, because she is Endymion's daughter, and, therefore, sister to Aitolos and Epeus (schol. Pind. *Ol.* 1.28d Drachmann; schol. *Rec. Theoc. Id.* 4.29-30b). The Eleans would then be trying to accept, in their family tree, the Pisates (cp. Taita 2000: 176-7; Möller 2004: 260).

1222 Pisos is either a son (Paus. 6.22.2) or a nephew (schol. Theoc. *Id.* 4.29-30b) of Perieres, the son of Aiolos who reigned over the Messenians. Pisos then married Olympia, Arcas' daughter (*Etym. Magn. s.v.* Ὀλυμπία, p. 623,12 Gaisford and *s.v.* Πίσσα, p. 673,13 Gaisford); cp. Nafissi 2003: 33 and Möller 2004: 258 and n.50; 259. On the recent character of the genealogies of Pisos and Pise, see Gehrke 2005: 42-3.

1223 For the genesis of these traditions on Arcas in the years 365-2 BCE, see Roy 2000: 144.

ideological propaganda of the Eleans in the middle fourth century BCE: this propaganda was probably a reaction to the existing Pisatic one, which already developed a tradition on the original Pisatic management of the Olympic games.¹²²⁴ In fact, the expulsion is both associated with a king, Salmoneus, who was known for his arrogance, and was explicitly linked to Elis, whose relationship with Messenia *predated* the addition of the king to Pisos' family tree.¹²²⁵ The same environment might explain the tradition, which was trying to accommodate the family tree of the Eleans, where a central spot is occupied by Endymion, by making Pise one of his daughters.¹²²⁶

On the other hand, Daimachos may be the first literary representative of a tradition where the traditional motif of the escape of Aitolos, after an involuntary murder, is corroborated by external events, such as the games for Azan, Arcas' son, and the link between Apis and Arcadia. If this reconstruction can be traced back to Daimachos, it might betray the political implication of the new actors of the time (the Arcadians and, in an anti-Elean position, the Pisates). This may also be the reason underlying the isolated tradition of a wife for Endymion, Hyperhype, who is Arcas' daughter.¹²²⁷ This impression is further corroborated by the later detail on the settlement in a region without previous dwellers, or not inhabited by the Kouretes, associated with the Koures who is Aitolos' nephew.

Πλευρῶνα, οὗ ἐγένοντο Κούρης καὶ Καλυδῶν, ἀφ' ὧν αἱ πόλεις: A tradition attested by Apollodoros (1.57) and the *Catalogue of Women* (FF 10a and 257 M. – W.) imagined Aitolos as the father of Pleuron and Kalydon. Daimachos distinguishes himself, since he describes Kalydon as Pleuron's child and he adds the figure of Koures (Aitolos' nephew, in this tree). The three figures of this genealogy come from much different realities, for only the centres of Pleuron and Kalydon are historically attested, despite the deceiving language

1224 For this hypothesis, see Gehrke 2005: 42: "Daß der Aiolos-Sohn Salmoneus als König der Epeier und Pisaten den Aitolos von Elis nach Aitolien vertrieben hat, [...] setzt die Herkunft des Aitolos aus Elis, also ein älteres Element elischer intentionaler Geschichte, bereits voraus, in der der Weggang des Aitolos anders erklärt wurde."

1225 On the arrogance of the king, cp. Diod. Sic. 4.68.1; Apollod. 1.89. See Möller 2004: 259 on this chronological reconstruction.

1226 Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 1.28d Drachmann; schol. Theoc. *Id.* 4.29–30b; cp. Taita 2000: 176–7 ("Il nome di Pisa rinvia comunque ad un'eroina afferente ad un gruppo di tradizioni pisati originariamente estranee ed anzi concorrenti rispetto alle genealogie di ambito epeo-eleo-etolico") and Nafissi 2003: 33.

1227 Paus. 5.1.4. Cp. Gehrke 2005: 40 n.6.

of the scholium (ἄφ' ὧν αἱ πόλεις); the tradition on a city *Kourion* is late and probably derived from Daimachos.¹²²⁸

Pleuron¹²²⁹ and Kalydon¹²³⁰ were on the coast of central southern Aitolia, to the east of river Acheloos. The two cities respectively open and close the short list of the five Aitolian cities led by Thoas in the *Catalogue of Ships* of the *Iliad* (2.638–40), and they are the only two Aitolian cities, at the end of the Classical Age, to have reached a degree of urbanization, confirmed by their regional importance (other forms of settlement, on a minor scale, still coexisted in Aitolia). When Thucydides (3.102.5) tells of the joint attack of the Spartans and Aitolians at Naupaktos in 426 BCE, he claims that Eurylochos retired “towards the region which is now called Aiolid, namely Kalydon and Pleuron”: this redénomination suggests that the cities of Kalydon and Pleuron enjoyed relatively high autonomy in their physical region: “forse dovevano sentirsi, in virtù di un’antica frequentazione, molto più vicine ai dirimpettai Achei/Epei che non agli Etoli del retroterra.”¹²³¹ The complex ethnicity of the Aitolians, once they were ready to accept a kinship with the Eleans, also implied and offered them the opportunity to see themselves as closely connected with this Aiolian enclave in their own territory.

Hellánikos may have been the first one to underline these kinship ties, when he specified that the Kouretid, considered the original settlement occupied by Aitolos and his fellows, was close to Pleuron.¹²³² It is not impossible that Hellánikos was drawing on the location of the Kouretoi in the region of Pleuron, already suggested by a fragment of the *Catalogue of Women* (F 25,13 M. – W.). This location is then twice symbolic, because it implies the reference to a tradition where Aitolos initially arrives in the Kouretid, and the defeat of the local population (Hom. *Il.* 9.529–32), which is also behind the local Kalydonian cycle of Meleagros.

1228 Steph. Byz. κ 195, *s.v.* Κούριον.

1229 *IACP* 153; Antonetti 1990: 281–2.

1230 *IACP* 148; Antonetti 1990: 241–69.

1231 Antonetti 2005: 68; on the redénomination, see also Antonetti 2010: 169.

1232 Lasserre (1971: 35 n.2; cp. Antonetti 2005: 57 and *passim*) first suggested that this detail, mentioned by Strabo (10.2.6.451), actually comes from Hellánikos.

The Archaic traditions on Pleuron and Kalydon, then, clearly connected the centres with the Kouretid, to locate, in the same area, central motifs of the archaeology of the Aitolians. This description was then both a homage to the Homeric representation of this nation and to those local cycles on which we are poorly informed. Daimachos innovates from two points of view, as he seems to echo an Aitolian answer to the Elean myth of Aitolos as father of Pleuron and Kalydon.

Kalydon's later position in this genealogy, after Pleuron, might echo, *e converso*, the real reciprocal relationship between the historical centres in the fourth century.¹²³³ Kalydon was a politically relevant center in the Aitolian league both for the role it played in the Panhellenic *epos* and for the regional sanctuary of the Laphrion (not incidentally, apart from Thermos, the only place where international decrees were exposed). Whereas Thermos is more open to a Panhellenic context, Kalydon may be considered as a second, moral capital of Aitolia, and it slowly replaced Pleuron as the main reference in the Kouretid.¹²³⁴ Pleuron is mostly known for its kinship diplomacy with Sparta, through Thestios, either the grandfather or father of Leda, the mother of Castor and Pollux;¹²³⁵ nevertheless, this interesting kinship tie, which is attested already in Asius (F 6 West, *GEF*) and Ibykos (Davies, *PGMF* 304), before Pherekydes (*BNJ* 3 F 9), is significantly reread by Hellanikos (*BNJ* 4 F 119), who calls Leda "Kalydonian."¹²³⁶

Giving Pleuron a son, Koures, implies both a reversal of the usual greater importance of Kalydon before Pleuron, and a negative backdrop on the ethnic distinction of the Aitolians towards the Kouretes: these were notoriously defeated by the Aitolians,¹²³⁷ but, following this genealogical tree, they become related to them. This kinship also means that the Kouretes were not barbarians, if they descend from the Aitolians.¹²³⁸ Among the alternative etymologies on the Kouretoi, some of them, like the one by Archemachos of Euboia (*BNJ*

1233 See Antonetti 2005: 68–9 on the relationship between the two centres.

1234 Cp. Antonetti 2012: 193–4, on their "bipolar functionality". By 389 BCE, both Kalydon and Naupaktos were occupied by the Achaians; after their liberation in 366 BCE, however, only Kalydon remained Aitolian and resisted new attacks from the Achaians (on the chronological problems, see Merker 1989).

1235 Asius F 6 West, *GEF*; Eumelos F 25 West, *GEF*.

1236 Cp. Antonetti 2005: 69 and Pownall 2016 *ad BNJ* 4 F 119.

1237 On these traditions and on their use to confirm the Greekness of the Aitolians, see Antonetti 1990: 64–6.

1238 On the chronological implications of this Homeric tradition, see Antonetti 1994: 122–4 and Parker 2011 *ad BNJ* 70 F 122a.

414 F 9), highlighted their fame in other Greek areas, such as in Chalkis.¹²³⁹ This genealogy conveyed by Daimachos is the only one where the eponymous hero Koures descends from Aitolos,¹²⁴⁰ and has, then, a secondary effect on the debate concerning the Greekness of the Aitolians and on their “dangerous” connections.¹²⁴¹

5.2.3. Aitolos in the Fourth Century BCE

This fragment distinguishes Daimachos from the contemporary debate on Aitolos, as described by Ephoros, since Daimachos only shares with his contemporaries the birth from Endymion and the origin of the character from Elis. Among the differences, the peaceful settlement, which may derive from the extreme conciseness of the quote, is juxtaposed with the infamous motif of the departure from the Peloponnese. In fact, Daimachos is probably the first one who accused Aitolos of involuntarily murdering Apis during the games for Azan: this tradition cannot coexist with an expulsion, through Salmoneus. The motif of the founder who looks for purification after an involuntary murder might be topical,¹²⁴² but the degree of detail on the causes of Aitolos’ departure must refer to a recent reconsideration of the myth.

If we accept an Arcadian context for this modification, we can think of a genesis or an emphasis in connection to the Arcado-Elean war, when the Arcadians profited from their eponymous hero as an instrument of kinship ties to tighten the connection with the Pisates, who were their allies against the Eleans. Since the tradition of a kinship tie between the Aitolians and the Eleans likely has an Elean origin and, despite this, was

1239 On the different settings of the Kouretoi, see Str. 10.3.1–6.463–5: even if Strabo depends, in this tenth book, on Apollodoros’ commentary on the *Catalogue of Ships*, he is aware of non-Homeric traditions (Antonetti 1994: 123).

1240 Strabo (10.3.6.465, whence Steph. Byz. α 153, s.v. Ἀκαρνανία) mentions a tradition, where Acarnanians and Kouretoi took their names from eponymous heroes. Since he depends, in this tenth book, on Apollodoros of Athens (Antonetti 1994), it could be that Daimachos was privy to this source who worked in the second century BCE.

1241 On the Greekness of the Aitolians, and on the related debate of the fourth century BCE, see Antonetti 1990 *passim*.

1242 See Parker 1983: 116–7; 375–6 on the *akousios phonos* and on the necessity of purification. Also, Achaeus goes to the Peloponnese after an involuntary murder (Str. 8.7.1.383). The conventional translation “involuntary” for ἀκούσιος is an approximation, because of the problematic nature of “voluntariness” in the Greek criminal code. We are slightly better informed in Athens, where Drakon introduced the distinction between voluntary and involuntary murder: on this complex and debated issue, see Gagarin 1981; Pepe 2008; Phillips 2008: 59–61.

publicly accepted in Aitolia, where it became a “tradition officielle” (Robert 1978: 489), any tradition that overshadowed or invalidated Aitolos’ behaviour assumes an anti-Aitolian and anti-Elean subtext.

This interpretation also subsumes a chronological and valorial inversion of Kalydon and Pleuron, both *lieux de mémoire* for the Aitolians, and the relationship between the Kouretoi and the Aitolians. This kinship, in fact, hinders the use of the Homeric tradition in the fight between the Aitolians and the Kouretoi for the conquest of territory. At the same time, it complicates the status of the “Greekness” of the Aitolians, even if it does not go so far as to define them as barbarians (Aitolos is always Elean).

Daimachos was therefore engaging in an anti-Elean and anti-Aitolian tradition, probably local in its origin. This does not make him, however, a local historian, despite an undeniable interest in Aitolian history. The complexity of the relationship between Panhellenic myths and local strands, as the same *Histories* of Herodotus show, suggests prudence on the nature of Daimachos’ work, on the basis of fragments like the current one. We could make space for a contextual adhesion to a variety of traditions.

5.3. Daimachos F 2

Previous editions: *BNJ* 65 F 2; *FGrHist* 65 F 2 (Schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.558 [p. 48 Wendel]).

διαπεφωνήκασι δέ τινες καὶ περὶ τῆς Ἀχιλλέως μητρός, καθάπερ Λυσίμαχος ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν Νόστων κατὰ λέξιν λέγων· ‘Σουίδας γὰρ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ὁ περὶ Εὐβοίας πεπραγματευμένος καὶ ὁ τοὺς Φρυγίους λόγους γράψας καὶ Δαίμαχος καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς οὐ τὴν περὶ Ἀχιλλέως διεσπαρμένην ἀφείκασιν ἡμῖν ἐπὶ χώρας δόξαν, ἀλλὰ τούναντίον οἱ μὲν ἐκ Θέτιδος αὐτὸν νομίζουσι γεγονέναι τῆς Χείρωνος, Δαίμαχος δὲ ἐκ Φιλομήλας τῆς Ἄκτορος’.

“Others even disagree on Achilles’ mother, as is recalled by Lysimachos in the Second Book of his *Returns*, when he says, with these exact words, ‘Because

Soudas, the Aristotle who wrote on Euboia, the author of *Phrygian Stories*, Daimachos and Dionysios of Chalkis did not accept the widespread tradition on Achilles, such as it is common among us: on the contrary, some of them think that Achilles was the son of Thetis, Cheiron's daughter, whereas Daimachos says that he was the son of Philomela, Actor's daughter" (tr. S. Tufano).

5.3.1. Daimachos, Lysimachos, and the Traditions on Achilles

The scholium comments on the mention of Achilles' father, Peleus, in Apollonius Rhodius (1.558): this passage offers an opportunity to record two main variations on the name and identity of the hero's mother. The main source on this was the philologist Lysimachos (*BNJ* 382 F 8), whose production and date are much debated, even if it is safe to date his activity to the end of the third century BCE.¹²⁴³ Lysimachos focused, in his *Returns*, on the traditions of the heroes who were coming back home from Troy.¹²⁴⁴

The mention of Achilles immediately alludes to Thessaly, a region where Achilles was a national hero and embodied all the pan-Thessalian qualities, until the Imperial period.¹²⁴⁵ His genealogy is always linked to this region, despite many variations, so that it is not necessary to assume that quoting him must mean a specific interest in Thessalian matters.¹²⁴⁶ Furthermore, Thetis and Cheiron are also constantly located in Thessaly, just like the Actorids implied by the version followed by Daimachos, so that it might be misleading to force the evidence to infer a specific, strong interest in Thessalian history

1243 On these hypotheses, see Meliàdò 2010 and *supra* 5.1.3.

1244 The work could not have been longer than two books; a fragment which quotes from its eleventh book is extremely doubtful (*BNJ* 382 F 12b: the doubts concern both the tradition of the number and the fact that in this fragment Lysimachos is talking about much later events, such as the destiny of Helen): cp. Schachter 2010 *ad BNJ* 382 F 12b.

1245 Westlake 1935: 43; Bouchon – Helly 2015: 248-9.

1246 On this current view, see e.g. Dognini 2000: 103 and Engels 2011a *ad BNJ* 65 F 2. In particular, Zecchini (1997: 193) claims that Daimachos might have stressed this Thessalian tradition to support Pelopidas' Thessalian venture, which was strongly opposed in Thebes by the circle of Menekleidas (on this internal debate, see Buckler 1980: 145-50). The limited circulation of this version, in the absence of further evidence, however, does not authorize a contextual application to a Theban scenario.

and myths in Daimachos' work.¹²⁴⁷ The common denominator of the last two variants mentioned in the scholium is the mortal genealogy of Achilles, because Achilles can only be considered half-divine if his mother Thetis is Nereus' daughter, and thus a goddess.¹²⁴⁸ Against this διεσπαρμένην [...] δόξαν, Lysimachos presents his reader with two variations on Achilles' mother, the first of which can be reasonably assigned, on the basis of the text, to all the authors different from Daimachos, namely Soudas, Aristotle, the author of *Phrygian Histories*, and Dionysios of Chalkis. A brief consideration of their profiles might help us contextualize the place of Daimachos in this list of sources.

Soudas of Thessaly wrote *Thessalika* (BNJ 602 F 7) and possibly engaged in other literary genres; we have no direct evidence for the period of his activity.¹²⁴⁹ The only possible *terminus ante quem* before Strabo, who quoted Soudas, may be Lysimachos, who may have lived between the third and the second century BCE, but much lower estimates of Lysimachos' lifespan, not sensibly distant from Strabo, are considered by some scholars.¹²⁵⁰ Soudas' local history presents Cheiron as the mortal father of Thetis, because Soudas thought of all the centaurs as born of Ixion and as brothers of Peirithous (BNJ 602 FF 1ab).¹²⁵¹ This tradition is in line with the general rationalistic approach to myth in the fragments by "Suda" and may have a local origin of Thessaly, if it was recorded in his *Thessalian History*;¹²⁵² however, it may also have been present in his other works.

Aristotle of Chalkis' *Περὶ Εὐβοίας* (BNJ 423 F 2) is a further example of local history, which might surprise the contemporary reader, insofar as the detail on Thetis as Cheiron's daughter appeared in an essay on a different region than Thessaly, i.e. Euboea. The date of Aristotle is likewise unknown, but the available *terminus ante quem* is slightly earlier,

1247 Aston 2006: 350 and Aston 2009.

1248 This divine nature is debated, however: cp. Engels 2011a *ad* BNJ 65 F 2.

1249 Jacoby (1955a: 677) assigned to Soudas a work on universal history, on the basis of the current BNJ 602 F 2. This scholar also suggested the existence of a *Genealogy* (cp. BNJ 602 F 4), but Williams (2013) is now skeptical on the presence of titles other than his *Thessalian Histories*.

1250 Str. 7.7.12.329 (= BNJ 602 F 11a); Str. *Epit.* 2,72 Kramer (= BNJ 602 F 11b).

1251 Cp. Jacoby 1955a: 678, who signals the novelty of Soudas in this context: Pindar was already aware of a tradition where Cheiron was the son of Ixion (*Pyth.* 2.35-7). Ixion reigned over the Thessalian Lapiths as a mortal (BNJ 602 F 1b). For this reading, see also Engels n.d. *ad* JC IV 1773 F 12.

1252 For this interpretation of the production of Soudas, see Williams 2013. Jacoby (1955a: 679) doubted the presence of a "blosser rationalismus", since he suggested a logical organization among diverse genealogies. Information in the *Thessalian History*: Zecchini 1997: 193.

because it appears that Archemachos of Euboea, who worked in the first half of the third century BCE, drew on a tradition already produced by our Aristotle.¹²⁵³ We can possibly accept the suggestion of Sprawski (2010 *ad BNJ* 423 F 2) that a decisive role was played by the short distance between Euboea and Magnesia, the Thessalian region that possessed both a Hellenistic cult of Cheiron¹²⁵⁴ and the Promontory of Sepias, sacred to Thetis and to the Nereids.¹²⁵⁵

Lysimachos' reference to an anonymous "Author of *Phrygian Histories*"¹²⁵⁶ indirectly supports the rationalistic reading of Achilles' lineage. A recent reconsideration of the writings transmitted with the title *Φρύγιοι λόγοι* has shown how they are characterized by a series of recurring features: they refer to an anonymous or pseudo-epigraphic literature, which never deals with Phrygian history or culture. Rives (2005) noticed that, first of all, these writings always record or support an allegorical and/or euhemeristic interpretation of the myth, by humanizing gods and semidivine heroes¹²⁵⁷ (as in the current fragment, on a mortal Achilles); secondly, these Phrygian writings may have received their name from the alleged antiquity of the Phrygians, who were known as the first men, as shown at its best by the well-known experiment of Psammetichus in Herodotus (2.2).¹²⁵⁸

The first witness of a *Phrygian Poem* was Dionysios Scitobrachion, who lived in the third century BCE and assigned the fictitious authorship of Timotheus of Troy to the poem;¹²⁵⁹ unfortunately, we cannot sensibly infer consequences from this, but we can determine, in

1253 See Sprawski 2009 and Sprawski 2010 *ad BNJ* 423 F 3, after Wilamowitz 1895: 91–2. Sprawski notes that Archemachos might depend on Aristotle for the tradition of a migration of Abantes from Thrace to Euboea, when the Boiotians were contextually moving from Thessaly to Boiotia (*BNJ* 424 FF 1 and 8).

1254 Cp. Aston 2006: 355–8 on this cult.

1255 Hdt. 7.191, with Aston 2006: 358 and Vannicelli 2017: 537–8. According to a tradition that Pindar may already know, there was an actual cult place, the *Thetideion*: Pherekydes, *BNJ* 3 F 1a; Soudas, *BNJ* 602 F 6; Str. 9.5.6.431; Pol. 18.20.6; Plut. *Pel.* 31–2.

1256 *BNJ* 800 F 12 (ὁ τοὺς Φρυγίους λόγους γράψας). This fragment does not confirm that Aristotle also wrote *Phrygian Histories* (so Susemihl 1892: 385 and Engels 2011a *ad BNJ* 65 F 1). The list strongly distinguishes between Aristotle, whose apposition is ὁ περὶ Εὐβοίας πεπραγματευμένος, and ὁ τοὺς Φρυγίους λόγους γράψας: this second periphrasis emphasizes the anonymous character of much of this production.

1257 On these tendencies, cp. Rives 2005: 236–7.

1258 Rives 2005: 239–41. On Herodotus' chapter, see Vannicelli 1997 and Gera 2003: 68–111.

1259 Diod. Sic. 3.67.5: τὴν Φρυγίαν ὀνομαζομένην ποίησιν; on this quote, see Rives 2005: 224–5, also for a date of Dionysios *ca.* 270–20 BCE.

the present fragment, that Lysimachos' quote represents in itself a *terminus ante quem*¹²⁶⁰ for a text which probably mentioned Thetis. However, this work can not be understood as a local history of Phrygia, since the books corresponding to these characteristics were generally assigned different titles; Rives' suggestion excludes that these *Phrygian Stories* may immediately refer to the region.¹²⁶¹

Dionysios of Chalkis is no less obscure than the other figures: his suggested dates range from the fifth to the second century BCE.¹²⁶² This historian may coincide with a man who was honoured in Samos at the end of the fourth century BC.¹²⁶³ Moreover, this period aligns with an identification with the Dionysios who lived in the years of Roxane and Callippus, according to Syncellus.¹²⁶⁴ Despite the vast spread of this personal name, we have no explicit contrary indications against an early date. For our scope, it is important to remark on both the vast variety of topics covered in his fragments and their probable early date: this chronological scenario puts Dionysios on a potentially coterminous stage with the Aristotle who wrote a *Περὶ Εὐβοίας*.

Daimachos is quoted, then, among authors who, despite the uncertainties surrounding their date, were placed from the end of the fourth century BCE to the end of the third century (if we include the earlier lifespan hypothesized for Lysimachos). The general characteristics of the list indirectly infer a possibly strict chronological order in Lysimachos, even though it is not enough to conclude more on the exact lifespan of Daimachos.¹²⁶⁵ The characteristics of the production of these authors, finally, indicate that

1260 Rives 2005: 225.

1261 Rives 2005: 234–5: “A number of scholars have taken it for granted that any work described as “Phrygian” must have something to do with the cult of Cybele, but almost nothing in the evidence itself suggests any connection either with the goddess herself or with her attendants and associates such as Attis or the Korybantes.”

1262 *JC* IV 1773 F 12 = *FHG* IV 394, F 6. Fifth century BCE: Rühl 1888: 119–21. Second century BCE: cp. Korenjak *ad JC* V 2048 (Dionysus is quoted at v. 115 of Pseudo-Scymnius' *Periegesis*). See the general overview by Engels n.d., “Einleitung” *ad JC* IV 1773.

1263 Text of the inscription: McCabe – Brownson – Ehrman 1986: 12 (n.27). Same historian: Habicht 1957: 198–9; Schachter 2012b *ad BNJ* 382 F 9.

1264 Syncellus 520,11–2 = *JC* IV 1773 T 6. Engels (n.d. *ad loc.*) is skeptical on this identification and prefers equating this Dionysus with the Dionysus of Corinth who wrote *Aitia*.

1265 Cp. e.g. Engels n.d. (*ad JC* IV 1773 F 12): “Die Apollonios-Scholien haben uns [...] ein wahres Zitatennest überliefert [...], wenn es freilich auch sehr schwer ist, aus dieser Passage präzisere Rückschlüsse auf die chronologische Verortung des Dionysios zu ziehen.”

the only possible common ground was the euhemerizing representation of Achilles and not the fact that they were all local historians. Consequently, we must read the tradition conveyed by Daimachos in a context where all these authors see Thetis as a mortal woman and understand this variation.

5.3.2. Philomela as the Mother of Achilles

The same tradition on Achilles as the son of Peleus and the Actorid was retold by Staphylos of Naucratis (*BNJ* 269), an ethnographer who wrote *On Thessaly* before Apollodoros of Athens (second century BCE).¹²⁶⁶ Staphylos claimed that Peleus married two daughters of Actor: from his first wife, Eurydike, he had a daughter, Polydora (*BNJ* 269 F 5);¹²⁶⁷ Achilles was born of Philomela, his second wife, despite the general belief that his mother was Thetis (*BNJ* 269 F 4). Staphylos claims that Cheiron acted as an intercessor in Peleus' wedding:

“And Staphylos in the third book of *On Thessaly* says that Cheiron, being wise and skilled in astronomy, since he wanted to make Peleus illustrious, sent for Philomela, the daughter of Actor the Myrmidon, and put around a rumour that Peleus was going to marry Thetis and that Zeus would give her to him, and that the gods would come with rain and storm. Having spread this rumour, he awaited the time in which there would be much rain and violent winds, and gave Philomela to Peleus. And thus the rumour prevailed.”¹²⁶⁸

1266 On the different Philomelas, see Fowler 2013: 537-9. For the relationship between Staphylos and Apollodoros of Athens, cp. Str. 10.4.6.475-6 (= *BNJ* 269 F 12), which must come from Apollodoros, even if Pitcher 2008 prudently observes that “his [Staphylus] date is a matter of speculation”. The title of his *On Thessaly* is variously transmitted (*BNJ* 269 FF 4-6: *Περὶ Θεσσαλίας*, *Θεσσαλικά* and *Περὶ Θετταλῶν*), and it is hard to know which variant was the original one: Pitcher 2008, *ad* F 6, leans towards an original *Π. Θετταλῶν*, on a comparative basis. Staphylos also wrote *Περὶ Ἀθηνῶν* (F 1), *Περὶ Αἰολέων* (F 2) and *Περὶ Ἀρκάδων* (F 3).

1267 Staphylos, *BNJ* 269 F 5. Polydora is already mentioned as Peleus' daughter in the *Iliad* (16.175), whereas Pherekydes (*BNJ* 3 F 62) presents her as Actor's nephew.

1268 *BNJ* 269 F 4, tr. L.V. Pitcher, with slight modifications. For Cheiron's intervention, cp. the central layer of the François vase, the notorious Attic crater (first quarter of the sixth century BCE) found in Chiusi and created by Kleitias and Ergotimos (among the overwhelming scholarship, see Torelli 2007 and the contributions in Shapiro – Iozzo – Lezzi

As suggested by Jacoby (1926a: 5), the starting point of these local traditions was the mention of Polydora as Peleus' daughter in three verses of the *Iliad* (16.173-5, on Menesthius, the son of Polydora and Spercheius). For the Archaic period, the iconography of the François vase concentrates on other events of Peleus' life and only emphasizes the union with Thetis, whereas the *Catalogue of Women* may anticipate the idea of a double union, possibly under necessity to explain the fatherhood of Polydora.¹²⁶⁹ It seems that here Peleus met his first wife in the Phthia,¹²⁷⁰ and the mother of Polydora committed suicide (to allow/give space for a second union?) before Peleus married Thetis and begot Achilles from the nymph.¹²⁷¹

Despite some probably irrelevant variations on the genealogical relationship between the first mortal woman and Actor,¹²⁷² the association between Polymela and the Thessalian man is constant in the fifth century BCE: Pindar, for instance, imagines Polydora as the daughter of Polymela, Actor's nephew,¹²⁷³ whereas Pherekydes (*BNJ* 3 FF 61 abc) gives a

– Hafter 2013; for the place of the wedding in the figurative program of the vase, see still Stewart 1983, despite the contemporary refusal of Stewart's comparison with Stesichoros).

1269 The *Cypria* (FF 3-4 West, *GEF*) also touched the wedding of Peleus and Thetis and the interception of Cheiron. On the description of the event in the *Catalogue of Women*, see March 1987: 7, who comments on FF 209 and 213 M. – W. In the first case, we should infer that Peleus comes to Iolkos from Phthia, because Hesiod allegedly mentioned his daughter Polydora, called Kleodora solely by the Homeric philologist Zenodotus; in the second scenario, we learn that Acastus purified Peleus. This action was necessary after the voluntary killing of Eurytion, Actor's son, during a hunt in Phthia (Pind. F 48 S. – M.; Xen. *Cyn.* 1; Apollod. 3.163).

1270 Phthia is quoted for the first time by Hom. *Il.* 1.155. It cannot be considered a city or a centre, nor does it seem that the site, maybe a region at the beginning, has any historical settlement (see Decourt – Nielsen – Helly 2004: 678 n.4, who include it among the Thessalian toponyms, which cannot be studied in the *IACP*). Consequently, Phthia is mostly an imagined place, linked with Thetis (cp. e.g. Pind. *Nem.* 4.81), and its association with Achilles does not justify an identification with Pharsalos (Westlake 1935: 11-2; Williams 2012 *ad BNJ* 602 F 6).

1271 The present reconstruction, with the suicide, is a hypothesis that has no specific correspondence in the extant fragments of the *Catalogue* (March 1987: 20), but it assumes that the *Catalogue* lies behind the version of Apollodoros' *Library* (3.164-5). Here Astydamia, the wife of Peleus' guest, Akastos, falls in love with Peleus, but her love is not returned; she then lies to Peleus' wife, Antigone (Actor's nephew, as in Pherekydes *BNJ* 3 FF 61b-c: see sequent n.), by telling her that Peleus is going to marry Sterope, Acastus' daughter. Consequently, Antigone hangs herself.

1272 Antigone, Eurytion's daughter, i.e. Actor's nephew: Hes. *Cat.* F 213 M. – W., but see *infra* in text; Pherekydes, *BNJ* 3 FF 61bc; Apollod. 3.163. Eurydice, Actor's daughter: Staphylos, *BNJ* 269 F 5. Polymela, Actor's daughter: Pind. F 48 S. – M., but see *infra* n.1273; Eust. *ad Il.* 2.684, p. I 499,18 van der Valk. Only the scholium T on *Il.* 16.175c, which starts from these traditions, recalls a Polydora as Laodamia's daughter and Aktaion's nephew (Soudas *BNJ* 602 F 8a).

1273 Pind. F 48 S. – M. Pindar's fragment is quoted by Aristides (*Or.* 2.168, with the corresponding scholium [3.463-4 Dindorf]: on the textual problems, see van der Kolf 1938 and Zwicker 1952), but it is not entirely clear: it may even assume that Achilles and Polydora had the same mother. This is the text edited by Snell – Maehler: τὸν Εὐρυτίωνα, τὸν

different name for the mother, Antigone, but also claims that Polymela was Actor's nephew. The overall tendency, however, i.e. a mortal woman (Polymela) followed by a divine one (Thetis) with children of a different nature, remains constant.

Daimachos, then, accepted a rare genealogy for Achilles' mother and, in doing so, he may have preceded Staphylos. The true innovative trait is the consideration of an Actorid not as the first wife of Peleus, but as the second figure, the mother of Achilles. For this reason, Staphylos' anecdote on the deification of Philomela, once paralleled with Peisistratos' ruse of Phye in Athens (Hdt. 1.60.4–5),¹²⁷⁴ invites us to investigate the reasons why the Actorids had become so attached and intertwined with Achilles' genealogy.

On the basis of the occurrence of Philomela in local history, like Staphylos' *On Thessaly*, this focus on the genealogical relationship between Achilles and Actor draws our attention to the Thessalian area. The kinship tie was enhanced through a duplication of its grounds, as Staphylos explicitly claims, by claiming that both Peleus' first wife, Eurydike, and the second one, Philomela, were Actor's daughters. We have no means to prove whether Daimachos anticipated Staphylos concerning Peleus' wife, but this possibility must be considered, because Peleus is constantly associated with an Actorid in his first wedding.

5.3.3. Daimachos, Thessaly, and a Universal History

Achilles' birth from Peleus and Philomela does not necessarily refer to Thessaly, if we consider the complex web of events linked to Peleus and his son. In fact, a possible link with the previous fragment of Daimachos (F 1) is Peleus' participation in the Kalydonian boar hunt, an event which preceded his wedding with Thetis and is often associated with

τοῦ Ἰρου τοῦ Ἀκτορος παῖδα, ἕνα ὄντα τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν, συνθηρεύοντα ἄκων ἀπέκτεινε Πηλεΐς [...] συγγενὴς τούτου ἦν. Πηλεΐς γὰρ πρὸ Θέτιδος θυγατέρα Ἀκτορος τὴν Πολυμήλαν εἶχε γυναῖκα (“During a communal hunt, Peleus involuntarily killed Eurytion, one of the Argonauts and son of Iro and of Actor [...]; he was his relative, because Peleus had a wife, before Thetis, namely Polymela, Actor's daughter”, tr. S. Tufano). It is interesting to remark how the historian Pisander (BNJ 16 F 2) says that Polydora gave birth to two Argonauts, Idas and Lynceus.

1274 For this option and other possible parallels to the models implied by the anecdote in Staphylos BNJ 269 F 4, cp. Pitcher 2008 *ad loc.* and Engels 2011a *ad BNJ* 65 F 1; Engels n.d. *ad JC* IV 1773 F 12.

this union in the figurative and literary sources on Peleus.¹²⁷⁵ The mention of Kalydon in F 1 may be linked to this myth, because Peleus is always mentioned in the hunt, both in the literary and in the iconographic sources. Alternatively, we may recall here the curious diffusion in Elis of Thessalian toponyms and characters,¹²⁷⁶ even if this second option remains relatively less solid (both local contexts are equally valid).

In the second place, we might indicate another scenario, connected with the vast fame of Peleus' wedding to Thetis. This event was an inexorable part of Peleus' myth, and, as such, was probably present in Daimachos' work, maybe in an explanation of the new name of Philomela. Philodemus, for instance, dealt with this myth in his *Περὶ εὐσεβείας*, in a fragment where he lingers on the reasons for the initial refusal of Thetis to marry Zeus. Peleus' characterization often centered on his devotion and piety:¹²⁷⁷ when he is chosen to marry Thetis in the *Iliad*, this decision is a compromise between Zeus, who is angry at Thetis for her refusal to have sexual intercourse with him, and Hera, who is benevolent towards Thetis and wants the best for her,¹²⁷⁸ i.e. the mortal Peleus.¹²⁷⁹ These features may suggest a possible, original location of this material in Daimachos' *On Piety* (F 7).

Uncertain as this second hypothesis might sound, it must be remembered that the unifying characteristic of Lysimachos' *Zitatenest* is that *all* these authors humanized Achilles, whereas the other four writers cannot be reduced to a single literary genre. Finally, we can claim that, as hard as it may be to imagine an original context for the fragment in Daimachos' work, the author probably innovated by accepting and reproducing a quite rare version on Achilles' cradle. This version enforced the usual Thessalian ties of Achilles and Peleus, while offering a different perspective on the Homeric hero.

1275 Literary sources constantly associate Peleus, Meleagros, and Athalas (Vollkommer 1994: 252; Kreuzer 2013: 110 n.29). They occupy an important position in the figurative program among the twenty-two participants of the hunt who are represented on the François vase (Torelli 2013: 90); on the representation of Peleus as a participant to this event, cp. Brommer 1973 (vases A1, A5, A7, and A14; doubtful A2); March 1987: 38; Vollkommer 1994: 254–5.

1276 Among the Thessalian figures, Actor is a friend of the immortal king Augias (Ruggeri 2004: 86).

1277 Philodemus, B 7241–50 Obbink. Cp. Pind. *Isthm.* 8.27–45 and March 1987: 9–10.

1278 Hom. *Il.* 18.249–34; 24.59–61; *Cypria* F 3 West, *GEF*; [Hes.] F 210 M.–W. On these passages, cp. March 1987: 8–9.

1279 Despite the reluctant reaction of the goddess, a detail correctly underlined by Larson 2001: 71–2.

5.4. Daimachos F 3

Previous editions: *BNJ* 65 F 6; *FGrHist* 65 F 6 (Diog. Laert. 1.30).

