TEIRESIAS-ΤΕΙΡΕΣΙΑΣ

A Review and Continuing Bibliography of Boiotian Studies

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SUPPLEMENT 2 1979

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON BOIOTIAN ANTIQUITIES

ACTES DU DEUXIEME CONGRES INTERNATIONAL SUR LA BEOTIE ANTIQUE

(McGill University, Montréal, 2-4.11.1973)

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In Memoriam

ANNIE D. URE

Dépôt légal 3e trimestre 1979
Bibliothèque nationale du Québec
National Library of Canada Bibliothèque nationale du Canada

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* Because of the peculiar difficulties in typesetting this paper it has not been possible to use the same editorial system as in other papers; as a result both the type-face and orthography will be found to be inconsistent with the other contributions. *Edd.*

ILLUSTRATIONS

PREFACE

The Second International Conference on Boiotian Antiquities was held at McGill University November 2nd to 4th, 1973.

The Editors of this volume, who also organised the Conference, wish to thank the Canada Council, the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research of McGill University, and the Department of Classics of McGill University for financial assistance in making the Conference possible. The University itself also generously provided a reception for the participants, while secretarial and organisational help was provided by the Department of Classics.

Funds for the publication of this collection of Proceedings were generously contributed by, among others, the Université de Genève, the University of Alberta, and McGill University. The typing of the final text was accomplished by Linda Anderson; we are grateful to the Department of Classics, McGill University, for providing her services while she was on its staff and to her for her careful work and loyalty in continuing to work upon the text long after she had left McGill. The final versions of most line-drawings were prepared by Marcia K. Mogelonsky and to her go our many thanks. We are also grateful for much help rendered in proofreading by various postgraduate students in Archaeology at McGill (Michael Attas, Marc Beauregard and Ginette Gauvin) and by our colleagues Professors Paul Roesch and G. L. Snider. Any errors which remain may be laid solely at our door. We also take full responsibility for the orthography and acronyms inflicted upon our contributors; this was done only in the interests of uniformity.

Several of the papers read at the Conference are not reproduced here. S. C. Bakhuizen "Social Ecology of the Ancient Greek World" has already been published in *Antiquité Classique* 44(1975) 211-218. G. L. Snider "Hesiod's Sailing Season (Works and Days 663 ff)" is to appear in *American Journal of Ancient History*. The reports on "Recent Excavations in Boiotia" by A. K. Andreiomménou and A. Demakopoúlou (read to the conference by Miss Andreiomménou) were published in *Teiresias* 74.1.1. and 74.1.2 respectively.

The version presented here of the paper "L'Apport des deux nouveaux catalogues d'Hyettos à la chronologie des archontes fédéraux by D. Knoepfler is a summary only since it resumed in part material subsequently published in full; Roland Etienne et Denis Knoepfler, *Hyettos de Béotie, et la chronologie des archontes fédéraux entre 250 et 171 avant J.-C.* (=*BCH* suppl. iii, Paris 1976).

McGill University
*May 1979**

* As the late Hetty Goldman once put it "Halae Acropolis has been long a-digging" (*Hesperia* IX [1940] 381). The delay in publishing these proceedings may be considered another of the rare Boiotian importations from her neighbours in East Lokris.

PRÉFACE

La Deuxième Conférence sur les Antiquités Béotiennes eut lieu à l'université McGill, du 2 au 4 novembre 1973.

Les Editeurs du présent volume, qui se chargèrent également d'organiser la Conférence, désirent remercier le Conseil des Arts du Canada, la Faculté des Études Supérieures et de la Recherche de l'Université McGill, et le Département d'Études Classiques de l'Université McGill pour leur aide financière, laquelle rendit possible la tenue de la Conférence. L'Université même - alors que le Département d'Études Classiques contribuait au secrétariat et à l'organisation - fit preuve de beaucoup de générosité en offrant gracieusement une réception aux participants.

Les fonds pour la publication de ce recueil d'Actes proviennent de la généreuse contribution entre autres, de l'Université de Genève, l'Université d'Alberta, et de l'Université McGill. Le texte final fut dactylographié par Linda Anderson; nous sommes reconnaissants au Département d'Études Classiques de l'Université McGill pour nous avoir prêté ses services alors qu'elle était membre de son personnel, et à elle personnellement pour son travail attentif et sa loyauté, ayant continué de travailler à ce texte bien après qu'elle ait quitté McGill. La version finale de la plupart des dessins au trait a été préparée par Marcia K. Mogelonsky, ce pour quoi nous la remercions vivement. Nous sommes également reconnaissants pour l'aide considérable fournie par divers étudiants de 2e et 3e cycles en Archéologie à McGill (Michael Attas, Marc Beauregard et Ginette Gauvin) et par nos collègues les professeurs Paul Roesch et G. L. Snider, lors de la vérification du texte. Nous nous portons responsables de toute erreur qui pourrait subsister. Nous assumons également pleine responsabilité pour l'orthographe et les abbréviations imposées à ceux qui ont contribué au présent ouvrage, afin d'en assurer l'uniformité.

Plusieurs des exposés présentés lors de la Conférence ne sont pas reproduits ici. "Social Ecology of the Ancient Greek World" par S. C. Bakhuizen a déjà été publié dans *Antiquité Classique* 44 (1975) 211-218. "Hesiod's Sailing Season (Works and Days 663 ff)" de G. L. Snider doit paraître dans le *American Journal of Ancient History*. Les rapports sur les "Recent Excavations in Boiotia" par A. K. Andreiomménou et A. Demakopoúlou (présentés par Mlle Andreiomménou lors de la Conférence) furent publiés respectivement dans *Teiresias* 74.1.1. et 74.1.2.

La version ici présentée de l'exposé "L'Apport des deux nouveaux catalogues d'Hyettos à la chronologie des archontes fédéraux" par D. Knoepfler n'est qu'un résumé puisque ledit exposé résumait en partie du matériel déjà publié en entier: Roland Etienne et Denis Knoepfler, *Hyettos de Béotie, et la chronologie des archontes fédéraux entre 250 et 171 avant J.-C.* (=*BCH* suppl. iii, Paris 1976).

Université McGill
*Mai 1979**

* Comme l'avait dit feue Hetty Goldman: "Halae Acropolis has been long a-digging" - "L'acropole d'Halae fut bien longue à fouiller" (*Hesperia* IX [1940] 381). Le retard mis à publier ces Actes pourraient être considéré comme l'un des rares emprunts faits par la Béotie à sa voisine la Locride Orientale.

INTRODUCTION

by John M. Fossey

It is well known that ancient Greece was not a unity, but rather a mosaic made up of many independent or quasi-independent regions each with its own history and culture. Admittedly, one finds in each of these regions numerous similarities with and influences from other regions, yet these are not sufficient to mask the essentially divergent character of the fragmented Greek world. Nevertheless, there has for long been a general tendency to regard ancient Greek society as an undifferentiated whole. It is our opinion that the study of the ancient Greek world is better advanced by research directed in the first instance at its regional and local characteristics. This research can very often throw new light on old problems and lead to the reassessment of received opinions, and we are convinced that properly coordinated studies of the constituent parts will lead to a much fuller understanding of the ancient world, as a whole.

This is, of course, not an entirely new concept. The Cretological Congresses have done much to develop the study of the island of Krete in its many aspects. The conferences of Makedonian studies have performed something of the same function for that Northern area whence came ultimately the most unifying force of ancient Greece. Krete, as a large island with clearly defined territory, lends itself most easily to separate study; the unique nature of its early cultures serves to underscore the validity of the regional approach in this case.

It can probably fairly be said that Makedonia and Krete have been the only areas of Greece so treated, although some attempt is now being made to coordinate Thessalian studies too. The last decade has admittedly seen considerable development in certain aspects of regional studies. The surveys of Euboia, Lakonia, Central Makedonia, the Dodekanese, and notably Messenia have advanced the field of topographic studies considerably in these regions as well as refining the technique of topographic study. The Messenia survey has combined many approaches in the study of the ancient settlements and their environment in the South West Peloponnese, but even this detailed study has not really dealt with other sides of the region's history, such as language, cults, architecture, and artistic products. For most of Greece, therefore, there is an urgent need to organize regional studies in the widest possible manner.

Apart from the theoretical justification for our approach, there is a further necessity for coordination. Boiotia was formerly somewhat neglected, because of greater interest in other areas of Greece. It is not that the study in these other areas was strictly regional; rather it limited itself to the study of individual, important sites. Athens with her dominant position in the recorded history of Greece -- political, military, and artistic -- has long been the focus of much attention. Similarly, the great sanctuary sites of Delphoi, Delos, Olympia, Aigina, and Dodona have been excavated, studied, and published in great detail. Argolis and Krete, with their impressive prehistoric sites, have been other recipients of concentrated study and excavation. Most of these investigations have concentrated on major centres, large monuments, and extensive literary traditions; it is from these partial studies, weighted strongly in favour of what is, by its nature, the *exceptional*, that the general history of ancient Greece, in its broadest sense, has tended to be extrapolated. For example, what do we really know of ancient Greek agriculture, and how many farm settlements have been located and studied? Yet these are fundamental aspects of "Ancient Greek life".

After the long period of neglect - the modern sequel to an ancient disdain for Boiotia, which Pierre Guillon once characterized as "l'histoire d'un préjugé"- the last decade or so has seen a sudden and considerable growth of interest in the study of ancient Boiotia. It was this increase which prompted us to commence the publication of *Teiresias*, in 1971. At that time, it was still early enough in the upsurge of interest to attempt to coordinate efforts, put the various specialists involved in touch with each other's work, and avoid unnecessary duplication. The establishment of a review of publications and work in progress was the first essential step in the coordination. This had to be supplemented by personal interchange of an organised nature, for while it is clear that those working in a specific area of Boiotian studies, such as epigraphy, will know each other, they will, at the same time, be probably less aware of work done by others in areas such as Boiotian literature. The first meeting of this sort, the First International Conference on Boiotian Antiquities was, therefore, organised in March 1972 at McGill and consisted of seven papers which were subsequently published as *Supplement* I of *Teiresias*. Encouraged by the success of this limited venture we decided to organise a second such congress in November 1973 on a much wider scale; the result is the present volume.

The Conference was a meeting of specialists, although it enjoyed quite considerable lay attendance. Consequently there was a number of positive results; not only were some twenty specialists in varying fields of Boiotian studies brought together to meet each other - in many cases for the first time - but also there was a very lengthy question period in which individual papers were discussed and ideas modified or expanded; in addition there was a general discussion period devoted to the problems of Boiotian study and its future organisation, as well as the question of future conferences.

For publication some of the questions and discussions have been incorporated into the texts of papers; in cases, that is, where they directly confirmed, expanded or otherwise affected the points under discussion. Other questions and observations are printed at the ends of the papers, when they treated of something arising out of the communication rather than something integral to its presentation. In this way two of the positive results of such interchange are appropriately reflected in the Proceedings; on the one hand there has been the amelioration of papers, on the other hand there is the indication of further lines of approach to be pursued.

Just as there is diversity in the ancient Greek world so there is, inevitably, in any study of that world and its constituent parts. Accordingly in this volume the papers have for their subject matter a wide variety of topics. It would be false to treat the matter in any other way, and if the end product is diversified it will show, quite correctly, the wide variety of work which is being carried out in the study of Boiotia. If the Conference had limited itself to a certain aspect only, such as archaeology, the finished product would have had perhaps greater unity - though even that is questionable, so wide is that aspect on its own - but the productive interchange of ideas from completely different fields would have been lost.

At the same time we are only too well aware that despite our attempt to make the diversity of subject matter and approach as wide as possible, there are many aspects not treated. The reader will find nothing here on Plutarch or Boiotia under the Romans, nothing on Boiotian religious architecture, vase paintings or sculpture, nothing on Boiotian coinage or dialect. This is not intentional. Scholars had been invited who work, for example, on Plutarch, sculpture, and vase painting, but they were unable to attend. There are inevitable difficulties in trying to assemble a large number of people from North America and Europe at quite short notice. Given those difficulties, the result serves to underline even further the diversity of the study of Boiotia.

Many of these papers will have a lasting value, as they are, in addition to their current importance. Others are of a more ephemeral format and will ultimately be absorbed into fuller syntheses; they are none-the-less of equal current importance. A specific example of this second category, and a particularly welcome part of the Conference was constituted by the papers of Miss Angelikí Andreiomḗnou and Dr. Aikaterini Demakopoúlou, both read to the Conference by Miss Andreiomḗnou. The recent excavations on which they reported were not startling in themselves; their importance lies in that they are typical of the many small excavations and chance finds on the basis of which a much more detailed picture of Boiotian archaeology is now becoming available. Their importance was so immediate, as in the case of all interim field reports, that it was decided to publish them in the regular pages of

Teiresias. At the time of the Conference Miss Andreiomḗnou was Ephor of Boiotian Antiquities and Director of the Thebes Museum and Dr. Demakopoúlou was second-in-command; although the former has now moved to another post in the Antiquities Service, the latter continues in her position at Thebes. The participation - direct and indirect - of both in the Conference was significant in that it symbolises both the fruitfulness and the necessity to all of close collaboration between the archaeologists resident in Boiotia and the considerable number of foreign scholars devoted to the study of that region.

The picture of ancient Boiotia which emerges from these pages, for all its inevitable incompleteness, is more complete - precisely because of its diversity - than any other presented between the covers of one volume. It is an indication of some of what has already been learned and of a small portion of the very large amount which remains to be done. The Conference gave the specialists their chance to meet, to discuss their problems, and to work together; the publication of its proceedings gives the reader a chance to appreciate, perhaps for the first time, the diversity of the study and its validity - the chance to see something both of ancient Boiotia within herself and of her contributions to ancient Greece as a whole.

In a paper originally read to this Conference and since published elsewhere Dr. S. C. Bakhuizen uttered a strong plea for greater coordination and integration of Greek regional studies. That need is indeed considerable and the editors of *Teiresias* have attempted to respond at least for Boiotia with certain improvements and extensions since the Conference. If the new *Epigraphica* and *Archaeologica* be judged to have a real value they may be seen as the response to specific needs of the type high-lighted by meetings such as the 2nd International Conference on Boiotian Antiquities. We are constantly seeking ways of improving our service to Boiotian Studies; perhaps the 3rd International Conference on Boiotian Antiquities, now in active planning, will produce the stimulus to further development.

McGill University

1. ON THE TOPOGRAPHY OF PREHISTORIC THEBES

by S. Symeonoglou

A discussion of the topography of Thebes must be largely hypothetical on account of the fragmented nature of the archaeological evidence and the continued habitation of the town. In fact, the rapid increase in construction and the growth of the modern town have made the possibility of systematic archaeological investigation practically hopeless. It is this unfortunate situation in particular which makes me feel it important to record my own experience there, working as a member of the Greek Archaeological Service during the crucial years of 1964-65-66. During that period, approximately 200 excavations a year had to be supervised in Boiotia and there were only two archaeologists and one assistant to shoulder this responsibility. We had no photographer, no architect, no other trained personnel. Mrs. Évi Touloúpa and I did whatever possible to limit the number of construction permits and we halted building completely at sites which were clearly of great importance. However, scientific excavation and research were not possible; there has been no opportunity to catalogue and study the pottery and other evidence which was uncovered. The material ranges from Early Bronze Age to the recent past; work did not stop during the winter months, and we are aware that the modern inhabitants themselves destroyed archaeological evidence so as not to be inconvenienced by the Service. All the same, I think it is important to synthesize whatever information we do have, because we may not have very much more to go on for a long time to come. As there is not space to discuss all the periods, I will limit my discussion to the Prehistoric sites.

Thebes was established in the central area of Boiotia, facing a rich plain to the North and controlling important roads of trade and communication. The early city, or the central area of Classical Thebes, was built at an altitude of 200 metres on irregular ground which slopes gradually toward the North (Figure 2.1); the city is divided into an upper (Southern) section, and a Lower (Northern) one. To the East of the sanctuary of Ismenios Apollo once flowed the river Ismenos, named for the son of Niobe and Amphion who, according to mythology, committed suicide in its waters. Directly to the West of the city is the river Dirke and the spring of the same name which Euripides identifies as the mythological spring of Ares. The spring of Ares was guarded by the great serpent which Kadmos killed. Pausanias places this spring on the East side of the city, near the sanctuary of Ismenios Apollo. Thebes has no natural defences and its inhabitants were forced to build strong fortification walls, which are often mentioned in Greek literature in connection with the city.

The fortified area, occupied in prehistoric times, has been confused with the area of Classical Thebes. Through excavations and the study of ancient literature, Keramópoullos was able to prove that the Classical city occupied a much larger area than the prehistoric one, and had a second fortification around it. The prehistoric section alone was called Kadmeia, whereas the entire city was referred to as Thebes. Pausanias, who is our most explicit source, actually says (9.5.2): "Kadmos inhabited the city which is still called Kadmeia in our times. When the city expanded in later times, Kadmeia became the Akropolis of the Thebes below". Pausanias also says (9.7.6) "The lower city was completely desolate in my time except for the sanctuaries; the people lived on the akropolis which they called Thebes instead of Kadmeia". Pausanias is not specific about the existence of two fortifications, but he does refer to the "ancient wall", apparently the wall of the prehistoric city which must have been repaired in the Classical period and used to fortify the akropolis. The Classical wall encompassing a much larger area, was traced by E. Kalopaís, a Theban lawyer of the 19th century, and later verified by Keramópoullos. This Classical wall had a short life: as short as the grandeur of Thebes in the 4th century. It was destroyed by Alexander the Great in 335, along with most of the city. In 316, Kassandros rebuilt or simply repaired the "ancient wall" mentioned by Pausanias (9.7.4) in order to accommodate those remaining Thebans who had not been killed or deported by Alexander. It is quite certain that Thebes did not expand beyond the "ancient wall" until very recently, and that for most of its history, the city occupied only the central area. In accord with the ancient authors, I would like to refer to this area as Kadmeia, and distinguish it from the larger Classical city of Thebes. Should this not seem very meaningful, I would like to point out that the loss of this distinction has been responsible for some confusion in modern scholarship. I should like to mention, for example, the "Kadmeian letters" referred to by Herodotos (5.58ff.). This reference has been interpreted by many scholars to mean "the letters, or alphabet, of Kadmos". The implication of this interpretation is that the Phoenicians led by Kadmos colonized Thebes during the 9th or 8th centuries B.C., or, as most believe, during the Mycenaean period. However, there is not a shred of archaeological evidence to indicate a movement of Semitic peoples to Thebes in either of these periods. I would like to suggest a simpler interpretation: in referring to the Kadmeian letters, Herodotos is probably referring to the alphabet of the city of Kadmeia. He might have called them the Theban alphabet, but he uses the term Kadmeian to indicate that the letters first came into use during the time when the city was confined to the small area of the Kadmeia, i.e., before the 6th century. By the time of Herodotos himself, of course, the city had expanded and the acropolis of Thebes was referred to as Kadmeia. The arrival of the alphabet in Thebes can be explained in connection with trading relations between that city and the Near East at the beginning of the Geometric period; there is no need to implicate Kadmos himself.[1]

No remains of buildings dating to the prehistoric period have been found outside the area of the Kadmeia. Scanty remains of the Late Neolithic period found in the suburb of *Pyrí* allow for the possibility that the earliest settlers established themselves in the low hills NW of the Kadmeia, near the plain. I have no further information regarding these remains, which were only recently discovered.

It appears that the Kadmeia was first inhabited during the Early Helladic period. The EH remains are spread over the Upper (Southern) area of the Kadmeia and this appears to have been the first area of occupation (Figure 2.2). At least ten recent excavations have yielded EH remains which include tombs, well constructed houses, and a palace. Unfortunately, we cannot present an adequate architectural plan of any of these structures because the EH remains usually lie under the great accumulations of later periods. But even the sporadic investigation of these remains attests to the wealth of the city during this early period. The spread of the excavated remains indicates the minimum spread of the city and is approximately 150 x 300 metres, or 4½ hectares (one hectare = 10,000 square metres). This is 1/7 of the total area of the Kadmeia which equals 30 hectares. If we try to calculate the population in proportion to the occupied space, the EH population must have numbered about 750.

Most extraordinary is the presence of a large structure in the centre of the Kadmeia (figure 2.2,no.1), at the Northern boundary of the EH town, facing the plain.[2] This is the same location that was later used for the construction of a Mycenaean palace, the Classical sanctuary of Demeter, and a medieval palace. The later construction has made it difficult to see clearly the plan of the EH building, but it appears that there were two large megaron-like structures, built side by side.

It is clear that at least one of the buildings had an apsidal end. Similar buildings are known from several EB sites, e.g. Troy I, the islands of Delos and Paros, and possibly Syros (i.e. *Khalandriání*); on the mainland there are parallels at Orkhomenos, *Koraköú*, *Málthi*-Dorion, and *Khasámpoli* in Thessaly.[3] Unfortunately, without having studied the material, I cannot suggest an absolute date for the building of Thebes.

Both EH II and EH III are well represented in Thebes; it seems likely that the city was founded during the EH II period. The Pelasgians and the Leleges are traditionally associated with Thebes, as they are with Boiotia in general. The Leleges were said to have come to the Mainland from the Kyklades. A recently excavated tomb on the so-called Hill of Ampheion may be one of the few tombs outside the Kadmeia dating to the EH-MH periods. EH tombs are generally located either within the settlement or on the fringe of it. The tomb on the Ampheion has been dated by the excavator to EH II. Its size and the find of gold jewelry give some indication of its importance.

Remains of the MH period have been found recently in at least 9 different locations covering an area of approximately 220 x 310 metres, or nearly 7 hectares. On the basis of this increase in occupied area, we may safely conclude that the city expanded substantially during this period, probably achieving a population of about 1250-1500 inhabitants. There is an impressive accumulation of deposits indicating continuous habitation and construction activity on the Kadmeia during the MH period.

The city occupied the same area as it did during the EH period, though no specific remains of buildings have been found in the Southern section of the EH city. Moreover, the city expanded towards the North of the downhill side of the Kadmeia. It may be that the site of the palace was shifted northward as well (Figure 2.2 no. 2), as no remains were found near the large EH apsidal structures which could be attributed to a palace. Keramópoullos found a few substantial walls beneath the "House of Kadmos" which might well be the remains of the MH palace which was later demolished to make place for the "House of Kadmos" itself. No plan is suggested by these MH remains.[4]

Like most MH cities in Greece, the MH town of Kadmeia was not rich, but it must have been relatively prosperous. Inside the tombs isolated offerings of pots or a bronze object have been found. The house foundations are of stone, some of them thick enough to have supported a second storey. During this period, the houses were built close together and the dead were buried within the city in closely grouped tombs; children were buried within the houses beneath the floors, sometimes even inside a wall or a stone bench.[5] Although this custom is practised in many areas of Greece, in Thebes one feels that the city is too crowded and has no room to expand. It seems to me that the city must have been not only well fortified during this period, but also under constant threat. Unfortunately, no remains of city walls have yet been found, either from the EH or MH periods. However, it is very likely that the Kadmeia was fortified from the EH period onward.

The tombs of MH III, some of which were excavated within the settlement, give some indication of the rise in prosperity in the course of the MH period. They are sizeable pits lined with large stone slabs.[6]

The LH finds give us much more information. There is evidence of energetic building activity between 1600 and 1200 B.C. At some point during this period, the entire Kadmeia was both settled and fortified, and the population swelled to 5000 inhabitants. Most of the LH tombs were rock-cut chamber tombs with the exception of a few pit graves of LH I found within the settlement.

The work of Keramópoullos has shown that the famous walls of the Kadmeia more or less followed the outline of the hills which form a sort of natural fortification line (Figure 2.2, dotted lines). Actual remains of these walls are only visible today in one place near the supposed location of the Proitides Gates (Figure 2.2, A). Another section of this wall was found in 1964 some 50m North of this location. Two other sections were recorded in the 19th century, but are no longer in existence. The proposed reconstruction of the line of the wall is based on the hypothetical position of the seven gates of Thebes. Even today, there are several roads of access to the Kadmeia which could conceivably correspond to ancient roads and gates. Keramópoullos believed in the existence of all seven gates, and this brought him into conflict with Wilamowitz and other philologists who took the seven gates to be a product of poetic imagination. However, the more Keramópoullos excavated, and the more he studied the topography of Thebes, the more confidence he had in his convictions.

After Keramópoullos, very little was done on the topography of Thebes. In the present circumstances, it appears unlikely that very much more will ever be done. And so we have the choice of either abandoning the question or trying to find an answer on the basis of the existing evidence. I would like to try the latter possibility, bringing to bear the arguments of Keramópoullos.[7] The Proitides Gates lie on the road which leads to Khalkis; there, Keramópoullos excavated part of a Cyclopean wall. In this area there was a Frankish tower which was demolished in 1904, and there were remains of a stone bridge dating to the Turkish occupation which may still be seen. The Turkish bridge was probably built over a Frankish one. Keramópoullos supposed there must be a gate at the Northern end of Pindhárou Street (Figure 2.2, B) where in 1805 Leake had seen a Cyclopean wall; it is here that he locates the Borrhaiai gates. On the west side, he suggested that there were two gates: to the North the Neistai (Figure 2.2, C), and to the South the Krenaiai (Figure 2.2, D). In 1965, a bulldozer began to reopen the ancient road in the area Keramópoullos suggested as the location of the Neistai gates. We only barely managed to halt the destruction of Mycenaean remains which did, in fact, indicate the existence of substantial Mycenaean buildings, but we had no opportunity to excavate. During the 19th century, part of a Cyclopean wall was visible between the points suggested for the gates.

On the South side of the Kadmeia, Keramópoullos suggested a location for the Hypsistai or Onkaiai gates on Epameinondhas Street (Figure 2.2, E). It was in this area that in 1965 we excavated the remains of a Frankish tower built with masonry from the Classical period. Beneath the tower we were able to distinguish Mycenaean pottery, but we did not demolish the tower.

On the South Eastern periphery of the Kadmeia, Keramópoullos excavated the only Classical gates, which date to the end of the 4th or beginning of the 3rd century B.C. He identified these as the Elektrai gates (Figure 2.2, F). The seventh set of gates he thought should be located between the Elektrai and the Proitides and he identified these last as the Homoloidies (Figure 2.2, g).

Four of the seven gates are referred to repeatedly by our most reliable ancient sources, always with the same name: Proitides, Elektrai, Neistai, and Homoloidies are referred to in works of Aiskhylos, Euripides, Pausanias, and Statius. Pseudo-Apollodoros does not mention the Neistai, but he does refer to the other three. The archaeological remains do suggest the existence of gates at the points Keramópoullos suggested for these four. Pausanias mentions seven gates, but he actually used only three to go in and out of the city: Elektrai, Proitides, and Neistai. As these same three gates are mentioned in all our literary sources, and as there is some archaeological evidence for their existence, I think we may safely conclude that there were at least that many gates in Thebes. I should think that one more gate at the South side was used when the Kadmeia was densely populated.

Four gates would probably not be objectionable to those who argue with good reason that seven gates would present a very great weakness in the fortification system of a Mycenaean city.[8] The large acropolis of *Glá* which comprises an area of about 26 hectares, just a little smaller than Thebes, has four gates, one of which is double.[9]

On the one hand, it is hard to imagine the existence of seven gates in a Mycenaean fortification; on the other hand, it is hard to disregard the tradition entirely, which repeatedly mentions seven gates. Perhaps, in the spirit of compromise, we might consider the possibility that three or four gates existed in one period, and another three or four in a consecutive period. During the four hundred years of Mycenaean civilization, one might reasonably suppose, even without direct evidence, that city walls would have to be built at least twice. We have one small bit of evidence to indicate that this did occur: in excavating a section of the Mycenaean wall near the Proitides gates, we noticed that the wall, instead of going due North as shown in Keramópoullos' drawing, turned West. It was impossible to confirm this direction for any distance because the remains were at a depth of 7 metres. The method of construction was Cyclopean but the stones were small, an indication that this section could not belong to the same wall that Leake observed near the Thebes Museum in 1805, which had huge stones, comparable to those of Tiryns. This evidence suggests the existence of two walls: an earlier one encircling the Upper Kadmeia, and a later one encircling the entire Kadmeia.

The suggested reconstruction of an earlier Mycenaean wall is not entirely hypothetical: no LH I or LH II remains have been identified at either the Northern or the Southern ends of the Kadmeia, and it is likely that the city grew gradually, occupying the entire area of the Kadmeia only in the 14th and 13th centuries, the period of great Mycenaean prosperity and expansion.

The hypothetical suggestion that there were four gates during the Early Mycenaean period rests on the likelihood that two gates (Keramópoullos' Proitides and Neistai, Figure 2.2, A and C) were built on old roads and continued to be used in later times as well. Two additional gates might well have been built to accommodate traffic of a city which had grown to a population of about 3000. These gates could correspond to Keramópoullos' Homoloidies which is mentioned repeatedly by tradition, and Krenaiai, named for its proximity to the spring of Dirke (Figure 2.2, A and g). As the city continued to expand, these two might have been closed, to be replaced by those referred to as Hypsistai and Elektrai by Keramópoullos (Figure 2.2, E and F).

It is unlikely that a 5th gate existed at the North end of the Kadmeia during the Mycenaean period. If the tradition is correct about the Borrhaiai gates, they might date to the Sub-Mycenaean period. In this connection, we will have to consider the problem of Hypothebai, or Lower Thebes referred to by Homer in the Catalogue (*Iliad* 2.B 505). Even in antiquity there was disagreement about the location of Hypothebai. Strabo (9.2.32) mentions that it was believed to be the city Potniai (modern *Tákhy*), about 1 mile South of the Kadmeia.

Wilamowitz[10] has recently supported this view. Others consider that it was the lower city of Thebes, directly North of the Kadmeia; this was the opinion of Keramópoullos.[11] My feeling is that Hypothebai should be located at the lower or Northern part of the Kadmeia itself. The only remains known to me of the period between 1200 and 700 BC are a few tombs of the Protogeometric period on the Kadmeia; I know of no remains dating to this period outside the Kadmeia. In the 6th century BC, the city began to expand beyond the Kadmeia, but it is not likely that the *Iliad* refers to this late period. Homer's Hypothebai must correspond to the small town or village to which Thebes was reduced, as were so many other Greek cities, after the destruction of Mycenaean Thebes. The most likely place for the remaining Mycenaean inhabitants of Thebes is the lower part of the Kadmeia, with an enclosing wall at the South, approximately at the line between the Proitides and Neistai gates (Figure 2.2, A and C). As Homer refers to Hypothebai in his Catalogue of Boiotian cities, we may assume that Hypothebai was settled immediately after the destruction of Mycenaean Thebes by the Epigonoi. It is at this time that a gate might have been built at the North side of the Kadmeia, but this is purely conjectural.

The Mycenaean remains within the walls of the Kadmeia are numerous and very important. Remains of buildings have been found almost everywhere on the Kadmeia, and tombs have been found in many locations outside the city. It is likely that the entire area of the Kadmeia was occupied by 1300 BC when the city reached the peak of its glory.

If the population of modern Thebes, which was 5000 before the advent of the apartment house, is any indication of the possible population of ancient Thebes, then it must certainly have been one of the largest cities of Mycenaean Greece. It was without question the largest walled city, measuring 30 hectares compared to Mykenai's walled area which measures only 3 hectares. Tradition has preserved the memory of a well fortified and well built city; archaeological evidence has given enough evidence to support the tradition and to indicate that buildings of a unique character still lie beneath the modern town. The discovery of two Mycenaean palaces and other large buildings, the Mycenaean aqueduct, the rich tombs, particularly the one found recently on the *Mikró Kastélli* hill which is the only Mycenaean tomb known with frescoes, all indicate that Thebes was a city of unusual character whose wealth, culture, and historical significance rival the greatest cities of the Late Bronze Age.

Of special importance are the two Mycenaean palaces. The earlier one (Figure 2.2, no. 2), discovered by Keramópoullos between 1905 and 1927, known as the House of Kadmos,[12] must have been very impressive with its well laid-out plan, its workshops for jewelry, its pottery, frescoes, and inscribed stirrup-jars. It has been only partially excavated. It was destroyed by fire, probably a fire of such magnitude that tradition recorded it as the work of Zeus. The site subsequently became a sanctuary of Dionysos and was not built upon until the Byzantine period. The House of Kadmos was destroyed ca 1375-1350 BC. The archaeological evidence for this dating is too complex to be explained here, but I have treated it in my book, *Kadmeia* 1. The destruction of the palace may have been the result of internal problems which probably led to a dynastic change. After the destruction, a new palace was built which was much larger than any other building on the Kadmeia. Its careful planning, which took into consideration the true North (it is only a few degrees off to the East) has influenced the orientation of buildings in Thebes ever since. Three sections of this building have been uncovered since 1963, in three different locations (Figure 2.2, nos. 1, 4 and 5), giving the building thus far the approximate dimensions of 120 x 150 metres, or 18,000 square metres, more than half the size of the entire acropolis of Mykenai, and larger than the palace of Knossos by about 3,500 square metres.

The finds of the palace include part of the royal treasury, which yielded jewelry made of gold and lapis-lazuli, onyx, ivory carvings, and a unique collection of 36 Near Eastern cylinder seals of lapis-lazuli. Another excavation uncovered the royal workshops for jewelry, stone cutting, for pottery, and possibly for the making of furniture with ivory decoration. A third excavation yielded Linear B tablets. These are just a few rooms of a building which, judging from the thickness of the foundations, could have been 3 storeys high in places, and which could have had over 200 rooms. Our present evidence indicates that this building was destroyed ca 1240 BC. This is in accord with the tradition which places the destruction of Thebes just before the Trojan War. If we ask whether the tradition is borne out by the archaeological evidence, we must say that for the most part, the tradition has preserved remarkably accurate information for us. The second palace lasted from 100-120 years; this is very close to the time span of the five kings whose dynasty saw the end of Mycenaean Thebes.

It does not seem to me unreasonable to associate this second palace with the dynasty of the Labdakids, although we may never be able to determine their historical reality or reconstruct the history of this period in any detail.

There have been many studies on such mythological personalities as Kadmos, Oidipous, and their descendants. Most of the studies are based on analyses of literature. Although our understanding of the myths has grown, there is still much disagreement on their interpretation. There is also much disagreement on the interpretation of archaeological material, and this is not surprising as the archaeological evidence represents only a small fraction of what once existed. Sometimes one feels it is better to say nothing about an archaeological problem until more is excavated. But in Thebes, almost all hope of a chance to excavate systematically is being lost as ancient buildings are being buried under masses of cement. Under these circumstances, I think it might be of some value to present a most tentative interpretation of the existing material.

The present evidence indicates that we do have in the centre of the Kadmeia, four palaces which date to four different periods. We have the large second palace of the Mycenaean period (Figure 2.2, II) and the large EH palace underneath it; to the North we have the Early Mycenaean palace (Figure 2.2, I), the "House of Kadmos", and it is likely that its predecessor of the MH period lies underneath it.

If the attribution of the second palace to the Labdakids is correct, then the "House of Kadmos" must belong to the dynasty headed by the twins, Zethos and Amphion, who built the first extensive stone fortifications on the Kadmeia. The stories associated with this dynasty (the story of Dirke and Antiope, of Niobe and Amphion, of Zethos and Thebe) recall the first heroic period of the Mycenaean Age. According to tradition, Niobe lived 16 generations before Alkmene, the last mortal woman to cohabit secretly with Zeus. The product of that union was Herakles who was destined to save both men and gods from all their troubles. I take this to indicate that Alkmene and Herakles mark the end of the first heroic period, or a transition to the second one, presided over by the dynasty of the Labdakids. I consider the story of Kadmos to be part of another distinct myth cycle. It seems probable to me that the story of Kadmos ought to be associated with the MH palace, rather than either of the later palaces. This would explain why the palace of Zethos-Amphion, which was built on the same site, kept the name "House of Kadmos", whereas the second Mycenaean palace did not. The EH palace would then be associated with the earliest inhabitants of Thebes, whether we call them Leleges or Spartoi. This implies that Kadmos arrived at the beginning, or during the MH period. Where he came from and who he really was is another problem.

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NOTES

1 In the discussion which followed the presentation of this paper, Paul Roesch suggested that the "Kadmeian letters" might be Linear B. I have considered this possibility, but think it more likely that Herodotos refers to an early form of the Greek alphabet. He says (5.59) "I have seen myself in the temple of Ismenios Apollo cauldrons inscribed with Kadmeian letters, most of them not very different from the Ionian. There were three of these cauldrons." Herodotos then tells us what he read on the cauldrons. He would not have been able to read Linear B, nor would he have been able to compare it to Ionian characters.

2 For a plan of the excavation see *A Delt* 20 (1965) B. 231.

3 For these and other apsidal houses one may consult the comprehensive study by Stephan Sinos, *Die vorklassischen Hausformen in der Agais* (Mainz a.R., 1971).

4 *AE* (1909) 57, Fig. 1.

5 *Kadmeia.*, 1. 13, Figs. 3,9.

6 *A Delt* 20 (1965) B. 233-234, Fig. 2.

7 Keramópoullos, *Thevaïká*, 300ff (passim).

8 e.g. F. Schober, *RE* cols, 1429-30.

9 N. Scoufopoulos, *Mycenaean Citadels. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* 22 (Göteborg 1971) 80ff. Plan 12.

10 Wilamowitz, *Hermes* 25 (1891) 237.

11 Keramópoullos, *Thevaïká*, 303f.

12 Keramópoullos, *AE* (1930) 31 Fig. 1; *Kadmeia* 1 72ff, Fig. 5.

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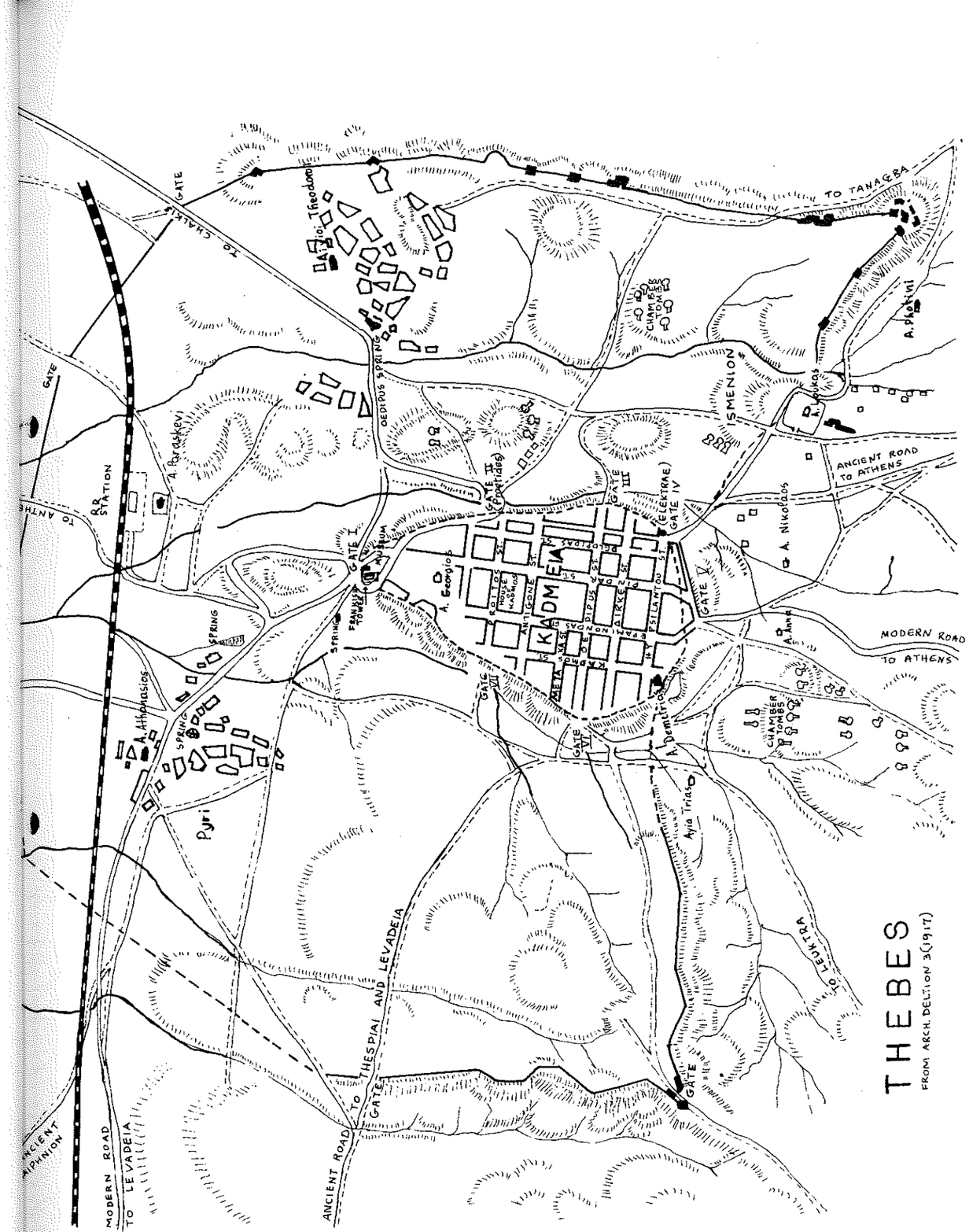

Fig. 2.1 MAP OF THEBES

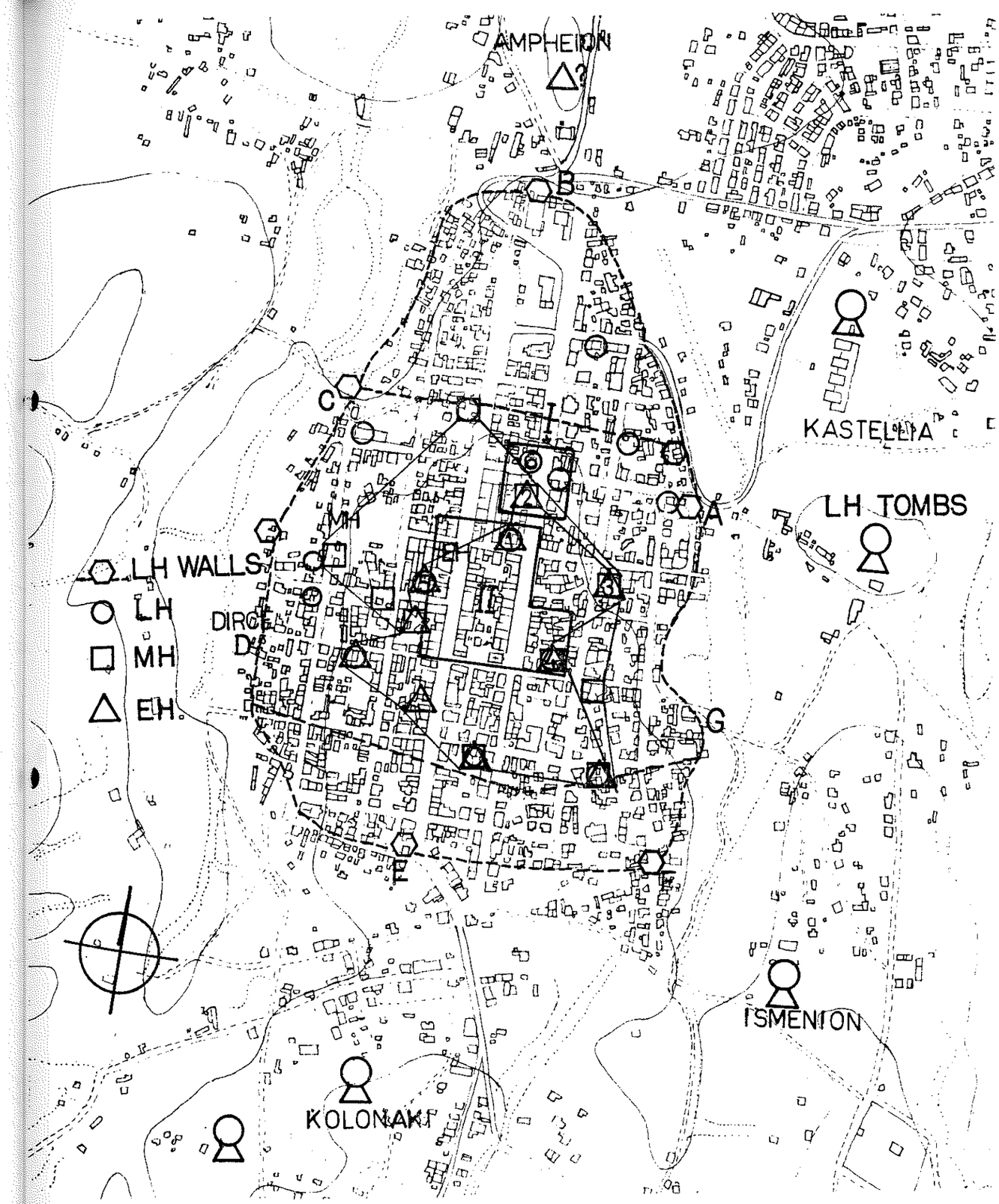

Fig. 2.2 MAP OF THE KADMEIA

2. THE DIKES IN THE KOPAÏS

by P. W. Wallace

Sometime in antiquity a mammoth engineering project was undertaken in an attempt to drain the Kopaïc Basin.[1] The remains of this project have been noticed and described by learned travellers from the seventeenth century on, but it was not until the 1890's, when the basin was substantially drained, that the remains of this hydraulic project could be fully studied.

This remarkable project (or projects) consisted, first, of a system of canals and dikes, and secondly, of a tunnel (never finished) through the barrier ridge where the Kopaïc Lake came closest to the sea. There were two canals, one in the north which collected the Kephissos and Melas Rivers, and one in the south which collected the streams in that region; the canals then conducted the waters to the eastern end of the basin where effluents (*katavóthrai*) discharged them into the sea. Although these hydraulic works represent some of the most impressive human achievements in Greece, very little attention has been given to them. The basic studies made on these dikes, canals, and the tunnel are still the articles published by Kambanis[2] in 1892 and 1893 and by Kenny[3] in 1933. Of those who discuss the drainage system only Kambanis and Kenny based their remarks, to any extent, on actual observation. Though reference is often made in more recent literature to these hydraulic works, there is no agreement as to the period when they were built.[4] They have been dated from Mycenaean times (or "Minyan" in the older writers) to Hellenistic times. Th. G. Spyrópoulos,[5] a former director of antiquities at Thebes, has recently begun a series of studies on the larger problem of prehistoric habitation in the Kopaïc area (including the lakes *Likéri* and *Paralímni*). Spyrópoulos has not yet dealt with the drainage works in any detail, but he states his hypothesis that the Minyans were Egyptian colonists, who occupied Boiotia in the 3rd millennium B.C. and built the drainage works and the Ampheion at Thebes.

Since it has been 40 years since Kenny's general study appeared, and 80 years since Kambanis published his studies of the condition of the dikes, I decided in the summer of 1972 to try to determine what was the present condition of the dikes. Further investigation was made in the spring of 1973. This paper contains some of the results of these surveys.

The Central Canal is something of a mystery. Kambanis found some earth works, apparently substantial enough to suggest to him that they were dikes, in the southwestern central part of the basin. But it is difficult to understand how a canal in this area would have functioned, and its existence has been accordingly suspect from the first. Kambanis said the dike was just east of the village of *Deglési (Ayios Dhemétrios)*, but Kenny found no trace of it, nor have I.

The mound which Kambanis and the engineers of the Kopaïc Company identified with the dike of the South Canal must now be plowed down. In 1933 Kenny failed to find any remains of the dike in the south. I, too, was unsuccessful in my search for the dike, but I have not examined this area as carefully as elsewhere.

In the Bay of *Dhávlosis* only one dike may have run across the bay; the eastern bank of the canal may have been formed by the higher land in the bay. This dike was said to carry a road. The mound which now runs through the bay, and which carries the road, looks like the modern embankment for the irrigation canal. But both Kambanis and Kenny worked closely with the Kopaïc Company and would surely have known if the embankment were modern. The embankment is very regular and even, and rises about six or seven feet above the basin floor on the west. No stone masonry is visible in connection with this dike.

One of the best preserved stretches of dike runs through the bay of *Kardhítsa*. The modern road also follows the course of this dike, and in many places the stone masonry which formed the core of the dike can still be seen. The line of stones usually appears along the west side of the road, or sometimes a few feet off the road. The stones clearly form part of a dike, and are preserved at a level five or six feet higher than the basin floor. The stones are generally overgrown, but enough can be seen to determine that the prevailing masonry style is polygonal. Some of the blocks, however, are ashlar, which Kenny thought belonged to the time of Epameinondas of Akraiphia, when, according to an inscription in *Kardhítsa (Akraíphnion)*, in about 40 A.D. he repaired at his own expense the dike which protected the land of his native city.[6] Kenny published a photograph of what he identified as the "Minyan wall faced by the wall of Epameinondas," showing a stretch of the ashlar masonry. This was supposed to be at the point where the modern Central Drain intersects with the ancient dike. I have looked in vain for these remains.

Besides the examples of rough polygonal and ashlar, *Kardhítsa Bay* also has a section of dike executed in finely made Lesbian masonry. Just before the dike reaches *Mytiká* Promontory, at a point about 20 m. south of the *Ethnikí Odhós*, is a line of stones with beautifully curved joints. Kambanis produced a drawing of these stones, but no one has discussed them. This stretch of Lesbian masonry is unparalleled in the other remains of the dikes.

The course of the dike in the North Canal can be followed for a considerable distance, but it is not always possible to say whether the mound is ancient or modern. The main bulk of the Melas River is channelled along the course of the North Canal, and the modern embankments are often probably the same as the ancient. A stretch of the stone core of the dike in the North canal has recently been excavated; it is located about 5 miles east of Orkhomenos, and about 3 miles south of the village of *Pýrgos*, and lies about 100 or so metres south of the Kopaí-Orkhomenos road and must have been excavated within the last year or two. The wall batters from both sides, and the top, where it is preserved, is perhaps a metre and a half thick. The stones are rough polygonal, almost unworked, and are comparatively small. From this point the course of the dike can be followed with certainty for only a short distance through the fields; it appears as a mound of earth, while here and there a pile of stones suggests the remains of the core. The dike forms an arc and then joins the asphalted road to Kopaí. Its course is then obscured and can only be conjectured.

In the Bay of *Topólia*, in the northeast corner of the Kopaïs, is found the most powerfully built and the best preserved section of the dike. From the peninsula where the city of Kopaí was situated the dike makes an arc north of the citadel of *Glá* and joins the canal from the south at a place called *Tourkoyéfiro*. Here two enormous banks defined a channel estimated by Kenny to be 60 m. wide. Above the junction of the canals rises a hill, called *Pýrgos Ayía Marína*, with Mycenaean remains, from which one can best survey the northeast Kopaïs. From the summit of *Pýrgos Ayía Marína* one can follow the course of the dike as it twice cuts across the road and curves towards modern Kopaí. The course of this dike can be followed for a great distance, though usually only one course of stones is preserved. The masonry deserves to be called Cyclopean, for the stones are in many cases huge, so large that they cannot be removed easily by the farmers, and so remain in place and prevent the plowing of the land. Kambanis produced a drawing of this dike and was the first to stress the similarity between the masonry of this dike and the masonry of the fortification walls at *Glá*.

The construction of this drainage system was a gigantic undertaking. The dikes were generally about six feet high by as much as 180 feet thick, and the length of the whole system, not even counting the places where the dikes were doubled, was over 30 miles.

This article was meant to deal only with the dikes, but no account of the drainage of the Kopaïs could fail to mention the ancient attempt to drive a tunnel through the barrier ridge where the Kopaïc Lake came closest to the sea. The tunnel may have nothing to do with the dikes and the canals, and may belong to a different period. The works on this ridge, called the *Kephalári* Ridge, consisted of 16 shafts sunk into the barrier ridge in preparation for cutting a tunnel through to the other side. The deepest shaft, No. 6, cut down through 200 feet of rock. The tunnel was never completed, but if it had been completed, it would have run for a mile and a half. Most of the shafts, including shaft No. 6, were filled in by the road company in the spring of 1972. Shafts No. 8 and No. 16 are still open, but most of the other shafts are now crossed by the road to Larymna, and their situation cannot now be determined without local help.

As mentioned above, various dates have been assigned to these hydraulic projects. Some have chosen to regard all the drainage works-dikes, canals, and tunnel-as Mycenaean. Others would date everything to Hellenistic times. The tunnel, however, at whatever time we date it, must surely be kept separate from the dikes and canals. Kenny believed just the opposite-that the tunnel was a logical conclusion to the system of dikes. But surely it is not necessary to have both a canal system and a tunnel. The canal system, on the one hand, and the tunnel, on the other, must certainly represent two very different approaches to the problems of a flooded basin. A tunnel would simply have drained the basin completely, once and for all, and all unwanted water would have been allowed to escape to the sea. Dikes and canals, on the other hand, imply that the basin, at some season, contained more water than was convenient to have about; the dikes and canals controlled the excess water and prevented it from flooding the reclaimed farm land in the basin. The *katavóthrai*, if kept cleaned and free of debris, could probably have disposed of most of the water in the *Kopaïs* as they now do in other similar basins in Greece.[8] Still, with the coming of the winter rains, there would probably be some back-up at the *katavóthrai*. The dikes and canals then contained the water which would have overflowed the natural channels of the streams and rivers. If you have a tunnel, you do not need the dikes and canals. The rivers and streams could run in their own beds. It might be necessary to strengthen their natural courses at some points, but it would surely be an enormous waste of labour to construct a whole system of artificial channels for them.

Let us now attempt to date the dikes and canals. The types of masonry in the dikes, even if we had no other evidence, would be enough to suggest that the dikes as we now have them do not belong to one period. Inscriptional evidence proves that some work was done on the dikes in late antiquity. Mention has already been made of the inscription recording the efforts in the first century A.D. of Epameinondas of Akraiphia to restore the dike in *Kardhítsa* Bay. Other inscriptions, from the area of ancient Koroneia, speak of Hadrian's work in the dike in that area. These last inscriptions, first discovered in 1919, have recently been rediscovered and studied by John M. Fossey.[9] The existence of repairs and works on the dikes from different periods does not, however, alter the fact that the dikes once constituted a complete system, and it is this system that we should like to date. Those who date the dikes to the Mycenaean period generally base their opinion on the legend, recorded by Strabo (9.2.40), that the Kopaïs was once dry and was farmed by the people of Orkhomenos, whose wealth derived from it. But this legend hardly constitutes sufficient evidence for dating the drainage system. Probably the only evidence which exists for dating the drainage system is the citadel of *Glá*, for the basin was surely drained before *Glá* could be fortified or inhabited. It is improbable that the basin was ever completely drained if left to itself; rather, the drainage must have been controlled by man, for the volume of water which enters the basin every winter is much too large to be disposed of without artificial controls. Since the tunnel was *not* completed, but the dikes *were* completed, the drainage system in effect while *Glá* was inhabited must have been the dikes. *Glá* was inhabited for a short period in Mycenaean times, destroyed by fire, and deserted forever thereafter. The dikes and canals are, therefore, Mycenaean.

The building of such massive dikes and canals implies a considerable amount of political security, for, in the first place, the construction of such dikes would have required an enormous labour force, more than one, or two, or probably 10 cities, could have supplied; and, in the second place, such a system of dikes is extremely vulnerable, and if hostile powers were nearby, in even one night they could easily have sabotaged the project by digging through a dike. Therefore, the very existence of this system of dikes implies that, for a time, the people of Boiotia were friendly to each other, or, at the very least, were not overtly hostile to each other. It is hard to imagine so huge and so vulnerable a system being constructed under any other conditions. Such conditions must have prevailed for a while in the Mycenaean period when *Glá* was being built and the basin was being drained. But such conditions do not prevail for long in Boiotia, and the legend which has the Theban Herakles flooding the plain of Orkhomenos probably represents the actual breakdown of relations between the two chief Boiotian cities. Not until Hellenistic times would conditions again be such for large scale drainage work to be undertaken. It was then that Krates (Strabo 9.2.18) began work on the tunnel, which he could not finish, because civil disorder again broke out among the Boiotians. From that time on work on the drainage system was limited to patching the dikes to protect local areas, and no large scale work could be undertaken until the latter years of the last century, when the complete drainage of the Kopaïc Basin was finally accomplished.

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NOTES

1 This article merely attempts a brief description of the present condition of the dikes. An attempt was made to date and to explain the drainage system and the citadel of *Glá* at the 1972 Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America (abstract in *AJA* 77 [1973] 230f.). The author intends to publish a much fuller account in in the near future.

2 Michel L. Kambanis, "Le dessèchement du lac Copaïs par les anciens," *BCH* 16 (1892) 121-137 and *ibid.* 17 (1893) 322-342.

3 E. J. André Kenny, "The Ancient Drainage of the Copais," *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology, Liverpool* 22 (1935) 189-206.

4 For the earlier literature see U. Kahrstedt, "Der Kopaissee im Altertum und die 'Minyschen' Kanäle," *Arch. Anz.* 5 (1937) 1-20. An especially clear account is by J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece* (London 1913[2]) 110 ff. It is not necessary to record here all the references to the Kopaïc drainage system in recent literature. Nearly all accounts of Greek history and archaeology, particularly of the Mycenaean world, allude to the drainage works in the Kopaïs.