Δαίμαχος δ' ὁ Πλατωνικὸς καὶ Κλέαρχος φιάλην ἀποσταλῆναι ὑπὸ Κροίσου
Πιπτακῶι, καὶ οὕτω περιενεχθῆναι

1 Δαίμαχος δ' ὁ Πλαταιῖκός Dorandi Δαίμαχος Casaubon Jacoby Δαίδοχος Wehrli (1948)
δαίδαχος BPF¹ δαίδαλος F² πλατωνικός Wehrli (1948) Πλαταιῖκός Casaubon Jacoby Engels
πλατωνικός BPF Κλέταρχος B

“The Platonic Daimachos and Clearchos say that the bowl had been given to Croesus by Pittakos, and that it had been sent around in this way” (tr. S. Tufano).

5.4.1. Textual Transmission and Context

The current fragment comes from the *Life of Thales* by Diogenes Laertius (1.22–44); the link with the tradition here recalled is provided by the association of Thales with the Seven Wisemen. The name of the first source mentioned on this detail is variously transmitted, but the correction Δαίμαχος, which allows us to include it in our material, does not seem particularly invasive or disrespectful of the textual tradition.¹²⁸⁰ The ensuing adjective has raised more issues despite the fact that πλατωνικός is unanimously transmitted by our codices. Casaubon suggested that we correct it with Πλαταιῖκός and Wehrli accepted this

1280 The name was first read as *Δαίδοχος by Wehrli (1948), who was trying to find an alternative to the transmitted *Δαίδαχος, also otherwise unknown. In the second edition of the fragments of Clearchos, however, Wehrli (1969a) opted for the correction Δαίμαχος, already suggested by Casaubon (1583: 11): this slight conjecture is not invasive and should be accepted. The unlikely Δαίδαλος, introduced by the reader F² (XIII c. *ex.* – XIV c. *in.*) on manuscript F (=Laur. 69,13; XIII c.), was probably elicited by the general poor quality and superficiality of the original hand of ms. F. Curiously enough, Cober (1850) printed Δαίδαλος δ' ὁ Πλατωνικός, probably because of his penchant for codex F (cp. Dorandi 2013: 14–5). On this manuscript and on its characteristics, see Dorandi 2009: 67–78 and Dorandi 2013: 3.

correction in his second edition of the text as a fragment of Clearchos (Wehrli 1969a). In his previous edition of Clearchos, however, Wehrli maintained the transmitted πλατωνικός (Wehrli 1948). Jacoby simply followed Casaubon, who believed it necessary to correct the form to Δαίμαχος ὁ Πλαταιικός (with one iota). Casaubon's view was that this Daimachos had to be the same author

cuius auctoritate vititur Plutarchus, in extremo vitarum Solonis & Poplicolæ, eiusque est apud Athenæum¹²⁸¹ mentio (Casaubon 1583: 11).

However, the fragment in Plutarch's *Lives* presents Daimachos as a Πλαταιεύς. Even if the quote most probably refers to the same Daimachos who wrote history in the fourth century BCE, it would then seem methodically invasive to also intervene on the transmitted πλατωνικός,¹²⁸² an adjective also used elsewhere by Diogenes Laertius.¹²⁸³ Another problem with Casaubon's correction is that the ethnic πλαταιικός, used to describe an origin from Plataia, is controversial and generally rarer than πλαταιεύς.¹²⁸⁴ The correction continues to be successful (see Engels 2011a *ad BNJ* 65 F 6), for the difficulty caused by a definition of Daimachos as "Platonic": this may result, according to Engels, from the contrast with the close mention of the well-known peripatetic Clearchos of Soloi (F 70 Wehrli).

This description does not literally mean that Daimachos was a pupil of Plato, even if, on a mere chronological basis, this were not entirely absurd, since, if Daimachos preceded

1281 I.e. our F 4 and F 5.

1282 Plut. *Comp. Sol. et Publ.* 27.1 = Daimachos, F 7. Dorandi (2013 *ad loc.*) mentions a written note by von der Muehl, according to whom "*sed considerandum num Δαίδαλος ὁ Πλατωνικός verum sit (sic Cobet).*" After Wehrli's first edition (1948), this is the last modern defence of the transmitted πλατωνικός, even if it is unlikely that Δαίδαλος can be preserved.

1283 Hermodorus (1.2) and Pamphilos (10.14) are two notable cases.

1284 Only twice is this adjective used to describe the provenance of a person (Lys. 3.5; Aeschin. *In Ctes.* 162), whereas the other instances of πλαταιικός more probably describe the attachment to Plataia or a collocation (Hdt. 9.25.1; Philaemon *PCG* F 115,4 K. – A.; Plut. *Arist.* 11.6; Paus. 4.27.10; Poll. *Onom.* 10.182). The adjective is also rarely used to define the speeches on Plataia written by Isocrates (*Rhetorica anonyma de inventione* 7.54 Walz; cp. section **Tit.** in Mandilaras 2003: 72) and by Hyperides (F 10 Burtt = Plut. *De glor. Ath.* 8.350B); Herodotus also uses τὰ Πλαταιικά to mean "what happened in Plataia" (8.38.2; 126,1; cp. Plut. *de Hdt. mal.* 35.868F: Ἡρόδοτος [...] ἐν τοῖς Πλαταιικοῖς). These occurrences would then substantiate Stephanus' use of the adj. in the identification of ἡ χώρα Πλαταιική (π 176, s.v. Πλαταιαί).

Ephoros (T 1), he would have had time to attend Plato's lectures (427–347 BCE).¹²⁸⁵ The definition of Daimachos as “Platonic” probably dates back to Diogenes Laertius, either through his immediate source, who already associated Daimachos to Clearchos, or as a result of Diogenes' own assumption.¹²⁸⁶ Moreover, Clearchos was widely known as Aristotle's pupil¹²⁸⁷ and the restitution of his name, next to Daimachos' one, is an irrefutable fact.¹²⁸⁸

5.4.2. Daimachos and The Tradition on the Seven Wisemen

The Seven Wisemen were legendary and historical characters, associated by a tradition that set their meeting in a symposium where they uttered wise sayings and participated in an internal contest to determine who was the wisest among them.¹²⁸⁹ This contest consisted of an exhibition of demureness, a progressive refusal of every figure to receive a precious gift (a tripod or a cup), as the prize for the wisest man in the world. Finally, most sources assume that this gift came back to the first receiver, who dedicated it to Apollo.¹²⁹⁰

The tradition, in its first nucleus, may have developed in Delphi in the sixth century BCE, since the final dedicatee is Apollo and the earliest references in Herodotus hint at this ideological climate.¹²⁹¹ Herodotus, in fact, remembers this meeting of σοφισταί,¹²⁹² who

1285 So Engels 2011a *ad BNJ* 65 F 6; in fact, the adjective does not necessarily imply a direct discipleship.

1286 The second alternative is less likely, for the doxographical character of the *Lives*, which depend on previous collections of materials for this subject (cp. Busine 2002: 55–6 and Engels 2010: 34–5).

1287 Clearchos' discipleship and his origin from Soloi are among the few details we possess on his historical figure. See the recent discussion of Tsitsiridis 2013: 1–8, including the inscription from Ai-Khanoum of the early third century BCE (*editio princeps*: Robert 1968), where Clearchos is described as a scribe of wise sayings.

1288 We cannot know for certain whether, as Wehrli (1969a) suggested, Clearchos' fragment belonged to his two books of *Sayings* or to another of his 16 titles. Busine (2002: 80–1) alternatively suggested, as a possible context, Clearchos' *Περὶ βίων*, because Clearchos may have presented the Seven Wisemen as exemplary figures to follow (other pupils of Aristotle, moreover, introduced them in similar works).

1289 This present outline follows, in its simplest scheme, the general patterns recognized by Engels 2010: 9–13 (sayings, anecdotes as the one on the ἄγων σοφίας and the symposium). However, there were many variations that extended beyond the mere identity of these Seven men: a concise synopsis of them can be seen in a table at Busine 2002: 57.

1290 There is abundant scholarship on this subject; see at least Busine 2002 (*ibid.* 11–4, on previous scholarship) and Engels 2010.

1291 The Delphic origin of this myth was first put forward by Wilamowitz (1890: 198), and further developed by Busine 2002: 37–8; Engels 2010: 11–2; Leão 2010: 405–6. Herodotus recalls the meetings of Croesus and Solon (1.29–33)

were summoned by Croesus, the king of Lydia (1.29–33).¹²⁹³ Even if, therefore, only the first Platonic dialogues explicitly confirm this tradition and the reciprocal connection among these characters,¹²⁹⁴ the story might have been much earlier and widespread before the beginning of the fourth century BCE. Indeed, other sources before Herodotus seem to assume a competition among these figures, as a passage by Herakleitos on the superiority of Bias' σοφία over other people might confirm.¹²⁹⁵

At the beginning of the fourth century BCE, Plato tried to order this material: in his *Protagoras* (342E–343B), he offers a list of the Seven Wisemen;¹²⁹⁶ in his later *Timaeus* (20D), he probably adopts an Athenian strand, for the greater role played here by Solon (ὁ τῶν ἑπτὰ σοφώτατος Σόλων).¹²⁹⁷ Andron of Ephesos, a pupil of Plato, then, mentioned the agon motif in his *Tripod* (JC IV 1005 F 2), which may be both the first literary occurrence of the passage of the tripod among the Seven characters, and of Periander in the list. Andron's version differs from the later ones, because the symbolic

and of Croesus and Thales (75); Biantes and Pittakos were questioned by Croesus on the military condition of the Greek islands (27). Periander, the tyrant of Corinth, might be absent for the negative traditions on the Cypselids (Busine 2002: 21–2), whereas the seer Chilon, who utters a prophecy against Peisistratos (Hdt. 1.59), may be the victim of a Lacedaemonian stance against him (Busine 2002: 24–5).

1292 On the vague semantics of σοφιστής in the second half of the fifth century BCE, see *supra* 4.6.2 *ad* χρήματα μέν αιτήσας.

1293 On this meeting, where Herodotus only focuses on the dialogue of Croesus and Solon, see Busine 2002: 17–9.

1294 Pl. *Hp. mai.* 281C (Pittakos, Biantes, and Thales); *Prt.* 343A (Thales, Pittakos, Biantes, Solon ὁ ἡμέτερος, Kleoboulos, Myson, and Cheilon). Therefore, Fehling (1985: 9–13) argued that Plato created the story of this meeting, but this date contrasts both with the hints in previous sources and with the prudent consideration of the coexistence of written and oral culture in the fifth century BCE.

1295 Herakleitos, DK 22 B 39 (= F 100 Marcovich, Diog. Laert. I 88): ἐν Πριήνῃ Βίας ἐγένετο ὁ Τευτάμεω, οὗ πλείων λόγος ἢ τῶν ἄλλων, “Biantes, the son of Teutames, was born in Priene and his fame is vaster than that of the others” (tr. S. Tufano). Engels (2010: 11) accepted an agonistic reading of this fragment, as if the other Wisemen were alluded to, but I would not exclude a simpler reference to the other citizens of Priene; all we can positively assume is that it represents an “esempio di πολυμαθία positiva” (Fronterotta 2013: 178).

1296 In the list of the *Protagoras*, the otherwise obscure Myson of Chen probably substitutes the tyrant Periander: so Engels (2010: 14; cp. Leão 2010: 410–1), after Diod. Sic. 9.7 and Paus. 10.24.1. It could be, as argued by Engels, that the absence of Periander was due to Plato's hostility towards tyrants; however, the presence of Cleoboulos would indicate that it was more likely a specific negative stance against Periander. Moreover, Busine (2002: 35) suggested that Plato inserted Myson, because Hipponax (F 65 Degani) claimed that Apollo declared Myson to be the wisest man (καὶ Μύσων, ὃν ὤπόλλων/ ἀνεῖπεν ἀνδρῶν σωφρονέστατον πάντων). However, we must consider that the *Protagoras* is strongly indebted to an Athenian reading of this traditional nucleus, and Myson may be generically present without a specific secondary meaning.

1297 Cp. Busine 2002: 36 and Leão 2010: 412–3.

acknowledgement of wisdom does not come from a king but rather, is a common decision made by the Argives: only later would the prize be a casual finding of the fishers.¹²⁹⁸

In the fourth century BCE, different traditions circulated on this common legend: Aristotle and his school, for example, seem to have been particularly interested in the study of the Seven Wisemen and of their world.¹²⁹⁹ This interest may be partially explained by the role of Thales in the Aristotelian reconstruction of the history of philosophy and with the fascination for a model of gnomonic and Delphic wisdom, in contraposition to the views expressed by the Sophists and by Plato.¹³⁰⁰ The composition of *Politeiai* on the whole oikoumene, besides, meant the gathering of local traditions where the weight of a single figure, as is shown by Solon in Plato's *Timaeus* or by Aristodemos in Andron, reveals how much an originally Panhellenic story can echo and reverberate in local audiences.¹³⁰¹

Likely before Clearchos, Dikaiarchos of Messene signalled the constant presence of Thales, Biantes, Pittakos,¹³⁰² and Solon, despite the still ambiguous and fluctuating status of this list.¹³⁰³ In the same years, Demetrios of Phaleron put forward what would later become the paradigmatic list of the Seven Wisemen, and argued that the Seven men met in Delphi during the archonship of Damasias in Athens in 582/1 BCE.¹³⁰⁴ It is then clear that Pittakos

1298 This version, where the gift is a fortuitous finding by the fishers (see e.g. Plut. *Sol.* 4.3–8), seems to draw on Archaic narrative models (compare, for instance, the story of the accidental discovery of Polykrates' ring in Hdt. 3.39–43). Nevertheless, it is not impossible that its origin dates back to the fourth century, according to Busine 2002: 43–4, *spec.* 44: “La légende fut également remplacée, toutes proportions gardées, dans un monde archaïque idéal. À cette occasion, la *sylogè* récupéra d'anciennes légendes locales à son propre compte et hérita d'un fonds moral primitif déjà ancré dans la mentalité grecque à l'époque d'Hésiode”.

1299 Cp. F 8 R. of Aristotle, from his *Περὶ φιλοσοφίας*; Busine 2002: 49–52. Also his *Πυθιονικαί*, written with Kallisthenes, may deal with the Seven (Engels 2010: 18).

1300 The contraposition between the cultural model conveyed by the Seven Wisemen and the sophists is already in Plato (Busine 2002: 34; Leão 2010: 407). For this interpretation of the peripatetic interest in this topic, see Engels 2010: 18–9.

1301 On how local audiences engage with this story, see briefly Busine 2002: 37–8 and 59–60.

1302 Pittakos, Biantes, and Thales are already together in a short list of the *Hippias Maior* (281C), considered a “proto-list” of the Seven Wisemen by Busine 2002: 31–2.

1303 Dikaiarchos F 38 Mirhady = Diog. Laert. I 41. In the same moment, Ephoros (*BNJ* 70 F 181) excluded Thales from the meeting with Croesus, maybe on chronological grounds (Parker 2011 *ad loc.*), and included for the first time a foreigner, Anacharsis (F 182).

1304 Paradigmatic list: F 87 Stork – van Ophuijsen – Dorandi = Stob. *Anth.* 3.1.172. Encounter of the Seven in Athens: F 93 Stork – van Ophuijsen – Dorandi = Diog. Laert. 1.22 = *FGrHist* 228 F 1: καὶ πρῶτος σοφὸς ὠνομάσθη ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Δαμασίου, καθ' ὃν καὶ οἱ ἑπτὰ σοφοὶ ἐκλήθησαν, ὥς φησι Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἀρχόντων

was generally considered one of the Seven Wisemen, despite the hostility towards him by figures as diverse as Simonides and Alkaios.¹³⁰⁵

Alkaios' vehemence towards Pittakos, described as a *κακοπατρίδης τύραννος* (F 348,1 V.), probably found its roots in a rivalry among aristocratic clans, since Pittakos' political experience (*ca.* 650–570 BCE) cannot be described as an effective tyranny.¹³⁰⁶ His ten years as *αἰσυμνήτης* (597/6–587/6 BCE),¹³⁰⁷ in fact, originated from a request from some Lesbian aristocratic families after a long phase of internal strifes.¹³⁰⁸ He was chosen as an arbiter and an intermediate figure between opposite political factions. Pittakos decided to end his mandate after the regular period: Diodorus (9.11.1) and Aristotle (*Pol.* 1274b18–23) confirm that, apart from his laws against the abuse of alcohol, Pittakos freed Mytilene from the three great evils of the civil war, from conflict, and from tyranny.

Traditionally, moreover, Pittakos was seen both as one of the Seven Wisemen and as one of the famous lawgivers, like Solon and Carondas, who lived between the seventh and the sixth centuries BCE. Aristotle actually mentions Pittakos in the final chapter of the second

ἀναγραφή, “[Thales] was the first to be called ‘wise’, during Damasios’ archonship in Athens, when the Seven men were also called, as is attested by Demetrios of Phaleron in his *List of the Archons*” (tr. S. Tufano). See Busine 2002: 40–1 on this fragment. Demetrios allegedly collected, for the first time, all the sayings of the Seven Men together with the obscure Sosiades, in his *Τῶν ἑπτὰ σοφῶν ἀποφθέγματα* (Stob. 3.3.173; on these anthologies, see Busine 2002: 65–9; Funghi 2004; Maltomini 2008).

1305 Simonides F 260,11 Poltera. Simonides' position does not represent real hostility, but probably more of a dissent, according to the principle of the *χαλεπὸν ἐσθλὸν ἔμμεναι* (13); this saying by Pittakos (*τὸ Πιττάκειον*) is actually defined *σοφοῦ παρὰ φωτὸς εἰρημένον* (12–3: “the word of a wise man”; on the *Πιττάκεια*, see Engels 2010: 48 and Hölkeskamp 1999: 220, for their diffusion in the sixth century BCE). On Alkaios' hostility, see still Page 1959: 161–97.

1306 Aristotle defines *aisymnesy* as an *αἰρετὴ τυραννίς*, a “chosen tyranship” (*Pol.* 1284a31–2; 1285b26), since it is a monarchy different from the other four kinds, summarized in *Pol.* 1284b35–1285b32. The *aisymnetes* can be elected for life, for a limited period, or until he reaches a specific goal; the resulting scenario is confirmed by Alkaios' fragment, quoted by Aristotle in this context (F 348 V.): *τὸν κακοπάτριδα/ Πίττακον [...] ἐστάσαντο τύραννον μέγ' ἐπαινέοντες ἄλλες*, “they made Pittakos, a plebeian, a tyrant, wholly and highly praising him” (tr. S. Tufano). The use of *ἄλλες* supports an interpretation of the institute as favourable to the *demos* (see Meyer 1937: 588 and Gehrke 1985: 370 n.5), despite the different opinions of Berve (1967 I: 94) and Page (1959: 161–97). More generally, the *αἰσυμνήτης* is attested in the Archaic period in Megara, in the Megarian colonies, and in Ionia: the overall picture configures a public magistrate, associated with conflict resolution and lawgiving, with a possible commitment to musical performances, but many local differences must be taken into account. Cp. Faraguna 2005a and, on Aristotle, Visconti 2012.

1307 On this decade, see shortly Caciagli 2011: 305–6.

1308 Pittakos belonged to the Penthylids, who identified figures who ruled Mytilene, such as the tyrant Penthilos (Alkaios F 70 V.; Arist. *Pol.* 1311b27–30; Diog. Laert. 1.81, on Pittakos, as Penthilos' nephew).

book of his *Politics*,¹³⁰⁹ when he lists famous Archaic lawgivers, whereas Diogenes Laertius (1.79) draws on a tendency to align all of them to Solon's rich personality.¹³¹⁰ If we accept the possibility that Herodotus actually echoes the tradition, it is meaningful that Pittakos already goes to Croesus in the *Histories* and thus attests to the relevance of Croesus, both as a political figure and as a wiseman.

We cannot know whether Daimachos, before Ephoros, included the Scythian Anacharsis among the Seven men as a result of the strong interest of fourth century historiography in these θεοὶ ἄνδρες, marginal figures who, though external to the Greek world, were considered worthy of respect and partially admired.¹³¹¹ If, however, the list with Kallisthenes and Anaximenes has any value to Daimachos (T 1), we may signal here how Anaximenes dealt with this group of men (BNJ 72 F 22), by mentioning that they had all been considered poets – and Pittakos was among them, because, apart from a prose *On the Laws*, he allegedly wrote 600 verses. From this point of view, we detect another common interest among these three universal historians, whose works were amply exploited by Ephoros.

The isolation of the tradition accepted by Clearchos and Daimachos suggests a particular relevance for Pittakos, namely of his homeland, Mytilene. During the fourth century BCE, the city contributed to the liberation of Eresos and Antissa from the Spartans (380/89 BCE),¹³¹² before advocating for and entering into the Second Athenian League, where Mytilene was among the founding members, along with Rhodes, Chios, Methymna, and

1309 Arist. *Pol.* 1273b27–1274b28: Pittakos allegedly wrote laws but did not establish an organic and stable constitution (1274b18–23, *spec.* 18–19: ἐγένετο δὲ Πιττακὸς νόμων δημιουργὸς ἀλλ' οὐ πολιτείας). Diodorus (9.11.1) defines him as a νομοθέτης, but Hölkeskamp 1999: 221–6 diminished the relevance of these witnesses, since the approved laws would simply comply to a general moderation of the excesses of the local aristocracy.

1310 Busine 2002: 42–3. Diogenes Laertius also attributes Pittakos with an *On Laws* and a poem of 600 verses. On Pittakos as a poet, cp. also *Suda* π 1660, *s.v.* Πιττακός. His association with other Archaic lawgivers is underlined by Hölkeskamp 1999: 220.

1311 Camacho Rojo 1994: 538–9.

1312 Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.28–9; Diod. Sic. 14.94.3–4; Paus. 8.52.4 (the event may be chronologically closer to the battle of Knidos of 394 BCE: Gehrke 1985: 121). On the history of Mytilene, see at least Spencer 2000 and Caciagli 2011: 305–6; more specifically on the fourth century, after the general study on the fourth century Lesbos by Pistorius (1913) and the short overview by Gehrke (1985: 121–3), the only systematic overview is in the *IACP* (n. 798) by Hansen – Spencer – Williams (2004: 1026–8; on the democratic period, see shortly Robinson 2011: 178–9).

Byzantium.¹³¹³ Athens actually signed a treaty with Mytilene.¹³¹⁴ In these decades, the city had a democratic constitution, which was shortly interrupted by an oligarchy. Between the end of the fifties and the beginning of the following decade, this oligarchy was substituted by the tyranny of Kammys.¹³¹⁵ At the end of the forties, however, the city returned to the status of an Athenian ally.¹³¹⁶

The paucity of Daimachos' fragments and the contextual reception of an Athenian tradition in F 4 hinder our comprehension of the way in which this special relationship between Mytilene and Athens in the fourth century BCE may shed further ideological or political meaning to Pittakos' role. We can only appreciate the learned character of the presence of Mytilene in this Panhellenic legend.

Finally, the object given by Croesus, a φιάλη, naturally has an aristocratic meaning: even if the term for this gift varies in our sources, the drinking vessel hints at a sympotic environment. The association of these aristocratic men with the passage of a drinking cup recreates the social institution of the symposium.¹³¹⁷ The summoning at Croesus' place recalls other moments of gathering among aristocrats, such as the wedding of Agariste,

1313 RO 22,80 (=IG 2².43,80); Mytilene is included in the first group of allies, who were already members of the alliance, before the vote on the Aristotle decree at the beginning of 377 BCE (Cargill 1981: 38).

1314 IG 2².40 (autumn 378 BCE). A later decree (IG 2².107: 368 BCE) confirms military cooperation between Mytilene and Athens, for the previous decade (ll. 38–9: συν[διε-] πολέμη]σα[ν]; see, however, Dreher 1995: 27–9 for a reconsideration of the meaning of the verb in this inscription).

1315 On Mytilene's democratic institutions, see IG 12.2.4,3; IG 2².107. The city was under a probouleutic democracy (sources and discussion in Hansen – Spencer – Williams 2004: 1028), but it is uncertain whether it enjoyed independence from Athens (Robinson 2011: 189). We infer from a series of passages by the Athenian rhetors (Dem. [13.8]: ὁ Μυτιληναίων δῆμος καταλέγεται; Dem. 15.19; Isoc. [Ep.] 8 *passim*), that by 353/2 BCE there was an oligarchic regime in Mytilene (the most certain *terminus ante quem* is 351/0 a.C.: Pistorius 1913: 52; Gehrke 1985: 122 e n.29). Kammys is mentioned by Dem. [40.37] (Καμμὺ τῷ τυραννοῦντι Μυτιλήνης; his tyranny has been dated to 349/8 BCE (Pistorius 1913: 53; Berve 1967 I: 336). He was probably expelled by the Athenian *strategos* Phaidros (Gehrke 1985: 122).

1316 Probably already from 347/6 BCE: IG 2².213. Despite the new, short lived tyranny of Diogenes, *ca.* 333 BCE (Arr. *Anab.* 2.1.5), we have many sources on the restoration of democracy between the forties and thirties; on some documents, we even have the noun δαμοκρατία (SEG XXXVI 750,3).

1317 See also Busine 2002: 60–4 on the possible comparison with the symposium and Gagné 2016 on the “sympotic symbol” of the *ekptomatiks*. In Phoenix of Kolophon, the object is a πελλίς (F 4,3 Powell, *Coll. Alex.*: the πελλίς is a cup, most often made of wood, as in Hom. *Il.* 16.642, and therefore Phoenix adds that this one was χρυσή); it is a ποτήριον for Eudoxos of Knidos (F 371 Lasserre = *JC* IV 1006 F 1) and Euanthes of Miletos (*FHG* III 2). Leandrios of Miletos, who, according to Diogenes Laertius (1.28), was Callimachus' source, used the same term φιάλη, but Callimachus (F 191,65–77 Pf.) speaks of an ἔκπωμα, a poetism (Polito 2006: 266). We can agree that “every sympotic vessel can embody the symposion by itself” (Gagné 2016: 212).

where the invited guests convened and disputed as part of a dialogue among peers (Hdt. 6.126–30): even if all the figures connected with the list of the Seven are not distinguished by their political commitments, their aristocratic stance is consistent and crosses all possible 23 candidates with the title of “Wiseman”, recalled by Diogenes Laertius in the first book of his *Lives*.¹³¹⁸

The tripod is an alternative to the *φιάλη* and signals a link, probably original, with the Delphic sanctuary.¹³¹⁹ Later, however, other Apollinean cults were associated with the tradition, including the Theban centre of Apollo Ismenios and that of Didyma.¹³²⁰ The very search of a chronological relationship between these two variations on the nature of the prize, might be idle and pointless because of the nature of these fluid traditions. It is wiser to indicate how Daimachos draws on and is inspired by a specific representation of the event, which resembles that of a symposium, already echoed in Herodotus, when Croesus invites the guests and creates a group of learned banqueters.¹³²¹

5.5. Daimachos F 4

Previous editions: *BNJ* 65 F 7; *FGrHist* 65 F 7 (Plut. *Comp. Sol. et Publ.* 27.1.111A).

τῶν μέντοι πολεμικῶν Σόλωνι μὲν οὐδὲ τὰ πρὸς Μεγαρεῖς Δαίμαχος ὁ Πλαταιεὺς μεμαρτύρηκεν, ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς διεληλύθαμεν

“Daimachos of Plataia does not actually credit Solon among his military ventures with the war against Megara, such as we have recounted it” (tr. S. Tufano).

1318 Cp. Engels 2010: 38 on this calculation.

1319 For the different meaning of these objects, cp. Sato 2012 *ad BNJ* 492 F 18.

1320 Busine 2002: 58–9.

1321 Busine 2002: 61–3. The Herodotean model works in Ephoros, despite a few discrepancies in the composition of his list (*ibid.* 72–3).

5.5.1. Solon versus Megara in Plutarch

Plutarch's *Life of Solon* is centered on the motif of σοφία,¹³²² since there are many traditional *topoi* and gnomic traditions in this life. Plutarch probably had in mind, here, commonplace books, a genre particularly beloved during the Second Sophistic.¹³²³ This specific philosophical allure also depends on the scarce historical knowledge of Solon, even if we consider the weight of the Attidographic production, unfortunately lost to us.¹³²⁴

Moreover, Plutarch availed himself to further sources in this Life, which integrated his reading of local Athenian historians. First of all, at least from the end of the fifth century BCE, the same verses of Solon were reread and used to speculate on the life and events of the historical lawgiver.¹³²⁵ This process of autoschediasm started as an antecedent of Classical democracy, when the slow construction of the democratic myth of Solon made him an appealing and contemporary topic.¹³²⁶ Second, we must consider Plutarch's knowledge of the *Constitution of Athens* written by Aristotle and, very probably, what Plutarch knew about Solon from local historiography written in other regions. Plutarch, in fact, appears to know some traditions that began as a response to the Athenian narrative of Solon.¹³²⁷ Finally, it is possible to infer knowledge of the literature on the Seven Wisemen in more than one passage of the *Life of Solon*.¹³²⁸ Plutarch probably knew the work of Hermippos of Smyrne,¹³²⁹ and Hermippos might be present even in the absence of an explicit mention.¹³³⁰

1322 Cp. e.g. Pelling 2004: 16.

1323 For this reading of the text, see Fernández-Delgado 2002 and de Blois 2006. Cp. *supra* 4.6.1 for the presence of literary genres of the Second Sophistic in Plutarch's *De Herodoti malignitate*.

1324 Piccirilli (1975: 68) suggested, in particular, the reading of Androtion and of Hermippos.

1325 On the meaning of this debate on the verses, see Rhodes 1981: 24.

1326 On the “democratic myth” of Solon, see Ruschenbusch 1958; Hansen 1989; Nicolai 2007: 14–5 and the contributions edited by Nagy – Noussia – Fantuzzi 2015.

1327 A meaningful quote is one from Hereas of Megara (Plut. *Sol.* 10,5 = *BNJ* 486 F 4), who may be dated to the end of the fourth century BCE, if we accept both that his life was in the years of Demetrios of Phaleron, and the identification with a *theoros* mentioned on an inscription of the early third century BCE (*IG* 7.39; cp. Liddel 2008 and, on Hereas' production, Tober 2018 *passim*).

1328 Cp. e.g. Plut. *Sol.* 3.8–4 (Solon among the Seven Wisemen and the ἀγῶν σοφίας); 12.7 (Epimenides among the Seven); 14.7 (comparison of different models of tyranny, between Pittakos and Solon); 27.1 (reliability of the tradition of a meeting between Solon and Croesus).

1329 Hermippos *JC* IV 1026 FF 14a (= *Sol.* 2.1) and b (= *Sol.* 1.2); 15 (= *Sol.* 11.1–2); 16b (= *Sol.* 5.2–3); 17 (= *Sol.* 6.1–7).

1330 On the sources of the *Life of Solon*, with skepticism on the use of intermediate authors, see Nicolai 2007: 11.

Jacoby (1926a: 3–4) therefore suggested that Daimachos dealt with this subject in a section on the Seven Wisemen, whose existence is confirmed by our F 3 on the delivery of the cup to Pittakos. The likely origin of the fragment of Daimachos from a doxographic work on the Seven, however, may cause a distortion in our appreciation of this fragment: Daimachos was more likely focusing on the debated issue of Solon’s role in the conquest of Salamis, as the use of τὰ πρὸς Μεγαρεῖς, “the wars against Megara”, clearly shows.

Plutarch is our more detailed source on the alleged conquest of Salamis by Solon at the beginning of the sixth century BCE.¹³³¹ He offers two versions of this event, which must be briefly reconsidered. In the first version, Solon challenges the ban to mention the Athenian loss of Salamis, which probably occurred around the middle of the seventh century BCE:¹³³² he pretends to be insane and publicly utters a long elegy of 100 verses, whose title is *Salamis*,¹³³³ to persuade the Athenians to restart military action against Megara (Plut. *Sol.* 8.1–3). Together with Peisistratos,¹³³⁴ then, Solon sends a fake deserter to Salamis to exort the citizens to kidnap the Athenian women who usually sacrifice to Demeter at Cape Colias (8.4); here, in the meantime, disguised men substitute the women, wait for the Salaminians, and finally defeat them, thus obtaining possession of the island (8.5–6).

In another version of the story (9), Solon was inspired by the Delphic oracle, which elicited a sacrifice to the heroes Periphemos and Kychreus of Salamis.¹³³⁵ Solon, then, carried out his attack twice: first, he lured the Megarians into an inlet, in front of Euboeia

1331 Other sources on Solon’s conquest of Salamis: Ael. *VH* 7.19; Polyaeus, *Str.* 1.20.2; Arist. [*Ath.Pol.*] 17.2 (if our interpretation is valid: see *infra* 5.5.2). According to the internal development of Plutarch’s *Life*, the war should be dated to around 600 BCE, but prudence is demanded on these relative chronological inferences (Lavelle 2005: 46).

1332 Plut. *Sol.* 8. This prohibition is probably in itself part of the narrative and hardly has a historical basis (Legon 1981: 101; Lavelle 2005: 35; Nicolai 2007: 5–6 n.8).

1333 Solon F 2 G. – P.² = FF 1–3 West, *IE*², on these fragments and on their performance, see Nicolai 2007: 11–4 and Nourissia-Fantuzzi 2010: 203–16.

1334 The role of Peisistratos in this first version is generally undervalued, but he is introduced as the strongest advocate of the necessity of this commitment after the performance of the elegy (Plut. *Sol.* 8.3: μάλιστα δὲ τοῦ Πεισιστράτου τοῖς πολίταις ἐγκελευομένου καὶ πανορμῶντος πεισθῆναι τῷ λέγοντι); together, the men weigh anchor for Cape Colias (*ibid.* 8.4).

1335 P. – W. 326: the oracle is considered fictitious by Parke (in Parke – Wormell 1956 I: 110).

(9.3: πρὸς τὴν Εὐβοίαν),¹³³⁶ to seize the Megarian ship that came in reconnaissance (9.4). In a second instance, this captured ship was manned with Athenians and travelled to Megara to conquer it; there was a land fight (9.4-5), and this story, according to Plutarch, was confirmed by a ceremony that took place in Salamis (9.6-7).

In both cases, the Athenians gains Salamis through Spartan arbitration (10), which ceded to Athenian claims on the basis of more arguments: first of all, the alleged kinship between Ajax of Salamis and the Athenian phalanx;¹³³⁷ secondly, Peisistratos' ties, through the *genos* of the Phileids, with Phileus, one of Ajax's children (10.3). The Athenians further claimed an ancient kinship between them and the Salaminians through the common orientation of the burials, which was the same in Athens and on Salamis, but not at Megara (10.4: ἰσχυρίσασθαι περὶ τῶν νεκρῶν), and the Ionic nature of Salamis, confirmed by a series of Pythic responses (10.6).

Modern scholarship has generally doubted the historical authenticity of this conquest of Salamis by Solon.¹³³⁸ The event should be set, more probably, in the sixties of the sixth century under the leadership of Peisistratos, as the following three arguments indicate.¹³³⁹

1336 The mention of Euboia is not completely clear in this context. Even if we agree with Lavelle (2005: 273 n.188) on the refusal of the corrections Νίσαιαν and Θυματίδα accepted by Martina (1968: 349), it is hard to accept at face value the toponym on the basis of the proximity of Euboia to the *diakria* of the oriental Attic coast, associated with the demos of Brauron, which belonged to the Peisistratids (*ibid.* 63). This may be a case of toponomastic misunderstanding, with a possible reference to two islets to the south-east of Salamis and between Salamis and Attica, namely Lipsokutali and Ayios Yeoryios: these close islets are the main candidates for the Psytalia of Hdt. 8.76.2 and the Atalante of Str. 9.1.14.395 (cp. Asheri – Vannicelli 2010: 275; Strabo's passage is, however, textually troublesome, and it is not certain whether there is mention of the homonymy of Atalante with other islands close to Euboia and Lokris: Radt 2004: 16).

1337 Plutarch (*Sol.* 10.2) considers two verses of the *Iliad* relevant (2.557-8: "And Aias led from Salamis twelve ships, and stationed them where the battalions of the Athenians stood", tr. A.T. Murray), on whose authenticity there was a lively debate, already in the Hellenistic period. In particular, both Solon and Peisistratos were accused of having interpolated them (Str. 9.1.10.394; see Lavelle 2005: 61 and Patterson 2010: 72-3). Plutarch might have gathered this information from Dieuchidas of Megara, who credited Solon with this intervention (*BNJ* 485 F 6; see Manfredini – Piccirilli 1977: 136-7). Despite strong doubts on the date of Dieuchidas, whose chronology varies from the fourth to the second centuries BCE (Liddel 2007), it is more likely that Hereas was the source of the interpolation, in light of the contextual mention of his name in the fragment (*BNJ* 486 F 4).

1338 The origin for this ascription might be a temporary victory of Solon, in the context of a long ongoing conflict for the island; a further basis was the existence of the elegy, reread under this shortlived success (F 2,1 G.-P.²: ἵομεν ἐς Σαλαμῖνα μαχησόμενοι περὶ νήσου: it is hard to believe that this element, and the verse, was only inserted later to confirm the events: Lavelle 2005: 45-6 and 269 n.124).

1339 See e.g. Mühl 1956; Podlecki 1987; Taylor 1997: 28-34; Lavelle 2005: 45-65; Nicolai 2007 and Patterson 2010: 70-4; 165-9.

First of all, the first version in Plutarch, with the disguise motif of the Athenians, is analogous to the narrative of other sources, which deal with Peisistratos' conquest of the Megarian harbour of Nisaia in the sixties of the sixth century BCE.¹³⁴⁰ The two-pronged attack of the second version may actually be an historical military task performed by Solon, without permanent results.¹³⁴¹ Secondly, Spartan arbitration at the beginning of the century is hard to imagine, whereas at the end of the sixth century it becomes extremely likely as a result of the diplomatic relationship between Peisistratos and Sparta.¹³⁴² Indeed, since some of the names of the five Spartan judges mentioned by Plutarch (*Sol.* 10.6) return in Herodotus,¹³⁴³ scholars have used an inscription which organizes the land of Salamis at the end of the sixth century (*IG* 1³.1), to support the possible conquest of the island around 510 BCE.¹³⁴⁴

Reflections on the arguments used by the Athenians sheds light on the initial context of this tradition and on the actual characters of this event. It was Kleisthenes, in fact, who first developed the nomenclature of the Philaids, probably to strongly signal a detachment from the tyrannical association with the deme of Brauron.¹³⁴⁵ Consequently, Peisistratos himself would hardly have used this argument concerning the Philaids in the context of an event in the sixties. Finally, in light of the popularity of the motif of burial uses at the end of the fifth century BCE, it seems better to date the value assigned to the proof of the direction of

1340 Cp. Aen. Tact. 4.8-12; Just. *Epit.* 2.8.1-5; Frontin. *Str.* 2.9.9. All these sources stress Peisistratos' shrewdness, at the detriment of internal coherence, on his strategy and on topography (Lavelle 2005: 52-6); the definitive conquest of the Nisaia harbour coincided with the acquisition of Salamis: the event cannot be too close to the first rise to power of Peisistratos (561/0 BCE), but probably happened in the previous decade, between 573 and 563 BCE (Lavelle 2005: 48).

1341 Cp. Lavelle 2005: 64 and Patterson 2010: 165-6. The first version has many traditional characters, like the motif of the ruse, similar to the Macedonian symposium at the Macedonian court planned by Alexander I (*Hdt.* 5.20): on the contrary, the second seems less traditional, in its narrative, contrary to what was argued by Taylor 1997: 35-40.

1342 *Hdt.* 5.90.1. See Lavelle 2005: 62.

1343 Kleomenes is usually identified with the Spartan king mentioned by Herodotus in the *Histories*, whereas Amompharetus should be the insubordinate official of Plataia (*Hdt.* 9.53-7); however, Lavelle 2005: 273 n.173 claimed that "there is no reason to think [...] that there was but one Kleomenes and one Amompharetos or to discount earlier Spartan arbitration."

1344 Beloch 1913: 313-4. However, the inscription may simply introduce a new definition of duties on a territory that was previously in Athenian hands.

1345 Association of Peisistratos with the deme of Brauron and Kleisthenes' detachment: Lewis 1963: 26-7. On this deme, see further Patterson 2010: 74. Nicolai (2007: 11 n.26), following Whitehead (1986: 11 n.30), observed that it should be an artificial deme.

the corpses in the graves to this period.¹³⁴⁶ The little we know of Hereas of Megara,¹³⁴⁷ who argued against this last proof, confirms that this part of the story was later added to the original plot. The use of a Homeric interpolation, conversely, was particularly common in Athens under the Peisistratids;¹³⁴⁸ also the contraposition between Ionians and Dorians became particularly meaningful in Athens in the second half of the sixth century BCE,¹³⁴⁹ which confirms that Peisistratos was originally the winner before Spartan arbitration.

Plutarch therefore witnesses a phase where the ascription to Solon is part of a more general attempt at backdating the conquest of Salamis for the prestige of Athens.¹³⁵⁰ This was contextual to the development of the fame of Solon in the democratic field, which was trying to anticipate a series of conquests and progressions to exalt their historical meaning. Plutarch's narrative of these events recalls those traditional wars, reiterated in time, but almost never definitive,¹³⁵¹ and this further corroborates the ascription to Peisistratos.

5.5.2. Daimachos and the Fourth Century Debate on Solon and Peisistratos

Daimachos of Plataia was not the only author in the fourth century BCE, who questioned Solon's participation to the war against Megara. The starting point was probably a conflation of Solon and Peisistratos in the traditions of an Athenian victory against Megara, since the possible length of the conflict between Athens and Megara, and the

1346 The motif is notably attested by Thucydides, for example in his *archaiologia* (1.8.1); cp. Nicolai 2007: 11: "La sua origine si può forse far risalire ai primi interessi antiquari emersi nell'ultimo quarto del V secolo." The argument will have looked particularly apt to Peisistratos, whose purification of Delos coincided with a ritual uncovering of the burials (Hdt. 1.64.2; Thuc. 3.104.1; Lavelle 2005: 62).

1347 Hereas, *BNJ* 486 F 4. Cp. *supra* n.1329.

1348 Pl. [*Hipparch.*] 228B; Cic. *De or.* 3.34 and 137; Hsch. β 1067 (Βραυρωνίους); Pfeiffer 1968: 6–8; West 2000: 29; Irwin 2005: 277–8 (on the different authorship, in Athens, of the interpolations).

1349 Cp. Connor 1993 and Patterson 2010: 72.

1350 Patterson 2010: 70.

1351 On this reading, see Nicolai 2007.

growing fame of Solon, opened a debate, importantly echoed by Aristotle in his *Constitution of Athens*.¹³⁵²

Herodotus and Aristotle only mention that, when he first came to power, Peisistratos previously enjoyed fame granted by his military successes against Megara, namely the conquest of Nisaia, and not of Salamis.¹³⁵³ Probably circa twenty years before Aristotle (assuming the *Athenian Constitution* was written in the thirties of the fourth century), Aeneas Tacticus (4.8–12) also dealt with the conquest of Nisaia and added the detail of the disguise of the Athenians (which ultimately arrived in Plutarch’s first version of the conquest by Solon). However, later on, Aristotle feels the necessity to accuse “those who claim that Peisistratos was Solon’s lover and acted as a *strategos* (στρατηγῆν)¹³⁵⁴ in the war against Megara for Salamis”; these people –according to Aristotle– “are blatant liars” ([*Ath.Pol.*] 17,2: ληροῦσιν),¹³⁵⁵ for chronological reasons (οὐ γὰρ ἐνδέχεται ταῖς ἡλικίαις).

Despite Aristotle’s criticism, this tradition reached Plutarch, who opens his *Life of Solon* (1.4–5) with a series of observations on the paederotic relationship between Solon and Peisistratos and recognizes, if in an ancillary position, Peisistratos’ role in the first Solonian version (*Sol.* 8.4: μετὰ τοῦ Πεισιστράτου), the so-called vulgata (τὰ [...] δημῶδη τῶν λεγομένων).¹³⁵⁶ Not only, then, had what Aristotle saw as a minor tradition gained popularity, but it had become part of a section of the story not subject to variations in Plutarch’s time. Aristotle’s predecessors, who had first named Peisistratos, may be

1352 Cp. Patterson 2010: 70–1 for this hypothesis on the starting point.

1353 Hdt. 1.59.4: “He asked the Athenian people to provide him with personal guards; he had already won their respect as a military commander during the campaign against Megara [ἐν τῇ πρὸς Μεγαρέας γενομένη στρατηγίῃ], during which not the least of his important achievements was the capture of Nisaia” (tr. R. Waterfield); Arist. [*Ath.Pol.*] 14.1: “Peisistratus, being thought to be an extreme advocate of the people [δημοτικώτατος], and having won great fame in the war against Megara [ἐν τῷ πρὸς Μεγαρέας πολέμῳ]” (tr. H. Rackham). On the relationship between these passages, see Rhodes 1981: 199–200.

1354 If we accept the historicity of this function, it should be as a temporary task for foreign missions (Rhodes 1981: 224), but it may also be a specification of Peisistratos’ στρατηγίῃ in Hdt. 1.59.4. Rhodes (*ibid.*) bases his argument on the later effective development of the strategy (501/00 BCE): hence, either Herodotus has been accused of using an anachronism for Solon, or a pre-Cleisthenic and different strategy has been admitted; the most prudent –and probably advisable– position is that of Lavelle (2005: 46–7), according to whom, in Herodotus, the substantive generically indicates a military office.

1355 This verb denotes an unusual vehemence in Aristotle (Rhodes 1981: 224).

1356 Aelian’s *Varia historia* draws on this same tradition, which differs from the later reaffirmation of Peisistratos’ role; cp. Ael. *VH* 7.19 (battle for Salamis, fought by Solon), and 8.16 (παιδικά between him and Peisistratos).

Atthidographers or writers of siegecraft treatises, since the disguise ruse, even if ascribed to Peisistratos in the context of the middle of the sixth century, may be present in Aeneas Tacticus (8.4–12).¹³⁵⁷ In this same genre, we should not forget the relevant witness of Polyaeus (1.20.2), who also credits Solon with the conquest of Salamis, just like Aelian and Plutarch, and recalls the ruse of the disguise as a paradigmatic moment of his career.

In the fourth century BCE, then, there may have already been an early debate that first attached the motif of the disguise to the common view of Peisistratos' role.¹³⁵⁸ Later, the confusion with Solon, attested in Aristotle, may explain how these traditions entered the biography of this lawgiver, as in Plutarch, despite the undeniable reference of many materials to Peisistratos.¹³⁵⁹ After Peisistratos' initial, historical commitment against Salamis, Solon was considered responsible for this victory, during the years of his great fame among Athenian democrats. However, the concurrent realization of other victories against Megara by Peisistratos allowed a different view in the fourth century BCE that ascribed the conquest to Peisistratos. This would remain minor, however, as Plutarch's eulogy of Solon as victorious against Salamis confirms.

The refusal of Daimachos may then imply an adhesion to this fourth century BCE innovation, also attested in Aeneas, for whom the merits belonged to Peisistratos. If we consider a common military source for Aeneas Tacticus, Pompeus Trogus/Justin (*Epit.* 2.8.1–5), and Frontinus (*Str.* 2.9.9),¹³⁶⁰ who all agree on Peisistratos' achievement, we may conclude that it was Daimachos who first offered this version in his work.¹³⁶¹ Moreover, no evidence argues against the mention of the episode in a work other than his universal history, such as his *Poliorketika*. The complexity of the documentary evidence confirms the necessity to distinguish the primary source where Plutarch found Daimachos, possibly a

1357 See Lavelle 2005: 60 on the possible role of the Atthidographers in the diffusion of these versions that credit Solon with Peisistratos' action.

1358 On these "competing traditions", cp. also Lavelle 2005: 271 n.156.

1359 On the role of Atthidography in this period, see Patterson 2010: 168–9

1360 This common source was certainly not Ephoros (Bettalli 1990: 323), since the writing of the Πολιορκητικά in the early fifties (*ibid.* 5) hinders such use.

1361 We ignore too much of his work, in fact, to exclude that Daimachos himself may have adhered to previous sources, as suggested by Lavelle (2005: 268 n.123: the only scholar who hypothesised a possible conflation of Solon and Peisistratos in Daimachos).

doxography on the Seven¹³⁶² or an Atthidography, from the original characteristics of the quoted work. From Plataia, Daimachos gathered a minor tradition on Athenian history, which may have been reactionary to the Athenian exaltation of Solon.

5.6. Daimachos F 5

Previous editions: *BNJ* 65 F 3; *FGrHist* 65 F 3 (Ath. Mech. 32-5 Gatto¹³⁶³ [5.11-6.1 Wescher]).

κατανοήσῃ δ' ἂν τις τοῦτο ἀκριβέστατα ἐκ τῶν Δηϊμάχου Πολιορκητικῶν
καὶ τῶν Διάδου <...> ἀκολουθησάντων Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ ἔτι ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπὸ
Πύρρου τοῦ Μακεδόνης γραφέντων Πολιορκητικῶν ὀργάνων

1 κατανοήσοι L¹ L⁸ P⁸ κατανοήσῃ *cett.* Δηϊμάχου Wescher διενέχου MPP² _m διηνέχου *cett.* Πολιορκητικῶν Droysen Schneider Περσικῶν Wescher B_m¹ D_c E² F_m² L_m² P⁵ P⁷ P⁸ P⁹ P¹⁰ V_m¹ περσητικῶν K_m περσιτικῶν T περσετικῶν ἴσως περσικῶν πορθητικῶν L² L_m³ ἴσως περσικῶν A F² πορθητικῶν B_m¹ L_m² *fortasse recte* σετικῶν V¹ περσετικῶν *cett.* 2 καὶ τῶν δι' αὐτοῦ ἀκολουθησάντων *codd.* καὶ τῶν Διάδου καὶ Χαρίου τῶν Schwartz *malim tantummodo* Διάδου τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ L¹ P² Ἀλεξάνδρῳ *cett.* ἔστι N N¹ ἔστιν P⁷ V¹ –V⁴ ἔτι V_m¹ V_m⁴ *et cett.* 2-3 τῶν ὑπὸ Πύρρου Wescher ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπὸ M P P_c² ὑπὸ *cett.* 3 Μακεδῶνος B¹ D H¹ K L² L⁸ O² P¹⁰ P¹¹ Μακεδόνης *cett.* Πολιορκητικῶν F² P⁴ Πολιορκτικῶν B¹ D E² L² L³ P⁵ P⁷ Πολιορκτικῶν Thévenot *cett.*

1362 For instance, we know that Hermippos of Smyrna, one of Plutarch's sources on the Seven Wisemen, also included information on Solon's military expeditions (*JC* IV 1026 F 15).

1363 Here and afterwards I follow the new lines of the text in the edition by Gatto (2010): the previous subdivision in chapters was set by Wescher (1867).

“One could best understand this from the *Siegecraft* of Daimachos and from the (works?) of Diades and <...>, who followed Alexander; or, still, from the *Siegecraft Equipment* of Pyrrhos the Macedonian” (tr. S. Tufano).

5.6.1. Textual Transmission and Context

Athenaeus Mechanicus wrote his *Περὶ μηχανημάτων*¹³⁶⁴ before 23/2 BCE: the author can be identified with the philosopher from Seleukia who died in this year and had come to Rome, where he belonged to the well-known circle of Maecenas.¹³⁶⁵ In this same circle, he met that Marcus Claudius Marcellus (42–23 BCE), Augustus’ brother-in-law and nephew, to whom the treatise is dedicated (Ath. Mech. 2).¹³⁶⁶ The writing belongs to a tradition of

1364 The present profile of the work depends on Whitehead – Blyth (2004) and on Gatto (2010). Both these studies confirm a date for this essay to the end of the first century BCE, already inferred, in modern scholarship, by de Rochas d’Aiglun (1884) and by Cichorius (1922). Gatto’s main innovation consists in the new critical edition of the text, which includes a consideration of all 34 witnesses (among which, the ones from Turin and from Madrid are now lost and need to be reconstructed from the edition of Wescher 1867; there are, furthermore, three manuscripts *desaparecidos* which were once held at the Biblioteca Escorial of Madrid; Gatto 2010: 102). Another novelty is represented by the weight of B. Baldi’s *Vite de’ matematici* (1595), who was the first modern scholar to correctly identify the author of this technical treatise (even if he thought that this Athenaeus was the same Athenaeus of the *Learned Banqueters*).

1365 Athenaeus is mostly known from what we read in Str. 14.14.5.670 (Radt 2009: 115). He was a peripatetic philosopher who ruled his own city and was the pupil of an engineer, Hagesistratus (cp. Ath. Mech. 61), who is also quoted by Vitruvius in his *De architectura* (7 praef. 14: see, however, Gatto 2010: 65 and n.27). Vitruvius’ treaty has a long section in common (10.13–6) with Athenaeus’ *Περὶ μηχανημάτων* (74–267), to the point that it is generally believed that the two authors draw on the same source (see sequent n.). Athenaeus defended himself in Rome in 23 BCE, together with his friend Varro Murena (Maecenas’ brother-in-law), because he had been accused of plotting against Augustus. After having been found innocent, he came back to his homeland, where he died from the unexpected collapse of his own house.

1366 Since the work often mentions machines to use against rebellious nations, Cichorius (1922: 274–5) suggested that the dedicatee might be putting down an uprising, namely the Cantabrian Wars fought by Marcellus between 27 and 25 BCE; besides, according to Cichorius the σεμνότης of Ath. Mech. 2 may echo the σεμνότης assigned to his mother, Octavia, by Plutarch (*Ant.* 31). Octavia must have been Athenaeus’ and Vitruvius’ patroness (Marsden 1971: 5; cp. Vit. *De arch.* 1 praef. 2), and Gatto (2010: 50–1), after Cichorius (1922: 275–7) and Marsden (*ibid.*), tributes importance to the public library, opened by her after the death of Marcellus (Liv. *perioch.* 140; Plut. *Marc.* 30.11; Suet. *Gram et rhet.* 21; the building was destroyed by fire in 80 CE and rebuilt by Domitian, if we accept that it is among the libraries mentioned by Suet. *Dom.* 20.1, but we ignore the exact place and its relationship with the *porticus Octaviae*: Viscogliosi 1999: 141). The identification of the dedicatee with Marcellus and, therefore, the availability of such an important library through Marcellus’ mother, would explain why Athenaeus and Vitruvius were using the same sources, especially Hagesistratus (so Thiel 1895, even if Gatto 2010: 64–5 objects that Vitruvius does not credit a lot Hagesistratus’ work).

siegecraft treatises, which started in the middle of the fourth century BCE by Aeneas Tacticus.¹³⁶⁷ Those were the years when siege techniques and the use of specific machines to win sieges became particularly momentous in war.¹³⁶⁸ This implementation is shown, for instance, by the new techniques deployed by Dionysius the Elder in Syracuse.¹³⁶⁹ Siege techniques were particularly advanced during the campaigns of Alexander the Great, and the phenomenon accelerated and elicited a literary interest in military treatises: in this field, the focus slowly shifted from strategies to exit a siege, still prevalent in Aeneas Tacticus' work, to the description of the instruments and of the machines, which were used more and more to win a siege.¹³⁷⁰

If we take into account the short extension of Athenaeus' treatise (369 lines, in Gatto's edition), the proem occupies a relatively large section (Ath. Mech. 1-50): it starts with an exhortation to the reader, a man of action, the profile of the dedicatee, not to waste time in noxious studies. In particular, the author first recalls the verbose and excessively theoretic writings of Straton, Estiaeus, Archytas, and Aristotle (*ibid.* 24-5),¹³⁷¹ and then argues that there were still a few exceptions among Greek writers.¹³⁷² This fact (τοῦτο), namely, the value of treatises which can be concise, is best demonstrated (ἀκριβέστατα) by Daimachos and by the authors who are quoted in the present fragment.

1367 Aeneas is usually considered as being at the beginning of the genre, but we should be aware, as noted by Traina (2002: 427), of the previous sources that Aeneas himself quotes (26.12; 27.1); other texts to consider, in a history of ancient polemology, are Demokritos' *Taktikon* (DK B 28b) and Xenophon's *Hipparchicus*. Other material comes, of course, from non-technical texts, like historians (as, e.g., Herodotus: Vela Tejada – Sánchez Mañas 2013-4), but not only historians (Traina 2002; Vela Tejada 2004; Benedetti 2010: 855-6).

1368 The history of ancient siegecraft coincides with the growing relevance of these instruments, such as catapults and the helepolis, from the fourth century BCE on. In the previous period, most of our knowledge concerns the Peloponnesian War and indicates the great role of contravallations: the besiegers would erect a circuit of walls around the city, which was then taken through capitulation because of the prolonged siege (see shortly, on this, Benedetti 2010: 856). On ancient siege warfare there is now a vast bibliography: see at least Marsden 1969; Marsden 1971; Garland 1974, Traina 2002 and the titles mentioned by Gatto 2010: 3-37.

1369 Cp. Le Bohec – Bouhet 2000 (on the fourth century as a turning point); Benedetto 2010: 857-8, and Gatto 2010: 12-5 (on Dionysius).

1370 On Alexander's siege warfare, see Garland 1974: 200-69 and Kern 1999: 221-6.

1371 Hestaios of Perinth is known as a pupil of Plato (Diog. Laert. 3.46); see *infra* in text (5.6.2) on the other names of the list and, in general, Whitehead – Blyth 2004: 68-9.

1372 For this interpretation, which assumes praise of Daimachos and of the other authors, cp. Whitehead – Blyth 2004: 70 and Engels 2011a *ad BNJ* 65 F 3.

Our passage is textually troublesome, and not entirely perspicuous. The first issue concerns the name of Daimachos, who is quoted in an Ionic form: the transmitted variations, however, do not posit particular doubts on the reconstruction of the name.¹³⁷³ The second problem concerns the title: Wescher's conjecture for this word, περσικῶν, may have been influenced by the previous mention, in Athenaeus' treatise (29–32), of a saying by the Indian Kalanos.¹³⁷⁴ However, this form Περσικῶν (*Persian Histories*) implies the existence of Περσικά, which are nowhere assigned to any known Daimachos, even if it is present on some codices of the so-called *abridged version* of Athenaeus; this variation probably resulted from the necessity to make sense of an obscure title.¹³⁷⁵

The other main conjecture for the title was πολιορκητικῶν: this option was based on the later mention of Pyrrhos' work and was recently accepted by editors of the text.¹³⁷⁶ The general title *Siegecraft* (*treatise*) also agrees with the text of our F 6, Stephanus' lemma on Λακεδαιμίων, where Daimachos is credited with this same title.¹³⁷⁷ However, the conjecture πολιορκητικῶν is strongly invasive and we might want to consider, with greater attention, the singular form Πορθητικῶν, which is attested on some codices of the family Y (that with the abridged version of the text), on its own or with integrations that

1373 The correction dates back to a conjecture of Wescher (1867), who was trying to make sense of two senseless variants (διενέχου, διηνέχου): Wescher imagined that, behind these variations, was the name of the Daimachos quoted by Strabo (2.1.4.68–9 = *BNJ* 716 T 3), to whom Wescher assigned the siegecraft treatise. We can accept the personal name in the Ionic form Δηίμαχος, on the basis of the various lessons, because they do not vary immensely from this form, and we can suppose a corruption in the initial diphthong and in the nasal.

1374 Kalanos was a Brahman who followed Alexander after 326 BCE, according to Plut. *Alex.* 65; two years later, he committed suicide by throwing himself into a pyre. There is a letter by Kalanos to Alexander, which shares some characteristics with the short mention in the text of Athenaeus. On Kalanos, see shortly Gatto 2010: 502–3.

1375 Gatto (2010: 147–87) evinced the existence of two families of codices, which both draw on a subarchetype α: the first family (X) is represented by the sole mss. **M** (=Par. suppl. gr. 607, tenth century) and **F** (=Ms. phil. gr. 120 Nessel, sixteenth century), which present a complete version of the text. The second family (Y) is constituted by the codices which share the *grande lacuna* at ll. 143–96: it then presents an *abridged version* of the text (on this terminology, see Gatto 2010: 104–6). From the three main branches of the second family (ε, η, and ζ), we have all the other thirty-two witnesses of the text. The most important ones are, for this second family, **B**¹ (=Basil. A.N. II 44, fifteenth/sixteenth century), **V**¹ (=Vat. gr. 219, fourteenth century *in*) and **P**² (=Par. suppl. gr. 2435, sixteenth century). This last manuscript is one of the witnesses of the form Περσικῶν, which is directly transmitted by six manuscripts (**E**² **P**⁵ **P**⁷ **P**⁸ **P**⁹ **P**¹⁰) of the family Y. It may be a banalisation of an alternative form, as would result from the periphrasis περσετικῶν ἴσως περσικῶν πορθητικῶν (**L**² **L**_m³).

1376 Droysen 1877 I: 292 n.1; Schneider – Schwartz 1912; Whitehead – Blyth 2004: 71; Gatto 2010: 262.

1377 Cp., on a similar position, Zecchini 1997: 192–3.

may be glosses.¹³⁷⁸ The adjective πορθητικός is linked to the verb πορθέω, “destroy, ravage”, and it therefore means, together with the noun μηχανή, “sambuca”,¹³⁷⁹ in the glossary of Pseudo-Cyrill.¹³⁸⁰ The sambuca was a covered ladder used to win sieges both on land and on sea (its most famous use was in the siege of Syracuse in 213/2 BCE).¹³⁸¹ Despite the potential risk of this adjective, which is the same of the variant περσικά, the absence of works with this title explicitly assigned to Daimachos, makes us wonder whether the original title of the siegecraft treatise would not effectively stress the focus on these machines. The only other fragment from that work, that in Stephanus (F 6), does not explicitly deny this possibility.

The following article τῶν, which depends on the preposition ἐκ, might either refer to another title of a siegecraft treatise, or, as the close participle ἀκολουθησάντων suggests, to the indication of more authors. The editors of the text have long followed this second option, from Schwartz (1901: 2008-9) on. For this reason, Whitehead – Blyth (2004: 71-2) focus on the names of Diades and Charias,¹³⁸² two engineers who followed Alexander and are often quoted together, to the point that some scholars wonder whether they were the joint authors of a single work.¹³⁸³ The second option seems more likely, because Athenaeus

1378 The scribe of L² (= Voss. gr. F 3, 1550-60) seems perplexed and glosses περσετικῶν ἴσως περσικῶν πορθητικῶν, maybe from the original πορθητικῶν, which is relegated as a marginal correction on B¹.

1379 The use of πορθητικός in the meaning of “obsidional, connected to a siege, easily conquerable” is quite late and generally attested in Byzantine texts or scholarship, as in the scholia on Hes. *Theog.* 635 (f), to gloss ἀλώσιμον, or in a passage of Anna Comnena’s *Alexiad* (14.2.8: ὁ δὲ διὰ τινων μηχανημάτων πορθητικῶν τὴν τε πρώτην καὶ δευτέραν ζώνην καθεῖλε καὶ τῆς τρίτης ἀπεπειρᾶτο, “He had already destroyed the first and second belt by means of machines of destruction and was at work on the third”, tr. E.A.S. Dawes).

1380 This Greek-Latin glossary is assigned to a Cyrill, who might have some relationship with the actual Cyrill of Alexandria; the work comes from the Alexandrian area and was probably composed between the fifth and the sixth centuries CE (Burguière 1970). The witnesses are a papyrus of the seventh century CE (*P. Nass.* 8; Maas 1951) and a series of manuscripts, dating from the third quarter of the ninth century. The lemma Πορθητικὴ μηχανή: *sambuca* (CGL II 413,44), signalled in the posthumous edition of M. Martini’s *Lexicon Philologicum* (s.v. “Sambuca” II, 1701), is, for instance, on the important manuscript Laon 444, of the third quarter of the ninth century (f. 195r.). There is no critical edition of the text; some fragments of it are edited by Cramer 1839-41 and Drachmann 1936; a partial edition is in the CGL (II 215-483). I would like to thank Dr. Claudio Giammona for precious indications on this text.

1381 Pol. 8.4.4. From this passage, we infer that the instrument took its name from the namesake musical instrument. On sea and land sambucas, see Gatto 2010: 432-46 and Fiorucci 2010.

1382 Berve 1926 n.267 and n.821.

1383 Diades and Charias are mentioned together by Vitruvius (*De arch.* 10.13.3) and by the author of the *Παραγγέλματα πολιορκητικά* (30.1-3; 32.2-3; 36.2; 38.21 Sullivan), an anonymous Byzantine handbook of siegecraft, written under Constantinus Porphyrogenitus (tenth century *in.*). This text was once assigned to Heron of Byzantium,

also quotes Diades elsewhere (Ath. Mech. 94; 145), whereas Charias is mentioned only once (93-4), and the restitution of his name depends on circular reasoning, namely its “common” association with Diades.¹³⁸⁴

Diades followed Alexander the Great in his expedition, wrote a treatise on mechanics,¹³⁸⁵ and proved essential in the siege of Tyre in 332 BCE. Berve (1926: n.267), followed now in the *LGP*N (III B s.v.), once believed that Diades came from Thessaly, because he included Diades among the disciples of Polyidos (Ath. Mech. 93: “The Thessalian Polyidos, whose disciples followed Alexander”). He is more likely associated with the Lycian area, or, more generally, with Asia Minor, since the only other Diades known to us founded a town in Lycia, named Dias after him.¹³⁸⁶

In the last edition of the text, Gatto (2010: 262-3) highlighted this hardship, and suggested that we accept the transmitted lesson δι’ αὐτοῦ; he argued that Athenaeus wanted to generally refer to Alexander’s followers. The ensuing interpretation, however, is not completely perspicuous:

“ciò si potrebbe desumere dal confronto degli scritti poliorcetici di Deimaco e di coloro che, tramite lui, hanno seguito Alessandro [...]” (tr. M. Gatto).

This instrumental use of the preposition διά, however, does not explain how and why Daimachos should act as an intermediate source for the engineers who followed Alexander (an obscurity, which probably led Schwartz to correct the transmitted text in the first place). On the contrary, the correction Διάδου from δι’ αὐτοῦ fits in with the relevance of this figure and is not textually invasive. At the same time, it is excessive to introduce a

but Heron was only an owner of one of the manuscripts of the *Paragelmata*, between the fifteenth and the sixteenth century (see edition and commentary on the work by Sullivan 2000). The author of the *Paragelmata* used Athenaeus’ *Περὶ μηχανημάτων*: see a list of *loci paralleli* in Gatto 2010: 88-98. Diades and Charias co-authors: Garlan 1974: 209; Whitehead – Blyth 2004: 71. Romano 2002: 71 thinks of two different works.

1384 Cp. Gatto 2010: 263 e 279-80.

1385 Ath. Mech. 94: ἐν τῷ μηχανικῷ [...] συγγράμματι. This must have been a collection of paintings and illustrations (Gatto 2010: 501).

1386 Steph. Byz. δ 74, s.v. Διάς. One wonders whether this figure was not an eponym of the name of the city, whose location is unknown and might be found in the area of Kragos (Hellenkemper – Hild 2004: 517). Garlan (1974: 208) and Gatto (2010: 500-1) consider a Lycian origin.

further name, that of Charias, next to him, even if he was “universally” known as being present at Alexander’s court, because Charias is not known elsewhere to the author of the *Περὶ μηχανημάτων*: if we want to postulate on him, we must imagine a lacuna in the subarchtype, which is the only one that may explain the plural number of the participle before the name of Alexander (ἀκολουθησάντων). Since this last verb comes before the dative of a personal name, it remains clear and does not present particular issues: consequently, we could posit a lacuna, but the plural number of the participle must not be corrected, because it is confirmed by the previous plural article.

After the mention of the followers of Alexander, Diades and an unknown name, Athenaeus mentions Pyrrhos of Macedonia, who must be the famous king of Epirus (319–272 BCE). The ethnic might surprise us, because the actual rule of Macedonia only lasted three years¹³⁸⁷ and the other sources generally call Pyrrhos Ἡπειρώτης.¹³⁸⁸ More than one commenter has observed that Athenaeus’ use may derive from the previous protectorship of Macedonia over Epirus and by the generic superficiality of Athenaeus in this field.¹³⁸⁹ Pyrrhos’ literary production (*BNJ* 229) encompassed military treatises, among which we can include Ὑπομνήματα and this pamphlet: Athenaeus quotes it elsewhere with a different title (Πολιορκητικά: *Ath. Mech.* 293–4). From the following praise, it seems that the siegecraft treatise particularly excelled among the considered sources.

5.6.2. Daimachos and Siegecraft Treatises

Athenaeus’ list might represent an indirect indication of Daimachos’ date, if we assume that the succession of names is chronological (Daimachos – Diades – followers of Alexander – Pyrrhus).¹³⁹⁰ The only serious obstacle to such a hypothesis is the possibility that the first Daimachos might coincide with the second author of the third century BCE, since there is an undeniable precedence of the followers of Alexander over Pyrrhos:¹³⁹¹

1387 Probably between 287 and 285 BCE (Hammond – Walbank 1988: 229–38).

1388 Cp. e.g. *Diod. Sic.* 22.4.1; *Aen. Tact.* 1.2.

1389 Cp. Whitehead – Blyth 2004: 72; Gatto 2010: 507–8, against Schneider – Schwartz 1912: 54.

1390 Doubts on the chronological order have been expressed by Engels (2011a *ad BNJ* 65 F 3), whereas Jacoby (1926a: 4) and Zecchini (1997: 192–3) believe that the list may be used to date Daimachos.

1391 See Zecchini 1997: 192.

nothing excludes, however, that such a list was conceived with a general chronological succession in mind.

A possible objection to this understanding might be that the previous list, in Athenaeus' proem (24–5), starts with Strato (*ca.* 328–267 BCE), who was the second scholarch of the peripatetic school, but then continues with the names of Archytas from Tarentum (first half of the fourth century BCE), and, in the end, Aristotle (384–22 BCE).¹³⁹² This same research of a systematic order, indeed, might be preposterous; if the second list is “more” ordered than the previous one, it is by chance or, more probably, it follows a different, axial order, based on the judgment of Athenaeus on these authors.

It must be remembered that, in order to assign a siegecraft treatise to the first Daimachos, we must add further arguments; what is certain is that, on its own, the first list includes figures who, apart from Strato, can be set in the fourth century BCE, while the second list goes from Alexander to Pyrrhos and presents a wider oscillation. Consequently, we can affirm, on the basis of the current fragment quoted by Athenaeus, that Daimachos of Plataia, who lived in the middle of the fourth century BCE, wrote on siegecraft (*On the Sambucas?*), probably in the same years as when Aeneas Tacticus¹³⁹³ was engaging in the same subject.

5.7. Daimachos F 6

Previous editions: *BNJ* 65 F 4; *FGrHist* 65 F 4 (Steph. Byz. λ 19, *s.v.* Λακεδαίμων).

Steph. Byz. λ 19, *s.v.* Λακεδαίμων: [...] καὶ οὐδέτερον τὸ Λακωνικὸν σιδήριον· στομωμάτων γὰρ τὸ μὲν Χαλυβδικόν, τὸ δὲ Σινωπικόν, τὸ δὲ Λύδιον, τὸ δὲ Λακωνικόν. καὶ <ὅτι> Σινωπικόν καὶ Χαλυβδικόν εἰς τὰ τεκτονικά, τὸ δὲ

¹³⁹² On Strato, see Wehrli 1969b. Archytas was born between 435 and 410 BCE, and died after 355 BCE; the dates are very unclear. See Huffman 2005: 5–6, for an introduction to the problem.

¹³⁹³ Aeneas' activity must be placed in the first half of the fifties, according to Bettalli (1990: 5).

Λακωνικὸν εἰς ῥίνας καὶ σιδηροτρύπανα καὶ χακτῆρας καὶ εἰς τὰ λιθουργικά, τὸ δὲ Λύδιον καὶ αὐτὸ εἰς ῥίνας καὶ μαχαίρας καὶ ξυρία καὶ ξυστῆρας, ὥς φησι Δαίμαχος ἐν Πολιορκητικοῖς ὑπομνήμασι {λέγων}.

1 σιδήριον PN σίδηρον RQ 2 στομώτατον *ex* στομάτων R Χαλυβδικόν QPN χαλκιδικόν R 4
σιδηροτρύπανα PN τρύπαντα RQ 6 Πολιορκητικοῖς QPN πολιορκητηκοῖς R λέγων RQ *secl.*
Billerbeck (*mon.* Meineke “*ipsa scriptoris verba videntur excidisse*”) λῆ PN

“None [of the previous uses of ‘Laconian’] is the Laconian silver. In fact, among the different steels, there are Chalybdian, Synopikos, Lydian, and Laconian. Synopikos and Chalybdian are apt for carpentry, Laconian for rasps, iron drills, chisels, and masonry; Lydian is also useful for rasps, blades, razors, and scrapers, according to what Daimachos says in his *Observations on Siegecraft*” (tr. S. Tufano).

5.7.1. Textual Transmission

In this passage of his lemma on Λακεδαίμων (λ 19),¹³⁹⁴ Stephanus addresses a particular possessive form (καὶ κτητικὸν λακωνικός), which could refer, on its own, to a sandal (εἶδος ὑποδήματος), to circular dancing (ὄρχησις), to specific whips (μάστιγες), or to a key (εἶδος κλειδὸς Λακωνικῆς). After these four cases, Stephanus adds, with a pronoun which distinguishes quite clearly the different use of the aforementioned key (οὐδέτερον), that there was also an iron, the “Laconian” iron.