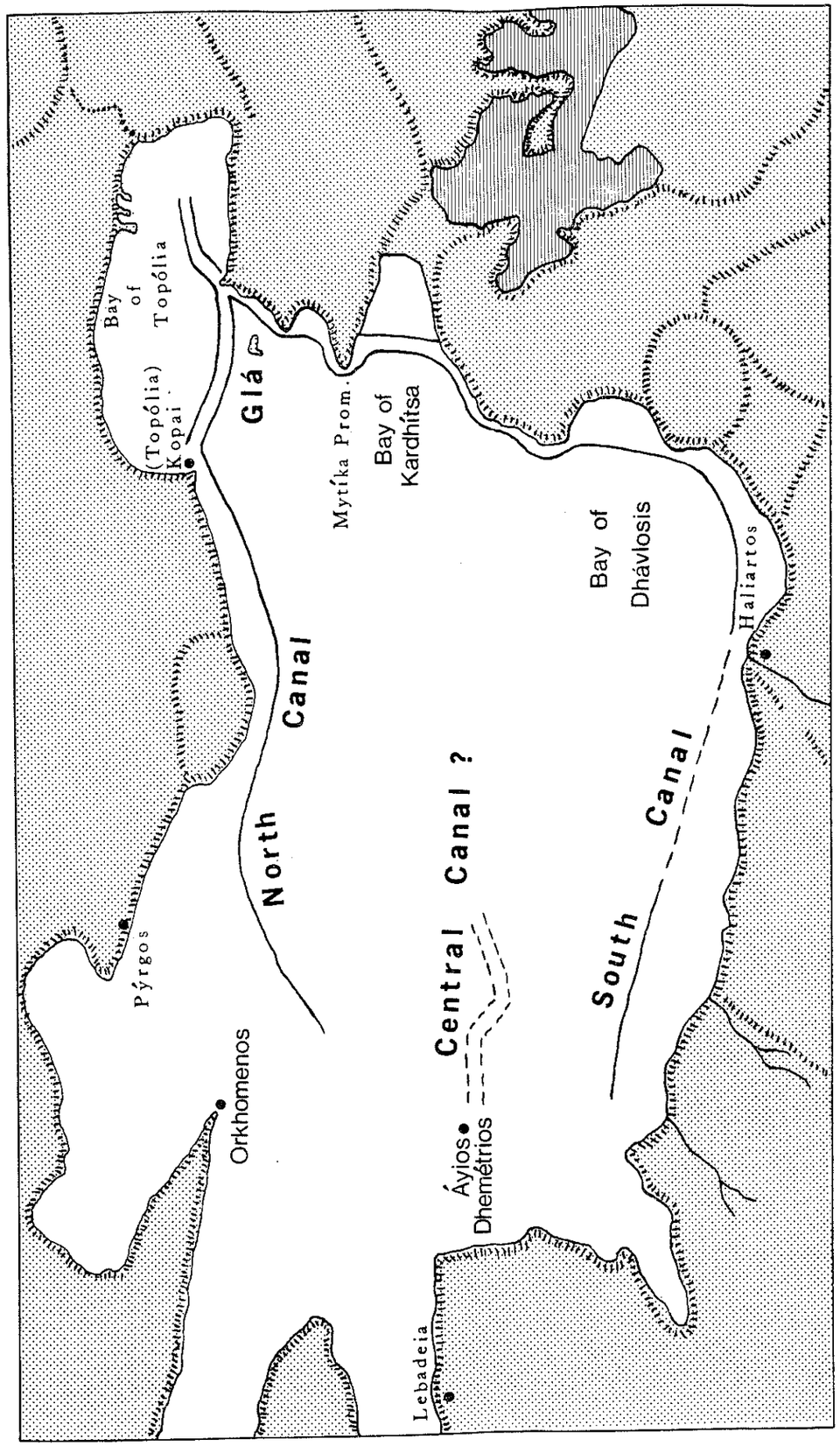
5 "Egyptian Colonization of Boeotia," *AAA* 5 (1972) 16-27 and "Introduction to the Study of the Copaic Area," *AAA* 6 (1973) 201-214.

6 See now James H. Oliver, "Epaminondas of Acraephia," *GRBS* 12 (1971) 221-237.

7 Spyrópoulos (*supra* n. 5) reports on his work here in *AAA* 6 (1973) 208f. and 214, pls. 16 and 17. He excavated a stretch of the stone core for about 10 m. to a depth of 2.80 m. The pottery, in very poor condition, which he found in the excavation, Spyrópoulos identifies as early Middle Helladic. Whether or not this pottery (*op. cit.* pls. 18-20), whatever its date, has anything to do with the construction of the dikes, depends of course on where precisely it was found.

8 The Arkadian basins of Pheneos and Kaphyai (Orkhomenos) are almost completely drained by the *katavóthrai*, which are protected from debris by iron grills and concrete housings.

9 N. G. Pappadakis in *A Delt.* 5 (1919) Parart. 34; John M. Fossey in a paper read at the VI International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy *Vestigia* 17 (1973) 451-455.



The Kopaïc Basin

Fig. 3.1

3. UNE BASE NAVALE D'ÉPAMINONDAS

par John M. Fossey

En général les activités maritimes des Béotiens et de leur Confédération n'ont pas été étudiées;[1] les historiens néanmoins en parlent souvent de façon trop affirmative. Ces affirmations sont encore plus surprenantes si l'on se rend compte du fait que les activités des Béotiens dans ce domaine figurent très rarement dans les récits des écrivains anciens.[2] A l'exception d'une seule époque, notre manque de documentation contemporaine des événements est presque complet et toute discussion ne se fonde que sur des suppositions et des hypothèses plus ou moins logiques.

C'est seulement pour l'époque de la Ligue thébaine du quatrième siècle av. J.-C., c'est à dire pour "l'époque d'Épaminondas", que nous possédons des renseignements contemporains. Un événement surtout se trouve mentionné par deux écrivains anciens; cet événement est précisément la construction d'une flotte thébaine vers les années 366-363 av. J.-C.

i. Diodore 15.78-79.

78,1 Ἐπ᾽ ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Τιμοκράτους . . .

78,4 Ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις Ἐπαμεινώνδας ὁ Θηβαῖος, μέγιστον ἔχων τῶν πολιτῶν ἀξίωμα, συναχθείσης ἐκκλησίας διελέχθη τοῖς πολίταις, προτρεπόμενος αὐτοὺς ἀντέχεσθαι τῆς κατὰ θάλατταν ἡγεμονίας. Διελθὼν δὲ λόγον ἐκ χρόνου πεφροντισμένον ἐδείκνυε τὴν ἐπιβολὴν ταύτην συμφέρουσάν τε καὶ δυνατήν, τά τε ἄλλα προφερόμενος, καὶ διότι τοῖς πεζῇ κρατοῦσι ῥᾴδιόν ἐστι περιποιήσασθαι τὴν τῆς θαλάττης ἀρχήν· καὶ γὰρ Ἀθηναίους ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ξέρξην πολέμῳ διακοσίας ναῦς ἰδίᾳ πληροῦντας Λακεδαιμονίοις δέκα ναῦς παρεχομένοις ὑποτετάχθαι. Πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα πρὸς ταύτην τὴν ὑπόθεσιν οἰκείως διαλεχθεὶς ἔπεισε τοὺς Θηβαίους ἀντέχεσθαι τῆς κατὰ θάλατταν ἀρχῆς.

79,1 Εὐθὺς οὖν ὁ δῆμος ἐψηφίσατο τριήρεις μὲν ἑκατὸν ναυπηγεῖσθαι, νεώρια δὲ ταύταις ἴσα τὸν ἀριθμόν, Ῥοδίους δὲ καὶ Χίους καὶ Βυζαντίους προτρέπεσθαι βοηθῆσαι ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς· αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ δυνάμεως ἐκπεμφθεὶς ἐπὶ τὰς εἰρημένας πόλεις Λάχητα μὲν τὸν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγόν, ἔχοντα στόλον ἀξιόλογον καὶ διακωλύειν τοὺς Θηβαίους ἀπεσταλμένον, καταπληξάμενος καὶ ἀποπλεῦσαι συναναγκάσας, ἰδίας τὰς πόλεις τοῖς Θηβαίοις ἐποίησεν. Εἰ μὲν οὖν ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος πλείω χρόνον ἐπέζησεν, ὡμολογημένως ἂν οἱ Θηβαῖοι τῇ κατὰ γῆν ἡγεμονίᾳ καὶ τῆς θαλάττης ἀρχὴν προσεκτήσαντο· . . .

ii. Isocrate 5.53.

Εἰς Βυζάντιον δὲ τριήρεις ἐξέπεμπον ὡς καὶ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἄρξοντες.

G. Glotz a suggéré[3] que l'architecte naval de cette flotte d'Épaminondas était un Carthaginois, un certain Nopal, qui a été honoré comme proxène de la Confédération à cette époque.[4] Il n'y a aucune preuve ni pour ni contre cette hypothèse. Quoi qu'il en soit, les textes historiques nous disent que vers 365 ou 364 av. J.-C. les Thébains ont suivi l'avis d'Épaminondas et ont construit une flotte d'environ cent trières. A ce moment-là ils ont reçu l'appui de quelques cités de l'Égée, notamment de Byzance.

Nous avons l'impression que cette activité navale constituait une démarche nouvelle et remarquable de la part des Thébains qui habituellement - *argumentum e silentio* - n' apparaissaient pas dans le domaine de la vie maritime. Il semble encore plus surprenant que cette activité n'ait pas duré longtemps, fait que Diodore attribue à la mort prématurée d'Épaminondas. Néanmoins les trières béotiennes, par leur existence même - car selon Diodore il ne semble pas y avoir eu d'engagements proprement dits -, ont pu augmenter considérablement les difficultés des Athéniens dans l'Égée, et surtout dans l'Égée du nord. Avant la construction de cette flotte thébaine les Athéniens avaient déjà de nombreux ennuis dans cette région, qui avaient commencé par la défection de l'Eubée en 370 av. J.-C., et qu'avait aggravés leur échec devant Amphipolis.[5] La carte, Figure 4.1, montre la région en question.

* * *

A l'occasion de l'initiative béotienne, non seulement Rhodes, Chios et Byzance se retirèrent de la Ligue athénienne pour appuyer les Thébains, mais l'île de Céos fit elle aussi défection pour se joindre par isopolitie à la ville d'Histiée en Eubée.[6] L'intervention du stratège athénien Chabrias mit fin brusquement à cette dernière défection, et enfin celle de la ville d'Ioulis cessa grâce aux arrangements conclus par son compatriote Aristophon.[7] L'île semble par la suite être restée tranquille,[8] mais les difficultés qu'éprouvaient les Athéniens avec Rhodes, Chios et Byzance ont continué. Vers 362 les gens de Byzance, de concert avec ceux de Cyzique et de Chalcédoine, détournaient les convois athéniens transportant le blé du Pont-Euxin vers la métropole,[9] ou leur imposaient une taxe spéciale. En 358 Rhodes, Chios et Byzance se trouvaient une fois encore opposées à Athènes dans la Guerre Sociale, terminée en 355.[10] A part les trois cités mentionnées par les auteurs anciens, et le cas de Céos connu par des inscriptions, on a récemment suggéré que les gens d'Héraclée du Pont pourraient avoir eux aussi poussé à une intervention thébaine.[11]

Pendant que se poursuivaient les préparatifs et les activités maritimes des Thébains, le stratège athénien Timothéos était très occupé dans le nord de l'Égée par l'acquisition ou la conquête de Pydna, Méthone, Sestos, Krithote, Torone, Potidée, Samos et peut-être Olynthe, par l'assistance apportée à Cyzique, et par la tentative permanente de dominer Amphipolis.[12] Encore que les sources anciennes ne mettent pas ces événements en relation étroite avec les activités des Thébains, il va sans dire qu'il y avait un rapport quelconque, soit parce que les Thébains en profitaient, soit parce qu'ils les encourageaient, soit les deux à la fois. G. Cawkwell a suggéré[13] que la clérouchie envoyée à Samos en 375 était la raison immédiate de cette initiative navale de la part des Béotiens.

Quoi qu'il en soit, une chose demeure certaine; le nord de l'Égée était pour les Athéniens une région vitale où ils agissaient énergiquement afin d'assurer une sécurité stable. Nous ne devons pas chercher loin l'explication. Le Pont-Euxin et la Thrace étaient pour Athènes la source de blé la plus importante, comme les écrivains anciens nous l'apprennent[14] et comme le montrent les évènements de 362 que nous venons de mentionner. La préoccupation des Athéniens dans le nord, l'importance de Byzance dans les plans thébains - c'est la seule cité mentionnée par les deux sources et les bonnes relations à cette époque entre cette cité et Thèbes sont aussi attestées par des inscriptions[15] - et le détournement des convois athéniens de blé vers 362, ces trois faits nous montrent bien que l'objectif principal de la préparation navale de Thèbes devait être l'interruption de l'approvisionnement d'Athènes en blé.[16] Cette interruption avait déjà été amorcée avec la mainmise béotienne sur Oropos et la perte de l'Eubée par Athènes, car ces deux endroits se trouvaient sur la principale route du blé venant du Pont-Euxin.[17]

* * *

Il devient ainsi évident que la flotte thébaine devait avoir ses bases sur la côte nord de la Béotie (voir la carte, Figure 4.2) et non sur le golfe de Corinthe. De plus nous pouvons être presque certains qu'elle était basée en grande partie au moins dans la partie nord-ouest de l'Euripe. Cette région donne l'accès le plus facile et le plus rapide au nord de l'Égée.[18] En outre, si les Thébains avaient utilisé des ports dans la partie sud-est de l'Euripe, les navires auraient été obligés, pour atteindre n'importe quelle région de l'Égée, ou bien de traverser les détroits de l'Euripe même ou de passer dans les parages de Rhamnonte; les difficultés du passage de l'Euripe étaient bien connues dans l'antiquité[19] comme elles le sont aujourd'hui encore, et à Rhamnonte se trouvait une des plus redoutables forteresses de l'Attique, dont la tâche était de garder la frontière du côté de la Béotie et de surveiller la navigation dans le sud-est du Golfe d'Eubée.[20] Existe-t-il d'ailleurs un port convenant à une grande flotte béotienne dans la partie sud-est du Golfe? Les deux seuls mouillages possibles sont Aulis et Oropos, car entre eux la côte est absolument ouverte. Les restes du port ancien d'Oropos ont disparu aujourd'hui,[21] mais on peut encore constater que c'est une position très exposée; plus défavorable encore est la proximité de la frontière athénienne et de la forteresse de Rhamnonte; en dernier lieu rappelons qu'Oropos, à l'extrémité orientale de la côte béotienne, ne fut jamais la portion la plus sûre du territoire et à l'époque dont nous parlons elle venait juste d'être reprise par les thébains.[22] Les mêmes réserves s'appliquent au petit port du Delphinion à l'est d'Oropos.[23] Il est donc très improbable que les Thébains se soient servi de ces ports comme base pour leur flotte. Le port proprement dit d'Aulis fut toujours très petit et ne pouvait contenir que cinquante navires anciens,[24] et le grand port, le *Vathý* d'aujourd'hui, est complètement entouré de marécages et peu profond; il semble, cependant, avoir pu servir de mouillage pour environ cent cinquante navires une fois au moins dans l'antiquité.[25] Le grand *Vathý* reste donc une possibilité et il se peut que les Thébains aient eu une partie de leur flotte dans la partie sud-est de l'Euripe, mais je suis persuadé que la base principale devait se trouver au nord-ouest: elle avait ainsi un accès plus facile vers le nord en évitant le détroit de l'Euripe et les parages de Rhamnonte.

Quels sont donc les candidats possibles au nord-ouest? On a souvent pensé à Anthédon, mais les recherches anglo-allemandes de 1966 ont clairement montré que tous les restes du port sont d'une date très tardive, au moins du Ve siècle de notre ère.[26] Même si la destruction du site par Sylla en 86 av. J.-C.[27] n'a pas laissé grand'chose de la ville classique, il est impensable qu'elle n'ait laissé aucune trace d'un port antique; aujourd'hui cependant les seuls vestiges conservés sont ceux du petit port du Bas-Empire. La seule solution est de supposer que ce dernier port a complètement remplacé les installations plus anciennes; si l'ancien port était plus grand que le port romain les recherches exactes et poussées de 1966 en auraient trouvé sans aucun doute quelque trace. Le havre classique d'Anthédon fut donc toujours très petit, trop petit pour être la base principale de la flotte béotienne. Sa situation est d'ailleurs très exposée et mal protégée contre les attaques, les vents, ou les courants.

L'autre candidat proposé par les historiens modernes est Larymna en Locride Orientale.[28] À part une phrase de Pausanias,[29] très vague et selon moi de sens très douteux, il n'y a absolument aucune indication[30] qui nous permette de considérer Larymna comme appartenant à la Béotie avant l'époque hellénistique.[31] De plus, comme Oropos, celui-ci serait un port situé tout-à-fait à l'extrémité de la Béotie, avec tous les problèmes que cette situation implique. Il me semble donc que la candidature de Larymna ne doit pas trop retenir notre attention.[32]

* * *

Ayant ainsi écarté les autres possibilités, il ne nous reste qu'un candidat qui ne semble pas avoir été suggéré jusqu'à maintenant. Il s'agit de la rade de *Skroponéri* entre Anthédon et Larymna. Celle-ci constitue le meilleur havre naturel de toute la Béotie, mais elle était, jusqu'en 1967, presque inaccessible et n'était donc jamais visitée par les archéologues. Récemment la construction de plusieurs villas d'été pour des Athéniens a entraîné l'aménagement d'une nouvelle route vers *Skroponéri* dans la plaine d'Anthédon.

La rade de *Skroponéri* est très profonde. Déjà étroite, l'entrée est commandée par la petite île de *Vlomoúsa* et la rade est complètement entourée de montagnes hautes et abruptes; le résultat de cette situation est une absence complète de courants et même de vents forts à l'intérieur. Au fond se trouve une plage graveleuse et de grandes dimensions dominée par une seule colline, le *kástro*. Comme son nom l'indique, le sommet de cette colline est entouré d'une fortification antique. Il s'agit d'une enceinte presque circulaire; le diamètre varie de 52m 50 à 56m 50. Au sud-sud-est se trouve une porte étroite (0.60m). Le mur, d'une épaisseur de 3m 40, est conservé souvent jusqu'à une hauteur de deux mètres; il est construit d'un façon grossière, avec deux faces de grands blocs très irréguliers; l'intérieur est rempli de pierres plus petites. Quelques traces de constructions internes sont conservées mais si fragmentairement qu'il est impossible d'en appercevoir le plan. De ces constructions doivent provenir les quelques morceaux de tuiles qui se trouvent sur le site; je n'ai jamais trouvé cependant de tesson de céramique indiquant la date de façon directe.[33]

Le pied de la colline touche l'eau et ainsi le *kástro* coupe le rivage graveleux en deux portions qui sont réunies par une ancienne route passant au bas de la pente du *kástro*. Au même endroit, c'est à dire au pied est de la colline, se trouve une source abondante d'eau fraîche et aux deux extrémités du rivage se trouvent d'autres sources secondaires. Il est d'ailleurs certain que cette région ne manquait pas d'eau potable dans l'antiquité,[34] car du côté sud de la rade se trouve, sur une petite péninsule, un site d'habitation important à l'époque préhistorique,[35] repris à la période historique.[36] Sur la gravelle vers le pied sud-est de la colline se trouvent un bloc de colonne antique (dimensions: diam. 0.40m x haut 0.50m) et plusieurs tessons de date indéterminée.

Le texte de Diodore parle des νεώρια. Si on pense au type de νεώρια connu par exemple à Oiniadai en Acarnanie, il est évident que cette sorte de structure n'existe pas à *Skroponéri*, pas plus qu'elle n'existe dans les autres sites étudiés plus haut. Mais ce mot pourrait aussi bien indiquer de simples atterrages que des constructions complexes. La plage de grandes dimensions et si graveleuse de *Skroponéri* pouvait facilement offrir un bon atterrage à toute une flotte; les cales nécessaires à la construction des navires pouvaient très bien être en bois et il n'en resterait évidement aucune trace aujourd'hui.

La rade de *Skroponéri* fournit ainsi toutes les qualités requises pour être la base navale d'Épaminondas: un magnifique port naturel avec un grand atterrage, protégé des vents et des courants, pourvu d'une "acropole" pour protéger les navires et les installations, et riche en eau fraîche permettent de faire vivre le personnel de service nécessaire à la construction, à l'entretien, et à la réparation des trières.

* * *

Il reste encore à étudier la protection du lieu contre l'attaque de forces hostiles. C'est, en effet, l'existence de tout un réseau de fortifications antiques autour de la rade qui m'avait fait envisager en premier lieu le rôle historique de *Skroponéri*. (voir la carte, Figure 4.3.)

La rade est déjà bien protégée par la nature abrupte des montagnes qui l'entourent complètement; à travers ces montagnes les voies d'accès à la côte sont très réduites et en même temps difficiles. Toutes ces voies sont contrôlées par un système de fortifications anciennes et à l'époque de leur existence il aurait été absolument impossible d'atteindre *Skroponéri* sans être vu bien à l'avance.

La plus grande partie de cette série de forteresses et de tours de guet est connue depuis longtemps. F. Noack les avait étudiées et en avait publié quelques plans et croquis pendant ses recherches sur la grande forteresse mycénienne de *Gla*.[37] Par la suite E. J. A. Kenny[38] les considérait comme appartenant à un système de défense pour les digues mycéniennes destinées à l'assèchement du Copaïs.

Nous signalerons plus loin que les seuls indices de date que l'on ait trouvés sur ces sites se réfèrent à une date assez postérieure à l'époque mycénienne. La défense des digues mycéniennes est d'ailleurs complète sans ces petits postes sur les montagnes; toute la baie nord-est du Copaïs est entourée de grandes fortifications mycéniennes, reliées entre elles directement, et contrôlant l'accès à toute cette région, qui était le point faible du système d'assèchement.[39]

Le plus important de nos postes est probablement la petite forteresse de *Pelayía* près du monastère du même nom, et sur le sommet principal du mont Ptoios. Cette position domine toute la région. La forteresse conserve ses trois murs; le quatrième côté - celui du nord - n'avait jamais eu besoin d'un mur car la montagne forme une falaise verticale très haute. Le plan est trapézoïdal; du nord au sud la forteresse mesure env. 18m; d'est en ouest la dimension varie de 15m sur le côté nord à 10m sur le côté sud. Les trois murs sont du même appareil que celui du *kástro* à *Skroponéri*; les deux faces des murs sont faites de grands blocs grossiers et irréguliers et l'intervalle est rempli de petites pierres. L'enceinte est moins bien conservée que le *kástro* et on ne distingue aucune trace de constructions à l'intérieur; on ne trouve ni tessons ni tuiles. Au-dessous de la forteresse, au pied de la falaise et près du monastère, se trouve une source qui fournit de l'eau au monastère et qui pouvait déjà rendre le même service à la garnison de la forteresse.[40]

Une autre petite forteresse se trouve sur le sommet est de la colline de *Megálo Vounó*, à l'ouest de *Pelayía*. De ce site on voit clairement à grande distance dans toutes les directions sauf à l'est où se trouve le massif du Ptoios. Le plan de ce site a été publié par F. Noack.[41] Comme à *Pelayía* le côté nord-est n'est pas pourvu de mur à cause de la présence d'une falaise abrupte. A l'extrémité sud-est se trouvent les vestiges d'une tour construite dans un appareil polygonal très soigné; il va sans dire que si cette tour existait déjà, elle aurait pu être utilisée par la garnison de la forteresse, mais il est évident que le style est tout-à-fait différent de celui de l'enceinte et on doit exclure la possibilité qu'elles aient été construites à la même époque. Le style polygonal demande du temps pour la construction; l'appareil grossier est plus vite et facilement achevé. A *Megálo Vounó* le mur de l'enceinte - d'environ 2m de large - est construit dans le même appareil grossier que le *kástro* et que *Pelayía*; les faces extérieures sont faites de grands blocs irréguliers et l'intérieur est rempli de petites pierres. Une petite porte d'environ 1m de large se trouve presque au centre du mur sud. On aperçoit les vestiges de quelques constructions internes; celles-ci sont bâties elles aussi en appareil grossier. On remarque plusieurs fragments de tuiles peintes sur la surface du site, et des tessons de céramique à vernis noir; ces trouvailles datent de l'époque classique.[42]

Au Nord de *Pelayía* se trouve, sur le sommet appelé *Tsoukouriéli*, une tour de guet dans le même appareil grossier. La tour est presque circulaire avec un diamètre de 7m20 à 7m40; son mur est épais de 1m55. Ce site permet lui aussi d'avoir une vue étendue dans plusieurs directions, surtout vers le nord-ouest, le nord, et l'est.[43] On y trouve encore des fragments de tuiles peintes qui doivent dater de l'époque classique. Un peu plus au nord, sur le sommet de *Kiápha*, se trouve une autre tour de guet; je n'ai pas visité ce site qui a échappé à tous les autres archéologues, mais les paysans de *Kardhítsa* (Akraiphiai) me l'ont décrit avec certitude comme pareil à celui de *Tsoukouriéli*.

Les installations que nous venons de décrire contrôlent entre elles toutes les voies d'accès à *Skroponéri* du nord, du nord-ouest, et de l'ouest; par le sud il n'y a aucun accès car la rade est totalement isolée par le mont Ptoios. La seule voie qui reste est celle que suit la route moderne de *Loukísia* (Anthédon). Le mont Ptoios, à son extremité est, se termine par un petit sommet, *Toúrlo*, séparé de la crête principale par un petit col, par lequel passe la nouvelle route. Le petit sommet de *Toúrlo* est rocheux mais on en gravit facilement la pente ouest; et en haut se trouve un petit replat d'où l'on contrôle la route de la plaine d'Anthédon ainsi que tout accès par la mer. Dans le col se trouvent les restes d'un petit bâtiment mal conservé mais d'au moins 8m 50 de long; on aperçoit plusieurs fragments de tuiles peintes et des quantités de tessons parmi lesquels plusieurs à vernis noir dont quelques uns pourraient dater du IVe siècle av. J.-C.

Ces postes contrôlaient donc tout accès à *Skroponéri* et pouvaient communiquer entre eux par signaux. Toutes les lignes de vision sont indiquées sur la carte et chacune a été vérifiée sur le terrain. Pour compléter le réseau il faut supposer que les acropoles des villes au sud du mont Ptoios ont servi aussi de points de relais, ce qui parait logique: les villes en question sont *Oúngra* (l'ancienne Hylē?), qui possédait deux acropoles, *Mouríki* (l'ancien Skhoinos?), *Palaiometókhi* (l'ancien Isos?) et Anthédon même.[44]

Que ces acropoles de villes font partie intégrale de ce réseau est clairement montré par l'existence de deux tours de guet dont la fonction ne peut être autre que d'assurer la communication entre *Palaiometókhi* et Anthédon. La ligne de vision entre ces deux tours est coupée par la colline de *Rákhi* au nord-est du lac *Paralímni*. Sur chacun des deux sommets de cette colline se trouvent les vestiges, mal conservés, d'une tour de guet. De celle du sommet de l'ouest on voit directement l'acropole de *Palaiometókhi* mais Anthédon est caché derrière le sommet de l'est; également de la tour sur le sommet de l'est la liaison de vue avec Anthédon est claire tandis que la liaison avec *Palaiometókhi* est interrompue par le sommet de l'ouest. Toutes les deux tours sont donc indispensables à la communication entre les deux villes; des deux on voit également le sommet de *Toúrlo*. Le sommet de l'est ne nous présente que des pauvres vestiges d'une tour carrée; la tour de l'ouest, au contraire, est circulaire (diamètre env. 4m) et entourée de plusieurs tessons de tuiles à peinture noire de l'époque classique, comme ailleurs dans le système.

Le fait que ces constructions sont contemporaines est nettement indiqué par l'emploi du même appareil dans chacun des sites. Les fragments de tuiles et les tessons de deux ou trois des sites sont manifestement de l'époque classique; les tessons de *Toúrlo* suggèrent plus précisément une date du IVe siècle av. J.-C. Le système de fortifications, de tours de guet et d'acropoles, reliées entre elles par signaux, est le même que celui qu'on trouve dans le côte sud de la Béotie où elles constituent un réseau qui doit dater du quatrième siècle;[45] mais la construction y est beaucoup plus soignée, tandis qu'à *Skroponéri* il s'agit de travaux exécutés rapidement, comme au Tilphosaion,[46] dont les travaux semblent dater aussi du IVe siècle av. J.-C.

A *Skroponéri* nous trouvons un magnifique port naturel entouré d'un système de défense qui date probablement du IVe siècle av. J.-C. Comme la position répond aux exigences de l'histoire des activités maritimes d'Épaminondas, *Skroponéri* est, selon moi, le seul site qui puisse avoir abrité la base principale de la flotte thébaine. Il est, cependant, toujours possible qu'elle ne soit pas la base unique, et qu'il y ait eu d'autres bases secondaires, Aulis par exemple.

Si cette hypothèse est correcte nous avons ici encore une série de fortifications de la Ligue thébaine du milieu du IVe siècle. A l'époque où la politique militaire de la Béotie se faisait de plus en plus agressive, nous constatons que la défense n'était pas négligée pour autant.

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NOTES

1 A part l'article important de P. Salmon, *L'Antiquité Classique* 22 (1953) 212-240 et 347-360.

2 Cf. les rares exemples chez Xen., *Hell.* 5.4.56; 6.4.3.

3 *Mélanges Iorga* (1933) 331-339.

4 *IG* 7.2407.

5 Les évènements des années 371-366 sont traités par P. Cloché, *La Politique étrangère d'Athènes de 404 à 338 avant*

Jésus-Christ (Paris, 1934) 94-115; la chronologie est loin d'être claire: voir notamment la discussion de J. Wiseman, *Klio* 51 (1969) 177-199, surtout 195-196 sur la flotte thébaine, et 197-199 les tableaux synoptiques de la chronologie proposée.

6 M. N. Tod, *GHI*, no. 141.

7 *Ibid.* no. 142.

8. Cf. Michel, *Recueil* 401.

9 Ps.-Dem. 1.6 et 17.

10 Cf. par ex. Dem. 15; la plupart des sources et des évènements sont discutés par P. Cloché, *op. cit.* 159 s.

11 G. Cawkwell, *CQ* 22 (1972) 154-278, qui cite Justin 16.4.3-4.

12 Les activités de Timothéos sont mentionnées notamment par Isocrate 15.107-113; Dinarque I.14; Diodore 15.81.6; Cornelius Nepos, *Tim.* I; pour Amphipolis cf. Michel, *Recueil* 96.

13 *Op. cit.* 271-3.

14 Dem. 18, 87; Lys. 22.14-16; Isocr. 17.57; cf. H. Mitchel, *Economics of Ancient Greece* 2 (Cambridge, 1957) 265-270.

15 *IG* 7.2405; 2418.

16 Je dois à John Buckler l'observation qu'un des autres partisans de Thèbes, l'île de Rhodes, se trouve également sur la voie qui permettait d'amener à Athènes le blé de son second fournisseur, l'Égypte.

17 Thuc. 8.28; cf. H. Mitchel, *op. cit.* 261.

18 Strabon 9.400.

19 Strabon 9.403; cf. l'histoire du suicide d'Aristote.

20 Sur le rôle militaire de Rhamnonte, surtout à partir du commencement du IVe siècle av. J-C, cf. J. Pouilloux, *La Forteresse de Rhamnonte* (Paris, 1954) chapitre V.

21 Les restes qui étaient encore visibles à la fin du siècle dernier sont décrits par J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias* 2 (London, 1913) 465, qui mentionne d'autres descriptions plus anciennes dans sa bibliographie, p. 473.

22 En 366; Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.7; Diod. 15.76.1; Eschine 3.85; Dem. 18.99.

23 Description des restes insignifiants, J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias* 2.465-6.

24 Strabon 9.403.

25 Diod. 19.77.2-4.

26 H. Schläger, J. Schäfer, D. Blackman, *Arch. Anz.* (1968) 21-98; la bibliographie antérieure sur le site se trouve aux pages 22-25.

27 Plut. *Sulla* 26.4.

28 Par ex. M. L. W. Laistner, *A History of the Greek World, 479-323 B.C.* (London, 1957) 215; D. Blackman, *Arch. Anz.* (1968) 25, n. 26.

29 9.23.7.

30 Au contraire Ps.-Skylax, *Periplous* 60, considère Larymna comme appartenant à la Locride.

31 A une certaine époque de la période hellénistique, d'après le témoignage des inscriptions, plusieurs régions périphériques ont appartenu à la Confédération béotienne, comme la plupart des villes de la Locride orientale, Pagai et Aigosthènes en Mégaride, et Chalcis et Érétrie en Eubée (P. Roesch, *Thespies et la Confédération béotienne* [Paris, 1965] 65-68; W. A. Oldfather, *AJA* 20 [1916] 51-57.

32 W. A. Oldfather, *AJA* 20 (1916) 51-52, suggérait que la construction isodomique du mur est à Larymna était le résultat des préparatifs pour la flotte thébaine. J. Schäfer dans son étude récente sur les murs de Larymna (*AA* [1967] 527-545) a correctement dit que ce style des murs n'exclut pas une telle date (pp. 541-2). Il cite cependant pour parallèle le mur du système II à Halai, également en Locride orientale, qui est construit dans le même appareil et qui a été daté par les fouilles du *troisième quart* du IVe siècle. N'est-il pas logique alors de considérer que les murs des deux sites datent de cette même période, et qu'on les a construits en raison de l'insécurité qui régnait à l'époque de la Guerre Sacrée?

33 J'ai visité le site à plusieures reprises en 1965, 1967, 1968, et 1970; il est mentioné par S. Lauffer, *RE* 23,2 (1959) *sv.* "Ptoion" 1528, et une description de la géographie est donnée par Philippson-Kirsten, *Die Griechischen Landschaften* 1,2 (Frankfurt am Main, 1951) 493.

34 Le nom *Skroponéri*, ou *Skorponéri* signifie en grec moderne "eaux répandues", cf. Philippson-Kirsten *loc. cit.*

35 Tessons du néolithique, de l'helladique ancien et moyen, et du mycénien II et III A-C.

36 IVe siècle, hellénistique, et romaine tardive. Paul Roesch a revisité le site au printemps de 1975 et il a confirmé l'existence des tessons classiques et hellénistiques.

37 *AM* 19 (1894) 405-485, surtout 451-457.

38 *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology, Liverpool* 22 (1935) 202-204.

39 La majorité de ces grandes fortifications sont discutées par E. J. A. Kenny *op. cit;* S. Lauffer, 1575-1578, décrit quelques nouveaux sites et donne des renseignements généraux sur les forteresses de la région; il se prononce aussi contre la date mycénienne des postes sur les montagnes (1574). Je publierai une nouvelle appréciation du système mycénien dans mon article "Mycenaean Fortifications of the North East Kopaïs" à paraitre bientôt en *Op. Ath.*

40 S. Lauffer, *op. cit.* 1572-1573, décrit la forteresse et donne la bibliographie antérieure; ses dimensions ne sont pas correctes, mais il a trouvé des fragments de tuiles.

41 *AM* 19 (1894) 456, fig. 14.

42 S. Lauffer, *op. cit.* 1573-1574, donne la bibliographie antérieure et décrit le site; lui aussi considère que la tour ne date pas de la même époque que l'enceinte.

43 S. Lauffer, *op. cit.* 1574-1575, donne la bibliographie antérieure et une description. Il apelle le style de la tour "polygonal", mais ce n'est évidement pas l'appareil qu'on désigne ainsi normalement; en effet le style est le même que pour les deux autres forteresses.

44 Ces sites sont déjà bien connus; *Oúngra:* *ADelt* 21 (1965) 201; *Mouríki:* R. Hope-Simpson and J. Lazenby, *The Catalogue of the Ships in Homer's Iliad* (Oxford 1970) 25; *Palaiometókhi:* N. Pharáklas, *AAA* 1 (1968) 139-140; pour Anthédon voir ci-dessus.

45 Paul Roesch et moi-même préparons une étude détaillée de ce système; cf. *BSA* 65 (1970) 261.

46 *Teiresias Suppl.* 1 (1972) 1-16.

DISCUSSION

1 Le docteur Bakhuizen a suggéré qu'il y aurait plus de sécurité à utiliser plusieurs ports sur la côte nord de la Béotie au lieu de concentrer toute la flotte dans une base unique.

Il est évident que l'existence d'autres bases demeure une possibilité, mais la rade de *Skroponéri* est énormément plus sûre et facile à défendre par rapport aux sites complètement ouverts de tous les autres candidats. Ainsi *Skroponéri* peut être considéré au moins comme la plus importante base d'Épaminondas sinon la seule.

2 Le docteur Bakhuizen a posé aussi de nombreuses question touchant les communications et l'approvisionnement du port et des fortifications.

Pour les fortifications, il est probable que la ville d'Acraiphia était la source immédiate d'approvisionnement. D'abord la forteresse de *Megálo Vounó* n'est pas loin de cette ville; elle est aussi près de la source d'eau *"Perdhikóvrysi"*, au sanctuaire du Ptoion. Du Ptoion un chemin monte jusqu'au monastère de *Pelayía* d'où divergent des chemins vers les autres forteresses; au monastère se trouve la source susmentionnée qui aurait pu fournir de l'eau au réseau entier des autres fortifications.

Du monastère il est aussi possible de descendre jusqu'au *Kástron* de *Skroponéri*, mais un autre chemin pourrait facilement suivre la ligne de la route moderne vers la plaine d'Anthédon. De là une ancienne route suivait le côté est du Lac *Paralímni* (cf. Philippson-Kirsten, *op. cit.* 495) jusqu'à *Mouríki* et ainsi vers Thèbes même. Le petit poste de *Toúrla* et le port de *Skroponéri* seraient approvisionnés en toute probabilité à partir d'Anthédon et de la Béotie centrale.

3 Le professeur Buck a demandé s'il y avait dans les environs des sources pour le bois nécessaire à la construction des navires.

On constate même aujourd'hui que sur les pentes des montagnes qui entourent la rade de *Skroponéri* se trouvent des arbres et il se peut que dans l'antiquité la couverture ait été plus dense. Là cependant on entre dans le question difficile de la déforestation de la Grèce, sujet sur lequel on ne saura rien de sûr jusqu'à ce que toute une série d'études palynologiques soient faites.

A ce propos le docteur DeVries a suggéré que la Macédoine était fournisseur de bois pour la Grèce centrale et du sud. Le professeur Roesch a remarqué que la Thrace fournissait du bois à Athènes et à la Béotie selon des sources épigraphiques dans les deux régions.

4 Le docteur Bakhuizen a demandé si le système des fortifications ne pourrait pas avoir été conçu comme réseau de défense pour avertir le centre de la Béotie d'une attaque maritime.

Dans ce cas on se serait attendu à d'autres réseaux encore plus forts sur le reste de la côte nord de la Béotie, surtout dans le territoire de Tanagra, où l'accès est plus facile et qui constitue ainsi une région beaucoup plus faible pour la défense de la Béotie. À en juger par l'absence complète de réseaux de défense sur la côte nord, comparables à celui qui s'étendait sur toute la côte sud, la Confédération béotienne ne semble pas avoir été troublée par la possibilité d'attaque sur sa côte nord.

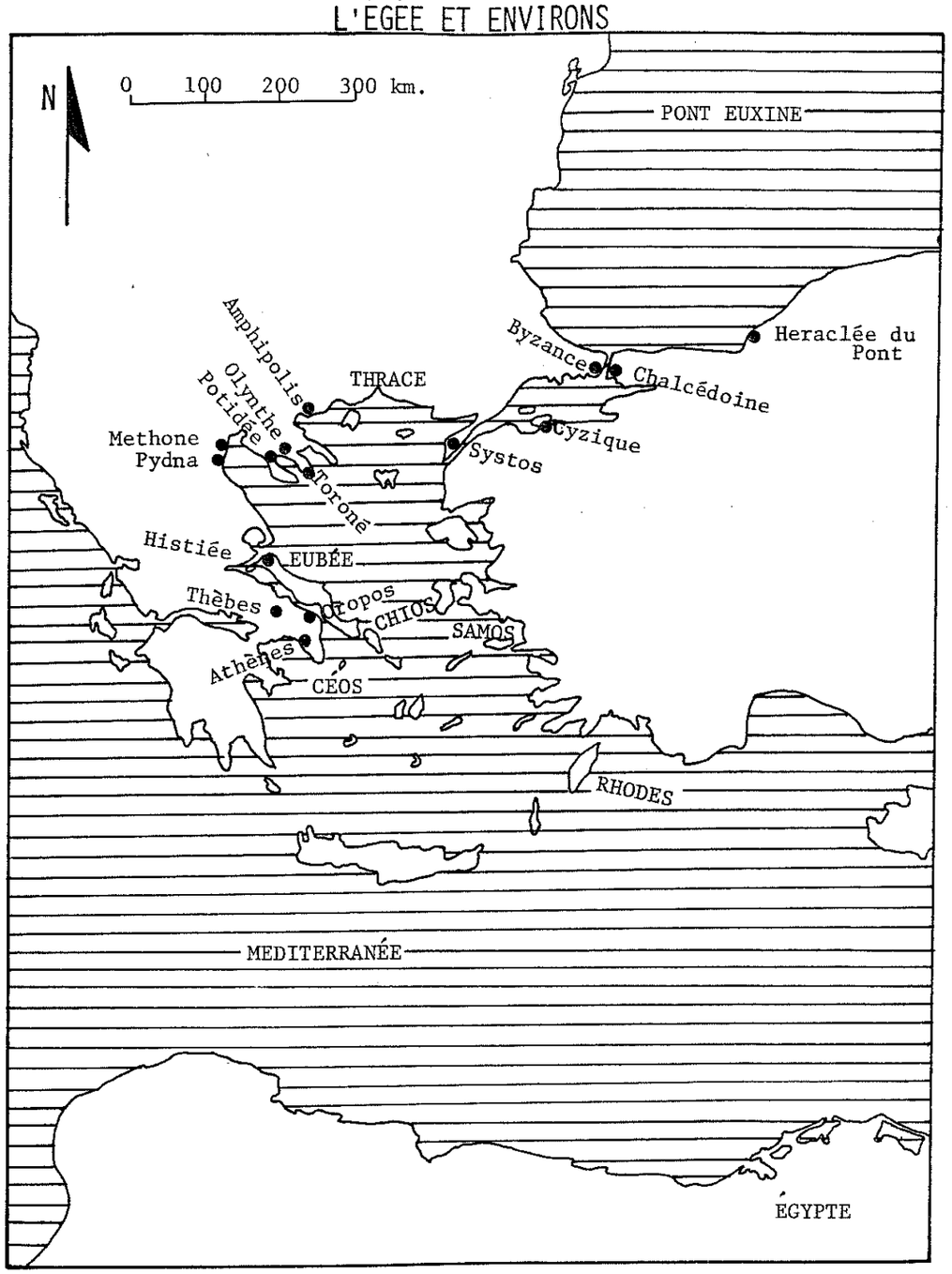
L'ÉGÉE ET ENVIRONS
N
0 100 200 300 km.
PONT EUXINE
Heraclée du Pont
Byzance
Chalcédoine
Amphipolis
Olynthe
Potidée
THRACE
Cyzique
Methone
Pydna
Systos
Torone
Histiée
EUBÉE
Thèbes
Oropos
CHIOS
SAMOS
Athènes
CÉOS
RHODES
MEDITERRANÉE
ÉGYPTE

Fig. 4.1

BÉOTIE ET ENVIRONS
Euripe
Nord-Ouest
LOCRIDE ORIENTALE
Larymna
Skroponéri
Anthédon
Aulis
Vathý
EUBÉE
N
0
10
20
30 km.
Euripe
Sud-Est
THÈBES
Oropos
Delphinion
Rhamnonte
Golfe de Corinthe
ATTIQUE

Fig. 4.2

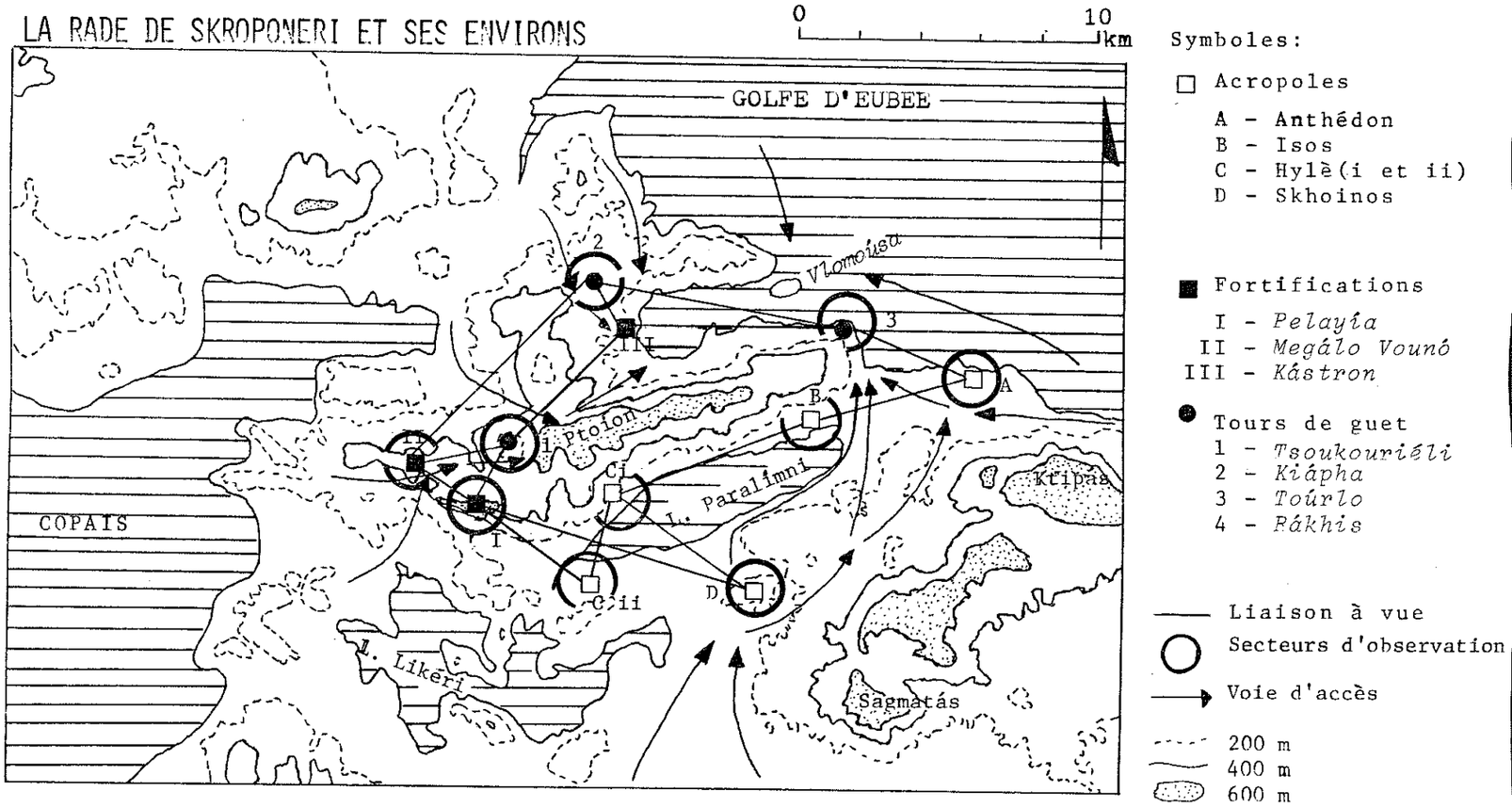
LA RADE DE SKROPONERI ET SES ENVIRONS
0
10
km
GOLFE D'EUBEE
COPAIS
Vlamoúsa
i. Ptoïon
L. Paralímni
L. Likéri
Kripas
Sagmatás
Symboles:
Acropoles
A - Anthédon
B - Isos
C - Hylè(i et ii)
D - Skhoinos
Fortifications
I - Pelayía
II - Megálo Vounó
III - Kástron
Tours de guet
1 - Tsoukouriéli
2 - Kiápha
3 - Toúrlo
4 - Rákhis
Liaison à vue
Secteurs d'observation
Voie d'accès
200 m
400 m
600 m

Fig. 4.3

4. THE FORT AT KYRIÁKI AND THE PHOKIAN STRATEGY OF THE THIRD SACRED WAR

by John Buckler

The fighting in the Third Sacred War flowed and ebbed over the lands of Boiotia and Phokis with a seemingly aimless persistence, and to describe the strategy behind this fighting might well seem equivalent to analyzing the strategy behind a large brawl. Year after dogged year, the war seemed to resolve itself into nothing more than raid and counter-raid, a futile and desultory struggle, unplanned and undirected towards any definite goal. Yet despite this initial impression, there is a key, possibly the only key, to the strategy of this war; and that key is the topography of the land itself. Above all, the Third Sacred War was a contest between lowlanders and mountain-folk, the Boiotians of the plains against the Phokians of the uplands.[1] Between these two peoples the significant point of contact was Mt. Helikon, and only when the Phokians took advantage of Helikon as a highroad into Boiotia did they strike a decisive blow against the Boiotians. How the Phokians used Mt. Helikon and the steps they took to secure its passes to themselves are made a great deal clearer by the discovery of a large fort immediately west of *Kyriáki*. It is the preliminary description of this fort, and the discussion of its place in the over-all Phokian strategy that form the burden of this article.

Kyriáki is a mountain village, situated at the western end of Mt. Helikon. Immediately west of the village, the summit labelled *Palaiókastro* on the British staff map rises to a height of 879 metres (Figure 5.1). The summit of *Palaiókastro* forms three terraces. The highest one is at the easternmost end, extending some 17 metres or so from the cliff-face to the point where the ground falls to the second terrace. This terrace reaches westward about 15 metres until it drops away in a long slope to a very large flat area at the western end of the summit. On the easternmost of these terraces, the highest one, stands the modern chapel of *Ayios Nektários*. The two upper terraces are encircled by the remains of a circuit-wall, and another circuit encloses the lower third terrace. Thus, the fortification at *Palaiókastro* had an upper citadel, composed of the two upper terraces, and a lower walled area, reminiscent of the medieval bailey. I had no opportunity to chart the walls of the bottommost terrace; since, working alone, I could not use the broken-chain method of measuring. Hence, I was unable to determine the bearing and distance from one circuit to the other. For that reason, I describe here only the walls of the citadel, where a certain degree of accuracy could be obtained.

The circuit-walls of the citadel are preserved to such a degree that the general bearing of the walls is fairly certain, although great gaps in the line sometimes appear. The damage is most extensive on the northern side, where only a few blocks of the wall remain in place. The best preserved portion of wall is on the southern side, and here the wall stands to a height of two courses (Figure 5.2). The citadel is not completely enclosed by walls, for the builders included an outcrop of rock on the southeastern side of the summit as part of the circuit (Figure 5.3). Here the slope of the ground is so precipitous that artificial fortification is unnecessary. In this respect the fort of *Palaiókastro* is typical of Phokian fortifications in that the Phokians often incorporated natural outcrops of rock as part of the circuit of their sites. In fact, where the cliffs were steep enough, the Phokians dispensed with a wall altogeher.[2] Thus, the lower town of Lilaia is completely unwalled on the eastern side, owing to the precipitous cliffs of the *Agoriantsa* ravine; and the same is true of the *Kástro* in the *Platánias* valley, where the eastern and southern sides are protected by steep, rocky ground.[3]

The southern wall was apparently pierced by the gate to the citadel, although there are no lintel or jambs to prove that the gate was located at this point (Figure 5.4). Nevertheless, some 3.05 metres down from the bedrock on the southeastern side, the circuit-wall is made to return for a distance of 9.30 metres until it reaches living rock, beyond which there is no immediate trace of masonry. The gap between the return and the continuation of the circuit-wall, which is also made to return 1.34 metres, measures 5.75 metres. A similar arrangement to this can be found at Abai, where the polygonal walls of the temenos of Apollo show the same arrangement for the gates.[4] Within the citadel, separating the uppermost terrace from the terrace below it, are the remains of a retaining wall, built along the general line of the eastern return of the southern circuit-wall. That this is a retaining wall is suggested by topography, for the wall is located at the place where the ground sloping from the easternmost terrace levels off until it reaches the western circuit-wall of the citadel.

The circuit of the citadel shows no trace of towers; and even though the walls are in such a ruinous state, enough of the southern, western, and eastern circuit survives to suggest that towers were not used at *Palaiókastro*. Yet the absence of towers at *Palaiókastro* is itself typical of Phokian fortifications, for Phokian engineers often dispensed with towers where the slope was steep but not precipitous.[5] There is likewise no indication that the indented trace was used on this site, and on this point the poorly preserved state of the circuit may be misleading. Nevertheless, if the indented trace was used at *Palaiókastro*, it must be proved by a more accurate survey than mine.[6] The absence of posterns on this site may be due to the ruined state of the walls; but it must be noted that other Phokian sites, especially Daulis, Tithorea, and Kharadra, where the circuits are nearly intact, are equally devoid of posterns.[7] In fact, posterns seem not to have been used in Phokian fortifications.

The masonry of the circuit-walls and the inner retaining wall is trapezoidal isodomic, but not pure trapezoidal owing to the presence of numerous vertical joints (Figure 5.3). This same style of masonry, consisting of both trapezoidal and vertical joints, which I should like to call irregular trapezoidal, can be seen at Tithorea and Kharadra in Phokis and in the square towers west of the Arkadian gate at Messene[8] (Figure 5.5). The dressing of the blocks is rough quarry face, but not so rough as to be termed hammer face, and anyway the distinction between these two dressings is slight.[9] As is usual in Greek fortifications, at *Palaiókastro* the blocks are simply laid in courses without the use of mortar or clamps. Some of the individual blocks measured 0.80 metres long and 0.47 metres wide, but there was no uniformity as to the length of the blocks. The stone used at *Palaiókastro* is the grey limestone of Mt. Helikon, and it was quarried locally.

Within the uppermost level of the citadel, in the space between the eastern cliff-face and the retaining wall, are numerous architectural remains (Figure 5.6). Some of these remains are the foundations of buildings and some are rock cuttings. At least three, and probably four, large buildings can be discerned, with the largest one in the north-eastern corner of the citadel measuring approximately 14.05 metres long by 9.55 metres wide, and the smallest measuring 7.18 metres long by 4.20 metres wide. Besides these structures, there are the remains of other walls, some of them belonging to smaller buildings and some so poorly preserved that their function and significance are uncertain. At the southeastern end of the citadel are cuttings in the living rock. They are perhaps socles for buildings, but they are more likely to be the traces of the quarry, from which the stone was cut for the walls and buildings of the akropolis.[10] These buildings could easily have served as barracks for a garrison, and the smaller structures as storage areas. That the remains on *Palaiókastro* are not those of a small town is suggested by the random arrangement of the large buildings and the absence of any structure that could be interpreted as a temple, altar, stoa, or other civic structure.

There is no evidence of successive building phases at *Palaiókastro*, and the walls of the structures on the uppermost terrace were not disturbed by later construction. The circuit-walls are uniform in style of masonry, in manner of construction, and in the average size of the blocks used. This uniformity is so striking that there is not even the slightest suggestion that the walls were ever repaired. This same uniformity is noticeable in the buildings at *Palaiókastro*. They were all built of the same types of materials and in the same manner; and the conclusion must be that the remains date to one period, and that they were built by the same architects.

Palaiókastro abounds with pottery sherds and fragments of roof-tiles. The pottery is confined exclusively to black-glazed and coarse ware, and I saw no traces of Roman, Byzantine, or Turkish pottery anywhere on the site. Much of the pottery is local ware, although some of it is Attic in origin. The clay of the local pottery has a greyish tint and fine texture, and the glaze is generally of good quality. Some of the Attic sherds bear traces of painted decoration. Attic ribbed ware is found here, and the ribs and grooves of the specimens collected are flattened out. Among Attic jugs this flattening of the ribs is characteristic of the fourth century BC.[11] The date derived from a

representative, but meagre, selection of sherds is the second half of the fourth century BC, and some sherds could be dated to the third quarter of the fourth century BC.[12] Yet before any final decision as to the date of *Palaiókastro* is made, a much larger sampling of sherds than mine is needed. Nevertheless, there were no datable sherds of any period other than the second half of the fourth century BC on the site.

The interpretation of these remains is straightforward. Although the total area included within the circuits of both the lower area and the citadel is extensive, I found traces of buildings only on the uppermost terrace. Admittedly my investigation of the lowest terrace was cursory, and this section of the site is covered by dense undergrowth; but even so I saw nothing to suggest that buildings stood here. Obviously only excavation can settle the matter. The buildings on the uppermost terrace are not numerous enough to have been the habitations of a small town, but rather they must have been barracks and storerooms. Furthermore, the fact that the life of this site was limited to the latter half of the fourth century BC, and possibly only to the third quarter of the fourth century BC, as is proved by the pottery, argues against its having been anything other than a hill-fort. The large buildings and their arrangement are reminiscent of the arrangement of the large buildings in the kástro on *Megálo Vounó* and that of the structures in the fortification on Mt. *Tsoúka Madhári*, both near Aulis.[13] Unless buildings or traces of settlement are discovered in the lowest terrace, the remains at *Palaiókastro* must be considered those of a fortification.

The literary sources suggest a terminal date for the occupation of *Palaiókastro*. After Philip II had brought the Third Sacred War to an end in 346 BC, the Amphiktyonic Council decreed that all the cities of Phokis be razed, and Philip carried out the stipulations of the decree.[14] Even though *Palaiókastro* was not a city, it was too strategically important to be left intact; and it too was probably razed at Philip's order. Precisely when *Palaiókastro* was built is uncertain, for the Phokians carried on such construction during the war. In 347/6 BC the Phokians were building a fortress at Abai, until a Boiotian attack ended the work.[15] *Palaiókastro* was probably built early in the war, and Phokian movements in the later stages of the war certainly suggest its existence by that time; but these are only implications and there is no concrete evidence to tie *Palaiókastro's* construction to any one year. Yet the most likely date for the construction of *Palaiókastro* is sometime shortly after the Phokian capture of Koroneia in 353 BC; for the retention of Koroneia demanded a base from which the Phokian garrison there could be supplied and reinforced, and *Palaiókastro* fulfills this function.