This lemma is our only explicit witness on the existence of Daimachos’ Πολιορκητικά, even though it is hard to infer from this passage which Daimachos wrote this treatise. It has been suggested that Stephanus found in Daimachos this juxtaposition of different kinds

1394 The passage has no relevant textual difficulties. The only slight difficulty concerns the final expunction of the participle λέγων, which was suggested by M. Billerbeck in the last edition of the text (2014). Since our text of the *Ethnika* is actually a summary of the original text, any observation on Stephanus’ use of *verba dicendi* might be misleading; all we can infer from the transmitted text is that this author never refers to a further participial form of a *verbum dicendi*, after the formula ὥς φησι X. The expunction, therefore, can be accepted, and we cannot agree with Meineke (1849), that there was an original direct quote from Daimachos’ text.

of iron; it would be reductive and against the common use of Stephanus to imagine that Daimachos is only quoted on the Lydian variety.¹³⁹⁵

5.7.2. Commentary

σιδήριον. The tradition is split between the forms *σιδήριον* and *σίδηρον*; we can agree with the last editor of the text, M. Billerbeck, in preferring the form with the iota: this is attested in Eustathius (*ad Il.* 2.581, p. 1.453,26 van der Valk), who knew Stephanus and generally uses him with few integrations. The noun *σιδήριον* mostly indicated, from the fifth century BCE on, an instrument made of iron.¹³⁹⁶ If the form in the lemma does not depend on the intermediate source, Daimachos may be the only author to choose *σιδήριον* (*LSJ s.v. II*) to indicate the metal and not an instrument.¹³⁹⁷ In light of the lexical precision displayed in the final part of the fragment, it may be posited that Daimachos was looking for more technical terminology, which also resulted from these choices in spelling.

στομώτατον [...] Χαλυβδικόν. The word *στόμωμα* already means “steel” in Cratinus;¹³⁹⁸ we infer this meaning from the notion of *στόμωσις*, the procedure of hardening iron, through which steel was made in Antiquity.¹³⁹⁹ This alloy of iron and carbon can be obtained in three ways: accidentally, through a fusion process, as recorded by the author of the pseudo-Aristotelian *On Marvellous Things Heard* (48);¹⁴⁰⁰ more often, the process was

1395 Engels 2011a *ad BNJ* 65 F 4.

1396 Cp. e.g. Hdt. 7.18.1 (ἔδόκεε Ἀρτάβανος τὸ ὄνειρον [...] θερμοῖσι σιδηρίοις ἐκκαίειν αὐτοῦ μέλλειν τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, “Artabanos had the impression that the dream was about to burn his own eyes, with hot irons”); 9.37.2 (ὥς γὰρ δὴ ἐδέδετο ἐν ξύλῳ σιδηροδέτῳ, ἐσενειχθέντος κῶς σιδηρίου ἐκράτησε, “as he [Hegesistratos] was bound to an iron-bound of stocks, he got an iron instrument, which was there by chance”; both tr. S. Tufano). These two examples indicate that *σιδήριον* can refer to very different objects.

1397 In general, the simple form *σίδηρον*/*σίδηρος* can also be adopted to indicate an instrument: cp. Hom. *Il.* 4.123 (νευρὴν μὲν μαζῶ πέλασεν, τόξῳ δὲ σίδηρον, “he drew the bowstring to his breast, and brought the arrowhead to the bow”); 18.34 (δεΐδῃ γὰρ μὴ λαϊμόν ἀπαμήσειε σιδήρῳ, “for he feared that he cut his throat with a blade”; both tr. S. Tufano).

1398 Cratinus *PCG* F 265 K. – A. (= Poll. *Onom.* 10.186): Χαλυβδικόν στόμωμα (from the *Cheirones*).

1399 On the *στόμωμα*, cp. Blümner 1886: 343–4.

1400 “It is said that the origin of Chalybian and Amisenian iron is most extraordinary. For it grows, so they say, from the sand which is borne down by the rivers. Some say that they simply wash this and heat it in a furnace; others say that they

deliberately activated through cementation or carburisation of a mass of wrought iron. The transformation could only happen if the iron came from strands that contained manganese or limonite (an iron porous ore, found in lakes or ponds).¹⁴⁰¹

The variant Χαλυβδικόν,¹⁴⁰² which was banalized in χαλκιδικόν, refers to the Chalybes, a population known as iron workers. They were generally set in northern Asia Minor, between the internal regions and the coast, and on the southern coast of the Black Sea.¹⁴⁰³ The Chalybes were so famously associated with iron craftsmanship that Virgil placed them on Elba island, another centre well-known for the use of minerals and metals.¹⁴⁰⁴ The tradition was already proverbial in the fifth century BCE, when Aeschylus and Cratinus give this population this association.¹⁴⁰⁵

τὸ δὲ Σινωπικόν [...] Λύδιον: Sinope (*IACP* 729) was founded by the Milesians on the southern coast of the Black Sea at the beginning of the seventh century BCE: it then founded three other colonies. One of these colonies, Kerasous (*IACP* 719), was considered to be in the land of the Chalybes, which represents a convenient link with the previous geographical reference. Sinope was known as an important harbour in the Black Sea and was shortly occupied by the Athenians between 436 BCE (Plut. *Per.* 20) and 411 or 405 BCE (Tsetskhladze 1997); in general, however, it remained loyal to the Persians and often contributed financially to the Persian empire.

Sinope, in particular, did not have a strong tradition that linked the city to ironworking, whereas Lydia is a better option for two reasons: first, it is noted that the region had many

repeatedly wash the residue which is left after the first washing and heat it, and that they put into it a stone which is called fire-proof; and there is much of this in the district. This iron is much superior to all other kinds. If it were not burned in a furnace, it would not apparently be very different from silver. They say that it alone is not liable to rust, but that there is not much of it” (tr. W.S. Hett).

1401 On accidental production of steel in Antiquity, see Healy 1978: 235–6.

1402 The lexicographical sources confirm the use of a possessive adjective, despite the obscurity of the dental consonant.

1403 The main sources are Hekataios *BNJ* 1 F 203; Hdt. 1.28; Xen. *An.* 4.6,5; 4.5,34. Cp. Griffith 1983: 216–7 and Engels 2011a *ad BNJ* 65 F 4.

1404 Verg. *Aen.* 10.174. Cp. Aesch. *Sept.* 728, Χάλυβος Σκυθᾶν ἄποικος, a kenning for “iron” (with Podlecki 2005: 171).

1405 Aesch. *PV* 714–5; Cratinus, *PCG* F 265 K. – A. See Farioli 1996: 96. For a consideration of the lexical similarities between Aeschylus and Cratinus, cp. Bianchi 2017: 182–4.

metallurgical spots and shared a general fame with other places of Asia Minor.¹⁴⁰⁶ Secondly, and more generally, Lydia was known both as the cradle of coins and as their inventor (Hdt. 1.94).¹⁴⁰⁷

εἰς τὰ τεκτονικά [...] εἰς τὰ λιθουργικά: These two nominalised adjectives probably refer to two distinct kinds of craftsmanship. Since τέκτων generally describes “l’artigiano, del legno o dei metalli o di altro materiale,”¹⁴⁰⁸ τεκτονικά may indicate carpentry, which concerns the establishment of the load-bearing structures of a building, be they either in wood or in iron.¹⁴⁰⁹ Technically, τεκτονικά can also be a synonym for λιθουργικά to indicate construction work, but the contextual association of λιθουργικά with a series of precision tools suggests a differentiation: on the one hand, we have the sinopic and chalybdic varieties used for connections and hard structures (τεκτονικά);¹⁴¹⁰ on the other hand, the laconic and the lydian steels are used for high precision work, where the hardness of the metal mattered less than its incision and cutting ability (λιθουργικά).¹⁴¹¹ I therefore translate here λιθουργικά with the generic “masonry”, to indicate the process of chiselling, resulting from the use of the tools which precede λιθουργικά.

εἰς ῥίνας καὶ σιδηροτρύπανα καὶ χαρακτῆρας: The rasp (ῥίνη) is a long metal tool, tapered in its upper part, used on leather, or on wood, to obtain shavings. It has a similar use to the

1406 Cp. Engels 2011a *ad BNJ* 65 F 4.

1407 On this immense historical problem, see, as a starting point, Schaps 2004 and Musti 2006: 258–65.

1408 Romano 2002: 67. The ἀρχιτέκτων certainly had a different role from his coworkers, even though he was not a mere theoretical contributor (Gros 1983); however, there was a relative specialisation of competences on the construction site, both in Greek construction habits and in the Roman world (Giuliani 2006: 247–8). One of the possible tasks of the τέκτονες was the measuring of single materials, and the eventual constructions of machines; Di Pasquale (2002: 77–9) therefore associated them to the *corpus mensorum machinariorum*, an institution known from a marble inscription of the late second century CE, now lost (CIL VI 9626). A generic meaning of “layman, unqualified worker” is also attested for λιθουργός (Blümner 1884: 3).

1409 Actually, Diogenes Laertius (3.100.3) maintains that metallurgy should be indicated with another noun: ἐκ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ σιδήρου ἢ χαλκευτική ὄπλα ποιεῖ, ἢ δὲ τεκτονική ἐκ τῶν ξύλων αὐλοὺς καὶ λύρας (“for the smith’s art produces instruments from iron, whereas carpentry makes flutes and lyres from wood”). For these nouns, then, the immediate context is always particularly relevant.

1410 Iron and steel could also be used in the construction of a building, for the realization of iron wedges to lift stone blocks (Di Pasquale 2004: 199–200).

1411 Cp. the specific σιδήρια λιθουργικά in Poll. *Onom.* 7.125.

Latin *lima*, which is its proper translation: as such, it can be applied on wood, as well as on minerals, on gems, and on pieces of gold (Blümner 1879: 228-9).

The applications of the tools inhibit us from accepting Blümner's proposal (*ibid.* 225 n.4), that the σιδηροτρύπανα were drills to work metals. The attributive function of the first part of the word, σιδηρο-, may actually refer to the material with which these objects were built. Their use does not differed sensibly from the contemporary one, but the immediate context invites us to put their use on wood as primary.¹⁴¹²

The χαρακτήρ mainly indicates the minting die; Daimachos (or Stephanus) seems to be isolated, in this meaning of the word, to denote a chiselling tool. The etymology of χαρακτήρ resembles that of other cutting instruments, such as the γλυπτήρ and the ξυστήρ (better known: cp. *infra.*).¹⁴¹³ The noun is also attested as a *nomen agentis*, to refer to an engraver (*LSJ s.v.* I 1), but the verb whence it comes, χαράσσω, does not allow us to definitely clarify the exact nature of the characteristics of the item.

καὶ μαχαίρας καὶ ξυρία καὶ ξυστήρας: Lydian steel had four possible fields of application. First of all, the μάχαιραι, which could be mere blades, could be added to military machines or understood as part of a dagger: in fact, the μαχαιροποιός mentioned by Aristophanes (*Av.* 442) is a simple cutler;¹⁴¹⁴ it could also be that Daimachos, here, simply mentions and focuses on the civil applications of these metals.

We cannot say much on the reasons for the use of the diminutive ξυρίον for ξυρόν, “razer”, that can refer to the daily object and not necessarily to an application on wood. The ξυστήρ was used to smooth a surface, like a modern plane, but its size was probably smaller: since the technical word for the ancient plane was ῥυκάνη (Blümner 1879: 227), the best translation for “ξυστήρ” is “scraper”, a small utensil for working smaller surfaces.

1412 Drills were also used for surgical operations and in the fine arts (Cacopardo 2010).

1413 Χαρακτήρ as minting die: Pl. *Plt.* 289B. Γλυπτήρ: *A.P.* 6.68.

1414 Blümner 1886: 362.

5.7.3. Daimachos' Technical Interests

Stephanus' lemma contains a highly erudite fragment, which lists four sorts of steel (chalybdic, synopic, lydian, and laconian), since the initial genitive *στομωμάτων* is partitive. It is interesting how a siegecraft treatise could not only deal with machines, a recurring topic in all the treatises of siegecraft, but also on their construction and on the material employed in this process. This aspect is generally considered in the treatises of military mechanics and civil uses, which have reached us, but such a richness in detail on the materials of the single parts of a machine remains puzzling.¹⁴¹⁵

The geographical area which results from the considered specialties may be the mere outcome of Stephanus' (or his source's) selection. The concentration of the toponyms in Asia Minor omits other Mediterranean areas famous in antiquity for the extraction of metals (Engels 2011a *ad BNJ* 65 F 4). Still, it is not certain that the author really meant to offer a systematic and ordered catalogue of all the famous areas of metallurgy, like the one provided by Pliny the Elder.¹⁴¹⁶ The civil uses of these kinds of hardened iron may be a prerogative of the geographical types considered by Daimachos. The general inference is that Daimachos approached this subject differently from Vitruvius' committal with these problems in the *De architectura*, because Daimachos was more interested in daily instruments used by common workers and unskilled labourers. This high degree of specialization and interest confirms the quality of the activity of this man dotted with multifarious concerns.

1415 On these essays, see the general overview by Fleury 2002. On the basis of F 5, it is certain that Daimachos dealt with this subject; Athenaeus will hardly have praised him in the same place as Diades and Pyrrhos, if Daimachos' work was primarily concerned with theoretical aspects of a siege (as happened, for example, in Strato and in Hestieus, the bad examples).

1416 Plin. *HN* 34.142–50. On Pliny's description of metallurgy, see Healy 1999; in general on ancient metallurgy, cp. Ramin 1977, Healy 1978 and Tylecote 1992.

5.8. Daimachos F 7

Previous editions: *BNJ* 65 F 8; *FGrHist* 65 F 8 (Plut. *Lys.* 12.2.6–8).

(2) οἱ δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ λίθου πτώσιν ἐπὶ τῷ πάθει τούτῳ σημείον φασὶ γενέσθαι· κατηνέχθη γάρ, ὡς ἡ δόξα τῶν πολλῶν, ἐξ οὐρανοῦ παμμεγέθης λίθος εἰς Αἰγὸς ποταμούς. καὶ δείκνυται μὲν ἔτι νῦν, σεβομένων αὐτὸν τῶν Χερρωνησιτῶν [...] (6) τῷ δ' Ἀναξαγόρῃ μαρτυρεῖ καὶ Δαίμαχος ἐν τοῖς Περὶ εὐσεβείας ἱστορῶν, ὅτι πρὸ τοῦ πεσεῖν τὸν λίθον ἐφ' ἡμέρας ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ πέντε συνεχῶς κατὰ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἑωρᾶτο πύρινον σῶμα παμμέγεθες ὥσπερ νέφος φλογοειδές, οὐ σχολάζον, ἀλλὰ πολυπλόκους καὶ κεκλασμένας φορὰς φερόμενον, ὥσθ' ὑπὸ σάλου καὶ πλάνης ἀπορρηγνύμενα πυροειδῇ σπάσματα φέρεσθαι πολλαχοῦ καὶ ἀστράπτειν, ὥσπερ οἱ διάιπτοντες ἀστέρες. (7) ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐνταῦθα τῆς γῆς ἔβρισε, καὶ παυσάμενοι φόβου καὶ θάμβους οἱ ἐπιχώριοι συνῆλθον, ὥφθη πυρὸς μὲν οὐδὲν ἔργον οὐδ' ἵχνος τοσούτου, λίθος δὲ κείμενος, ἄλλως μὲν μέγας, οὐθὲν δὲ μέρος ὡς εἰπεῖν ἐκείνης τῆς πυροειδοῦς περιοχῆς ἔχων. (8) ὅτι μὲν οὖν εὐγνωμόνων ὁ Δαίμαχος ἀκροατῶν δεῖται, δῆλός ἐστιν· εἰ δὲ ἀληθὴς ὁ λόγος, ἐξελέγχει κατὰ κράτος τοὺς φάσκοντας ἔκ τινος ἀκρωρείας ἀποκοπεῖσαν πνεύμασι καὶ ζάλαις πέτραι, ὑποληφθεῖσαν δ' ὥσπερ οἱ στρόβιλοι καὶ πέτραι, ὑποληφθεῖσαν δ' ὥσπερ οἱ στρόβιλοι καὶ φερομένην, ἥι πρῶτον ἐνέδωκε καὶ διελύθη τὸ περιδιῆσαν, ἐκριφῆναι καὶ πεσεῖν.

4 Δαίμαχος Xylander δάμαχος *codd.* 6 πύρρινον G 7 πολυπλόκους Xylander Ziegler πολύπλους L πολύπνους G πολυπλοῦς Reiske 8 ὥσθ' (ὥστε) Reiske ὡς τὰ *codd.* 9 πυροειδῇ G 10 παυσάμενος L¹ 12 τοσούτου G τοσοῦτον L 14 Δαίμαχος Xylander δάμαχος *codd.* ἀποκοπεῖσαν C ἀποκοπείσας L “*sed corr. m.1 in ἀποκοπείσης, quod habet G*” (Ziegler) 15 ὑπολειφθεῖσαν L

“Others say that there was an omen referring to this calamity, for, according to many people, a huge stone fell from the sky upon Aigospotami (they still show it, because the Chersonites revere it). [...] (6) In his books *On Piety*, Daimachos pleads for Anaxagoras’ theory, when he narrates that, before the stone fell, a huge and fiery body was observed in the sky for seventy-five days without interruption; it resembled a cloud in flames: never at rest, but following

complicated and flexuous trajectories, to the point that some fragments, like small flames, shattered by its plunging and erratic course, would move in every direction and hurl lightning, just like shooting stars. (7) As soon as it fell on that spot and the locals had gathered, after recovering from their panic and astonishment, there was no consequence or trace of that fire – just a stone, but of big dimensions, which showed no remnants, so to say, of that ensemble of flames. (8) It is no mystery that Daimachos requires indulgent readers: if, however, his account is true, he strongly refutes those who argue otherwise, that a rock, cut off from a mountain ridge by wind and storm, was drawn away and suspended like a spinning-top: it was then discharged and fell, where the whirling movement first yielded its energy and dissolved.” (tr. S. Tufano)

5.8.1. Plut. *Lys.* 12: A Possible Stratification

This passage from Plutarch’s *Life of Lysander*¹⁴¹⁷ has no relevant textual problems. These paragraphs are considered pertinent to Daimachos’ *Περὶ εὐσεβείας* from Jacoby on. In order to properly contextualize them, we should remember that, in a section of the *Life of Lysander* not quoted here, Anaxagoras’ theory on the meteorites referred to an event which occurred in 468/7 BCE: we know from other sources that the philosopher allegedly foresaw the fall of a meteorite in that year.¹⁴¹⁸ Consequently, Daimachos more likely refers to this same event, which, *a posteriori*, was considered a premonitory event of the battle fought at

1417 This *Life* is characterized by a “ritratto paradossale” of Lysander (La Penna 1976), as several scholars have noticed (Pelling 1988: 268–74; Stadter 1992; Candau Morón 2000). The main commentaries are the ones by Smits (1939) and Piccirilli (in Angeli Bertinelli *et al.* 1997).

1418 Anaxagoras’ theory: Plut. *Lys.* 12.3–4 = D. – K. 59 A 12. Tradition on his foretelling: D. – K. 59 A 11. The year 468/7 BCE comes from the combined reading of the *Marmor Parium* (57: ἐν Αἰγὸς ποταμοῖς ὁ λίθος ἔπεσε), which dates the event to Theagenidas’ archonship, and two later sources (Plin. *NH* 2.149: *Olympiadis LXXVIII secundo anno*; Hier. *Chron.*: 1551 years after Abraham, *Lapis in Aegon fluvium de coelo ruit*). Anaxagoras was born in Clazomenai at the beginning of the fifth century BCE; he then went to Athens where he lived for thirty years before being expelled for impiety. He spent his last years in Lampsakos (cp. D. – K. 59 A 1). A more precise chronology is extremely hard, since, for his thirty years in Athens, both early (480–50 BCE: Taylor 1917) and later extremes (460–30 BCE: Mansfeld 1979–80; Curd 2007: 131) have been suggested. Recently, Graham (2013) put forward new arguments for the first option, especially in light of Anaxagoras’ observations on the eclipse in 478 BCE and of the fall of the meteorite in Aigospotami ten years later; for a general overview of the witnesses, see Curd 2007: 130–7. The main commentaries on Anaxagoras’ fragments are Lanza 1966, Sider 2005, and Curd 2007.

Aigospotami in 405 BCE. The overall structure of this chapter of the *Life of Lysander* supports this interpretation and it is hard to believe that Daimachos was referring to a second meteorite fall: it was not uncommon, in the aftermath of a big event, to recollect very distant memories, especially when, as in this case, something extraordinary happened in the same spot.¹⁴¹⁹

Plutarch first narrates the final events of the battle of Aigospotami (*Lys.* 11.1-11), and then lingers on the global meaning of this fight, which marked the conclusion of the Peloponnesian War (11.12).¹⁴²⁰ As a result, the great military talent displayed by Lysander was read as divine intervention (11.13: θεῖον [...] τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον).¹⁴²¹ Chapter 12 illustrates this opinion and supports it by referring to two prodigies which happened before and during the event: in the first place, Plutarch quite concisely mentions the apparition of the Dioscuri as stars, a not infrequent event, during military fights.¹⁴²² His main interest, nonetheless, lies in the second omen, the falling of a big rock in Aigospotami (12.2:

1419 Engels 2011a *ad BNJ* 65 F 8 prefers thinking of a second meteorite fall, which occurred in 405 BCE. Nonetheless, Plutarch only mentions a single fall when he reports Anaxagoras' theory (*Lys.* 12.2: τὴν τοῦ λίθου πτώσιν). It is probably better to adhere to the literal meaning of the text: if there is a normal tendency to look at portents, during momentous events, or in their aftermath, a recollection of a specific portent can become more and more relevant as a result (Flower 2008: 109).

1420 The main sources on the battle of Aigospotami are Xenophon (*Hell.* 2.1.27-9) and Diodorus (13.105-6), whereas the other authors do not add relevant details (*Lys.* 21.10-1; *Nep. Alc.* 8; *Frontin. Str.* 2.1.18; *Paus.* 9.32.9; *Polyaenus, Str.* 1.45.2). Plutarch (*Lys.* 10-1) mainly draws on the philo-Spartan version provided by Xenophon, but there are some verbal echoes from Diodorus as well (Bleckmann 1998: 115). On Lysander's victory, see Engels 2011a *ad BNJ* 65 F 8, Fantasia 2012: 185-90, and Robinson 2014.

1421 *Plut. Lys.* 11.12: ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς εὐβουλία καὶ δεινότητι συνήρητο, "(the war) had reached an end, thanks to the wisdom and the bravery of just one man" (cp. furthermore the passages by Cornelius Nepos, Frontinus, and Polyaeus, quoted in the previous n.). On the pivotal character of this event for Plutarch's description of Lysander: Candau Morón 2000: 471.

1422 Lysander dedicated two golden stars in Delphi after the epiphany of the Dioskouroi (*Cic. Div.* 1.75; *Plut. Lys.* 18.1; *De Pyth. or.* 8.397F), and had two statues erected for them (*Paus.* 10.9.7-8; cp. Piccirilli in Angeli Bertinelli *et al.* 1997: 246 and Torelli in Torelli – Bultrighini 2017: 287-91 on the Nauarch Monument of the Spartans in Delphi). Many sources address the constant military and divine support of the Dioskouroi to the Spartans: the twins protected the kings in war (*Simon. F.* 11.24-34 West, *IE*² on the presence of Menelaus and of the Dioskouroi, close to Pausanias: it is the so-called "Plataian Elegy"; *Hdt.* 5.75), and the kings particularly revered them (*Paus.* 4.17.2). The Dioskouroi notoriously helped the Lokrians during the Battle of the Sagra, when the Lokrians were fighting against the Crotoniates (on this much debated battle, which took place in the sixth century BCE, cp. Nicholson 2016: 135-9 and Guzzo 1994 on the Dioskouroi in the Greek West); the Dioskouroi also appeared during the Battle of Lake Regillus at the very beginning of the fifth century (see Sordi 1972 for a comparison between these Italian battles, in relationship with the epiphany).

παμμεγέθης λίθος), that occurred more than sixty years before the battle but was understood as connected to it (ἐπὶ τῷ πάθει τούτῳ).

It is generally assumed that, for this chapter, Plutarch referred to Spartan sources, especially in light of the high exaltation of the Spartan victory (BNJ 596 F 25a = *Lys.* 12.1-2). Scholars have tried to identify these specific sources in order to know whence Plutarch took his information on the omens and, consequently, the quotes from Anaxagoras and from Daimachos. Since Daimachos' *Περὶ εὐσεβείας* is quoted only here, we cannot exclude that Plutarch was actually referring to an intermediate source, be it Anaxandridas of Delphi, Theopompos, Ephoros, or Choerilus of Samos (this last name is actually more likely only for the mention of the Dioscuri).¹⁴²³ None of these names, unfortunately, can be considered a peripatetic voice, as the one we should posit here, since the way in which Plutarch draws on Anaxagoras in this chapter seems to betray a peripatetic elaboration (Lanza 1966: 22-4). Therefore, the *τίνες* [...] *λέγοντες* of *Lys.* 12.1 might indicate an intermediate source, such as one of the aforementioned ones, different from the second, intermediate source, implied by the parallel *οἱ δέ* [...] *φασί* of *Lys.* 12.2: this second expression opens the long excursus in the rest of the chapter, where the comparison between Anaxagoras and Daimachos, and the mention of other theories on the origin of the heavenly bodies, can be best explained with a recourse to a work like the Aristotelian *Meteorologia* (rather than, for instance, to a historiographical work, as the title of Daimachos' work also implies a philosophical matter).

5.8.2. The Meteorite of 467 BCE and Classical Astronomical Thought

The first two preserved shards of meteorites, which can be positively dated, respectively fell on Nogata, in Japan, in 861 CE and on Ensisheim, in Alsace, in 1492.¹⁴²⁴ Meteorite falls have often been understood as divine signs, from ancient times on: for instance, it is still

¹⁴²³ Anaxandridas of Delphi: Smits 1939: 129; Piccirilli in Angeli Bertinelli *et al.* 1997: 246. Anaxandridas must have lived between the third and second centuries BCE (Rzepka 2009) and is quoted elsewhere in the *Life of Lysander* (18 = BNJ 404 F 2). Theopompos: Flower 1994: 73-4. Ephoros: Pownall 2004: 113. Ephoros, just like Theopompos, was considered a likely source for the attention he usually pays to supernatural events (cp. Flower 2008: 110). Choerilus of Samos: Kennell 2015 *ad* BNJ 596 F 25a, who also offers an introduction to this specific *Quellenkritik*.

¹⁴²⁴ For a systematic reconsideration of the information on these two episodes, see concisely Marvin 2006: 16-7.

debated which meteorite was represented in Raphael's *Madonna of Foligno* (1511).¹⁴²⁵ Raphael's example is particularly useful, because it shows the difficulties and the skepticism with which astronomers generally consider every mention of a meteorite fall before the Nogata and the Ensisheim episodes. In the absence of concrete remains or of further pieces of evidence, only literary or artistic witnesses can offer a biased or unclear picture on these phenomena.

There are actual instances, where such a phenomenon was the rational explanation for an aniconic cult of stones, variously identified with a god. In these cases, in the impossibility of directly checking the addressed material, it is scientifically wrong to accept at face value any reference to an "extraterrestrial" material.¹⁴²⁶ From a list of all those episodes, which can *roughly* be equated with a meteorite rain or an asteroid fall, we infer that the episode of Aigospotami (468/7 BCE), on the eastern coast of the Hellespont, is the first event which left a considerable echo in the literary sources.¹⁴²⁷ These also report and connect the fall with the presence, in the sky, of an iron cloud. From a scientific point of view, it must be premised that the meteorite and the iron cloud do not necessarily have a direct relationship, and therefore the two phenomena can have different explanations (see *infra* in text on this).

The episode of Aigospotami was almost always associated to Anaxagoras by our sources, since the philosopher allegedly foresaw the fall of a stone in the area. Modern scholarship tends to understand this tradition as Anaxagoras seeing his theories proven by the

1425 In the past, it was believed that the painter referred to a meteorite rain that fell on Crema in the same year in which Raphael was working, and foretold the papal victory against the French army; more recently, and probably more to the point, it has been suggested that the depicted phenomenon is a childhood memory of Sigismondo de' Conti (commissioner of the painting), who saw a comet in 1465. On this painting, see particularly Newton 1897 and Antonello 2013.

1426 For the possible allusion to aniconic cults, see already Newton 1897; more nuanced, but open to comparisons among more cultures, Burke 1986. I wish to thank here Prof. M. Merafina (Department of Physics, Sapienza University of Rome) and Mr. Giovanni Palermo for the useful explanations on this technical subject.

1427 See D'Orazio 2007 for a complete list of the episodes. On Aigospotami, he remarks that "[t]his is by far the most famous, most cited and most reliable meteorite fall of antiquity" (216). Cp. Theodossiou *et al.* 2002: 138 for possible previous cases: most of these, nonetheless, include dates from theogonies or mythological frameworks, which are more likely the mere result of rationalization. If ancient historians should be aware of the literary dimension of these witnesses, scholars of science and astronomers have made the same mistake of accepting at face value the ancient sources, often read in translation.

meteorite fall, which was hardly his source of inspiration.¹⁴²⁸ He argued that the Sun, the Moon, and all the heavenly bodies are made up of rocky elements, and drawn, in a perennial rotational movement, by the aether; this movement was originally inspired and started by the universal Νοῦς. These bodies, other than the earth, tend to remain in their allotted part of the *kosmos*, but they are sometimes uprooted by turbulence or by a collision of bodies.¹⁴²⁹

Despite Plutarch's impression that Daimachos' description actually supports (μαρτυρεῖ) Anaxagoras' theory, there are stronger affinities between Daimachos' interpretation and the one of Diogenes of Apollonia.¹⁴³⁰ This philosopher lived in the second half of the fifth century BCE and described the same event that occurred in Aigospotami, with a lexicon – and a perspective – particularly similar to the one used by Daimachos. This is the fragment, as it is quoted by Aëtius (2.13.5 = T 26b Laks = D. – K. 64 A 12):

“Diogenes claims that the stars are like pumice stone, that they are the world's vents, and that there are embers; and he maintains that stones, which are invisible (and for this reason are nameless), accompany the visible heavenly bodies in their revolutions; and that they often fall and are extinguished on the earth, like the heavenly body made of stone that fell burning at Aigospotami” (tr. A. Laks – G.W. Most, with slight modifications).¹⁴³¹

1428 It is debated how much the empirical method influenced this pre-Socratic philosopher (on his cosmology, see, in general, Graham 2006: 186–223; Curd 2007: 206–34; Graham 2013). Graham (2006: 209; 2013) has recently argued that the eclipse of 478 BCE and the later episode at Aigospotami confirmed previous intuitions: Anaxagoras' contemporaries, and the following tradition, understood his reasoning as a prediction of these phenomena (it should be noted, incidentally, that nowadays it is assumed to be relatively possible to foresee an eclipse, whereas no causal relationship can positively be posited between the observation of heavenly bodies in the Earth's atmosphere and a subsequent meteorite fall).

1429 Graham 2013: 146–7.

1430 Diogenes was Anaxagoras' pupil and worked between 440 and 423 BCE (Gregory 2007: 133–6).

1431 Διογένης κισηροειδῆ τὰ ἄστρα, διαπνοὰς δὲ αὐτὰ νομίζει τοῦ κόσμου, εἶναι δὲ διάπυρα' συμπεριφέρεσθαι δὲ τοῖς φανεροῖς ἄστροις ἀφανεῖς λίθους καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ τοῦτ' ἀωνύμους' πίπτοντας δὲ πολλαῖς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς σβέννυσθαι, καθάπερ τὸν ἐν Αἰγὸς ποταμοῖς πυροειδῶς κατενεχθέντα ἀστέρα πέτρινον. On Diogenes, who advocated the coexistence of more *kosmoi*, see Laks 2008 and Dillon 2004 (on his possible influence on Euripides); more on his cosmology in D'Orazio 2007: 216 and Gregory 2007: 134–6.

Some elements of this aetiology of the event share some points in common with the theory of Anaxagoras, such as the description of the precipitation and the presence of διάπυρα, “embers”. On the other hand, there are also relevant affinities with the presentation offered by Daimachos. Particularly puzzling is the emphasis on the fiery nature of these stones and the shock of the first observers, which also emerges from the concise commentary by Diogenes: local people could not find any evidence of the fire, which allegedly formed these celestial bodies, because, by the time these shards fell on Earth, they were extinguished (σβέννυσθαι). Anaxagoras already insisted on the pivotal role of the fire in his own ontology, but Daimachos’ insistence on the existence and the formation of these aetherial particles of fire¹⁴³² is more similar to Diogenes’ description of the event, despite Plutarch’s understanding. The dominance of the fiery element in this cosmology might imply, in Diogenes, a return to pre-Anaxogrean cosmologies, especially because it seems that Anaxagoras insisted more on the lithic nature of the meteorites.¹⁴³³

Both Daimachos and Anaxagoras, however, share a detail which the first author may have read in the second one, namely, the duration of the meteorite in the sky (75 days, without interruption: Plut. *Lys.* 12.6). If we put aside this specific number, in itself probably (but not necessarily: see *infra*) exaggerated, it is remarkable that Pliny the Elder, while mentioning Anaxagoras’ committal with the experience, also repeats that a comet was seen, in the sky, for some nights: *comete quoque illis noctibus flagrante*.¹⁴³⁴ The same Plutarch, who does not agree with Anaxagoras and Daimachos, wonders whether it was not actual fire τὸ φαινόμενον ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας (*Lys.* 12.9: “what appeared [in the sky] for so many days”).

It is likely that Daimachos was drawing on Diogenes’ theories, then on theories relatively outdated by the time of Daimachos’ activity. In this period, in fact, Aristotle and his disciples were advancing new interpretations of the meteorites, which were seen as earthly rocks, raised by the winds.¹⁴³⁵ Daimachos apparently refused or did not share this theory,

1432 Plut. *Lys.* 12.5: ἐπινέμησις αἰθερίου πυρός. The adj. αἰθέριος refers to the αἰθήρ, which indicates the higher vault of the sky, characterized by a brighter atmosphere (Casevitz 2003: 29).

1433 Cp. Graham 2013: 147 for the possibility that Daimachos returned to pre-Anaxogrean theories, and Simpl. *In Phys.* p.25,1-3 (P2 Laks – Most = DK 64 A 5). Anaxagoras’ cosmology: DK A 73 and 77.

1434 Plin. *N.H.* 2.149-50; Anaxagoras DK 59 A 11.

1435 Arist. *Mete.* 1.7.32.

even if there is a degree of risk in reconstructing his philosophy from this mere fragment. In particular, we should also consider the complex overlaying of sources behind Plutarch from an early stage (Anaxagoras/Diogenes/other?), through Daimachos, down to a probable intermediary source, until Plutarch. Nonetheless, it remains highly likely that Daimachos was adhering to an old-style scientific theory, during the composition of his *On Piety*.

5.8.3. Daimachos and Halley's Comet

The literature that went under the title *On Piety* (Περὶ εὐσεβείας) often reported omens and extraordinary natural phenomena, because this genre was characterized by a strong moralising vein. This understanding was shared by other genres, like didactic poetry. A good example of this tendency is offered by the telling digression on meteorites and on their meaning at the end of the second book of Manilius' *Astronomica* (2.815–921).¹⁴³⁶ In fact, this view of the phenomenon is a trend that went far beyond ancient treatises on piety: we find instances in meteorology and in polemology, and Greek literature offers examples from a relatively recent stage (most notably, in the astronomical observations of the *Works and Days*).¹⁴³⁷

More specifically, the Greek books *On Piety* were allegedly started as a literary tradition by Pitagoras.¹⁴³⁸ They could also have other titles, such as Περὶ θεῶν or Περὶ ὁσιότητος, and shared a rationalistic view of the world, whose physical structures and events do not

1436 Even if this poem does not properly belong to the literature to which Daimachos' treatise can be ascribed, it offers a useful summary of how the ominous power of these heavenly bodies was perceived: "Bright comets often communicate such disasters:/ mournings approach, with those torches, and threaten to the earth/ endlessly glowing flames", tr. S. Tufano (2.892–4: *talía significant lucentes saepe cometae:/ funera cum facibus veniunt, terrisque minantur/ ardentis sine fine rogos*; cp., later, Sen. *QNat.* 1.15). See further other passages listed by Feraboli – Scarcia in Scarcia *et al.* 2011: 277–8. For the theory reproduced by Manilius, who likely went back (through Theophrastos) to Aristotle's view of meteors as earthly exhalations, see Taub 2003: 139–41.

1437 For an introduction to this problem, see Taub 2003: 15–69, and the contributions in Cusset 2003. In Babylonian culture, moreover, there were specific anthologies of prodigies, like the extensive 7000 episodes collected in the *Enūma Anu Enlil*, a list of omens, where meteorology and astronomy are used to understand the earthly consequences of such observations. The nucleus of this collection dates back to the beginning of the second millennium BCE. The anthology proceeded until 194 BCE, according to the last datable document; see the general overview by Swerdlow 1998.

1438 On the genre, see an introduction in Obbink 1996: 82–3.

depend on the action of the gods. It is not by chance that, after a proliferation in the early Hellenistic period (Theophrastos and Herakleides Pontikos both wrote a *Περὶ εὐσεβείας*),¹⁴³⁹ the genre attracted the interest of very different authors, like Chrysippus, Perseus, and Diogenes of Babylonia, all mentioned by Philodemos in his *On Piety*, written in the first century BCE.

Daimachos probably referred to the same event described by Anaxagoras and by Diogenes, since there is a meaningful coincidence between the dimension of the rock that was observed by the inhabitants of the Chersonesos and the estimate given by Pliny (2.149: *magnitudine vehis*). This argument goes against the late dating of Daimachos' description, as if it described a second event of 405 BCE. This picture must nevertheless be considered with all these details to try to understand it in contemporary terms.¹⁴⁴⁰ It has already been assumed that the description might follow the common pattern of a meteorite fall in Classical sources. There are some details, however, which demand a more comprehensive historicization of the event. For example, the latest commentary on the fragment (Engels 2011a *ad BNJ* 65 F 8) reports the following explanation, by an engineer:

“a comparatively small core of a comet or a loosely structured asteroid was drawn by a combination of the gravitation of the earth and the moon on an elliptical orbit. During a period of ca. seventy-five days this object several times touched the highest atmosphere of the earth thus causing the impressive phenomena of light ('flaming cloud.') In the course of this process several fragments of the object broke away in different directions and fell down [...] as big shooting-stars (so-called 'bolids'). Finally, the object again reached a parabolic orbit and--luckily--escaped the field of gravitation of the earth. A comparatively big fragment of this object, however, fell down as the described 'stone' and this gave an impulse to the main object strong enough to change slightly its orbit and to escape into space.”

The previous reconstruction does not completely conform to the actual observation of fragments in the sky, and from what we know about the consequences of such falls, since a

1439 T 17 (3) Schütrumpf.

1440 Later dating: Engels 2011a *ad BNJ* 65 F 8.

meteorite can either turn to dust or create large-scale damage in the surrounding area. A period of 75 days is more in line with the behaviour of comets, which can be observed in the sky for up to 80 days. It has been argued that the specific comet that was observed in 468/7 BCE was Halley's comet, since it is very likely that a passage of this comet was recorded in a Chinese universal history written at the beginning of the first century BCE, the *Shǐjì* (*Records of the Grand Historian*), by Sima Tan and Sima Qian.¹⁴⁴¹ Interestingly, under the events of 238 BCE, during the rule of the First Emperor of Qin, it is recorded:

“A comet appeared in the west, then appeared again in the north, moving south from the Dipper for eighty days.” (*Shǐjì* 15; tr. B. Watson 1993)

This is only one of the four comets that were observed in China between 240 and 238 BCE.¹⁴⁴² Since this comet has a recurring period of 76 years, if we start from the earliest Chinese record (240 BCE) and multiply this period by three, we reach the date of 468 BCE, which is exactly the date of the assumed “meteorite” fall in Aigospotami.¹⁴⁴³ Daimachos, after Anaxagoras, would then be one of the first reporters of this event, even if he referred to an intermediate source: the stress on the bright light of the phenomenon derives from the more intense light of the comet in antiquity. The Chinese sources also insist on the bright dimension of the phenomenon. In general, one may claim that this long period (75/80 days) fits the appearance of a comet, or of a supernova (a second hypothesis which remains less likely, for the static character of these stellar explosions).

The hypothesis of Halley's comet (or, in general, of a comet) is in line with the general date of 468/7 BCE of the literary sources, but still fails to explain the physical damage spotted by the observers, according to our sources. We may then assume that two episodes actually happened, namely, the appearance of the comet and a meteorite fall.¹⁴⁴⁴ An

1441 On the first Chinese sources on this subject, see Stephenson – Yau 1984 and Pankenier 2013.

1442 Further sources and references in Pankenier 2013: 506 n.305. It is not completely certain, nevertheless, to which of these descriptions Halley's comet may be ascribed; the earliest date of 240 BCE also derives from astronomical calculations (Kiang 1972).

1443 Graham – Hintz 2010 also link the passage of Halley's comet to Anaxagoras' and Daimachos' observations. Orbital period of the comet: Kronk 1999: 3.

1444 The different data have been traced back to two phenomena only by McBeath – Gheorghe 2005: 137 and Curd 2007: 132 and n.9. Since the colour of the object fluctuates between brown and black, and the dimension is compared to

observer between the fifth and the fourth century BCE would likely unify these phenomena, helped by his understanding that asteroids might be fiery objects.¹⁴⁴⁵

[i]f early Greek cosmological theories were weak in empirical content, the theorists could be opportunistic in finding evidence for them and testing them against whatever data they had at their disposal (Graham 2013: 152).

It cannot be positively confirmed that a meteorite fell, despite the repeated emphasis on the dimensions of the stone. Paradoxically, the naivety of Aristotle's explanation may hide an actual, "mere", if sensible, landslide. Daimachos' description of the event is only partially similar to other Classical sources that report a meteorite fall.¹⁴⁴⁶ An analysis of all the parts reveals, on the contrary, that the original episode may actually coincide with a passage of Halley's comet, which was considered, by popular belief, in accordance with another phenomenon in the area. It is highly unlikely that a real meteorite fell on the spot, and so, what remains, is the ominous power attached to this sequence of events.

a horse cart, Theodossiou *et al.* (2002: 137-8) suggested that it was an iron meteorite, which oxidized when it touched the soil.

1445 And, consequently, support the idea of Anaxagoras foreseeing the event (Curd 2007: 132 n.9).

1446 See a list in Pritchett 1979: 122-3 n.106.

6. Conclusions

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6.1. Local History and the Representation of the Third Space

The current investigation focused on the early stages of local Boiotian historiography. Hellanikos was the first author who systematically tackled the history of the region: his observations on the pre-Kadmean populations and the original version of the foundation myth of Thebes derived from sources that document the richness of traditions in the region. Armenidas was active soon after and offers useful insights into the debates surrounding Theban topography (the Seven Pyres, the Isles of the Blessed), Boiotian religion (Athena Itonia), and other centres of the region, such as Mount Kithairon, connected to the myth of Aktaion. This wide horizon was also peculiar to the historiographical interests of Aristophanes, who provides good information on the history of Tanagra and of Tilphossion; at the same time, evenemential and contemporary history played a role in his works, which can be detected through his observations on the arrival of Herodotus and on the local magistrates. Finally, the choice to delimitate this study with Daimachos offers an insight into two features of his period: as a polygrapher, Daimachos is a scholar of the fourth century BCE, a man who studied the construction techniques of military machines and the ancient wars between Athens and Megara; at the same time, local traditions surface in his fragments and closely show how the current wars of the sixties were quickly leaving a trace in the historical landscape of these fighting communities.

Daimachos partially loses that strong tie with the identity of place that distinguishes local historiography from what is commonly understood as “universal history” (*Zeitgeschichte*). In the previous works by Armenidas and Aristophanes, the main basis is still built through local imagery: this was made up of “relationships between founding heroes and mythical

kings, memories of crucial alliances in past wars, or links defined by cults or supraregional sanctuaries”.¹⁴⁴⁷ These local historians offer the opportunity to investigate the contents of various local traditions transmitted in single Boiotian centres, such as Haliartos or Orchomenos, which formed their specific historical identity.

In general, it is important to remark how small traditions with a real regional impact occur in our fragments of Boiotian local historiography. Apart from a few observations, there is no systematic research on the territory in our available selection of materials. We can try to look for the relevance of local imagery from a regional perspective,¹⁴⁴⁸ however, when working in this field, we need to be able to focus and also understand those memories and narratives that were not subsumed in the regional conscience. In contrast to external sources, Boiotian literature in poetry (Hesiod, Pindar, Korinna)¹⁴⁴⁹ and in prose, represents an overlapping of poleic and interpoleic narratives: these coexisted and were variously harmonized by local historiographers. When Aristophanes (F 4) sheds light on the fight between Thebes and Naxos around the origins of Dionysos, we retrieve through his reading a contraposition that otherwise would have been lost. Moreover, as the study on Daimachos’ view of the war between Megara and Athens shows (F 3), in cities like Plataia, contrasting traditions existed on the history of neighbouring Attica, despite the growing popularity of the other view: Daimachos, in particular, is a living example of the conservative nature of the Plataian world, with his astronomical theories which were, by then, a century old (F 7).

It is important, given the growing influence of Thebes from the end of the fifth century BCE, that these fragments help us better understand the differences between the Thebes imagined in literature, with its foundation myths and the great events of its history, and the hardly graspable physical Thebes, whose ancient sites lie below the contemporary city.¹⁴⁵⁰ To us, Armenidas’ notes on the Theban acropolis (F 3) present a perspective on how a Boiotian (maybe a Theban) talked about one of the most important places of the city. This city is a telling example of the quantity of contemporary and later sources on its

1447 Pretzler 2005: 237.

1448 Kühr 2006; Larson 2007. More specifically on Thebes: Berman 2015.

1449 On the variety of the poetical traditions that attest to the slow formation of a local narrative in Boiotia, see *supra* 1.1.2.

1450 Cp. Aravantinos – Kountouri 2015 and Berman 2015.

landscape, on the way in which this material was part of the local imagery of the Thebans. There was a dichotomy between the literary Thebes, as it had been imaginatively built by literates and erudites from abroad, from Homer on, and the Thebes of everyday life, the place where you could actually look for the site where Kadmos had fought the dragon. In a stimulating study, Berman (2015) suggests that we see the relationship between these two Thebes through a perspective coming from cultural studies, that of the “third space”.¹⁴⁵¹

Conceiving a space as a *third space* means describing and understanding its impact on the local population as the output of the overlapping of three plans: the space is a compromise, then, of (1) the original functions and scopes of the single subspaces and buildings which constitute it (denotative function: the theatre as space for displaying and performing); (2) the original emotional perception (primary connotative function: the theatre is where a *polis* sees its world of values and its community, on the stage); (3) the combination of the previous plans, insofar as the space is charged and enriched by practice and discourse (secondary connotative function: the theatre helps the citizens and the audience remember an ancient cultural period).

These new theoretical tools improve our understanding of the fundamental texts for the study of ancient localism, such as Strabo’s *Geography* or Pausanias’ *Periegesis*: it can be argued that, in these works, the literary perspective reaches a balance between the likely autoptic observations of the author and, on the other hand, the vast amount of information he already possessed. As far as Thebes and Boiotia are concerned, there is an interplay of sources which operates, in particular, on Pausanias’ experience:¹⁴⁵² he was using a sensible number of poetical and historiographical sources that resonate in this section of the

¹⁴⁵¹ On the “third space”, see Lefebvre 1974, Tuan 1977, and Soja 1996.

¹⁴⁵² Strabo’s Boiotian chapter (9.2) is commented on by Wallace 1979, who argues (168–72) that Strabo only visited part of the region and depended on literary sources for the interior part of Boiotia (cp. Roesch 1982a: 258). Strabo is generally more useful on regional traditions than on single details referring to single Boiotian towns: he has a critical approach towards mythical materials (Saïd 2010; Patterson 2017), but I would not suggest that he had first-hand experience of Boiotian local historiography, unlike other authors who lived in his age, or a little later (Ovid and Conon: Schachter 1990b; Theon of Alexandria: see Aristophanes F 1).

work.¹⁴⁵³ An interesting example which shows how the creation of third space in literature affects our understanding of ancient localism comes from Pausanias' introductory remarks on Mt. Helikon (9.28.1):

Helikon is one of the mountains of Greece with the most fertile soil and the greatest number of cultivated trees. The wild-strawberry bushes supply to the goats sweeter fruit than that growing anywhere else. The dwellers around Helikon say that all the grasses too and roots growing on the mountain are not at all poisonous to men. (tr. J. Frazer)

Despite the fact that, in the later excursus on the Mouseion and on its statues, some descriptions can be trusted and are certainly reliable,¹⁴⁵⁴ this literary introduction on the Mount as a *locus amoenus*, where even the snakes are not poisonous, is at the intersection between a literary idealization and a general portrayal of a nice location.¹⁴⁵⁵ This kind of approach was exactly what Plutarch indirectly criticizes, when, in his *Amatorius* (1.794A), he has Flavianus ask Autoboulos for a more “trustworthy” picture of the Helikon:

“Curtail, we beseech ye, your discourse at present, forbearing the descriptions of meadows and shades, together with the crawling ivy, and whatever else poets are so studious to add to their descriptions, imitating with more curiosity than grace Plato's Ilissus [Pl. *Phd.* 230B], with the chaste tree and the gentle rising hillock covered with green grass” (tr. W.W. Goodwin).

This rhetorical rejection of the “*topos* of the poetic or philosophical landscape”¹⁴⁵⁶ can be understood as a reaction to a well-trodden path in the literary representation of this area. Local sources, especially the historiographers, had indeed started this process of reappropriation of the landscape, by offering to their audience a genuinely parochial view

1453 For this reading of Pausanias' ninth book, see Musti 1988b and Gartland 2016b; see Pretzler 2007, for a reconsideration of Pausanias' agenda and method; Knoepfler 2004 and Müller 2013, on Pindar and Polybius, as an (ignored) source on Hellenistic Boiotia.

1454 See Robinson 2012 and Knoepfler 2005.

1455 On the idealization of this sacred space, cp. the remarks by Rocchi 1996.

1456 Robinson 2012: 253.

of their surroundings. We can also consider here, under the same light, the different example of Pindar: this poet showed, in the first decades of the “pre-Classical” *koinon*, how myth acted on the interpretation of one’s surroundings. His Thebes and his Boiotia were part of a cultural scenario, where the poet creates the place, while the place determines his poetical background.¹⁴⁵⁷ As a Theban, Pindar offers a view from within, but this process is not completely neutral or genuine, insofar as representation of the imagery is influenced by the genre and by the prehistory of the cultural strata involved by the narrative.¹⁴⁵⁸

When the first local historiographers deal with their own areas, they try to show more clearly why different layers of meaning developed. Let us consider here, for instance, Armenidas’ view that the Seven Pyres may coincide with two traditions, that of the Niobids and that of the Seven Argives.¹⁴⁵⁹ This contrasts with the univocal view of Pausanias (9.17.2), who only understood the place in connection with the Seven Argives: to Pausanias, the original functions of the place, its emotional perception and the combination of these plans, namely the Seven Pyres as a “third space”, is something less open and problematized. This intersection of the plans operates even more clearly in a passage where Pausanias reconsiders an autoptic experience, in the light of a literary witness (2.20.5):¹⁴⁶⁰

“All the chieftains who with him [Polyneikes] were killed in battle at the walls of Thebes. These men Aeschylus has reduced to the number of seven only, although there were more chiefs than this in the expedition, from Argos, from Messen, with some even from Arcadia. But the Argives have adopted the number seven from the drama of Aeschylus, and near to their statues are the statues of those who took Thebes” (tr. W.H.S. Jones).¹⁴⁶¹

1457 See 1.1.2 in the Introduction on Pindar’s own presentation as a Theban and as a Boiotian.

1458 On Pindar and Boiotia, see the synthesis by Olivieri 2011.

1459 Armenidas F 3.

1460 On this passage and on other passages where Pausanias questions literary traditions, cp. Pretzler 2005: 242–3. On Pindar’s topographical imagery, see in particular Oliveri 2014.

1461 ὅσοι σὺν ἐκείνῳ τῶν ἐν τέλει πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος μαχόμενοι τὸ Θηβαίων ἐτελεύτησαν. τούτους τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐς μόνων ἑπτὰ ἀριθμὸν κατήγαγεν Αἰσχύλος, πλείονων ἔκ τε Ἄργους ἡγεμόνων καὶ Μεσσηνίας καὶ τινῶν καὶ Ἀρκάδων στρατευσαμένων. τούτων δὲ τῶν ἑπτὰ – ἐπηκολουθήκασιν γὰρ καὶ Ἀργεῖοι τῇ Αἰσχύλου ποιήσει – πλησίον κεῖνται καὶ οἱ τὰς Θήβας ἐλόντες. A further example of how Pausanias combines these levels of interpretation, letting the ideological

Pausanias contrasts the literary tradition with his own knowledge of the tradition of the Seven against Thebes: not only is Aeschylus' number of seven a symbolic reduction of the deceased, but the provenance of the army (from Argos, but also from Messenia and Arcadia) is another possible correction of the dramatic rewriting of the myth. Despite this gap, the Argives adopted and accepted (ἐπηκολουθήκασι) Aeschylus' poetry, not the "reality" of the myth in the topographical accommodation of the story. Pausanias therefore witnesses how the three functions of a space can coexist and how literature may have a lively impact on the everyday existence of the local communities of ancient Greece.

Our study of Boiotian historiography, however, adopts a different and "static" form of local perspectives: the study of these texts allows us to move not in a dynamic way from the general (external, Panhellenic observers, as Pausanias or Strabo) to the particular (the poleic dimensions), but rather, completely inside and within the world of the *particulare*.¹⁴⁶² Before Nora (1978; Nora 1984–92) and Assmann (1988; Assmann 1992) introduced the idea of a "mnemotope" or *lieu de mémoire*, to describe the social meaning of a place, Roland Barthes (1967: 12) offered an interesting perspective on the local perception of one's own land, be it a *polis* or a sanctuary:

“[l]a cité est un discours et ce discours est véritablement un langage: la ville parle à ses habitants, nous parlons notre ville, la ville où nous nous trouvons, simplement en l'habitant, en la parcourant, en la regardant.”

This approach allows us to tackle local histories not just as ancient Baedekers on single relevant spots of the region, but mostly as discursive histories of the place characterized by a strong sense of identity of place. Only local sources, when they can be retrieved, offer a

agenda prevail over the topographical proximity, is his excursus on Tanagra (9.20.1–22.4), as is maintained by Jaillard 2007 (134: “Parcours mémorial, paysages divins et fragments de topographie ne cessent d’interférer selon une articulation propre au discours périégétique qui tend dès lors à constituer *une construction mythique au second degré*”).

¹⁴⁶² I refer here to Francesco Guicciardini's idea of the *particulare*: according to the sixteenth century Italian thinker, every human community tends to the “particular”, i.e. to the preservation and the enhancement of its richness and of its reputation (see his *Ricordi*, 28, and the essay on *Consigli et avvertimenti*, published in 1576). The world of the *particulare* certainly has a different and apter meaning in the modern world and a strict parallel must absolutely be considered with skepticism; nonetheless, the focus on particularism as a reaction and a different world from the general overlook must be at the heart of every study of ancient local historiography. On Guicciardini and the history of particularism in Italy, see a short overview in Birindelli 2015.

completely local perspective and are less influenced by the necessity to compare, and come to terms with, that network of traditions which coexists and conflicts in works like Strabo's *Geography* or Pausanias' *Periegesis*. We are forced to cope with a limited array of pieces of evidence, which we cannot overinterpret in order to align them to a literal understanding of the sources.

On the basis of the content of the fragments, we can recognize the main interests of these local historians and detect two tendencies: on the one hand, the attention to local variations or versions of a myth, otherwise unknown, or maybe only known through Imperial mythological handbooks; on the other hand, there is a distance from local patriotism, especially in Aristophanes, which we must interrogate for the actual, critical interaction between local historians and their specific audiences.¹⁴⁶³

The corpus analyzed here allows us to detect four themes that go from the original population of the region (6.1.1) to the foundation traditions of Thebes and other centres (6.1.2). The other two subjects which we can infer from the selected anthology of fragments are the relationships with Thessaly (6.1.3), in the forms of a recognized and implicit kinship memory in Armenidas and in Aristophanes, and an original attitude towards historical events (6.1.4), such as the alleged Athenian conquest of Salamis and the Theban participation in the second Persian War. These few examples show how contrasting versions could circulate and be considered valid and meaningful for the local audience in a world where Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon were probably not as popular as our local historiographers. These gave literary voice to an identity of place that is at the heart of ancient localism, with all its internal subdivisions.

6.1.1. Boiotian Populations and Panboiotian Myths: The Regional Perspective

Among the criteria that define ethnicity, a link with territory is almost a constant element.¹⁴⁶⁴ This is made clear, in the Boiotian case, by the ancient witness of Ephoros (*BNJ* 70 F 119), whereas a telling example comes from Strabo's tenth book (10.3.463A):

¹⁴⁶³ Cp. Pretzler 2005: 240, according to whom Plutarch was indeed influenced by this patriotism.

¹⁴⁶⁴ Hall 1997: 25.

Strabo confirms that the Kouretes were Aitolians, because they inhabited Aitolian centres. Boiotia, however, represents an exceptional case for the contradiction between the common belief that the Boiotians arrived in the region sixty years after the Trojan Wars (Thuc. 1.12.2), and their presence among the other Greeks during this conflict. Classical thought, as represented by Thucydides, found a solution to the conundrum by postulating that there was already a small group in the same area.¹⁴⁶⁵ The specification of the starting point, Arne, may be the Thucydidean attempt to find a consensus between Homer, who recalls the presence of a Boiotian army at Troy, and the genealogical relationship between the eponymous Boiotos and Arne, which already surfaces in the pseudo-Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*.¹⁴⁶⁶ This indication is probably the reception of a local discourse, which started in the region in the Archaic period: in fact, by and large, there are various indications which confirm the internal acknowledgement of ethnicity in Boiotia in the Archaic period.¹⁴⁶⁷

As more and more studies on transregional sanctuaries confirm, it is hard to deny that in the sixth century BCE there was already a regional conscience. This was behind the external presentation of participants in these festivals: religion was an important factor in this process, even if not necessarily the primary and only one.¹⁴⁶⁸ When Hellanikos was working on his *Boiotian History* and Armenidas and Aristophanes were probably still young, the region already had a lively scene of festivals and cults, some of which had gained an international reputation.¹⁴⁶⁹ Let us consider here, for the sake of clarity, the festivals where the Theban Agasikles and his family gained a high reputation before Pindar wrote a song mentioning his participation at the Daphnephoria in the late forties of the fifth century BCE:

“For/ both of old and now they have been honored

1465 On this complicated interplay, see the commentary on Hellanikos’ F 2 (2.2.2); for a reconsideration of Thucydides’ witness, “l’unica ricostruzione antica del loro insediamento” (Prandi 2011: 241), in the context of the ἀρχαιολογία (1.1-12), cp. Larson 2007: 52-64.

1466 Larson 2007: 41-8.

1467 See in general Kühr 2007; Larson 2007; Kühr 2014.

1468 Cp. the different case studies discussed in Funke – Haake 2013.

1469 Cp. Alkaios F 325 V. with Armenidas F 1.

by those who live around them [ἀμφικτιόνεσσιν]
 for their celebrated victories
 with swift-footed horses,
 for which on the shores of famous Onchestos
 and b[y the glori]ous temple of Itonia
 they adorned their hair with garlands.”¹⁴⁷⁰

The festivals of Onchestos and of Koroneia were a bustling meeting of Boiotians. Pindar was focusing here on all the people from the region that had contributed to honouring Agasikles and his family, the ἀμφικτιόνεσσιν mentioned at v. 43. While local traditions on Thebes likely have a Theban origin, a regional tradition could develop more easily in the presence of a regional revenue; it is possible to suggest that these short glimpses, offered by Pindar in his *daphnerikon*, refer to the same ἀγῶνες τ' ἔννομοι Βοιωτίων to which he alludes elsewhere (*Ol.* 7.84). Herodotus, Thucydides, and Ephoros draw both on poleic and on regional traditions, but it needs to be reassessed where these traditions found a feasible moment of development and common reflection.

Local historiography offers an (unfortunately partial) insight into the results of this common regional process, for instance, by recording what equated to Boiotian “pre-History”. In his *Boiotian History*, Hellanikos collected the traditions on the Encheleis, who once upon a time lived in Boiotia (F 1). The “Eel-men” may be one of those native populations, who were subsequently substituted or expelled by the actual Boiotians to another region:¹⁴⁷¹ they contributed to the vacuum in demography, where scholars like Ephoros, from the outside, tend to imagine the Pelasgians. The concise presentation of the Encheleis does not refer to a violent occupation of the region, nor does it link them to the exile of Kadmos, as in many other Athenian sources of the late fifth century BCE. In his work, therefore, Hellanikos had to offer an essay of pre-Boiotian ethnography, probably

1470 Pind. F 94b,41–7 S.-M., tr. E. Mackil. See Mackil 2012: 160–3 and Papazarkadas 2018 on the family of Agasikles.

1471 For a general picture of the populations that preceded the Boiotians in the region, see Breglia 2011.

particularly detailed, if we compare it to the other excursuses we possess on the same topic.¹⁴⁷²

These Encheleis are “pre-Kadmean”, because they are neither Phoenician, nor clearly (explicitly) Boiotian. At the same time, we must admit that the presence of Kadmeans and Boiotians at Troy complicates this picture, and we are left with general patterns, which cannot possibly be reduced to a single reconstruction of the original populace.¹⁴⁷³ We can say that before Boiotos appeared in this narrative, a number of entities occupied the region and this mythical past was also constructed on the grounds of a present agenda. It is hard to escape the impression that, to a Boiotian, these Eel-men would suggest the well-known product of Lake Kopais. With its extent and its products, this basin therefore helped the evolution of this local history-writing.

This sense of presentism also contributed to rethinking national figures according to the daily relationships of the Boiotians. When Armenidas (F 1) says that Itonos, the father of Boiotos, was the son of Amphiktyon, he accepts a family tie that closely links Boiotos both with the Amphiktyony of Anthela and with the genealogical tree of Boiotos. This tradition goes beyond the old-style genealogical approach to eponymous heroes, whereby a population uses a kinship tie to strengthen both their identity and their current political agenda. Armenidas also testifies to the fluidity of these figures and, with the *Boiotos* of Corrina, presents a unique opportunity to closely observe how a whole *ethnos* presents its putative father in a transregional network. By the time local historians start writing, they already have a network of regional myths that have a relatively long story.

Smaller communities and cities of the region interacted with these pan-Boiotian traditions by adding local appendices to preexisting narratives. The case is best demonstrated by the myths that developed around the Kadmeans and their escape from the Argives, even in a small oracular site like the Tilphossion. Aristophanes (F 11) and Pindar, quoted in the same context by Athenaeus,¹⁴⁷⁴ focused on the death of the prophet Teiresias because his death forever tied him to the place. His death through congestion was the probable consequence of the forgetfulness induced by Zeus (and, therefore, as a revenge): this tradition had

1472 Cp. 2.1.2.

1473 On the “Pre-Kadmeans”, see Breglia 2011. For an introduction to these populations, cp. Kühr 2014a: 228–30.

1474 Cp. 4.12.1.

already been referred to in the *Melampody*, but Aristophanes was the first prose author to deal with it.¹⁴⁷⁵ There were rich, local varieties of details on this character, which may have arisen from the memory of the place and of the oracle of Tilphossa (inevitably linked, for the Boiotians and for the Greeks, to the occurrence of the nymph and of the place in the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo*).¹⁴⁷⁶ This reduplication of the same material already touched upon in the *Melampody* had, however, a different focus in the case of Aristophanes: the attention of the author, and therefore of his audience, shifts from the character Teiresias to the place of the Tilphossion. Its sanctity derives from the story of the character and from his death, whereas the *Melampody* had a different scope and internal organization. Also, here, we see how the oracular spot became a third space to its inhabitants, and local historiography provided them with an explanation of its history.

The history of Thebes and the history of Boiotia, then, intertwined continuously in these local histories, but not for the preeminence of Thebes: its history had an inescapable impact (Aristophanes had to explain why Teiresias had gone to Tilphossa in the first place), but the focus and the real interests of the author lay elsewhere. This intertwining of locales is further confirmed by a passage from Armenidas' *Theban history* (F 3) where the Theban site of the Seven Pyres is associated either with the tombs of the Seven Argives, who fell before Thebes, or with the bodies of the Niobidai, who were usually tied to Thebes. A recent repetition of a political interpretation understands this fragment as an echo of the mythological context between Athens and Thebes, with the pious reception of the corpses as a reason of pride or, conversely, of impiety.¹⁴⁷⁷ However, once we set this material in a local perspective, it opens new possible scenarios on the alternatives repeated by Armenidas: he was either showing his original research on the site or signalling, with his wide understanding, an important reading of the monuments.

The city, to return to Barthes' words (6.1), speaks to those who live in it, and this is truer for a historian of its most notable spots. The Thebans and the Boiotians, then, were looking at this place not as a static, monolithic *lieu de mémoire*, but as a place open to more interpretations among which Armenidas does not wish to choose, or to explicitly confirm.

1475 On this hypothesis, see 4.12.3.

1476 Cp. Sordi 1966 and 4.12.1.

1477 See *supra* the commentary.

The sense of an ideological contrast with another city, in fact, may work better as an interpretation tool for another fragment (4) of Aristophanes, where Thebes seems to react to Naxos concerning the role of one of the most important deities for the Thebans since the second millennium BCE, Dionysos. Despite the Theban perspective of these two last examples, the impact of Dionysos and of the Seven Argives on the history of the entire region need not be repeated here; instead, it is necessary to include these materials in the picture of the history of the region, because, if we do not read these fragments, we have no further proof of a contrast with Naxos or of a community debating its sacred areas.

Finally, another series of relevant local myths dealt with Herakles' life and successes. The myth was largely exploited in previous literature, but there was still room for specific innovations. In a fragment by Aristophanes (F 8), there is an attempt to provide a locally oriented, and assumedly original to us, version of his birth ("he is nobler than Amphytrion": F 8), so that Aristophanes might have suggested that he was not really Zeus' son. This version, where Zeus uses a stratagem to impersonate Amphytrion, became so popular that Aristophanes gives indirect confirmation of its acceptance in Thebes. The city must have developed a national biography of the hero, of which the materials are not preserved but can occasionally be glimpsed. Another interesting example, also in Aristophanes (F 9), concerns the tradition on Rhadamanthys as a teacher of Herakles. In this case, a pan-Boiotian connection to Rhadamanthys, who was already imagined in the region in connection with Herakles' mother, became the likely starting point for adding another name to the catalogue Herakles' teachers.

Aristophanes was not the only author in Boiotia, who would have been willing to accept these variations in important events of a hero's biography: an interesting parallel comes from the work of Daimachos, according to whom Achilles had a mortal mother (F 2). Whether later Thessalian sources used Daimachos to support the same view remains open to question. In the universal history of Daimachos several different regions are treated with a degree of detail that documents a high degree of research. The same impression results from the note on Pittakos as the first recipient of the bowl of the Seven Wisemen (F 3). The fragment is also interesting because it confirms the isolation of Daimachos among his contemporaries.

But what did being Boiotian mean, to a Boiotian? Aristophanes offers an original and unexpected answer, which seems to confirm the prejudices towards his own people: he describes the expulsion of Herodotus from Thebes (F 5) as the decision of a rude, boorish

citizenship, which, at least at the highest levels, did not want to accept the teachings of a historian presented as a travelling sophist. Aristophanes reversed, and at the same time, accepted the *topos* of Boiotian boorishness.¹⁴⁷⁸ Herodotus finds and speaks to an audience, or at least he tries to (ἐπιχειρῶν), but is then expelled, because of a decision of the elite citizens. How much this specific depreciation of Theban open-mindedness was a sign of a Boiotian (read: not-Theban) origin is a judgment that is definitely impervious to utter: Aristophanes, after all, was also the author of *Theban Annals*, if we accept the independent nature of this second title.¹⁴⁷⁹ The episode remains a unique witness to the number of prejudices and traditions which could also populate a national history of the region, despite the reception of a pan-Boiotian reconstruction of the past.

As briefly outlined here, therefore, Boiotian local historiography touched upon Boiotian regional myths and history, sometimes explicitly linking them with single places. This apparently external approach to the topic, similar to that of an ethnographer working on another population,¹⁴⁸⁰ allowed Aristophanes to accept that the Thebans, as claimed by Plato, were not in love with philosophy.¹⁴⁸¹ Cities (Thebes), springs (Tilphossa), and monuments (the tombs of the Seven; maybe the Temple of Dionysos Lysios in Thebes) spoke to the audience, and the local historians reproduce this reworking of memory. These historians offered an honest and not idealized version of the conflictual relationships between the communities: maybe the boorish Thebans who expelled a renowned historian pleased the other Boiotians, who were unfriendly towards Thebes, while the Naxians, in their mythic pride, were being challenged by the Thebans, not satisfied to be the well-known fatherland of Herakles. This appraisal of the material also challenges the idea that writing or referring to a local audience necessarily means pleasing its interests and likes: being parochial did not mean being patriotic.

1478 For a different way to interact with external prejudices, namely the saying of “Boiotian swine”, see in the Introduction 1.2.2.

1479 See Aristophanes T 3 and 4.1.1.

1480 For the parallel between local historiography and ethnography, see Tober 2017; on the respective place of these two genres according to Jacoby, cp. 7.1.

1481 Cp. 4.6.2.

6.1.2. Foundation Myths: Thebes, Chaironeia, Orchomenos

It is arguable whether the Κτίσεις (“Foundations”), which were firstly written in poetry and then, from the fifth century BCE on, in prose, may be considered an embryonic species of local historiography. As stories about one’s origins, “they reveal a lot about self-perception”, and so it is no surprise that they were among the major interests of local historiographers in Greece.¹⁴⁸² In the wide array of works of Hellanikos, however, there seems to be a distinction –with due respect to the value of the transmitted titles – between the three titles which explicitly refer to a single book on *Foundations*, and the others, which had a local perspective on single Greek regions (even if we did not accept the autonomous nature of the *Boiotian Histories*).¹⁴⁸³

In the absence of outright indications, we might infer a probable difference in the overall framework of these essays, but we must admit that, in the absence of an ascription, a fragment like the one on the foundation of Thebes (F 2) would be naturally conceivable in the *Ktiseis*-genre. While we can accept a structural closeness between the two genres when dealing with the same material, it would seem that the nature of the tradition has speciously betrayed the original intent of the local historiographers: to them, the foundation act is the first chapter of an excursus on a city or on a festival, not the core of the narrative. To recover the parochial traditions of this moment, they tend to adhere to versions of the story that had not made their way outside their place of origin. This different fate of the versions is clear in the case of Thebes: despite the popularity of the city and of its myth abroad, a singular version of its foundation tale was never made completely popular and communicated to Athenian audiences. A Lesbian, Hellanikos, provided the first literary witness to this Theban narrative in his *Boiotian Histories* (F 2).

This complex and convoluted scholium to Hom. *Il.* 2.494 has many parts in common with the relative section on the foundation of Thebes in Apollodoros’ *Library*. The text seems to betray a variation of the myth, in Hellanikos, concerning the relationship between Kadmos and Ares: this is particularly in line with the rest of Hellanikos’ Boiotian fragments, as it would seem that the historian had a very good knowledge of the region,

1482 Quote from Kühr 2014a: 228. On the *Ktiseis* as an example of local historiography, cp. e.g. Thomas 2014b: 163.

1483 See *supra* 1.3.1.

not always in accord with what we learn from the Athenian sources of the same period.¹⁴⁸⁴ The fragment on the foundation of Thebes offers a connection between the founding act, which establishes an etymological link between the cow (βοῦς) followed by Kadmos and the Boiotian region, and the wedding of Kadmos and Harmonia. Hellanikos seems to have depicted the position of Ares towards Kadmos in positive terms, and this may also be indirectly proven by the absence of an explicit association of the name of the spring and the god in this version. More often than not, Hellanikos was interested in these poorly attested variations of Theban myth, as in the case of the peaceful solution to the fight between Eteocles and Polyneikes (*BNJ* 4 F 98). It could be, as in the case of the pre-Kadmean Encheleis, that Hellanikos was writing a local history with a very good expertise on the subject. His *Boiotian History* had to be an erudite penchant to the oral circulation of other versions of the same myths, more akin (known?) to the tastes of the Athenians who watched Euripides' *Phoenician Women* or listened to Herodotus' *Histories*.

At the end of the fifth century, the Athenian playwrights and Herodotus confirm a wealth of knowledge both on Kadmos and on the singularity of the Theban case: a Greek city that was founded by a foreigner, as if it were a Greek colony. The common ground of these external rewritings of the foundation myth was always Homer, with his Kadmeids at Troy: from the seventh century BCE, it is not impossible to think that the first move towards this legend concerning origins existed in Thebes.¹⁴⁸⁵ Apart from the “Panhellenic” Homer, the only local alternative was the Theban Cycle (even if what we know from the *Oedipodea*, the *Thebaid*, and the *Epigoni* contrasts or does not explicitly confirm a possible engagement with this topic).¹⁴⁸⁶ If we accept an early date for Korinna, we might also include her, but even at an early date she does not seem to represent a real alternative to the local historians: all these authors would have drawn on the same local materials and used them differently.

¹⁴⁸⁴ See on this 2.2.2 and the scholarship discussed in 7.2.

¹⁴⁸⁵ On the evolution of the foundation myth of Thebes, see the commentary *ad* Hellanikos F 2.

¹⁴⁸⁶ The apparent absence of the foundation myth from the extant fragments most probably depends on their scarce number. In two cases we can gather two inferences concerning Kadmos: his “table”, probably a wedding gift, was mentioned in the *Thebaid* (F 2 West, *GEF*), and an uncertain fragment of the *Epigoni* (F 3* West, *GEF*) recalls the unfair treatment of the descendants of Kadmos.

The case of Pindar is particularly striking, because his treatment of the other important Theban foundation myth, that of the twins Amphion and Zethos, was different from that of the local historian Armenidas.¹⁴⁸⁷ This author had particularly good Theban sources, as his note on the Theban Isles of the Blessed might indicate (F 5); in the case of Amphion, he distinguished himself for the original characterisation of this twin. The depiction of Amphion as a poet-to-be, who plays the lyre, could either be a legacy of a previous locally embedded tradition, or an example of how, in the same years of Euripides' *Antiope*, the Thebans were looking at one of the most representative epichoric myths.¹⁴⁸⁸

Hellankos, with his Kadmos helped by Ares, and Armenidas, who imagines a lyrical Amphion, testify to how the Thebans might offer a richer scenario to the world of their foundation myths: it may well be that the process of creation or reimagination of these stories, often postulated in the Archaic period on the basis of lyrical sources, did not stop. Local historiography could thus work in two directions: as a form of cultural resistance against external narratives, but also as an independent expression of one own's history. Unfortunately, it seems that these alternative foundation myths quickly disappeared. When Pausanias speaks about Amphion (9.5.7-9), he accepts the picture of a man endowed with the gift of music, but only mentions poets, from Homer to the Hellenistic poetess Myro, when speaking of this figure. Armenidas was still a meaningful source and precedent for Aristodemos of Thebes (BNJ 383), who implicitly referred to his theories on the Seven Pyres, but afterwards his parochial picture of the foundation of Thebes remained material for learned scholars of Archaic Greek poetry.