The ancient name of this site is unknown, and it is probably beyond recovery. The site was occupied for only a brief time, after which it was destroyed, never to be rebuilt or re-occupied. It was simply an outpost of Stiris and must remain nameless.

The importance of *Palaiókastro* in the Third Sacred War is immediately apparent. Its strategical position is one of great strength and significance, for it dominates the main route over Mt. Helikon.[16] *Palaiókastro* commands the point where Helikon drops to the plain of Stiris. Thus, it kept the ascent of Helikon open to the Phokians, allowing them to use the mountain at will as a highroad into Boiotia, while it barred the descent onto Phokis, preventing the Boiotians from falling on Phokis unawares. *Palaiókastro* and Stiris are readily visible to one another (Figure 5.7); and in the event of a Boiotian invasion, a signal from *Palaiókastro* would have given the people of Stiris instant and ample warning of it. On the other hand, *Palaiókastro* looked eastward down the valley towards the point where the pass rounded the corner of *Kiápha Vári* (Figure 5.8), and so it could not itself be easily surprised. More importantly, it commanded the only path of invasion open to the Boiotians; for the routes from Koroneia, Thisbe, and Khorsiai all converged on one point at the eastern end of *Megáli Loútsa* and *Kiápha Vári* before continuing to the west. Therefore, no matter whence the Boiotians launched their attack, their final approach could take only one line, and that line led to *Palaiókastro*. Yet so long as *Palaiókastro* remained in Phokian hands, the Phokians could easily turn the tables on the Boiotians. The Phokians could send their armies eastward along the main road until it branched towards Koroneia, Thisbe, and Khorsiai without betraying their intentions as to which city they planned to attack. The Phokians could easily use the topography of Helikon to send an army down the Phalaros valley onto Koroneia, down the southeastern slopes of *Palaiovoúna* onto Thisbe, or down the southern slope of *Palaiovoúna* onto Khorsiai. If any of these three Boiotian cities could be captured, *Palaiókastro* could then serve as an advanced staging point, from which supplies and reinforcements could be thrown into the captured city.

We can now turn briefly to the Third Sacred War, and examine the role that *Palaiókastro* and these roads played in the strategy of that war. The Phokians used Mt. Helikon for the first time in 353 BC. In that year, Onomarkhos, the strategos autokrator of the Phokians, invaded Boiotia twice; and in his second invasion, he struck from Helikon. For the first time in the war, he took his army from Stiris to *Palaiókastro*, and from there he used the upland route to fall upon Koroneia. He engaged the Boiotians at the Hermaion; and after a bitter struggle, the Phokians routed the defenders and captured Koroneia. Onomarkhos had thereby placed the Phokians astride the main avenue of Boiotian communications, and threatened to sever western from eastern Boiotia.[17]

In 352 BC Onomarkhos was defeated and killed, and his brother Phayllos assumed over-all command of Phokian forces, upon which he re-opened the fighting in Boiotia. Now that the Phokians held Koroneia, Phayllos planned to seize Orkhomenos in order to tighten Phokian control of the western basin of Boiotia. He probably pushed his attack through the Kephissos valley, which was a good deal safer than using the Koroneia route. For had he used the Koroneia route, he would have run the risk of being taken from the rear by a relief-force coming from eastern Boiotia. Phayllos' use of the Kephissos route would also help to explain the quick Boiotian reponse to this invasion. If Phayllos had used the road from Stiris to *Palaiókastro* to Koroneia in this invasion, he could have left a sizeable detachment at Koroneia to hinder the Boiotians who would be coming from the east; and it would have been to his best interest to do so. The speed with which the Thebans and other eastern Boiotians arrived at Orkhomenos suggests that they met no serious opposition at Koroneia. At Orkhomenos, Phayllos and his force suffered defeat at the hands of the Boiotians, after which Phayllos evidently retreated northwestward up the Kephissos river valley. The Boiotians were probably expecting a move of this sort, since the Kephissos was the shortest and easiest route open to the Phokians; and in 353 BC Onomarkhos had taken this route when he laid siege to Khaironeia after having captured Orkhomenos. The Boiotians must have got ahead of Phayllos, for they brought him to battle at the Kephissos river; and there they inflicted a second defeat on the Phokians, this one more serious than the first. With the Boiotians blocking any retreat up the Kephissos valley, Phayllos drew off towards Koroneia, intending to escape up the Phalaros valley. A few days after the battle at the Kephissos, the Boiotians caught Phayllos at Koroneia, and defeated him a third time. Yet they were unable to prevent his escape, and he managed to lead the rest of his army up the Phalaros valley to *Palaiókastro* and the safety of Mt. Helikon. Nevertheless, the Boiotians probably succeeded in recovering Koroneia in this campaign.[18]

During the next few years, the Boiotians carried the war back to Phokis. They harried the cities of the Kephissos valley, while preserving their own lands from attack. It was not until 347 BC that the Phokians again took the offensive. This time the Phokian general Phalaikos centered his entire strategy on the routes over Mt. Helikon. He marched past *Palaiókastro* and descended the Phalaros valley to attack Koroneia, which fell to him despite the efforts of a Boiotian relief-force. He also seized Tilphosaion at Alalkomenai in order to secure his hold on Koroneia,[19] and he managed to reconquer Orkhomenos.[20] Thus, Phalaikos first defeated the Boiotian army at Koroneia; and once he was relieved of the threat of counter-attack, he used Koroneia as a base from which to attack other Boiotian cities. Phalaikos' next move was to use the routes over Helikon to invade southeastern Boiotia. He led an army past *Palaiókastro*, through the plain of *Koúkoura*, and down the long slopes of *Palaiovoúna* onto Khorsiai, a city rather isolated from its neighbours. With Khorsiai in Phokian hands, the Phokians not only threatened the previously unplundered southeastern plain of Boiotia, but they also controlled two of the three major tracks over Helikon. The capture of Khorsiai increased the importance of *Palaiókastro*, for only *Palaiókastro* was in a position secure enough to support the garrison at Khorsiai. The road from *Palaiókastro* to Khorsiai was quicker and easier than the one from Koroneia to Khorsiai; and unlike Koroneia, *Palaiókastro* was not subject to Boiotian attack. Moreover, once the Phokians had gained Koroneia and Khorsiai, they created for themselves a triangular defensive system, with Koroneia and Khorsiai forming the base and *Palaiókastro* the apex. *Palaiókastro* provided the link that held this defensive system together, for it was the only fortification capable of supporting the other two.

The only threat to Phokian command of Helikon came from the Boiotian city of Thisbe, situated at the eastern end of the main road over Helikon. Thisbe was well fortified, and, unlike Khorsiai, enjoyed good communications with Thespiai and other Boiotian cities in the area. The people of Thisbe realized the danger entailed by Phokian control of Helikon, and were not likely to be taken by surprise, as they had been by the Spartan Kleombrotos in 371 BC.[21] Moreover, Thisbe posed a serious threat to the Phokian hold on Helikon. Boiotian counter-attacks staged from Thisbe and pushed through the valley of *Koúkoura* could split the Phokian defensive system, thus isolating both Khorsiai and Koroneia. To counter this threat, *Palaiókastro* became the warder of Helikon, and to the garrison of *Palaiókastro* was entrusted the job of guarding the plain of *Koúkoura* in the event of a Boiotian attack.

Phalaikos' capture of Koroneia, Orkhomenos, and Khorsiai dealt a decisive blow to the Boiotians, who were no

longer able to sustain the war. The persistent use of Helikon by the Phokians and the part played by *Palaiókastro* in that strategy had finally defeated the Boiotians. Yet the irony of this victory is that it resulted in the ultimate defeat of the Phokians. Rather than conclude a distasteful peace with the Phokians, the Boiotians requested the aid of Philip II of Makedonia. In 346 BC Philip brought the Third Sacred War to a close, a war in which only he was the winner.[22]

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NOTES

1 A. R. Burn, *BSA* 44 (1949) 320-321, was the first to point out in a short, but judicious, paragraph that the key to the Third Sacred War was Mt. Helikon.

2 L. B. Tillard, *BSA* 17 (1910/11) 69, 72.

3 Tillard, *BSA* 17 (1910/11) 60, 68. See also J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece* 5 (London 1913) 403, 411.

4 V. W. Yorke, *JHS* 16 (1896) 298 and fig. 3; see especially the gate on the western side.

5 Tillard, *BSA* 17 (1910/11) 69.

6 Yet since my description is merely a sketch, it is unlikely to be accurate enough to settle this problem.

7 Tillard, *BSA* 17 (1910/11) 75.

8 Tithorea and Kharadra: Tillard, *BSA* 17 (1910/11) 60, fig. 4 and 70, fig. 9; Messene: A. W. Lawrence, *Greek Architecture* (London 1962) pl. 120A.

9 Robert L. Scranton, *Greek Walls* (Cambridge, Mass. 1941) 21.

10 I owe this suggestion to Prof. S. Symeonoglou, who kindly pointed out that he has seen cuttings such as those on *Palaiókastro* on numerous other Greek sites. In support of Prof. Symeonoglou's view is the fact that I did not find any other area likely to be the quarry for this site. Another point in favour of Prof. Symeonoglou's suggestion is that the function of buildings with such strong beddings is by no means apparent. They were certainly not intended for defensive purposes despite the fact that they abut against the cliff-face.

11 B. A. Sparkes and Lucy Talcott, *The Athenian Agora* 12.1 (Princeton 1970) 208.

12 Mr. G. Roger Edwards kindly dated these sherds for me. If a more thorough examination of *Palaiókastro* proves this date of the fourth century BC in error, that error will be due to my scant collection of sherds rather than to any misjudgement on the part of Mr. Edwards.

13 See S. C. Bakhuizen, *Salganeus and the Fortifications on Its Mountains* (Groningen 1970) 42-44, 55-62, 74-76.

14 Diod. Sicul. 16.60.2-4; Pausanias 10.3.1-2; 10.36.3.

15 Diod. Sicul. 16.58.4.

16 Burn, *BSA* 44 (1949) 321-322; H. Beister, *Untersuchungen zu der Zeit der thebanischen Hegemonie* (Munich 1970) 41-44. I hope to take up this matter elsewhere.

17 Diod. Sicul. 16.35.3; Aristotle *Nik. Eth.* 3.8.9. N. G. L. Hammond, *JHS* 57 (1937) 67-68, 78, places Onomarkhos' capture of Koroneia in the winter; but Diodoros (16.35.3) puts these events immediately after Philip's return to Makedonia, which points to late autumn rather than winter 353 BC. There is no evidence, contrary to Beloch, *GG* 3^2.1.254, that the Phokians captured Khorsiai this early in the war.

18 My reasons for suggesting that the Boiotians now recovered Koroneia are derived from the events of the next few years. The fighting after this campaign centered in Phokis itself (Diod. Sicul. 16.38.4-5), with another unsuccessful thrust at Khaironeia (Diod. Sicul. 16.38.7; 39.8). Afterwards the Boiotians plundered Phokis (Diod. Sicul. 16.39.8; 56.1). Hence, during these years, the Boiotians moved from eastern to western Boiotia with ease, a fact suggesting that they again held Koroneia.

19 Diod. Sicul. 16.56.2; Demosthenes 19.141.

20 Diod. Sicul. 16.56.2: ἔπειτα τῶν Φωκέων κατασχόντων ἱκανάς τινας πόλεις ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ.

21 Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.3.

22 Diod. Sicul. 16.58.2-3; 59.1-4; Justin 8.5.1-5. Beloch, *GG* 3^2.1.510-512. I should like to thank Mr. A. R. Burn and Prof. Eugene Vanderpool for encouraging me in my topographical work and for discussing many of the topographical problems of Mt. Helikon with me.


HELIKON AND SOUTH-WESTERN BOEOTIA
Ancient names..... LEBADEIA
Modern names..... Livadhia
Roads. (Modern)...
Paths..(" ")...
LAKE KOPAÏS
(Now drained)
Approximate ancient winter shore line; marshes dry in summer
(water surface at c.100 m. above sea level)
ORCHOMENOS
R. KEPHISSOS
CHAIRONEIA
To DELPHOI (c.30Km.)
LEBADEIA
Livadhia
TROPHONIOS
AT LAPHYSTION
Zeus LAPHYSTIOS
KORONEIA
Petra
Vrastamites
HALIARTOS
ONCHESTOS
Athens - Salonika Railway
THEBES
Vayia
Zagara
Evangelistria
KERESSOS
ASKRA
THESPIAI
THESPIOS Brook (Kanaéri)
Soupi
To AMBROSSOS (Distomon)
Osios Loukas
STIRIS
Orokhos
Zirikia
Stevniko
Ay. Triadi
HIPPOKRENE
Fountain of Chipa
or Ancient Site
Diakopi
HELIKON
Kyriaki
Kiapha Vary
Koukoura
To MEGARA
LEKANO
Monument
Parapoungia (Leuktra)
LEUKTRA
PLATAIA
Kaparéli
Asopos Potamos
R. ASOPOS
Plataia (Kokla)
R. OEROE
THISBE
Domvraina
R. PERMESSOS
Mavros Kavos
Panagia Kalamitsiotissa
Ormos Zaltsa
BOULIS
Zaltsa
Khostia
KORSIAI
Kastro
KREUSIS
Livadhostra
SIPHAI
Porto Germeno
AIGOSTHENA
To PAGAI
Over 400 metres
Over 800 metres
Over 1200 metres
CORINTHIAN GULF
Miles
0 1 2 3 4 5

Fig. 5.1

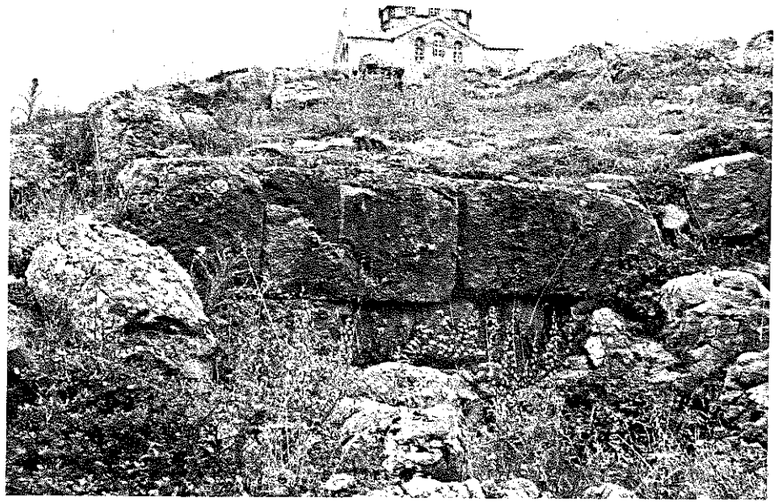
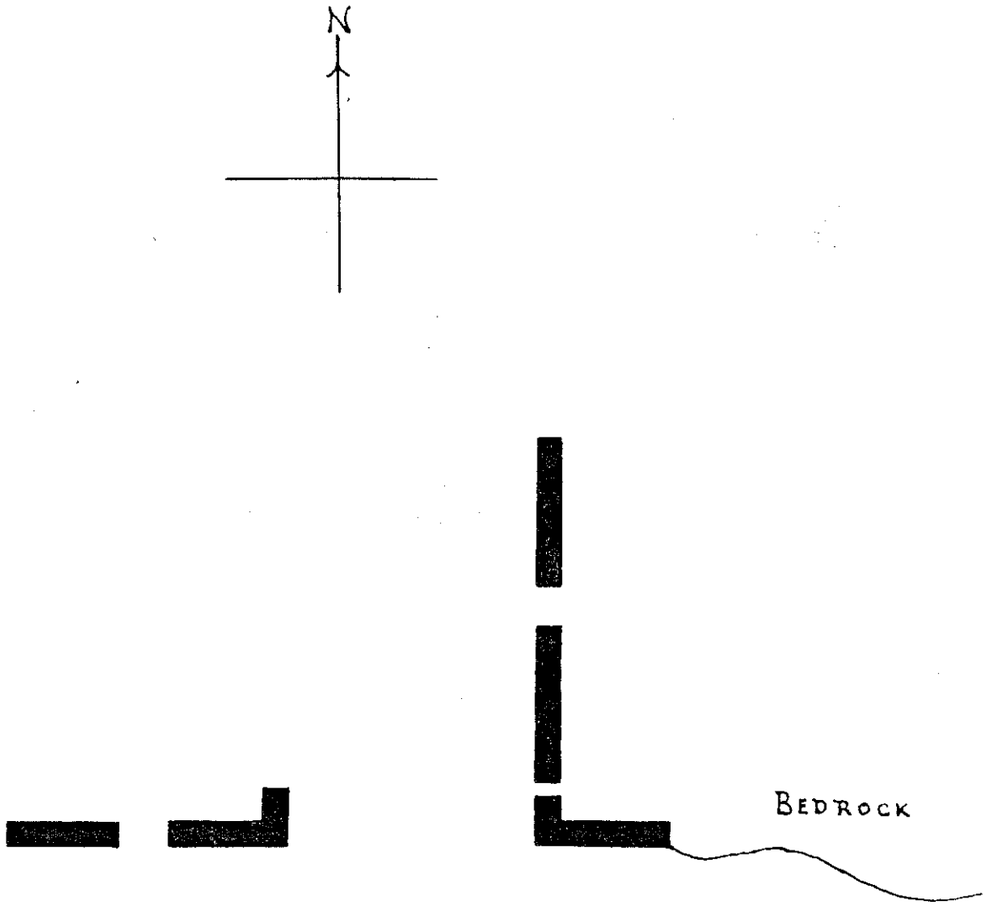


Fig. 5.2

Fig. 5.3



PALAIOKASTRO, KYRIAKI

0 3 6 9 10 METERS

Fig. 5.4

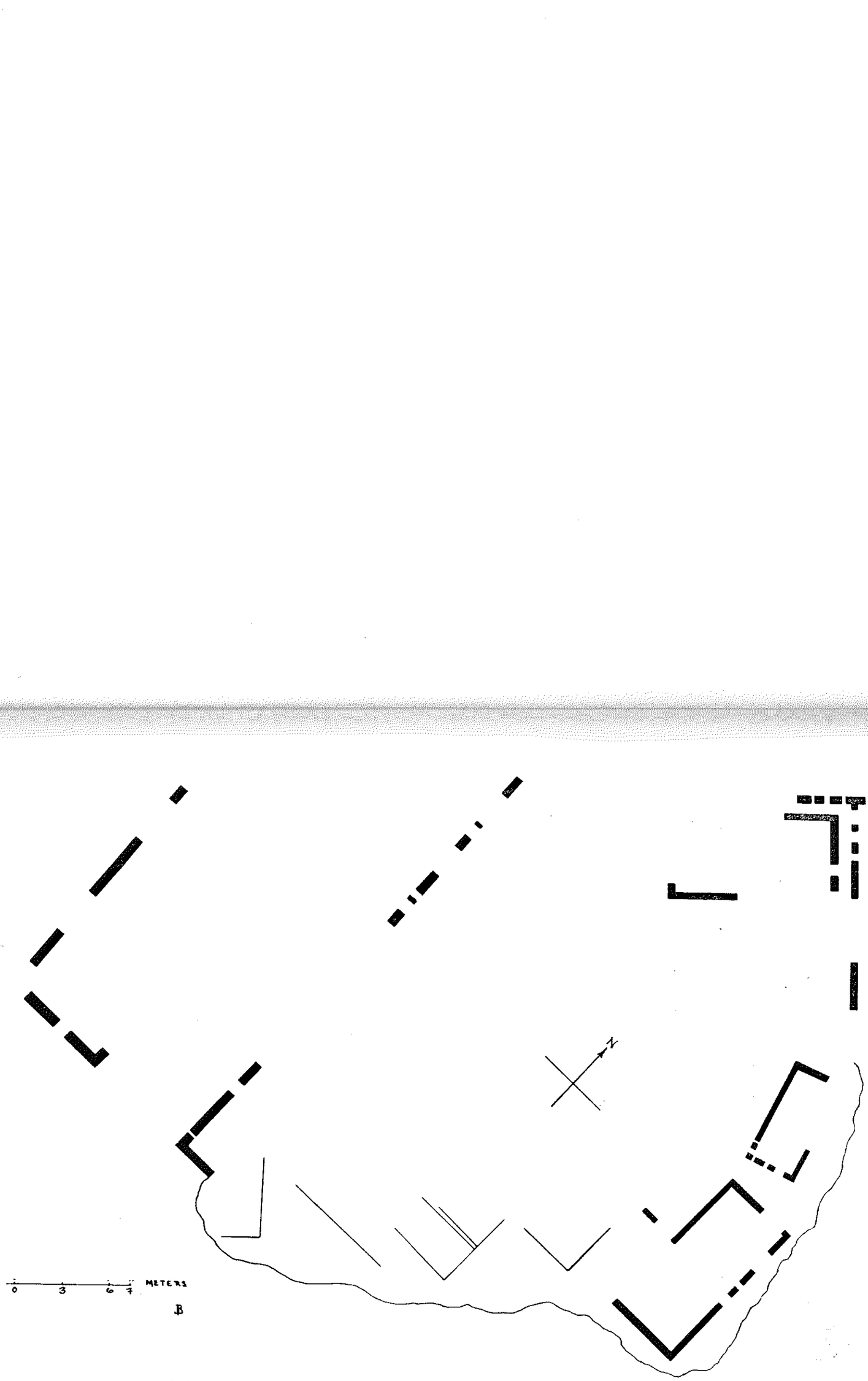


Fig. 4.2
Palaiokastro, Kyriaki

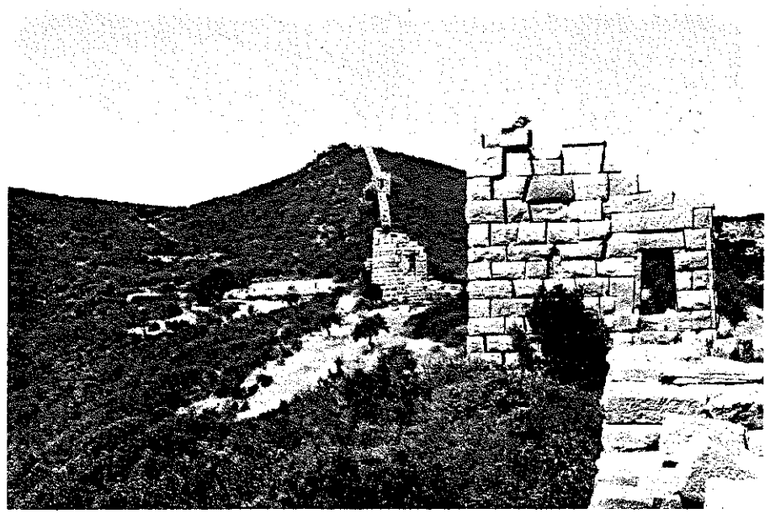


Fig. 5.5

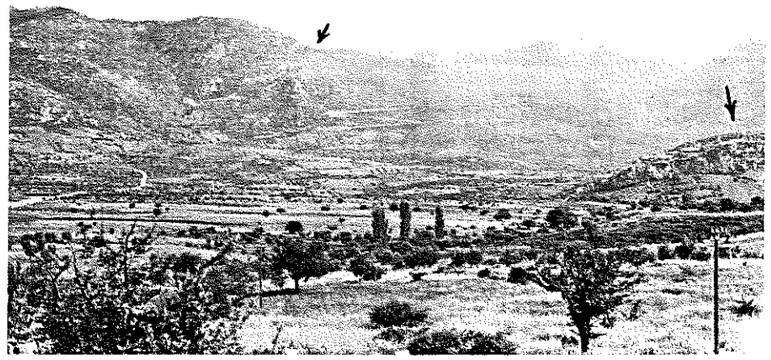
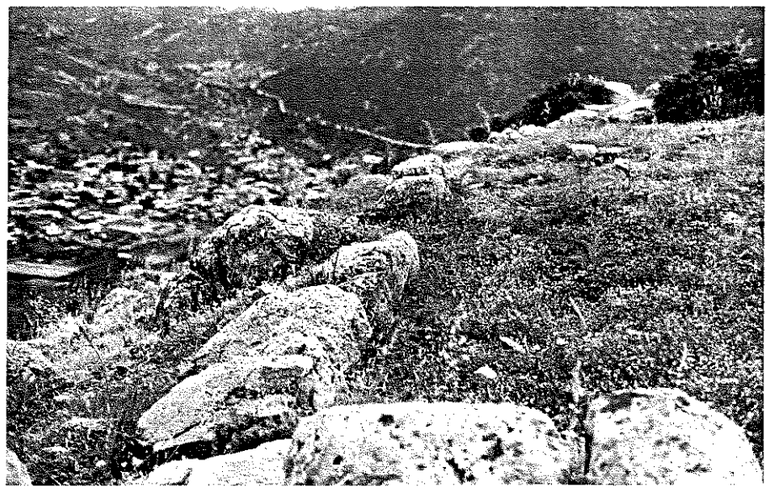


Fig. 5.7

Fig. 5.8



5. ON BOIOTIAN IRON

by S. C. Bakhuizen

Smelted iron has been known since the third millennium B.C.[1] The Minoan and Mycenaean cultures used iron for amulets and jewelry (rings).[2] Towards the very end of the Mycenaean period and in the beginning of the Dark Ages the Greeks began to use iron for weapons (knives, daggers and swords).[3] Iron objects of the Dark Ages possessed a hardness not necessarily in all respects superior to that of good bronze.[4] It is in the eighth century B.C. that the iron age proper begins in Greece, that iron and steel become basic products of technology. All the techniques necessary to produce iron and steel of high quality seem to have been mastered by now: hot-forging, carburization, hardening by quenching and welding together packets of thin laminations of steel. The objects manufactured were strong, hard, elastic, with a minimum of brittleness, and sharp cutting edges if wanted. Iron tools of a wide variety became common, for instance for agricultural purposes.[5] All swords were made of iron now.

Greece is fairly rich in iron ores. The deposits occur in the eastern parts of the mainland and on a great number of Aegean islands. The most important occurrences are found in Lakonia, Attike, Boiotia, Khalkidike, Thasos, Euboia, the Kyklades, Krete and Kos.[6] Most occurrences seem to have supplied ores suitable for the ancient smelters. Ancient Greece may have produced enough iron to meet the demands of the home market. There is no substantial reason to surmise that the Greeks had to import iron.[7] On the contrary, there is reason to think that the Greeks exported iron.[8]

As observed, Boiotia is among the major iron-bearing regions of Greece. This paper explores the evidence for ancient Boiotian iron and iron metallurgy. It is not a report on any field, museum or laboratory research carried out recently, but it may help to draw attention to the subject of Boiotian iron.

The iron ore deposits of north-eastern Boiotia are well-known and well-published. They occur in the mountains north and north-east of Orkhomenos, and in the mountains north and north-east of Lake Kopaïs. The richest occurrences are on the flanks of Mt. Ptoion, east of Akraiphia, south of Larymna: the *Néo Kókkino* ores. Among others the Austrian geologist Petrascheck studied these deposits and he has published a useful map of the localities where they occur.[9] These Boiotian ores, which contain nickel like their Euboian counterparts, are being mined nowadays. The modern furnaces have been built at *Lárymna*, on the shore of the Euboian Sea. The iron ore of the deposits of north-eastern Boiotia is haematite, a fairly rich ore and suitable for the ancient smelters. In 1971 Mr. R. Kreulen of Utrecht University, a geologist specialized in geochemistry, at my request, made reconnaissances and chemical analyses of the iron ores of Euboia and north-east Boiotia. In a forthcoming publication he remarks that iron ores may form in various ways. There are sedimentary iron ores, magmatic iron ores, contact metamorphic iron ores, hydrothermal iron ores and residuary iron ores. From its environment at the time of its formation each of the different types of iron ores inherited its own, often characteristic associations of the chemical elements that occur in trace amounts. By trace element analysis of natural iron, blooms, slag or objects of iron the type of ore can be established, thus limiting the number of possible provenances of the ore. The iron ores of north-eastern Boiotia are of the residuary type.

Other iron ore deposits are found at the western and eastern extremities of the *Kithairón-Párnes* range of the Boiotian-Attic border country. In both these areas iron has been mined in the twentieth century. The eastern deposits lie near *Grammatikó*. It seems that these deposits lie in Attic rather than in Boiotian territory.

The literary evidence for Boiotian iron is very limited. Pliny mentions an occurrence near Hyettos, a township within the confines of the iron-bearing district of north-eastern Boiotia (*NH* 36. 128): *quinque genera magnetis ... tertium in Hyetto Boeotiae ... Boeoti* (sc. *lapides*) *vero rufi coloris plus habent quam nigri* ("there are five kinds of magnetic rock ... the third in Boiotian Hyettos ... The colour of the Boiotian ore is red rather than black"). The ore is not our modern magnetite, but haematite, which indeed has a reddish-brown colour.

While besieging the Piraeus Sulla was supplied by the Thebans with, among other things, iron (Appian, *The Mithridatic Wars* l. 30). This may have been wrought iron in the shape of blooms, or bars of iron. Iron smithies, blooms and bars of iron could be found in any Greek town. This text cannot be used to prove Boiotian iron mining. It has perhaps illustrative value.

The poet Dionysios Periegetes has a reference to Boiotian iron, v.476, describing the Strait of Messana as shaped by Poseidon: Ἀονίῳ τμηθεῖσα πολυγλώχινι σιδήρῳ ("cut by his Aonian many-pointed iron", sc. trident), on which words Eustathios comments: Ἀόνιον δὲ σίδηρον λέγει ὡς ἄν τις εἴποι βοιώτιον (cf. ad *Il.* 2.494: καὶ σίδηρος Ἀόνιος ὁ Βοιώτιος). Eustathios comments correctly that Dionysios chose the adjective "Aonian" as Poseidon was particularly worshipped in Boiotia. It cannot be concluded from this line that Dionysios knew of Boiotian iron metallurgy. In referring to Boiotian iron Eustathios apparently did not avail himself of other source material than the line of Dionysios under discussion. The only reliable inference to be drawn from these texts is that in early Roman times iron ore is said to have been observed near Hyettos.

The Boiotian poet Hesiod was conscious that he lived in the Iron Age: νῦν γὰρ δὴ γένος ἐστὶ σιδήρεον ("Now lives the race of iron"; *Works and Days* 176). He mentions iron tools in v.387 of the same poem, referring to the time of the year when the farmer whets his iron utensils; cf. v.573 and v.742 (small scissors or tongs to cut one's nails). The poet was acquainted with the smelting of iron at mining sites in the mountains, *Theogony* 864-866 (in a simile):

> ... σίδηρος, ὃ περ κρατερώτατός ἐστιν,
> οὔρεος ἐν βήσσῃσι δαμαζόμενος πυρὶ κηλέῳ
> τήκεται ἐν χθονὶ δίῃ ...
>
> (" ... iron, which is the strongest of things, in mountain
> glens tamed by blazing fire melts in the earth ... ").

These words picture a bloomery, a smelting site, the type of furnace probably being a so-called bowl or pit furnace.

Hesiod had pondered on the properties of iron, the positive ones and the negative ones. He had a clear idea of a mining plant in the mountains. However, there is no reason to assume that he wrote this description from autopsy. Neither is it necessary to assume that he was inspired by Boiotian mining.

Archaeological reconnaissances for indications of ancient iron mining and smelting in Boiotia are confined to the explorations by Davies, who visited Boiotia between the two World Wars. His travels in Boiotia were not extensive. On Mt. Ptoion he failed to notice any proof of ancient mining. Near Hyettos there appears to be an old shaft, at Hyettos itself a few pieces of ore. On the Lokris side of the mountains there was a mine. A piece of iron slag was picked up nearby.[10] That is all.

To summarize. Solid evidence for ancient Boiotian iron mining and ancient Boiotian iron metallurgy is very scarce. Iron seems to have been mined though and an industry based on local ores may have existed, but chronological indications are almost absent and we can only guess at the kinds of products fabricated. Nevertheless the following points may be made:

1. Boiotia is rich in iron ores that were suitable for the ancient smelters.
2. In the ancient Greek world iron must have been permanently in demand, both for the fabrication of tools and weapons.
3. Prospecting of iron ores has never been difficult, as Pliny observes (*NH* 34.142): *ferri metalla ubique*

propemodum reperiuntur ... minimaque difficultate adgnoscuntur colore ipso terrae manifesto ("deposits of iron are found almost everywhere ... the unmistakable colour of the earth makes prospecting very easy").

4. Extensive field explorations with regard to ancient Greek mining of iron and with regard to smelting sites have not been undertaken. Twentieth century iron mining is rapidly destroying evidence on ancient mining.
5. By cataloguing Boiotian iron finds and by applying analytical methods to these finds[11] it may be possible one day to identify Boiotian classes of iron objects.
6. This paper, consequently, aims at stimulating field reconnaissances with respect to Boiotian iron deposits and at stimulating research on Boiotian iron objects.

Finally the question may be raised whether the iron metallurgy of Khalkis-in-Euboia, the city on the fringe of Boiotia, has any bearing on a discussion of Boiotian iron metallurgy.

Aitiological explanations have connected Khalkis with copper mining and with copper (bronze) industry. This is geologically rather unlikely, nor is this theory supported by any solid evidence. However, Khalkis was a centre of iron mining and iron industry. There are extensive iron deposits in the mountains north and north-east of Khalkis (the ore is haematite). There are a few ancient texts that possibly are to be associated with these deposits.[12] An industry of iron swords flourished at Khalkis in the Archaic age.[13] The hypothesis may be ventured that Khalkis had become a centre of iron metallurgy already in the Geometric period and earlier. It will be argued in a forthcoming study called *Chalcis-in-Euboea, Iron and Chalcidians Abroad* that Khalkidian iron metallurgy was the primary force behind the first settlement of Euboians near the Bay of Naples.* Khalkidian iron may have been instrumental in pushing Greece and Italy from a prehistoric life into the more intricate forms of society of the historical period.

As remarked above, the richest iron deposits of Boiotia are those of Mt. Ptoion (*Néo Kókkino*). These lie chiefly within the territory of Akraiphia, an inland town without a harbour, hidden in a corner off Lake Kopaïs, away from the main routes of communication. Anthedon and Larymna on the shores of the Euboian Sea, the other townships lying near Mt. Ptoion, were better placed for trade and traffic. They were poor little towns, though, of fisherman, farmers and herdsmen. From a commercial point of view the Euripos region - open for land and sea traffic - was the geographically determined trading centre of the surrounding area. Here Khalkis, and earlier *Xerópolis*, were thriving settlements. Khalkis itself, situated on the shore of the very Euripos, was a town with a capacious harbour.[14] If the ores of Mt. Ptoion were mined in antiquity - which is purely hypothetical -, part of the output of the mines might have been shipped across to the Euboian centres on the Euripos (probably in the shape of blooms) for further treatment in the local smithies.

Relations between Khalkis and Boiotia have always, of necessity, been close. In the early eighth century the leading developments in Greece issued from the Euripos. It would be interesting to know whether Boiotians took any part in these activities, whether, for instance, Boiotian iron was mined, worked and traded at the period.

The mineral iron, which has been a basic product of technology ever since the beginnings of the Greek historical period, deserves due attention. So do the regions that produce iron. Boiotian iron, therefore, is a subject worth taking up by students of ancient societies.

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NOTES

1 H. H. Coghlan, *Notes on Prehistoric and Early Iron in the Old World* (Oxford, 1956) 61 sqq.

2 S. E. Iakovídhis, "Ἡ Ἐμφάνισις τοῦ Σιδήρου εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα (The Appearance of Iron in Greece)", AAA 3 (1970) 288-296.

3 A. M. Snodgrass, *The Dark Age of Greece* (Edinburgh, 1971) 217 sqq. (in a chapter called *Iron and Other Metals*, pp. 213-295).

4 *Ibid.* pp. 214-216.

5 See the useful survey of R. Pleiner, *Iron Working in Ancient Greece* (Prague, 1969).

6 D. A. Wray, *Iron Ores*, 15-16 of his study "Greece: Its Geology and Mineral Resources", *The Mining Magazine* 40 (1929) 9-17, 85-90 and 148-153, and G. Aronis, "Les Minerais de Fer de Grèce" in: *Symposium sur les Gisements de Fer du Monde* (XIX^e Congrès Géologique International), édité par F. Blondel et L. Marvier, tome 2 (Algiers, 1952) 223-226, with a useful distribution map.

7 The assertion by O. Davies that it is certain that much iron was imported from Elba and Etruria (BSA 35 [1934-5] 136) is rather dogmatic.

8 Homer's Taphians, who may reflect activities of early seafaring Greeks, are said to export iron, to distant Temesa, wherever this may be identified (*Od.* 1.183-184).

9 W. E. Petrascheck, "Τὰ Κοιτάσματα Σιδηρονικελιούχων Μεταλλευμάτων τῆς Λοκρίδος (Ἀνατ. Ἑλλάδος) (= Die Eisenerz- und Nickelerzlagerstätten von Lokris in Ost-Griechenland)", in: Ἔρευναι ἐπὶ τοῦ Ὀρυκτοῦ Πλούτου τῆς Ἑλλάδος (= *The Mineral Wealth of Greece*), 3 (Athens, 1953) 83-169. Cf. W. E. Petrascheck, "Zur Geologie der Nickel- und Eisenerzlagerstätten von Lokris in Ostgriechenland", *Berg- und Hüttenmännische Monatschrifte* 4,96, (Vienna, 1951) 76-88. See further G. Marinos, *Geological Reconnaissance of the Locris (Atalanti) Lignite Basin* (Athens, 1951, stencilled report no. 9 of the *Institute for Geology and Subsurface Research* at Athens); L. Moussolos, "Le Gisement Nickelifère de Larumna. Etude de ses Caractères fondamentaux et de sa Méthode d' Exploitation", *Ann. Géol. Pays Hell.* 8 (1958) 1-58; G. Maratos, *Iron-Nickel Ores of Locris* (= Σιδηρονικελιοῦχα Κοιτάσματα Τσούκασ-Λουτσίου-Καστρακίου (Λοκρίδος) (Athens, 1960, stencilled report no. 30).

10 O. Davies, *Roman Mines in Europe* (Oxford, 1935) 245-246.

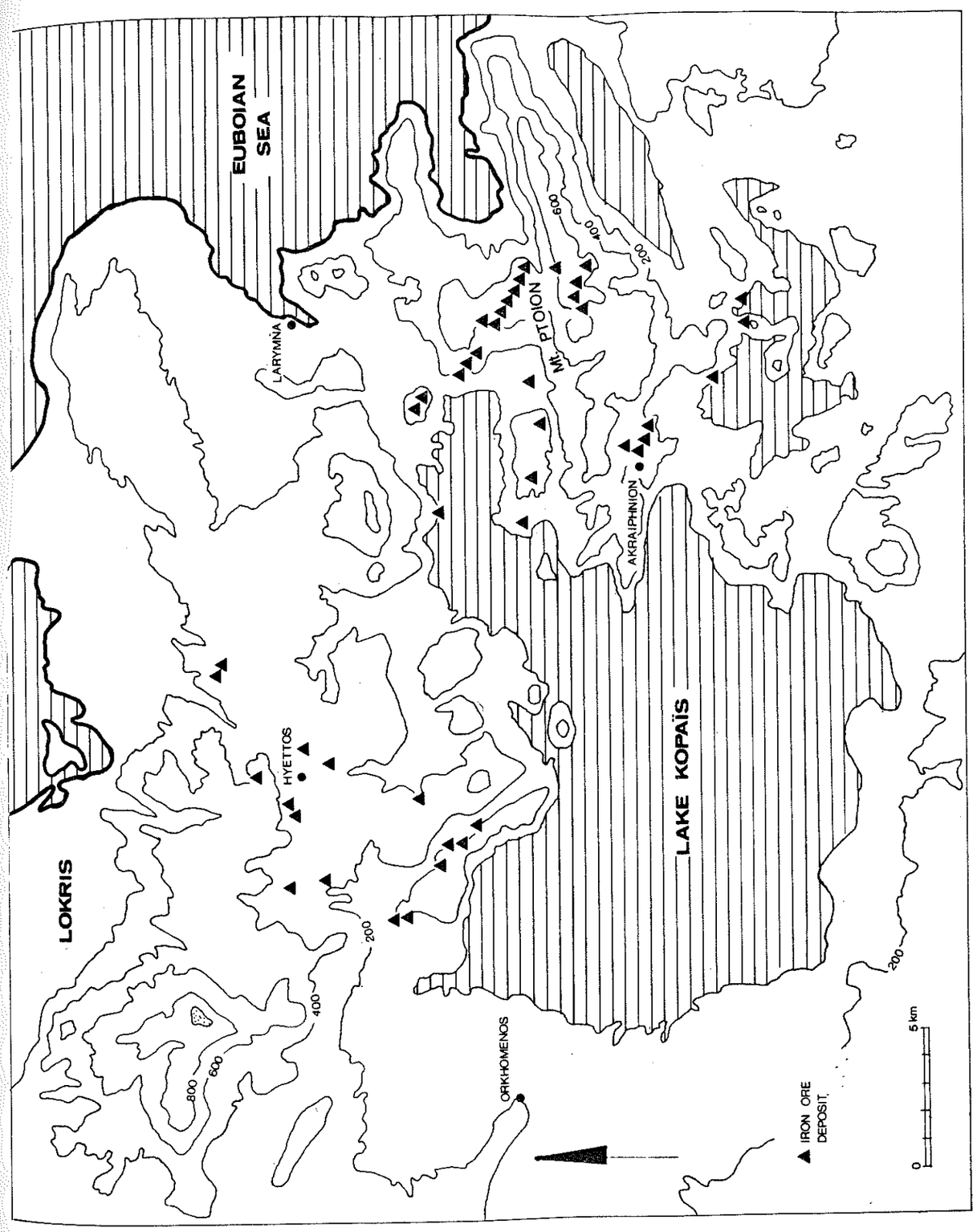
11 For laboratory examinations other than trace element analysis see F. K. Naumann, "Die Untersuchung alter eiserner Fundstücke und die dazu verwendeten Verfahren", in: M. Levey (editor), *Archaeological Chemistry* (Philadelphia, 1967) 181-204; see also Coghlan, pp. 180-192.

12 Kallimakhos F701 Pfeiffer; Strabo 10.1.9 (447C); Herakleides Lembos F62Dilts; Theophrastos, *Enquiry into Plants* 5.9.2.

13 Alkaio F357Lobel/Page, l. 7: Χαλκίδικαι σπάθαι; Aischylos F703Mette; Kallimakhos F236Pfeiffer; Hyginus, *Astron.* II, 6.

14 The Bay of *Áyios Stéphanos*.

* Editorial note: *Chalcis-in Euboea, Iron and Chalcidians Abroad* has now been published (=*Chalcidian Studies* 3 [Leiden 1976]).



MAP OF NORTH-WESTERN BOIOTIA

Fig. 6.1

6. THE HISTORICAL TRADITIONS OF EARLY BOIOTIA

by R. J. Buck

A fragment of Hekataios says that Boiotia was occupied at an early stage by "barbarian tribes, the Aiones, Temmikes, Hyantes, Leleges and Pelasgians."[1] Ephoros lists these same tribes.[2] He is clearly following Hekataios, or drawing on the same sources. Both belong to the same tradition.

A completely different story is found in Pausanias (9.5.1). The autochthonous ruler Ogygos and the Ektenes first held the territory around Thebes. The Ektenes perished from pestilence, and their land was occupied by Aones and Hyantes, who came from elsewhere in Boiotia. The Aones were the dominant partners. No mention is made of any Temmikes, Leleges or Pelasgians and the tribes are not considered "barbarians." Pausanias' immediate source is unknown, but the important role given to the Aones reflects the views of Philokhoros[3] and Hellanikos,[4] as, probably, does the place given to Ogygos and the Ektenes.[5] Hellanikos, then, is the earliest historian who may be identified as belonging to the tradition found in Pausanias, one distinct from that found in Ephoros and Hekataios.

Ephoros,[6] and presumably Hekataios, say that the Aones and Temmikes as barbarian tribes migrated from Sounion to Boiotia. In the other tradition Pausanias (9.5.1) implicitly denies the assertion that they were barbarians by having them natives of Boiotia, and Philokhoros,[7] in explicit denial of barbarian origin and migration from Sounion, has the Aones invade Attike from Boiotia in the time of Kekrops, who, therefore, fortified his cities.

The differences and contradictions between the two traditions can be seen to continue in their treatment of the coming of Kadmos. Ephoros[8] and Hekataios[9] say that the Phoinikes under Kadmos walled the Kadmeia, founded the city of Thebes and proceeded to rule over the other Boiotians. Pausanias and the second tradition say that Kadmos and his men entered a Thebes already in existence (since it was founded by Ogygos), reduced the Aones to subjection, expelled the Hyantes and then constructed the Kadmeia.

The ultimate sources for these two traditions remain unknown, but should be variant local traditions, probably poetic, either from different groups in one area (e.g., the Thebans and the Orkhomenians) or from differing accounts from different areas. They almost certainly owe little to any generalized poetic tradition. This material is used in a third tradition, one first clearly observable in its version of the foundation of Thebes.

In the *Odyssey* (11.260-265) Thebes is founded and fortified by Amphion and Zethos, who built its walls "when they were unable to dwell in wide-landed Thebes unprotected, even though powerful." It was already a well-known story, since other poets, including Asios (frg. 1 Kinkel), Eumelos (frg. 12K), Minyas (frg. 13K), and Hesiod (frg. 133Rz) said much the same thing. Kadmos is regarded as a later ruler[10] and the Kadmeioi as the later inhabitants.[11] Pherekydes and his followers[12] accepted this third tradition, one very different from the other two. Though they noted a connection of Amphion and Zethos with the Asopos valley and East Lokris,[13] the twins are set in Thebes well before Kadmos. Ogygos seems to precede the twins, as an early if not the first ruler of all Boiotia, one who did not found Thebes.[14]

Strabo (9.2.28), following Ephoros and ultimately Hekataios[15] has Amphion and Zethos found Eutresis, not Thebes. Thus Hekataios and his followers, since in their view Kadmos founded Thebes, removed the twins to another site, a treatment different from that of the other traditions.

Hellanikos and several others stuck firmly to a rationalization of a local (poetic) tradition that placed Amphion and Zethos in Thebes, but at a time later than Kadmos, commonly three generations later, during the early part of the reign of Laios.[16] Some regarded them as usurpers,[17] and others as regents.[18] A few, notably Hieronymos,[19] tried to take a compromise position by setting Amphion and Zethos in Thebes, immediately after the departure of Kadmos. In this way the twins could re-establish the town on an abandoned site and, in a sense, be considered as founders. They could also be expelled by the returning Kadmeians, at a saving in the number of strange invading tribes.

Even the number and names of the children born to Amphion's wife, the Tantalid Niobe, vary widely. Pherekydes,[20] following a tradition traceable in Homer (*Iliad* 24.602-617), names six boys and six girls. Hellanikos[21] and Armenidas[22] say seven, four boys and three girls, with names completely different from those in Pherekydes. Hekataios, if one may judge from his remarks on the Danaïds,[23] favoured a still smaller number, perhaps the two boys and three girls mentioned by Herodoros[24] or the three children that Aulus Gellius (20.7) says were allowed by *alii scriptores*. The twenty or so children found in the early poets[25] and the fourteen of the dramatists and the vulgate[26] seem not to have been commonly adopted by historians.

It is clear that three distinct traditions about early Boiotia can be observed in the work of the Greek historians, and that many possible poetic sources remained untouched.

The treatment of the Phlegyans illustrates the differences among the three traditions so far observed. In Ephoros,[27] and probably Hekataios, the Phlegyans arrived with some evidence in Boiotia after the Trojan War. They eventually settled in Daulis. Probably the passage in the *Iliad* (13.301-303) that put this tribe on the borders of Thrace reflects this same tradition.

Pherekydes,[28] however, says that the walls erected by Amphion and Zethos were for defence against the Phlegyans, who, after the death of the twins, sacked Thebes under their leader Eurymachos. The Kadmeians later settled the deserted site. All this, of course, happened long before the Trojan War. The Phlegyans had come from Gyrton in northern Thessaly and eventually settled in northwestern Boiotia, perhaps at Gyrton.[29]

The tradition found in Hellanikos and others is again different. The Phlegyans were not hostile, but friendly, as in Pindar (*Pyth.* 3.8). They came to the rescue of Thebes in time of need.[30] They occupied Orkhomenos and helped to rebuild it.[31] Eventually they settled at Panopeus.[32] They are dated about the time of the Trojan War.

Hieronymos[33] follows a compromise in which the Phlegyans are eliminated: there is no place for them, since the Kadmeians return at an appropriate time. The presence of the tribal eponym Phlegyas, who is slain by Lykos and Nykteus[34] is perhaps the last trace of an effort to eliminate the tribe, or is a rationalization of its existence in the time before the Trojan War.

The conventional stemma of Kadmos, Polydoros, Labdakos, Laios, Oidipous, Polyneikes and Thersandros lies behind a passage in Herodotos (5.59-60), and, as far as can be judged, was recognized by most other historians. The only divergence traceable is in Hekataios, who calls Pentheus Tentheus,[35] an Ionicism. It may be that Herodotos used Hekataios as his source, but it cannot be certain. The stemma is probably derived from Theban poetry. Names like Labdakos have been regarded with suspicion by modern historians as mere genealogical links.

Differences are observable in the treatment of Oidipous, and here some study of the use of poetic sources is possible. But unfortunately the historical sources become very scrappy indeed, particularly Hekataios.

In Homer (*Odyssey* 11.271-278) Oidpous married his mother Epicaste. She committed suicide because the gods made the incest "notorious at once". There was no time for any children to be born, and Oidipous survived "suffering many woes," including probably another marriage to provide descendants. Both Homer (*Iliad* 23.676f.) and Hesiod (F35 Rzach) mention Oidipous' death, apparently by violence,[36] and some great gathering and struggle after the funeral. Hesiod (*Works and Days* 161-163) mentions a war over Oidipous' sheep, one that he equates with the Trojan War in severity of losses. Both know of the Seven and the Epigonoi, but neither Homer nor Hesiod know anything about Oidipous' blinding of himself.[37] This is a motif added by later Theban or Boiotian epic, found in the cyclical *Thebaïs*.[38] Variations reported in the scholiasts[39] have Oidipous blinded by one Polybos or by the servants of Laios. The epics gave the wife's name as Iokaste and named the second wife variously.

It is to be noted that Hellanikos adopted the version in which Oidipous blinds himself,[40] the one that becomes the vulgate. He has little or nothing, however, about the war over Oidipous' sheep.

Pherekydes[41] lists three marriages for Oidipous: first to Iokaste, by whom he had two boys, Phrastor and Leonytos, both later killed by Erginos of Orkhomenos; second to Euryganeia, daughter of Periphas (Hyperphas in Paus. 9.5.11), by whom he had the usual four children; and third to Astymedousa (Medusa in pseudo-Apollodoros, 3.4.5.), daughter of Sthenelos. Pherekydes obviously combines at least two versions here.[42] One of these was derived from the epic *Oidipodia* known to Pausanias[43] and followed at least in part by Peisandros.[44] In this Oidipous married Iokaste and had no children; he blinded himself after her suicide. He then married Euryganeia by whom he had Antigone, Ismene, Eteokles and Polyneikes.[45]

The second version, from some other epic source,[46] says that Iokaste had two sons, Phrastor and Leonytos, and that after her death Oidipous married Astymedousa. Perhaps the incident mentioned in the *Scholion* A to *Iliad* 4.376, where Astymedousa falsely accuses her stepsons of attempting to seduce her, and brings down their father's curse on them, goes back to this source ultimately. Presumably Astymedousa had borne the usual four children and wished to displace her stepsons.

Possibly a third version gave Iokaste four and Astymedousa none; this would explain the lack of children by Astymedousa in Pherekydes.

At any rate which, if any, of these versions was followed by Hekataios is unknown. The third version, or a variation of it, seems to be Hellanikos' source, and to have provided the basis of the vulgate.

Similar variations can be seen in the story of the Curse of Oidipous. A fragment of a cyclic *Thebaïs*[47] tells how Polyneikes placed the wine cup of Laios by his father's side -- and both sons were promptly cursed. Another *Thebaïs*[48] says that Polyneikes and Eteokles set before their father the haunch of a sacrificed animal, instead of the shoulder, and were consequently cursed. The third story, mentioned above, has Astymedousa accuse her stepsons of attempted seduction.

It is clear that widely discrepant versions of the career of Oidipous were to be found in epic poetry and in the local legends. Some of these were adopted by one or another historian; others were not touched at all. The same doubtless applies in general to the materials of early Boiotian history.

The fate of the Thebans after the Epigonoi prevailed is variously given. One version tells how the Thebans were defeated at Glisas, and Leodamas, son of Eteokles, was killed. Most of the survivors fled north to Histaiotis. This probably stems from a *Thebaïs* and seems to be the version preferred by Hellanikos and his followers.[49]

A somewhat different version,[50] perhaps Hekataian, apparently from Kallinos' *Thebaïs*,[51] has Laodamas, after killing Aigideus, son of Adrastos, survive the defeat at Glisas to lead the Theban refugees to the land of the Enkheleians. Apparently they return in a fairly brief time to join other survivors at the site of Thebes under Thersandros, son of Polyneikes.

A variant of the second version[52] has a section of the exiles recalled from Homole in Thessaly. Correspondences have been noted between Herodotos (5.61;9.43) and Hekataios (*FGr Hist* 1 F 103) in setting the Enkheleis in Aitolia or Illyria. Since Hellanikos apparently sets the Enkheleis in Boiotia[53] and associates them with Kadmos, not the Epigonoi, this version may owe something to Hekataios.

A third version, perhaps Pherekydan, found in Diodoros (4.66-67), has the Thebans defeated in battle and unable to resist further. Some fled by way of Tilphossaion to Doris whence they returned to Thebes when Kreon was king. This is in reality a variation of the second version with Thersandros eliminated.

The Trojan War appears in all traditions, but what happened in Boiotia at the time it occurred differs widely from one tradition to another.

It may be inferred from the Catalogue of Ships in the *Iliad* (2.494ff.) that Homer thought that Boiotians inhabited the land and that Thebes was in no condition to send troops to Troy, although "Hypothebai" did. This inference was apparently drawn by Hellanikos and his followers. They regarded Thebes as virtually desolate but rebuilt before the end of the Trojan War by the aid of friendly Phlegyans.[54] Thoukydides (1.12.3) doubtless obtained from Hellanikos the idea that "a portion" of the Boiotians entered Boiotia before the Trojan War. Pherekydes' position is unknown, but Kreon's presence as king at the time of the War,[55] known from one or two late authors, may owe something to his influence.

Hekataios seems to have ignored Homer and to have had the successors of Thersandros ruling a segment of the Kadmeians at Thebes.[56] This position lies behind Ephoros' uneasy doubling of invasions and exiles, a doubling so arranged as to have Kadmeians at Thebes at the time of the Trojan War.[57]

The *Returns* have left almost no trace in the extant Boiotian traditions. Most of these, however, agree that there were hostile attacks on Boiotia shortly after the Trojan War.

Hellanikos puts an invasion of Thracians between the Trojan War and the Return of the Kadmeians, one that resulted in the expulsion of the Minyans from Orkhomenos to Mounykhia in Attike.[58] A similar but separate tradition, found in Nikolaos of Damascus,[59] says that Phokians expelled the Minyans, who fled to Thorikos in eastern Attike and thence to Asia Minor.

A very different tradition (perhaps Pherekydan) is found in Hieronymos (in Diod. Sicul. 19.53-54), where the Thebans were expelled during the Trojan War by Pelasgoi.

Ephoros[60] expels the Kadmeians for a second time from Thebes shortly after the Trojan War by the agency of Thracians and Pelasgoi. In another passage[61] he tells of a Phlegyan invasion, one to be set after the Trojan War as well. Clearly Ephoros is combining the Hellanikan Thracians, and the Pelasgians from the tradition later followed by Hieronymos, and then transferring the Thracians from Orkhomenos to Thebes. This leaves his post-War Phlegyans as possible borrowings from Hekataios.

Hekataios[62] refers to the Thracians who held Attike and Daulis (where the Phlegyans were thought by him or Ephoros to have settled eventually) under Eumolpos and Tereus. If Thoukydides (2.29.3) followed him, then Hekataios set the Thracians well before the Trojan War -- unless he had some very low settings for these two rulers. Hence the violent Phlegyans in Ephoros seem most simply explained as a contribution from Hekataios, who needed to clear Thebes for his Kadmeian Return.