This limited circulation granted the survival of evidence for a strong historical interest in other Boiotian centres, especially those which, like Chaironeia, were not mentioned in the paradigmatic *Catalogue of the Ships* in the *Iliad*. While this assumption is often based on alternative traditions and changes of names recorded by Strabo and by later lexicographers, Aristophanes's definition of Chaironeia as a πόλισμα (F 7) is particularly important to us: the substantive often signals the diverse luck of a city in the present, compared to the past.¹⁴⁸⁹ In his *Boiotian Histories*, Aristophanes was also recalling the eponymous hero of

1487 On Pindar's treatment of the two twins, see briefly Schachter 1981: 29.

1488 The date of the *Antiope* is still debated, but the most probable period is 412-407 BCE (see 3.2.1).

1489 Cp. 4.8.3.

this centre, Chairon, a figure who is generally opaque and absent in other Boiotian genealogies: the function of Chairon is to justify the new name of Arne, the ghost candidate, where all the other Boiotian cities, like Chaironeia, recognized themselves when they could not find their “spot” in the *Catalogue of Ships*. This is not merely late erudite recollection of disparate traditions, but lively material meant for a local audience and derived from local sources: Aristophanes was writing both for the citizens of Chaironeia and for the citizens of other centres of the region, like Tanagra. In the excursus on this city, Aristophanes (F 1) reminds us of its original synoecism and the fratricide: the papyrus which transmits this text is particularly important, for it shows how Theon, in the first century CE, was still able to read Aristophanes’ *Boiotian Histories*.¹⁴⁹⁰

A consequence of the existence of these two excursuses, on Chaironeia and Tanagra, is that they both had to explain the absence of the city from the *Catalogue of Ships*. How could a local historian, in front of a regional audience, let two traditions coexist? Maybe a variety of alternatives was accepted and a degree of objectivity was sought, as the remark on the πολλή δόξα in the fragment of Aristophanes on Tanagra (F 1) seems to show. As stated in the section above, we can try to understand the rationale behind the birth of these traditions, but this does not mean that the single communities of these centres were blind, biased audiences, without any previous knowledge of the stories of their neighbouring *poleis*.

Aristophanes recorded the names of fighting cocks in Tanagra (F 2), which would be unnecessary, for instance, if we imagined a mere Tanagran audience for this section of the work: this regional local historiography, then, acts as an ethnography both at the general level, because it encompasses the history of the whole of Boiotia to explain it to the same Boiotians, and at a number of inferior levels, constituted by the cities and the sanctuaries covered in the work. Despite the frequency of contacts and the existence of regional institutions, the Boiotians still had to learn about the specific traditions of single parts of the region. The foundation myths of festivals also mattered, from what we read in the fragment on the institution of the Homoloia of Orchomenos (Aristophanes F 4). The prophetess went to Delphi and obtained sacred approval for this institution, where we can imagine a high number of Boiotian participants: a story on the foundation myth of the

1490 On this problem, cp. 4.2.1

festival was then, at the same time, a sample of “Orchomenian” material and a detailed focus on one of the cultural knots of Boiotia.

Not only Thebes, then, could bolster a long and fascinating *Traditionskern* on its foundation: one of the goals of the *Boiotiaka* was to offer a systematic and comprehensive picture of the other foundation myths of Boiotian cities. From this point of view, those contrasts between *poleis*, which we usually imagine as a constant in the history of the region, were not always pivotal in the formation or development of a myth. We should also liberate ourselves of the “Theban ghost”, as if every city wanted to be antecedent or better than Thebes. These traditions, however poorly attested and fragmented, echo local responses to the Homeric verses, which are the voices of poleic elites and poleic stories, secondarily collected and harmonized in works of regional breath.

6.1.3. Boiotia and Thessaly

In recent years, the idea of an “Aiolic” dialect and population has been particularly criticized: it is claimed that neither archaeological nor linguistic evidence supports the existence of such a group and, therefore, the idea of common descent. In particular, the absence of a clear common archaeological culture in the Aiolid led Rose (2008) to question the reliability of the tradition on the Aiolian migration from Boiotia and Thessaly to the East in the early first millennium BCE. Similarly, Parker (2008) studied the Thessalian, Boiotian, and Lesbian dialects, and recognized a series of independent innovations in these dialects, which discredits the idea of a common origin. These two studies concluded that the traditions on Aiolian migration were an artificial product of the ethnogenesis of the Classical Age, prompted by the desire to unify different cultures, and written using the cultural tools of migration and expansion. An important corollary was the strong attack on the secondary character of the eastern Aioliens: there would be no reason, in Parker’s view, to claim that Lesbos developed an Aiolian dialect because its population spoke this dialect from the early occupation of the island. Consequently, language could no longer be used as proof of an ethnic descendance or similarity.

This approach, in fact, is more the result of contemporary studies on ancient Greek history than of our very sources: language was one of the *indicia* of ethnicity, but not the only one, nor do we have proof, in the Aiolic case, that language was always used to prove this ancient kinship tie.¹⁴⁹¹ At the same time, the Boiotian dialect underwent a number of innovations and changes in the sixth century BCE, which strongly separated it from the close northwestern dialects spoken in Phokis and Lokris, and from its Attico-Ionian neighbours. As documented by Pantelidis (2018), there was an ancient dialect subcontinuum in this area, which was soon interrupted by this phenomenon. In his words, “the confinement of many important changes within Boeotia from a certain time onwards is perhaps not unrelated to the strong ethno-cultural identity of the Boeotians” (185–6). The same dynamics cannot be observed in relation to the western Thessalian dialects, which remained particularly close and similar to the Boiotian, thus forming a subcontinuum, where a reciprocal understanding was possible between these dialects.

In other words, even if we accept the revisionist thesis of Parker, there is no need to claim that it disproves the ancient theories of Boiotian migration from the north. The later, systematic accounts on migration from Thessaly, as retold by Strabo and Pausanias, are the final stage of a long process, which at the beginning did not entail, for instance, the island of Lesbos. Under this specific respect, we can agree on the constructionist view of Parker, who sees the linguistic similarity between these far areas as an unreliable piece of evidence for an ancient unique ethnic identity. When Thucydides, at the end of the fifth century BCE, accepts the idea of a kinship tie between the Boiotians and the Lesbians, he is working with the genealogical tree of Aiolos and with a view of the Greek world influenced by the ongoing war: kinship relationships are now more important and are particularly appreciated from this *external* point of view.¹⁴⁹²

This does not mean, however, that the Boiotians agreed with this picture and, more particularly, that they felt a connection with the Thessalians because they kept a historical memory of the migration. It may also have been the other way around, namely that, from

1491 See *supra* ad Aristophanes F 3 on the ambiguous expression, used by Istros (F 5 Berti), διὰ τὸ παρ’ Αἰολεῦσιν τὸ ὁμοιογενικὸν καὶ εἰρηνικὸν ὄμιλον λέγεσθαι.

1492 On the weight of these kinship ties in the Peloponnesian War, see Fragoulaki 2013: 101–39. It would be interesting to know more on the Lesbian reception of this motif, but the surviving materials of Lesbian local historiography do not allow us to make any statement on this subject (on these materials, see the observations by Thomas 2014b: 156 and n.34).

the synchronic realization of a continuum between the two regions, several traditions later developed, formed according to the mindset of the Classical Age. This process of emic ethnogenesis does not allow us to deny that an actual migration or movement of people between the regions occurred: as the same Parker (2008) acknowledges, a small number of people may have caused the diffusion of these phenomena.

One of the aims of the current study was to try to see what the interested parties claimed about their own past, before external and later sources reworked the original tradition. The idea of a specific relationship between Boiotia and Thessaly was already spreading, without the mention of Aiolos, centuries before the development, in Ahrens (1839), of an “Aiolic” dialect. According to a reading suggested by Huxley (1969: 93), already at the end of the sixth century BCE, a tradition described Boiotos, the eponym hero of the Boiotians, as the child of Melanippe, born in Thessaly. The scholar inferred this from the following fragment by the epic poet Asius (F 2 West, *GEF*):

καὶ Ἄσιον τὸν ποιητὴν φήσαντα ὅτι τὸν Βοιωτὸν Δίου ἐνὶ μεγάροις τέκεν
εὐεΐδης Μελανίππη.

The syntagm Δίου ἐνὶ μεγάροις refers to the union with Zeus, and, therefore, to Melanippe. This woman was the daughter of Aiolos and thus Hellen’s granddaughter, and her connection to the Aiolids implicitly associates the figure with the world of the Thessalian national characters (and with the Aiolian myths).¹⁴⁹³ Boiotos and Melanippe, however, sufficed to connect Boiotos with Thessaly, since Melanippe was also the daughter of Cheiron. This genealogy of Boiotos and the relevance of the Itonian cults, which claimed to be related to the Thessalian city of Iton, confirm Boiotian acknowledgement, at an early stage, of this mythic kinship between the Boiotians and the Thessalians: this is also corroborated by the relevance of the Thessalian Arne in the *Shield of Herakles*.¹⁴⁹⁴ The carefulness of Thucydides, when he recalls the origin of the Boiotians from Thessaly (1.12.2), may emanate from a historical tradition accepted in the region, despite the general view of an opposition between Boiotia and Thessaly.

1493 This scenario is considered likely by Larson (2007: 21), who still accepts Huxley’s reading. The translation of the fragment is therefore: “The poet Asios, then, says that ‘the comely Melanippe begot, in Zeus’ halls, Boiotus’.”

1494 On the role of the centre in this work, cp. Larson 2007: 50–2.

When Plutarch (*de Hdt. mal.* 33) attacks Herodotus' statement on the position of the Thessalians in favour of the Thebans after their final surrender at Thermopylai (Hdt. 7.233), Plutarch claims that this fact is impossible, ἐπεικὲς δὲ καὶ φιλόανθρωπον οὐδέν, “in the complete absence of mild relationships [between Boiotians and Thessalians]”. This simplification obscures what we can gather from Boiotian local historiography, where Thessalian myths entered Boiotian local history without perceivable signs of resistance or rebuttal. Armenidas claims that the father of Boiotos, Itonos, was born in Thessaly (F 1). He also connects him with Amphiktyon and therefore with the amphiktyony of Anthela: in this instance, the relationship between the Boiotians and Thessalians facilitated the birth of a kinship tie that was so important to the Boiotians that it entered into their own national story. Itonos thus becomes the symbol of a tradition that links the regions, but also introduces the Thessalians in one of the most important cults of Archaic Boiotia, the Itonion of Koroneia, where the Boiotians possibly already celebrated national games.¹⁴⁹⁵ This complex process also justifies the idea that these ancient authors were dealing with an audience desperately looking for new memories and traditions that were easily invented.

Under these assumptions, it is also useful to reconsider another case where language apparently played a part in local memory. The Boiotians were united around regional festivals, like the *Homoloia*, which came from an “Aiolic” word, according to Istros (F 5 Berti). Despite the likely etymology and the scholarly suggestion that there was a physical movement of the same people behind the diffusion of the epithet, local historians of Boiotia offered completely parochial readings of the name of the festival: Aristophanes (F 3), in the early fourth century BCE, connected it with a Homoloia, whereas Aristodemos (BNJ 383 F 5a) linked it with the hero Homoloos, despite his awareness of a Thessalian Mount Homole (F5b).

Therefore, it would be inappropriate to claim that the Boiotians extensively and constantly accepted a kinship tie with the Aioliens and the Thessalians, once this was recognized for a specific reality, like that of Itonos (Armenidas F 1).¹⁴⁹⁶ As the same fragment by Armenidas on the Itonion shows, in Boiotia the awareness of, and at the same time the quest for, a

¹⁴⁹⁵ “Trans-regional importance”: Beck – Ganter 2015: 135.

¹⁴⁹⁶ Cp. Moretti 1962: 100. On this contest see the brief overview in the commentary on Armenidas' fragment (3.1.1) and Olivieri 2010–1.

belonging to the genealogic tree of Hellen *and* a more specific regional connection with Thessaly and the Aiolian world coexisted. Perhaps not by chance, Daimachos, in a different historical work, puts forth minor local Aiolian traditions. Assigning a mortal mother to Achilles (F 2), as in later Thessalian local historiography, or emphasizing the presence of the Mytilenenaen Pittakos among the Seven Wisemen (F 3: a variation rarely accepted), attests to how sensibility and cautiously Boiotian historiographers were when faced with different materials. Perhaps Pittakos was already part of a moment of Boiotians who were trying to use the Lesbian links of their Aiolian descent more extensively, but it is important to repeat that this never happened on a systematic basis and that every similarity did not bring about another one.

The consideration of the fragments dealing with Thessalian and Aiolian myths shows that local historiography was not a mere tool of patriotism, a blatant manifesto of nationality and localism, in complete ignorance of neighbouring regions and cultures. These *Boiotian Histories* tell us about how the Boiotians included Thessaly and other Aiolian peoples in their past. It was this sincere, or at least locally accepted, feeling that made the celebration and the success of festivals like the *Homoloia* or the *Panboiotia*, feasible. The Aiolian mirage is more the result of a contemporary debate than the genuine picture that emerges from the ancient Boiotian committal with all the traditions and materials that associated the region with the Thessalians.

6.1.4. Local History and the History of the Classical Period

Local historiography represents a specific expression of local culture: differently from other literary genres, it expressly deals with core moments of the local past. For this reason, whatever theme becomes part of the work has a direct connection with the present situation of the audience, which can be addressed directly in the case of those local historians who come from and belong to the same community (Armenidas, Aristophanes). It can also be seen indirectly, such as the case of those authors like Hellanikos, who focus on specific regions and recover the local traditions of each of these. For all these reasons, there is a contextual presentism behind the writing of local historiography, which makes every local historiography, in theory, a contemporary history. The local perspective which was advocated in the Introduction allows us to detect a relationship between the political evolution of the interested community and the development of local historiography:

“When the present and future were so uncertain, origins and one’s own polis could be more comforting, an area of familiar certainty. Origins would be even more useful and reassuring when the future posed real threats.”¹⁴⁹⁷

There are cases, nevertheless, where it is less easy to detect a specific relationship with the local audience, as has been done with other areas in a recent study.¹⁴⁹⁸ The present corpus contains fragments which almost always lack an indication of the original context, where the information quoted or alluded to was present in the original historical work. Moreover, while we can be relatively sure that Aristophanes (F 5) recorded the way in which Herodotus interacted with the Thebans, the anecdote does not prove anything concerning specific relationships between Boiotian historiographers and their public. As Douglas Olson was able to show by analyzing the fragments of the first book of Herodotus’ *Histories* quoted by Athenaeus (with or without the number of the book), a decontextualization of the fragments can be extremely deceiving, even for an author, Herodotus, who explicitly touches upon political, military, and historical events.¹⁴⁹⁹ As a result, we cannot dismiss the possibility that even the previously mentioned fragments on, say, the Homoloia (Aristophanes F 3) or on mythical figures like the Telchines (Armenidas F 7), may belong to a section mostly centered on contemporary events.¹⁵⁰⁰

Besides these fragments, however, there are instances where it is easier to make a case for an original evenemential setting, such as the attention Aristophanes gives in his *Theban Annals* (F 6) to the Theban officers and their role in the battle of Thermopylai. Plutarch’s polemical tone and the historical background of the Persian Wars must be kept in mind.¹⁵⁰¹ This sole indication on the identity of the Theban *strategos*, in fact, may be deceptive for the reconstruction of the general characteristics of the work; nonetheless, the transmitted title and this detail might actually indicate attention to central events in the Theban reworking of the national past in the fifth and in the fourth centuries. Local

1497 Thomas 2014a.

1498 Tober 2017.

1499 Douglas Olson 2015 (and see Dover 2000, on the quotes from Aristophanes’ *Frogs*); Lenfant (1999) analogously tried a similar experiment, with the quotes from Herodotus in other authors.

1500 At the same time, we should abandon the assumption that all the *Horoi* were structured through the annals and that these works could not consider mythical narrations (Thomas 2014b, *spec.* 156).

1501 See 4.6.3.

historians, like every historian, had to choose how and what to recollect; but recalling the name of a member of a family, Anaxander, whose descendants were alive and in the audience, was not a casual choice; it was the public duty of the local historian and the demand requires particular attention.¹⁵⁰²

A further potentially evident case is the obscure mention, in a fragment (4) of Armenidas, of the Thracian origin of Bibline wine, with the enumeration of the two centres where it was produced. A possible interpretation, as the one offered by Schachter for the *BNJ*, linked the mention of the area to an anecdote: a group of Theban captives once escaped their Thracian guardians, after letting them drink a strong wine. The story is well-known, and we have different settings, but none of the sources mention places as minor as the ones isolated by Armenidas. Since our re-evaluation of the linguistic evidence allows us to be free from the view that Armenidas “had” to live at the end of the fifth century BCE, we might move to a different scenario. It is not impossible that Armenidas was referring to the sea campaign of Epameinondas, an event whose relevance may have been downplayed by other contemporary sources. The interpretation of this fragment was profoundly influenced by the tradition, since it probably reached Athenaeus through an intermediate source on the most famous Greek winess.¹⁵⁰³ Even in such a catalogue, however, it is puzzling to read that Armenidas was so precise and punctual to remember not only the wine, in itself well-known from Hesiod on, but also the exact names of two centers which are relatively obscure.

The same author probably offers another glimpse on the internal Theban politics of the early fourth century, if we understand his collocation of the Isles of the Blessed on the Kadmeia¹⁵⁰⁴ as part of the mythical context on the place of sacred memories. Sparta and Thebes, during the years of the Spartan occupation of Thebes (382–79 BCE), fought over the identification of the spot where the mortal body of Alkmene was kept. Hypothetical as this understanding might look, an unbiased reading of the fragments of Armenidas does

1502 Cp. Hornblower 2000 on Herodotus’ and Thucydides’ use of personal names in their works. The study shows that historians may have different approaches towards the relevance of personal names and that Thucydides’ minor number of personal names (473 vs. Herodotus’ 940 people) does not mean that their mention is not significant.

1503 Wilamowitz 1884b; see however 3.4.1 on the criticisms of this view. On the Theban sea campaign, see Appendix 7.3.

1504 See 3.5.2.

not endorse their belonging to a mythico-antiquarian stage of local historiography, as if it is only in Aristophanes that an attention to contemporary history finds space.

Conversely, despite the fact that Daimachos engaged with the genre of continuous history directly following on Thucydides, we lack clear indications of a commitment to evenemential history. Still, we should consider that we only possess 4 fragments from this work and that, curiously, we know that in his *On Piety* (F 7) he offered an interesting detail concerning a comet that appeared in 468/7 BCE. It is particularly important to avoid an understanding of the fragments, in light of Daimachos' origins, for the real complexity of the picture of the Theban hegemony. Moreover, the fourth century is characterized by polycentrism, where the historical experience of Thebes is only one among many other regional expansions. Daimachos' F 1 on Aitolos, and his expulsion from Arcadia, might not refer to Epameinondas' support of the Achaians, but rather, to the kinship diplomacy between the Aitolians and the Eleans. The portrayal may derive from an anti-Elean stance in the years of war between the Arcadians and Eleans, which prompted a multilayered policy of mythic kinship and a revision of family trees.¹⁵⁰⁵ In the F 2 on Achilles, moreover, we understand a tendency to accept non-Boiotian traditions in a universal history, which was then open to external perspectives. Finally, we already mentioned the F 3 on Pittakos: this meagre description of the character would also be apropos in a contemplation of the complex history of Lesbos in the fourth century (even if the overlaid tradition on the Seven Wisemen should alert us to be prudent).

Direct references to contemporary history, in sum, are hard to single out, especially among local historiographers. Daimachos of Plataia is no exception and represents an important example of how different local traditions could coexist in a universal history. When we look more closely at local history in Boiotia, we are strongly limited by the fact that the sources ignored and diminished the value of any evenemential piece of information, which Armenidas or Aristophanes certainly gave. At the same time, we should be aware that both their versions and local reflections followed other traditional paths; for instance, there are some versions of the history of Boiotia generally unmentioned by Thucydides or Xenophon, but cursorily quoted by Diodorus and Plutarch. The origin of this material is

1505 Cp. 5.2.3.

generally defined as “local” and, particularly in the case of Diodorus, special attention is paid to his use of Ephoros.

Different approaches have been followed to combine the narratives of Thucydides and Diodorus: this is not the place to rediscuss a topic which can only be addressed on a case-by-case basis, but a “Boiotian” example might suffice for us to understand what kind of material was in the lost histories of Armenidas and Aristophanes. Both Thucydides and Diodorus relate, in different ways, the participation of the Boiotians in the Peloponnesian War: the contradictions between their narratives can be so strong that those who refuse to combine them or to accept their different focuses must choose one source over the other, regardless of the basis of their chronological distance. “If a thing is rubbish, it is rubbish, and little can be served by dredging through it in the hopes of discovering a speck of gold among the dross.”¹⁵⁰⁶

However, nowadays, Diodorus is better understood in relation to his own agenda and to his specific historiographical method. Even his main source, Ephoros, has been the object of further studies, and Daimachos’ T 1, with the list of three contemporary historians used by Ephoros (Daimachos, Kallisthenes, and Anaximenes), should warn us against a simplistic reading of Ephoros.¹⁵⁰⁷ In particular, the different ways in which Diodorus (12.69–70) and Thucydides (4.76–7; 89–101) record the battle of Delion of 424 have led to the general conclusion that Diodorus must have used other sources on this event. Diodorus’ mention of ἡνίοχοι καὶ παραβάται (12.70.1) has elicited a countless number of studies on the military composition of the Boiotian army on that occasion and on the meaning of this Homeric expression, which could refer to an elite corps.¹⁵⁰⁸ Other scholars have turned to the parallels between Diodorus’ narrative of the battle and a passage of Euripides’ *Suppliants* (650–725), which may represent an analogous, contemporary source of this fight.¹⁵⁰⁹ An unnoticed difference between Thucydides and Diodorus lies in the mention, in Diodorus (12.70.5), of a specific institution established after the victory of the Boiotians:

1506 Buck 1989: 92.

1507 Cp. at least Sacks 1990 and Clarke 2008.

1508 See most recently Brambilla 2015 for a detailed study on this topic.

1509 Not every scholar of Euripides, however, agrees with this parallel: see the discussions by Sordi 1995c and Toher 2001.

“[T]he multitude of the slain was so great that from the proceeds of the booty the Thebans not only constructed the great colonnade in their market-place but also embellished it with bronze statues, and their temples and the colonnades in the market-place they covered with bronze by the armour from the booty which they nailed to them; furthermore, it was with this money that they instituted the festival called Delia” (tr. W. Oldfather).

This witness forces us to face a number of problems because the Delia are not recorded on inscriptions before the end of the third century BCE, making previous indications extremely doubtful. In particular, scholars doubt that the festival was established on this occasion and have suggested that Diodorus simply offers a convenient aition of foundation.¹⁵¹⁰

We have more information on the Delion as a sanctuary and on its relative topography: while Herodotus (6.118), in the fifth century BCE, located the Delion in the Theban area, from Thucydides (4.76.4) on, the Delion is considered to be in Tanagra.¹⁵¹¹ This different status is in line with what we know about the actual organization of the festival: while the Thebans, in fact, might have established the contest, a fundamental role was played by Tanagra in the later management of this pan-Boiotian festival during the Hellenistic period.¹⁵¹² In fact, it could be argued that Diodorus solely ascribed to the Thebans a Boiotian institution on the basis of the (later) hegemonic stance of Thebes.

We therefore have a clear indication of a tradition that linked an important battle of the fifth century BCE to a later festival, which may have already been celebrated during the fourth century. Its institution, according to Diodorus, was facilitated by the use of the booty gained at Delion, which might indicate federal commitment rather than Theban appropriation of a common resource. On the other hand, already at the end of the fifth century, the Delion was located in the Tanagran area: despite the pan-Boiotian resonance

1510 Cp. e.g. Grigsby 2017: 100-1.

1511 On the poor knowledge of the festival before the third century BCE, see Brélaz – Andreiomenou – Ducrey 2007: 285-7.

1512 “Il semble, du moins, que la cité de Tanagra ait joué un rôle important dans le développement des Delia au cours de l’époque hellénistique, qui – à l’instar des Ptôia d’Akraiphia – revêtirent une dimension pan-béotienne, peut-être en souvenir de la victoire commune remportée sur les Athéniens en 424” (Brélaz – Andreiomenou – Ducrey 2007: 286).

of the victory, a new regional institution was placed in an area which changed its status in favour of the Tanagrans instead of the Thebans.

All this may lead to the strong suspicion that Diodorus was echoing a pro-Tanagran tradition, as the later evolution of the Delia had an inescapable “Tanagran colour” to a reader of the first century BCE. This aition may have developed at any moment between 424 BCE and Diodorus’ lifespan; however, by accepting the common ground between Diodorus and Euripides, or, in general, between Diodorus and source X on the Peloponnesian War, it is more likely that the detail of the foundation of the Delia was already in the main storyline of the source.

There is then a strong possibility that this story relating the foundation of the Delia derived from a very old tradition, despite the (current) absence of clear indications that the Delia was celebrated during the fourth century BCE. In any case, even if we refuse to postulate the existence of the festival in the absence of epigraphic evidence, we would have to admit that, after Aristophanes and Daimachos of Plataia, another local historian recorded this recent event of Boiotian history and specified what still mattered in the everyday life of that memory. This is the kind of contemporary history that local historians offered and that has been made anonymous by the paths of textual tradition. The deluge of Boiotian historiography also meant the anonymous character of these traditions, which were not always a mere narrativization of the identity of place.

7. Appendices

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7.1. The Debate on the Development of Local Historiography and Dion. Hal. *Thuc.* 5,1-3

The present work assumes the existence of a “local” historiography, as opposed to a “universal” historiography, and that it is possible to work with literary genres as theoretical tools. On the one hand, if we define historiography according to the regions under scrutiny, local history includes those works which describe just one Greek region or city, whereas ethnography properly focuses on non-Greek areas.¹⁵¹³ On the other hand, working on the history of a region from the point of view of its literature allows a more genuine perspective of its society: the idea of a “literary genre” now entails a re-evaluation of the performance of the texts and of the social context where most of the Greek literature of the Archaic and Classical Ages was spread.¹⁵¹⁴ Despite linguistic and formal (metrical,

1513 Jacoby 1909: 109-21 (=1956: 49-62 = 2015: 49-68); Fornara 1983: 22: “Horography was the hellenic side of ethnography, a product of the same urge to codify the collective lives of disparate groups”; Tober 2017. In contrast to local historiography, universal history (πράξεις ἑλληνικαί: what Jacoby called *Zeitgeschichte*, i.e. “History in time”) dealt with scenarios expanding over more than one region or city: Jacoby 1909: 96-109 (=1956: 34-49 = 2015: 27-49). The three subgenres that constituted *Zeitgeschichte* were “Monographie, Universalhistorie, Hellenikatypus” (Jacoby 1909: 96). The actual content and characteristics of these works is definable *per negationem*; see Bianco 2015 for an introductory discussion (*ibid.* 114: “[Universal history] non sembra mai limitarsi alla storia di una singola città, né comprendere categorie etnografiche, ma rivolgersi agli eventi contemporanei di tutta la Grecia in una prospettiva continua”; for another perspective on the relationship between *Greek Histories* and general *Histories*, see n.150 in the Introduction). The present discussion summarises and partially coincides with the arguments followed in Tufano 2019: 98-102. A fuller treatment of the scholarly debate is now offered by Thomas 2019: 29-73.

1514 Cp., in general, Rossi 1971, and Marincola 1999 on historiography.

but not only) boundaries among different kinds of literary production, areas of compenetration and recirculation of texts existed.¹⁵¹⁵

While there is an undeniable discrepancy between a dithyramb, say, and a script *On Nature* or a book of *Histories*, it is fair to acknowledge that different literary genres might answer the same questions.¹⁵¹⁶ Historiography is meant for an audience that listens and, probably from the full Classical Age, reads, with knowledge of the world. This was the result of literary outputs that were very different from one another.¹⁵¹⁷ Furthermore, we must also consider the debt of the first historiographers to the previous epic and lyrical production –a debt hardly detectable and still part of an ongoing scholarly discussion.¹⁵¹⁸

Historiography contributed, therefore, to a more general research on the local past and present (in other words, those past answers to present problems, which underlie the slow formation of an intentional history).¹⁵¹⁹ Apart from a few bigger names strictly associated

1515 We can think of symposial reuse in Classical Athens as part of previous lyrical output, originally composed for public contexts or for agonistic aims. A further meaningful example is the complex tradition of the *corpus Theognideum* (Selle 2008; Colesanti 2011; see further Giordano-Zecharya 2003, on how music might act as a mnemonic help, for the circulation of monodic lyric).

1516 The birth of prose production, in itself a debated issue, must be seen in the same regard. According to Goldhill (2002), for instance, there is a link between the rise of democracy as a political regime that grants more space to verbal competition, and the birth of prose, its most apt instrument. If we look at the areas of origin of three exemplary names among the first logographers (Hekataios, Pherekydes, and Akousilaos), we see that there was an early affirmation of democracy (Miletos, Athens, Argos). Nevertheless, this picture is somewhat obscured by the uncertainties surrounding the diffusion of alphabetization. The issue, then, is also an issue concerning the possibility that the first written drafts of their works circulated and were available to the same audience, who had the inscriptions readily available (on this correlated topic, cp. Missiou 2011 and Cavallo 2014).

1517 Porciani (2001a) suggested that the birth of local historiography should be understood in the milieu of the public *logos epitaphios* (but see Camassa's objections: Camassa 2010: 35). On the context of Herodotus' work, see Luraghi 2001a and Thomas 2000. See Grethlein 2011, Skinner 2012, and Tober 2017, on historiography and on ethnography in Greece. A similar hypothesis might be advanced for the Roman world, since the *fabulae praetextae* contributed to the formation and diffusion of Roman historical knowledge (Beck – Walter 2005: 31-2).

1518 On the common stylistic features of these authors (Pherekydes of Athens, Hekataios, Akousilaos, Charon, Hellanikos, Heraclitus, and Pherekydes of Syros), see the still useful Lilja 1968: 14-34. An old view considered the birth of historiography in contrast to lyrical production (cp. e.g. Sinclair 1934: 158). These contrapositions, however, might be useless, or sometimes ahistorical: in the Hellenistic period, local history could even be written in epigrams, and this did not represent a challenge or a real revolution (Chaniotis 1988; Clarke 2008: 338-46; Petrovic 2009: 216; see *supra* 1.2.5 on the characteristics of Boiotian Hellenistic historiography).

1519 According to Gehrke (2010: 16-7), intentional history deals with “elements of self-categorisation relevant for collective identity [which] are regularly projected into the past or [...] older traditions [which] are re-interpreted in their light, should it be necessary.” Cp., on this topic, Assmann 1992; Gehrke – Möller 1996; Malkin 1998; Gehrke 2000;

with a single genre (nobody would ever think of Sophocles as a historian or of Herodotus as a playwright), for figures like Ion of Chios or Hellanikos it is pointless to prioritize them, in their vast production, as chronographer, local historian, or philosopher.¹⁵²⁰ Local and universal history developed in a highly productive atmosphere, where prose is charged with a vast sphere of expressions, according to which Hellanikos is as much a σοφιστής as Hippias or Critias.¹⁵²¹

The specific relationship between the predominance of a local and that of a Panhellenic perspective, then, might be more the result of a contemporary quest for systematisation and order among the disparate evidence of names and titles¹⁵²² from this period, than the actual reconstruction of a process. Jacoby¹⁵²³ and Wilamowitz¹⁵²⁴ held different views on the relationship between local and universal history, but a truism must be restated: for all the historians preceding Herodotus and those living until Xenophon's age (this last author being only partially better known than the others), we only possess meagre hints on their dates. The *testimonia* collected in the main collections consist either of excerpts from single

Gehrke 2001; Hokwerda 2003; Candau-Morón – González Ponce – Cruz Andreotti 2004; Gehrke 2004; Desideri – Roda – Biraschi 2007; Giangiulio 2010; Foxhall – Gehrke – Luraghi 2010; Malkin 2011; Proietti 2012; Steinbock 2013. These are, *exempli gratia*, some of the most important studies that applied the label of *intentional* to Greek history. I therefore chose not to mention fundamental works, which stand at the basis of the aforementioned scholarship, like M. Halbwachs' book (1925) and the update by P. Ricoeur (2004). See Bearzot 2017 for a careful redefinition of the idea of "intentional history".

1520 Ion of Chios has been the subject of meaningful and general studies, after the critical edition of all the fragments of his work (Leurini 2000). He is among the few fragmentary authors to whom a companion was devoted (Jennings – Katsaros 2007), and recent editions with commentaries on his poetical and historical fragments have also emerged (Valerio 2013; Federico 2015; Katsaros 2016).

1521 On the meaning of σοφιστής at the end of the fifth century BCE, see *supra* (4.6.2).

1522 The titles of most local historiographical works have often been connected with those of previous poetical works. Cp. e.g. Fowler 1996; Clarke 2008: 188–90; Camassa 2010: 31 and n.10. However, the probable absence of authorial indications should warn us against a direct attribution to a specific genre. Only between the end of the fifth and the beginning of the fourth century BCE, according to Schmalzriedt (1970), do we see a prompt desire to give a title to prose works; see further on this *supra* 4.1.1.

1523 Despite the fact that here, and afterwards, I mainly focus on the article published in 1909, which laid the foundations of the *Fragmente*, we should remember that Jacoby's thoughts on the matter were subject to evolution (for instance, he changed his mind on the ascription to Daimachos of the *Hellenika of Oxyrhynchos*: Jacoby 1924; Jacoby 1950; see Lérica Lafarga 2007: 114–206 and Occhipinti 2016: 2–5 for an overview of the scholarship on its authorship). On this development, useful contributions can be found in Chambers 1990 and Wiesehöfer 2005. Cp., moreover, the various contributions edited by Ampolo (2009), especially Porciani 2009 and Schepens 2009.

1524 Momigliano (1953: 264) observed that Wilamowitz's fascination for local history, first observed in his *Aristoteles und Athen* (1893), started after the 1891 discovery of a papyrus of the Aristotelian *Athenaion politeia*.

fragments (whence a mere *terminus post/ante quem* is to be deduced, from time to time), or of anecdotes and stories much later than their birth.

Overall, these glimmers often allow us to reconstruct a general chronological span that is necessarily better defined only for those figures (such as Hekataios, Herodotus or Thucydides) who enjoyed greater fortune in antiquity.¹⁵²⁵ For the others, we depend on the first traditions around their names,¹⁵²⁶ which have similar forms to those of early political figures (such is the case of the sophist Herodotus in Aristophanes' F 5), and on the output of the Alexandrian scholars. These often left an undetectable sign behind the long chain of deductions and assumptions in the first century BCE. Leone Porciani's studies on local historiography and on its scholarship¹⁵²⁷ have shown the limits of the application of a chronological principle to lists of names.

Here probably lies a weak point of Felix Jacoby's reconstruction of the relationship among the historiographical genres, which was first outlined in his seminal article published in 1909. The article reached a compromise between the demands of an editor and those of a scholar: the starting point was the quest for a criterion which could be feasible for a reader, who must understand the quality of the production by a single author, without forgetting the literary context and, at the same time, the chronological span. In Jacoby's words, the goal of the entire collection was both practical and scientific:

“The historian wants to learn what information we have about a people, a city, a man, a certain epoch; how the different authors and traditions are related to one another; whether we find progress towards more exact research, or, on the contrary, romantic and tendentious embellishment or distortion [*zu romanhafter*

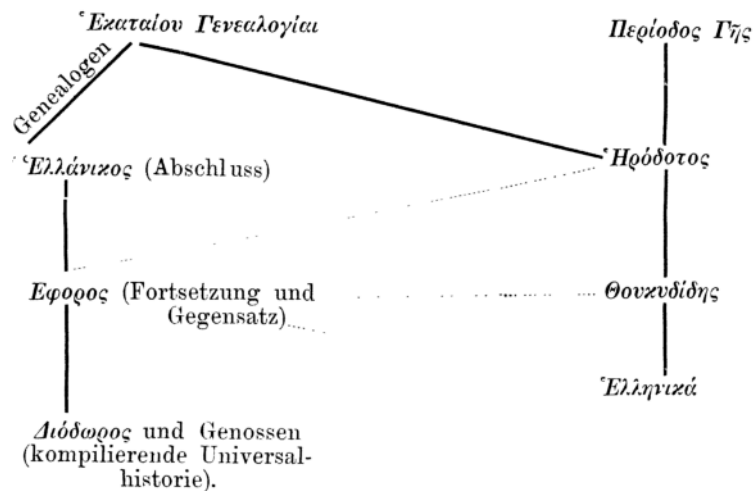
1525 On the slow formation of the biography of the poets who lived in the Classical Age, and on their characteristics, see e.g. Bing 1993 and Graziosi 2002, with additional resources available online at <https://livingpoets.dur.ac.uk>. On Herodotus and Thucydides, see respectively Priestley 2014 and Piccirilli 1985.

1526 Cp. *supra* (1.2.1) for the case of the personal name Ἑλλάνικος.

1527 Porciani 2001a; Porciani 2001b. Cp. a singular *Zitatenmest* (Joseph. *Ap.* I 215-7 = Aristophanes F 12), which, as is argued in the commentary (4.13), belongs to the homonymous grammarian and not to the historian.

und tendenziöser Ausschmückung oder Verdrehung], the alphabetical arrangement makes the task harder rather than easier.”¹⁵²⁸

With this necessity in mind, Jacoby then suggested the following scheme of the evolution of Greek historiography:



In any case, this prudence must be applied both when we consider single genres, and to the chronological relationship among these authors. For instance, whereas we know for sure that Ephoros lived much later than the models he critically sets himself in contraposition to, the interrelationship between Herodotus and Hellanikos should be, at the very least, problematized:¹⁵²⁹ they might have worked at the same time, in fact, if not for a long period.

The development of horography and its connection with the ἀναγραφαί, the lists of archons furnished with brief evenemential notes, represents a point of deep contrast

¹⁵²⁸ Jacoby 2015: 3 (=1909: 81 = 1956: 17–8).

¹⁵²⁹ See *supra* for a witnesses to his life (1.2.1). Only in one case is there a possible similiarity in content between Hellanikos' Βαρβαρικά νόμιμα (BNJ 4 F 73) and Herodotus' *Histories* (4.95). Nonetheless, it is a mere allegation by Porphyrios (BNJ 4 T 17) that Hellanikos copied Herodotus. According to Fowler (2013: 683), this allegation was only based on that piece of information on Salmacis. More generally, even if we did not accept the considerable chronological change to sometime after 421 BCE for the publication of the *Histories* (Fornara 1971, on the basis of Hdt. 9.73.3; cp. nonetheless Fowler's skepticism [Fowler 2013: 683 n.7]), their circulation in the twenties of the fifth century certainly overlapped with part of the production of Hellanikos' works, since he was surely active in this period.

between Jacoby and his teacher Wilamowitz.¹⁵³⁰ In *Aristoteles und Athen* (1893), U. Wilamowitz put forward a theory, centered on the direct relationship between the inscriptions of archons of the Archaic and Classical ages¹⁵³¹ and the rise of local historiography in the Classical Period. This genre, therefore, preceded the “great historiography” written by Herodotus and Thucydides. This evolution was inspired by two factors: an analogy with the Roman picture, since Wilamowitz believed that the literary annals had all been inspired by the chronicles written by the *pontifices maximi*,¹⁵³² and the centrality of Athens.¹⁵³³

Moreover, we must be aware of the vast influence of the evolutionary theory of literary genres on Jacoby’s reconstruction of Greek historiography, which recognized in them the behaviour of living organisms, doomed to develop and decay, with inescapable relationships of derivation.¹⁵³⁴ Both Wilamowitz and Jacoby shared the positivist faith of philologists like F. Leo, who studied the genre as a cage which imposed characteristics and

1530 The recognition of this undeniable and strong disciple-hood should not allow us to forget that F. Jacoby considered Hermann Diels his first teacher. In fact, in the preface to his young *Apollodors Chronik* (1902), Jacoby mentions Diels, whereas he only dedicates a few lines to his “zweitem Lehrer, Prof. v. Wilamowitz”, mainly to criticize him (cp. Chambers 1990: 205).

1531 We know much more today about inscriptions relating to archons, thanks to a rich epigraphical set of documents dating from the seventh century BCE on: see, in general, Boffo 2003: 11–2. This can be specifically proved for Thebes, even though the peculiarity of the Boiotian case complicates the scenario; cp. 4.7.3 *ad στρατηγός*. Clarke (2008: 36–40) mentions other interesting cases of sacrifice calendars, among which we find one from Corinth that dates to ca. 600 BCE (*ibid.* 37).

1532 There are differences, however, between the models followed in the *Fasti* and in the *Annales maximi*, and the chronological method of the first Roman historians (cp. Beck – Walter 2005: 45–6).

1533 The role of Athens was heightened in those years by the discovery, in 1891, of a papyrus with the Aristotelian Αθηναίων πολιτεία. Wilamowitz believed that the pre-literary chronicles were published around 380 BCE, even though they already acted as an incubating factor for Herodotus and Thucydides.

1534 This influence has been duly considered by Porciani 2009: 182–4. At the end of the nineteenth century the evolutionary approach was particularly vital, thanks to the influential *L'évolution des genres dans l'histoire de la littérature* (1890) by F. Brunetière (on F. Brunetière, see Hall 1963: 124–8 and Hoeges 1980: 67–93; Hoeges [*ibid.* 78–82] shows how the criticism by F. Curtius [1914] was unfair, since Brunetière was aware of the continuing reception of a genre and its *Fortleben*). The Italian case, represented by the coeval studies of De Sanctis on Greek historiography, differs because, as Momigliano (1975a: 185) signalled, Croce’s aesthetics played a big role, especially for the scarce interest in the social context of the birth of a literary genre.

style, almost insurmountable for an author: “Dass die Gattung ihren eigenen Stil hat ist ein ursprüngliches Kunstgesetz.”¹⁵³⁵

The evolutionary approach has been slowly superseded in the last twenty years by a more nuanced view of these problems, which, in the absence of clear chronological evidence, tries to attribute more weight to cultural context. On the other hand, we cannot detect a large degree of flexibility, as far as the internal laws of the genre are concerned. Despite an important contribution by Marincola (1999), which showed the limits of Jacoby’s criteria in the separation of the genres, the majority of later scholarship has been looking for exceptions in order to redefine previously consolidated rules. Only recently, the eventful contribution of new epistemological resources, such as the conception of intentional history,¹⁵³⁶ allowed us to go beyond some of these borders, with relevant consequences in the appraisal of obscure figures and historical problems.¹⁵³⁷

In his seminal article “Ueber die Entwicklung der griechischen Historiographie und den Plan einer neuen Sammlung der griechischen Historikerfragmente [*On the Development of Greek Historiography and the Plan for a New Collection of the Fragments of the Greek Historians*]” (1909),¹⁵³⁸ F. Jacoby laid the foundations for his collection of fragments of

1535 Leo 1898: 178 = 1960: 287 (this apodictic statement is instrumental to the demonstration of Tacitus’ authorship of the *Dialogus de oratoribus*, which is written in a neo-Ciceronian style, quite different from the one adopted in his historical works). In the same year (1898), E. Norden expressed the very same position in the first volume of his *Antike Kunstprosa* (1898: 11-2). We might suppose that the Bonn years, where both Leo and Norden were Usener’s and Bücheler’s students, left a lasting mark on the two scholars. For a long time, Norden expressed thanks to Usener, from his *Antike Kunstprosa* (1898), to his last book, *Aus römischen Priesterbüchern* (1939; cp. Kytzler 1990: 341-2; on Usener’s pupils, like Diels, Kaibel and Schwartz, and his school in Bonn, useful indications in Bremmer 1990: 465-6). However, later on, as Lilja (1968: 14-6) noted, Norden (1913: 368 n.1) reconsidered this position, possibly after the publication of Jacoby’s entry on Hekataios (Jacoby 1912a).

1536 Just consider, for example, Bourdieu’s (1972) influence on Skinner’s (2012) valuable contribution to Classical ethnography. On this influence, I dare to mention Tufano 2014.

1537 A telling example is Charon of Lampsakos. The main problems concerning this figure are the chronological extent of his Ἑλληνικά, the correlation between this work and his Περσικά (and, at the same time, with Herodotus’ *Histories*), and whether Charon lived before, immediately before, or after Herodotus. There is now vast scholarship on Charon, who remains a controversial topic because of the ambiguous status of the witnesses of his life (Porciani 2001a: 62-3; Rengakos 2011: 328-30). Both Meister (1997) and Ceccarelli (2014) have convincingly reasserted the impossibility, on the basis of the available evidence, of expressing certain conclusions on the aforementioned issues.

1538 The article was a revised version of a paper given a year before in Berlin (8/8/1908) for the *Internationaler Kongress für historische Wissenschaften*. This talk inspired a long and vivid discussion among the speakers, of which we find frequent hints in the written version of the paper. Cp., for instance, the quote of Wilamowitz’s intervention on

Greek historians.¹⁵³⁹ He started from the common ground of a positivistic approach to literary genres and to their internal fixity, but developed a new, original theory of the evolution of historiography.¹⁵⁴⁰

In his entire reflection on Greek historiography, Jacoby always judged as fundamental the contribution provided by the two great historiographers of the second half of the fifth century BCE: Herodotus and Thucydides. Herodotus, in particular, enjoyed a particularly high status, in light of the greater fame of Thucydides in the years when the project of the *Fragmente* was devised.¹⁵⁴¹ As F. Jacoby wrote in his *Atthis* (1949: 100), there could be no “little Herodotoi” before Herodotus, i.e. predecessors who understood the importance of the treatment of contemporary history and given expression to it, so as to be sources for the historian from Halikarnassos.¹⁵⁴²

Thucydides in Jacoby 1909: 113 n.1 (=1956: 53 n.97 = 2015: 54 n.97): “Ich war erstaunt, dass Wilamowitz in der Diskussion von Thukydes als von einem Annalisten sprach.”

1539 Grafton 1997 offers an overview of the main collections of fragments, starting from the Renaissance. A relevant one, for almost a century and a half, was the second edition (1651) of G.J. Voss’ *De historicis Graecis* (specifically on this, cp. Costa 2012a). F. Creuzer’s project, realized in more than one work (cp. his *Die historische Kunst der Griechen in ihrer Entstehung und Fortbildung* [1803¹; 1845²]), represents a turning point, partially thanks to the good reviews it received (on these, see Momigliano 1946). If we add to this that his studies contributed to influential readings of the texts, like the idea of the rationalism of Hekataios (Nicolai 1997: 162–4), we can reasonably consider his investigation as the first step towards a story which directly leads to Müller’s *FHG* and Jacoby’s *Fragmente*.

1540 Jacoby put genealogy at the beginning of his *Fragmente*. Hekataios, with his attention to genealogies and kinship ties, superseded the purely geographical approach to the world and began a completely new genre. The original plan presented in the article published in 1909, in fact, included a section before Hekataios, which dealt with “die nicht zahlreichen Zeugnisse über die allgemeine Entwicklung der historischen Literatur [...] und das Wenig, was es aus dem Altertum über Theorie und Methodik der Geschichtsschreibung gibt” (Jacoby 1909: 84; in the translation of this article published in 2015 (7 n.14), Chambers and Schorn note that this section entered the Sixth Part of the *Fragmente*, as is signalled by Jacoby 1923a: V.). After this stage, came ethnography. The chronological relationship between Hekataios and ethnography, and that between ethnography and Herodotus, were two themes on which Jacoby would often return. He reached, in the last volume of the *Fragmente*, an apparently different thesis (for a detailed reconstruction of the evolution in Jacoby’s thought, see Zambrini 2009 and Skinner 2012: 30–4).

1541 Despite the fact that, from the seventies of the nineteenth century, Thucydides’ reputation as an exemplary historian was undergoing an evergrowing revision (Momigliano 1984: 13–36), which would culminate in Cornford’s *Thucydides mythistoricus* (1907), Jacoby’s education was marked by the idealisation of the historical method of Thucydides, as it was taught in German universities in the second half of the nineteenth century. For a concise overview of Thucydides’ fortune in Germany in that period and in the following century, see, with previous scholarship, Morley 2014; Meister 2015; Hesk 2015.

1542 This theoretical conundrum is analyzed by Porciani 2001a: 32–3, whereas Camassa 2010 mostly focuses on the editorial development of *Atthis*. Cp., for instance, the date of Dionysios of Miletos’ Περσικά: he was dated to the nineties

Since the ethnographical titles of the period all belong or are assigned to Hellanikos, who was deemed, at the time, sensibly later than Herodotus,¹⁵⁴³ it was necessary to consider ethnography later than Herodotus. Thus, ethnography was considered a later development, in this linear reconstruction, just like local history.¹⁵⁴⁴

In Jacoby's opinion, local history sprang up as the last historical genre,¹⁵⁴⁵ after genealogy and the birth of the *Zeitgeschichte*, i.e. contemporary history. Local history answered limited needs and horizons, for it emerged as a chauvinistic production, automatically biased.¹⁵⁴⁶ The starting point was the spread of Herodotus' *Histories* and its representation of the Persian Wars, with which the various communities interacted. From the local version of the events, other expansions on the city or the region were added, in the directions of space and time.

Jacoby found a relevant piece of evidence for the later development of horography in the lack of signs in the text of Herodotus that might derive from the (per)use of preliterate chronicles. This *argumentum e silentio* still has its supporters,¹⁵⁴⁷ but shares the same limits of the supposition that the readings of Herodotus' *Histories*, and then those of Hellanikos' and the sophists' works, elicited the emergence of this local literature. It is far more arguable that all the first local histories followed the chronological order of the archons in their

of the fifth century in an article published in 1909, as a work coterminous with and inspired, in the choice of the subject, by the Ionian revolt. However, at the end of his career, Jacoby considered this ethnographical treatise a work of the second third of the century, which made it unavailable to Herodotus, in the probable years when this historian was gathering his references (460–40 BCE; cp. Skinner 2012: 33 and n.123 on Jacoby's wavering stance towards Dionysius).

1543 Nowadays, we tend to believe that Hellanikos was a more long-lived contemporary of Herodotus (cp. 1.2.1). We lack any reliable indication on the dates of their deaths.

1544 As a result, in the scheme as it is announced in the first volume of the *Fragmente* (FGrHist I: Jacoby 1923a), ethnography was situated with horography after Herodotus, and this collocation was respected until the publication of the last volume of the commentary (FGrHist IIIC: Jacoby 1958).

1545 I do not consider here the other historical genres. Both in the article of 1909, and in private worknotes, Jacoby can be shown to be aware of the necessity to include further material in a collection of fragmentary historians. This inclusive approach is currently implemented, both in printed version, and online, in *Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker Continued: Part IV and V*. For a presentation of this project, see Schepens 1997.

1546 As a matter of fact, for Jacoby (1909: 82 n.2 = 1956: 19 n.7 = 2015: 5 n.7), “bei den echten Lokalgeschichten fallen Entstehungsort und lokale Erstreckung des Inhalts ja zusammen.”

1547 Porciani 2001a: 29–31; Porciani 2009: 177.

internal disposition of events.¹⁵⁴⁸ The significant example of Hellanikos' *Atthis*, in some of whose fragments an archon is used as a chronological pinpoint,¹⁵⁴⁹ does not confirm that the criterion was systematically applied. The annalistic criterion was of a certain interest in the peripatetic culture, as can be shown by Apollodoros of Athens' works and by the general fascination, in the first Hellenistic period, for the research of convenient dating systems for more than one subject.¹⁵⁵⁰ The same interest, nonetheless, cannot be applied to all the other geographical contexts which developed a local historiography.

In the second half of the fifth century, it is only safe to assume that there was an incipient attentiveness to chronology and to dating structures, which could escape a merely local horizon (as is the case of the Olympic games, in Hippias). This curiosity seems to have been prominent in Hellanikos. We can accept Jacoby's use of horography as a synonym for local history, only if we keep in mind that *Horoi* is a title that could be assigned to works not ordered through archons.¹⁵⁵¹ This title may even be an imposition of a later age (peripatetic? Hellenistic?): a systematic use of the noun "horography", in fact, seems etymologically improper, since it can make us forget the variety of titles and expressions, which can aptly be considered in the world of local history.¹⁵⁵²

In Herodotus we cannot assume the use or the absence of local histories simply because he mentions local chronicles.¹⁵⁵³ We can only go further in the direction of an assessment of

1548 The Boiotian case is probably more obscure than others, for the scarcity of sources for calendars of archons (but see *supra* n.19). It is nevertheless relevant, as Ceccarelli (2014) remarked, that in his *Ῥωμαῖοι* Charon does not seem to have structured the work using archons, despite the clear indication that he could have used sources that support this, had he wanted to profit from them.

1549 This principle was refused by Toye (1999), but it has been reaffirmed by Möller (2001) and Ottone (2010).

1550 Clarke 2008: 56–89.

1551 In truth, Jacoby recognized the limits of his own idea of a systematic archontal disposition of the *Horoi* (Jacoby 1949: 68), but this prudence has only been recently reasserted (see e.g. Landucci 1997: 205–6; Möller 2001: 249–54; Thomas 2014b: 120).

1552 See Thomas 2014a. As a matter of fact, it has been pointed out that it is not certain whether Hellanikos decided to give a title to his various works (Nicolai 2010: 12).

1553 We are in a better position today to understand his sources and the possible inclusion of written documents in Herodotus. On the presence and the meaning of epigraphical texts in Herodotus, after S. West (1985), see the overviews of Luraghi 2001b, Fabiani 2003, Hornblower 2012, and Kosmetatou 2013. Besides, we should always contemplate the possible referral to texts which are not explicitly quoted: Herodotus' use of documents implies a method and a consciousness of different traditions, which differ from those of his contemporary historians (Rhodes 2001b: 143; Corcella 2003).

the relationship between Herodotus and local historiography if we know more about the single names of the second, vast genre. This would help us appreciate with greater precision, for example, the divergence of representation of the behaviour of the Thebans during the Persian Wars, which emerges between Herodotus and the Theban defense in Thucydides' third book.¹⁵⁵⁴ For Theban history, in fact, Herodotus seems to have drawn mainly on Athenian sources,¹⁵⁵⁵ but what we can read from Aristophanes of Boiotia does not explicitly contradict Herodotus' text and cannot necessarily be reduced to a patriotic agenda.¹⁵⁵⁶ Herodotus was in Thebes, read the texts displayed in the local Temple of Apollo Hismenios, and we can reasonably accept that he may have heard materials that found a different echo in local historiography.¹⁵⁵⁷ It was among the aims of the current work to reassess this specific relationship from a local point of view.

A second limit, in Jacoby's idea that local history came after Herodotus as a reaction to him, is represented by the circumstances which may have given rise to these local responses. In order for the Panhellenic character of the *Histories* to be clear, in fact, the dispersion of the text was mandatory. Now, even if we put aside doubts on the performative context of historiography,¹⁵⁵⁸ it is hard to imagine how different audiences could be aware of the general framework of the *Histories*. Not coincidentally, Jacoby isolated and focused on the figure of Aristophanes of Boiotia¹⁵⁵⁹ as an alleged confirmation of the anti-Herodotean character of local history.

The Boiotian perspective can add to our knowledge of Greek local historiography, if we remember that Jacoby accepted Plutarch's view on the contrast and the dissonance

1554 Thucydides' rendition of the dialogue between the Thebans and the Plataians in 427 BCE (Thuc. 3.53–67) is one of the most important documents for the reconstruction of the relationship between the two cities and, in general, for the history of Boiotia in the Archaic Age. On the relevance of the dialogue for the history of the region in the Archaic and in the Classical Age, see Buck 1994: 18; Larson 2007: 176–8; specifically on Plataia: Prandi 1988: 93–7; Kühr 2006: 295–8. For the light that Thucydides can shed on the conflicts between Thebes and Athens, and Athens and Plataia, cp. Steinbock 2013: 120–7; Fragoulaki 2013: 100–39; van Wijk 2017.

1555 See Moggi 2011 for an overview of Herodotus' representation of the Boiotians.

1556 Cp. the commentary on Aristophanes' F 6 (4.7.4).

1557 For the specific relationship between the sources of Herodotus and his Theban experience, cp. Porciani 2016.

1558 Momigliano 1978=1982: 111–2. Cp. 4.6.2 *ad* χρήματα μὲν αἰτήσας..., on a fragment by Aristophanes (F 5), where Herodotus is a travelling sophist.

1559 Doubts on the awareness of the audiences: Porciani 2009: 175. Isolation of Aristophanes: Jacoby 1909: 118–9 (=1956: 59; 2015: 63–4).

between Aristophanes and Herodotus. This was, according to what we read in *On the Malice of Herodotus*, the consequence of the refusal, by Aristophanes, of Herodotus' narrative.¹⁵⁶⁰ In fact, it has been shown that fragments 5 and 6 by Aristophanes, quoted by Plutarch, owe much to the cultural context to which the treatise belongs.¹⁵⁶¹ Besides, we must recall here the non-derogatory description of Thebes in F 5. The alleged *Lokalpatriotismus* of the local historians is therefore an assumption that must be demonstrated on a case by case basis: Aristophanes' example is telling, in the way in which it shows how the witnesses can be a distorting lens. Ancient witnesses were therefore responsible for a biased reception of local historiography.

Despite these limits, Jacoby's exegetical picture represented an undeniable model for more than a century. A recent approach, however, has started unmasking the internal contradictions in the scholar's thought and, in this way, the possible open characteristics of the seemingly closed framework of the *Fragmente*. In short, Wilamowitz's idea of a possible preexistence of local historiography has slowly gained new supporters, already, if not successfully, thanks to Laquer's voice on local history (*Lokalgeschichte*) for the *RE* (Laquer 1926). According to this scholar, local history started in Ionia at the end of the sixth century BCE, and was preceded by chronicles known to the first authors.¹⁵⁶²

More generally, there are reservations from two directions: on the one hand, the richness in production of names like Ion of Chios and the existence of narrative elegies¹⁵⁶³ suggests that there could be, if not a proper example of local historiography, then merely a sense of it.¹⁵⁶⁴ Even if these works were not written in prose or were not proper historical compositions, they followed a local perspective, which is certainly true if we focus on all

1560 On Aristophanes as an important case for Herodotus' precedence, see also Jacoby 1949: 68–9 and Jacoby 1955a: 152.

1561 For a short presentation of Plutarch's *On the Malice of Herodotus*, see 4.6.1.

1562 See specifically Laquer 1926: 1083–6; 1091, 28–50.

1563 Lulli 2011: 29 (overall, a starting point for the study of historical elegy).

1564 See, for example, the picture provided in Mazzarino's *Pensiero storico classico*, where the focus is on the thought and the meaning of history, more than on historiography in itself as a restricted genre (Mazzarino 1966: 23–52). The intersection of poetry and history notoriously represents a vast issue – for some observations on how prose and poetry dealt with local memory, see e.g. Clarke 2008: 341–66.

the literary genres.¹⁵⁶⁵ On the other hand, the analysis of single cases (like Atthidography and the previous names who might lie behind Thucydides' reference in 1.97.2 [τοῖς *πρὸ ἐμοῦ* ἅπασιν]) prompts more and more a rectification of the posteriority of local history¹⁵⁶⁶ in favour of a return to Wilamowitz's picture, albeit from a different perspective.

A relevant place was occupied by a vexed chapter of Dionysius of Halikarnassos' *De Thucydide* (5.2), where there is a list of the ἀρχαῖοι συγγραφεῖς who lived before Thucydides.¹⁵⁶⁷ The passage has been interpreted as direct proof, gaining credence through its antiquity, of the precedence of horography over general historiography. This deduction emerges from the characteristics of the production of the majority of the names mentioned by Dionysius, and from their recourse to μνημαὶ and to γραφαί. This method seems to follow up the applicability of the Roman model of the *Annales maximi* championed by Wilamowitz, and it constitutes, according to some scholars, proof of the use of lists of archons from the Archaic period by the local historians:¹⁵⁶⁸

Dion. Hal. *Thuc.* 5,1-3: μέλλων δὲ ἄρχεσθαι τῆς περὶ Θουκυδίδου γραφῆς ὀλίγα βούλομαι <περὶ> τῶν ἄλλων συγγραφέων εἰπεῖν, τῶν τε πρεσβυτέρων καὶ τῶν κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀκμασάντων ἐκείνων χρόνους, ἐξ ὧν ἔσται καταφανὴς ἢ τε προαίρεσις τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἢ χρησάμενος διήλλαξε τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἡ δύναμις. 2 ἀρχαῖοι μὲν οὖν συγγραφεῖς πολλοὶ καὶ κατὰ πολλοὺς τόπους ἐγένοντο πρὸ τοῦ Πελοποννησιακοῦ πολέμου· ἐν οἷς ἐστὶν Εὐγέων τε ὁ Σάμιος¹⁵⁶⁹ καὶ Δηίοχος <ὁ

1565 In this direction, cp. especially Fowler 2001: 113-4. We ought not to forget, as was noted by Thomas (2014b: 163), that, "hinting at or referring to isolated incidents and stories of the past is a somewhat different process (and result) from creating a prose work purporting to record local history."

1566 On Atthidography, see the recent thematic commentary by Harding 2007 and the studies in Bearzot – Landucci 2010, with previous scholarship. Porciani (2001a: 29-31) showed that it is hard to accept the previous positions held by Mazzarino (1966: 97-8) and Maddoli (1985) that there were local histories of Attica before Herodotus that were available to this last author.

1567 Cp. Laquer 1926: 1090,34-47 for an early study of the passage.

1568 This is the chapter, in the edition provided by Aujac 1993, with a translation and selected notes of commentary.

1569 EGM I T **1 = BNJ 535 T 1. Here Aujac accepts the unanimously transmitted lesson Εὐγέων. However, after the emergence of an important epigraphical witness (EGM I T 1A = LPriene 37, II 154; cp. Magnetto 2008: 92), we should refer to an author whose real name was Εὐάγων, as it is widespread after the edition in the *Fragmente* (Fowler 2013: 653; nevertheless, this does not allow us to correct the name Εὐγαίων, in the present passage by Dionysius, as Fowler [2000: 116] chooses to do, in the edition of the witness printed as Hec. EGM I T 17a). Apart from this scanty witness, we do not have many fragments from Euagon's works, nor can we assess much of their contents: the two fragments dealing

Κυζικηνὸς¹⁵⁷⁰ καὶ Βίων> ὁ Προκοννήσιος¹⁵⁷¹ καὶ Εὐδημος ὁ Πάριος¹⁵⁷²
καὶ Δημοκλῆς ὁ Φυγελεὺς¹⁵⁷³ καὶ Ἑκαταῖος ὁ Μιλήσιος,¹⁵⁷⁴ ὃ τε

with myths, usually associated with Euagon, are printed by Fowler (2000: 103) with a double asterisk because they convey deviant forms of his personal name. In one case (Phot. *Lex.* p. 298,7 Porson = *Suda* v 360, s.v. νῆϊς), Dobree's correction Εὐγαίων should probably be accepted (it is kept by West 2003b), but the original form was probably Εὐταίων, whereas the other fragment (*Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi* 3) almost certainly has Εὐμαίων, which Meineke corrected to Εὐγαίων. The other two fragments (*BNJ* 535 FF 3–4) confirm that Euagon of Samos dealt with the Melian War (F 4; on the war, see Ragone 1986 and Magnetto 2008: 81–97) and that he was deemed a local authority for Samos by Aristoteles (F 3). We can agree with Breglia (2012: 265 n.5) that these foreshortenings rebut the suggestions of those scholars (like Toye 1999: 244–9) who deny any attention to evenemential history in the local historiography that preceded Herodotus.

1570 *EGM* I T 1. The integration <ὁ Κυζικηνὸς καὶ Βίων> was proposed by Jacoby, and it derives from the fact that we know that this Dei(l)ochos came from Kyzikos (*FGrHist* 471 F 3; Fowler 2013: 647). Jacoby's suggestion was recently rejected by Breglia (2012: 269–70 n.18), because, as Vecchio (1998: 12–3) firstly remarked, the following Προκοννήσιος may refer to the synoecism between Kyzikos and Prokonnesos of 362 BCE. It would not be puzzling, then, to describe Dei(l)ochos as a citizen of Prokonnesos. Nevertheless, I am uncertain as to whether the Hellenistic genesis of the present list justifies the attribution to Deiochos of an ethnic which could have contradicted a previously well-known description of the author. At the same time, it is methodologically unwise to add the name of a new historian, Bion, to the text. We have 13 fragments of Dei(l)ochos, who wrote *On Kyzikos* and *On Samothrace*. He seems to have had a penchant for local variations of panhellenic myths, but “we get little idea of the author from the fragments” (Fowler 2013: 647).

1571 *BNJ* 332 T 2. It is unclear whether this Bion (*BNJ* 14) can be identified with the namesake Atthidographer (*BNJ* 332). Other doubts concern the content of his two books in the Ionic dialect (*BNJ* 14 T 1). In reference to an early date for this scholar, Dionysios' passage is the only witness, along with the problematic ὁ Φερεκύδῃ τῶι Συρίῳ συνακμάσας in Diog. Laert. 4.58 (*BNJ* 14 T 1).

1572 Only the context, i.e. the kind of authors with whom he is associated, may suggest that Eudemos (*BNJ* 471) wrote about his own Paros, or, according to another witness, about Naxos. Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* 6.26.8) blames Eudemos and other names, such as Aristocles (*BNJ* 33), for having plagiarized Amelesagoras. Yet, it is likely that it was actually this Amelesagoras, a learned Athenian who lived in the third century BCE, who consulted the works of the names that are mentioned with him, as Jacoby firstly suggested (on Amelesagoras, see Marasco 1977 and Fowler 2013: 655).

1573 “One of the more obscure writers one might expect to encounter” (Fowler 2013: 648). Before the recent edition of his fragments in the *EGM*, Müller (*FHG* II 20–1) advanced the idea that the sections of Strabo's *Geography* on the Ionic city of P(h)ygeia may derive from Demokles (Strabo [12.3.22.551] explicitly mentions Demetrios from Phaleron; Str. 14.1.20.639, with a not impossible etymological suggestion: Radt 2009: P(h)ygeia: *IACP* n. 863; for the form of the toponym, see Ragone 1996: 214 n.8). Demokles might have flung himself “contro i funambolismi del ‘Lokalpatriotismus’ pigeleo” (Ragone 1996: 234). It is worth nothing that, in the fifth century, this center structured itself as an independent *polis* and treasured its local legends, focused on Agamemnon, so that the development of local historiography, in Phygela, could parallel the very definition of a civic identity. This form of the ethnic, Φυγελεὺς, only became common as of the fourth century BCE, which is considered by Ragone (1996: 233 n.56; cp. 343) as a positive indication of Dionysios of Halikarnassos' recourse to a tradition hardly precedent to this chronological span.

1574 Hekataios, *BNJ* 1 T 17a. According to Jacoby (1923a: 318) Hekataios should not be mentioned and Dionysios did not read him.

Ἀργεῖος Ἀκουσίλαος¹⁵⁷⁵ καὶ ὁ Λαμψακηνὸς Χάρων¹⁵⁷⁶ καὶ ὁ Χαλκηδόνιος Ἀμελησαγόρας,¹⁵⁷⁷ ὀλίγω δὲ πρεσβύτεροι τῶν Πελοποννησιακῶν καὶ μέχρι τῆς Θουκυδίδου παρεκτείναντες ἡλικίας Ἑλλάνικός τε ὁ Λέσβιος¹⁵⁷⁸ καὶ Δαμάστης ὁ Σιγειεὺς¹⁵⁷⁹ καὶ Ξενομήδης ὁ Χῖος¹⁵⁸⁰ καὶ Ξάνθος ὁ Λυδὸς¹⁵⁸¹ καὶ ἄλλοι συχνοί. 3 οὗτοι προαίρεσι τε ὁμοίᾳ ἐχρήσαντο περὶ τὴν ἐκλογὴν τῶν ὑποθέσεων καὶ δυνάμεις οὐ πολὺ τι διαφερούσας ἔσχον ἀλλήλων, οἳ μὲν τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς ἀναγράφοντες ἱστορίας, οἳ δὲ τὰς βαρβαρικὰς, καὶ αὐτὰς τε ταύτας οὐ συνάπτοντες ἀλλήλαις, ἀλλὰ κατ' ἔθνη καὶ κατὰ πόλεις διαιροῦντες καὶ χωρὶς ἀλλήλων ἐκφέροντες, ἓνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν φυλάττοντες σκοπόν, ὅσαι διεσφάζοντο παρὰ τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις¹⁵⁸² μῆναι κατὰ ἔθνη τε καὶ κατὰ πόλεις,

1575 Akousilaos, *BNJ* 2 T 2; Jacoby (1949: 354): “Actually, the early historians Hekataeus and Akusilaos do not belong to the κατ'ἔθνη καὶ πόλεις διαιροῦντες; the whole idea is wrong that Greek historiography began with local history.”

1576 Charon *EGM* I T 3a.

1577 It is still uncertain whether we should accept the existence of two namesakes: a historiographer who lived in the fifth century BCE and a forger who lived at the beginning of the third century BCE, as is argued by Marasco (1977). Fowler (1996: 64; 2013: 655) suggests, in fact, that the later Amelesagoras did not invent his previous namesake. See on this issue Pritchett 1975: 52–3, for a defense of the existence of the first Amelesagoras, and Jones 2013 for a critical overview.

1578 Hellanikos *BNJ* 4 T 5.

1579 Damastes *EGM* I T 2. This scholar is credited by the *Suda* (*EGM* I T 1), among his other works, with a *Περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἑλλάδι γενομένων, Περὶ γονέων καὶ προγόνων τῶν εἰς ἴλιον στρατευσασμένων* in two books, *Ἑθνῶν κατάλογον καὶ πόλεων*, and a *Περὶ ποιητῶν καὶ σοφιστῶν*. His date is one of the most debated issues in the study of Greek Classical historiography (see e.g. Mazzarino 1966: 203–5; Gallo 2004), but it seems that the constant association of Damastes to Hellanikos should suggest, if not a proper teacher/disciple relationship, that they were coterminous (Fowler 2013: 644).

1580 Xenomedes of Keos (*EGM* I T 1) is one of the best-known local historians in the present list for his explicit mention by Callimachus in a fragment of his *Aitia* (F 75,50–76 Pf. = *BNJ* 442 F 1). Xenomedes probably lived in the same period as Hellanikos and Damastes, i.e., roughly in the last third of the fifth century BCE (Fowler 2013: 733). Both Pritchett (1975: 53) and Jenkins (2012b *BNJ* 442 T 1) support the emendation of Wilamowitz to Κεῖος in the present passage, as it was also confirmed by the *P.Oxy.* 1011,54, with the aforementioned fragment of the *Aitia*. Nevertheless, it is probably better, with Aujac, to stick to the transmitted lesson, as the mistake probably dates back to Dionysios' source (see the aberrant form for Euagon's name); I therefore choose, even in the translation, to keep Χῖος.

1581 *FGrHist* 765 T 1. For his date in the fifth century BCE, see Gazzano 2009: 263–4.

1582 The many problems of this witness should not make us forget that, from the fifth century BCE on, the adj. ἐπιχώριος was used to define the reality of the inhabitants of a place, as seen from the perspective of an external observer (see Goldhill 2010: 49). It could even be argued that, originally, local historiography was not always performed by native intellectuals, but, as Hellanikos' case confirms (1.2.1), by travelling historians, or at least by people who may be seen as distinct from the local community.

<ἦ>¹⁵⁸³ εἴ τ' ἐν ἱεροῖς εἴ τ' ἐν βεβήλοις ἀποκείμεναι γραφαί, ταύτας εἰς τὴν κοινὴν ἀπάντων γνῶσιν ἐξενεγκεῖν, οἷας παρέλαβον, μήτε προστιθέντες αὐταῖς τι μήτε ἀφαιροῦντες· ἐν αἷς καὶ μῦθοί τινες ἐνῆσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ πολλοῦ πεπιστευμένοι χρόνου καὶ θεατρικαί τινες περιπέτειαι πολὺ τὸ ἡλίθιον ἔχειν τοῖς νῦν δοκοῦσαι.

“Before engaging in my treatment of Thucydides, I would like to spend a few words on the other prose writers who lived before him and who distinguished themselves during his lifetime: from this, his resolution, by which he excelled over his predecessors, and his talent will be very clear. 2. Because there were many ancient prose writers and they came from many places: among them were Euagon of Samos, Dei(l)ochos of Kyzikos, Bion of Proconnesos, Eudemos of Paros, Demokles of P(h)ygela, Hekataios of Miletos, Akousilaos of Argos, Charon of Lampsakos, and Amelesagoras of Chalkedon. Not long before the Peloponnesian War, and up to Thucydides’ main activity, lived Hellanikos of Lesbos, Damastes of Sigeion, Xenomedes of Chios, Xanthos of Lydia, and numerous others. 3. All these authors employed a similar resolution, in the choice of their topic, and generally had the same talent; some of them wrote down *Greek Histories*, others of barbarians, and they did not connect these singular works to each other. In fact, they separated their pamphlets according to people and to cities, and told these histories separately, for their only goal was to tell, for the profit of the general knowledge of everyone, the traditions which were kept by the locals, in the single populations and in the cities, as well as the written evidence, in sacred and in profane places. They would not add or subtract anything to the evidence they had collected; herein were myths, which had been believed for a long time, and dramatic upheavals of fortune, which would seem childish to the everyday reader” (tr. S. Tufano).