Three discrepant historical traditions can be seen to deal with early Boiotian history, as the following chart makes clear:

	HEKATAIOS	HELLANIKOS	PHEREKYDES
1.	?Leleges and Pelasgoi?	Ogygos Autochthonous	*Ogygos, s. of Boiotos, king of Boiotia
2.	Barbarian Aones, Temmikes and Hyantes from Attike	Founding of Thebes by Ogygos and Ektenes	Founding of Thebes by Amphion and Zethos
3.	Kadmos subdues above and founds Thebes, walling the Kadmeia.	Native Aones and Hyantes from elsewhere in Boiotia to Thebes. They attack Athens.	Phlegyans destroy Thebes.
4.	Amphion and Zethos found Eutresis. Possibly here a Thracian incursion.	Kadmos subdues above; founds Kadmeia.	**Kadmos refounds Thebes.
5.	Usual stemma Kadmos-Oidipous	Amphion and Zethos as usurpers in reign of Laios.	Kadmos-Oidipous
6.	Oidipous	Oidipous and Iokaste	Oidipous and three wives.
7.	Seven and Epigonoi	Seven and Epigonoi	Seven and Epigonoi
8.	Expulsion of Kadmeians to Thessaly and Enkheleis under Laodamas; returnees under Thersandros.	Expulsion of Kadmeians to Histiaia or Thessaly; Laodamas killed.	Expulsion to Doris; return to Thebes under Kreon.
9.	Trojan War	Trojan War and friendly Phlegyans.	Trojan War; Pelasgoi expel Thebans.
10.	Phlegyans expel Thebans and Minyans.	Thracians expel Minyans	- - -
11.	Kadmeians return	Kadmeians return	Boiotians return

Figure 7.1

* Ogygos, s. of Boiotos in Korinna

** Kadmos as son of Ogygos in Mythographer Phot. *App. nov.* 5.42.

None of the traditions inspires any confidence. Pherekydes, as was long ago pointed out,[63] naïvely contaminates several poetic sources, though usually he is faithful to Homer and Hesiod. Hellanikos rationalized a local poetic tradition, probably that of Thebes. Hekataios applied his own taste and common sense to legends and poems from several sources. The later historians found themselves facing much the same basic material and followed, largely, one or the other of the three pioneers. Little or no new evidence was available, and new combination was the only novelty.

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NOTES

1 *FGrHist* 1F119.

2 *FGrHist* 70F119.

3 *FGrHist* 3.1.396 f. and 3.2, 295 in comm. on 328 F94.

4 *FGrHist* 4F51, where Boiotia is said to have been once called Aonia. Cf. also Lysimachus 382F1.

5 L. Pearson, *Early Ionian Historians* (Oxford, 1939) 211-214. *FGrHist* 328F92. Jacoby, however, *FGrHist* 3.1, 386-388, does not believe that Ogygos is found in either Hellanikos or Philokhoros, though he puts them in the same tradition.

6 *FGrHist* 70F119.

7 *FGrHist* 328F94.

8 *FGrHist* 70F119.

9 *FGrHist* 1F20.

10 Cf. Hesiod, *Theog.* 978 and *Works and Days* 162.

11 Cf., e.g., *Iliad* 4.387-393; 803-808.

13 *FGrHist* 3F5, 124, 170.

14 *FGrHist* 383F4, if Aristodemos is Pherekydan.

15 Cf. Steph. Byz., *s.v.* "Eutresis;" Eustathios on Iliad 16.502, pp. 268 ff.

16 See, e.g., Nikolaos of Damascus, *FGrHist* 90F7, which Jacoby, Comm. *ad loc.*, pp. 236 ff., considers derived from Hellanikos.

17 Paus. 2.6.1, 9.5.6; Pseudo-Apollodoros 3.5.5; Hyginus, *Fab.* 9.

18 Nic. Dam., *FGrHist* 90F7.

19 In Diod. Sicul. 19.53. See Jacoby's note comparing H. to Ephoros in his comm. on 70F119, pp. 68-71.

20 *FGrHist* 3F126.

21 *FGrHist* 4F21.

22 *FGrHist* 378F6, both probably from Theban local sources.

23 *FGrHist* 1F19.

24 *FGrHist* 31F56.

25 Hes., frg. 34 Rz.; Bakkhylides, frg. 146; Pindar, frg. 64; Mimnermos, frg. 19 and Alcman, frg. 109. Sappho, frg. 143, has only eighteen.

26 Aiskhylos, p. 50N^2; Euripides, *Phoin.* 159, *Kresph.* frg. 455; Aristophanes I, 465, 284 Kock; Diod. Sicul. 4.74; Ovid, *Met.* 6.146; Hyginus, *Fab.* 9, and 11; Pseudo-Apollodoros 3.5.6.

27 *FGrHist* 70F93.

28 *FGrHist* 3F41.

29 Strabo, 7, frg. 14, 15 mentions Gyrton in Thessaly, perhaps from Ephoros. The first tradition, then, may also recognize Gyrton as their homeland. Paus. 9.36.2 mentions a town of Phlegya.

30 Paus. 9.9.2 and 9.36.2.

31 Paus. 9.34.4 and 9.36.

32 Paus. 9.36.3 to end and 10.4.1.

33 Diod. Sicul. 19.53.

34 Pseudo-Apollodoros 3.5.5.

35 *FGrHist* 1F31 and comm. *ad loc.*, p. 327.

36 G. A. Huxley, *Greek Epic Poetry* (Cambridge, Mass., 1969) 41 f.

37 Cf. *Schol. Odyssey* 11.275.

38 *Schol.* Soph. *Oid. Col.* 1375.

39 *Schol.* Eurip. *Phoin.* 26 and 662.

40 *FGrHist* 4F97 and Jacoby's comm. *ad loc.*, p. 460

41 *FGrHist* 3F95.

42 Jacoby, comm. on Pherekydes 3F95, pp. 416 f.

43 Paus. 9.2.4., 9.5.11, 9.26.204, 10.5.3.

44 *FGrHist* 16F10 and comm. *ad loc.*, pp. 494-496.

45 Paus. 9.5.11. Huxley, *Greek Epic Poetry*, p. 41, suggests that dynasts who claimed descent from Oidipous were not willing to consider themselves descended from an incestuous marriage and therefore saw to the invention of a normal and fruitful second marriage. But the childless marriage to Iokaste is found in Homer; it is equally possible that their opponents first levelled accusations of descent from Iokaste at unpopular dynasts.

46 The *Oidipodia* of Kinaithon of Sparta is totally unknown. Onasias of Plataia (Paus. 9.5.11) has Eurygania as the second wife.

47 Athenaios, 465F.

48 *Schol.* Soph. *O.T.* 1375. Cf. also Huxley, *Greek Epic Poetry*, pp. 41, 43 for two *Thebaids*.

49 Pseudo-Apollodoros 3.7.3.; Herodotos 1.56; cf. Hellanikos *FGrHist* 4F100 and Jacoby's comm. *ad loc.*

50 Herodotos 5.61; Paus. 9.5.13; 9.9.5; cf. 9.19.2.

51 Paus. 9.9.5.

52 Paus. 9.8.7.

53 *FGrHist* 4F50 and comm.

54 *FGrHist* 4F100, Paus. 9.9.2 and 9.36.2. Cf. Pindar *Pyth.* 3.8.

55 Paus. 9.8.7 and Diod. Sicul. 4.66-67.

56 See above, preceding page.

57 *FGrHist* 70F119.3 followed by Demon, 327F7. For timing see Jacoby's commentary *ad loc.* and my article *Hesperia* 18 (1969) 289 f.

58 *FGrHist* 3F42 (b) = 323aF 5(b).

59 *FGrHist* 90F51.

60 *FGrHist* 70F119.3.

61 *FGrHist* 70F93.

62 *FGrHist* 1F119.

63 By Bethe, *Theb. Heldenl.*, 26 and Jacoby, *FGrHist*, comm. on 3F95, p. 416.

by Stephen J. Simon

The sources for the constitution of Boiotia are the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*, chapter 11,[1] and Thoukydides. This constitution was probably in effect before the breaking up of the Boiotian League under the conditions of the King's Peace in 387 B.C.[2] Since there is no evidence to the contrary, this idea of government conceivably came into being after the Boiotian recovery of independence from Athens in 447 B.C.[3] The evidence for the latter comes in essence from Boiotian coins. The legends of Boiotian money from the period 447 - 386 B.C. bear the name of Thebes alone, while legends of the coins for the era 457 - 447 B.C. contain the nomenclature of individual Boiotian cities.[4]

All the cities of Boiotia had a standard form of local government.[5] In the individual municipalities there were four elected councils or *boulai*. Each of the four *boulai* took its turn in acting as a probouleutic body which prepared measures to put before the other three, and what was then adopted by all was final. It appears that one negative vote from one of the four councils was sufficient to reject any motion. Not all citizens were able to become councillors, only those who were qualified by the possession of a certain amount of property could be elected.[6] Thus, the constitution did technically conform to the Greek oligarchic theory of government.[7] The metropolis of Thebes excluded from political office those who had been artisans within a period of ten years.[8] At Thespiai, it seems to have been something of a disgrace to work with one's hands;[9] and at Orkhomenos the census was probably based on a measure of forty-five medimnoi.[10] But, also according to the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*, the property qualification for voting and the holding of office was the equivalent of a hoplite census, which is a parallel to the constitution of Solon at Athens. Larsen declares that, "the Boiotian cities supply one of the best illustrations we have of Greek moderate oligarchy."[11]

At the federal administrative level, Boiotia was divided into eleven wards or districts.[12] This division was based upon the proportion of population and not geographical considerations. Consequently, Thebes controlled four wards. Each district elected one Boiotarch[13] and sixty *bouleutai* for the federal council, which sat in the Kadmeia at Thebes. The influence of Thebes was substantial because she provided 240 of the 660 councillors, and their presence at the Kadmeia could always be certain. In light of the general Greek tendency to elect officials for a year's time, it is conceivable that the Boiotarchs and *bouleutai* were elected annually.[14]

A question concerning the sovereignty of the federal council is raised by a quotation from Thoukydides: "But before the oath was sworn, the Boiotarchs communicated their intentions to the Four Councils of the Boiotians, whose sanction is always necessary,...."[15] However, contemporary scholarly opinion believes that Thoukydides was mistaken in his interpretation of the operations of the Boiotian government at the federal level. Bruce states that: "The federal council was in fact organized on the same principle as the local councils. It was divided into four, with one quarter acting as a probouleutic body."[16] The latter author very ably summarizes the postion of Glotz,[17] Goligher,[18] and Cloche:[19]

> (1) The historian indicates that he has been describing purely local affairs by the words καὶ τὰ μὲν ἴδια διετέλουν οὕτω διοικούμενοι and then passes to federal affairs: τὸ δὲ τῶν Βοιωτῶν τοῦτον ἦν τὸν τρόπον συντεταγμένον. His description of the four councils in each of the cities falls within the section relating to local affairs.
>
> (2) Thoukydides, in the passage quoted, is dealing with a point of foreign policy. If the local councils had full power in deciding foreign affairs an incredible degree of inefficiency must have resulted. No decision could ever be reached without considerable delay if all the local councils had to be consulted, and foreign ambassadors would presumably have had to tour all the cities of Boiotia to announce their mission. Further, the impression gained from Thoukydides is that the Boiotarchs put their proposition on one occasion only, and, it follows, to one council.
>
> (3) If the federal council did not decide matters of foreign policy, what ever could its function have been?
>
> (4) If the view of the first editors is to be accepted, the words of Thoukydides are not "somewhat misleading", but (in the words of Goligher) totally wrong and display complete ignorance of the Boiotian Constitution of his own day.
>
> (5) Thoukydides uses *boule*, *boulai*, and *Boiotoi* of the same body. The singular is inexplicable if he meant the councils in each of the cities.
>
> (6) If the local councils had the supreme authority, one cannot explain the position in the league always attributed to Thebes, nor the claim by Xenophon (*Hell.* 5.1.36) that the cities had long been desirous of autonomy by the time of the King's Peace, for they would already have been autonomous.[20]
>
> Thus, it can safely be assumed, that the supreme authority in Boiotia rested with the federal council.

The Boiotian notion of oligarchy was moderate. The property requirement for voting and holding office was not above a good proportion of the population; it was a hoplite constitution. The dividing of the local and federal councils into four parts was probably done to enable the councillors to devote three-quarters of their time to private affairs. In keeping with the Greek practice, the officials only served for one year. Thoukydides states that oligarchies were capable of granting equal justice.[21] Sparta, in a narrow sense, had a democracy, since the sovereign authority to make law rested with the Apella. Inasmuch as the citizens of Boiotia did have the right to vote, and the authority to make law resided with the elected *bouleutai*, it is possible to interpret the Boiotian system as conforming to a limited concept of democracy.

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NOTES

1 A. F. Bruce, *An Historical Commentary on the Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*, (Cambridge, 1967), Barber, *OCD*^{2}.766 *sv.* "Oxyrhynchus,", Breitenbach, *Der Kleine Pauly*, 4.2.39lf. *sv.* "Oxyrhynchos."

2 Xenophon, *Hellenica* 5.1.33: θηβαῖοι δ' εἰς τὰς σπονδὰς εἰσελθεῖν ἠναγκάσθησαν, αὐτονόμους ἀφέντες τὰς Βοιωτίας πόλεις. Bruce, *op. cit.*, 157; Dunbabin and Hopper, *OCD*^{2}. 1052 *sv.* "Thebes (1)"; R. J. Buck, "The Athenian Domination of Boeotia", *Class. Phil.* 65 (1970) 217ff.

3 Buck, *op. cit.* 226: "It is generally agreed that the reorganization of 466 B.C. is the basis of the constitution described in *Hell. Ox.* 11 . . . ."; cf. Victor Ehrenberg, *The Greek State*, (New York 1964), 123; J. A. O. Larsen, *Representative Government in Greek and Roman History*, (Los Angeles 1966), 31ff.

4 B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum*[2] (Oxford 1911) 346. It must be kept in mind that Head's work is only a preliminary study of Boiotian coins. cf. Bruce, *Historical Commentary, op. cit.*, 157.

5 *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* 11, Larsen, *op. cit.*, 31f.; Ehrenberg, *op. cit.*, 123f.; Bruce, *op. cit.*, 157f.

6 *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* 11.

7 Thucydides 5.31.6: αὐτοῖς (Βοιωτοῖς) ὀλιγαρχουμένοις. cf. Thucydides 4.76.2.

8 Aristotle *Politics* 1278a25, 1321a26.

9 Herakleidos *fr.* 43.

10 Aristotle *ap.* Pollux 10.165.

11 Larsen, *op. cit.*, 32.; R. J. Bonner, "The Boeotian Federal Constitution," *Class. Phil.* 5 (1910) 405ff., at 407; Bruce, *op. cit.*, 158.

12 *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* 22; Larsen, *op. cit.*, 32; Bruce, *op. cit.*, 158.

13 Thucydides 4.91.1: τῶν ἄλλων βοιωταρχῶν, οἵ εἰσιν ἕνδεκα.

14 Larsen, *op. cit.*, 32; Bruce, *op. cit.*, 160; Meyer, *Der Kleine Pauly*, 1.920ff., "Boeotia."

15 Thucydides 5.38.2: *Thucydides*, translated by Benjamin Jowett, (Oxford, 1900).

16 Bruce, *op. cit.*, 159f.

17 G. Glotz, "Le conseil fédéral des Béotiens," *BCH* 32 (1908) 271ff.

18 W. A. Goligher, "The Boeotian Constitution," *CR* 22 (1908) 80ff.

19 P. Cloché, *Thèbes de Béotie*, (Namur, 1952) 72f.

20 Bruce, *op. cit.*, 159.

21 Thucydides 3.62.3.

8. LA CITOYENNETÉ FÉDÉRALE EN BÉOTIE

par Paul Roesch

Parmi les questions que soulève l'étude des institutions politiques béotiennes, il en est une qui ne semble pas avoir retenu jusqu'à présent l'attention qu'elle mérite. On ne l'a jamais abordée qu'incidemment, sans la traiter à fond, à moins qu'on ne l'ait soigneusement évitée. Cette question est la suivante - et elle est double: y avait-il une citoyenneté fédérale en Béotie? Et si oui, à quelle époque?

On aurait pu relever un certain nombre d'indices qui, rassemblés, donnaient une quasi certitude sur l'existence d'une citoyenneté béotienne. Je les énumère brièvement:

1) le δᾶμος Βοιωτῶν qui vote les décrets fédéraux et élit une partie des magistrats de la Confédération. Cette assemblée du peuple est formée par tous les citoyens des villes de Béotie venus dans la "capitale" pour participer à ses travaux. Leur vote étant un acte fédéral, ils ne pouvaient pas n'être que des citoyens locaux.

2) le *Synédrion* hellénistique, qui était formé de citoyens élus par les cités pour représenter ces cités au Conseil fédéral; les synèdres agissaient à la fois comme mandataires de leur propre cité et comme magistrats de la Confédération béotienne.

3) l'élection de certains magistrats fédéraux par les cités (aphédriates, thesmophylaques, agonarques), alors que d'autres magistrats, également fédéraux, sont élus par l'Assemblée du peuple béotien réunie dans la "capitale" (l'archonte fédéral, les béotarques, l'hipparque).

4) l'existence d'une proxénie de la Confédération, dont les privilèges sont valables sur l'ensemble de territoire béotien. En toute logique, il est impensable qu'un proxène, c'est à dire un étranger, jouisse dans toute la Béotie de droits que n'auraient pas les Béotiens eux-mêmes.[1]

5) l'*enktésis*, le droit d'acquérir des propriétés immobilières, dont jouit tout citoyen d'une cité béotienne sur l'ensemble du territoire de la Confédération. Je ne traiterai pas cette question que j'ai exposée au Congrès d'épigraphie de Münich.[2]

On a négligé jusqu'à présent une chose très simple, trop évidente, semble-t-il, pour retenir l'attention: c'est l'identité d'un Grec, la façon dont on désignait un homme libre, par son nom, son patronyme, son ethnique. Je laisse le nom et le patronyme pour ne m'occuper que de l'ethnique. Qu'est-ce que l'ethnique? L'expérience montre que, jusqu'au IIe siècle av. J.-C., plus que l'indication de la ville où est né le Grec, c'est l'indication du cadre civique et politique dans lequel il exerce ses droits et remplit ses devoirs de citoyen. Autrement dit, plus qu'une notion géographique, c'est une notion politique. Un citoyen ne porte jamais son ethnique dans sa propre cité; mais dès qu'il va à l'étranger, il porte cet ethnique qui est la marque à la fois de sa "nationalité" et de sa capacité civique. Un certain nombre de cas particuliers confirment cette règle générale.

Le premier cas est celui d'Athènes, vaste cité aux dèmes nombreux. Comment est mentionné un Athénien, ou plutôt un citoyen de l'Attique? Quand il est chez lui, il s'appelle par exemple Δρομέας Διοκλέους Ἐρχιεύς,[3] ou Κινέας Νικομάχου Λαμπτρεύς:[4] nom, patronyme, démotique. Mais s'il sort de l'Attique, s'il se rend en Étolie ou en Béotie, le même personnage s'appelle Δρομέας Διοκλέους Ἀθηναῖος[5] ou Κινέας Νικομάχω Ἀθανῆος.[6] Car si pour les Athéniens ils sont inscrits l'un dans le dème d'Erchia, l'autre dans celui de Lamptrai, pour les étrangers ils sont tous deux citoyens d'Athènes.

Le deuxième cas est celui de l'Amphictyonie delphique. L'administration y est assurée par des personnages qui sont délégués non pas par l'État auquel ils appartiennent, mais par l'ἔθνος, par le peuple dont ils font partie. C'est le fondement même de l'Amphictyonie delphique que d'être la réunion de douze peuples voisins, et non de douze États, qui s'associent pour administrer le sanctuaire d'Apollon. Dans les listes de hiéromnémons, on trouve la formule suivante: par exemple Βοιωτῶν Διονυσοδώρου Πλαταιέος, Ἀπολλοδώρου Ὀρχομενίου.[7] Le plus souvent d'ailleurs, au IIIe siècle, l'ethnique n'est pas mentionné. Dans le cas des magistrats amphictyoniques, là où aucune notion politique n'intervient, quand un ethnique est mentionné, c'est toujours l'ethnique local, l'ethnique de la cité du délégué.

Troisième cas: à l'intérieur même d'une confédération - et je prends naturellement l'exemple de la Confédération béotienne - en particulier dans les décrets fédéraux, les béotarques, les auteurs des propositions de décrets, les présidents de l'Assemblée portent toujours l'ethnique local Θεσπιεύς, Θηβαῖος, Ταναγραῖος etc.[8] Rappelons que parmi les béotarques on trouve régulièrement des citoyens de cinq cités principales: Thèbes, Thespies, Tanagra, Orchomène et Platées, et que les deux ou trois autres béotarques sont des délégués venant d'autres cités dont le mode de désignation nous échappe. L'ethnique est en ce cas une indication purement géographique parce qu'elle doit refléter précisément une organisation interne. Mais hors de sa cité ou de sa confédération, le citoyen porte toujours l'ethnique qui identifie le cadre civique et politique dans lequel il exerce ses droits.

C'est donc hors de Béotie qu'il fallait aller chercher les Béotiens, et voir quelle est leur "nationalité" aux yeux des autres grecs, s'ils portent l'ethnique fédéral Βοιώτιος ou Βοιωτός, ou l'ethnique de leur cité. J'ai donc recherché les Béotiens mentionnés dans les inscriptions et les papyrus hors de la Béotie. J'ai relevé tous les Βοιώτιοι et tous les ethniques locaux que j'ai pu trouver. Il y en a pour l'instant - ma liste ne prétend pas être complète - 437, chiffre suffisamment important pour que quelques notions de statistique puissent intervenir.

Il s'est avéré que les textes littéraires ne sont d'aucun secours et ne peuvent que tromper. En effet, par souci d'écrivains, les auteurs anciens, qu'ils soient historiens, philosophes ou autres, n'accordent généralement aux ethniques qu'une valeur géographique destinée à éclairer le lecteur sur l'origine de leurs personnages, et ne définissent pratiquement jamais leur statut politique. Aussi bien voyons-nous Xénophon appeler le même personnage tantôt Βοιώτιος, tantôt Θηβαῖος, sans qu'on puisse faire la moindre distinction entre les deux emplois.

Il importe de préciser que tous les documents n'ont pas la même valeur pour l'étude des ethniques. J'ai retenu les documents officiels, c'est à dire les décrets, les inscriptions agonistiques ou chorégiques, les listes en tous genres, les inscriptions honorifiques, bref, tout document engageant la cité qui l'a établi; dans ces textes, l'ethnique mentionné indique évidemment l'appartenance légale à une communauté politique. Il serait dangereux au contraire de tirer des conclusions des documents privés, où l'on voit des personnages agir en tant qu'individus originaires de telle ou telle cité, et non pas en qualité de citoyens. C'est le cas des dédicaces, des listes de donations, des actes d'affranchissement.

Trois catégories de textes méritent une attention particulière pour l'emploi de l'ethnique. On y mentionne l'ethnique local alors qu'*a priori* on pouvait attendre l'ethnique fédéral.

La première catégorie comprend les listes de théarodoques. Ces listes mentionnent des hôtes qui seront chargés de recevoir chez eux les théores venant annoncer telle fête panhellénique de Delphes, d'Argos ou d'Épidaure.[9] Or ce qu'il importe de faire connaître dans une liste de théarodoques, ce sont les adresses auxquelles pourra se rendre le théore en voyage. On comprend donc que l'ethnique Βοιώτιος, pour un théore venant d'Épidaure, n'a aucun sens pratique, et qu'il est beaucoup plus important pour lui de savoir qu'il descendra à Thèbes chez un tel, à Thespies chez un tel etc. Ce sont là des listes utilitaires.

Le deuxième type de textes comprend les listes de proxènes exposées dans la cité qui a donné la proxénie. On connaît de nombreuses listes de proxènes, à Delphes,[10] à Thermos en Étolie[11] ou ailleurs. Comme dans le cas des théarodoques, ce que veut savoir le citoyen de la cité qui a accordé la proxénie, c'est chez qui il sera reçu quand il ira dans telle ou telle cité. Ce qui importe pour les Étoliens, c'est de savoir qu'ils pourront aller chez Hiéron à Anthédon[12] ou chez Ménippos à Thespies[13] et non pas de savoir qu'ils seront reçus "en Béotie", ce qui est un peu vague.

Troisième catégorie de textes: ce sont les décrets de Delphes qui honorent des Béotiens ayant exercé des fonctions de hiéromnémons, de naopes ou de trésoriers à l'Amphictyonie. Les personnages honorés portent régulièrement non pas l'ethnique de la Confédération, mais l'ethnique de leur propre cité.[14] Or si l'on se souvient que l'Amphictyonie delphique n'est pas une réunion d'États mais de peuples, on comprend qu'un personnage de Thèbes ou de Thespies qui a bien rempli ses fonctions de hiéromnémon ou de naope ne puisse pas être honoré en tant que citoyen béotien, mais seulement en tant que Thébain ou que Thespien.

Avant d'examiner le tableau (Figure 9.1), je dois ajouter quelques précisions. D'abord je n'ai pas fait figurer dans le tableau la Confédération qui a duré de 447 à 387, parce qu'elle est à peu près totalement dépourvue de documents épigraphiques, si bien qu'il est impossible de l'étudier selon le même schéma que les périodes suivantes. Ensuite j'ai tâché de classer toutes les mentions de Béotiens à l'étranger selon l'ordre chronologique, dans la mesure du possible; car on sait bien qu'en épigraphie il n'est pas toujours possible de dater avec une très grande précision les inscriptions, en particulier les inscriptions funéraires. Enfin j'ai retenu un certain nombre de dates-clés de la chronologie béotienne traditionnelle, qui semblaient marquer des tournants dans la vie politique de la Confédération:

378 la reconstitution par Thèbes de la "Ligue thébaine".

338 la victoire de Philippe à Chéronée et la réorganisation du *koinon* béotien.

335 la destruction de la ville de Thèbes et la suppression de son territoire (j'insiste, c'est important) par Alexandre.

288 (ou 287?) la restitution à Thèbes de la πολιτεία par Démétrios Poliorcète.

172 la dissolution de la Confédération par Rome et sa reconstitution peu après sous une autre forme.

146 la nouvelle dissolution de la Confédération et le rattachement de la Béotie à la Province d'Achaïe.

Il se trouve que les dates de 338, 288 et 172 sont les trois dates qui marquent un changement catégorique dans la nature de l'ethnique que portaient les Béotiens; et que deux de ces trois dates, 338 et 172, correspondent à des changements de "constitution". La troisième date, 288, est celle du retour définitif de Thèbes au sein de la Confédération.

Ethniques \ Périodes	378 - 338	338 - 288	288 - 172	172 - 100env.
Βοιωτός		2	3	
Βοιώτιος	(3)	12	148	
Βοιώτιος 'Ανθηδόνιος			1	
- ἐχ Θεσπιῶν		1	1	
- ἐχ Θηβῶν			7	
- Θηβαῖος			2	
- ἐχ Θισβῶν		1		
- ἐκ Κορωνείας		3	1	
- ἐκ Λεβαδείας			1	
- ἐκ Πλαταιῶν		1	1	
- ἀπὸ/ἐκ Τανάγρας		4	1	
- ἐχ Χαιρωνείας			1	
- ἐξ 'Ωρωποῦ			1	
Total Βοιωτοί + Βοιώτιοι	(3)	24	168	0
'Ανθηδόνιος			2	4
'Ερχομένιος			1	
'Ορχομένιος	(2?)	(1)	4	3
Θεσπιεύς	4	2	12	16
Θηβαῖος	34	27	22	50
Θισβεύς			2	1
Κορωνεύς			10	2
Λεβαδεύς			2	
(Λεπαδεύς)			(3)	
Πλαταιεύς	8	2	4	3
Ταναγραῖος	1		7	7
Χαιρωνεύς		1	2	3
'Ωρώπιος			2	1
Total ethniques des cités	47	32	73	90

Figure 9.1

Dans la première colonne, entre 378 et 338, il n'y a que trois Βοιώτιοι, ils sont entre parenthèses car ce sont trois ἐργῶναι, trois tailleurs de pierres (λατόμοι), qui ont travaillé à Delphes à la reconstruction du temple d'Apollon.[15] Ce ne sont très certainement pas des citoyens. Au contraire les ethniques locaux sont relativement nombreux; ils sont 47 dont 34 Θηβαῖοι, ce qui correspond sensiblement à la puissance relative de Thèbes et des autres cités pendant cette période de la "Ligue thébaine".

De 338 à 288 il y a 24 Βοιώτιοι ou Βοιωτοί, et 32 ethniques locaux. Mais il faut donner quelques précisions. Sur ces 32 ethniques locaux, il y a 27 Θηβαῖοι et quelques autres. Or qui sont ces autres? Un Orchoménien:[16] il est très probable que c'est un Orchoménien d'Arcadie et non de Béotie.-Deux Thespiens: en réalité il y a un Θεσπιεύς[17] qui a été naope à Delphes[18] et qui est honoré à la fin de son mandat. L'autre porte l'ethnique Θεσπικός:[19] ce n'est donc pas un citoyen de Thespies mais un étranger résidant à Thespies.-Les Πλαταιεῖς? Souvenez-vous que la reconstruction de Platées ne date que de 330 et non de 338, et que la majorité des Platéens vivaient réfugiés à Athènes, c'est à dire hors du territoire béotien. Or on sait qu'une cité ne peut exister que si elle possède un territoire. Pourquoi

Alexandre a-t-il supprimé le territoire de Thèbes et l'a-t-il réparti entre les cités voisines, sinon pour supprimer le fondement naturel et juridique de la cité? Les Platéens sont à cette époque dans la même situation. L'ethnique Πλαταιεῖς apparaît deux fois. Aux environs de 335, Cyrène a expédié du blé en Grèce; en Béotie, il y en a pour les Tanagréens, Βοιωτοῖς Ταναγραίοις, et pour les Platéens qui sont appelés Πλαταίεσσι tout court.[20] Selon toute vraisemblance, il s'agit de la communauté platéenne réfugiée à Athènes avant son retour en Béotie. L'autre ethnique Πλαταιεύς est porté par le célèbre Eudémos qui résidait depuis de longues années à Athènes et qui avait mis toute son activité au service des Athéniens.[21] Le décret date de 330/329, c'est à dire peu avant le retour des Platéens à Platées. Il y a enfin un Χαιρωνεύς:[22] le cas est peut-être le même que celui du Thespien; il n'est pas exclu qu'il ait été hiéromnémon ou naope à Delphes.

Que reste-t-il? Les 27 Θηβαῖοι, et c'est tout. Autrement dit, nous avons d'un côté 24 Βοιώτιοι, et de l'autre 27 Θηβαῖοι.

Dans la période suivante, de 288 à 172, le nombre des Βοιώτιοι est très grand: j'en ai relevé 168. Certains portent l'ethnique Βοιώτιος précisé par l'indication de la cité: Βοιώτιος ἐχ Θηβῶν, ἐχ Θεσπιῶν, ἐχ Θισβῶν etc. mais manifestement alors cette indication supplémentaire n'est qu'une précision géographique. A côté de ces Βοιώτιοι il y a un assez grand nombre d'ethniques locaux: 73. Mais presque tous figurent soit dans des inscriptions de caractère privé (dédicaces, listes de souscriptions individuelles, actes d'affranchissement), soit dans des inscriptions appartenant aux trois catégories que j'ai étudiées plus haut: listes de théarodoques, listes de proxènes, décrets de Delphes pour des Béotiens qui ont assumé des fonctions amphictyoniques.

Il ressort de ces listes de Béotiens et de l'étude des ethniques les constatations suivantes:

1) De 378 à 338, si l'on excepte les trois λατόμοι Βοιώτιοι de Delphes, seul est en usage l'ethnique de la cité. On ne connaît pas l'ethnique Βοιώτιος. Il apparaît donc clairement que le Béotien est alors uniquement citoyen de sa propre cité, et qu'il n'est pas question de citoyenneté fédérale béotienne pendant la période de la "Ligue thébaine". Par conséquent les cités qui composaient le *koinon* béotien de 378 à 338 restaient des cités indépendantes les unes des autres. La puissance thébaine entraînait dans son sillage l'ensemble des cités auxquelles elle imposait un certain nombre de structures communes, mais le lien fédéral, au sens strict du terme, était très lâche. Il n'y avait pas alors d'État béotien, mais seulement une ligue de cités.

2) Pour la brève période qui va de Chéronée à la destruction de Thèbes (338 - 335), les documents font défaut, parce qu'il est pratiquement impossible de les dater avec suffisamment de précision. C'est pourquoi je ne l'ai pas distinguée de la période suivante sur le tableau. Comme le fondement de la nouvelle Confédération était l'égalité des cités membres, on peut raisonnablement estimer que dès 338 l'ethnique devait être Βοιώτιος. Mais, faute de documents bien datés, il faut se garder de rien affirmer.

3) De 335 à 288 on a à peu près autant d'ethniques fédéraux que de Θηβαῖοι. De 335 à 316, Thèbes n'existe plus; faute de territoire, la cité n'a plus d'existence légale. Les thébains rescapés, ἀπόλιδες comme jadis les Thespiens, vivent réfugiés à l'étranger. Ils continuent de s'appeler Θηβαῖοι, comme les 'Αμφιπολῖται ou les Καρδιανοί après la disparition d'Amphipolis et de Kardia. Mais ils ne sont pas, ils ne peuvent pas être Βοιώτιοι. On a supposé que dès le début de sa reconstruction en 316 par Cassandre, les Thébains qui étaient réfugiés à l'étranger étaient rentrés, et que la cité reconstituée avait immédiatement retrouvé sa place dans la Confédération. Je ne peux pas développer toute cette question ici; je la traite ailleurs.[23] Voici brièvement la conclusion de cette étude. Pendant une certaine période après la nouvelle fondation de la cité de Thèbes, la Confédération n'a pas accepté son retour dans le *koinon*. Thèbes est restée en dehors. Il suffit de regarder de près les textes de Diodore et de Plutarque pour se rendre compte que jusqu'en 308 les Thébains d'une part et les Béotiens d'autre part sont toujours traités différemment par Cassandre, par Antigone ou par Démétrios. Rapprochée des autres documents, cette différence devient très claire. C'est que d'une part les Diadoques traitaient avec une cité qui leur devait tout, et que d'autre part ils devaient tenir compte d'une Confédération qui représentait une certaine puissance. Les inscriptions, en particulier les bases des trépieds érigés au Ptoion, montrent que pendant une courte période, de 308 à 292 environ, Thèbes fait à nouveau partie de la Confédération.[24] Lors de sa première ou de sa seconde révolte. Thèbes paraît se voir priver par Démétrios d'une partie de ses droits; la ville est traitée en tous cas comme une simple position militaire macédonienne. Ce n'est qu'en 288 que Démétrios lui rend son "ancienne πολιτεία", et qu'elle rentre définitivement dans la Confédération.

Il est clair que, si l'on excepte le cas des Thébains, l'ethnique que porte alors normalement un Béotien est Βοιώτιος. Dans dix cas Βοιώτιος est suivi d'une indication de ville: Tanagra quatre fois, Coronée trois fois, Thespies, Thisbé et Platées, mais jamais Thèbes. Cette indication supplémentaire n'a certainement pas pour but d'éviter de confondre telle cité avec son homonyme dans une autre région: les inscriptions sont en général assez peu éloquentes sur l'emplacement des différentes cités portant la même nom.[25] Un 'Ορχομένιος peut aussi bien, dans un texte non béotien, être un Orchoménien d'Arcadie qu'un Orchoménien de Béotie. C'est souvent l'onomastique qui peut guider, mieux que l'ethnique. Cette indication de provenance - il est intéressant de le noter - ne se rencontre que dans les décrets de proxénie. Et l'on comprend pourquoi: on accorde la proxénie à tel personnage "citoyen béotien", mais on prend soin de préciser aussi dans quelle ville il réside, afin que le Délien, l'Étolien ou l'Éphésien venant en Béotie sache où se trouve le proxène de sa cité.

4) De 288 à 172 l'ethnique Βοιώτιος, précisé un certain nombre de fois par l'indication de la ville, devient l'ethnique normal de tous les Béotiens. En effet en 288 Démétrios Poliorcète a rendu, ἀπέδωκεν, à Thèbes sa πολιτεία.[26] Plutarque emploie souvent ce mot, avec des sens multiples; mais il existe deux autres passages où il utilise le terme de πολιτεία exactement dans le même contexte et avec les mêmes mots.[27] Chaque fois il s'agit de rendre à une cité la totalité des droits qu'on lui avait supprimés auparavant. Il est probable qu'on avait supprimés ces droits à Thèbes lors d'une de ses deux révoltes, en 293 ou 292.[28] Retrouvant la plénitude de ses droits, Thèbes retrouvait sa place dans la Confédération.

Ici encore la présence de nombreux ethniques locaux s'explique le plus souvent par le fait qu'il s'agit de textes privés ou d'inscriptions appartenant aux trois catégories que j'ai signalées plus haut. Il est une autre catégorie dont je n'ai pas encore parlé, c'est celle des flûtistes, des αὐληταί. Tous les aulètes connus au IVe et au IIIe siècle portent non pas l'ethnique Βοιώτιος mais l'ethnique Θηβαῖος. Depuis le Ve siècle l'école de flûte de Thèbes était renommée dans le monde entier. Il suffit de citer Pronomos, Aristoxénos, Oiniadès ou Xénophantos, qui ont fait connaître et apprécier la flûte thébaine un peu partout. Or il semble bien que, pour un aulète, il était plus glorieux de porter l'ethnique Θηβαῖος, qui évoquait immédiatement pour l'auditeur antique la plus célèbre des écoles de flûte, que l'ethnique Βοιώτιος qui impliquait une notion politique absente de la musique.

5) A partir de 172, l'ethnique Βοιώτιος disparaît totalement. Le dernier acte connu du *koinon* béotien date de 172: il s'agit du décret rendu en l'honneur d'Eudémos de Séleucie.[29] Après, il n'y a plus que des ethniques locaux. Les catalogues agonistiques, par exemple, sont particulièrement révélateurs pour déterminer la date de ce changement. Que ce soit aux Sôtéria de Delphes, aux Mouseia de Thespies, aux Basileia de Lébadée ou aux Éleuthéria de Larisa, jusque dans les premières années du IIe siècle, on ne connaît que des Βοιώτιοι; après 172, il n'y a plus un seul Βοιώτιος. Seuls sont attestés les ethniques locaux. Et pour les concours dont les seuls catalogues connus sont postérieurs au milieu du IIe siècle, on ne trouve aucun Βοιώτιος; on ne trouve que des Thébains, des Thespiens, des Tanagréens etc. C'est le cas par exemple des Tamyneia d'Eubée,[30] ou des Amphiaraia d'Oropos.[31] C'est le cas aussi des listes d'artistes trouvées à Argos, qui datent de la fin du IIe ou du début du Ier siècle.[32]

Ce changement correspond de toute évidence à la dissolution de la Confédération par Rome en 172. On constate qu'à l'État fédéral béotien succédait alors, sans doute dès 168, une association de cités, unies certes par des liens administratifs et religieux, mais surtout soumises à l'autorité romaine. Il n'y a plus, en tous cas, de citoyens béotiens.

La conclusion me paraît s'imposer d'elle-même. Lorsqu'au lendemain de Chéronée, en 338, la Confédération béotienne fut reconstituée, elle se donna des institutions qui faisaient d'elle un *État fédéral*, avec tout ce qu'implique la notion d'État, en particulier une citoyenneté béotienne qui, au regard de l'étranger, primait la citoyenneté locale; et une unité territoriale qui englobait, sans pour autant les supprimer, les territoires des cités

membres, au point que toute communauté civique qui n'exerçait pas ses droits sur un territoire situé en terre béotienne - ce fut le cas de Platées et de Thèbes - s'excluait ipso facto du κοινὸν Βοιωτῶν. En fondant leurs nouvelles institutions sur le principe de l'égalité des cités, par crainte de voir l'une d'elles prendre le pas sur les autres et leur imposer sa politique comme ce fut le cas entre 378 et 338, les Béotiens ont sans doute créé, peut-être inconsciemment et par suite des circonstances, le type même de l'État fédéral dans lequel les cités membres, tout en conservant leur autonomie interne et une certaine liberté d'action, se soumettaient à une autorité supranationale, chargée de représenter l'État vis-à-vis des autres Grecs, et de régler pour le bien de tous les questions d'ordre général. Dans ces conditions le Béotien, citoyen de sa propre cité où il exerçait ses droits, était *aussi* et *d'abord* citoyen de la Confédération, Βοιώτιος, Béotien, et c'est en cette qualité que, de 338 à 172, il était reconnu dans les cités et dans les royaumes étrangers.

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NOTES

1 Voir ma communication dans les *Akte des VI. Kongresses für griechische und lateinische Epigraphik, München 1972 Vestigia*, 17 (Munich 1973).

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 265-268.

3 *IG* 2^2.676 et 787, l.22.

4 *Hesperia* 3(1934) 60, n° 49, l.3.

5 Proxène des Étoliens, *IG* 9.1^2.17.

6 Proxène de la Confédération béotienne, *SEG* 1.111.

7 *BCH* 73 (1949) 222, n° 54, daté de 331/0, archonte Thyméas.

8 Pour les béotarques, voir par exemple *AE* (1967) *Chron.* 8-9, n° 3.

9 *AE* (1933) *Chron.* 10-20.

10 Par exemple la grande liste *Sylloge*^{3} 585.

11 Publiées dans les *IG* 9.2^2.17 s.

12 *IG* 9.1^2.27.

13 *IG* 9.1^2.31

14 *FD* 3.1.96 et Add. p. 389: un naope de Thespies; *Sylloge*^{3} 415: un hiéromnémon de Tanagra; *FD* 3.3.194: un naope de Thèbes; sans doute aussi *FD* 3.3.84: un Chéronéen.

15 *FD* 3.5.19, l.93, 100 et 102; 22, l.22; 23 II, l.48 et 57.

16 *SGDI* 2661.

17 *FD* 3.1.96 et Add. p. 389.

18 *FD* 3.5.91, l.49.

19 *FD* 3.2.416.

20 *SEG* 9.2, l.32 et 44.

21 *IG* 2^2.351 = *Sylloge*^{3}, 288.

22 Voir *Polemon* 5(1954-55), 150-152; *Rev. Phil.*, 1960, 99-105; *Bull épigr.*, 1962, 157.

23 Voir mes *Études sur la Béotie hellénistique*, à paraître.

24 Cf. M. Holleaux, *Etudes*, I, 41-73.

25 Cf. L. Robert, *BCH, Suppl.* 1 (1973) 436-442.

26 Plutarque, *Démétrios*, 46 1.

27 *Dion* 12 3; *Flamininus* 12 4.

28 Ou en 292 et 291 si l'on adopte la chronologie basse.

29 *Sylloge*^{3} 644, l.28-33.

30 *IG* 12.9.91 et 92.

31 *AE* (1925-1926)26, n°141; *IG* 7.416 à 419, etc.

32 *Mnemosyne*, vol. no. (1919) 252, n°25; *BCH* 77 (1953) 402-403.

RÉPONSES AUX QUESTIONS

Première Question: Tous les flûtistes θηβαῖοι étaient-ils vraiment des Béotiens? Certains pouvaient-ils être d'origine étrangère?

D'après les documents que j'ai réunis, tous les flûtistes portant l'ethnique θηβαῖος ont l'air d'être effectivement des Thébains. Quant à dire s'il s'était glissé parmi eux des Athéniens, des Chalcidiens ou des Spartiates, j'en suis incapable; il ne paraît y en avoir aucune trace. Il me semble cependant que si le fait s'était produit, il aurait été suffisamment exceptionnel pour que les auteurs qui parlent de ces flûtistes le signalent.

Or de qui s'agit-il? Il s'agit par exemple de PRONOMOS, l'inventeur de la double flûte, qui avait sa statue à Thèbes à côté de celle d'Épaminondas;[1] d'ARISTOXENOS qui avait appris à jouer de l'aulos à Épaminondas, selon Athénée;[2] d'OINIADAS, fils de Pronomos, couronné aux Thargélia de 384.[3] ANTIGÉNIDAS a eu son école à Thèbes et y forma de nombreux élèves entre 390 et 350 environ.[4] De THÉON on a conservé l'épitaphe métrique dans Athénée 4.176 C-D. De KAPHISIAS on sait parfaitement qu'il était thébain, et c'est précisément ce qui a étonné: bien que thébain, il a joué de la flûte aux noces d'Alexandre à Suse, peu après la destruction de Thèbes; c'est là peut-être la meilleure preuve de la notoriété de l'école de flûte thébaine.[5] Kaphisias a donné des récitals à Délos en 284[6] et il est probable qu'il faut le reconnaître dans une inscription fragmentaire d'Erétrie.[7]

Je citerai encore XENOPHANTOS qui était un des flûtistes les plus renommés de son temps et qui eut l'honneur d'accompagner à travers les Cyclades le cortège funèbre de Démétrios Poliorcète en 283;[8] il était l'élève d'un autre flûtiste thébain, TIMOTHÉOS. Xénophantos était particulièrement célèbre: il a été honoré à Délos pour y avoir donné des récitals,[9] il y a consacré une couronne d'or dans le temple d'Apollon.[10] De plus, il apparaît très probablement aussi à Delphes dans un décret de proxénie de la base des Béotiens[11] où G. Daux avait restitué un peu à la légère Ξενοφάν [ει θ]αρρ[ιμ]άχου, et où il faut lire sans aucun doute Ξενοφάν[τωι] Ἀβρ[ομ]άχου.

Voilà tout ce qu'on peut dire sur la véritable nationalité des flûtistes thébains.

Seconde Question: Y a-t-il des flûtistes à la fois θηβαῖοι et Βοιώτιοι?

A cette question, on peut répondre affirmativement. Il y a au moins un cas. C'est celui de Pronomos, qui figure dans une inscription chorégique d'Athènes avec l'ethnique θηβαῖος[12] en 271, et qui est διδάσκαλος aux Sôtéria de Delphes en 255/4, donc quinze ans plus tard, avec l'ethnique Βοιώτιος.[13] Pourquoi? Parce qu'il s'agit dans le second cas d'une liste officielle des artistes qui ont participé aux Sôtéria, et que Pronomos n'y est que l'un des Βοιώτιοι qui ont pris part au concours. Il est mis sur le même pied que les autres Béotiens.

NOTES

1 Pausanias 9.12.5.

2 4.184 E.

3 *IG* 2^2.3064.

4 Cf. v. Jan, *RE*, *s.v.* Antigenidas 3, 2400-2401.

5 Charès *FGrHist* 125F4=Athénée 538B-539A.

6 *IG* 11.2.105, 1.22. Il porte l'ethnique θηβαῖος.

7 *IG* 12.9.273.

8 Plutarque, *Démétrios* 53 2.

9 *IG* 11.2.106.

10 *IG* 11.2.161.

11 *FD* 3.3.115. "La restitution Ξενοφάν[ει] est vraisemblable.(...) Quant au patronymique, j'ai cru voir avant APP la trace d'une lettre ronde: [θ]αρρ[ιμ]άχου?".

12 *IG* 2^2.3083.

13 *SGDI* 2564, l.83.

9. L'APPORT DES DEUX NOUVEAUX CATALOGUES D'HYETTOS À LA CHRONOLOGIE DES ARCHONTES FÉDÉRAUX

par Denis Knoepfler

Si le nom d'Hyettos n'est pas totalement inconnu des historiens curieux d'épigraphie grecque, c'est sans aucun doute à la série - qu'on peut bien dire unique - des vingt-quatre catalogues militaires gravés sur le mur d'enceinte de cette petite cité des confins locrido-béotiens qu'il le doit. On sait en effet que les catalogues d'Hyettos (*IG* 7. 2809-2832), qui datent de la fin du III^e^ s. et du début du II^e^ s. avant J.-C., ont joué un rôle considérable dans l'établissement de la chronologie des archontes fédéraux de la Béotie à l'époque hellénistique, question à laquelle Michel Feyel, partant des résultats acquis par Maurice Holleaux,[1] consacra dans sa thèse une étude fouillée[2] qui a servi de base au classement proposé récemment par Paul Roesch.[3] D'autre part, ces documents ont fourni à l'onomastique un fort contingent d'anthroponymes rares ou très rares (parfois même étranges), ce qui explique la relative fréquence de la mention "Hyettos" dans le recueil de F. Bechtel.[4] L'interêt qu'ils présentent au point de vue paléographique n'est pas moins grand, car plusieurs d'entre eux sont transcrits dans une écriture cursive ou semi-cursive qui rappelle d'assez près celle des papyrus contemporains.

C'est en procédant, au printemps de 1972, à la révision systématique des inscriptions d'Hyettos - tâche qui n'avait jamais été entreprise depuis la parution du corpus de Béotie en 1892 et qui s'est révélée étonnamment fructueuse - que Roland Etienne et l'auteur de ces lignes, membres de l'Ecole française d'Athènes, ont découvert, gravés côte à côte sur un bloc qui s'était détaché du mur d'enceinte et avait roulé au pied de l'acropole, deux catalogues inédits dont l'état de conservation est pour ainsi dire parfait. Ces deux nouveaux documents seront publiés dans un petit livre intitulé *Hyettos de Béotie et la chronologie des archontes fédéraux entre 250 et 171 avant J.-C.* (avec un appendice de John Fossey); comme le livre en question doit paraître dans le courant de l'année 1974 sous forme de supplément au *BCH*, on se contentera de présenter ici un bref résumé de l'exposé fait à Montréal.

A la différence de ceux d'autres cités béotiennes, comme Kopai, les catalogues d'Hyettos mentionnent toujours l'archonte fédéral. Les deux nouveaux textes ne font pas exception à cette règle, puisque l'un est daté par l'archonte *Kallistratos*, qui était encore inconnu, l'autre par *Nikasarétos*, dont, jusqu'ici, on ne savait pas grand-chose.

L'archonte Nikasarétos n'était en effet attesté que par une seule inscription, un décret d'Oropos où le nom de l'éponyme fédéral n'avait d'ailleurs été déchiffré qu'avec peine par B. Léonardos.[5] Sa date était fort imprécise: entre 202 et 146 d'après P. Roesch.[6] Or les données fournies par la prosopographie d'Hyettos permettent désormais d'affirmer que Nikasarétos fut soit un proche successeur soit un prédécesseur immédiat de Dionysios, archonte qui, comme l'a démontré M. Holleaux en un article fondamental,[7] doit être placé entre 215 et 203 (en réalité 204) et sans doute plutôt vers la limite inférieure de cet intervalle. Nécessairement postérieur, lui aussi, à 215 (date qui marque le début du règne conjoint de Ptolémée IV et d'Arsinoë, dont le monument, à Oropos, porte deux décrets, l'un pris sous l'archonte D., l'autre sous l'archonte N.), Nikasarétos ne saurait donc être rejeté beaucoup après 200.

L'importance du catalogue de Kallistratos ne tient pas tant au fait qu'il nous livre le nom d'un nouvel archonte fédéral qu'à sa date. C'est en effet le plus ancien de tous les catalogues d'Hyettos connus jusqu'ici. Deux faits de langue l'assurent: d'abord l'emploi régulier de l'adjectif patronymique pour les noms des magistrats (les conscrits ayant, eux, des patronymes au génitif), alors que les autres catalogues n'en offrent, en tout et pour tout, qu'un seul exemple; ensuite la conservation, dans deux cas, du υ primitif prononcé ü, tandis que partout ailleurs (les exceptions qui avaient été relevées n'existent pas: ce sont des erreurs de lecture) la graphie υ a fait place à la graphie ου (ou ʋου). Cela montre que l'incohérence que l'on croyait voir dans la façon dont les lapicides béotiens ont, au III^e^ s., transcrit la voyelle correspondant au υ attique est sans doute illusoire: la présence d'un υ dans une inscription de cette époque paraît être au contraire un sûr indice d'ancienneté relative. L'exemple du catalogue de Thèbes *BCH* 94 (1970) 146, daté par l'archonte fédéral Phryniskos (vraisemblablement contemporain, à quelques années, de Kallistratos) permet d'illustrer cette "règle".

En chronologie absolue, Kallistratos doit dater des environs de 245; car s'il est postérieur à la réforme de l'armée béotienne comme le prouve la mention des unités de peltophores (au lieu de celle des thyréaphores ou des hoplites), ce ne peut être d'un grand nombre d'années puisque le catalogue présente encore des adjectifs patronymiques dans l'intitulé, particularité qu'il a en commun avec un catalogue d'Akraiphia (*IG* 7.2716) antérieur à la réforme; or celle-ci semble avoir eu lieu dès avant Chéronée, vers 250.[8] La date de *ca* 245 pour Kallistratos est d'ailleurs confirmée par la prosopographie: une génération sépare en effet cet archonte du fameux Dionysios dont l'archontat, on l'a vu, se situe entre 215 et 204.

Daté ainsi de façon relativement précise, le catalogue de Kallistratos a permis, grâce aux liens prosopographiques nombreux et solides qui unissent les différents catalogues hyettiens entre eux, de contrôler, de modifier ou de préciser les dates d'un grand nombre d'archontes fédéraux; de tout ce travail de vérifications est finalement sortie une nouvelle chronologie, qui s'écarte de celle de M. Feyel et de P. Roesch en maints endroits. L'intérêt de tels changements serait peut-être assez mince si plusieurs d'entre eux n'avaient des conséquences importantes pour l'histoire même de la Béotie durant la période troublée qui va de la défaite infligée par les Etoliens à Chéronée (245) au sanglant dénouement de la guerre "persique" (171). Pour faire vite on ne donnera que les principaux résultats en renvoyant d'avance le lecteur désireux d'en savoir plus au livre annoncé ci-dessus.

La date de l'entrée d'Aigosthènes dans la Confédération est l'une des pierres angulaires de la chronologie béotienne, car elle détermine celle de tous les archontes - et ils sont nombreux - liés d'une façon ou d'une autre à Kaphisias I, qui est mentionné dans le premier catalogue de la grande stèle d'Aigosthènes *IG* 7.207-218. M. Feyel a cru pouvoir démontrer que cette petite cité avait été annexée par le *koinon* plusieurs années avant sa voisine Mégare, soit vers 235 au lieu de 224 (date donnée par Polybe, qui ne mentionne pas Aigosthènes), et il a été suivi par tous les historiens. Or la preuve alléguée en faveur de la nouvelle datation est rendue caduque par une erreur de classement affectant la place de l'archonte Philon I et de ses prédécesseurs immédiats: cet archonte, que la prosopographie d'Hyettos interdit de placer beaucoup avant 225, est en effet un prédécesseur, et non un successeur, de Kaphisias; celui-ci ne peut donc avoir été archonte dans les années 230. Plus rien, dès lors, n'oblige à dissocier, au mépris de toute vraisemblance, le sort d'Aigosthènes de celui de Mégare: les deux villes sont devenues béotiennes en 224, date qui constitue ainsi un précieux *terminus post quem* pour Kaphisias et ses successeurs.

Presque aussi importante pour la chronologie est la question d'Oponte. Les inscriptions montrent d'une part que la grande cité locrienne appartenait au *koinon* sous l'archontat de Charopinos et d'autre part que Pampirichos, le prédécesseur sans doute immédiat de Charopinos, fut archonte à une époque où Mégare n'était pas béotienne, donc avant 224 ou après 192. Prenant résolument le contre-pied de ses devanciers, qui plaçaient Charopinos-Pampirichos vers le milieu du III^e^ s.[9], M. Feyel a voulu les mettre vers 190 en se fondant essentiellement sur l'état du dialecte dans les différents documents datés par ces archontes. Mais le nouveau catalogue de Thespies *Hesperia* 37 (1968) 255, insuffisamment exploité, montre qu'un Charopinos a été archonte dans les années 220. Or il n'y aucune raison de distinguer, comme l'a fait P. Roesch,[10] ce Charopinos de l'archonte homonyme, car les arguments de M. Feyel sont loin d'être probants;; il est à peu près exclu, en outre, qu'Oponte soit redevenue béotienne au début du II^e^ s. C'est entre 237/6 et 228/7 que, selon toute probabilité, cette cité fit partie de la Confédération pour la deuxième fois et c'est à l'extrême fin de cette période que se placent sans doute Pampirichos et Charopinos.

L'archonte Andronikos n'était connu jusqu'ici que par une seule inscription, le fragment *AM* 22 (1897) 179, du fameux devis de construction du temple de Zeus à Lébadée. Mais la relecture de la stèle d'Aigosthènes dont il a été question ci-dessus a permis de constater que le quatrième successeur de Kaphisias I, dont le nom n'avait pu être déchiffré, s'appellait également Andronikos. Or s'il s'agit du même archonte, comme tout porte à le penser, cela oblige à remonter l'un demi-siècle, des années 175-172 à l'année 220, le devis de Lébadée et, partant, la construction du temple. De fait, rien - ni l'écriture, ni la langue, ni la vraisemblance historique - ne retient ce document

au IIe s. : la date traditionnellement admise (par Wilhelm aussi bien que par Wilamowitz et bien d'autres) était issue d'une pure hypothèse mettant l'érection de ce temple considérable au compte de la générosité que le roi de Syrie Antiochos IV Epiphane manifesta à l'égard de plusieurs cités grecques.

La plupart des historiens modernes - notamment Ed. Will[11] à la suite de P. Roesch[12] - estiment que le *koinon*, dissout en 171, fut rétabli par les Romains en 168 et dura sous cette nouvelle forme jusqu'en 146. Mais ce n'était pas l'opinion de M. Holleaux et bien des indices, pour ne rien dire du témoignage catégorique de Polybe et de Tite-Live, invitent à lui donner, une fois de plus, raison. Une chose en tout cas est désormais assurée: il n'y a plus, contrairement à ce que faisait croire la chronologie jusqu'ici adoptée, d'archontes fédéraux après 171. La preuve, c'est le mur d'Hyettos qui la fournit, où dans trois catalogues (*IG* 7.2828 et 2831-2832) que la prosopographie permet de dater avec confiance des années 160, le nom de l'archonte fédéral a été laissé en "blanc". Ces trois documents avaient été négligés car on pensait, sur la foi du corpus, qu'ils étaient mutilés en leur début. Or ils apparaissent aujourd'hui comme des témoignages d'une importance capitale pour l'histoire et les institutions de la Béotie après la conquête romaine.

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NOTES

1 *Etudes d'épigraphie et d'histoire grecques*, 1 (1937) 75-98 (= *REG* 8[1895] 183-197 et *REG* 13[1900] 187-197).

2 *Polybe et l'histoire de Béotie au IIIe s. avant J.-C.* (Paris, 1942) 20-76.