Nevertheless, if Dionysius of Halikarnassos proved fundamental in confirming and promoting a return to pre-Jacobian theories, a careful reading of the list actually provides

1583 Aujac’s integration is accepted by Porciani 2001a: 17–8, who argues that the inclusive meaning, resulting from this choice, should be preferred (even though, on a palaeographical basis, the scholar would actually print καὶ), and by Breglia (2012: 272 n.31 “anche se con qualche dubbio”).

us with new doubts on the limits that this witness can have, in view of the clear evolutionary model of Greek historiography that it follows. Jacoby (1949: 86; 354 n.13), in fact, underlined that Dionysius is very probably following a thesis which finds its roots in Theophrastos' reconstruction of literary genres, where the evolution from the particular to the universal is declined in historiographical terms.¹⁵⁸⁴ At the same time, since, in a later chapter of the same treatise of Dionysius (*Thuc.* 23), there are many discrepancies with *Thuc.* 5.2, it is likely that the list of names actually makes use of a further source, which has been identified by Porciani (2001a: 28–63, *spec.* 44–7) with a Hellenistic commentary on *Thuc.* I.21.1.¹⁵⁸⁵

This reconstruction is aimed at supporting Porciani's thesis that the *logos epitaphios* and the so-called 'technicians of local memory' represented the natural premise of the genesis of local history. In any case, the multilayered character of Dionysius' chapter cannot be denied. This passage, in sum, owes much to the literary debate on the genres of the Hellenistic period, as it was rethought and reimagined in Rome in the first century BCE. In the same direction, a recent contribution (Breglia 2012) has tried to restate a single source for the list of historians, adding new arguments to Fornara's idea that the list of these ἀρχαῖοι συγγραφεῖς in *Dion. Hal. Thuc.* 5.2 comes from Praxiphanes.¹⁵⁸⁶ The list would therefore prove both Dionysius' independent position towards Theophrastos (since the deviation would not be casual) and the likely provenance from another peripatetic source, i.e. Praxiphanes' Περὶ ἱστορίας (F 21 Matelli).¹⁵⁸⁷

1584 Jacoby tended to give more credit to the historians we can read in their overall works, than to antiquarian literature. Cp. Jacoby 1949: 176–85, on the internal contradictions in the passage, and for Jacoby's refusal of its value. Further supporters of the Theophrastan origin are quoted by Porciani 2001a: 40 n.90.

1585 ἐκ δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων τεκμηρίων ὅμως τοιαῦτα ἂν τις νομίζων μάλιστα ἃ διήλθον οὐχ ἁμαρτάνοι, καὶ οὔτε ὡς ποιηταὶ ὑμνήκασιν περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ μείζον κοσμοῦντες μᾶλλον πιστεύων, οὔτε ὡς λογογράφοι ξυνέθεσαν ἐπὶ τὸ προσαγωγότερον τῇ ἀκροάσει ἢ ἀληθέστερον, "Who would judge, upon the aforementioned evidence, that what happened followed the course that I went through, would not err. For he would not trust more what the poet sang on those events, because they make it up for the best, or what the chroniclers put together, in their wish to please the audience more than the truth" (tr. S. Tufano). The passage strengthens the idea of how important poetry was at a local level; for the development of local history, as argued, among others, by Càssola 2000: 17; Ambaglio 2001: 15–6; Pretzler 2005: 240; Marincola 2006 (on Herodotus).

1586 Fornara 1983: 16–23; Breglia 2012: 286–8.

1587 We know Praxiphanes' work from a quote by Marcellinus (*Vita Thuc.* 29), in a debated passage on the figures known under the name "Thucydides". See Breglia 2012: 287 n.85 on this much debated problem.

As a matter of fact, what we know of names like Eudemos or Dei(l)ochos supports the view that these authors were known to Hellenistic poets and intellectuals (just think of Callimachus and Xenomedes), who were interested in the history of Ionia. At the same time, Hekataios and Akousilaos were among the sources of the Aristotelian *Constitutions*, which grew in the same cultural context of Praxiphanes.¹⁵⁸⁸ It is not certain, however, whether the synchronic method was always applied by Praxiphanes to historians different from Thucydides.¹⁵⁸⁹

In any case, it is hard to escape the impression that Dionysius' reconstruction of the development of historiography (which probably follows a teleological principle up to Thucydides) is highly derivative. Therefore, it cannot substitute a modern approach to the subject, especially because it is hard to accept that he could actually still read all these ἀρχαῖοι συγγραφεῖς, who are mainly quoted on stylistic grounds. In other words, Dionysius of Halikarnassos engages in this topic, starting from a study on Thucydides, without a much deeper appraisal of the overall picture of the relationship between universal history and local history. His theory may have its strong points, but it tends to reproduce a series of prejudices about the content of local history (not least, its penchant for myths, still considered a truism in modern reconstructions of local historiography) and should not carry more weight because of its antiquity.¹⁵⁹⁰

7.2. Hellanikos' F 2 and Contemporary Scholarship

During the nineteenth century, Sturz (1826: 68–70) and Müller (1875: 46–7) divided Hellanikos' F 2 into three sections. They only differed on the interpretation of the initial

¹⁵⁸⁸ Breglia 2012: 88.

¹⁵⁸⁹ On the fragment from the Περὶ ἱστορίας and on the diverse theses regarding the structure of this text, see Matelli 2012: 277–81.

¹⁵⁹⁰ On Dionysius' own theory, see Sacks 1983. For the possibility that Dionysius still read these authors, cp. Brown 1954 and Thomas 2019: 33–6 (on the basis of the fortune of local historiographers in antiquity). Modern prejudices: Luce 1997: 118: "Local histories by their very nature would present the legends, institutions and history of a city in a favorable light, although they need not have been falsified or even much exaggerated."

reference to Aonia, which Sturz ascribed to Hellanikos (*ibid.* 69–70), but Müller considered as beginning with the words Εὐρώπης γὰρ τῆς Φοίνικος θυγατρὸς (a 4). The first section would end with the causal clause ὥς οὐχ εὐρήκει αὐτήν (a 6) and would be an original revision of the information present in Hellanikos and in Apollodoros (Müller 1875: 46). The first author is inferred for exclusion, because, in this section, Europa is the daughter of Phoenix (a 4) and not of Agenor (Apollod. 3.1.2). The scholiast, moreover, sets the kidnapping in Sidon, a city which is not mentioned by Apollodoros. The second section finishes with the birth of the Spartoi (a 17: ἐγένοντο οἱ γηγενεῖς), and, for its many linguistic affinities, it was considered by both Sturz and Müller as a copy of Apollodoros' text (3.21–5). Apollodoros himself used Hellanikos for his own narration.¹⁵⁹¹ The final part of the fragment, on Ares' wrath and the wedding of Kadmos and Harmonia, was identified as the only section exclusively deriving from Hellanikos.¹⁵⁹²

In 1898, Koehler criticized this tripartition, because its last output was the ascription of much of the content of the scholium to Hellanikos. According to him, especially for the central part of the fragment, between the Delphic consultation and the birth of the Spartoi, Apollodoros and the scholiast referred to a further source (different from Hellanikos), namely an “*amplius quoddam enchiridion mythographicum*” (220). While Koehler invited more prudence before accepting the indications of the subscriptions (221), he underlined a few discrepancies between the text of the scholium and the sources: in the scholium, Harmonia is the daughter of Aphrodite and Ares, whereas in Hellanikos (BNJ 4 F 23) she is the daughter of Helektra and of Zeus. Further, in the scholium the sowing of the teeth happens under Athena's exhortation, but Hellanikos (BNJ 4 F 1a) mentions Ares. Apollodoros is aware of the opposing tradition which identifies Europa's father with Phoenix, and not with Agenor (3.2), whereas in the scholium she is only τῆς Φοίνικος θυγατρὸς. Moreover, Apollodoros recalls the fight among the Spartoi after their birth (3.23), a fact that is absent in the narrative of the scholium. Finally, where Apollodoros

1591 Sturz 1826: 69: “Hactenus Apollodori cum Hellanico consentienti verba.”

1592 Müller 1875: 47: “*Quae sequuntur, solius Hellanici esse videntur*”.

only knows of gifts from Kadmos to Harmonia for the wedding (3.25),¹⁵⁹³ the scholium specifies that every god gave her a present.

The fact, then, that the scholium differs both from Hellanikos and from Apollodoros might imply a referral to a third source of larger momentum. However, Koehler was optimistic on the possibility of recovering peculiarities of Hellanikos: first, the absence of a fight of any nature, after the birth of Spartoi, is in line with two fragments (*BNJ* 4 FF 1a-b), where Hellanikos is credited with mentioning *only* their birth and names, without additional details: this *argumentum ex silentio* would suggest the absence of a conflict. Second, another fragment by Hellanikos (*BNJ* 4 F 98) mentions the chiton given by Athena to Harmonia and seems thus to confirm the version of the scholium on the divine gifts (against the sole provenance of these from Kadmos). Koehler concludes therefore that the scholiast did not directly use the sources quoted at the end, but rather a source of junction, which may justify the divergences from Apollodoros' text. If we now eliminate from this middle source the elements in common with Apollodoros and compare the information obtained with the other fragments by Hellanikos, we can ascribe two pieces of information as probably deriving from Hellanikos: the absence of a fight between Kadmos and the Spartoi (or among the Spartoi, without Kadmos' intervention), and the bestowal of gifts to Harmonia.

Jacoby's commentary (1923a: 452) confirmed the discrepancy between the narrative of the scholiast and what we can positively know on the genealogy of Harmonia and on the relationship between Kadmos and Ares, on the basis of the other fragments of Hellanikos. In the current *BNJ* 4 F 1a-b, Kadmos sows following the god's advice, and, thus, it seems that the god is benevolent to him. This further difference from the text of the scholium brings the scholar to the conclusion "die Kadmosgeschichte [...] ist nicht aus H[ellanikos]."

As far as the initial etymology of Boiotia is concerned, Jacoby reprised a then widespread skepticism:¹⁵⁹⁴ his hypothesis that Boiotos' parents, if Hellanikos had quoted them, would have been Poseidon and Arne, hinges on a comparison with Thuc. 1.12 (on the role of the

1593 Here, the generally acute analysis by Koehler neglected a possible ambiguity in Apollodoros' text: he only says that the participation of the gods was meant to gladden the party with their songs (τὸν γάμον εὐχόμενοι καθύμνησαν), but he knows that one of the gifts by Kadmos, the necklace, was ἡφαιστότεκτον (i.e., actually received from Hephaistos).

1594 See e.g. Wilamowitz 1921: 64-5 = 1971: 441-2.

Thessalian Arne in the migration of the Boiotians). If this were true, it might put Hellanikos among the first sources alluded to in the scholium (κατὰ μὲν τινὰς ἀπὸ Βοιωτοῦ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Ἄρνης).¹⁵⁹⁵ Nevertheless, this suggestion, despite its recent fortune,¹⁵⁹⁶ lacks positive comparisons in the other fragments we possess.

The later contributions most often dealt with the myth and only in passing touch upon the hard issue of the reliability of the final subscriptions. A possible exception was F. Vian in his *Origines de Thèbes* (1963: 21–6): he first thought that one of the main discrepancies between the scholium and Apollodoros, Europa's father (Phoenix in the scholium, Agenor in Apollodoros, who knows both versions), could be influenced by Homeric genealogy, since in the *Iliad* (14.321), Europa is the daughter of Phoenix. Vian's suggestion is that the scholium might base itself on a different version of Apollodoros' text,¹⁵⁹⁷ “à juger par les bonnes variantes¹⁵⁹⁸ qu'il donne dans la première partie du récit” (*ibid.* 25).

Vian founded his argument on Pherekydes' current *BNJ* 3 F 22 a–b, quoted in the relevant Apollodorean chapters. This mythographer:

- sets the sowing of the teeth after the foundation of Thebes. Kadmos acts, respecting Ares' and Athena's will;
- adds the character of Aietes, who receives half of the teeth;
- mentions the reciprocal massacre of the Spartoi (except the usual five survivors), after the throwing of the stones by Kadmos.

1595 Jacoby 1923a: 452: “[N]annte er den eponymen Βοιωτός, so werden die eltern wegen Thuk. I 12 Poseidon und Arne gewesen sein.”

1596 Larson 2007: 22.

1597 Schwartz (1881: 438–63) was the first scholar who suggested a different *recensio* of Apollodoros in our scholium. On the possibility of a diverse original version of the text, and on the importance of the scholia for the *constitutio textus* of the *Library*, cp. Huys 1997: 345.

1598 Some of these are also discussed by Lünstedt 1961: 28–9. The principal variations are: (1) the use of χέρνιψ in the scholium (a 11), instead of ὕδωρ (Apollod. 3.22), for the water that Kadmos' comrades had to fetch for the sacrifice: χέρνιψ is actually quite common for the description of sacrifices, and it is used, in the same context, in Eur. *Phoen.* 662; (2) Ἀρητιάς κρήνη (a 11), whereas Apollodoros refers to an Ἀρεία κρήνη (Apollod. 3.22): here the scholium adopts a rarer adjective, which is more frequent for the spring in the Hellenistic Age (see Ap. Rhod. 3.1180: see *supra*, in the commentary on this collocation).

Taking into due considerations these three details, Vian limited the extension of the following *BNJ* 3 F 22c, quoted in a section of direct interest here, to the throwing of the stones: Pherekydes did not know anything about Ares' wrath towards Kadmos. The source behind this hatred, then, must have been another one, even though the other author behind Apollodoros' *Library* had to link the resentment not to the massacre of the Spartoi, but to the death of Ares' offspring, the dragon. Consequently, Vian's reconstruction removes the parenthesis from Pherekydes in Apollodoros and the deceptive link, in Apollodoros, between the killing of the other Spartoi and Ares' wrath. Vian is therefore forced to infer that Apollodoros had *another* source where this wrath was the consequence of the killing of *the dragon*. After the reconciliation, through Kadmos' slavery, a wedding followed.

This is the exact version of the scholium, except for a digression in the apparent contradiction with the main storyline: ὀργισθέντος δὲ Ἄρεως καὶ μέλλοντος Κάδμου ἀναιρεῖν ἐκώλυσεν ὁ Ζεὺς καὶ Ἀρμονίαν αὐτῷ συνώικισε (a 17-8: "Because Ares was angered and was going to kill Kadmos, Zeus forestalled him and had him marry Harmonia").¹⁵⁹⁹ It is unclear if Zeus really forestalled Ares' grudge, since immediately after, Kadmos still endures slavery (a 19-20: πρότερον δὲ ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἀντὶ τῆς ἀναιρέσεως τοῦ δράκοντος ἐνιαυτὸν θητεῦσαι). The "maladresse" of the first digression would therefore prove, according to Vian (1963: 25), that it is the only section from Hellanikos that was inserted into the scholium.

Hellanikos, then, ignored the slavery and accepted another version of the myth where Zeus' reconciling act was successful and, among the consequences, there was a quiet sowing of the teeth (out of Ares' will: *BNJ* 4 F 1a), the fightless birth of the Spartoi (*BNJ* 4 F 1b), and the wedding. According to Vian, Hellanikos was driven by the desire to eliminate all the details "qui choquaient la raison ou le sentiment religieux" (mostly, the massacre of the Spartoi and Ares' resentment).¹⁶⁰⁰

1599 Crusius (1890-4: 829,7) defined the whole scholium "konfuser Bericht" considering this contradictory remark.

1600 This approach to the variations in Hellanikos appears unnecessary today. Vian put forward that Zeus' role may have already been present in a few verses of a fragmentary dithyramb by Pindar (F 70b,27-9 S. – M.: ἐνθα ποθ' Ἀρμονίαν φάμα γαμετάν/ Κάδμον ὑψηλαῖς πραπίδεσσι λαχεῖν κεδ-/ νάν; Vian 1963: 25 n.4 and 27); these somewhat obscure

In a study on Kadmos, meant to reestablish the plausibility of his Phoenician origin after the important discovery of Babylonian seals on the Kadmeia,¹⁶⁰¹ R. Edwards drew on previous skepticism concerning the possibility that the scholium might report information from Hellanikos.¹⁶⁰² In her view, the myth of Kadmos and the foundation of Thebes had no original relationship to Europa's kidnapping: in the fifth century BCE there was more than one version of the kinship between Kadmos and Europa,

“nor can there be any certainty about their relationship in Hellanikos, since [...] this reference [*i.e.* the scholium] cannot be taken as reliable evidence for details of Hellanikos' version.”¹⁶⁰³

According to this scholar, the scholium is a source on its own,¹⁶⁰⁴ distant from Apollodoros and from Hellanikos, and whose content must be considered as a coherent whole. For example, the provenance of the characters from Sidon is irrelevant, “since often both Sidonian and Tyrian seem to be used loosely as synonymous with Phoenician” (Edwards 1979: 47). The Phoenician origin of Kadmos, mentioned in the fragment, is considered an original element of the myth and not recent,¹⁶⁰⁵ as Vian and Wilamowitz thought.¹⁶⁰⁶ She

verses, nevertheless, only confirm Zeus' intercession in the wedding. The nucleus of this happy ending could be narrated without the prelude.

1601 Among the first publications, see at least Falkenstein 1964 and Platon – Touloupa 1964; cp., moreover, the interpretations given by Porada 1981, Aravantinos 2000: 32-3, and Kopanias 2008. Schachter (1985: 146-7) undermined the value of this discovery for the reconstruction of the international relationships of Thebes and its links with the East in the LH III. According to him, a possible historical setting for the birth of the tradition on the Eastern origin of Kadmos was the Geometrical period – a period of migrations to Boiotia.

1602 Edwards 1979: 24; 45; 47, and 71 (“A substantial part of the narrative is verbatim the same as our text of Apollodoros, which leaves it doubtful how much might have been derived from Hellanikos”).

1603 Edwards 1979: 24 n. 33. Cp. *ibid.* 24-5: “After the fifth century many writers continue to refer to Kadmos as son of Agenor and to Europê as daughter of Phoinix the son of Agenor, but a large number allude to them as *brother and sister*, sometimes without mentioning the names of their parents, and sometimes making them both children either of Phoinix or –much more commonly – of Agenor.”

1604 It is worth quoting how our fragment is listed, among the sources which consider Europa and Kadmos siblings as Phoenix's children: “See Konon *FGrH* I A, 26fr. 1, *Narr.* XXXII and XXXVII, and Schol. ad Hom. *Il.* 2.494” (Edwards 1979: 25 n.34; at 47 the “scholiasts to the *Iliad* (2.494)” are (only) Hellanikos).

1605 Schachter (1985: 151-2) contrasted Edwards' position, while at the same time distancing himself from the Ionic thesis (see n.1607). Kadmos' figure was a secondary creation, after an original myth centered on the birth of the Spartoi. An etymology quoted by Androtion (*FGrHist* 324 F 60a-c = F 2a-c Harding: διὰ τὸ [...] σποράδην οἰκῆσαι; see Harding 2008: 16) describes an original synoecism around the Kadmeia. After the name of the acropolis/citizen, then, came a tradition on the name of the founder (cp. Schachter 1985: 152: “First *Τὸ Κάδμος, the akropolis, from which Κάδμεῖοι,

does, however, concede that Hellanikos *may* have accepted this tradition in his work, but more as an author who lived at the end of the fifth century BCE, than on the basis of the actual fragment (71).

The religious-historical perspective, enhanced by M. Rocchi, then, allows a finer understanding of the meaning of the wedding between Kadmos and Harmonia, seen as a “mito di fondazione della giusta connessione tra cielo e terra” (1989: 13). Nevertheless, the frequent use of Nonnus’ rewriting of the myth, which is both exceptional for its late date and for the setting of the event in Libya (*ibid.* 16–23), is detrimental to an effective analysis of the scholium and, in general, of the initial stages of the tradition. As far as Hellanikos is concerned, Rocchi accepts an internal divergence among his works: one version that describes Harmonia as Helektra’s daughter,¹⁶⁰⁷ and another where she is Ares and Aphrodite’s child (*ibid.* 41 n.1). This kinship is functional for the location of the wedding party on the Kadmeia and its general link with Thebes, a city that functions as an earthly junction between men and gods (57). Their reciprocal contacts were interrupted, after a long series of interactions:

“I miti di Kalydna, Ogygia e Tebe Kadmeia e delle vicende dei loro fondatori avevano senso solo in quanto davano fondamento alle medesime prerogative attribuite ad una sola città” (Rocchi 1989: 52).

It goes without saying that Hellanikos could adopt different versions, as long as these were known in different regions of the Greek world. As such, it should be considered that

Καδμειῶνες, Καδμεία Γῆ/ Πόλις. Thence, with the synoikismos, ὁ Κάδμος”; Berman 2004: 16. Another possibility is that *Kadmos* derives from the ethnic name, as it is argued by Prandi 1986: 42–3 and Beekes 2004: 171; on the actual meaning of these etymologies, see in general Kühr 2006: 87–91).

1606 Wilamowitz (1884a: 139) and Vian (1963: 51–63) argued that the Phoenician element was an elaboration, originally developed in Miletos and in Ionia between the seventh and the sixth centuries BCE, to justify some homonymies. Miletos, in particular, was prone to promoting this narrative, for the existence of a namesake Kadmos of Miletos, on whom we know only a few unremarkable facts (cp. the rebuttal by Edwards 1979: 83–4, nn. 77–8).

1607 *BNJ* 4 F 23. Rocchi 1989: 27 n.26. This variant, according to Rocchi 1989: 35–40, is associated with a version of the wedding which circulated in Samothrace. Particular importance is given to Ephoros’ *BNJ* 70 F 120, which touches upon a rite, set in Samothrace, when the inhabitants ζητοῦσιν αὐτήν [Harmonia] ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς.

Hellānikos could *also* share the genealogy where Harmonia was Aphrodite’s daughter, as in the previous sources we are aware of.

Other later cautious positions allude to unspecified “portions of Hellānikos” in the scholium.¹⁶⁰⁸ The majority of contemporary scholars tend to come back to Jacoby’s skepticism on the possibility of finding the most ancient elements of the scholium.¹⁶⁰⁹ This picture finds additional support in a comprehensive and exhaustive analysis of the development of the myth of Kadmos and of its later interrelation with the myth of Europa. When we consider, for instance, that the same author, Euripides, has Kadmos come in one instance from Tyre, and in another instance from Sidon,¹⁶¹⁰ it is hard to define a fixed set of elements and details associated to the storyline at the end of the fifth century BCE, so as to contrast it with the complex stratification behind our scholium.

More recently, Fowler (2013: 381-2) indicated three hypotheses:

1. after a commentary on the etymology written in “Apollodoros-of-Athens-style”, we have a paraphrase of the corresponding section of Apollodoros’ *Library* (3.21-3), with variations depending on different stages of the tradition of the *Library* and being ascribed to Hellānikos because the scholiast thought that the historian had dealt with this subject;
2. the scholium relies on Apollodoros of Athens’ commentary on the *Catalogue of Ships*, where Hellānikos and Pherekydes were both quoted.¹⁶¹¹ This same text was also being exploited by the Apollodoros who wrote the *Library*. Fowler is suspicious of this scenario, because it does not match what we know of Apollodoros’ commentary. A “third book (a 17-8: ἐν τῷ Γ)” seems incongruent with the position

1608 Berman 2004: 5 n.10; 2013: 48-9.

1609 Cp. e.g. Kühr 2006: 83 n.1 and Fowler 2013: 186 n.125; 357-61 (357: “The scholiast has his material from the *Bibl.*, and his ascription of fr. 51a to Hellānikos has little value”; Fowler seemed less doubtful in a previous contribution [1996: 73 n.86], where the treatment is considered proof of the use, by Hellānikos, of the μετωνομασία as an example of rationalism).

1610 Tyre: Eur. *Phoen.* 638-9: Κάδμος ἔμολε τάνδε γᾶν/ Τύριος, with Mastronarde 2005 *ad loc.*; cp. Eur. *Bacch.* 171; 1025. Sidon: Eur. *Phrixos B*, *TrGF* 819,1: Σιδωνιόν ποτ’ ἄστν Κάδμος ἐκλιπών.

1611 Other supporters of this reconstruction are Cameron 2004: 98; Berman 2013: 48-9; Kenens 2013: 106.

of the verse in the *Catalogue* (Hom. *Il.* 2.494), and Hellanikos will hardly have accepted an etymology βούς > βοιωτία;

3. both the scholiast and the Apollodoros of the *Library* follow the *Mythographus Homericus*, but Apollodoros independently added the quote from Pherekydes.

Fowler leans towards the first scenario (a: Apollodoros of the *Library* as the main subtext), but our commentary has hopefully shown that it is advisable to analyse all the single points of this long scholium.¹⁶¹² It is possible to accept the reading offered by Pàges (2017), namely, that the scholiast found these references to further sources (in our case, Hellanikos), in the *Mythographus Homericus*: this would explain why these names are absent in our text of the *Library*, which was supplemented by the scholiasts through the *MH*. However, I disagree with the possibility that the similarity in wording between the scholium and Apollodoros completely excludes the possibility the use of the *Library*. According to Pàges,

“the D-scholiast replaced the MH text by the story from the *Bibliotheca* because not only were they narrating the same story but they were also very similar in wording, and this similarity might be due to the fact that both, the MH and Apollodoros were following the same source, namely, a summary of Hellanikos’ *Boeotiaca*” (Pàges 2017: 74).

The slight differences between Apollodoros and the scholiast derive, in fact, from the fact that Apollodoros’ version obscures the variations of the story, which can be ascribed to Hellanikos. The reference to Pherekydes, in our extant text of the *Library*, would indeed suggest that Hellanikos was quoted by the *MH*, but maybe not in the sources used by Apollodoros. As suggested by our commentary, the safer explanation is to think that both the scholiasts and Apollodoros were drawing on the *MH* (Fowler’s third scenario): by the time the final stage of the D Scholia was reached, namely in the manuscript tradition, the copists could also refer to the *Library*, but the similarities ultimately derive from a previous stage of the tradition.

¹⁶¹² Panzer 1892: 47: “Verum in omnes quae exstant subscriptiones inquirendum est, priusquam quid de unaquaque iudicandum sit adpareat.”

7.3. The Theban Sea Campaign: A Résumé

In 366/365 BCE Epameinondas promoted a sea campaign. This campaign responded both to an internal impulse, to profit from the current successes on the continent, and to the necessity of reacting to Athenian operations in the Northern Aegean Sea, where the Athenians were founding new cleruchies, and, more generally, acting as part of the Second Athenian League.¹⁶¹³ With the likely help of the Persians,¹⁶¹⁴ Thebes built a fleet, probably from scratch: their previous commitments on the sea had not had an extension or an impact that implies the creation of a big or even middle sized fleet.¹⁶¹⁵ They now built a force that consisted of 100 triremes.¹⁶¹⁶ The Thebans also fortified the main harbours of the region on the southern and eastern coasts.¹⁶¹⁷

The naval mission of Epameinondas in 364¹⁶¹⁸ was not a complete failure, because it brought to light the difficulties that the Athenians were experiencing, as well as brought about the defection of Rhodes, Chios, and Byzantium.¹⁶¹⁹ The island of Chios abandoned

1613 The main treatment of this naval campaign is still Carrata Thomes 1952. Fossey (1979: 9–10) suggested that the Thebans aimed at interrupting the arrival of grain supplies from Thrace to Athens. See also, in general, Buckler 1980: 160–5; Roy 1994: 200–1; Buckler 1998; Tejada 2015; Russell 2016 (further scholarship *ibid.* 186 n.1). The date of the beginning of the campaign is debated: see a summary of the sources and the main issues in Mackil 2008: 181.

1614 The support of the Persians is not explicitly mentioned by the sources on this occasion, but there were previous meetings. On this: Carrata Thomes 1952: 22–4; Fortina 1958: 80–1; Buckler 1980: 161; Roy 1994: 201; Buckler 1998: 192. Skepticism on the financial help of the Persians has been expressed by Schachter (2014a: 325–7) and Russell (2016: 186 n.2).

1615 Cp. Carrata Thomes 1952: 13–8; Salmon 1953: 358–60; Munn 1997: 92; Vela Tejada 2015: 53 n.3 for a list of the main episodes. Thucydides (8.3.3), for instance, surprisingly recalls that the Spartans, in the winter 413/2 BCE, asked for twenty-five ships from the Boiotians, since they were allies. The number is high, compared to the fifteen that were demanded from the Corinthians in the same context. We do not know, however, whether all the ships required by the Spartans were actually built. In 377 BCE, Xenophon (*Hell.* 5.4.56–7) mentions the dispatch of two Theban triremes to Pagasae, but we ignore what proportion of the city fleet they represented.

1616 Diod. Sic. 15.78.4–79.1. Glotz (1933) argued that the inspiration behind the naval construction program was Nōbas, son of Axisubos, a Carthaginian, who was honored as proxenos by the *koinon* (IG 7.2407 = RO 43). Cawkell (1972: 272 n.1) and Rhodes and Osborne (2003: 218–9) reject this hypothesis, since there are many other Carthaginians who travelled to Greece during the fourth century BCE (sources: Chandezon – Krings 2001).

1617 On the harbours, see Carrata Thomes 1952: 27–9; Fossey 1979: 10–1

1618 Buckler 1980: 258–9.

1619 Diod. Sic. 15.79.1 (a debated passage, for the understanding of the meaning of ἰδιῶς: see at least Buckler 1998: 193–4; Vela Tejada 2015: 53; Russell 2016: 69). Isoc. *Philippus* 5.53; Plut. *Phil.* 14.1–2. Rhodes and Chios did not defect for a long time (Diod. Sic. 16.7.1; their revolt, however, is certain: Russell 2016: 78), whereas Byzantium remained

the alliance with Athens and united itself, in *isopolitia*, with Histiaia (in Euboia).¹⁶²⁰ Finally, according to Justin (*Epit.* 16.4.1-3), Epameinondas intervened in the internal conflicts of Herakleia Pontike.¹⁶²¹ Other signals of the impact of the mission are the proxenies which locate Thebes in a strong and meaningful network of contacts in this period: Epameinondas obtained a proxeny in Knidos (*SEG* XLIV 901), while Thebes granted the same honour to a series of characters in order to present the city as a naval power.¹⁶²²

The Theban attempt to summon on the sea that same terrestrial hegemony,¹⁶²³ then, produced a success that went beyond what is acknowledged in the literary sources.¹⁶²⁴ In fact, the Athenian fear of Theban propaganda and the concurrent development of a structure that resembles a naval league, if short-lived, confirm the general impression of success for Epameinondas.¹⁶²⁵ The exception of Diodorus, then, may actually depend on

independent, because the city was still hostile to Athens in 362 BCE (Dem. [50.6]; Roy 1994: 202 n.17; Cordano 2009: 401-2; specifically on Byzantium's revolt, see Russell 2016: 66-7).

1620 Tod 141. Cabrias probably put an end to this turmoil (RO 39); cp. Russell 2016: 187 n.17.

1621 Carrata Thomes (1952: 8) put forward that Justin might be drawing on Ephoros, who read Boiotian historiographers of this period, such as Daimachos (TT 1-2), Anaxis, and Dionysodoros (*BNJ* 67-8); cp. however Vela Tejada 2015: 55-6, for some possible alternative explanations of the internal strife. In truth, it seems that Epameinondas had no impact on the establishment of a democratic government (Buckler 1980: 172; Rhodes 2016: 63).

1622 Papazarkadas 2016: 139-41 (cp. Vela Tejada 2015: 57 for the possible irrelevance of the Knidian proxeny of Epameinondas). The scholar mentions the proxeny decrees for a Macedonian (*SEG* XXXIV 355), a Byzantine (*IG* 7.2408), and a Carthaginian (RO 43). Further discoveries came to light in the last ten years, among which are one text giving proxeny to a Lacedaemonian, Timeas (*SEG* LV 564bis; Mackil 2008), and one to two men from Olynthos and from Corinth (Vlachogianni 2004-9; on these, see Russell 2016: 69). For a complete list of the proxenies granted in Thebes and in Boiotia, see Fossey 2014: 3-22 [an updated version of Fossey 1994b] and this resource: <http://proxenies.csad.ox.ac.uk>.

1623 The motif of the double hegemony, on land and on sea, was a common *topos* in the fourth century BCE, received by our tradition on Epameinondas, who suggests to the Boiotian assembly to περιποιήσασθαι τὴν τῆς θαλάττης ἀρχήν (Diod. Sic. 15.78.4; on the motif, see Carrata Thomes 1952: 6-7 and Bearzot 2015).

1624 Buckler 1998: 195: "Good will Epameinondas gained, but, as Isokrates and Plutarch rightly say, hegemony of the sea he did not"; the fleet, according to the same scholar (*ibid.* 203), was a diplomatic instrument, to counter Athens, by extending the conflict to a larger area.

1625 See in particular, Russell (2016: 67-9) on the Athenian echoes of this campaign and on the necessity to not minimize its outcome in the general situation of the Bosphorus in the years between 364 and 357 BCE. This study also generally shows the limits of a potential emphasis of the excessive success of Epameinondas, while taking into account all the epigraphical evidence. The more skeptical position of Vela Tejada (2015: 54-5) seems to focus eminently on Aeneas' Tacticus and on the concurrent evidence of Memnon of Herakleia (*BNJ* 434 F 1).

the attention of his sources (Ephoros, but maybe also Anaxis and Dionysodoros) to this chapter of the history of the sixties.¹⁶²⁶

¹⁶²⁶ Bearzot 2015: 90–1.

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8. Conspectus Fragmentorum and Bibliography

8.1. Conspectus Fragmentorum

	Tufano	<i>FGrHist</i>	<i>EGM</i>	<i>BNJ</i>
Hellanikos	F 1	4 F 50	F 50	4 F 50
	F 2	4 F 51	F 51a	4 F 51
Armenidas	F 1	378 F 1	F 1	378 F 1
	F 2	378 F 2	F *2	378 F 2
	F 3	378 F 6	F **6	378 F 6
	F 4	378 F 3	F 3	378 F 3
	F 5	378 F 5	F **5	378 F 5
	F 6	378 F 7	F 7	378 F 7
	F 7	378 F 8	F **8	378 F 8
	F 8	378 F 4	F 8A	378 F 4
Aristophanes	T 1	379 T 1	/	379 T 1

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	T 2	/	T 1A	379 T 2b
	T 3	379 T 2	/	379 T 2a
	T 4	/	F 1	/
	T 5	/	F 2	/
	F 1	/	F 1b	379 F 1b
	F 2	379 F 1	F 3A	379 F 1a
	F 3	379 F 2	F 2	379 F 2a
	F 4	/	F 9A	379 F 2b
	F 5	379 F 5	/	379 F 5
	F 6	379 F 6	/	379 F 6
	F 7	379 F 3	F 3	379 F 3
	F 8	379 F 7	F 9B	379 F 7
	F 9A	379 F 8	F 8	379 F 8
	F 9B	/	/	/
	F 10	379 F 9	F 9	379 F 9
	F 11	379 F 4	F 4	379 F 4
	[F 12]	737 F 1	F 9C	737 F 1
Daimachos	T 1	65 T 1a	/	65 T 1a
	T 2	65 T 1b	/	65 T 1b
	T 3	716 T 1	/	716 T 1

T 4	716 T 2	/	716 T 2
T 5	716 T 3	/	716 T 3
F 1	65 F 1	/	65 F 1
F 2	65 F 2	/	65 F 2
F 3	65 F 6	/	65 F 6
F 4	65 F 7	/	65 F 7
F 5	65 F 3	/	65 F 3
F 6	65 F 4	/	65 F 4
F 7	65 F 8	/	65 F 8

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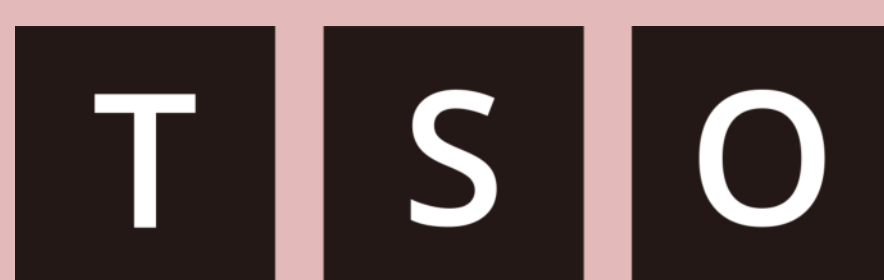
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Boiotians are not known as the most cultivated people. In Greek antiquity, they were widely viewed as backward. The legacy continues: in several modern languages, the term ‘Boiotian’ may be used as a synonym for boorish or rude. This volume challenges this reading through the study of a specific cultural output: historiography. Not only, in fact, did Boiotia give birth to memorable authors such as Pindar and Plutarch, but there was also a lively historiographical scene. Between the end of the fifth century BCE and the years of the Theban Hegemony (371–362 BCE), this literary genre developed gradually in the region, speaking to a series of critical societal themes: who are the Boiotians? What do they believe? Why do the fighting roosters of Tanagra wear iron sticks? Through a detailed commentary on the fragments of the first historiographers of Boiotia (Hellanikos, Armenidas, Aristophanes, and Daimachos), the author brings to life the local history of the region. The volume unlocks a body of evidence, local historiography, which is of pivotal importance for a multi-faceted approach to ancient Boiotia – from within.

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