3 *Thespies et la Confédération béotienne* (Paris, 1965) 79-94.

4 *Historische Personennamen des Griechischen* (1917).

5 *AE* (1919) 56 (*SEG* 1.123).

6 *Op. cit.*, p. 90.

7 *Etudes*, p. 75-88.

8 Cf. P. Roesch, *Teiresias, Suppl.* 1 (1972) 67.

9 Ainsi Chr. Barratt, *JHS* 52 (1932) 100-103.

10 *Op. cit.*, p. 91-92 (P. Roesch avait eu connaissance de cette inscription avant sa publication).

11 *Histoire politique du monde hellénistique* 2 (Nancy, 1967) 230.

12 *Op. cit.*, p. 69-71. Mais dans sa communication au présent congrès (cf. p. 29) ce savant a fourni, involontairement en quelque sorte, un argument très fort aux partisans de la thèse contraire puisqu'il a montré que l'ethnique Βοιώτιος ne se trouvait plus après 171.

10. MYCENAEAN PILLAR CULT IN BOIOTIA

by Bogdan Rutkowski

In this paper I propose to deal with certain pillars or standards which call for careful examination. From the beginning of this century, when Evans published his study on the cult of trees and pillars (1901), the hypothesis which he then proposed has been a subject of controversy. Evans' arguments, which are so forceful and so fruitful for future research, stemmed from general premises and intuition, rather than from definite proof in the form of iconographical or archaeological finds. Even among those who supported Evans' conception, there were some who criticised it in part or who tried to prove that the cult of pillars and trees was of less significance in early Greece than Evans suggested. Nilsson made a study of the evidence, and came to the conclusion that there were two problems here - one the question of whether there was a cult of the free-standing columns and pillars, and the other concerning those columns and pillars that, having a purely secular function, were only meant to support the roof. As we know, one of the main arguments for the existence of a cult of pillars within the buildings was that they occasionally bore sacred signs, the most common of which was a double axe. I would not like to suggest that these signs carved on pillars had no sacred significance at all.[1] Possibly in the bigger buildings, and especially in those consisting of several floors, the double axe sign was meant to add symbolic strength to the edifice - no mean belief, in a land frequently visited by earthquakes. But in my view, based on the evidence now available, it would be difficult to accept that the pillars and columns inside the buildings had a cult function.[2] The question of the free-standing pillars and columns, on the other hand, is much more complicated. There are two groups of iconographic evidence which may confirm the existence of a cult of this kind. These are the representations of pillars within sacred enclosures,[3] and those where pillars are in the centre of the scene.[4] It must be admitted, however, that in neither of these iconographic groups is there a single picture that would incontrovertibly confirm the existence of a cult of pillars, although there seems to be indirect evidence of that hypothesis.

Recently found monuments shed some light on this problem. We must ponder on the meaning of the decoration on a small larnax found at Tanagra[5] which has been dated to the concluding phase of L. H. III. The two longer sides bear the same decoration, that is, a column forming the focus of the scene. This column is not connected with the building, as is made clear by the artist on one side of the larnax. Depending on which side of the larnax we look at, it either stands on a base, or has no base, but it always has a capital, probably a round one. While one column seems to be plain, the other may be of a spiral type, judging from a wavy line on the sides of the shaft and capital. On each side of the column the artist has depicted either two people with hands out-stretched, or one person and one centaur.[6] All the figures are dressed in long robes and boots, and all have the same kind of cap on their heads. The centaur's cap is more elaborate: it is like the crown which sphinxes and the priest-king wear in Aegean iconography.[7] What is the meaning of these scenes decorating the larnax? It should be remembered that on ceramic vessels a symmetrical composition may only be decorative, with no sacred meaning attached, whereas paintings on a sarcophagus probably were not only meant to ornament the coffin, but - at least very often if not always - were connected in some way with burial ceremonies or with the after-life. So here we have a scene which, it is supposed,[8] represents a sacred column or pillar. But another question should be asked. Is the column depicted on the larnax intended to represent a freestanding column, or is it the symbol of a cult building? In other words, is this a scene showing figures worshipping a freestanding pillar, or is it a scene showing figures with raised arms standing in front of a cult building represented by a column? This question is a difficult one to answer, for the only key to it lies in the people in the scene and the centaur, holding up their hands, either in a gesture of adoration, or, as far as the figures nearest the column are concerned, touching it. If we could prove that the figures are touching the pillar, then we would undoubtedly have evidence for the existence of a pillar cult.[9] Unfortunately the fact that the hands are nearly touching the pillar would seem to be explained more readily by the artist's somewhat rough-and-ready execution of the details, rather than by his deliberate intention. It seems probable, then, that all the human figures in the scene, and the centaur as well, are holding up their hands,[10] but not touching the pillar. Therefore it is likely that the pillar represents a sacred area where a dead person, perhaps already far off in Elysion, is worshipping it.

The scenes on the larnax from Tanagra, however, are not unique. It will be profitable, then, to examine the evidence of an important find. There is a fragment of an ivory pyxis in *Iráklion*[11] which was illustrated for the first time in 1907 in an article by J. Durm[12]. During his visit to Crete in 1906, Durm made a series of drawings of façades depicted on objects in the Archaeological Museum in *Iráklion*. His article contained only a tiny drawing of the object in question which was not described at all, and which was only casually mentioned as representing the "façade of a house" when he refers to faience plaques from Knossos. Yet when we examine the drawing more closely we see that this fragment was much bigger than the plaques from Knossos, its width being 8.5 cm according to the scale given on the drawing.[13] It is interesting to note that this specimen, which turns out to be a very important one for research on Aegean iconography, was, as far as I know, never cited later. Evans, who in his *Palace of Minos* refers to Durm's article, never mentions the drawing given there. Other scholars make no mention of it either. Durm, as was the custom of architects in those days, made a drawing, but noted neither the place where it was found nor the material of which it was made. In 1966 I happened to notice in one of the showcases of this same Museum a fragment of a pyxis unfamiliar to me, which at first glance looked as if it was made of faience, but which in reality was made of ivory. It came from excavations in *Ayía Triádha*, and at present bears the inventory number 58. This object, although mentioned twice[14] in the literature (1967 and 1972) might be regarded as unpublished. Later on I was looking through Durm's article, and found the drawing in question. So this pyxis from *Ayía Triadha*, inven. no. 58, had already been published as far back as 1907. Indeed Durm's drawing, in spite of some misunderstood details, gives a good idea of the decoration.

On this pyxis[15] a scene taking place in a holy precinct is depicted. The horns of consecration may indicate a cult ceremony observed before a sanctuary or rather in a less definite spot of the sacred area. In the foreground there are two low bases. On one of them two women are standing, clad in bell-shaped skirts; to the right a third woman, fragmentarily preserved, is visible. The long robes are only sketched in a few lines. The dispersed hair of the one woman probably indicates a person in motion.[16] Each of the three women is holding her hands towards the pillar or standard or touching it. All the pillars or standards are surmounted with leafy emblems, sketchily depicted. Garlands are suspended between them. Two motifs interest us most - the freestanding standards or pillars, and the women, who are either touching the pillars (standards) or holding out their hands.

Does this pyxis provide us with fundamental proof that the Minoans and Mycenaeans worshipped freestanding pillars (or standards)? Unfortunately we cannot be absolutely certain of this, for the decoration was summarily made. There is no doubt that the freestanding pillars or standards depicted in this scene are not connected with the architecture, but are standing in front of a sanctuary or just inside a temenos. But when we come to examine the meaning of the women with their hands outstretched, more than one interpretation is possible. Did the artist wish to depict the women as touching the pillar (or standard) or as raising their hands in a supplicating gesture? In other words it is quite possible that their gesture, which could be interpreted as a movement to touch the standard, was in reality only an accidental one - perhaps even depicted thus owing to lack of sufficient space to depict the women simply holding their arms out in front of them.

With the new evidence from Boiotia and from Crete we come closer to the understanding of the nature of the pillar cult. Nevertheless, there are some points which are still not clear, which I hope soon to discuss at length.[17]

Warsaw

NOTES

1 Cf. J. Sakellarakis, "Mason's Marks from Arkhanes", *Europa. Festschrift für Ernst Grumach* (Berlin 1967) 277 ff.

2 Scholars who have studied these finds from more general aspects have asserted that the Aegean pillars and columns forming part of the construction of buildings had a cult function: cf. E. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period* 4 (New York 1954) 134 f., 171; E. Butterworth, *The Tree at the Navel of the Earth* (Berlin 1970) 18 ff.

3 Cf. my *Cult Places in the Aegean World* (Wroclaw 1972) 205 f.

4 E. Simon, *Die Götter der Griechen* (Würzburg 1969) 61 f.

5 Thebes Museum, No. 1192, larnax No. 3 from tomb 5, cf. Th. Spyrópoulos, *Ergon* (1971 [1972]) 13 ff.; *BCH* 96 (1972) 700, Figures 265-266; *Praktika* (1971 [1973]) plates 18β and 19α.

6 V. Karageorgis, "Notes on some Centaurs from Cyprus", *Kharistérion eis Anastásion K. Orlándhou*, 2 (Athens 1966) 160 ff., esp. p. 165 ff.

7 Cf. S. Hood, *The Minoans* (London 1971) 220 n. 32.

8 Th. Spyrópoulos, op. cit., p. 13.

9 The touching and embracing of pillars: A. Evans, "The Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult", *JHS* 21 (1901) 203; S. Eitrem, RE (1913) s.v. "Hermai", 704; B. Rutkowski, *Cult Places in the Aegean World*, 206.

10 For a rather similar gesture, c.f. figures of goddesses or priestesses from the Central Repository at Knossos.

11 Dr. S. Alexíou, the Director of the Archaeological Museum, *Iráklion*, has kindly allowed me to publish the pyxis from *A. Triádha*, in the forthcoming Festschrift to D. Levi (cf. n. 17 below).

12 J. Durm, "Über vormykenische und mykenische Architekturformen" *ÖJ* (1907) 79, fig. 27.

13 The dimensions are as follows: height - 6,3 cm; width - 6,2 cm; thickness - 0,5 cm; the extended decoration is preserved to about 10,5 cm.

14 S. Alexíou, *Ysterominoikoí táphoi Liménos Knosoú (Katsámba)* Athens 1967 74; B. Rutkowski, *Cult Places in the Aegean World*, 328.

15 For the shape of the pyxis see the pyxis from *Katsámba*, S. Alexíou, *Ysterominoikoí táphoi Liménos Knosoú (Katsámba)*, pl. 30.

16 In Minoan and Mycenaean iconography the shaft of a pillar or a column or a tree is usually composed of two or three vertical lines to signify the greater bulk of the shaft, e.g. on the gold ring from Mycenae No. 2854 (*CMS* I, No. 87); another gold ring from Mycenae No. 2419 (*CMS* I, No. 58); the ivory tusk also from Mycenae (P. Demargne, *La Crète dédalique* [Paris 1947] 194).

17 A more detailed paper under the title: "Minoan Sacred Emblems" will be published in *Antichità cretesi. Studi in onore di Doro Levi.*

11. THE BOIOTIAN HERAKLES

by A. Schachter

I have called this article "The Boiotian Herakles" rather than something like "Herakles the Boiotian" in order to avoid at the outset any misconceptions about its purpose. It is not my intention to try to prove that Herakles was a Boiotian in origin. This would in any case be unprovable, and improbable as well. Most people are agreed that, whatever his origins -- be they Argive or any other -- Herakles became, at quite an early stage in his career, a truly panhellenic hero/god, and that he belonged to all Greeks[1]. Nonetheless, it is characteristic about Greek belief that all panhellenic deities are in fact composites of local beliefs and traditions about local gods and heroes. Every major Greek god or hero whom we might classify as "panhellenic" can be shown to have had his or her character built up in this piecemeal, largely disorganized and often conflicting way. Every part of Greece, and many towns and villages, contributed to the compilation of characteristics which together form the "panhellenic" whole. So with Herakles we can expect to find contributions to the whole character from different parts of Greece. We can also expect to find local characteristics which did not get into the mainstream. The purpose of this article, therefore, is to see what contribution Boiotia made to the character of Herakles the panhellenic figure, and what other features of Herakles in Boiotia remained specifically Boiotian, and so may be regarded as belonging to a so-called "pre-Heraklean" substratum.

I shall begin by discussing Herakles as he was known and worshipped in those places in Boiotia from which we have any evidence, and then summarize briefly the results[2].

1. *Geographical Survey and Analysis*

Southern Boiotia

We begin this survey with a cult -- that of Herakles Melon -- which is the only one not firmly localized. In fact, of five surviving sources for the rite, only one -- Pollux[3] -- locates it in Boiotia (or Thebes); two place it in Athens[4], while the others give no precise location[5]. As it happens, Pollux gives the most circumstantial account, as follows:

Preparations were in hand to sacrifice a ram to Herakles during a festival; those bringing the ram were delayed because the Asopos was impassable. While awaiting the ram's arrival, some children took an apple, and made out of it imitation ram. Thus began the practice, which continued thereafter, of offering an apple to Herakles, who was surnamed Melon, i.e. Herakles of the apples[6].

The identification of the river Asopos and the fact that two other sources regard this as an Attic rite suggest that the cult was located in the southern part of Boiotia, near or over the Attic border. The connection with apples suggests a fertility cult of some sort.[7]

We move on now to another area which was at least partly Attic, namely

Oropos

Here there are two isolated testimonia, neither of which tells us enough to be of any significance. At the Amphiareion, Herakles, according to Pausanias, was one of the deities on the great altar[8]; while from outside the sanctuary, possibly from the town itself, comes a dedication to Herakles[9].

Moving up the coast, we come to our first example in Boiotia proper, at

Aulis

Here Herakles -- possibly after his major Labours -- encountered Syleus[10]. This is part of the cycle of Herakles connected with the Euboian region and may have no closer link with Boiotia[11].

Mykalessos

Inland from Aulis, Pausanias describes a sanctuary of Demeter[12]. Here, his local informants told him, Herakles the Idaian Daktyl opened and shut the doors of the sanctuary daily. Pausanias does not seem to have seen a statue or any other depiction of this Herakles. The only thing of interest about the sanctuary that he notes is the strange phenomenon that the late summer fruits offered to the cult image were said to remain fresh all year round.

What we find here, then, is a ferility cult, Herakles possibly connected with Demeter (not unusual in practice[13]), and Herakles as an Idaian Daktyl. The Idaian Daktyls were held to be daimons of small stature[14], so whether or not this Herakles was a real Daktyl[15], we can at least say that Pausanias' informants may have envisaged him as being small.

Akraiphia

This town is north of Thebes and east of the Kopais. Here the evidence is limited to two inscriptions in which Herakles is honoured with Hermes as patron of the local gymnasion[16] -- a common function of both[17], and a votive relief in which he is depicted with club and lion skin[18], also a common motif. There is nothing, therefore, to be gained here.

The Kopaïs

This area, on the other hand, is rife with legends and cults of Herakles[19].

The legends concern the conflict between Thebes and the Minyans of Orkhomenos under their kings Klymenos and his son Erginos[20]. The Thebans had been compelled to pay an annual tribute to the Minyans[21]. One year, when Erginos' heralds came to collect, the young Herakles attacked them, and clipped off their outer extremities: Pausanias was shown, in the area west of the Kadmeia, a statue of Herakles Rhinokoloustes -- nose-clipper -- which was said to commemorate this feat[22].

The ensuing war, in which the Thebans were led by Herakles who, according to one source, rallied the youth of Thebes to the cause[23], ended in the defeat of the Minyans. A number of episodes are isolated from the war: one serves as the aition for the sanctuary of Herakles Hippodetes -- the horse binder -- in the *Teneric Plain*, i.e. just east of Onkhestos: the Orkhomenians had encamped here, and in the night, Herakles collected their horses and bound them up[24]. This is an interesting story, which may have been invented rather late, for political reasons. The epithet and location of the sanctuary suggest a link with the nearby sanctuary of Poseidon at Onkhestos, where horses figured largely in the ritual[25]. Perhaps this was an attempt by Thebes to assert itself vis-ā-vis the major political meeting place of the Confederacy[26]. Perhaps, too, it may have some bearing on later Theban wars with Orkhomenos[27]; it should be noted that Orkhomenos was renowned as a breeding ground of horses[28], which figure also on the coins of that city[29].

To return to the war: Herakles, leading the Thebans, defeated the Minyans, killed Erginos (although at least one source has Erginos survive to sue for peace[30]), sacked Orkhomenos, and flooded the Kopaïs, or at least that area of it around Orkhomenos[31]. This, or another, act of Theban supremacy might have been symbolized in the temple of Herakles which Pausanias reports at the sources of the river Melas, one of the major tributaries of the Kopaïs[32].

The flooding of Lake Kopaïs is the subject of considerable discussion among archaeologists and historians: it is generally held to have occurred near the end of the Mycenaean period, although there is no general agreement on this[33].

Hyettos[34]

This town lies north of the Kopaïs. Here Pausanias cites a temple of Herakles, and in it an image of unwrought stone, λίθος ἀργός; to this sanctuary sick people repaired for cures.

We have then a healing cult, all the more interesting because from the third century AD -- i.e. some years after Pausanias' visit -- we have an inscription from Hyettos containing a decree of the ἱερὰ γερουσία τοῦ Σωτῆρος [Ἀ]σκληπιοῦ[35]. Is this a conflict, or did this association have any connection with the healing cult of Herakles?

Khaironeia

From Khaironeia, to the west of Orkhomenos, we have a thank offering to Herakles Apalexikakos, averter of evil[36]. This epithet, or rather Alexikakos, is attributed to Apollo in Athens in commemoration of his overcoming the plague[37]. It is possible, therefore, that the epithet here applied to Herakles is in recognition of some healing quality attributed to him, and it is worth noting that at Khaironeia, as at Hyettos, the cult of Asklepios is attested, and the sanctuary of that god located possibly near the Herakleion[38]. The Herakleion is placed by Plutarch by the banks of the river Haimon, which flows into the Kephissos just east of the town's akropolis: Plutarch -- in describing the battle of Khaironeia -- tries to identify the Haimon with the river Thermodon mentioned in his sources[39].

Mt. Laphystion[40]

An important sanctuary of Herakles is located here, west of Koroneia. According to Pausanias, this Herakles was entitled Kharops -- variously "fierce", "bright-eyed", "with blue-grey eyes" -- and was situated on the mountain, higher up than the sanctuary of Zeus Laphystios. Here, said the Boiotians, Herakles ascended with Kerberos[41].

From the vicinity of Koroneia comes a collection of manumission decrees of the second or first century BC, in which the slaves are manumitted under the protection of Kharops Herakles or Herakles Kharops. The deity is served by a priestess[42].

A number of things deserve comment here. First, the location of the sanctuary above that of Zeus Laphystios. The latter is associated with Athamas and the attempted sacrifice of Phrixos and Helle, which Herodotos locates at Halos in Thessaly[43]. One might infer therefore that the deity to whom the mountain was first sacred was Kharops. The local story placing Herakles' ascent with Kerberos here may also be significant in reflecting the existence of a chthonic cult (one might consider the etymological similarity, if any, between Kharops and Kharon[44]). The priestess of Herakles Kharops we will meet again soon. Manumission before Herakles is fairly rare[45]; the gods most frequently used in Boiotia are Asklepios, Artemis and the Egyptians[46]. We might perhaps have here a hint as to possible healing powers attributed to Herakles Kharops[47].

From *Koroneia* itself comes an inscription which commemorates the dedication of a temple and stoa [Ἡρακλ]εῖ Παλαίμονι καὶ τῇ [πόλ]ει[48]. This has been taken as a dedication to Herakles Palaimon[49], but the state of the stone does not permit speculation.

Thespiai[50]

Here we begin by considering one of Herakles' feats as a youth, which may have been invented as a local competitor of his first Labour, i.e. the story of the slaying of the Kithaironian Lion. This feat is attributed by Pausanias to the Megarian hero Alkathoos[51], which proves only that it was widespread around the region of southern Boiotia and the eastern Megarid. Herakles, then, in his youth, while watching his father's herds, killed the lion, and then went to stay with Thespios -- or Thestios -- of Thespiai[52].

The following story may owe its popularity to the statue of the Thespiades by Praxiteles, which Mummius took to Rome[53], but is also attested by earlier sources. Herakles' host is variously called Thespios or Thestios or Thyestes[54]. It is agreed that he had a large number of daughters -- 50 or 49 -- and that Herakles slept with all, or all but one, and begat 50 sons[55], or in one case an unknown number of sons and twelve daughters[56]. The fate of the Thespiadai was, for most of them, to accompany Iolaos to Sardinia[57], while seven remained in Thespiai as demouchoi, and the remaining two or three went to Thebes[58].

Pausanias tells the story as the aition for the cult of Herakles at Thespiai: according to his informant, one daughter refused Herakles' advances, and was thereupon enjoined to remain a virgin all her life and serve Herakles as his priestess[59]. Pausanias then relates another version, in which all the daughters bore Herakles one son each, except for the youngest and eldest who each had twins[60]. We may compare this with another version, which refers to 49 daughters bearing 50 sons, the eldest having brought forth twins[61]. These variations on the theme strike one as an attempt to reconcile a local aition with a well known and typically comical feat of Herakles.

According to Pausanias, Herakles at Thespiai was served by a virgin priestess who served until her death[62]. Pausanias also states, curiously enough, that in his opinion this Herakles was not the Herakles son of Amphitryon, but rather Herakles the Idaian Daktyl, as at Mykalessos[63]. What does this mean? Something must have led Pausanias to make this conjecture. I will now suggest a conjecture of my own, namely that the Thespian Herakles reminded Pausanias of Herakles the Idaian Daktyl because he too was small in stature.

Further light on the Thespian Herakles is thrown by epigraphic evidence which suggests -- although the publication of one of the inscriptions is in some doubt and the others depend on restorations at crucial points -- that there was at Thespiai a cult of Herakles Kharops served by a priestess[64].

Other evidence for Herakles at Thespiai takes the form of an altar dedicated to him as the result of a dream[65], a herm depicting the hero[66], reliefs depicting Herakles alone or with others[67], and inscriptions mentioning Herakleia, a festival of Herakles[68].

In territory normally considered part of the Thespian sphere of influence are the towns of Siphai and Thisbe. At *Siphai* Pausanias notes the presence of an Herakleion and an annual festival in Herakles' honour[69]. At *Thisbe* he describes a sanctuary of Herakles, with a cult image, in whose honour were held Herakleia[70]. An inscription from Thisbe cites Herakles and Hermes, without doubt as patrons of the gymnasion, and so is of no interest here[71], but another is the epitaph of a priestess of Kharops[72].

Thebes[73]

We come at last to Thebes, where, from sources beginning with Homer and Hesiod, Herakles' birth is located[74]. The story, as far as it can be recapitulated, goes that Amphitryon and Alkmene left Tiryns and came to settle at Thebes[75]. Here they were received by Kreon; Amphitryon left to fight the Teleboans, and in his absence, Zeus, disguised as Amphitryon, begat Herakles on Alkmene. Amphitryon, on his return, begat Iphikles, Herakles' twin brother, destined to become the father of Iolaos[76]. There is, by the way, a curious reference to a Theban hymn to Herakles, in which he is called son of Zeus and Hera[77]. Hera, in anger, and in order to ensure that Herakles should not inherit his due, delayed his birth until that of Eurystheus, whom he was therefore called upon to serve[78]. There are other versions of Herakles' birth, in which a Theban woman -- Teiresias' daughter Historis, or Alkmene's handmaiden Galinthias -- attempted to conceal the birth from Hera[79]. But the essential thing is that practically all sources are unanimous in placing Herakles' birth at Thebes.

Soon after the event, Hera sent serpents to destroy the infant Herakles -- a fairly early source, Pherekydes, says that the serpents were sent by Amphitryon to distinguish his own son from that of Zeus[80] -- but in any case, Herakles slew the snakes[81], a deed commemorated on numerous Theban coins[82].

Of the rest of his childhood little is known, save that he served as daphnephoros[83] and murdered his music master[84]. His name at this time was, apparently, Alkides or Alkaios, in honour of his grandfather, probably a survival of the Argive version of his biography: it was the Delphic oracle that renamed him Herakles[85].

In his youth, as I have already noted, he killed the Kithaironian Lion, debauched the daughters of Thespios and led the Thebans successfully against the Minyans.

In recompense for the last, the Theban ruler Kreon gave him his own daughter Megara to wife. This marriage ended disastrously, with Hera driving Herakles mad to the point where he killed his children. He was purified of the blood guilt by Thespios, and went off to the Argolid to work for Eurystheus[86]. These are the general lines of the story, on which there is reasonable agreement among the sources, although Euripides, for his own purposes, changes the sequence and includes Megara among the slaughtered[87]. Herakles does not re-appear at Thebes until after he has completed his Labours, at which time he hands over Megara to Iolaos for his wife, and goes off in search of another for himself[88].

The traditional story has it that Herakles killed his children -- sons, their number varying -- by hurling them into a fire[89]. This might reflect the ritual which Pindar describes at the beginning of the festival of Herakles at Thebes[90].

The sanctuary of Herakles, as described by Pindar, lay outside the Elektran Gates, i.e. south of the Kadmeia[91]. The location is confirmed by other sources[92], and the site is most closely described by Pausanias: he was shown first the ruins of a building, said to be the house of Amphitryon, which contained the bedchamber of Alkmene (on the veracity of this, cf. the house of Kadmos and the bedchamber of Semele, also pointed out to Pausanias, on the Kadmeia[93]); there were also the tombs of the children of Herakles and Megara, the stone which Athena threw at Herakles when the latter went mad, images of the Pharmakides (connected with the story of Herakles' birth), the Herakleion proper, probably a temple, with statue, xoanon, gables by Praxiteles, and colossal statues of Herakles and Athena by Alkamenes; adjoining the sanctuary, and probably part of it, were a gymnasion and stadion[94].

We can be sure that there was at least a temple of Herakles outside the Elektran Gates at Thebes, which may have been standing as early as the end of the fifth century BC, and certainly -- if the attribution to Praxiteles is correct -- in the fourth century. There was also a stadion and gymnasion, of which more later. What the ruined building was is anybody's guess. It must be remembered that Pausanias visited Thebes late in the second century AD, when large parts of it -- particularly outside the Kadmeia -- were in ruins, the Kadmeia itself being inhabited solely. It may be that the House of Amphitryon was, like the House of Kadmos, a genuine relic, perhaps from the Mycenaean period. It would be useful to find out[95].

At the Herakleion, or rather at the installations next to it, were celebrated the Herakleia, an athletic competition mentioned as early as Pindar, and continuing -- no doubt with intervals of inactivity -- until well into the Imperial period[96]. According to Pindar, these contests occurred at the common tomb of Amphitryon and Iolaos[97].

We learn a little bit more about the temple of Herakles from the story of how Epameinondas tried -- successfully -- to encourage his troops before the battle of Leuktra by organizing an omen; this had to do with having the arms stored in the temple removed, as if Herakles were leading the Thebans off to war[98]. At least we know from this that the warlike aspect of Herakles was prominent in his Theban sanctuary[99]. Two versions of the story tell us something else, in passing. The one, in Polyainos -- perhaps from Plutarch's life of Epameinondas? -- refers to a priest of Herakles, and zakoroi[100]. The other, in Xenophon, refers to priestesses predicting victory -- he then goes on to talk about the Herakleion[101]. The priestesses and the Herakleion may be unrelated, but it is tempting to compare the priestesses of Herakles in other parts of Boiotia.

There are of course other references to the worship of Herakles in Thebes, but they tell us relatively nothing new[102]. But what I have found to be very interesting is Pindar's description of Herakles as being μορφὰν βραχύς, ψυχὰν δ'ἄκαμπτος[103]. This puts me in mind of Herakles the so-called Idaian Daktyl, and I begin to wonder if we are not getting closer to a picture of a Boiotian Herakles.

One more Pindaric reference may be apposite here: Pindar is said to have written that Ἀθηνᾶ γὰρ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ πολλαχοῦ ἀνῆκε θερμὰ λουτρὰ καὶ ἀνάπαυλαν τῶν πόνων[104], which might suggest to some that Pindar's Herakles -- like the Herakles at Hyettos -- had the properties of a healing deity.

I shall end this survey with a few words about Kharops. The name appears as recipient of three vases and a graffito, in characters of the first part of the sixth century BC[105]. These may or may not be dedications to a deity. If they are, then they give valuable proof of the epithet's antiquity; if not, at any rate they join the list of theophoric names in Boiotia derived from Kharops: an examination of the indices to *IG 7* and *SEG* turns up at least eleven people with such names (at least one is a federal archon and cannot be pinned down geographically), coming from Oropos, Thebes, Thespiai, Koroneia, Lebadeia and Khaironeia: the last four, of course, are at or near places with a cult of Kharops[106].

2. Synthesis and Conclusions[107]

The search for the Boiotian Herakles can now settle down to collecting what may be the distinguishing features of this deity. They may be listed as follows: his age, his size, his cult, his attributes.

Age:

All traditions about Herakles in Boiotia are agreed that he spent his infancy, childhood and youth there, but no more. Therefore the Boiotian Herakles is young[108].

Size:

Pindar goes out of his way to describe the Theban Herakles as short; Pausanias reports a cult legend involving Herakles the Idaian Daktyl, i.e. also short; and he himself compares the Thespian Herakles to Herakles the Idaian Daktyl. We might be justified in suggesting that Herakles in Boiotia was short, which does not contradict his being young as well.

Cult:

Herakles Kharops was served by a priestess at Koroneia, Thespiai and Thisbe. It is possible -- although it cannot be proved -- that a priestess served him at Thebes[109].

Attributes:

At Hyettos Herakles was endowed with healing powers; this may also have been so at Khaironeia, perhaps at Koroneia and Thespiai, although this cannot be proved. Pindar's connection of Herakles with healing may be relevant to the Boiotian Herakles.

Herakles Melon, possibly in the south, and Herakles at Mykalessos, may have been associated with fertility. At Mykalessos and Thespiai and possibly Thebes (reliefs at the last two) Herakles is associated with Demeter, perhaps a similar connection, or under the influence of the Eleusinian cult.

We have so far a partial picture -- we shall probably never get a full one -- of a Boiotian deity, a youth served by a priestess, therefore perhaps allied with a mother goddess, who might have had powers of healing and fertility.

We might assume further that at some time or other -- I have written elsewhere on the possible circumstances of this[110] -- the panhellenic hero/god Herakles was superimposed on the local figure, whose name disappeared in Thebes and the east, but survived -- and in fact remained dominant -- in central and western Boiotia. In later times, Thebes, by adopting Herakles as its personal presiding deity, overshadowed the claims of other parts of Boiotia[111].

I will close with a quick look at the geographical distribution of the cults and legends of Herakles in Boiotia. He is attested perhaps in southern Boiotia, around the Asopos, at Mykalessos, Thebes, Thespiai, Siphai, Thisbe, Hyettos, Orkhomenos, Khaironeia, Koroneia, but not in one very important region, namely that of Tanagra. But if we remind ourselves that what we are looking for is not so much Herakles himself as a god or hero with attributes similar to those which Herakles displays in Boiotia, we find that there is perhaps something similar in Tanagra. I refer to the Tanagraian Hermes, who, according to local tradition, was born there, and who -- in the guise of a youth -- protected the city in times of war and famine[112]. It should be remembered also that Hermes was psychopompos, and that the Herakles Kharops of Laphystion had his own local connections with the underworld. This is supposition, of course, but it might in part explain the cult of Hermes at Tanagra, and perhaps even that at Mykalessos[113].

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NOTES

1 The best statement on this is still that of M. P. Nilsson, *The Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology* (Berkeley 1972) 207ff. Wilamowitz, in his earlier years, had regarded Herakles as a Dorian: *Euripides Herakles* 2 (Darmstadt 1969) 19ff., but he subsequently revised his views: *Glaube der Hellenen* 1 (Basel 1956) 89 and 2 (Basel 1956) 20.

2 On Herakles in Boiotia, see:
L. R. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality* (Oxford 1921) 101, 106-107, 113;
Fr. Salviat, "L'Offrande argienne et l' 'Hémicycle des Rois' à Delphes et l'Héraclès béotien", *BCH* 89 (1965) 307-314, esp. 311ff.;
A. Schachter, "The Theban Wars", *Phoenix* 21 (1967) 1-10, esp. 4ff.
U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Euripides Herakles* 2.34f.;
Pindaros (Berlin 1922) 47;
Glaube der Hellenen 2.21f.
It might be worth noting briefly the subjects concerning Herakles which figure on Boiotian vases (taken from F. Brommer, *Vasenlisten zur griechischen Heldensage*[2][Marburg/Lahn 1960]): Herakles and Amazons (21C5); and Athena (25D1); and Omphale (133D3); and Centaurs (69C11, 70D3); and Giants (55D3); and Kyknos (84D2); and "Tritons" (117C2); and the tripod (38C1, 38C4).
Of these, only the Kyknos and tripod motifs can be firmly localized in Central Greece. This suggests that Boiotian potters worked within the panhellenic mainstream. Votive reliefs depicting Herakles (see below, at Thespiai and Thebes) might also be taken as part of this tradition, and according to Pausanias 9.11.6. the gables of the Herakleion at Thebes depicted most of the canonical Twelve Labours, with only minor variations.

3 1.30-31.

4 Apollodoros, *FGrHist* 244F115 (from Zenobios 5.22); Hesychios *sv* Μήλων Ἡρακλῆς.

5 *Paroem.Gr.1(Appendix Proverbiorum)* 1.434 (1.3.93); *Suidas sv* Μήλειος Ἡρακλῆς.

6 *Paroem.Gr.1* (cited above in Note 5) is explicit in stating that the worshippers of this Herakles μῆλα, καρποὺς ἔθυον.

7 On this cult, see: L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (Berlin 1956) 226f.;
L. R. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults* 109, 151-152;
A. D. Keramópoullos, *ADelt* 3 (1917) 329 2;
M. P. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste* (Stuttgart 1957) 448;
S. Woodford, "Cults of Heracles in Attica", *Studies Presented to George M. A. Hanfmann* (Mainz 1971) 218.

8 1.34.3. See also B. Chr. Petrákos, Ὁ Ἅρπδς καὶ τὸ Ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου (Athens 1968) 119.4 (Herakles on a relief), 120.8 (a small statue of Herakles). Parts of the monumental altar have been discovered: *IG* 7.421; *AE* (1917) 39-40.
See also S. Woodford, *Studies Presented to George M. A. Hanfmann*, 224.

9 *IG* 7.436, from *Sykáminon*. See B. Chr. Petrákos, Ὁ Ἅρπδς καὶ τὸ Ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου 55.

10 Pseudo-Apollodoros 2.6.3; Diod. Sicul. 4.31.7; Euripides, *Syleus* Nauck[2] p.575ff.; Konon, *Narrationes* 17; Tzetzes, *Chil.* 2.432f.
Cf. Wilamowitz, *Herakles* 2.73 134.

11 Cf. H. J. Rose, *A Handbook of Greek Mythology* (London 1960) 217f.

12 9.19.5-6; 9.27.8.

13 L. R. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults* 128, suggests that Herakles and Demeter at Mykalessos might be a reflection of Cretan influence in Boiotia.

14 On the Daktyls in general, see B. Hemberg, *Die Kabiren* (Uppsala 1950) esp. 346ff.

15 See L. R. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults* 102-103, 125-131, esp. p.126f.
[In the discussion of this paper, S. C. Bakhuizen suggested that the Idaian Daktyls might be associated with iron or represent miners of iron. He noted that Khalkis was a centre of the iron industry, and that Aulis might have played a part in iron trading in antiquity, and suggested that the Mykalessian Idaian Daktyl might have been related in some way to Khalkidian iron.]

16 *IG* 7.2712; *SEG* 15.330.

17 See L. R. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults* 153-154, and below at Thisbe.

18 *IG* 7.2736.

19 We might add to this the reputed tomb of Alkmene and Rhadamanthys at Haliartos: Antoninus Liberalis, *Metam.* 33; pseudo-Apollodoros 2.4.11; 3.1.2; Pherekydes, *FGrHist* 3F84 (from Antoninus Liberalis); Plutarch, *Lysandros* 28 (449C-D); *De Genio Socratis* 5(577E-578B); 7(578F); *Schol.* Lykophron, *Alexandra* 50.

20 Cf. A. Schachter, *Phoenix* 21 (1967) 6-7.

21 Pseudo-Apollodoros 2.4.11; Diod. Sicul. 4.10.3; Pausanias 9.25.4; 9.37.2.

22 Pseudo-Apollodoros 2.4.11; Diod. Sicul. 4.10.3; Pausanias 9.25.4. On the site, see A. D. Keramópoullos, *ADelt* 3(1917) 426f.

23 Diod. Sicul. 4.10.4-5.

24 Hesychios *sv* Ἱπποθέτης; Pausanias 9.26.1.

25 E.g. *Homeric Hymn* 3.229-238; on the significance of this rite, see G. Roux, *REG* 77 (1964) 6-22.

26 On the rôle of Onkhestos in the Boiotian Confederacy see P. Roesch, *Thespies et la Confédération béotienne* (Paris 1965) 125; 144. The sanctuary of Herakles Hippodetes was according to Pausanias, μέγα, which word, if it refers to size rather than importance, might have a bearing here.

27 Cf. P. Roesch, *Thespies et la Confédération béotienne* 42.

28 πληξίππων γῆ Μινυῶν from the tomb of Hesiod at Orkhomenos, quoted by Pausanias 9.38.4.

29 B. V. Head, *BMC Central Greece* (Bologna 1963) 54.20; 54.25-55.29.

30 Pausanias 9.37.3.

31 Pseudo-Apollodoros 2.4.11; Diod. Sicul. 4.10.2-6; 4.18.7; Euripides, *Herakles* 49-50; 220-221; *IG* 14.1293a (*FGrHist* 40F1a); Pausanias 9.9.1; 9.17.1; 9.17.2; 9.37.1-3; 9.38.7-8; Tzetzes, *Chil.* 2.226ff.

32 9.38.6; cf. A. Schachter, *Phoenix* 21 (1967) 6.

33 A collection of differing views: J. M. Fossey, "The End of the Bronze Age in the Copaïc Basin", *AJA* 76 (1972) 210; cf. *Euphrosyne* N.S. 6 (1973/4) 7-21.
P. Guillon, *Les Trépieds du Ptoïon* (Paris 1943) 2.175-195;
U. Kahrstedt, *Arch. Anz.* (1937) 1-20;
A. Philippson, *Die Griechischen Landschaften* 1.2 (Frankfurt am Main 1951) 483-485.
P. W. Wallace, "The Dikes of the Kopaic", *Teiresias Supplement* 2 (1979), 7-8.

34 Cf. A. Schachter, *Phoenix* 21 (1967) 6.

35 Pausanias 9.24.3; *IG* 7.2808. Cf. N. G. Pappadhákis, *ADelt* 2 (1916) 245 3, and L. R. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults* 150.
[In the discussion of this paper, the following points were raised by D. Knoepfler:
a) an inscription recently discovered at Hyettos refers to an unspecified oracle; there might perhaps be a connection with the Herakles cult;
b) Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* 36.16 (128), quotes the Hellenistic writer Sotacus on the sources of magnetite ("quinque genera magnetis Sotacus demonstrat: . . . tertium in Hyetto Boeotiae . . . Boeoti vero rufi coloris plus habent quam nigri"); the mines in the vicinity of Hyettos were worked as recently as before World War II;
c) Plato, *Ion* 533D writes: ἐν τῇ λίθῳ ἣν Εὐριπίδης (fr. 567) μὲν Μαγνῆτιν ὠνόμασεν, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ Ἡρακλείαν;
d) It is possible that the mysterious power of magnetite was generally attributed to Herakles; since magnetite was also reputed to have curative powers, it might be therefore that the λίθος ἀργός worshipped as Herakles at Hyettos was a piece of the local red Hyettos magnetite.]

36 *IG* 7.3416.

37 Pausanias 1.3.4; cf. *Schol.* Aristophanes, *Frogs* 501. See also: L. R. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults* 121 and 147;
M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der Griechischen Religion* 1[2] (Munich, 1955) 544;
S. Woodford, *Studies Presented to George M. A. Hanfmann* 218-219, and esp. 219 n. 113.

38 Sotiriades, *AM* 30 (1905) 113-120, cf. *Praktika* (1904) 45-50, located the Herakleion at *Ayía Paraskeví* on the banks of the river *Lykouréssi*, where he found ancient stones built into a ruined Byzantine church, and inscriptions of the third and second centuries BC (including proxeny decrees, ephebe lists and manumission decrees sworn before Sarapis, Asklepios and Hygieia). There are apparently other ancient remains along the *Lykouréssi*, at *Ay. Anárgyroi* and *Ay. Apóstoloi*. Cf. *EAA* 2.545 sv. "Cheronea".

39 *Demosthenes* 19.2 (854D-E).

40 Cf. A. Schachter, *Phoenix* 21 (1967) 6.

41 Pausanias 9.34.5. Cf. L. R. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults* 153 and note. On the possible site, see N. G. Pappadhákis, *ADelt* 2 (1916) 257ff.

42 N. G. Pappadhákis, *ADelt* 2 (1916) 217-272.

43 Herodotos 7.197.1; cf. N. G. Pappadhákis, *ADelt* 2 (1916) 240 note 2.

44 See N. G. Pappadhákis, *ADelt* 2 (1916) 239ff., on both the etymology and the story of Kerberos.

45 A. Calderini, *La Manomissione* (Rome 1965) 112 lists only two. Admittedly, Calderini's work is early, but it nonetheless gives some idea of relative proportions. Cf. N. G. Pappadhákis, *ADelt* 2 (1916) 253f.
It may be worth noting -- in view of the proverb that "a woman does not frequent the shrine of Herakles" (*Paroem. Gr.* p.130) -- that of the slaves manumitted before Herakles Kharops at least eight are female. Cf. L. R. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults* 162.

46 On the pattern of manumission by consecration to a deity in western Boiotia, see P. Roesch, *BCH* 94 (1970) 159-160.

47 Cf. N. G. Pappadhákis, *ADelt* 2 (1916) 257-258 on hot springs in the vicinity. Pausanias, 9.34.4, mentions two springs on Mt. Leibethrion, from which milky water arose.

48 *IG* 7.2874.

49 N. G. Pappadhákis, *ADelt* 2 (1916) 243 note 5 reads [Ἡραικ]λεῖ.
See also his comments 243f. and 246 note 2. Cf. L. R. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults* 154, and *The Works of Pindar* (London 1930) 2.126.
Wilamowitz, *Glaube der Hellenen* 1.213, regarded Palaimon as having been absorbed by Herakles, as Kharops was. Cf. *Glaube der Hellenen* 2.22 note 1, and *Euripides Herakles* 2.34 note 67.

50 See M. Broadbent, *Studies in Greek Genealogy* (Leiden 1968) 283ff.

51 1.41.3f. Cf. K. Hanell, *Megarische Studien* (Lund 1934) 27ff.

52 Pseudo-Apollodoros 2.4.9; Tzetzes, *Chil.* 2.214ff.

53 Cicero, *In Verrem* 4.2.4; *Naturalis Historia* 34.69. Cf. Wilamowitz, *Euripides Herakles* 2.29 note 56.

54 Thespios: Pseudo-Apollodoros 2.7.6; Diod. Sicul. 4.29.2f.; Hyginus, *Fab.* 162;
Thestios: Pseudo-Apollodoros 2.4.9f, 2.7.8; Herodoros, *FGrHist* 31F20, from Athenaios 13.4 (556F); Pausanias 9.27.6f.; Tzetzes, *Chil.* 2.221ff.;
Thestios or Thyestes: Hellanikos, *FGrHist* 4F3, from Harpokration and *Suidas* sv. Στεφανηφόρος;
Thyestes: Ephoros, *FGrHist* 70F13, from Theon, *Progymn.* 2, p.67.8Sp.
See also Frazer's comments on the textual variations in the Loeb edition of Apollodoros at 2.4.9.

55 Sources in note 54.

56 Hyginus, *Fab.* 162.

57 Pseudo-Apollodoros 2.7.6; Diod. Sicul. 4.29; Pausanias 1.29.5; 7.2.2; 9.23.1; 10.17.5. Cf. L. R. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults* 139.

58 Pseudo-Apollodoros 2.7.6; Diod. Sicul. 4.29. Cf. A. Schachter, *Teiresias Supplement* 1 (1972) 22.

59 Pausanias 9.27.6. Cf. L. R. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults* 166.

60 9.27.7.

61 Pseudo-Apollodoros 2.7.8.

62 9.27.6.

63 9.27.8. L. R. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults* 126 note c, categorizes Pausanias' statement as being "merely a freakish theory of his own".

64 *IG* 7.1739: at line 5, N. G. Pappadhákis, *ADelt* 2 (1916) 237 note 2, suggested reading Ὁ ἐμβὰ [ς τ]ὰγ γᾶν τῶ Ἡρακλεί[ο]ς τῶ ἰαρῶ τῶ [Χάροπος καταβαλὶ τὰν ἔμβασιν]. Cf. A. Plassart, *Mél. Navarre* (1935) 339ff., and P. Roesch, *Thespies et la Confédération béotienne* 188f.
IG 7.1870: N. G. Pappadhákis, *ADelt* 2 (1916) 237, suggested reading ----l]έρειαν τοῦ Χά[ρο]πος.
BCH 45 (1921) 522.1: "Le musée de Thèbes a reçu quelques textes nouveaux de Thespies: bloc cubique portant une inscription funéraire métrique (4 vers) pour une prêtresse d'Héraclès Charops (ler siècle après J.-C.), ce qui confirme l'existence de ce culte à Thespies".

65 *IG* 7.1829. A dream oracle? On Herakles and dream oracles, see S. Woodford, *Studies Presented to George M. A. Hanfmann* 220 and note 127.
[In the discussion of this paper, P. Roesch reported the presence at the chapel of Áyios Pétros kaí Pávlos at *Parapoúnyia*, of an inscription identical to *IG* 7.1829].

66 Kh. Karoúzos, Τὸ Μουσεῖο τῆς Θήβας (Athens 1934) 47.160.

67 W. Schild-Xenidou, *Boiotische Grab- und Weihreliefs archaischer und klassischer Zeit* (Munich 1972) 54 no. 62 (Athens NM 2795; P. Jamot, *Mél. Perrot* [1903] 195-199; *BCH* 46 [1922] 260.84; cf. *ADelt* 2 [1916] 238); 55 no. 63 (Thebes Museum, unnumbered, of Thespian stone); 65 no. 75 (Kh. Karoúzos, Τὸ Μουσεῖο τῆς Θήβας 39.135). Herakles appears with Demeter in no. 62, alone in no. 63, with Dionysos and others in no. 75.
Kh. Karoúzos, Τὸ Μουσεῖο τῆς Θήβας 27.47 (Koerte, *AM* 3 [1878] 402.181; N. G. Pappadhákis, *ADelt* 2 [1916] 249f. and fig. 7). From Kaparélli, Herakles with Kerberos.

68 *ADelt* 3 (1917) 353 note 4; Schwyzer, *DGE* 491.
Two doubtful archaic dedications to Herakles: *BCH* 50 (1926) 390.4; *SEG* 15.324.

69 9.32.4; cf. M. P. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste* 448.

70 9.32.2; cf. M. P. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste* 448.

71 *IG* 7.2235.

72 *IG* 7.2359, on which see J. and L. Robert, *Bull. épigr.* 48.82a.

73 Cf. A. Schachter, *Phoenix* 21 (1967) 5-6.

74 Pseudo-Apollodoros 2.4.8; Diod. Sicul. 4.9.6 (at Tiryns); Hesiod, *Theogony* 530; (943-944); *Aspis* 1ff.; Homer, *Iliad* 14.323-324; 19.96-99; *Odyssey* 11.266ff.; *Homeric Hymn* 15.1-3; Nikandros in Antoninus Liberalis, *Metam.* 29; Pausanias 9.11.3; Pindar, *Pyth.* 9.81ff.; *Nem.* 1.35-36; 10.11ff.; *Isthm.* 7.5-7; Ptolem. Khennos in Phot., *Bibl.* 190 p.148a38 (Herakles son of Zeus and Hera).

75 But cf. Diod. Sicul. 4.9.6.

76 On Iphikles, see pseudo-Apollodoros 2.4.8; Hesiod, *Aspis* 48ff.; Pindar, *Pyth.* 9.84ff.; *Nem.* 1.35-36.

77 Ptolem. Khennos in Phot., *Bibl.* 190 p.148a38 (*Nov. Hist.* 3 [Westermann, *Mythogr.* p.186]). Cf. L. R. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults* 96-97 and 100.

78 Cf. Homer, *Iliad* 19.96-99.

79 Pausanias 9.11.3 (Historis); Nikandros in Antoninus Liberalis, *Metam.* 29 (Galinthias).

80 *FGrHist* 3F69a, from pseudo-Apollodoros 2.4.8; 3F69b, from *Schol.* Pindar, *Nem.* 1.65.

81 Pseudo-Apollodoros 2.4.8; Diod. Sicul. 4.10.1; Hyginus, *Fab.* 30; Pausanias 1.24.2; Pindar, *Nem.* 1.33ff.; Plautus, *Amphitruo* 1123ff.; Theokritos 24; Vergil, *Aeneid* 8.288f.

82 B. V. Head, *BMC Central Greece* 72.37-40; 77.89; 78.90; 79.101-103.
Other motifs on Theban coins:
Herakles with club and bow (and arrow): 70.29; 71.30-35;
Herakles and tripod: 71.36;
Head of Herakles bearded: 73.48-49; 89.212-214;
Head of young Herakles: 84.169-88.206; possibly 39.66-71.
Cf. F. W. Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner, (*Ancient Coins Illustrating Lost Masterpieces of Greek Art*) *A Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias* (Chicago 1964) 111f.
I will not go into the question of the "Boiotian Shield".

83 Pausanias 9.10.4; *IG* 14.1293b (*FGrHist* 40F1b).

84 Linos: Pausanias 9.29.9.

85 Pseudo-Apollodoros 2.4.12; Diod. Sicul. 4.10.1; *IG* 14.1293b (*FGrHist* 40F1b); Pindar, fr. 291 Snell; *Schol.* Pindar *Olymp.* 6.115; Sextus Empiricus 398f. Bekker.

86 Pseudo-Apollodoros 2.4.11-12; 2.6.1; Diod. Sicul. 4.10.6-7; 4.11.1f; 4.31; Euripides, *Herakles* 13ff.; 967ff.; 995ff.; Homer, *Odyssey* 11.269-270; Hyginus, *Fab.* 31; 32; Moschos 4.13ff.; Nik. Damask., *FHG* 3.369F20; Panyassis, fr. 22K; Pausanias 9.11.2; 9.11.7; Pindar, *Isthm.* 4.63ff.; *Schol.* Homer, *Odyssey* 11.269; *Schol.* Pindar, *Isthm.* 4.104; Stesichoros, fr. 230 (53) Page; Tzetzes, *Chil.* 2.214ff.; 2.412-435; *Schol.* Lykophron, *Alexandra* 38; 48; 663.

87 *Herakles passim*, esp. 13ff.; 152-153; 181-182; 359ff.

88 Pseudo-Apollodoros 2.6.1; Diod. Sicul. 4.31; Tzetzes, *Chil.* 2.412-435.

89 E.g. pseudo-Apollodoros 2.4.12, and see note 86.

90 *Isthm.* 4.67ff., and cf. *Schol.* to *Isthm.* 4.104a.

91 *Isthm.* 4.67ff.

92 Arrian 1.8.3-4; Pausanias 9.11; 9.40.3; and perhaps Xenophon, *Hellenika* 5.2.25.
On the site, see A. D. Keramópoullos, *ADelt* 3 (1917) 324ff.; 488.

93 9.12.3f.; 9.16.5.

94 The detailed description given by Pausanias suggests a more elaborate structure than the "four-column Heracleion" depicted on vases and reliefs: see S. Woodford, *Studies Presented to George M. A. Hanfmann* 213-214 with bibliography.

95 We must be careful not to assume too readily that the location of a sanctuary outside the Kadmeia automatically makes it later rather than earlier in date (this argument is used by Wilamowitz, *Euripides Herakles* 2.35, in support of the view that Herakles was an outsider at Thebes). The Ismenion, to be sure, shows no signs of continuous use as a sanctuary until the eighth century BC. But there are other places, notably the Ampheion and the hill at *Kastélli*, also outside the Kadmeia, which were prehistoric in origin and may quite well have been places of worship at a very early date. Only the eventual discovery of the site and ruins of the Herakleion will tell how far back its use went and even then, we will probably still know very little of its use as a sanctuary.

96 Literary sources:
Didymos in *Schol.* Pindar, *Nem.* 4.32; Isokrates, *Philippos* 32; Nikandros in Antoninus Liberalis, *Metam.* 29; Pindar, *Olymp.* 9.98-99; (13.106-107); *Pyth.* 9.79ff.; *Nem.* 4.19-24; *Isthm.* 1.52-57; 4.67ff.; fr. 169.47ff. Snell; Plutarch, *De Genio Socratis* 18 (587D); 34 (598D-E); Polemon, *FHG* 3.123F26; *P. Oxy.* 26.2451 fr. 1 col. ii.24ff.; *Schol.* Pindar, *Olymp.* 7.153e; 9.148d; 1481; (*Pyth.* 9.156b); *Isthm* 1.11c; 79b; 104b; 114a; 114b.
Inscriptions:
Herakleia: *FD* 3.1.551; 3.6.143; Heberdey, *Reisen in Kilikien* 8.17; *Hesperia* 4 (1935) 81.38; *IDelos* 1957; 2552; *IG* 2^2.971; 3154; 3158; 3162; 3169/70; *IG* 7.48; 49; (1765); 1857; 2532; (2540); (*IG* 11.4.1061); L. Robert, *Hellenica* 13 (1965) 148-149; (*SEG* 4.178 i.e. 14.719); *SEG* 11.338; 14.421; 22.350;
Herakleia Olympia: *SEG* 14.422;
Dionyseia Herakleia: *Ephesos* 2.71;
Dionyseia Herakleia Antoneineia: L. Robert, *Opera Minora Selecta* (Amsterdam 1969) 1.262 note 4.7.

Cf. A. D. Keramópoullos, *ADelt* 3 (1917) 330; M. P. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste* 446f.; L. Robert, *Opera Minora Selecta* 1.261ff. (*BCH* 59 [1935] 193ff.); Wilamowitz, *Euripides Herakles* 2.81ff.

97 See note 96 for sources. It is possible that at a later date the locale of the Herakleia was moved to the area north-east of the Kadmeia where Pausanias 9.23.1-2 places a gymnasion of Iolaos, a stadion, the herôon of Iolaos, and a hippodrome.

98 Diod. Sicul. 15.53.4; Kallisthenes, *FGrHist* 124F22a, from Cicero, *De Div.* 1.74-76; Polyainos 2.3.8; Xenophon, *Hellenika* 6.4.7.

99 Cf. Pindar, *Isthm.* 4.69, speaking of Herakles' and Megara's sons as χαλκοαρᾶν ὁκτὼ δανόντων, and see A. Schachter, *Teiresias Supplement* 1 (1972) 21f.

100 Polyainos 2.3.8.

101 *Hellenika* 6.4.7.

102 Inscriptions: *IG* 7.2480; possibly Pausanias 10.7.6;
Statue (herm in the shape of Herakles): Kh. Karoúzos, Τὸ Μουσεῖο τῆς Θήβας 28.49 (*ADelt* 3 [1917] 409 note 1; I. Threpsiádhes, *AE* [1963] *AX* 23.49);
Reliefs with Herakles: *IG* 7.2483; F. Salviat, *BCH* 89 (1965) 311 n. 2 and fig. 2 on p. 312; W. Schild-Xenidou, *Boiotische Grab- und Weihreliefs archaischer und klassischer Zeit* 48 no. 53 (Kh. Karoúzos, Τὸ Μουσεῖο τῆς Θήβας 26.48; *ADelt* 3 [1917] 409 note 1; 2 [1916] 250 and fig. 8; *AM* 3 [1878] 398.180; *IG* 7.2461; cf. L. R. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults* 152; and Wilamowitz, *Glaube der Hellenen* 1.127 note 4, who incorrectly attributes this relief to the sanctuary of Herakles Kharops near Koroneia).
Plutarch, *De Herodoti Malignitate* 31 (865F) cites a vision appearing in a dream at the Herakleion, which was normally out of bounds for sleeping in.
Cf. too N. G. Pappadhákis, *ADelt* 2 (1916) 252 n. 1.

103 *Isthm.* 4.57-58. Cf. C. M. Bowra, *Pindar* (Oxford, 1964) 47-48 and 286, who gives a different explanation (48: "The only possible conclusion is that Pindar has defied tradition in his desire to please his Theban patron".) This does not of course mean that Pindar may not have selected Herakles as his mythological paradigm precisely *because* the Boiotian/Theban Herakles was short.

104 F. 5le Snell. On Herakles as a healer, cf. L. R. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults* 102.

105 *SEG* 23.302c.i; c.ii.

106 Cf. N. G. Pappadhákis, *ADelt* 2 (1916) 256 n. 1, on the geographical distribution of theophoric names derived from Kharops.

107 On Herakles in Boiotia, see also:
L. R. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults* 171;
N. G. Pappadhákis, *ADelt* 2 (1916) 243ff., esp. 252;
F. Salviat, *BCH* 89 (1965) 311ff.

108 Compare the coins on which Herakles appears beardless: above, note 82. And cf. L. R. Farnell, *The Works of Pindar* 1.159 (on *Nem.* 1): "What is more remarkable is that the only incident in the life of Herakles which is dealt with in great detail is the story of him as a wonder-baby strangling the snakes; . . . There is no allusion in clear terms to any other single exploit except his participation in the great battle between the gods and the giants, which brought victory to the gods and won for the hero admission to Olympus and Hebe for his bride"; and on p. 161: "We may believe it (i.e. the killing of the snakes by the infant Herakles) to be genuine Theban folklore".

109 We might perhaps think of Megara as a possible mythical counterpart.

110 *Phoenix* 21 (1967) 4-7 and 10.

111 The Theban Herakles was, of course, warlike, as befitted the patron of an ambitious city. Cf. L. R. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults* 146 and F. Salviat, *BCH* 89 (1965) 311ff. But we must always beware of equating Thebes with Boiotia.

112 Pausanias 9.22.1-2.

113 Cf. also L. R. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults* 131-132, on "Herakleia Pontike", reputedly founded by Megarians, and Boiotians from Tanagra.

12. TANAGRAN MYTHOLOGY: A LOCALIZED SYSTEM

by Duane W. Roller

The body of mythological information which concerns Tanagra provides an opportunity to observe the myths of a city which lay outside the major epic cycle of Greece; moreover, in its mythology Tanagra preserved rare remnants of the localized mythological structure that once was common in the Greek world. A number of the stories, especially those concerning Hermes, are in direct contradiction with the versions popularized in the Homeric corpus. The body of mythology is not large, and is extant through diverse and frequently late sources. Yet the greatest amount of material comes from Boiotian sources, especially Plutarch, and from Tanagra's only literary figure, the poetess Korinna.

A large portion of the Tanagran mythology relates to Tanagra's seeming lack of participation in the Trojan War. Ancient scholars were intrigued by Tanagra's failure to appear in the Homeric poems. The question is tantalizing, given the extreme detail of the Boiotian section of the Homeric Catalogue of Ships, but its explanation may simply be that Tanagra did not exist in the Bronze Age. Tanagra's role in the Mycenaean period might be clarified if there were definitive Mycenaean remains at the site of the city, but at present none is visible.[1] The painted larnakes excavated in recent years[2] come from some distance away near the modern village now called *Tanágra* (formerly *Brátsi*), and probably should not be linked specifically with any ancestor of the Classical or Hellenistic city. There is no evidence that Tanagra was a large city in Mycenaean times: in fact, the city was distinctly excluded from the major events of Bronze Age Greece. Mycenaean Boiotia contained a large number of small towns, as indicated by the Homeric Catalogue: the location of many of these towns remains unknown. Eastern Boiotia was particularly densely inhabited, but there is no evidence of one major dominant town. Instead there were cities such as Graia, Mykalessos, Hyria, and Aulis, whose location may have been determined, and others such as Stephon and Poimandria--if Poimandria is not to be equated precisely with Tanagra[3]--whose location has not even been suggested. Thus it is unlikely that the *Brátsi* larnakes, found several kilometres from Classical Tanagra, belonged to a Mycenaean ancestor of that particular city.

Because Tanagra did not play a part in the major events of the Mycenaean period, ancient scholars taxed their imagination to discover the reason. The various attempts to explain the absence of Tanagra are probably not early, but buried within these explanations is much interesting and ancient material. Basically, there were two possible answers to the question of why did the Tanagrans fail to take part in the Trojan war. The first is that Tanagra did indeed participate in the great war, but that it was known as Graia rather than as Tanagra. The reference is to *Iliad* 2.498, in the Boiotian Catalogue:

θέσπειαν Γραΐάν τε καὶ εὐρύχορον Μυκαλησσόν.

The variant spelling of Tanagra as Tanagraia,[4] and the use of the term Tanagraia by Strabo and others,[5] have also been used in support of this argument. The name Graia also existed in topographical features of the fourth century BC., especially the Γραὸς στῆθος mentioned by Xenophon.[6] The location of this natural feature has as yet eluded all seekers. Other possible explanations, such as that Graia was the name given to the eponymous nymph Tanagra in her old age,[7] indicate little more than the variety of hypothetical solutions to this problem that were circulating in antiquity. Moreover, there is an equally strong tradition, followed by Aristotle[8] and Strabo,[9] and recently favored by some modern commentators,[10] that Graia was Oropos.[11]

The more interesting of the two types of explanation for the Tanagrans' failure to go to Troy is that there were special circumstances which prevented their joining the expedition, or that the Tanagrans refused outright to go. This situation was alluded to by Plutarch when he answered the question "Διὰ τί Ταναγραίοις πρὸ τῆς πόλεώς ἐστιν Ἀχίλλειον, τόπος οὕτω προσαγορευόμενος,"[12] Plutarch did not cite a source for his material, but the other *Greek Question* dealing with Tanagran matters cited *On the Shrines of Heroes* by a certain Diokles who may have been the Diokles of Peparethos who wrote a Roman history,[13] and Myrtis of Anthedon, traditionally Pindar's and Korinna's teacher.[14] Thus it is likely that Plutarch had access to Boiotian material of great antiquity.

Plutarch answered the question concerning the Akhilleion by telling that a certain Poimandros had been besieged by the Akhaian forces at a place called Stephon. Poimandros retreated from Stephon to a fortification called Poimandria. An argument, however, broke out between Poimandros and the architect of the fortification; Poimandros in his anger threw a stone at the architect but missed and killed his own son Leukippos. Legal ritual then made it necessary for Poimandros to leave Boiotia; this, however, he could not do because of the Akhaian siege. Thus he sent his other son, Ephippos, to Akhilles to request that Poimandros be allowed to pass. Akhilles complied, and Poimandros, after he had been cleansed of the murder, honoured Akhilles with a temenos.

Much of this explanation deals with early material, although the element of Tanagran refusal to go to Troy and the subsequent siege by the Akhaians is quite secondary, and may indicate no more than the thrust of scholarship in Plutarch's day. Yet the material relating to Poimandros and the death of his son--a not uncommon type of story-- is in many ways irrelevant to and probably originally separate from the material relating to the cult of Akhilles. Moreover the Akhaian preparation for the war is equally irrelevant to the other elements, both to the Poimandros incident and to the cult of Akhilles: of all the Akhaians none but Akhilles is mentioned. Thus there are three quite separate elements: Poimandros, Akhilles, and the Akhaian preparation for Troy. Presumably material relating to a cult of Akhilles was joined at some late date to independent material about the early geneological history of Tanagra, and as a linkage between the two was used the topical problem (in Plutarch's day) of Tanagran non-participation in the Trojan War. Yet Plutarch provided essentially no information about Akhilles' role in Tanagran matters, other than his incident contact with Poimandros after the killing.[15]

Poimandros can also be connected rather obscurely to Akhilles through genealogy: Poimandros was a great-great-uncle of Akhilles, since Poimandros' wife Tanagra was the sister of Akhilles' great-grandmother Aigina.[16] This is but one example of the chronological absurdities that abound in the early Tanagran genealogies. Poimandros was a great-great-grandson of Apollo,[17] who Pindar said was born in Tanagra,[18] and a great-great-grandson of Poseidon.[19] Poimandros married Tanagra, one of the numerous daughters of Asopos.[20] A strong sense of agricultural cult dominates these genealogies: Poimandros is "the shepherd," one son Ephippos is "the rider of horses," another son Leukippos is "the driver of horses." Tanagra herself may be a compound of τείνω and ἀγρός, or "the spread-out fields."[21]

The introduction of Akhilles into Tanagran cult may represent influence from Asia Minor. Although Akhilles is essentially Greek in origin, the wide spread of his cult into Asian and Pontic areas may have meant that parts of the Greek world first became acquainted with him from Asian sources.[22] Another Asian hero/god who entered Greece through Boiotia and also appears in Tanagran myth is Dionysos: he rescued the Tanagran women, who were purifying themselves in the ocean, from a sea monster, either by defeating him in a fight, or by getting him drunk.[23] In the temple of Dionysos at Tanagra, which is probably to be equated with the foundations at the highest point of the Tanagran city walls,[24] was an image of the god in Parian marble sculpted by Kalamis.[25] Apollo, another possibly Asian god,[26] was said by Pindar to have been born in Tanagra.[27] Boiotian contact with Asia was frequent, and often of fundamental importance to the development of Greek culture, as the story of Kadmos reveals. Specific Tanagran contact with Asia, especially with the Pontic area, is at least as old as her participation in the colonization of Herakleia Pontike in the mid-sixth century BC.;[28] this may have provided access to these Asian gods and cults.

Plutarch dealt with another aspect of Tanagran myth when he answered the question "Τίς Εὔνοστος ἥρως ἐν Ταν́άγρᾳ . . . ἐστίν;"[29] According to Plutarch, Eunostos was the son of Elieus and Skias. He had a reputation for modesty and austerity, and when a certain Okhne fell in love with him, he refused her attempts to seduce him. She went to her brothers, Orkhemos, Leon, and Boukelos, and insisted that they kill Eunostos, maintaining that he had seduced her. The brothers complied, but Orkhne repented and told the truth to Elieus, Eunostos' father, and the brothers went into exile; Okhne threw herself over a cliff.

Plutarch's explicit mention of Myrtis and Diokles as sources for this tale indicates that Boiotian material of at least the sixth century BC. was used. The story is not a profound one, but it provides a rare glimpse of the local

agricultural deities: Eunostos, "the good harvest," Okhne, "the wild pear," Boukolos, "the cowherd," Elieus, "of the marshes," and Skias, "of the shadows." The Attic deme of Eunostidai may represent the same localized name in Attike, which theoretically begins at the Asopos only a few hundred metres from Tanagra.[30]

Tanagra's association with agriculture was well known throughout antiquity. The bucolic image was confirmed in the mid-third century BC by Herakleides the Critic, who described Tanagra as an attractive city of prosperous yet simple people, who were noted for their generosity and friendliness. Tanagra was the most crime-free city in Boiotia, because the inhabitants were hard-working people, free of sneakiness and avarice. Herakleides emphasized their bucolic nature ("πάντες γεωργοί, οὐκ ἐργάται") and their industrious ways.[31]

Thus as late as the Hellenistic period, and probably to the end of antiquity, the citizens of Tanagra had a commitment to preserving Tanagra's image of a city of simple farmers free from the evils of the industrialized world. This commitment would have caused the Tanagrans to favour preservation of the lesser agricultural deities that had largely been forgotten elsewhere in the Greek world. To the Tanagrans, functional spirits such as Eunostos and Okhne were as important and relevant as the Olympic pantheon.

A story of similar nature, although dealing with geographical rather than bucolic spirits, is Korinna's singing contest between Kithairon and Helikon which was judged by Hermes.[32] As Tanagra's only literary figure, Korinna, Myrtis' pupil, occupied a special place of honour among her citizens; her grave was there, and a painting showing her defeating Pindar was in the gymnasion.[33] The existence of a local poetess, strongly linked with the city's traditions, would have helped to preserve the local myths.

The choice of Hermes as arbiter for the singing contest was no coincidence: he was the most important god in Tanagra. He was mentioned several times by Korinna: in addition to judging the singing contest, he boxed with Ares,[34] possibly for possession of the nymph Tanagra, and married either Tanagra or one of her sisters, the daughters of Asopos.[35] The Tanagrans believed that Hermes was born locally (although the Thebans believed that he was born in Thebes), and in Pausanias' day the remnants of the tree under which he was raised were still visible in the Tanagran sanctuary of Hermes *Promachos*.[36] Hermes' services to the Tanagrans were notable: he led the youths of Tanagra into victorious battle against the Eretrians (thus the sanctuary of Hermes *Promachos*), and once averted a plague by carrying a ram around the city walls (commemorated in the sanctuary of Hermes *Kriophoros*). Kalamis sculpted a statue of Hermes carrying the ram, which recalls the use of the same theme on the well-known Archaic statue from the Athenian akropolis. The motif is ancient and may represent the preservation of a stage in the metamorphosis of bestial gods into anthropomorphic gods.[37] In memory of the event the most handsome youth of the city carried a lamb around the city walls at the time of the yearly festival of Hermes. Copies of Kalamis' statue appear on Tanagran coins of Roman date.[38]

The great hunter Orion has extensive Boiotian connections, and occasionally he was linked specifically with Tanagra. Most sources, possibly including Korinna,[39] said he was of Tanagran origin; as late as the time of Nonnos he was given a Tanagran sword.[40] His father Hyrieus was the eponymous hero of nearby Hyria,[41] usually a Tanagran possession.[42] But the material relating Orion specifically to Tanagra remains vague and often late; Homer and Hesiod did not record his place of origin. Orion's father Hyrieus was involved with a daughter of Atlas;[43] in Tanagra there was a place called Polos where Atlas meditated, presumably above the city on Mt. Kerykios.[44]

There is a repeated element in Tanagran mythology that indicates the intense fear the Tanagrans felt of attack by sea. This fear was by no means groundless, as events of the fifth and fourth century BC showed. Tanagra's seaport, Delion, and nearby Aulis, which consistently belonged to Tanagra, were frequently the landing points for armies attacking Tanagra in particular and Boiotia in general. The mythology reveals a similar situation, from as early as the time that the Akhaian fleet and Akhilles gathered at Aulis and also attacked the Tanagrans. At some early date Tanagra also had a war with Eretria, just across the Euripos, in which Hermes' timely assistance aided the Tanagrans. An attack from the sea that was somewhat more beneficial was the arrival of Dionysos; wine production was an important element of the Tanagran economy (her wine was reputed to be the best in Boiotia[45]), a situation which may have been preserved in the local place name Oinophyta, scene of the famous battle in the middle of the fifth century BC, whose location is unknown.[46]

Thus it is perhaps not astonishing that Tanagra's principal tourist attraction should be a sea monster. The triton of Tanagra was proverbial from at least the time of Ephoros;[47] it appeared on Tanagrans coins of the Roman period,[48] and was the subject of a Tanagra figurine.[49] The incident in which the triton figured concerns Dionysos, who rescued the women of Tanagra from the monster; it seems to represent the coming of the new foreign god who vanquished the old local god. Alternatively there may be the less allegorical explanation that Dionysos ended some trans-oceanic military threat; possibly the invading troops found the excellent Tanagran wine too much to their liking. A statue of a headless triton, possibly by Kalamis, was seen by Pausanias in the temple of Dionysos;[50] the statue was headless because the triton had been killed by being beheaded. In the early first century AD Demostratos saw a pickled or mummified triton of extreme antiquity at Tanagra;[51] thus the fearful monster of the past had, in the hands of some ingenious tourist promoter, been turned into an economic asset. Those who came to sample Boiotia's best wine could also view this relic of Tanagra's mythological past.

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NOTES

1 When I visited Tanagra in 1970 and 1971, there were no Mycenaean sherds visible. Yet John M. Fossey told me that visiting the site a few years earlier he found some Mycenaean sherds. The site lies on the steep slope of Mt. Kerykios: natural alluviation, with assistance from the Athenian aqueduct construction, is steadily covering the site.

2 Theódhoros Spyrópoulos, "Excavations in the Mycenaean Cemetery of Tanagra in Boeotia", *AAA* 3 (1970) 184-197.

3 The equation seems to be assumed by Plutarch (*Greek Questions* 37) and was explicitly stated by Tzetzes (*Schol.* Lykophron *Alexandra* 326).

4 Such as in the *Souda*, s.v. "Ταναγραία".

5 Strabo 404. The spelling "Tanagraia" is hardly a strong argument; it would have been a natural temptation to adjust the spelling of Tanagra in such a way.

6 Xenophon, *Hellenika* 5.4.50.

7 Pausanias 9.20.1-2.

8 Cited by Stephanos of Byzantion (*s.v.* "Ὠρωπός").

9 Strabo 404.

10 R. Hope Simpson and J. F. Lazenby, *The Catalogue of the Ships in Homer's 'Iliad'* (Oxford, 1970) 22.

11 Graia has recently been equated with the mound of *Dhrámesi*, on the coast near Tanagra, where pottery from Neolithic through Late Helladic IIIB has been found. This site had previously been suggested as Hyria. The argument that it is Graia, however, ignores one relevant point: the use of the name Γραῖα in topographical features of the fourth century BC. It is unlikely that the Γραὸς σῆθος was a classical invention to provide a connection with the heroic past: far more ordinary and standard connections could have been devised. Xenophon's implication was that the Old Woman's Breast was between Tanagra and Thebes, or some distance away from *Dhrámesi*. See John M. Fossey, "The Identification of Graia," *Euphrosyne* n.s. 4 (1970) 3-22.

12 Plutarch, *Greek Questions* 37.

13 See W. R. Halliday, *The Greek Questions of Plutarch* (Oxford, 1928) 174.

14 *Souda*, "Κόριννα," "Πίνδαρος."

15 It is tempting to identify the Akhilleion with the wall foundations, probably of the early fourth century BC, which are to be found just outside the gate of Tanagra on the road to Delion, the city's seaport on the coast near Aulis.

16 Pausanias 9.20.2.

17 Pausanias 9.20.1.

18 Pindar, fragment 298.

19 Pausanias 9.20.1.

20 Pausanias 9.20.1.

21 Lorenz Grasberger, *Studien zu den griechischen Ortsnamen* (Würzburg, 1888) 253.

22 L. R. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality* (Oxford, 1921) 285-289.

23 Pausanias 9.20.4-5.

24 J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece* 2 (New York, 1965) 5.78-79.

25 Pausanias 9.20.4.

26 See H. J. Rose and C. M. Robertson in *Oxford Classical Dictionary* 2 (second edition, Oxford, 1970) 82 *s.v.* "Apollo", for relevant bibliography.

27 Pindar, fragment 298.

28 Pausanias 5.26.7; see also W. Ruge in *RE* 15 (1912) 433-434 *s.v.* "Herakleia" (19) also Wolfram Hoepfner, *Herakleia Pontika-Eregli* (Wien, 1966) 2.

29 Plutarch, *Greek Questions* 40.

30 Yet all attempts to locate Eunostidai in the area of Attike closest to Tanagra have met with failure.

31 Herakleides 1.8-10.

32 See D. L. Page, *Corinna* (London, 1963) 19-21.

33 The Tanagra gymnasium may be the prominent foundations located in the northern part of the city and dating from the fourth century BC.

34 Korinna frag. 19 Page (p. 37).

35 Page, *Corinna*, 22-24.

36 Pausanias 9.22.

37 Frazer, *Pausanias*, 5.89.

38 Barclay V. Head, *On the Chronological Sequence of the Coins of Boeotia* (London, 1881) 98.

39 See the scholiast on Nikandros, *Theriaka* 15.

40 Nonnos, *Dionysiaka* 1.235.

41 Strabo 403.

42 Strabo 403.

43 Euphorion, frag. 101.

44 Pausanias 9.20.3.

45 Herakleides 1.8.

46 The name of Oinophyta may be preserved in the modern railway junction of *Oinói*, three kilometers from Tanagra.

47 Ephoros, *FGrHist* 70F225.

48 Frazer, *Pausanias*, 5.83.

49 Léon Heuzey, *Catalogue des figurines antiques de terre cuite du Musée du Louvre* (Paris, 1883) 13.

50 Pausanias 9.20.4.

51 Aelianus, *On Animals* 13.21.

13. JOCASTA AND MOSES' MOTHER JOCHEBED

by Saul Levin

The mother of Oedipus is Ἰοκάστη according to Sophocles (*O.T.* 1053, etc.) and most other Greek authors; but in the *Odyssey* (11.271) she is Ἐπικάστη. Discrepancies between the sources as to the name of a mythical person are numerous, and a particular discrepancy is often easy to account for. But this one is difficult. Ἰοκάστη, unlike Ἐπικάστη and most Greek names, lacks a clear etymology. By comparing the name of Moses' mother, יוֹכֶבֶד //yōwkéḇeḏ// in Hebrew (Ex. 6:20, Num. 26:59), a compound that begins with the name of the God of Israel in the usual abbreviated form, I will show that Ἰοκάστη is probably a Greek adaptation of the Semitic name. Furthermore, what is told about both women is not only unhappy, but portentously unhappy along somewhat similar lines.

(a) *Greek etymologies of* Ἐπικάστη *and* Ἰοκάστη

The Homeric Ἐπικάστη is a quite normal Greek formation. It can be understood as an adjective 'excellent,' although we do not find it used as an adjective; for the cognate verb is rare in association with ἐπί: πάντας ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους ἐκέκαστο / ὄλβῳ τε πλούτῳ τε 'He excelled all men in wealth and riches' (*Il.* 24.535-536); Ἑρμείας, ὃς ἐπὶ φρεσὶ πευκαλίμῃσι κέκασται 'Hermes, who excels with his sharp wits' (20.35). The prefix ἐπι- in Ἐπικάστη is utterly unrelated to ἰο- . The latter, in the non-Homeric form Ἰοκάστη, is first attested in Attic poetry of the fifth century.[1] But Friedrich Wieseler showed, over a hundred years ago, that anomalous as Ἰοκάστη is, it must be authentic and of remote origin.[2]

He cited the opinion of F. G. Welcker that the Ἰο- part refers to Ἰώ, which -- according to the *Suda* (*Lexicographi Graeci* 1.2.646.23-24 Adler) -- was an appellation of the moon in the city of Argos.[3] Ἰώ is better known in mythology as a maiden of Argos, daughter of the river-god Inachus and beloved of Zeus; and since she was made to wander over land and sea in a kind of circle, this maiden Io can fairly be equated with the moon-goddess. The compound name Ἰοκάστη would accordingly be theophoric. Besides, Euripides' chorus of Phoenician women visiting Thebes (828-829) celebrates Io as follows:

'Ιώ θ' ἁ κερόεσσα προμάτωρ

Καδμείων βασιλήας ἐγείνατο

'and Io the horned ancestress engendered the kings of the Cadmeans.' But as Wieseler pointed out, the vowel ι is short at the beginning of 'Ιοκάστη but long in 'Ιώ. This weakens Welcker's etymology, if it does not utterly invalidate it.

Wieseler argued that the Attic authors did not adhere to the Homeric name 'Επικάστη because they had local -- i.e., Theban -- sources of the myth that supplied them with 'Ιοκάστη. The data we miss the most are attestations in epic or Boeotian dialect early enough to show whether or not the name began with the consonant ϝ-.[4] If it did, that would favor the interpretation of the first half as 'violet,' and the compound could then signify 'surpassing the violet.'[5] The flower is a paragon of dark-haired or dark-eyed beauty in Pindar (*Isth.* 7.23, fr. 313 Bowra). Lacking proof of the presence or absence of the ϝ- in this woman's name, I do not reject the etymology just sketched, but I would entertain alternatives.

The most attractive is the comparison with the Hebrew //yoʷkébəd//, which means 'The-LORD-[is-] Glorious' -- insofar as one can judge, given the unclear internal syntax of this compound name. The sounds correspond closely. Also the fame associated with the names //yoʷkébəd// and 'Ιοκάστη has much in common.

(b) *The phonetics of* //yoʷkébəd// : 'Ιοκάστη

Let's first take those sounds which do not match. The Greek feminine suffix -η has no counterpart in //yoʷkébəd//, as names of this sort are normally without a feminine marker in Hebrew and other Semitic languages. An interesting exception is יְהוֹשַׁבְעַ //yəhoʷšəbaʿ//, a woman in II Kings 11:2 whose name probably signifies 'The-LORD-[is-an-] Oath' or 'The-LORD-[is-] Seven' -- i.e., you pronounce his name seven times, and that makes an oath; she recurs in II Chronicles 22:11 as יְהוֹשַׁבְעַת //yəhoʷšabʿát//, with a feminine suffix //-át// untypical of Hebrew and more likely to be Phoenician.[6] She lived in Jerusalem around 800 B.C.; but at a much earlier period the wife of Aaron, Moses' brother, had the equivalent name אֱלִישֶׁבַע //ʾĕliʸšébaʿ// 'My-God-[is-an-] Oath' or 'My-God-[is-] Seven' (Ex. 6:23), and here the Septuagint reads ΕΛΙΣΑΒΕΘ.[7] So the Greek feminine suffix in 'Ιοκάστη is not utterly without a Semitic parallel. But even if it were, it would be no more a problem than the same suffix in 'Αστάρτη, the Hellenistic rendering of the Phoenician goddess who is עַשְׁתֹּרֶת //ʿaštóret// in the Hebrew Scriptures (I Kings 11:5[6], etc.).

The vowels of the last two syllables of //yoʷkébəd// -- accented //é//, then unaccented //ə// -- are no obstacle to the equation with 'Ιοκάστη. They belong only to one tradition of the ancient Hebrew language, albeit the fullest and best known one, that of the punctators of Tiberias. The Septuagint has ΙΩΧΑΒΕΔ, which agrees better with the accented vowel of 'Ιοκάστη. Origen's transcription of the Hebrew text into Greek letters, which is well preserved only in parts of the book of Psalms, regularly shows no vowel between the last two consonants in nouns of the same

type as //kébəd// ; e.g., γαβρ for גֶּבֶר //gébər// 'man' (Ps. 89:49).[8] So if we had Origen's transcription of Exodus and Numbers, we would expect to find *ΙΩΧΑΒΔ.

The similarity of 'Ιοκάστη to the proposed Semitic source is least exact in the consonant group -στ-, but this is not insuperable. First, the Semitic root //K-B-D// that means 'heavy, weighty,' and by extension 'glorious,' displays one noteworthy fluctuation; in Akkadian the last consonant is //ṯ// instead of //d//; e.g., the Assyrian name //adad-kabit// '[the god] Adad-Is-Glorious.'[9] The Akkadian //ṯ// corresponds neatly to the -τ- in 'Ιοκάστη; but it remains to clarify the disparity between -σ- and the Semitic labial consonant. If that labial, around 1000 B.C., was already fricativated to [b̄] after a vowel, as it is according to several later traditions of Hebrew and Aramaic, the gap between that and the Greek -σ- is not so great. The Greek language apparently had no other fricative. A more decisive point is that in another borrowing (which is quite unmistakable) a sibilant, on the Semitic side this time, is represented by a labial plosive in Greek. There was a clan of immigrants to Athens known as Γεφυραῖοι, whom Herodotus -- contrary to their own account -- determined to be originally Phoenician (5.55-61). The old homeland that corresponds to Herodotus' opinion can be no other than גְּשׁוּר //gəšúʷr//, the little kingdom along the upper Jordan that survived the Israelite invasion (Joshua 13:13, II Sam. 3:3, etc.). For the geographical term, both in Greek and in Semitic, is manifestly related to the word for 'bridge,' γέφῡρα in the *Iliad* (5.88-89, etc.) and thereafter, גֶּשֶׁר //géšer// in Hebrew (attested only in post-Biblical texts).[10] So the surprising correspondence of -σ- in 'Ιοκάστη to //b̄// in //yoʷkébəd// can be upheld.

Alternatively it is possible that the Semitic name was first borrowed as *'Ιοκάπτη, and remodeled to 'Ιοκάστη through folk-etymology to express the Greek root that means 'excel, surpass,' as appropriate to a queen and the mother of a hero. That the attested name 'Ιοκάστη was of Semitic origin is more than possible; it is likely, in view of the traditions of Thebes.

Those scholars in the last hundred years who with perverse ingenuity and erudition tried to discredit the myth of Κάδμος the Phoenician, and even the transparent Semitic etymology of his name, were amply refuted when Akkadian inscriptions were unearthed in 1963 at Thebes upon cylinder-seals of lapis lazuli.[11] It does not prove the presence of Phoenicians in the strict sense, as Akkadian is a different Semitic language, centered in Mesopotamia but used internationally by many peoples, both Semitic and non-Semitic, in the second millennium B.C. and part of the first millennium. Whoever they were in Thebes that had use for Akkadian writing, the classical Greek myths about the Phoenician background of that city may well have subsumed them and quite a variety of Levantines under the name of Phoenicians. When we take Καδμεῖοι, a term for the Thebans in the *Iliad* (4.391, etc.) and discover that its Hebrew equivalent is בְּנֵי־קֶדֶם //bəneʸ-qédəm// 'sons of the East' (Gen. 29:1, etc.), we can see how the crucial Semitic root //Q-D-M// would fit Mesopotamians better than the western Semites, the Phoenicians of Sidon and Tyr.[12]

As the root means basically 'in front, before,' //qédəm// in Hebrew also occurs in the sense of 'former time'; thus מִימֵי־קֶדֶם //miṯʸmeʸ-qédəm// 'from days of yore' (Is. 23:7, etc.). //beneʸ-qédəm// too will sometimes bear the sense 'men of yore' rather than 'sons (or men) of the East'; in I Kings 5:10 it is indeed rendered ἀρχαίων ἀνθρώπων by the Septuagint.[13] That accords beautifully with the fame of "ancient Cadmus" -- Κάδμου τοῦ πάλαι (Sophocles, *O.T.* 1;

cf. Euripides, *Phoen.* 934).[14] Furthermore the Καδμεία (Xenophon, *Hell.* 5.2.29, etc.) was the old city of Thebes, in contrast to the lower areas that were settled later.

(c) *The unhappy mother*

The phonetics of // yoʷkébed // and 'Ιοκάστη are only an underpinning for the mythical content, the motifs that the two women share. The Bible does not celebrate or dwell upon the sorrows of Moses' mother; but neither does it conceal the data.

The first point is incestuous marriage to a younger man. Here are really three features: the incest, the relative age of the man and woman, and the circumstance that it was no brief passion but a lasting marriage which produced children of both sexes. I will show later that even the discrepancy as to the number of children -- three in the Pentateuch, four in the Greek tragedies -- can be reconciled. Something irreconcilable with the latter is what Homer says about 'Επικάστη, that after the unknowing marriage to Oedipus the gods forthwith (ἄφαρ) revealed the kinship (*Od.* 11.274). This could not mean, after she had borne several children (cf. Pausanias 9 .5.10).[15]

I will assume everyone is familiar with the main details of Sophocles' *Oedipus;* but we are not used to associating anything unseemly with Moses' family. The tender narrative in the second chapter of Exodus, which leaves the parents of Moses unnamed, says only that "a man from the house [or family] of Levi went and took [i.e., married] Levi's daughter." But the subsequent genealogy (in 6:20) declares, "Amram took Jochebed his aunt to wife." There is no proof that the mores of that society already prohibited such a marriage (as stated in Lev. 18:14, 20:20); but neither is there evidence to the contrary.[16] Certainly the concealment of the infant for three months and then the abandonment of him on the river do not point to lawful cohabitation. The book of Exodus has this beautifully worked into the tribulations of the Israelites in Egypt; but even in a literary masterpiece some loose ends can be detected.[17]

Another peculiarity of Moses, suggestive of bastardy, is that he had no Israelite wife. The author of Exodus handles that neatly by telling how Moses had grown up the son of the Egyptian princess and had no sooner rejoined his Israelite kinsmen sojourning in Egypt than he killed an Egyptian in defense of one of them and had to flee to the Sinai wilderness, where he naturally married the daughter of his Midianite host. So far the author has obviated the suspicion that no Israelite family would have Moses for a son-in-law because of his parentage -- just as Oedipus at the end of Sophocles' play (1492-1502) forewarns his daughters that no one will marry them.[18] Not much later in Exodus (4:25) it comes out that Moses failed to circumcise his sons, which implies that he considered himself an outcast from Israel. Subsequently, while he was leader of the Israelites in the wilderness, his sister Miriam and his brother Aaron spoke against him "because of the Nubian (or Ethiopian) woman he had married" (Num. 12:1). Lengthy exegesis, both Jewish and Christian, has not untangled the Biblical reports of his marriage or marriages.[19]

For our present purpose, the essence is that even though Moses was recognised as a great man and a prophet of Israel, he suffered obloquy for a non-Israelite marriage. The very incongruity between his public standing and his humble domestic life may have been what prompted a malicious

inference of bastardy; or conversely, a taint upon his birth could have led people to find fault with what he did as an adult. In all this we are only trying to pick out the strands of his reputation as it was passed on to posterity -- the historical truth being far beyond our reach.

Related to the incest theme, at least in the case of Jochebed, is the motif of casting off the baby. For the closest parallel between Hebrew and Greek sources, we turn to a less well known version of the Oedipus myth in the scholia on Euripides' *Phoenician Women* (26,28). Contrary to the text of this play of Euripides, which agrees with the *locus classicus* of Sophocles, those scholia cite unnamed others who say that Oedipus was put into a box, cast out to sea, and so drifted ashore at Sicyon according to one scholium, or at Corinth according to the second. Hyginus, in his Latin summary (66), reports that "Periboea, the wife of king Polybus, picked [Oedipus] up as she was washing clothes by the sea." A vase found at Tanagra illustrates the poignant scene.[20] It is obviously similar to Pharaoh's daughter coming down to the Nile to wash and seeing the ark there (Ex. 2:5). Robert[21] agrees with his predecessor Pottier in inferring that the notices in the scholia as well as Hyginus and the vase were derived from Euripides' lost tragedy of Oedipus. I would add that certain passages in his *Hecuba* (609-613, 663 ff.) and *Hippolytus* (121-130) are in rather similar vein. Also Erich Bethe noted that the circumstance of the queen herself doing laundry on the shore is a mark of remote antiquity.[22]

A small but telling oddity in the episode of Periboea is the washing of clothes in salt water, which a woman would hardly do except to set a dye or if fresh water were scarce. Either the detail from Hyginus is due to a male narrator paying scant attention to domestic minutiae -- just like the ankles of the newborn Oedipus being pierced and tied to keep him from crawling away to safety (Sophocles, *O.T.* 717-719), as though anyone could have crawled so soon after birth;[23] or else Hyginus has preserved a defective adaptation of the old Semitic source, since the location in Greece made it necessary to get the baby moved from Thebes to a place on the south side of the gulf of Corinth. The exposure on Mount Cithaeron was more reasonable in light of topography, because Thebes is far inland, at least in comparison with most of Boeotia.

The papyrus ark which Moses' mother put down on the edge of the river is well suited to the Egyptian setting.[24] The sea-going box retrieved by Periboea is, if not the linear descendant of that ark, at any rate the same motif, somewhat ineptly transposed to Greece. The alternative version, that the infant Oedipus was deserted on a mountain, was not necessarily subsequent. It could have been quite independent, and originally unconnected with the name of the mother Jocasta. As Robert noted,[25] leaving an unwanted child in the wilderness is usual in folk-tales; setting him afloat in a box is not.

Still another motif is the loathsome issue from the womb -- an ugly but logical part of an incest myth. The oracle in Sophocles' play warned Oedipus that he "would produce a breed unbearable for the world to see" (791-792). Nothing else in the play takes this up or makes the children of Oedipus and Jocasta out to be unsightly in any literal sense; that would have been inconsistent with the prosperity of the family until the fatal time of revelation.[26] In the Bible the outcropping of this especially disagreeable motif is quite curious: Miriam is stricken with leprosy for speaking against Moses (Num. 12:1 ff.); and moreover Aaron appeals to him as follows: "Please don't let her be like the dead [i.e., the still-born] whose flesh was half-eaten when he came out of his

mother's womb." The Hebrew word אִמּוֹ // ʔimmów // 'his mother' is signaled by many Massoretic and rabbinical authorities as a תִּקּוּן סוֹפְרִים // tiqqúwn ʃowpəríym // or scribal correction for אִמֵּנוּ // ʔimménuw // 'our mother'; and from the Septuagint it further appears that בִּשְׂרוֹ // bəśorów // 'his flesh' may have replaced בִּשְׂרָהּ // bəśorɔ́h // 'her flesh' (τῶν σαρκῶν αὐτῆς).[27]

This is not the place to go into the phenomenon of the eighteen "scribal corrections" attested in the text of the Hebrew Scriptures. It suffices to point out the remains of a tradition in Numbers 12:12 that Jochebed had another child, hideously still-born, besides the two famous sons Aaron and Moses and the famous daughter Miriam. The number matches the four children of the incestuous Jocasta, including the cipher Ismene.

A sequel in accord with poetic justice is the bitter rivalry between the offspring of such a mother. The Greek poets revelled in the fratricide of Polynices and Eteocles, which involved the noble Antigone too -- to her own undoing. The Pentateuch of course has nothing so lurid; for it is concerned to emphasize the edifying harmony of the two brothers as much as possible. But the opposite shows through now and then: most conspicuously when Aaron usurped the leadership of Moses in his absence, fashioned the golden calf, and provoked a plague upon the people, whose total destruction was barely averted (Ex. 32:1-35); also in the passage from which I quoted earlier, where Miriam as well as Aaron disparaged Moses' wife and contested his authority as the only spokesman of the LORD (Num. 12:1-15). Their end was much less gruesome than that of Jocasta's children (Num. 26:59, 33:38-39, Deut. 34:5-7); but still, both Aaron and Moses died "by the LORD'S mouth" -- which indicates no ordinary death, or at least that it was a death foretold to them. Further, in the text much is made of their exclusion from the land that the LORD had promised the patriarchs for the future Israelites (Num. 27:12-14, Deut. 3:27, 32:48-52). So the sons of Jochebed have more in common with those of Jocasta than meets the eye at first glance.

The careers of Moses and Oedipus are full of parallels from beginning to end.[28] The final one is the unknown location of their graves (Deut. 34:6; Sophocles, *O.C. 1520-1532, 1656-1657, 1756-1763).* This tradition about Moses seems inconsistent with the surrounding narrative in Deuteronomy, which presents him in command of the Israelites to the end of his life and officially mourned by them upon his death.[29] But both great men received a heavenly signal to withdraw from human company when their time came to die. In Oedipus' case Theseus was allowed to witness the death and the mysterious burial somewhere near Colonus in Attica, but not to divulge the place.[30]

(d) *Thebes and Jochebed's* // tebɔ́ħ // *or 'ark'*

With the example of Velikovsky's ingenious book *Oedipus and Akhnaton* in front of me, I am warned not to slip into his excesses and methodological fallacies. It is worthwhile to remind ourselves that the Hebrew and Greek stories have just one impressively cognate *name*, // yowkébed //: Ἰοκάστη.[31] A well-founded theory cannot hold that all the other characters' names got replaced.

Velikovsky's intriguing theory was thinnest precisely where it came down to *verbal* connections. The two crucial ones are Σφίγξ and Θῆβαι (pp. 31-43). Now it is stiking that Σφίγξ was

what the Greeks called both the mythical predator of Boeotian Thebes and those mysterious and sometimes huge sculptures of Egypt; also that a major city of Greece was homonymous with the capital of Egypt. But the Egyptian words for 'Sphinx' // mʒj, ḥw, Ḥr m ʒḥ.t // and 'Thebes' // wʒś.t, nw.t //[32] bear no resemblance to anything Greek.[33] I cannot throw any light on the unclear etymology of Σφίγξ (accusative Φῖκ' in Hesiod, *Th.* 326),[34] but for our purpose it is only necessary to remark that the looks or iconography of the Sphinx was similar in both countries; so a Greek would readily use the same term, no matter whether the Greek Sphinx was originally derived from the Egyptian artifact or independent of it.

The homonymy of Boeotian and Egyptian Θῆβαι is much odder, and a suitable etymology has yet to be found.[35] Hermann Kees has suggested that the Greek name for the Egyptian city was based on a native name for a shrine located in the western part of it, attested as // djême // in Coptic.[36] I suspect that two other Egyptian words, both transcribed // ḏbʒ.t //, are involved; one means 'palace,' and one 'box' or 'coffin.'[37] The former is well suited to designate a royal city in Egypt, and even in Greece if the founders were commemorating or dreaming of the grandeur of the Egyptian namesake. The other // ḏbʒ.t // is preserved in Coptic under various spellings such as ταιβε, τηηβε, ταιβι, and even θηβι.[38] The Hebrew word תֵּבָה // tebɔ́ħ // (in the "construct" state תֵּבַת // tébat //, Ex. 2:3.5) was surely from the Egyptian; for the thing itself was made of papyrus. The Septuagint renders it θεῖβιν,[39] corrected to θήβην in Codex B; either form is shown by the Greek accusative case-ending and by the vowel right before it to be no mere transcription of the Hebrew but a word in the Greek vocabulary of the translator, a Jew doubtless residing in Egypt, where the Egyptian term for such a container must have been familiar to speakers of Greek and borrowed by them.

Hesychius also has the glosses Θήβα· πόλις βοιώτιον καὶ κιβώτιον and θίβη· πλεκτόν τι κιβωτοειδὲς ὡς γλωσσοκομεῖον 'a plaited box-shaped thing like a tongue-case [for the "tongues" or reeds of musical pipes].' This is presumably independent of the Septuagint, but the source is unspecified and therefore undatable. So we have no direct attestation of this Egyptian word in Greek before the third century B.C. But an indirect link appears in the // tebɔ́ħ // or θεῖβις, θήβη of Moses' mother and Θῆβαι as the city of Jocasta (Θειβ- in Boeotian dialect). While יוֹכֶבֶד // yowkébed // is a pure Hebrew, Semitic compound -- not at all Egyptian -- the genealogy in Numbers (26:59) goes rather out of its way to remark that she was born to Levi in Egypt -- or, according to the Septuagint (see note 31), that she bore children there to her father Levi. Just as Moses, the foundling of the Nile, might have been called in Hebrew *בֶּן־תֵּבָה *// ben–tebɔ́ħ // 'box-son,' so Oedipus was Θηβαῖος in a double sense: to his foster parents he had come out of a box, but the sequel identified him as a Theban (cf. Sophocles, *O.T.* 452-453: εἶτα δ' ἐγγενὴς/ φανήσεται Θηβαῖος).

As the Greek myth took shape, an irresistible conflation must have developed from the similar sound of the place-name in Boeotia and the Egyptian word for 'box' on the tongues of Greeks who had at least some smattering of Semitic lore. This in turn would have facilitated the transfer of particulars from the Semitic tale of that other "Theban," the hero who came from the Egyptian capital -- above all, but by no means exclusively, the transfer of the name of his notorious mother.

It is likely that the original kernel of the Oedipus story was quite separate from that of Moses

and turned upon his deformity or upon his greatness in spite of it. In folklore generally, it is not essential but on the contrary unusual for the mother of the central personage to be identified by name. That happens only when a genealogical or some such special interest enters. For from his own point of view she is simply "Mother," no matter what she happens to be called by outsiders (including even his father!); and by empathy the same point of view becomes primary for the narrator and the audience. When it came to specifying the mother's name in the tale of Oedipus, the way of myth was not to invent or attach a name at random, but to take one already known from some source and tolerably harmonious with the existing mythical data about Oedipus and his mother. Then, as soon as she was called something like the Semitic Jochebed, the door was open to many motifs associated with that prototype. Among them would be the finding of the infant on the shore, the adoption of him by a childless woman,[40] and the later strife between the sons. But I do not profess to discern everything in the Oedipus myth that came from a Semitic (or Egyptian-Semitic) source and everything that it had before.

We meet Jochebed only in the Bible. But my theory does not require that among the Levantines in Boeotia there must have been some Israelites. Nor does the theophoric element in // yoʷkɛ́bɛd // argue that the only ones to introduce such a name into a Greek milieu had to be worshippers of the God of Israel. It would have sufficed for Phoenicians, speaking dialects of the same language as the Hebrews, or even some less closely related Semites, to have heard of poor Jochebed -- not necessarily in connection with Moses. Beyond that there is no difficulty in surmising how a certain name got joined to a character in a myth other than the protagonist, by being appropriate to that character's role.

Jochebed would not be the only Biblical personage to turn up in a Greek myth with the name partly Hellenized. My study of her has been preceded by J. P. Brown's equation of Aaron's grandson פִּינְחָס // pi⁽ʸnəxɔ́⁾ // , or ΦΙΝΕΕΣ in the Septuagint, with Φῑνεύς, the betrothed of Andromeda.[41] Here the Biblical name is not a Semitic formation but has an Egyptian etymology, which makes its original meaning 'the Negro.' Since the Greek myth does not place Phineus in Greece but either in Ethiopia or at Joppa (which is the nearest port to Jerusalem), geography favors this identification. It is also very close phonetically. But in motifs there is less similarity than between Jochebed and and Jocasta, unless you bring in several more persons named פִּינְחָס in Hebrew or Φῑνεύς in Greek and combine their traits.[42]

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NOTES

1 Sophocles, *O.T.* 632; Euripides, *Phoen.* 12, 444, etc. Neither form occurs in Aeschylus' *Seven against Thebes* nor in the meager fragments of his other Theban plays; Carl Robert, *Oidipus: Geschichte eines poetischen Stoffs im griechischen Altertum* (Berlin, 1915), II, 97.

2 *De Linguae Graecae Nominibus propriis et adjectivis quorum prior pars est* IO- (Index

scholarum . . . in Academia Georgia Augusta . . . 1860–1861; Gottingae), pp. 3, 12–13.

3 *Die Aeschylische Trilogie Prometheus und die Kabirenweihe zu Lemnos* . . . (Darmstadt, 1824), p. 127 and note 159.

4 The few quotations from the *Oedipodia, Thebaid,* and *Epigoni* happen not to give the name of Oedipus' mother. So even if those lost epics called her Ἰοκάστη in contrast to the *Odyssey,* we do not know whether it would have been preceded by a long vowel or by an elided short vowel after a long syllable.

5 Or 'adorned with violets'; Karl Otfried Mueller, *Prolegomena zu einer wissenschaftlichen Mythologie* (Göttingen, 1825), p. 291: "Ἰοκάστη, die Veilchengeschmückte."

6 The mss. of the LXX mostly confirm the Massoretic readings: ΙΩΣΑΒΕΕ in Kings and ΙΩΣΑΒΕΘ in Chronicles. But Codex B (Vaticanus) and those of the Lucianic recension have ΙΩΣΑΒΕΕ in both passages.

The variation between // yoʷ– // and // yəhoʷ– // for the theophoric element 'The-LORD-' follows no clear pattern. These two women are mentioned so few times that nothing can be deduced from the // yoʷ– // of one and the // yəhoʷ– // of the other. But frequent names of men are divided between constant // yoʷ– // as in יוֹאָב // yoʷ⁾ɔ́b // 'The -LORD-[is-]Father,' constant // yəhoʷ– // in יְהוֹשֻׁעַ // yəhoʷšúa⁽ // 'The-LORD-[is-]Salvation(?),' and fluctuating // yoʷ– // and // yəhoʷ– // as in יוֹנָתָן, יְהוֹנָתָן // yoʷnɔtɔ́n, yəhoʷnɔtɔ́n // 'The-LORD-Has-Given' and most others.

7 Codex A (Alexandrinus), however, originally had ΕΛΙΣΑΒΕ, which agrees better with the Hebrew. A corrector added Τ at the end, which matches the form used in the New Testament (Luke 1:7, etc.).

8 Einar Brønno, *Studien über hebräische Morphologie und Vokalismus auf Grundlage der Mercatischen Fragmente der zweiten Kolumne der Hexapla des Origenes* (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes XXVIII; Leipzig, 1943), p. 125.

9 H. Bauer, "Die Gottheiten von Ras Schamra," *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft,* LI (1933), 92-93.

10 Also Ἀφροδίτη, a prehistoric adaptation of // ʿaštóret // . U. v. Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, "Oropus und die Graer," *Hermes,* XXI (1886), 106, attacked the view of Herodotus about the Γεφυραῖοι and, by extension, the whole tradition of Semitic Phoenicians in Boeotia. But he paid no attention to Hitzig's lengthy research in *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft,* IX (1855), 747-772.

11 In the opening lecture of this conference at McGill University, Prof. Symeonoglou showed slides of the seals.

Bertrand Hemmerdinger, surveying the anti-Phoenician movement of scholars in his article "La colonie babylonienne de la Kadmée," *Helikon,* VII (1967), 232-233, lays stress upon the argument of Julius Beloch, "Die Phoeniker am aegaeischen Meer," *Rheinisches Museum,* n.s. XCIX (1894), 115, that the myths lack the corroboration of material objects of Phoenician provenance found in Greece. Now that

impressive objects from that region of Asia have indeed turned up in Thebes, what ground -- other than scholarly inertia -- remains for doubting the presence of *people* from there?

The purpose of the set of lapis lazuli cylinders in Thebes is by no means self-explanatory; but that they came from the Levant is beyond debate. Edith Porada, who has given them the benefit of her expertise, suggests that they "could have been sent there as a 'gift' from one of the Kassite kings of Babylonia, perhaps in return for gold"; "Further Notes on the Cylinders from Thebes," *American Journal of Archaeology*, LXX (1966), 194. If so, they were surely accompanied by a person or persons of standing; and that is enough for us to envisage a milieu in which some lore from Semitic sources could readily pass to Greeks.

12 'Easterners' in pure Greek would rather have been ἀνατολικοί, as Prof. Schachter pointed out at the conference. But in bilingual contacts it is less usual to translate the designations of persons from the lending language than to take them over untranslated. Beloch, p. 129, tried by a mere quibble to get around the appropriateness of the Semitic etymology: "Aber für die Phoeniker selbst war Kadmos doch jedenfalls kein 'Ostmann', sondern nach seiner Auswanderung vielmehr ein 'Westmann'; oder sollen wir glauben, dass die Griechen ihm den semitischen Namen gegeben haben?"

Strabo (10.1.8) records that in Euboea "formerly there were Arabs who crossed over with Cadmus" (cf. Plutarch, *Theseus* 5.2).

13 The same would fit well in Job 1:3, but the translation there is τῶν ἀφ' ἡλίου ἀνατολῶν.

14 For this very trenchant point I thank Prof. Willy A. Borgeaud of Ottawa University, who spoke from the audience.

15 Prof. Buck also called attention to this in his lecture on "The Historical Traditions of Early Boiotia." J. Paulson, "Anmerkungen zur Oidipus-Sage," *Eranos*, I (1896), 17-18, showed how the scholiasts and their successors tried to make ἄφαρ mean something else, in order to harmonize the Homeric passage with the classic tragedies.

16 The only known word for 'aunt' in Hebrew is the one that occurs in these three verses and nowhere else in the Bible. The two legal passages specify further that she is the wife of the "father's brother" or "uncle"; but in the preceding verses they also forbid intercourse between a man and his father's or mother's sister. So whatever may have been the one-word term, if any, for a blood-aunt in Hebrew, it was unlawful to marry her. To that extent it does not matter if דֹּדָתוֹ // dodató^{w} // 'his aunt' in Ex. 6:20 was intended to refer to an aunt by marriage, contrary to what we would suppose from 2:1.

The Babylonian Talmud (Sanhedrin 58b) quotes Ex. 6:20 with the interpretation, "His aunt on the mother's side? No, his aunt on the father's side." This is part of a lengthy argument about which marriages are unlawful for the heathen too and must be dissolved when a heathen is converted to Judaism. On the maxim that before the giving of the law at Mount Sinai the Israelites were bound only by the same prohibitions as the heathens ("the sons of Noah"; cf. Gen. 9:1-7), the rabbis found a loophole for retrospectively considering the marriage of Amram and Jochebed to be lawful in its time. For they generalized that to the heathen only a union with a relative on the mother's side is incestuous.

17 The purpose may have been to incorporate a distressing tradition that Moses was born of incest but to treat it as discreetly as possible, extenuating though not suppressing the parents' guilt. For the Mosaic law does distinguish degrees of incest, at least when it comes to punishment (Lev. 20:11-21). For intercourse between a man and his father's wife or his son's wife, or with a woman and her daughter, all are to be put to death -- the same as for adultery or buggery. But if the guilty pair are brother and sister, they only incur rejection by their people (like those who copulate during menstration). Not even that penalty is mentioned in cases of more tangential incest: with a blood-aunt, "they shall bear their iniquity"; with an uncles's wife, "they shall bear their sin, they shall die naked (or childless?)."

It is not necessary to posit that the traditions behind the book of Exodus uniformly reported nothing more dreadful about Jochebed than that she married her nephew, or her previous husband's nephew.

18 That is in accord with reasonable expectations, but contrary to Sophocles' other play, *Antigone*, where the heroine is betrothed to her cousin Haemon (although the action proceeds until line 568 without the slightest reference to the betrothal). There are more inconsistencies between the two plays; e.g., what Ismene says about the death of their father (νῷν ἀπεχθὴς, 50; ἔπειτα μήτηρ, 53) disagrees with the ending of *Oedipus the King*, where he has outlived Jocasta and is by no means estranged from his daughters.

19 Louis Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews* (Philadelphia, 1925), V, 409; VI, 90. Josephus, *Ant.* 2.10.2 [252-253], gives romantic details of Tharbis, daughter of the king of Ethiopia, whom Moses married after she betrayed her city to him and his army of Egyptians!

20 Robert, *Oidipus* (above, note1), I, 70-72, 326-327; II, 30, 116; "Homerische Becher," *Fünfzigstes Programm zum Winckelmannfeste der Archaeologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin* (1890), pp. 76-81; first publ. by Edmond Pottier, *Monuments grecs publiés par l'Association pour l'encouragement des Études Grecques*, II (Paris, 1885-88), pl. 8 and pp. 48 ff.

21 *Oidipus*, I, 327.

22 *Thebanische Heldenlieder* (Leipzig, 1891), pp. 71-72.

23 Paul Kretschmer, *Die griechischen Vaseninschriften, ihrer Sprache nach untersucht* (Gütersloh, 1894), p. 191; Immanuel Velikovsky, *Oedipus and Akhnaton: Myth and History* (Garden City, 1960), p. 58.

24 The momentous but enigmatic likeness of // tebó^{w}, téḇaṯ //, the Hebrew word for 'ark' (borrowed from Egyptian), to Θῆβαι will be explored more appropriately in the final section of this essay.

25 *Oidipus* (above, note 1), I, 327.

26 But cf. the deformity of the Egyptian king Akhnaton and his children; Velikovsky (above, note 23), pp. 55-58, 78. Velikovsky has worked out in immense detail the similarity between the myth of Thebes in Greece and the history of Thebes in Egypt.

27 Abraham Geiger, *Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel* (Breslau, 1857), pp. 308-333, 384-385;

D. Barthélemy, "Les tiqquné sopherim et la critique textuelle de l'Ancien Testament," *Vetus Testamentum*, suppl. vol. IX (1963), 285-304; C. D. Ginsburg, *Introduction to the Massoretico-Critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible* (London, 1897), pp. 347-363.

28 Lord Raglan, *The Hero: A Study in Tradition, Myth, and Drama* (London, 1949; first publ. in 1936), pp. 178-180, 184-185, showed how nearly every attribute typical of heroes fits both of them.

29 For rabbinical and other legends of his burial, see Ginzberg (above, note 19), VI, 161-164.

30 As Colonus was Sophocles' own deme or village (*Marmor Parium* 56, line 72), doubtless he drew upon a local myth. It sounds as if a certain tract in the vicinity were under a taboo and people were warned not to trespass. What better αἴτιον than that it was where the abhorred Oedipus (*O.C.* 226 ff.) was last seen?

31 It is tempting to equate Jochebed's father Levi (לֵוִי // lewî //) with Jocasta's husband Λᾱ́(ϝ)ιε, Λᾱ́(ϝ)ιος, in which the consonant ϝ is unrecorded but implied by the lack of contraction of ᾱι into one syllable in Attic. Above all, the LXX of Num. 26:59 has Jochebed bearing sons *to her father Levi:* καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ [i.e., τοῦ ΑΜΡΑΜ υἱοῦ τοῦ ΚΑΑΘ] ΙΩΧΑΒΕΔ θυγάτηρ ΛΕΥΙ, ἣ ἔτεκεν τούτους [i.e., the afore-mentioned ΓΕΔΣΩΝ, ΚΑΑΘ, and ΜΕΡΑΡΙ] τῷ ΛΕΥΙ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ. The extant Hebrew texts (both the Massoretic and the Samaritan) have the rather incoherent ללוי במצרים יוכבד בת לוי אשר ילדה אתה 'Jochebed, Levi's daughter, whom she [unspecified; presumably Jochebed's mother] bore to Levi in Egypt.' The LXX tells of a union of father and daughter (which is not explicitly forbidden by the Mosaic law! -- above, note 17; also cf. Gen. 19:31-38 and Babylonian Talmud, Yebamoth 2b-3a), and then a marriage of grandmother to grandson. Sensational as this sounds, it is not self-contradictory, but it cannot be reconciled with Gen. 46:11, where the same three sons of Levi migrate to Egypt along with him and his father Jacob.

The chances are that א ת ה in Num. 26:59 is another "scribal correction," on the same order as in 12:11 (above, p. 54) but unnoted in our Massoretic and rabbinical sources. τούτους represents א ל ה (rather than א ת ם, which would normally be rendered αὐτούς). א ל ה will pass for authentic on the motto "è sempre genuino quello che dà scandalo"; Giorgio Pasquali, *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo*, 2d ed. (Florence, 1952; first publ. in 1934), p. 231. The Talmud (Sotah 12a, Baba Bathra 119b-120a) says that Moses was born of Jochebed's *second* marriage when she was a hundred and thirty years old; Amram remarried her at that age, after divorcing her because of Pharaoh's decree that every male child of the Hebrews should be killed (Ex. 1:22); and notwithstanding her age, signs of youth reappeared in her. I see these statements not as a mere jumble of foolish Biblical exegesis, but as the outcome of long-lasting arguments over the dignity of Moses and his family.

The notice of Jochebed and Levi in the LXX is more shocking than the Greek myth of Jocasta and Laius. Dare I go on to speculate about one remaining parallel between Moses and Oedipus -- the homicide? In both cases the hero killed a man who had willfully struck the first blow. I am afraid that what Ex. 2:11-12 tells may be an innocuous version to discountenance a much grimmer story which identified the man Moses killed as a kinsman -- perhaps through his Egyptian mother, the one who named him Moses (2:10), rather than through Jochebed. The Biblical narrators were great artists in purifying the

traditions without falsifying them; as I try to show what kind of material they had to work with, their accomplishment and the contrasting accomplishment of the Greek poets will emerge all the more admirable in opposite ways.

32 Adolf Erman and Hermann Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, VI (Berlin, 1950), 145, 155.

33 Velikovsky has mentioned besides (p. 58, note 13), "The second part of the name Amen-*hotep* (IV) [who called himself Akhnaton in the fifth year of his reign and thereafter; p. 66] also might possibly contribute to the name *Oedipus*" (my italics).

34 Hjalmar Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1960-70), II, 832.

35 Frisk, I, 670; Pierre Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* (Paris, 1968), p. 434.

36 Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, s.v. "Thebai (Ägypten)," col. 1556.

37 Erman (above, note 32), V (1931), 561.

38 W. E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* (Oxford, 1939), p. 397.

39 θῖβιν, although preferred by editors, is less well attested; see the apparatus of A. E. Brooke and Norman McLean, *The Old Testament in Greek* (Cambridge, 1906-).

40 Or one who could not or would not nurse him herself (as in Ex. 2:7-9).

41 He has kindly let me read it in manuscript. According to my latest information it is not yet published.

42 Many improvements of my paper since the meeting in Montreal have been prompted by the written comments of William Sale, my old friend at Washington Univeristy. An earlier draft was read to the American Oriental Society at Cambridge in 1971.

14. BOIOTIAN TERRACOTTAS

by R. A. Higgins

The Boiotians always had a bad press in matters of culture, but no one would deny their skill at modelling in clay. For long we can discern a distinctive terracotta style, which is usually called Boiotian, but which obtained throughout all Central Greece including, on occasions, the island of Euboia.

What did these figures mean to their owners? It is hard to generalise. To judge from their appearance, some of them were dolls, others children's toys. Some again seem to represent divine beings and attributes, while others have a human, everyday appearance. Can the circumstances of their discovery give us any guidance? They are found in houses, in sanctuaries and in tombs; and the same kind of terracotta figure may be found in any of these situations. So the answer may well be that these things were the private possessions of ordinary people, who kept them in their houses and might also offer them to a deity or take them into the grave.

The earliest recorded Boiotian terracottas belong to the Mycenaean period; more precisely to Late Helladic III, from shortly before 1400 B.C. to about 1100 B.C. They form part of the *koine*, identical throughout the so-called Mycenaean Empire, from Ugarit in the East to Taranto and Sicily in the West. The repertoire is virtually restricted to highly stylised figures of goddesses and sacred animals.[1]

After the final destruction of the Mycenaean world about 1100 B.C. no terracottas are recorded from Boiotia for well over three centuries. Reference may, however, be made to a figurine recently found on the nearby island of Euboia at a site whose modern name is *Levkandí*, datable to about 900 B.C. (Fig. 15.1).[2] This remarkable piece, made by a combination of throwing on the wheel and modelling by hand, represents a centaur. The decoration, purely schematic in character, is in the so-called black glaze of contemporary pottery. Opinions are divided as to the inspiration for this unique and powerful piece. Either it embodies a Mycenaean tradition previously thought to be extinct or it shows the influence of Cypriot art.

The earliest truly Boiotian terracottas after the Mycenaean period are hollow wheel-made figures of women with bell-shaped bodies and detachable legs, generally interpreted as dolls. They were probably made throughout the eighth century B.C., the best examples (Fig. 15.2) occurring towards its end.[3]

Apart from a later version of this type in the Royal Ontario Museum,[4] there are very few recorded Boiotian terracottas of the seventh century B.C. For the sixth century, however, there is a wealth of material, from the cemeteries of Tanagra and *Rhitsóna*.[5]

The most popular subjects are female figures and horses with riders. The commonest female figure has a flat body, a long neck and a mouse-like head crowned by a low polos with a large volute. They were made between 600 and 550 B.C. An early example is shown on Fig. 15.3.[6] In choice pieces the head was rendered naturalistically, in a style which owes much to Korinth (Fig. 15.4).[7]

Ridden horses were also common in the first half of the sixth century B.C. The favourite type shows an animal gaily painted with zebra-like stripes, with a legless monkey-faced rider (Fig. 15.5).[8]

About 550 B.C. a new system of decoration, in polychrome matt paint on a white ground, superseded the black "glaze"; as can be seen in the seated goddess of Fig. 15.6.[9] Henceforth, terracottas were to be decorated in this new medium.

The early fifth century is characterised by the so-called genre pieces. They were modelled by hand (except on occasions for the heads, which were sometimes made in a mould) but show a tremendous advance in realism over the sixth-century pieces. Men and women are shown going about their daily occupation: a carpenter (Fig. 15.7)[10] and a cook (Fig. 15.8)[11] are some of the many subjects. It has been suggested that such figures were put into the tombs to render service to the dead in the next world, like the Egyptian *ushabti* figures, but it is more likely that they were in fact toys. A figure, in the same style, of a bearded man wearing the Persian headdress, the *tiara*, and riding a goose is certainly a toy (Fig. 15.9).[12]

By about 480 B.C. the use of the mould was becoming general. An unusually complicated figurine of this date depicts an enthroned goddess (Fig. 15.10).[13] It was assembled from a number of separately made elements. The goddess herself was formed flat in a mould and then bent to fit the throne.

But the typical fifth-century figurine (represented at Tanagra, *Rhitsóna* and Halai) was a much simpler affair. It was made hollow, the front in a mould and the back freehand. The underside was left open and a long rectangular vent was cut in the back to avoid an explosion while the piece was being fired. Two common types of about 450 to 425 B.C. are a draped woman wearing a tall polos rising to a point behind (Fig. 15.11),[14] and a half-naked man carrying a cock in the crook of his left arm (Fig. 15.12).[15] In the late fifth century the draped woman and the half-naked man

persisted, but the figures were considerably larger, standing on high bases and attaining in all about 18 inches in height; and they acquired bizarre headdresses (Figs. 15.13 and 15.14).[16]

By the middle of the fourth century B.C. Boiotian figurines returned to the usual height for Greek terracottas, 7-8 inches, and were more carefully made. Apart from a strict frontality necessitated by the method of manufacture, they exhibit a truth to nature equal to that exhibited at this date in major works of sculpture. Typical subjects are a woman dancing (Fig. 15.15)[17] and Leda with the swan (Fig. 15.16).[18]

The Early Hellenistic period, 330 to 200 B.C. is the finest for Boiotian terracottas; and, as it happens, it sees the end of this medium in Boiotia. For reasons unknown to us, the Late Hellenistic and Imperial Roman periods, richly represented in Athens and Korinth, are completely unrepresented in Boiotia so far as terracottas are concerned.

This is the "Tanagra period" par excellence, for Tanagra is virtually the only Boiotian cemetery to have produced these favourites of the late Victorian era, which took the artistic world by storm when they first appeared in the early eighteen-seventies. The subjects are principally studies of draped women and girls, but also include young men, deities and semi-deities, and grotesques.

The style was evolved not in Boiotia but in Athens. Its hallmark is a complete naturalism, and a real attempt is made to overcome the frontality so prominent in earlier periods. This latter achievement was made possible by a new and more elaborate method of manufacture.

An *archetype* was modelled out of clay by hand. All projecting bits such as heads, arms, legs etc. were cut off and moulded separately. They were then re-assembled and the piece was fired.

The typical Tanagra lady (Figs. 15.17 and 15.18)[19] stands in a relaxed pose, wearing a chiton and over it a himation of fine linen, tightly draped so that it falls into contrasting stretches and folds. On her head she wears a sun-hat like Chinese coolie hats of today. Less commonly (Fig. 15.19),[20] she sits at her ease in a high-backed chair.

Young men sit on rocks, in quiet contemplation (Fig. 15.20).[21] Occasionally, equipped with wings, they achieve immortality in the person of Eros (Fig. 15.21).[22]

Grotesques are represented by a seated old woman with a child on her lap, inspired by the Nurse of New Comedy (Fig. 15.22);[23] and by a naked old woman, perhaps an elderly hetaira forced to strip for the amusement of the guests at a symposium (Fig. 15.23).[24]

Thus ended a tradition which had persisted unbroken for four centuries. Few, if any, masterpieces were preserved; nor could they be expected in such a medium. But what these figures lacked in aesthetic merit they made up in grace, in human warmth, and in simple peasant humour.

British Museum

NOTES

1 See E. French, *BSA* 66 (1971) 101-187.

2 R. Nicholls et al., *BSA* 65 (1970) 21-30.

3 Higgins, *GTC*, pl. 9E.

4 Grace, *Arch. Sc. Boio.* fig. 8.

5 Higgins, *GTC*, 45.

6 *Ibid* pl. 18A.

7 *Ibid* pl. 18E.

8 *Ibid* pl. 19E.

9 *Ibid* pl. 18F.

10 *Ibid* pl. 32F.

11 *British Museum Quarterly* 33 (1968-9) pl. LIII.

12 Higgins, *GTC*, pl. 33B.

13 *British Museum Quarterly* 33 (1968-9) pl. LI b.

14 Higgins, *GTC*, pl. 33 c.

15 *Ibid* pl. 33 E.

16 *Ibid* pls. 33 D and 34 E.

17 *British Museum Catalogue* 1 (1954) no. 884.

18 *Ibid* no. 869.

19 Higgins, *GTC*, pl. 42.

20 *Ibid* pl. 43A.

21 *Ibid* pl. 45B.

22 *British Museum Catalogue* (1903) C 192.6f.
Higgins, *GTC*, pl. 46B and C.

23 *Ibid* pl. 44B.

24 *Ibid* pl. 44D.

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R. A. Higgins, *Catalogue of the Terracottas in the Dept. of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum*, 1 (London, 1954). Abbreviated: *British Museum Catalogue* 1 (1954).

R. A. Higgins, *Greek Terracottas* (London, 1967). Abbreviated: Higgins, *GTC.*

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H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Terracottas in the Dept. of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum* (London, 1903). Abbreviated: *British Museum Catalogue* (1903).

Fig. 15.1

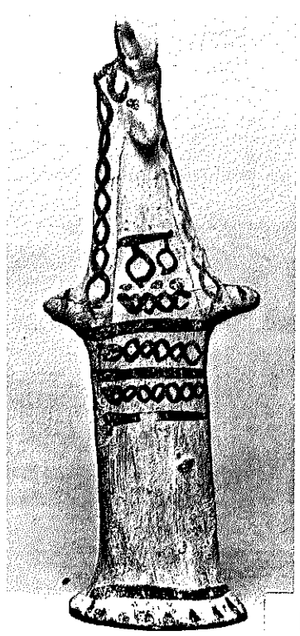

Fig. 15.3

Fig. 15.4

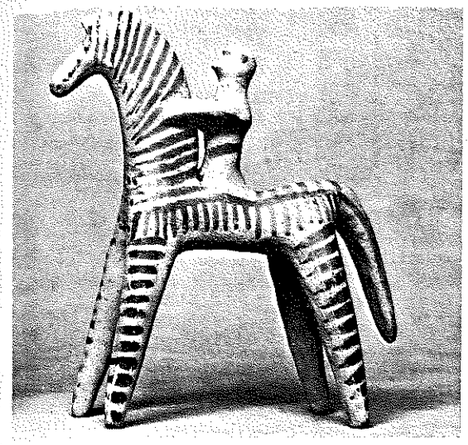

Fig. 15.5

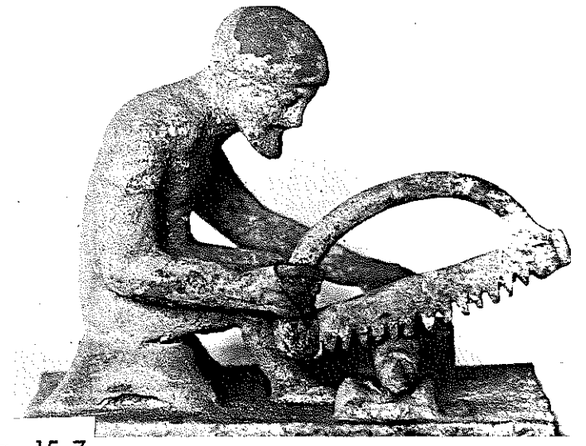

Fig. 15.7

Fig. 15.8

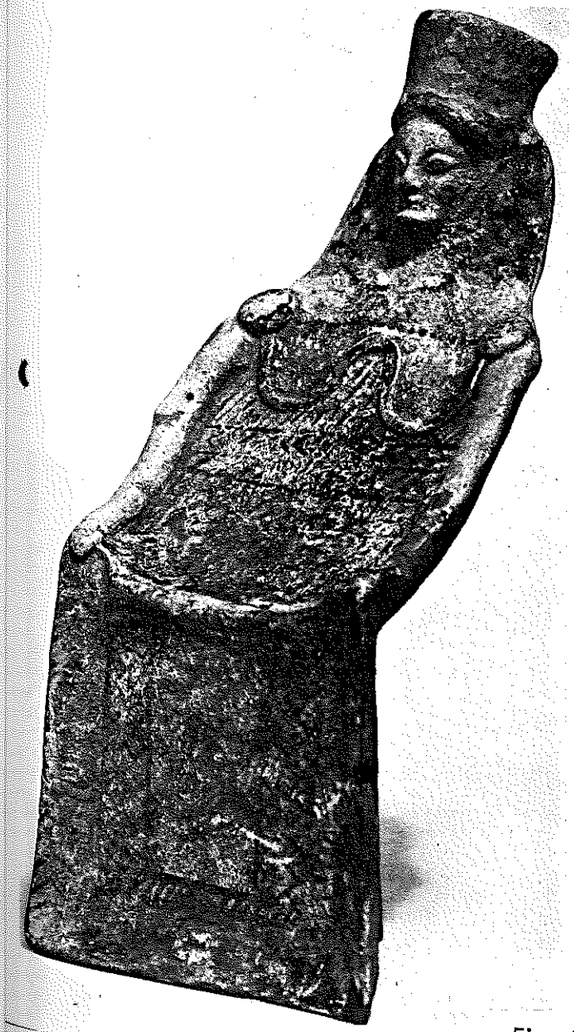

Fig. 15.6

Fig. 15.9

Fig. 15.10 ◀

Fig. 15.11 ▲

Fig. 15.12 ▲

Fig. 15.13 ▶

Fig. 15.14

Fig. 15.15

Fig. 15.16

Fig. 15.17

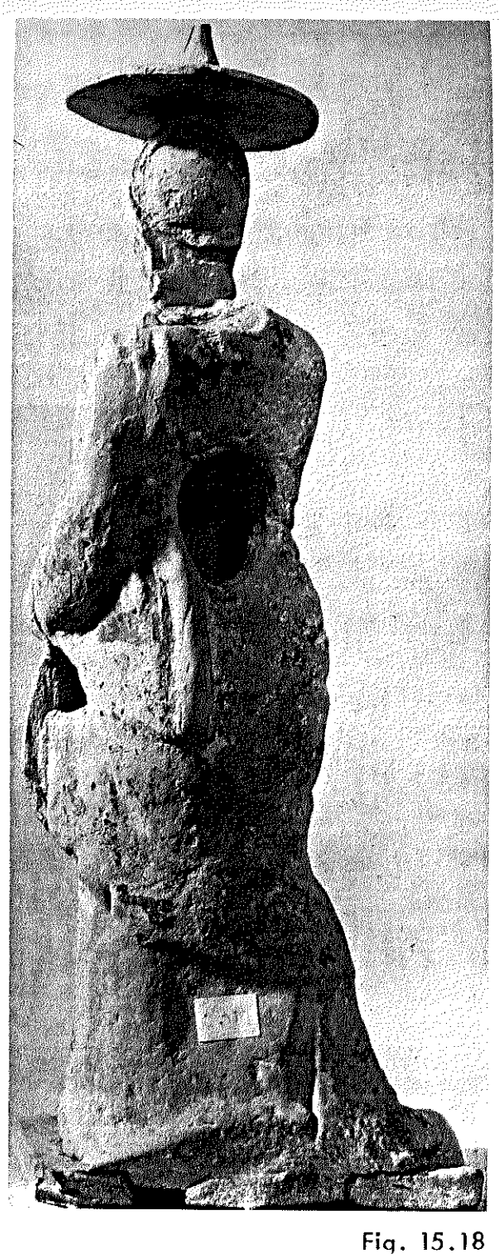

Fig. 15.18

Fig. 15.19

Fig. 15.23

Fig. 15.22

Fig. 15.21

Fig. 15.20

15. ORAL POETS AND FIBULA INCISERS[1]

by Keith DeVries

Oral poetry and its composers will certainly be a familiar subject to most classicists, fibulae and their craftsmen perhaps less so. Fibulae are nothing other than safety pins; a great many different sorts were produced in Early Iron Age Greece, with the most interesting being those that carry extensive incised decoration, sometimes figured. Such fibulae comprise two distinct types: in the one (Figg. 16.1 and 16.2-16.7), which we will term the plate fibula,[2] the decoration is concentrated on a rectangular plate, which is simply an extension upward of the catch for the pin. In the other (Figg. 16.8-16.10 and 16.12-16.14), to be called the crescent fibula,[3] the decoration appears on the bow, which has been flattened out into a broad crescent.

Both types were manufactured over a considerable period of time, from the ninth century BC down well into the first half of the seventh century, and they were made over a considerable geographical range. There is ample evidence, for example, that both sorts were manufactured in Attike, at least for a certain period, and an important variant of the plate fibula[4] was made in the northern and western reaches of Central Greece -- Thessaly, Lokris, and Phokis. What is most important for our purposes, though, is that enough examples from coherent groups of both crescent and plate fibulae datable to the later eighth century and the first part of the seventh have turned up in Boiotia for us to determine that at least during that time workshops in the region were turning out both types.

The late eighth and early seventh centuries comprise, of course, the general period in which Hesiod is believed to have been active, and the nature of that Boiotian poet's work has some relevance for fibulae. Hesiod is now generally accepted as having been an essentially oral poet[5] like the shadowy Boiotian cataloguers who have left their traces in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*[6] and like the Homeric poets of East Greece. From the studies of Milman Parry and others who have furthered his work, we have come to appreciate the strongly formulaic character of such poets' compositions, which are constructed so largely from traditional, stock phrases that appear at set points in the hexameter line; good examples are the "starry sky," which is "starry" only at the end of the line and is "large" after the caesura; and "radiant Achilles" who has that shining quality only in the fifth foot. Miraculously, formulae welded together can produce coherent narrative and effective descriptions: the meaningful is built from and emerges from the formulaic.[7]

A similar system can be detected as both dictating and inspiring the scenes on fibulae. The compositions on the Boiotian crescent fibulae have been criticized for a "disordered fantasy", which is ascribed to Boiotian taste.[8] Even aside from the Boiotophobia, the judgement is misdirected. Rather than being disordered, the compositions conform to a fixed set of traditional rules.

To examine plate fibulae first, during much of the eighth century, such fibulae, Boiotian and non-Boiotian alike, were characterized by very simple compositions; normally there was just a single main figure or a single geometric motif on each plate side. Most frequent as the subjects were a single bird or a single geometric rosette (quatrefoil or octofoil).[9]

More unusual but very important single-figure compositions are found on the Elgin fibulae, two gold pairs in the British Museum (Fig. 16.1); datable to the eighth century, they have no known provenance, and cases can be made for their being either Attic or Boiotian.[10] Both pieces of the smaller pair have a horse on the plate sides that are up when the fibulae are turned so that the plates face right (hereafter, side A); on the opposite side (hereafter, side B) the one piece has a lion and the other a ship. On the larger pair both side A's exhibit a grazing deer and both B's a swastika. The placement of these subjects -- horse and deer on A; ship, lion, or swastika on B -- is, we can guess, already dictated by a formulaic system, since these very themes, in a more elaborate form, are adopted for those very plate sides in an important group of Boiotian fibulae.

This latter group,[11] readily identifiable in form, minor decoration, and figure style, numbers some 52 fibulae in all. Four have been found outside of Boiotia (Lerna, Argive Heraion, Olympia, and the Idaian Cave on Krete),[12] but one has come from the recent excavations a Lake *Paralímni* in northeastern Boiotia,[13] and a vital core of nine can be accepted as almost certainly having been found at Thebes, as claimed, during the looting operations at the *Pyrí* cemetery in the 1880's.[14] A group of three more (one apparently making a pair with one of those just cited) seems highly likely to be from the same necropolis,[15] and an additional two pieces carry persuasive Theban provenances.[16] On a fibula in Munich, one of those quite probably from the *Pyrí* necropolis, the nature of some ancient repair work suggests that the fibula was taken back to be mended in the same shop in which it first was made, and since the chances are excellent that the fibula was found in a grave at Thebes, the workshop as well as the owner is likely to have been located there.[17]

In the earliest known phase of this probable Theban group (from ca. 730-725) the plates all have the normal single-figure compositions and the motifs are the usual bird or rosette.[18] By perhaps close to 700 BC, though, the group has adopted more complex compositions with multiple figures, and the subjects and their placements are those of the Elgin fibulae. Thus (Figg. 16.2-16.3)[19] supernumerary birds can appear on a single plate side, and what they hover about is normally a horse on side A or a ship or lion on side B. In addition, an elaborated swastika is once put on a side B.[20] The only "mistake" that occurs at this stage of adaptation is that on one pair a deer is put on side B and serves as the reverse to a horse on A rather than as an alternative.[21] A contemporary fibula of the group is incised more knowingly: the deer appears "correctly" on A, with a ship backing it on B.[22]

Soon after this stage, by about the early seventh century, a new standard representation unknown on the Elgin set enters the repertory of the group: two antithetical men, their backs parallel to the sides of the fibula and typically shown duelling (Fig. 16.4).[23] While normally the new theme joins the lion, ship, and swastika as one of the permissible subjects on side B, one of the craftsmen of the group, the Idaian Engraver, has it substitute for the horse or deer on side A as well.[24] Also, besides appearing independently, the new representation can combine with the ship or the lion in a single scene (Fig. 16.5).[25]

At roughly this same phase, the Idaian Engraver, whose first work had been orthodox, tends to reverse the old set positions, even while holding to the antithetical system of subjects: his horses move to side B, his ships and lions to A.[26] In this, he is imitated once by an inept follower,[27] but other craftsmen of the group continue to observe the old placements.

Soon, too, after the adoption of the new theme into the repertory, the craftsmen find that they can manipulate their standard formulae in ways that allow them to create something meaningful and specific, a process I would claim as not so very different from that followed by oral poets. Thus in Fig. 16.5 the Idaian Engraver incises the duelling theme on side A and merely by making one of the combatants double-bodied he changes the formulaic subject into what ought to be a depiction from Greek saga, the battle of Herakles (or perhaps Nestor) with the legendary Siamese twins, the Molione; and on side B, he converts the canonical lion representation into a hunt scene by the addition of modified duellists.

Ingenuity knows no bounds: the horse scene can become a cavalry episode,[28] and the ship scene combined with duellists can become a surreal encounter between archers, perhaps thought of as on a beach.[29] Most remarkable of all is a fibula plate (Fig. 16.6) which manages strictly within the rules to turn both sides into depictions of the feats of Herakles. On side B the subject is the battle with the Hydra of Lerna, and this is realized through the duel formula: Herakles and Iolaos are set down in the duellists' pose and their monstrous foe is inserted between them. On side A, the necessity of course, was to have a scene with either a horse or a deer. The horse theme conceivably could have become the base for a representation of Herakles with the mares of Diomedes; the inciser's choice, though, was the deer theme, and with it he depicted the slaying of the Kerynian horned doe. The craftsman was able to make his subject clear by including a nursing fawn to show that the large antlered creature was female and thus Herakles' fabled quarry.[30]

In addition to the plate fibulae of the apparent Theban group dicussed here and the Elgin fibulae, plate fibulae of a good many other groups inside and outside Boiotia exhibit many of the same formulaic subjects, manipulated and adapted in a variety of ways (not always very knowingly). There is not the space to consider any of these other groups in detail, but it is worth-while to pause and take note of one of the most remarkable pieces, a fibula in the Athens National Museum said to have been found at Eleutherai, on the Attic and Boiotian border (Fig. 16.7).[31] On it the system of antithetical themes is well understood, though the customary plate sides for the subjects are switched. On side B comes the horse, incorporated into a gauche chariot scene, and on side A are packed in *both* the normal reverse themes for the horse: in a double-decker arrangement, a lion pursues its prey at the top, and at the bottom appears a ship, with human figures standing in it.

To consider crescent fibulae next, there had developed for them, too, a traditional formulaic system of decoration, within which once again a Boiotian group was able to work, even while creating impressive, meaningful representations.[32] In this system, which can be traced back to the mid-ninth century and to some of the earliest crescent fibulae known, there is a large central motif, commonly a geometric rosette enclosed in a circle, and to either side of it is a flanking motif; the latter can be either a purely geometric form, a swastika, or it can be a bird or fish. At this early stage, the animal life seems to be purely decorative and to have value merely as a unit of allowable decoration (Figg. 16.8 and 16.9).[33] The bird, the fish, and the swastika are interchangeable -- just as the dactyl (-∪∪) and the spondee (--) are interchangeable rhythms for all but one of the feet in a hoxameter line.

The group with which we will be concerned and which effects a remarkable transformation within this traditional system consists of crescent fibulae (Figg. 16.10 and 16.12-16.14) as well as some miscellaneous products: a disc,[34] a headband (Fig. 16.15), and a pair of armbands (Fig. 16.11). Of these, much seems to be the work of a single craftsman. In addition another pair of armbands[35] and a few plate fibulae[36] may be related.

While there is not as yet sufficient evidence to determine the exact place of manufacture and the disc was found in excavations at the Athena Alea sanctuary at Tegea, the provenances cited for others of the pieces point toward a location somewhere in Boiotia. The headband was claimed in 1880 as having been found at least by 1875 at Thebes,[37] this report being published several years before either Thebes or Boiotia in general were realized as plausible findspots for incised metalwork. One of the crescent fibulae is said "definitely" to have come from Thisbe,[38] and in addition, "Boiotia" is claimed for the pair of armbands that are securely part of the group.[39]

It does seem at least likely that the centre of manufacture, while in Boiotia, was elsewhere than at Thebes, since not only does the fibula form differ from that of the apparent Theban group already discussed but so also does the figure style, to a striking extent. The alleged findspot of Thisbe for the one piece may give a slight hint of a location in the south or west of Boiotia.

The dates for the production of the group stretch over perhaps the first two decades or so of the seventh century.

On the earliest of the crescent fibulae to be ascribed to the group (Fig. 16.10),[40] there is scrupulous conformance to the traditional composition and motifs: in the centre is a strong ornament, as so often a circle-enclosed rosette, and at either side comes a flanking motif, a swastika, taken from the old repertory. But what a remarkable elaboration is given to the old scheme. The rosette bursts into a circle-studded, many-petalled bloom, the outline around it is multiplied and decorated with arcs, and the swastikas themselves are embellished with strings of bubble-like circles between their arms. In addition to the main flanking motifs, there are secondary ones added above them, antithetical birds, once again chosen from the old permissible stock.

Most remarkable and most innovative, the old flanking functions of both the fish and birds are extended, and the creatures now frame the swastikas and contribute to the general effect of a heightened, elaborated decoration. Joining them at one swastika is a newcomer to the crescent fibulae, a human being.

The old principles adhered to by the group and in particular the primary which continues to be accorded to the central ornament are neatly embodied on one (Fig. 16.11) of the pair of armbands that are securely a product of the group and again are probably early.[41] In the middle is a mass of vertical strips of ornament, and flanking it in both directions are a number of birds and fish, with those on the one side of the ornament upside down in relation to those on the other.

On a pair of crescent fibulae in Berlin, there is continued development evident (Fig. 16.12).[42] On both sides of the two pieces the central decoration becomes still more complex, as the single rosette is converted into many by a net of intersecting circles and arcs. On all, the device of inserting secondary flanking motifs above the main side ones is continued, in the form of either birds or fish, now normally made multiple instead of single; a new practice is evident of adding the birds and fish below the motif as well.

The most momentous change, though, is the treatment of the major side device itself. In one instance, it takes the form of the traditional swastika; apart from this, however, the inciser has felt empowered to substitute for a simple, single motif a compact representational group: thus, he sets down twice on the side illustrated a chariot group, and elsewhere on the pair, he substitutes a mare with nursing colt, a horse in a ship, a ship transporting warriors, and even a vignette with battling soldiers. Thus, in place of a "meaningless" swastika or a hardly more meaningful bird or fish there appears a representation with some significance in itself.

The developments reach fruition on a pair of fibulae in London (Figg. 16.13-16.14).[43] Still the formulaic placement is observed of a strong rosette decoration in the centre and flanking units to either side; once again, as has become customary, subsidiary flanking devices in the form generally of birds and fish appear above and below these "units" (with additional ones to the sides in some cases); and in continuation of the progress realized in the previous stage the main flanking units are representational groups, aside from one persistent swastika. Now, though, like his contemporary counterparts in the Theban group, the inciser realizes that the formulae in the form to which they have been expanded allow for narrative depictions, and these he can achieve simply enough by making the "flanking units" incorporate specific, detailed actions rather than just be vague, "representational groups." And so he makes one of his "units" a man spearing a lion, and, most impressive, he has both "units" on one fibula side (Fig. 16.13) reflect the characters, happenings, and paraphernalia of Greek legend: Herakles and Iolaos battle the Hydra, and the Trojan Horse appears, complete with wheels and portholes. Two others of the depictions that he utilized as or in flanking units on the pair are presumably not narrative but are fascinating as apparently botched and perhaps second-hand reflections of the nude front-facing goddesses of Near Eastern art[44] (which was, of course, having a strong impact on early seventh-century Greece). A pair (!) of nude *potniae theron* holding birds stand by one of the central circles (Fig. 16.14), and another unclothed female, bowl in hand, takes a mysterious part in a chariot scene.

The strong tendency in the late phases of the group to introduce meaningful representations within the formulaic system is notable in the fragmentary headband (Fig. 16.15), in Athens.[45] Once again, as with the armband discussed above, an ornamental device in the centre, here a swastika, is dominant to the extent that the groundline reverses to either side of it; once again, too, numbers of birds and fish appear to either side. Now, though, these creatures tend to be fitted into scenes in which they make representational sense of a sort. Two groups of birds are harassed by a lion and a man respectively; fish swim below and birds fly above a ship; and large sharp-toothed fish pursue smaller ones. In these vignettes and in totally unrelated ones such as the two lions (?) that stalk a deer, a remarkable miscellany is created.

One cannot help but be reminded of another headband, the band of Pandora that Hesiod described:[46]

> On it were many cunningly worked things, a marvel
> to see, the many beasts that land and sea nourish,
> wonderful things, rendered like living beings . . .
> a great charm pervaded all.

Hesiod's word would serve as not at all a bad description of the headband of our group, and we might wonder if he had not seen a similar piece. Thisbe, where a fibula of the group seems to have found its way, could not have been all that far from the poet's village of Askra, wherever in the region of Helikon the exact location of the latter may have been.

In closing, I would like to throw out for consideration and further research the suggestion that formulaic systems

which we have found to govern the decoration of fibulae and related metalwork as surely as they do the composition of oral poetry might also have played a part in Geometric and immediately post-Geometric vase painting and that the existence of such systems could clarify certain puzzling aspects of that painting. Thus, the chariot processions that appear on many Attic pots have been variously interpreted as races, funeral cortèges, and advances into battlefields.[47] All of these interpretations could be valid for various particular pots; it may be that Attic vase painters in some workshops simply felt it *de rigeur* to paint *a* chariot scene at a certain register of certain pots, and that individual craftsmen would infuse this formulaic scene with varying specific meanings. Similarly, a row of human figures frequently appears in the neck panels of Attic vases of the late eighth and early seventh centuries, and these figures are in some instances mourners, in others dancers, and in still others (apparently) runners.[48] It may be that the presence of human beings was, to an extent, formulaic, but that the painter could give to these figures the identity and meaning he wanted.

The Muses in Hesiod's *Theogony* are the daughters of Memory, and in the Homeric *Odyssey* the "right paths" of a song are cited as the teachings of the Muse.[49] Both references may hint at the Muses' being the prompters of formulae and instructors in their correct use. If so, along with the poets of Hesiod's Greece, the fibula incisers and very likely the vase painters had cause to honour those goddesses during the course of their work.

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NOTES

1 The following special abbreviations are to be noted:

BMC Bronzes = H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Bronzes, Greek, Roman, and Etruscan, in the . . . British Museum* (London 1899).

FGS = R. Hampe, *Frühe Griechische Sagenbilder in Böotien* (Athens 1936).

Fibules = C. Blinkenberg, *Fibules grecques et orientales (Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser.*, 13, 1, 1926).

Forschungen = K. DeVries, "Incised Fibulae from Boiotia," *Forschungen und Berichte* 14 (1972) 111-127.

Lerna = K. DeVries, "A Grave with a Figured Fibula at Lerna," *Hesperia* 43 (1974) 80-104.

I would like to thank the following for their generous permissions to publish the illustrations cited: Prof. Roland Hampe for Figg. 16.2-16.3, 16.5 and 16.7; Mrs. Évi Touloúpa and Mr. N. Yaloúris for Figg. 16.11 and 16.15; Dr. R. A. Higgins and the Trustees of the British Museum for Fig. 16.1; The Presses Universitaires de France for Fig. 16.12. In addition I would like to give particular thanks to Miss Katerína Mavragáni for her painstaking work that resulted in the accurate drawings reproduced here as Figg. 16.11 and 16.15.

2 The standard sort of plate fibula is Class VIII of *Fibules*, pp. 147-185.

3 Class IX, 1 of *Fibules*, pp. 185-193.

4 Class VII of *Fibules*, pp. 128-147.

5 A. Hoekstra, *Mnemosyne* 10 (1957) 193-225. J. Notopoulos, *Hesperia* 29 (1960) 178-183. G. S. Kirk, *Entretiens Hardt* 7 (1960), esp. pp. 64-69 (with emphasis on the *Theogony*). G. S. Kirk, *The Songs of Homer* (Cambridge 1962) 68-69 (with a suggestion that the *Theogony* may be more oral in character than the *Works and Days*). C. R. Beye, *Harv. St. Class. Phil.* 76 (1972) 31.

M. L. West in his edition of the *Theogony* (Oxford 1966) suggests, pp. 47-48, that Hesiod may have composed the *Theogony* orally and that a scribe may have written it down to his dictation; *cf.* p. 40 for a suggestion of written composition.

6 The case for Boiotian cataloguers, who make their mark on the Homeric epics, has been carefully restated by G. S. Kirk, *Entretiens Hardt* 7 (1960) 69-70.

7 M. Parry, esp. *Harv. St. Class. Phil.* 41 (1930) 73-147, and 43 (1932) 1-50. There are good summaries of Parry's findings on oral composition and the use of formulae in D. L. Page, *History and the Homeric Iliad* (Berkeley 1959) 222-232 (from which the examples of formulae in the text are taken), and G. S. Kirk, *The Songs of Homer* (Cambridge 1962) 55-101.

8 J. Charbonneaux, *Les bronzes grecs* (Paris 1958) 63.

9 The single subjects are discussed in *Forschungen*, pp. 118-119, and in *Lerna*. Typical examples: *Arch. Anz.* (1928) 446, no. 13, figs. 157-158; *FGS* p. 19, fig. 3; *Forschungen*, pls. 13 and 16.

10 British Museum 1960. 11-1.44-47. *FGS*, pp. 19, 102, nos. 88.1-4, and pl. 7 (printed reversed). R. A. Higgins, *BMQ* 23 (1960-1961) 105-106, pl. 46. R. A. Higgins, *BSA* 64 (1969) 146-147, pl. 36. In *Forschungen*, p. 115, n. 23, the Elgin fibulae were assigned to an early stage of the Boiotian group producing the crescent fibulae discussed *infra* here (and *cf.* n. 36). The hypothesis needs re-examination in the light of the small gold fibulae that have appeared in Attic graves in recent years: N. Verdhelís and K. Dhaváras, *ADelt.* 21 (1966) B, 97-98, and O. Alexandrí, *AAA* 5 (1972) 174, fig. 3.

11 Boiotian Group I in *Forschungen*, pp. 115-123. Since the various provenances of the individual fibulae and pairs of the group are discussed in detail in *Lerna*, the argumentation here will be kept to a minimum.

12 Lerna: Argos, Archaeological Museum L.5.564; J. L. Caskey, *Hesperia* 25 (1956) 172, pl. 48. h; *Lerna*. Argive Heraion: Athens, National Museum; H. F. DeCou in C. Waldstein, *The Argive Heraeum* 2 (Cambridge 1905) 243, no. 868, pl. 86. Olympia: Athens, National Museum 6282; A. Fürtwangler in E. Curtius and F. Adler, eds., *Olympia* 4 (Berlin 1890), pp. 53-54, nos. 362-362a, pl. 22; *FGS*, pl. 16, top; here fig. 3. Idaian Cave: Athens, National Museum 11765; *FGS*, p. 92, no. 28, pl. 14.

13 Thebes, Archaeological Museum; Th. Spyrópoulos, *AAA* 4 (1971) 326, fig. 9.

14 1) Athens, National Museum 8199; *FGS*, p. 90, no. 13, pl. 11, bottom. 2) Athens, National Museum 8203; *FGS*, p. 92 no. 17, pl. 13, top. 3) Formerly Berlin, Staatliche Museen 7979; *FGS*, p. 94, no. 40, pl. 8, top. 4) Berlin, Staatliche Museen 8003 (E. Berlin, Pergamon Museum); *Forschungen*, pl. 13, 4. 5) Berlin, Staatliche Museen 8064.101 (E. Berlin, Pergamon Museum); *Forschungen*, pl. 15, centre. 6) Berlin, Staatliche Museen 8064.102 (E. Berlin, Pergamon Museum); *Forschungen*, pl. 15, centre and bottom. 7) Berlin, Staatliche Museen 8097.9 (E. Berlin, Pergamon Museum); *Forschungen*, pl. 13,2. 8) Berlin, Staatliche Museen 8097.11 (E. Berlin, Pergamon Museum); *Forschungen*, pl. 13,3. 9) Berlin, Staatliche Museen 8145.5 (E. Berlin, Pergamon Museum); *FGS*, p. 18, fig. 2; *Forschungen*, pl. 14,5.

15 Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 1890.623 and 1890.624, I. Undset, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 21 (1889) 221-222, figs. 33-34 (the claim of Athens as the find area is not borne out by the museum records). Munich, Antikensammlung 3491; *ibid*, fig. 32, *FGS*, p. 104, no. 103, pl. 8, centre; *Lerna*. The Munich piece appears to have made a pair with the former Berlin fibula 7979 cited in n. 14.

16 Athens, National Museum 8202; *FGS*, p. 92, no. 16, pl. 9, top (here, Fig. 16.2). Athens National Museum 12341; *FGS*, p. 92, no. 29, pl. 15.

17 The fibula is cited in n. 15. The repair work is discussed and illustrated in *Lerna*.

18 *E.g.*, the Lerna fibula (*supra*, n. 12), several in Berlin (*Forschungen*, pl. 13), and one in the Hamburg Museum für Kunst and Gewerbe (1896.471; *Arch. Anz.* [1928] 446, no. 13, figs. 157-158).

19 In Fig. 16.2 is Athens, National Museum 8202 (*supra*, n. 3) and in Fig. 16.3 Athens, National Museum 12662 (*FGS*, p. 94, no. 32, pl. 10, bottom). Examples of ships on side B at this stage are Berlin, Staatliche Museen 8145.5 (*supra*, n. 14); Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 64.302 (C. Vermeule, *Class. Jnl.* 61 [1966] 290, fig. 2; M. Comstock and C. Vermeule, *Greek, Etrusaan, and Roman Bronzes in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* [Greenwich, Conn. 1971] 205, no. 26); Copenhagen, National Museum 4803 (J. S. Morrison and R. T. Williams, *Greek Oared Ships* [Cambridge, 1969] pl. 8d).

20 Undset, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 15), pp. 221-222, fig. 32.

21 London, British Museum 94.7-19.10 and 94.7-19.11; *BMC Bronzes*, p. 9, no. 119; *FGS*, p. 102, no. 89, pl. 13, centre.

22 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 64.302; Vermeule, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 19); the grazing pose and short tail show that the animal is a deer and not a horse.

23 The theme as seen at its purest and simplest in the extant fibulae of this group is represented by the piece from Olympia illustrated in Fig. 16.4 (*cf.* n. 12). This particular fibula seems relatively late in the sequence, but the theme in its simple form could hardly have entered the repertory later than in its complex or composite forms.

24 The Idaian Engraver is discussed in *Forschungen*, pp. 121-123. He is roughly equivalent to Hampe's Schiffsmeister (*FGS*, pp. 16-17). His duellists substitute for the horse or deer on side A of Athens, National Museum 11765 (*supra*, n. 12). They are also on A on Athens 12341 (*supra*, n. 16), but on that fibula the horse theme itself has shifted to B.

25 In Fig. 16.6 is Athens, National Museum Xp. 305 (formerly, 3697); *FGS*, p. 90, no. 10, pl. 9. For "duellists" combined with the ship motif: Athens, National Museum 11765 (*supra*, n. 12) and Heidelberg, Arch. Institute 62/10; R. Hampe, *Katalog der Sammlung antiker Kleinkunst des Archäologischen Institutes der Universität Heidelberg* 2 (Mainz 1971) 17, no. 126, pl. 96.

26 Athens, National Museum 8199 (*FGS*, p. 90, no. 13, pl. 11, bottom) and 11765 (*supra*, n. 12). Formerly, Berlin, Staatliche Museen 8460 (*FGS*, p. 98, no. 58, pl. 11, top; *Forschungen*, pl. 15, top).

27 Athens, National Museum 8204; *FGS*, p. 92, no. 18, pl. 16, bottom.

28 Athens, National Museum 12341 (*supra*, n. 16).

29 Athens, National Museum 11765 (*supra*, n. 12).

30 The fibula, which was published by H. N. Bates, *AJA* 15 (1911) 1-17, is now in a private collection in Exeter, New Hampshire.

31 Athens, National Museum 8003; *FGS*, p. 90, no. 12, pl. 12, bottom.

32 As represented by the crescent fibulae in the Athens Kerameikos Geometric Grave 41: K. Kübler, *Kerameikos* 5.1 (Berlin 1954) p. 236, pls. 159-160; H. Müller-Karpe, *JDAI* 77 (1962) 106, fig. 24. A crescent fibula in a ninth-century grave from *Levkandi* has a circular central motif but no flanking ornaments: *Archaeological Reports* 1970-1971, p. 8, fig. 9.

33 In Fig. 16.8 is Copenhagen, National Museum 752; *Fibules*, p. 187, fig. 211. In Fig. 16.9 is formerly, Berlin, Staatliche Museen 8604.112; J. Boehlau, *JDAI* 3 (1888) 363, fig. e; E. Reisinger, *JDAI* 31 (1916) 303-304, fig. 8. At roughly this stage and having purely geometric ornament is the unpublished fibula Athens, National Museum 16245.

34 C. Dugas, *BCH* 45 (1921) 384-385, no. 154, fig. 45.

35 Berlin, Staatliche Museen 31014a and b (W. Berlin, Charlottenburg); Reisinger, *op. cit.* (*supra*. n. 33), pp. 289, 294-295, fig. 2.

36 A connection with the group is most obvious for the unpublished fragmentary plate fibula in Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum 927.84x12 (AN 155). Another possibly related piece, as already suggested by Hampe, is the bawdy fibula in the Thebes Archaeological Museum (*FGS*, pp. 11, 13-14, 108, no. 140, pl. 6). The Elgin fibulae of the British Museum could also perhaps be related and could represent an early stage of the group (*supra*, n. 10).

37 A. Furtwängler, *Annali* (1880) 118, 125 (=*Kleine Schriften* 1 [Munich, 1912] 433, 438).

38 Reisinger, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 33), p. 288.

39 A. DeRidder, *Catalogue des bronzes de la Société archéologique d'Athènes* (Paris 1894) no. 325 (1110).

40 Formerly, Berlin, Staatliche Museen 8458; A. Fürtwangler, *Arch. Anz.* (1894) 116, fig. 2.

41 Athens, National Museum 8194. DeRidder, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 39).

42 Berlin, Staatliche Museen 31013a and b (W. Berlin, Charlottenburg); Riesinger, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 33), pp. 288-296, pls. 17 and 18; *FGS*, p. 98, nos. 62 a-b, pls. 4-5; Charbonneaux, *op. cit.* (*supra*. n. 8). p. 63, fig. 17. The fibula illustrated here is 31013a. Also approximately at this stage is the fibula formerly, Berlin, Staatliche Museen 8396; Fürtwangler, *op. cit.* (*supra*. n. 40), pp. 115-116, fig. 1; Reisinger, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 33), p. 288; *FGS*, p. 12, fig. 1 and p. 98, no. 60.

43 London, British Museum 98.2-26.1 (3204), here Fig. 16.14, and 98.31-18.1 (3205), here Fig. 16.13; *BMC Bronzes*, pp. 373-375, figs. 85-88; *FGS*, p. 104, nos. 100-101, pls. 1-3. On the side of 98.31-18.1 not illustrated here the clarity of the composition to the right of the central circle is marred by the setting down of a lion and its victims among the subsidiary birds above the main unit. See *Bronzes*, fig. 88, and *FGS*, pl. 3.

44 *Cf.* K. Fittschen, *Untersuchungen zum Beginn der Darstellungen bei den Griechen* (Berlin 1969) 64-65.

45 Athens, National Museum 8163; Furtwängler, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 37), pp. 124-132, pl. G (=*Kleine Schriften* 1.438-442 and pl. 13); DeRidder, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 39), p. 68, no. 308 (29).

46 *Theogony* 581-584.

47 Various possibilities are noted and discussed by R. Hampe, *Ein Frühattischer Grabfund* (Mainz 1960) 83-84; J. Boardman, *JHS* 86 (1966) 4; G. Ahlberg, *Prothesis and Ekphora in Greek Geometric Art* (Göteborg 1971) 184-202.

48 *E.g.*, J. M. Davison, *Attic Geometric Workshops* (*YCS* 16 [1961] figs. 34, 36, 49, 59, 60, 61, 64.

49 *Theogony* 53-54. *Odyssey* 8.481.

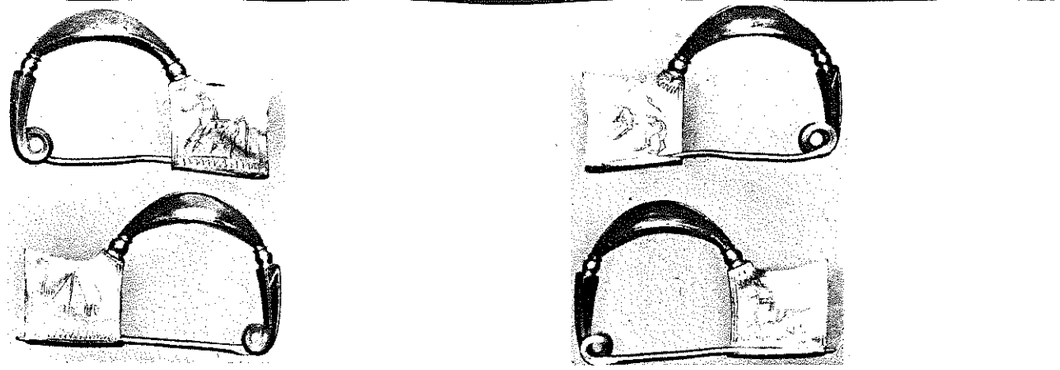
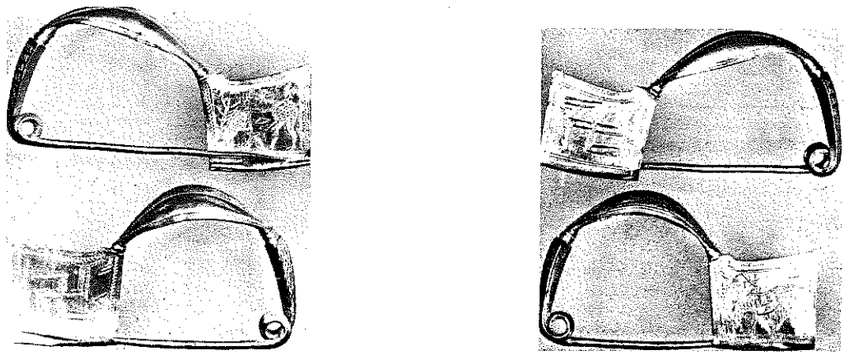


Fig. 16.1



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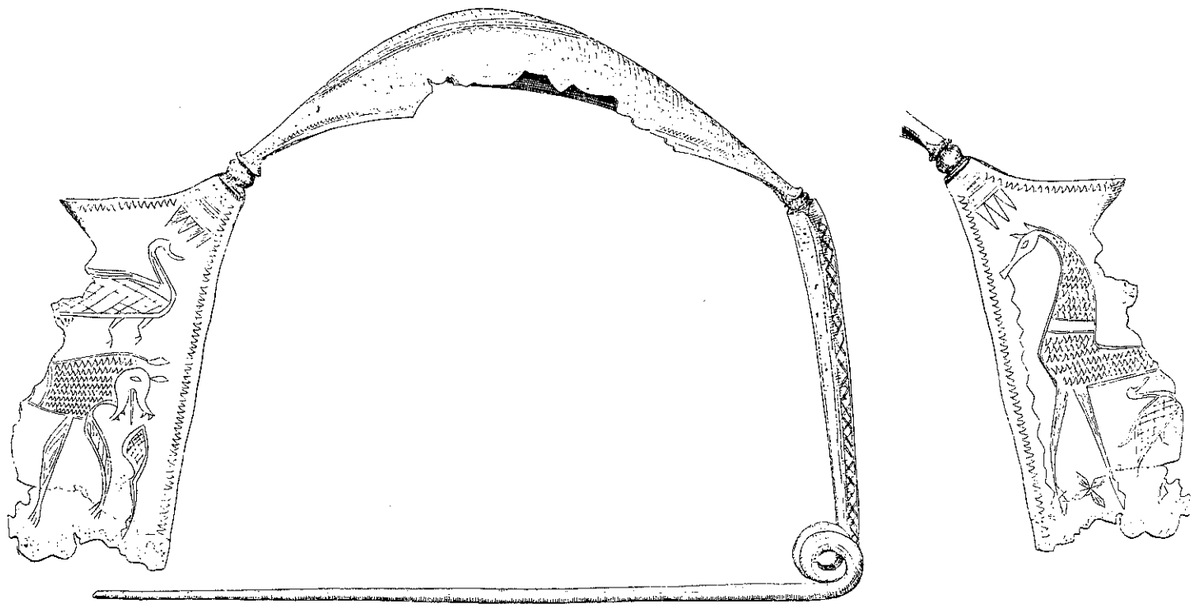

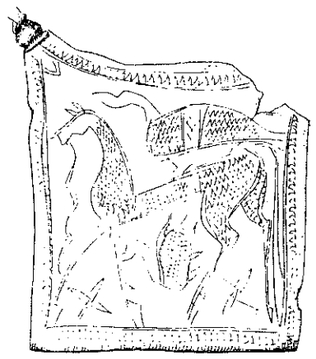

Fig. 16.3

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Fig. 16.4

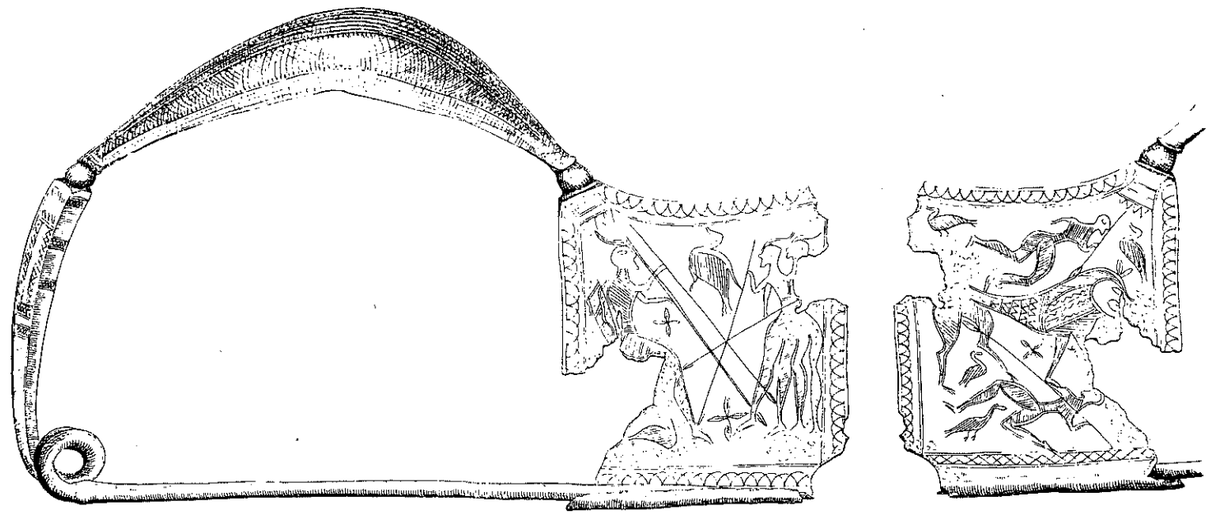

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Fig. 16.5

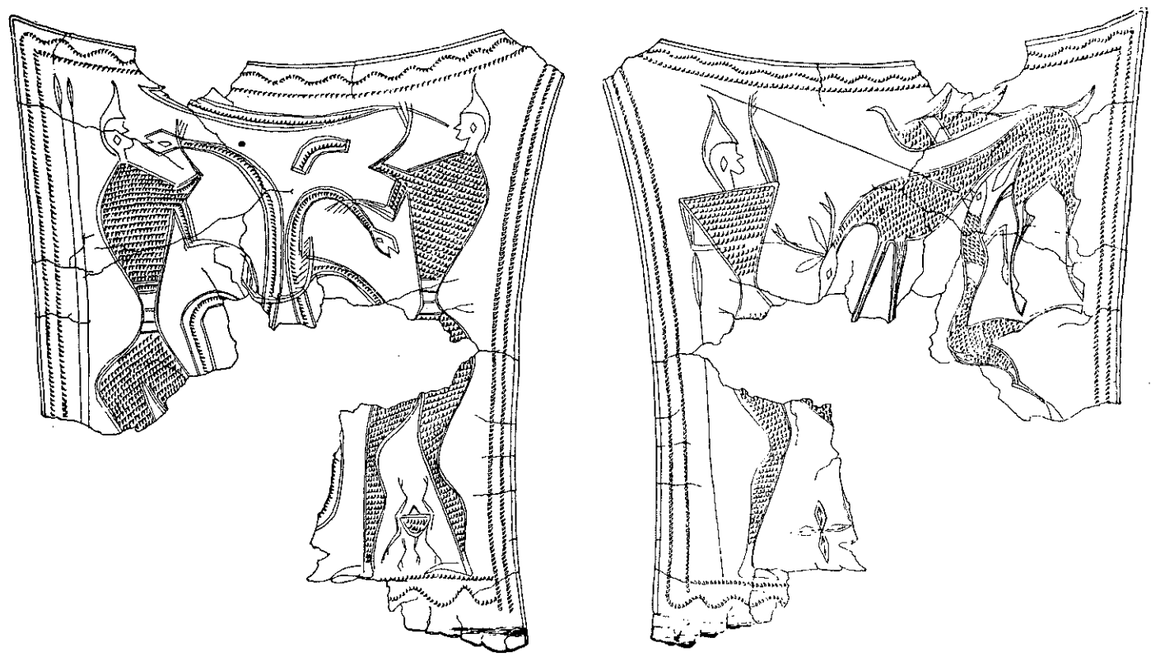

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Fig. 16.6

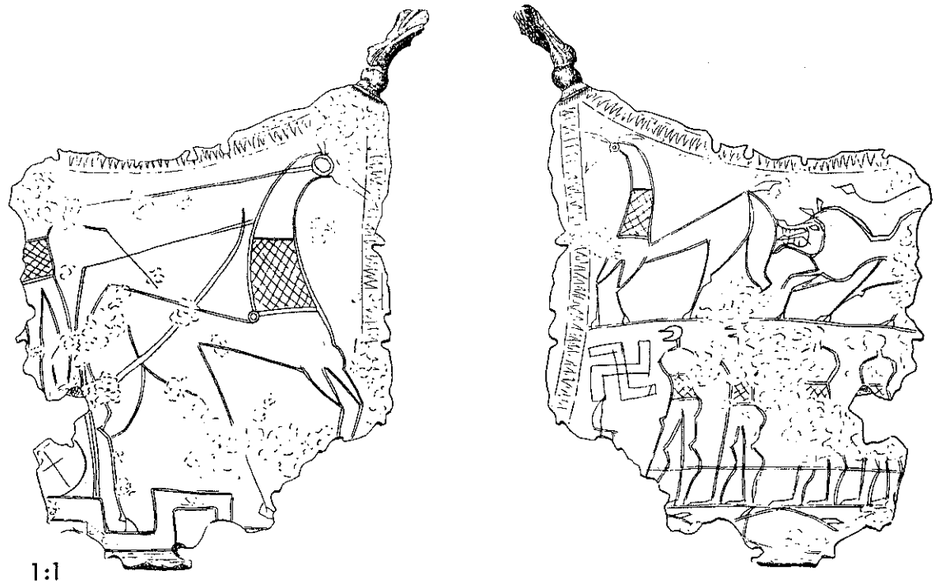

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Fig. 16.7

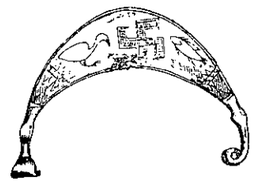

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Fig. 16.8

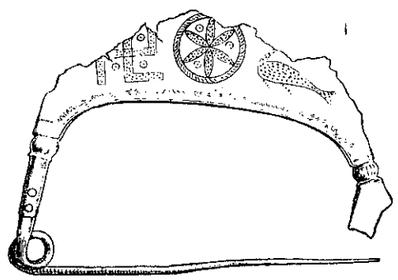

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Fig. 16.9

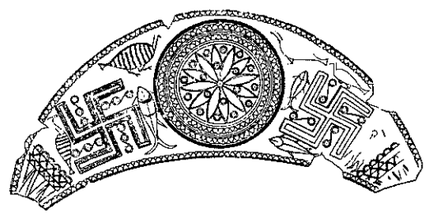

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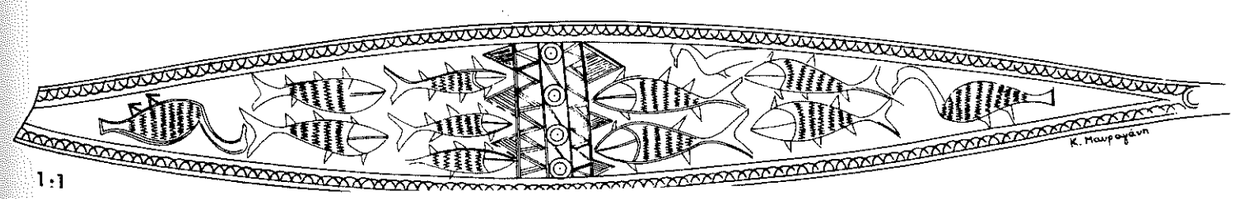
Fig. 16.10



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16. ΩΤΕ ΜΕΛΙΣΣΑ:

Sur deux poèmes du jeune Pindare (*Pyth.* 10: *Olymp.* 14)

par André Hurst

0.1 S'il est, dans le champ des antiquités béotiennes, des problèmes spécifiques de cette aire délimitée de la Grèce, il en est d'autres qui permettent de mettre en évidence les liens qui rattachent cette partie au tout que constitue la communauté hellénique. La poésie de Pindare est certainement à classer dans cette seconde catégorie, elle qui s'affirme, dès les premiers mots que nous ayons d'elle, comme un chant à valeur panhellénique; et pourtant, elle sait aussi prendre racine dans sa terre d'origine pour célébrer les dieux, les hommes, les lieux de sa région.

1. Les deux poèmes dont il sera question correspondent à ces deux versants de l'art pindarique: la dixième ode pythique célèbre des princes et des vainqueurs thessaliens, et ce chant venu de Thèbes veut être perçu au-delà des murs de la ville; on y entend résonner dès la première strophe les noms de Sparte, de la Thessalie, d'Héraklès, de Pythô et de Pelinna. Tout autre est l'intention de la quatorzième ode olympique, dont l'étoffe est spécifiquement orchoménienne. Selon les classifications chronologiques usuelles pour Pindare[1], dix ans séparent ces deux textes, mais dans ce laps de temps ne prendraient place que deux autres textes parmi ceux qui nous été transmis: les premiers poèmes siciliens, sixième et douzième ode pythiques. Si nous choisissons la 10ème pythique et la 14ème olympique, c'est que de leur confrontation peuvent naître une série d'observations sur la manière du jeune Pindare, et que ces observations jettent sur son oeuvre un jour propice à l'analyse plus étendue de son "art poétique", dans la mesure où cette expression ne désigne pas seulement ce que le poète dit de la poésie, mais où elle recouvre l'examen des comportements littéraires dans leur ensemble.

1.1. On rapporte une "réponse" de Pindare, probablement inauthentique, mais qui révèle quelque chose de l'idée que ses lecteurs anciens se faisaient de lui:

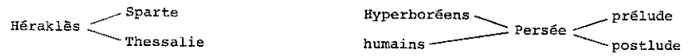
> Ἐρωτηθεὶς πάλιν ὑπό τινος διὰ τί μέλη γράφων
> ᾄδειν οὐκ ἐπίσταται, εἶπε καὶ γὰρ οἱ ναυπηγοὶ
> πηδάλια κατασκευάζοντες κυβερνᾶν οὐκ ἐπίστανται.

"Une autre fois, comme on lui demandait pourquoi il ne savait pas chanter, lui qui écrivait des chants, il répondit: "Les constructeurs de bateaux font aussi des gouvernails et ne savent pas barrer"[2].

Une telle primauté accordée à la facture consciente, technique, de l'oeuvre, et la comparaison elle-même du poète et d'un constructeur étaient bien entendu favorisées par le texte pindarique lui-même[3]. Le poète "bâtit", il assemble, il est architecte, et la tentation serait forte de voir en lui un constructeur de formes, chez qui le langage n'aurait qu'un statut d'auxiliaire, à la manière du Ménandre que nous propose une autre anecdote antique (Plut. *de glor. Ath.* 347e)[4]. Pourtant, et malgré le caractère éminemment social du poème pindarique, malgré les servitudes que lui imposent le sujet et les circonstances d'exécution, on aurait tort de ne mettre l'accent chez lui que sur cet aspect de l'acte créateur, tant il est vrai que Pindare s'efforce d'imposer le poème à la fois comme grille d'explication du moment donné et comme interrogation générale sur les ordonnances possibles du monde[5]. Au travers de la forme, quelque chose s'élabore qui dépasse les contraintes de la forme ou les variables proposées par la forme. Si donc nous allons nous intéresser aux "formes" de deux odes pindariques, ce n'est pas pour isoler de la "poésie" un certain nombre de "recettes", mais pour tenter de faire apparaître la cohérence du texte au niveau de son écriture.

2.1. Dès les premiers mots, la dixième ode pythique nous instille un schéma ternaire: Lacédémone et la Thessalie sont données comme deux éléments pourvus d'un dénominateur commun, leur relation avec Héraklès au travers des familles dont elles tirent leurs dirigeants. Au travers de la figure d'Héraklès, l'ode prend ainsi pied sur le sol thébain[6] en même temps qu'elle vise un horizon plus étendu. Le héros occupe une position centrale, flanqué de deux contrées entre lesquelles il sert de trait d'union. Cela posé, le poète intervient à la première personne et justifie son entreprise[7]. Sa justification de l'oeuvre par la commande des princes thessaliens trouve un écho évident à la fin du poème: Pindare, une nouvelle fois, se livre à une déclaration de type personnel et prononce l'éloge de ses protecteurs[8]. Or il se trouve que la partie centrale de l'ode, celle qu'on peut appeler "mythique" ou "mythologique" nous présente Persée chez les Hyperboréens. La situation de Persée est doublement centrale: il est inclus dans une partie du poème flanquée de segments qui se font écho, et il sert lui aussi de trait d'union entre les deux mondes des humains et des Hyperboréens. Nous sommes ainsi renvoyés irrésistiblement à la situation centrale d'Héraklès dans les premiers mots du texte[9]: un même schéma ternaire s'esquisse, que nous allons tenter d'examiner de plus près. Ce faisant, nous tenons la forme pour le support direct de la signification; on n'aurait pas de peine à justifier dans le cas de Pindare la possibilité théorique du recours à une telle attitude; le poète lui-même livre des indices comme, dans cette ode, le rapport évident entre les quatre triades et le "char des Muses" tiré par quatre chevaux[10].

2.1.1. Pourtant, une remarque préliminaire s'impose. Je ne ferai ici que l'esquisser. La parenté des deux constructions:



nous indique une direction et semble pointer vers un coeur du poème où le sens ne serait saisissable qu'à travers une mise en lumière d'un réseau formel. Cela nous conduira vers des considérations sur la séquence des thèmes et leur fonction, et il convient de distinguer une semblable démarche de deux voies bien connues de l'exégèse pindarique: l'étude des formes métriques et l'étude de la syntaxe. Il est clair que la forme métrique constitue un donné musical dont le poète lyrique est appelé à se servir; il peut en jouer de telle manière que la forme poétique à proprement parler -- résultant de l'ensemble des processus de création -- subisse fortement sa présence, reçoive même par son intermédiaire un statut privilégié[11]; mais cet aspect de la forme n'éclaire chez le poète que ce qu'il emprunte au répertoire avec plus ou moins d'imagination novatrice, et non nécessairement les comportements les plus personnels dans lesquels le lecteur cherche à cerner son art d'écrire. D'autre part, les recherches sur la syntaxe mènent à des résultats évidents -- dans la mesure toutefois où l'aspect métrique n'est pas oublié[12]; mais il est clair qu'examiner la syntaxe du poème (au sens strictement grammatical du mot) ne prend de sens que si cet examen fait partie d'un groupe plus étendu d'opérations tendant à élucider l'ensemble des démarches du texte.

2.1.2. Revenons à la dixième ode pythique, et voyons si le chemin sur lequel Pindare nous invite mène à des prolongements. Si l'on considère le segment central, consacré à Persée chez les Hyperboréens, on est frappé de voir la manière dont ce segment est rattaché au reste du poème:

> (οὗτος ἀνήρ . . .) περαίνει πρὸς ἔσχατον 28
> πλόον· ναυσὶ δ' οὔτε πεζὸς ὢν [κεν] εὕροις 29
> ἐς Ὑπερβορέων ἀγῶνα θαυμαστὰν ὁδόν. 30

("Cet homme" *scil.* l'homme heureux en tout). . .
pousse jusqu'au bout de la navigation; mais ni sur
les nefs, ni à pied tu ne saurais trouver l'étonnante
route qui mène à l'assemblée des Hyperboréens.

Suit l'évocation de ce peuple et du passage de Persée, que le poète conclut ainsi:

51 κώπαν σχάσον, ταχὺ δ' ἄγκυραν ἑρεισον χθονὶ
52 πρῴραθε, χοιράδος ἄλκαρ πέτρας.

"Retiens la rame, et plante l'ancre au sol, jette-la
de la proue, notre secours contre l'écueil".

La communauté des images maritimes donne à l'insertion du segment mythologique son aspect équilibré, sous l'apparence de l'arbitraire. Le vaisseau introduit et interrompt l'évocation du mythe, il assure le passage d'un niveau du poème (ou de ses thèmes) à l'autre.

2.1.3. Pourtant, ce n'est pas tout. Si l'on considère la séquence des thèmes à l'intérieur du segment mythique lui-même, il apparaît que Persée est évoqué aux extrémités du segment (31-34; 44-49); le centre est réservé à l'évocation du peuple bienheureux des Hyperboréens[13], reflet mythique de la cour thessalienne[14], au milieu brillent les noms divins d'Apollon et de la Muse, la mention de festivités accompagnées de choeurs; au sommet de la courbe, et par le détour des choeurs de jeunes filles, le choeur pindarique souligne ainsi sa propre présence (le détour mis à part, on retrouve ici le procédé attesté chez Alcman). Il n'est pas sans intérêt de relever ici la conjonction de thèmes qui fondent sociale-ment l'activité du poète, -- ce thème qui reparaît aux extrémités de l'ode. La poésie est présente chez les Hyperboréens, liée qu'elle est à la fête qui manifeste leur piété; or cette piété est solidaire de leur bonheur. Il n'est pas impossible que le poète rappelle le meurtre de la Gorgone et l'arrivée de Persée à Sériphos avant tout dans l'intention de laisser éclater sa propre piété[15]: elle devient ainsi le corrélatif de la piété des Hyperboréens. La présence de Pindare lui-même dans ce niveau du poème éclaire sa fonction auprès des Aleuades: il confère le bonheur aux Thessaliens (μάκαιρα Θεσσαλία) par son poème. Il n'est pas le jeune invité fortuné des princes; sans lui, privés de l'acte de piété qui constitue la cantate, ces princes ne discerneraient pas les conditions de leur bonheur, que Pindare leur montre justement dans le miroir des Hyperboréens: piété apollinienne (nous sommes dans une ode pythique), fêtes, poésie, absence de maux.

2.1.4. Comme le laisse prévoir le mouvement du texte, la louange du vainqueur se trouve deux fois dans cette ode, de part et d'autre du segment central. C'est à l'une de ces charnières que le poète situe la confession dans laquelle il se compare à l'abeille:

53 ἐγκωμίων γὰρ ἄωτος ὕμνων
54 ἐπ' ἄλλοτ' ἄλλον ὥτε μέλισσα θύνει λόγον.

"Car la splendeur de l'hymne élogieux, à la manière
de l'abeille, bondit çà et là d'un sujet à l'autre."

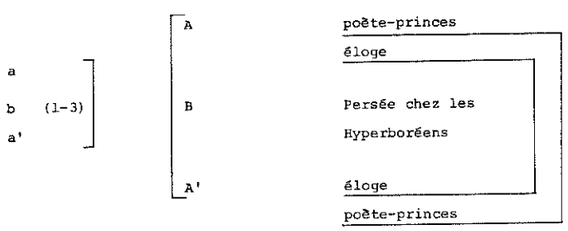
Manière habile de justifier le retour à un thème précédent, de masquer le rôle de la digression centrale (et avertissement au lecteur, nous y reviendrons cf. *infra* 4). On sait que le miel et la parole ne sont pas sans rapports chez Homère déjà; il en va de même chez Pindare[16]. Pour ne citer qu'un exemple, le vainqueur célébré dans la sixième ode pythique est doué de "pensée douce" (γλυκεῖα φρήν 53), ce qui a pour effet qu'il "rivalise avec le travail ajouré des abeilles" (μελισσᾶν ἀμείβεται τρητὸν πόνον 55). Rien d'étonnant, dès lors, à ce que notre poète-abeille produise lui aussi un "doux chant" (ὄπ(α) . . . γλυκεῖαν . . . ἐμάν 56)[17]. γλυκεῖα fait écho de manière manifeste à un mot situé bien en évidence au v.10:

10 Ἄπολλον, γλυκὺ δ' ἀνθρώπων τέλος ἀρχά
τε δαίμονος ὀρνύντος αὔξεται

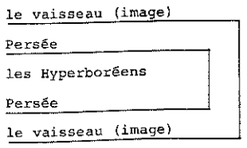
"Apollon! Douceur que le principe et la fin des
actes d'hommes si le dieu les met en branle".

Pourtant, si l'on excepte cet écho textuel ainsi que le rappel plus banal du chant (6~56) et des couronnes de victoire (40~58), les deux louanges du vainqueur ne reprennent pas de véritables motifs communs. Ils se présentent bien plutôt comme des versants complémentaires d'un événement dont les données gravitent autour d'Hippoclès[18]. En effet, le jeune homme est d'abord situé par rapport à des entours: le dieu qui lui a accordé la victoire, la famille dont il tient ses vertus, le bonheur complet de son père, bonheur que la victoire d'Hippoclès contribue à constituer, enfin les limites du bonheur humain qui introduisent l'image de la navigation et l'évocation de Persée. Dans tout cela, il est assez peu question du vainqueur, de sa personne, de son âge[19]. Or c'est là l'objet de la seconde louange. τὸν Ἱπποκλέαν, forme dans laquelle on s'est plu à reconnaître la valeur démonstrative archaïque de l'"article", souligne justement la présence de l'être loué, qui n'avait été précédemment que nommé. Peu importe donc que l'évocation de son aspect corresponde au motif amoureux traditionnel[20] pour un jeune vainqueur: seule compte sa présence. Les pensées prudentes et réservées de Pindare sur le bonheur et l'avenir forment elles aussi le pendant des déclarations qui accompagnaient la première louange: là, nous étions spectateurs d'une réussite qui était affirmée comme le résultat de toute une carrière aboutissant au bonheur. Le bonheur du jeune homme ne saurait être proclamé en de tels termes: il ne se retourne pas sur un passé glorieux, il a devant lui les incertitudes d'un avenir à conquérir, -- ce motif implique d'ailleurs un parallèle du jeune vainqueur et du jeune poète, il introduit de manière cryptée les nouvelles déclarations personnelles de Pindare[21].

2.2. L'ensemble de l'ode se présente donc à nous comme une structure ternaire ABA' dans laquelle les segments A et A' sont constitués par les circonstances de l'ode et l'éloge du vainqueur, B par l'épisode de Persée chez les Hyperboréens. En cela, l'ode se décompose sur le mode que laissaient attendre les trois premiers vers, avec la construction qu'ils érigent en façade: Héraklès le Thébain au centre de deux contrées. Pourtant nous avons vu que A et A' se subdivisent à leur tour et de telle manière qu'ils donnent pour résultante une figure récurrente:



cependant que B nous propose également une structure récurrente:



Voilà donc mis en oeuvre dans un poème lyrique, et avec une cohérence qui s'établit à divers niveaux, un schème qu'on a remarqué dans le prologue de l'*Iliade* déjà[22], et que nous appelons pour la commodité de l'exposé "figure récurrente" ou "récurrence" comme font les musiciens. On voit l'opportunité de cette forme ici. La trajectoire du texte se modèle sur la trajectoire qui mène chez les Hyperboréens et qui en ramène l'auditeur. Ce dernier, comme Persée, atteint au bonheur à l'intérieur des limites du poème, par la grâce d'une manière d'être qui est celle du texte et par l'événement précis de son exécution. Il y a là tout autre chose que la construction ternaire des triades qui scandent cette parole poétique, autre chose aussi qu'un ordre de mots qui graviteraient ou non autour d'un centre (ou de plusieurs). Cependant la tentation est forte dès lors de se demander si un tel schème n'aurait pas en lui quelque chose d'obligé, si le poète, obscurément ou de propos délibéré, ne construirait pas toujours le même type de séquence afin d'obtenir un effet d'unité en d'autres termes si nous ne mettons pas le doigt sur une vulgaire recette. La manière dont la forme signifie dans cette ode le voyage chez les Hyperboréens nous incite à penser que tel n'est pas le cas, mais c'est la quatorzième ode olympique qui va nous permettre de répondre par la négative. Auparavant, il nous faut encore prêter attention à trois détails.

2.2.1. Les seules divinités nommées deux fois dans le texte sont Apollon et les Muses. Or leur distribution dans les segments du poème est révélatrice: Apollon et les Muses sont nommés séparément dans les segments A (10) et A' (65), ils sont réunis au centre dans les festivités des Hyperboréens (35 et 37). Cette disposition des protecteurs de la poésie constitue un réseau tênu de rappels; on peut le situer presque sur le même plan que le couple γλυκύ ~ γλυκεῖαν cf. 2.1.4.[23] Ce réseau n'en est pas moins l'indice d'une volonté consciente de structurer l'oeuvre.

2.2.2. L'image marine qui encadre la digression mythique se trouve renforcée par l'étonnement qui suit dans un cas et précède dans l'autre (θαυμαστὰν ὁδόν 30 ~ θαυμάσαι 48). Nous avons dans ce cas un exemple de thèmes qui se répondent selon une syntaxe thématique et non grammaticale. En effet, le thème est rattaché la première fois à la proposition qui contient l'image du vaisseau, ce qui n'est pas le cas la seconde fois.[24]

2.2.3. Enfin, si nous avons insisté sur le caractère indicatif des premiers mots, il est temps de songer également au dernier. κυβερνάσιες (72) dépend très évidemment d'une notion répandue: celle du vaisseau de l'Etat[25]. Mais son usage, ici, a plus de portée; dans un poème où les vaisseaux jouent le rôle de médiateurs entre les divers plans des thèmes, κυβερνάσιες opère de manière originale la synthèse des activités du poète et de celles du prince: φιλέων φιλέοντ', ἄγων ἄγοντα προφρόνως . . . (66).

3.1. La quatorzième ode olympique se donne pour un texte orchoménien de coeur, et le ton même étonne dans une épinicie[26]. C'est que nous lisons plutôt une sorte de prière baignée de piété civique: le vainqueur n'est que l'occasion d'une victoire de sa cité (cf. 19 οὕνεκ' Ὀλυμπιόνικος ἀ Μινύεια), -- une cité à laquelle on tentera d'agréger encore, par la grâce du chant, le père défunt du vainqueur (20-24); et c'est par un culte rendu aux plus authentiques divinités du cru, les Charites (Χάριτες Ἐρχομενοῦ, 4) que la cité veut témoigner aux dieux sa reconnaissance pour cette faveur. La sobriété du rite semble avoir inspiré la sobriété de la forme: en fait, nous avons ici un exemple privilégié dans l'oeuvre de Pindare puisque la forme métrique et la séquence des thèmes s'établissent sur les mêmes fondements: une strophe et son antistrophe.

3.2.1. D'un segment à l'autre du poème, on note d'emblée un parallélisme: l'hymne et sa reprise sont tous deux marqués par une ouverture invocatoire (1-5) ~ (13-17)[27]; il y a pourtant une différence: les Charites, évoquées collectivement la première fois, se trouvent nommées la seconde. Ce glissement vers une expression plus particulière annonce tout le dessin de l'ode dans son agencement binaire. En effet, si nous plaçons côte à côte les vers en question, nous voyons que non seulement les dénominations collectives ("illustres souveraines" . . . "gardiennes" . . .) ont fait place aux noms particuliers des divinités, mais qu'à la seconde fois seulement le κῶμος est nommé (avec le démonstratif impliquant sa présence (τόνδε κῶμον 16) et une description de sa manière d'évoluer[28]: la cérémonie prend corps, les participants principaux se donnent dès lors en spectacle tels qu'ils sont, dans l'exercice du rituel célébré au moment même.

3.2.2. Un mouvement semblable régit les rapports des phrases explicatives qui font suite à ces invocations. A l'invocation collective des déesses d'Orchomène (1-5) vient s'accoler une description très générale de leur pouvoir chez les mortels (5-7).

5 σὺν γὰρ ὕμμιν τά [τε] τερπνὰ καὶ
6 τὰ γλυκέ' ἄνεται πάντα βροτοῖς,
7 εἰ σοφός, εἰ καλός, εἴ τις ἀγλαὸς ἀνήρ.

"Car c'est en vous que viennent à terme chez les
mortels plaisir et douceur, par vous que l'homme
est sage, beau, glorieux."

Cependant que l'invocation "incarnée" (13-17) est suivie d'une phrase qui évoque le pouvoir des Charites dans l'occasion particulière[29]. Nous apprenons ici qu'il y a un vainqueur, on nous dit son nom; l'expression κοῦφα βιβῶντα reçoit son pendant acoustique dans Λυδῷ . . . τρόπῳ, tour qui décrit à sa manière le chant exécuté, et dont l'exécution est solidaire de cet énoncé. Nous apprenons aussi qu'il s'agit d'une victoire aux jeux olympiques, ce que rien, ou presque rien n'avait indiqué jusqu'ici, mais qui fait retentir à distance certains mots: θεῶν κρατίστου/παῖδες (14 sq.) et surtout πατρὸς Ὀλυμπίοιο τιμάν (12) expression qui marque quasiment le centre de l'ode:

17 Λυδῷ γὰρ Ἀσώπιχον ἐν τρόπῳ
18 ἐν μελέταις τ' ἀείδων ἔμολον
19 οὕνεκ' Ὀλυμπιόνικος ἀ Μινύεια
20 σεῦ ἕκατι

"Car je suis venu célébrer Asôpichos en mon poème,
sur le mode lydien, puisque la ville minyenne a
remporté une victoire olympique grâce à toi".

3.3. Invocations et motifs de ces invocations s'établissent ainsi sur deux versants symétriques. Alors que la strophe nomme de façon collective, rattachant les faits à des qualifications générales, à des aspects assez imprécis du paysage (Καφισίων ὑδάτων 1) ou de la légende (παλαιγόνων Μινυᾶν ἐπίσκοποι 4), l'antistrophe suit un même cheminement, mais pour lui donner des racines dans le fait particulier: non plus les Charites d'Orchomènes, mais chacune d'elle invoquée tour à tour, non plus l'annonce d'un acte pieux, mais la vision -- très fugitive, à vrai dire -- d'un κῶμος dansant aux sons d'une musique lydienne, non plus l'évocation d'un pouvoir mais la proclamation de son efficacité, le nom du vainqueur, sa cité, le lieu illustre de la victoire.

3.4. Cette complémentarité se retrouve dans les deux segments qui concluent repectivement la strophe et l'antistrophe (8-12) (20-24). Pour les vers qui évoquent le pouvoir des Charites parmi les dieux, il est évident qu'ils s'articulent d'abord sur ce qui vient d'être dit des mortels: pas plus que les hommes, les dieux ne sauraient se passer des Charites. Mais il n'est question que des dieux du ciel (ἐν οὐρανῷ 10), présentés comme un groupe sur le fond duquel viennent se détacher les noms glorieux d'Apollon pythien et de Zeus olympien.

3.4.1. Cette description rapide du pouvoir des Charites dans le monde céleste trouve son pendant lorsqu'à la fin de l'antistrophe Echo est envoyée dans le monde infernal en messagère. Certes, le couple Ciel-monde infernal nous offre une réalisation supplémentaire, à l'échelon divin, de la complémentarité observée entre les autres segments, mais ce modèle ne satisferait pas à lui seul un désir de cohérence avec la démarche qui nous est apparue; ce qui marque ici le mouvement vers le particulier, c'est une séquence de noms propres opposée aux "dieux" groupés de la strophe, c'est une nouvelle joyeuse, bien définie dans son contenu, alors que la strophe parlait de fêtes intemporelles et permanentes[30]; c'est d'ailleurs la proclamation de cette nouvelle qui vient clore l'ode dont elle offre le prétexte: ainsi la strophe se termine par l'évocation de divinités qui protègent les jeux panhelléniques, l'antistrophe par celle d'une victoire ponctuelle, remportée par un athlète déterminé. Cela nous mène à une remarque.

3.5. Apollon et Zeus sont en effet nommés, à côté du groupe des dieux, dans la strophe déjà. Ne s'agit-il pas d'une exception au mouvement du texte? On est tenté de le croire, mais c'est pour s'apercevoir alors que les dieux ainsi nommés sont mis en rapport avec des lieux terrestres: Delphes pour Apollon, l'Olympe et Olympie tout à la fois pour Zeus[31]. Les épithètes choisies par le poète assurent une liaison entre l'univers ouranien et le lieu sacré terrestre

(situable sinon toujours situé dans le cas de l'Olympe). De même, à la fin de l'antistrophe, la mention des "glorieux vallons de Pise", contenue dans la nouvelle à porter dans l'Hadès, crée un lien entre le monde souterrain et le monde des humains. Dans ce cas, une fois encore, la démarche qui mène de la strophe à l'antistrophe est marquée par un souci de donner corps à une réalité saisie d'abord de façon quasiment immatérielle: en effet, Apollon nommé pythien et Zeus olympien ne renvoient pas de façon contraignante à une réalité géographique, il ne font que marquer une implantation possible du divin sur sol mortel; en revanche, les vallons de Pise constituent la désignation univoque d'un lieu présent dans l'expérience de l'auditeur, en particulier si l'on songe au jeune vainqueur. Il est d'ailleurs évident que Pise renvoie à Zeus olympien (cf. 3.2.2.). Ces deux évocations, Apollon pythien et Zeus olympien d'une part, les vallons de Pise d'autre part, convergent donc vers le lieu terrestre où la victoire célébrée dans l'ode s'est produite, et c'est dans les deux cas les Charites qui rendent la réjouissance possible (cf. σεῦ ἕκατι 20 et 5-7).

3.6. Ainsi, le parallélisme métrique imposé par le choix du couple antistrophique se double d'un parallélisme discernable au niveau de la séquence des thèmes:

	Invocation	motif : bonheur mortel	bonheur dans un autre monde
str.	1-5	5 - - - - - - - 7	8-12
ant.	13-17	17 - - - - - - - 20	20-24

L'essentiel n'est pas ici dans un jeu de miroirs qui pourrait en définitive sembler assez vain; il réside bien davantage dans la manière dont cet agencement formel prend corps, donc dans la démarche binaire qui passe d'un exposé intemporel et presque mythique (cf. παλαιγόνων) à la fête présente, aux faits incarnés, au sens particulier que le poète entend leur donner: célébration civique en l'honneur de divinités locales à l'occasion d'une victoire panhellénique. Dans le tracé qui conduit des thèmes de la strophe à leurs correspondants de l'antistrophe, on pourrait aller jusqu'à lire la marque d'un itinéraire qui mènerait des grands jeux en l'honneur du maître des Olympiens à cette fête d'une petite cité, d'un groupe humain qui, au travers de la victoire remportée par l'un des siens, mesure le pouvoir de ses dieux.

3.6.1. La correspondance du mètre et des thèmes se trouve enfreinte en deux endroits. Les invocations n'aboutissent pas au même temps du vers (5: 6 syllabes∽17: 5 syllabes). Dans l'antistrophe, l'évocation du bonheur humain s'écarte du schème adopté pour les vers 5-7, ce qui nous donne le beau rejet σεῦ ἕκατι. Ces très légères altérations sont l'indice d'une main de maître: le poète ne s'impose pas de schémas; il les choisit, et dans la complicité des formes se permet quelques violences au moment d'architecturer ses thèmes.

3.7. Que Pindare ait voulu donner à son auditeur le sentiment de se trouver devant une pièce fermement charpentée, c'est ce qui, je l'espère, ressort de cette analyse. Il est juste de relever que le poète nous offre ici des indications évidentes: forme antistrophique, correspondance des thèmes. Pourtant, comme dans la 10ème pythique, un réseau plus fin de relations se dessine au niveau de la touche lexicale, et ce réseau ne recouvre exactement ni l'ensemble ni le détail de la structure qu'on a vu apparaître.

3.7.1. Le rapport du vers 7, construit en trois temps

εἰ σοφός, εἰ καλός, εἴ τις ἀγλαὸς ἀνήρ

avec les noms des trois Charites a souvent été mis en lumière. On aurait ainsi trois couples:

σοφός ∽ Εὐφροσύνα

καλός ∽ θαλία

ἀγλαός ∽ Ἀγλαΐα

A l'intérieur de ces couples, les rapports sont relativement transparents[32], bien que l'idée même de toute-puissance des Charites dépasse le niveau d'une spécialisation de chacune d'elles[33].

3.7.2. Μινυᾶν (4) ∽ Μινύεια (19) constitue un couple dont les termes se font écho directement. Situés dans des positions métriques différentes, à l'intérieur d'éléments de la séquence qui ne se correspondent pas, ces deux mots n'en obéissent pas moins au mouvement général du texte: παλαιγόνων Μινυᾶν se situe au niveau du modèle mythique, à Μινύεια désigne la cité d'aujourd'hui dans sa célébration.

3.7.3. Les deux interventions de la première personne (εὔχομαι 5 ∽ ἔμολον 18) se trouvent dans le même cas que le couple précédent du point de vue de leur situation. Leur opposition sur le plan sémantique est l'indice d'une caractéristique nouvelle de la strophe et de l'antistrophe, et qui vient se placer dans l'axe des remarques déjà formulées.

3.8. Si ἔμολον comporte une idée de mouvement alors que εὔχομαι n'en comporte pas, cette opposition de l'immobilité et du mouvement ne se limite pas à ce couple de mots: il s'étend à l'ensemble du couple formé par la strophe et l'antistrophe.

3.8.1. En effet, même si l'on considère les "eaux du Céphise" et les "beaux poulains" de la strophe, on est bien forcé d'y percevoir des dénominations immobiles ou immobilisées par leur contexte. Les eaux du Céphise, élément certes mouvant du paysage, sont mentionnées en relation avec la demeure des Charites, demeure qu'elles ont reçue du sort de manière définitive. Les beaux poulains sont contenus dans un composé de type attributif (ou exocentrique) qui fige le donné dans l'illusion d'une permanence[34]. L'ensemble de la strophe baigne dans une atmosphère presque divine de permanence et d'immobilité, due pour une grande part à l'usage qui est fait du système verbal: l'aspect du présent confère aux propositions une fixité que leur contenu ne ferait pas toujours attendre (la fête olympienne, en particulier, lui doit son *aura* intemporelle).

3.8.2. Dans l'antistrophe, au contraire, l'action et le mouvement apparaissent dès les composés de rection[35] qui qualifient Euphrosyne et Thalie. A l'immobilité de καλλίπωλον répond l'action verbale de φιλησίμολπε et d'ἐρασίμολπε: d'autre part, il est facile de relever dans l'antistrophe les termes qui soulignent le mouvement: κῶμον, κοῦφα βιβῶντα, ἔμολον, ἵδοι, et jusqu'à la victoire elle-même: en effet, alors que la cité est simplement donnée pour "victorieuse aux jeux olympiques", c'est dans le geste du vainqueur, exprimé à l'aoriste, que le poète saisit l'événement au niveau de l'individu:

24 ἐστεφάνωσε κυδίμων ἀέθλων πτεροῖσι χαίταν

". . . il a couronné sa chevelure des ailes glorieuses du concours"[36].

3.8.3. Cette opposition d'une face immobile et d'une face en mouvement ne contredit pas le modèle que nous avions précédemment dégagé. Elle ne fait que montrer un aspect supplémentaire de sa réalisation. Cet aspect pourrait d'ailleurs être analysé dans ses rapports avec la sculpture et la peinture de l'époque; la sculpture, en particulier, fournirait de bons exemples d'opposition du type mouvement immobilité[37]. Cependant, outre le fait que cela sortirait du cadre de cet essai, il ne faut pas oublier que l'exécution chorale de l'ode, sa chorégraphie dont nous ne savons rien (sinon κοῦφα βιβῶντα) pouvaient singulièrement atténuer pour le spectateur ces phénomènes que l'analyse fait apparaître au niveau de l'écriture.

4. "Comme une abeille", en définitive, n'est donc pas un vain mot si nous considérons à présent les deux poèmes en question. Le poète parcourt un itinéraire qui le mène effectivement d'un thème à un autre sans que la séquence logique, apparemment, joue un rôle prépondérant; on trouve même, parfois, toutes les apparences du caprice. Mais d'une part on a démontré qu'il ne s'agissait souvent que d'apparence[38], d'autre part le cheminement du texte obéit en dernier ressort à des impulsions provenant de ce domaine difficile à cerner qu'est l'élaboration des formes par le créateur d'une oeuvre

d'art. Quelque fois le lecteur a l'impression de saisir le poète sur le fait (ainsi dans les images nautiques de la 10ème pythique, ou dans les invocations de la 14ème olympique), ailleurs on est en droit de se demander si le poète ne se fie pas plus obscurément à un sentiment d'équilibre, s'il ne se définit pas, en face de son oeuvre, au gré d'une marche qui pourrait traduire ce qu'il est convenu d'appeler l'inspiration[39].

4.1. Toutefois, il apparaît clairement que si la tradition nous présente parfois un Pindare bâtisseur (cf. 1.1.), la confrontation de ces deux poèmes de jeunesse nous montre en lui de quoi confirmer ce jugement et de quoi le nuancer tout à la fois. Qu'il y ait charpente, personne ne le niera, mais ce qui importe, c'est qu'il n'y ait pas de système, pas de forme obligée. La double postulation de caprice et d'ordre présente dans la comparaison de l'abeille trouve une réalisation éclatante dans ces deux textes. On a vu que leurs formes diffèrent (figure récurrente pour l'un, symétrie pour l'autre); cette possibilité de varier les formes implique la liberté du poète. En effet, la confrontation de la fête thessalienne et de la fête hyperboréenne n'a pas provoqué dans la 10ème pythique une architecture de type binaire; de même, dans la 14ème olympique, la présence de trois Charites n'a provoqué ni le choix d'un schème strophique triadique, ni une séquence récurrente des thèmes. La cohérence formelle provient par conséquent d'un choix qui dès le départ est celui de Pindare: c'est la première phrase de la 10ème pythique qui nous offre comme un embryon du poème entier (2.1.), ce sont les quatre chevaux du char des Muses qui représentent les quatre triades du chant; dans la 14ème olympique, c'est la décomposition en trois aspects de l'excellence humaine au gré des trois noms des Charites, par exemple. Ces liens, on le voit, n'ont de la nécessité que l'apparence: ils entrent dans le jeu des nécessités de l'oeuvre. On observera même que les relations qui s'établissent entre les segments correspondants ne sont pas toujours affectées d'un même signe. Là où la 14ème olympique présente un mouvement presque uniforme de la strophe à l'antistrophe, la 10ème pythique recourt à des procédés divers: tantôt une complémentarité qui fait songer un peu à la 14ème olympique, tantôt l'identité de thème, tantôt de simple écho lexical. Les choix du poète s'ordonnent donc selon plusieurs axes, tant sur le plan des λόγοι (qui n'appartiennent pas en tant que tels à l'art poétique) que sur le plan où le créateur opère de manière plus ou moins consciente ses véritables choix (ὥτε μέλισσα θύνει . . .). Dans nos deux textes, la disjonction du monde et de l'oeuvre, telle que la présente la critique récente[40], peut se deviner d'abord à de tels indices. C'est ici que le travail de l'abeille se substitue au donné, que la simple fête devient poème, langage de miel[41], grâce à une médiation.

4.2. Car c'est bien d'une médiation que l'abeille est le signe. Certes, on pourrait se contenter de l'idée que la belle parole est comparable à la douceur du miel. Mais ce qu'on vient de voir invite à serrer l'image de plus près. On a pu démontrer récemment que dans le monde grec le miel connote toute une série d'activités et leur confère, de par son statut de nourriture privilégiée, des sens précis[42]. Au départ, la consommation du miel marque le passage d'un genre de vie chaotique à un genre de vie cultivé, en particulier sur les plans alimentaire et social. En dernière analyse, l'abeille (ou la nymphe Melissa[43]) permet à l'humanité d'opérer un passage du désordre à l'ordre. On ajoutera que chez Pindare l'image de l'abeille se trouve prolongée; la poésie est également rapprochée des rayons de cire, donc des formes dans lesquelles le miel prend place. Un fragment évoque en ces termes la parole poétique (fr. 152 Snell):

μελισσοτεύκτων κηρίων ἑμὰ γλυκερώτερος ὀμφά

". . . ma voix plus douce que les rayons de cire auquels l'abeille donne forme . . ."

Dans l'activité du poète, l'abeille marquerait donc -- en plus d'un rapport avec la douceur -- l'instauration d'un ordre de culture et de forme tout à la fois, c'est-à-dire le passage à un autre monde. Cet autre monde est celui où le donné peut être réorganisé en une forme autonome, opération qui permet au poète de faire accéder la célébration particulière à un sens permanent (dans la mesure, par exemple, où la digression sur les Hyperboréens comporte un sens solidaire de sa place dans l'ode, dans la mesure où la victoire d'Asôpichos est située dans un jeu d'oppositions et de relations avec la fête divine). Nous rejoignons ici les termes mêmes de Jean Rousset: "Ce sont des observations de ce genre (. . .) qui invitent à considérer l'art comme création de formes dégageant leur signification"[44]. Au reste, Valéry n'a-t-il pas tenu l'idée de structure littéraire pour "la plus *poétique* des idées"[45]? Sur le mode biologique, c'est bien la direction que vise la *Poétique* d'Aristote lorsqu'elle préconise, pour l'oeuvre littéraire "en mètres" le statut d'"être vivant, un et complet" (1459a 20). C'est bien ainsi, également, que le poète thébain conçoit son art lorsqu'il se montre comme un bâtisseur -- et nous revenons ainsi à l'image que la tradition a retenue -- mais comme un bâtisseur de signes:

ἀρχομένου δ' ἔργου πρόσωπον χρὴ θέμεν τηλαυγές

". . . lorsque l'oeuvre est entreprise, il faut lui bâtir une façade glorieuse." (*Olymp.* 6,3-4).

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NOTES

1 On se réfère ici de manière générale à C. M. Bowra, *Pindar* (Oxford 1964) 406-414. Pour *Olymp.* 14 cf. aussi E. Wüst, *Pindar als Geschichtschreibender Dichter* (Tübingen 1967) 90.

2 Πινδάρου ἀποφθέγματα cf. *Scholia vetera in Pindari carmina*, rec. A. B. Drachmann, 1(Leipzig 1903) 4.

3 E.g. *Nem.* 1,4-6; *Olymp.* 6, 1-3. Cf. encore Bowra, *op.cit.*, pp. 20-22.

4 Pour l'idée du poète-architecte, on a pu assembler un matériel qui témoigne de sa distribution dans l'ensemble du domaine indo-européen; cf. J. Darmesteter, *MSL* (1878) 319 sqq., repris dans *Indogermanische Dichtersprache* (Darmstadt 1968) (ed. R. Schmitt).

5 E.g. *Olymp.* 1.1,; *Olymp.* 2.2,; *Olymp.* 11,1-2. etc.

6 cf. Karl Fehr, *Die Mythen bei Pindar* (Zürich 1936) 23.

7 Pour passer d'un poète béotien à un autre, cette rupture fait songer à Hésiode, *Theog.* 35. Cf. F. Schwenn, *Der junge Pindar* (Greifswald 1939) 28.

8 À quoi l'on peut ajouter la touche de foi en une constitution dorienne en Thessalie (1-3 et 69-72); cf. A. Köhnken, *Die Funktion des Mythos bei Pindar* (Berlin-New York 1971) 155.

9 Cela signifie, bien sûr, que nous ne tombons pas d'accord avec U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Pindaros* (Berlin 1922) 124: "Er gesteht, dass diese Bekenntnis eigentlich nicht zur Sache gehörte". Jugement tributaire d'une vision de la critique dans laquelle on peut isoler le "sujet" ("Sache").

10 D. Korzeniewski, *Gymnasium* 75 (1968) 466.

11 E.g. *Pyth.* 1.33; d'une manière générale, cf. R. Nierhaus, *Strophe und Inhalt im pindarischen Epinikion*, (Berlin 1936) 19.

12 E.g. A. I. Sulzer, *Zur Vorstellung und Satzbildung bei Pindar* (Zürich 1961).

13 R. W. B. Burton, *Pindar's Pythian Odes* (Oxford 1962) 8 sq. fait la même remarque.

4 D'une certaine manière, on se trouve ici en désaccord avec ceux qui pensent que le jeune Pindare ne s'y entend pas encore à insérer le "mythe" dans l'ensemble des motifs de l'ode (cf. e.g. K. Fehr, *op. cit.*, pp. 119 sq.). Sur ce point, on consultera également A. Köhnken, *op. cit.* pp. 156 sq. Nous ne pouvons qu'approuver son idée d'une homogénéité entre le bonheur des vainqueurs et celui des Hyperboréens, mais il va de soi, semble-t-il, qu'il faut l'élargir à toute la cour thessalienne (une détail: la répétition du nom d'Apollon, qu'il utilise comme argument, n'est que l'une des répétitions de théonymes dans l'ode cf. *infra* 2.2.1.). La position de Pindare est du reste assez complexe; d'une part il articule très clairement le bonheur humain sur celui des Hyperboréens, se gardant de donner à croire qu'ils s'équivalent puisqu'ils sont séparés par une limite infranchissable; d'autre part, et les deux conceptions sont solidaires, le bonheur des Hyperboréens explique et fonde celui des Thessaliens, dont il livre une sorte de modèle (pour le détail des sacrifices d'ânes, cf. Wilamowitz, *op. cit.* p. 127, n. 2 et p. 128 selon qui l'origine de l'offrande d'un âne par les Ambraciotes à Delphes [Paus. 10.18.4.] est à rechercher dans le culte plus que dans l'histoire); puisqu'on peut se fonder sur des échos lexicaux, il faut remarquer dans cette ligne μάκαιρα Θεσσαλία 2 et ἐς ἀνδρῶν μακάρων ὅμιλον 46 (cf. aussi Burton, op. cit. p. 8, mais le point de vue diffère). C'est dans ce sens que nous voudrions nuancer la position de B. L. Gildersleeve, Pindar, *The Olympian and Pythian Odes* (New York 1890) 350: "The land of the Hyperboreans is a glorified Thessaly" (position reprise par B. A. van Groningen, *La composition littéraire archaïque grecque* [Amsterdam 1958] 350). Köhnken remarque subtilement: ". . man hat den Eindruck, dass sich im Zentrum des Hyperboreer-mythos die aktuelle Siegesfeier spiegelt" (p. 163); ce dernier mot est particulièrement heureux; mais le rapport qu'il établit entre la situation des vainqueurs et celle de Persée (p. 181) me semble ne pas tenir compte du fait que le bonheur de Phrixos est présenté comme plus permanent que celui de son fils (cf. *infra* 2.1.4.). Enfin, il faut bien ici en dire un mot, on a sans doute exagéré l'importance de la scolie au v. 46b: μέχρι δὲ τούτων ὁ Πίνδαρος καλῶς τὸν ἐπίνικον γράφει· ἡσυχάσας δὲ τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀλόγῳ παρεκβάσει χρησάμενος.

Texte facile à contredire, mais il faut se rappeler qu'il ne témoigne que très partiellement des sentiments du public ancien (Selon van Groningen, *op. cit.*, p. 349, n. 2, le scoliaste reproduirait ici l'opinion de Didyme; il s'agit en tous cas de "some ancient scholar" cf. Burton, *op. cit.*, p. 7).

15 A. Köhnken, *op. cit.* pp. 172-173, démontre de façon convaincante une autre fonction de ces vers, à mon avis solidaire de celle que je tente de dégager: marquer l'intrusion de la mortalité sitôt quitté le monde bienheureux des Hyperboréens (sur le plan thématique, s'entend, puisque les épisodes évoqués sont antérieurs (*ibid.* pp. 177-178).

16 cf. W. J. Slater, *Lexicon to Pindar* (Berlin 1969) *s.v.* μέλι (surtout *Olymp.* 10, 98; *Nem.* 3,77) et ses composés.

17 Pour M. Bernard, *Pindars Denken in Bildern*, (Pfullingen 1963) 13, c'est l'aspect de l'image qui intègre cette dernière à la suite (alors que le fait que l'abeille se déplace la rattache à ce qui précède). Ces remarques valent sur le plan purement technique; l'image a une autre portée (cf. *infra*, 4. sqq.)

18 L'idée de "reprise variée" (van Groningen, *op. cit.*, p. 348) me paraît ici insuffisante.

19 A. Köhnken, *op. cit.* p. 158, voit dans ce segment lui-même une composition "en anneau" (nous dirions "récurrente").

20 Cf. Bowra, *op. cit.*, pp. 168 sqq.

21 Cf. F. Schwenn, *op. cit.*, pp. 24 sq.

22 B. A. van Groningen, *op. cit.*, pp. 90 sq.

23 Pour d'autres rappels lexicaux et syntaxiques, cf. P. Schürch, *Zur Wortresponsion bei Pindar* (Bern-Frankfurt 1971) 74-76.

24 Cette correspondance thématique a été remarquée par A. Köhnken, *op. cit.*, pp. 176 sq. qui en tire des conclusions sur le sens des vers 48-50.

25 E.g. D. Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus* (Oxford 1955) 188 sq.

26 Cf. F. Schwenn, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

27 Le fait a été noté souvent (e.g. Wilamowitz, *op. cit.*, p. 151, R. Nierhaus, *op. cit.*, p. 58, n.13).

28 On retrouve ici la manière d'Alcman (cf. *supra* 2.1.3.); εὔχομαι n'a pas le même impact visuel.

29 Le singulier est ici collectif, cf. E. Wüst, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

30 C'est l'aspect des verbes qui est ici déterminant. (cf. aussi *infra* 3.8.1.)

31 La distinction Ὀλύμπιος ~ Ὀλυμπικός, dont le fonctionnement est clair, ne me paraît pas empêcher l'évocation d'Olympie à travers Zeus olympien (pour une tradition qui met en rapport le lieu divin et le sanctuaire péloponnésien, cf. *EM* p. 623, 13-18). D'autre part, même Πύθιον Ἀπόλλωνα peut évoquer Olympie: Apollon pythien y possédait deux autels.

32 Cf. Wilamowitz, *op. cit.*, p. 152 (e.g.).

33 F. Schwenn, *op. cit.*, pp. 163 sq.

34 L'usage du composé attributif appliqué à des figures divines ou héroïques (dans l'épopée et dans l'hymne) favorise probablement cet aspect fréquent de la catégorie lexicale.

35 Ou conçus comme tels; cf. A. Debrunner, *Griechische Wortbildungslehre* (Heidelberg 1917) 39.

36 Pour cette interprétation, selon laquelle Asôpichos est sujet de ἐστεφάνωσε, cf. *Schol.* ad 28c et (e.g.) Gildersleeve, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

37 A Delphes, lieu dont Pindare était familier, on songe immédiatement à la frise du trésor des Siphniens, ou aux frontons archaïques du temple d'Apollon.

38 Pour la 10ème pythique, on ne peut faire mieux que renvoyer à l'analyse de A. Köhnken, *op. cit.*

39 L'hésitation du lecteur entre hasard, vouloir et nécessité peut constituer dans l'exégèse pindarique aussi bien une position de prudence à caractère provisoire qu'un *credo* définitif: "L'unité des odes solidement construites est donc plutôt le résultat du hasard, disons: de l'état d'âme du poète que d'une intention consciente et volontaire de sa part." (van Groningen, *op. cit.*, p. 386).

40 Je songe ici au livre de Jean Rousset, *Forme et signification* (Paris 1963). L'exemple du *Cantique de saint Jean* de Mallarmé (p. IV, n. 3) illustre l'idée d'un poète conçu comme un homme coupé en deux, tête séparée du corps (et donc univers de création séparé du "monde réel"); cette notion n'est pas absente de la poésie grecque: il suffit de songer à la légende de la tête d'Orphée décapité, flottant jusqu'à Lesbos (cf. Phanoclès fr. 1 in *Collectanea Alexandrina*, ed. J. U. Powell [Oxford 1925] 106-108).

41 E.g. *Nem.* 3. 76-79.

42 cf. M. Détienne, "Orphée au miel", *Quaderni Urbinati* 12(1971) 7-23.

43 *schol. Pind.* 4.60 (= 106a; Drachmann 2, pp. 112 sq.)

44 *Op. cit.* p. VII.

45 Paul Valéry, *Variété* (Oeuvres complètes *NRF* [1957] 1504).

DISCUSSION

1 Le professeur S. Levin s'interroge sur les rapports de ce type de forme avec la *Ringkomposition* épique. On peut sur ce point renvoyer à l'étude citée de B. A. van Groningen. D'autres auteurs ont signalé la présence de schèmes de ce genre (e.g. Burton, Köhnken). Il est toutefois certain que la question des rapports entre Pindare et l'épopée mérite d'être reprise sur ce plan.[1]

2 Le professeur A. Schachter se demande quelle position il convient d'attribuer à l'analyse de l'abeille que livre G. Norwood (*Pindar* [Berkeley, California, 1945]). Il s'agit d'une analyse dont la valeur est certaine, mais qui développe de manière privilégiée, semble-t-il, l'une des postulations contenues dans l'image (on peut d'ailleurs en dire autant des remarques de Bowra pp. 15 sq.). Sans mettre en cause la validité de ces vues, nous risquons ici une interprétation qui voudrait dépasser cette attitude en l'incluant.

1 cf. e.g. mon *Apollonios de Rhodes: manière et cohérence* (Genève 1967) 162 sq.

17. PINDAR AND HYPOTHEKAI

by W. J. Slater

In Memoriam D. C. C. Young amici magistri

If a student were to say: "Women did not attend symposia in ancient Greece", and you were to ask for evidence of this statement, he might reply: "Isaios 3.14 says that no decent women attend symposia" and "Demosthenes says the same". Now if we are aware of the ways of orators, of whom it has been said that any outright statement of fact is more likely to be false than true,[1] we shall be able to point out that these statements here can be used to prove the opposite, because they are the sort of statements that Aristotle calls enthymemata, general statements based on probability, propositions that are for the most part only generally true.[2] These are to form the basis for the rhetorical syllogism. You will therefore argue:

a) No decent woman goes to a symposium.
b) Mrs. X went to a symposium.
c) Therefore Mrs. X is no decent woman.

Herodotos 1.87.3 makes Kroisos argue completely out of character that he could not have begun a war because no man willingly goes to war, which enthymeme is proved by a general maxim. Now along with enthymemata the ancient world set *exempla*,[3] the two together forming the basis for rhetorical reasoning as opposed to deductive logic, which has no place in the orator's repertoire.

What has this to do with Pindar? Two things. I shall argue

a) Pindar approached his poetic task in the same way as an orator approached his forensic and epideictic task, since they have in common the rhetorical situation. What hermeneutical problems does this raise?

b) How can we classify the enthymemata of poetry?

The ubiquity of rhetoric is unlimited, says H. G. Gadamer.[4] That formal rhetoric began with Gorgias is one of those untenable generalizations about *protoi heuretai* that the ancient world loved to repeat, and the real situation is, as usual, much more complex.[5] The connection between occasional poetry, i.e. poetry for an occasion[6], and a speech for an occasion was of course obvious to the scholars of the old world and the humanists for whom rhetorical criticism meant poetic criticism, and vice versa. This attitude was never entirely to disappear even in the romantic rage of the 19th century, when rhetoric under the influence of Rousseau and Kant acquired all the disparaging nuances it still possesses.[7] This is why the writers of histories of classical scholarship often go wrong. If Wilamowitz is the major representative of the romantic *Geistesgeschichte* of Dilthey, then his great enemy Nietzsche is the representative of the older and more sensible school. Here is what he says:

"Rhetoric is insofar more honest than art because it recognizes deception as its aim".[8]

This is of course Gorgianic, but the consequence he expresses in another passage and they are essential for our discussion. I quote from a recent work on Nietzsche: "The classical artist is bound to his public by a common recognition of a convention of forms, language and material. This convention according to Nietzsche is not an obstacle to great art, but the condition for it: for it is the laboriously learned common language, by which the artist can communicate."[9] I cannot pursue this digression as it deserves. It is sufficient to note that Nietzsche classifies the dithyramb as baroque and therefore rhetorical.[10] Both Ed. Meyer and Norden named Pindar as rhetorician.[11] They would have agreed therefore with Nietzsche. There was therefore all through the 19th century a recognition of the true position of the occasional poetry of Pindar which was in total contradiction to the naïve belief current as a *topos* among the ancients and the moderns alike of Pindar as the "rushing river".[12] Like Aiskhylos he was an *exemplum* for the totally manic poet who composed in a Dionysiac frenzy. I take it that I do not have to consider seriously this view nowadays.

It is a real failure of classical scholarship that we have seldom got beyond the 19th century in critical acumen, and fallen behind the humanistic tradition in our understanding of the rhetorical attitudes of the ancients, and the new criticism or rather aestheticism has often taken up the old *Geistesgeschichte* without examining its postulates. Nowadays we can see a development of the manneristic techniques as the real *sophia* of the poets from Homer on. Indeed, recent work on Homer, especially Lohmann's book[13] on the speeches of the *Iliad*, shows that these conventions are already mannered and baroque in Homer.

Now it is important to understand that these techniques which I call rhetorical cannot be understood by referring to the handbooks of rhetoric like Quintilian.[14] Aristotle is much more useful, because he seeks to provide a theory of psychology and hermeneutics rather than a mere schoolguide in his rhetoric.[15] Many critics of Norden have started from the view that rhetoric is bad, and therefore e.g. Vergil *cannot* be said to be rhetorical.[16] This is no argumentation. As F. Cairns has recently emphasized,[17] we do not possess the requisite materials for determining the precise debt of poetry to rhetoric or vice versa, because we have neither handbooks of poetry composition nor a comprehensive ancient work on genre theory. Longinus is but a rhetorically romantic blurb, and the best we have is Menander περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν. But common sense - which we should not forget was a term used to describe the aim of rhetorical-humanistic education[18] - should tell us the poems of Pindar, Bakkhylides and Simonides could not be so similar and so complex at the same time unless a didactic tradition of technique existed. Someone taught Pindar to use the many compositional devices he employs. Pindar suggests that it was the σοφοί and σοφισταί of his time. I do not know whether handbooks of technique were written down, nor does anyone else. But that systematized techniques existed there can be no doubt.

Now I am interested in that part of the technique which can be considered as the psychological part of the rhetoric of Aristotle and those who followed him, the one dealing with ethos and pathos. He makes there the elementary point made much later by another great theorist Vico: "the end sought by eloquence always depends on the speaker's audience, and he must govern his speech in accordance with their opinions".[19] To be productive then, argumentation - and that is what in my view an occasional poem is - requires an awareness and manipulation of the psychology of the audience which was known as the ethos-pathos section of rhetoric. Now if you accept my thesis so far, you will accept the extension of it, viz.

"The particular culture of a given audience shows so strongly through the speeches addressed to it that we feel we can rely on them to a considerable extent for our knowledge of the character of past civilizations".[20]

Notice, it does not say the particular character of past poets. Our thesis has a corollary, that if we take occasional poetry as a document of the beliefs - prejudices is a better word - of past audiences, we may not take them as necessarily the beliefs of the poem - or speech-writer at the same time.

This would be to deny the validity of the rhetorical situation,[21] i.e. that the logographos writes a speech for a client to recite before a given audience, just as the poet composes a poem (or an opera) to be performed by a chorus before a given audience. Demosthenes is Demosthenes, but the ethos he gives the speaker of his own public speeches is not the same as the ethos he gives the speaker of his private ones, because his aim and his audience are both different.[22]

If one cannot derive the personality of Demosthenes from his private speeches, why should anyone ever have taken it into his head that he should be able to understand the personality of Pindar? Because I suppose Pindar is poetry, and poetry is fair game for impressionistic interpreters.

What can we learn then from Pindar? I would answer, the enthymemata that appealed as basic assumptions to the audience, in this case, the aristocratic patron and his cronies. These in fact will be the normal slogans associated with the aristocratic prejudices - principles if you will - of the clients for whom Pindar wrote. However this is not to deny that Pindar wrote for democratic audiences too. At least three dithyrambs[23] were for public performance at Athens. Surely no one really imagines that Pindar would have described a democracy of the Athenians as *ho labros stratos* at Athens?[24] If we had more poetry for democrats, indeed more for Athenians we would get a very different picture from the accepted one of a Dorian aristocratic landlubber, that Wilamowitz drew.[25] Herakles was for him the Dorian hero as opposed to Athenian, though Herakles seems on archaeological evidence to have been just as much an Athenian favourite. Why say so then? Because Pindar is a Dorian, Dorians are narrowminded aristocrats unlike broad-minded sea-going Athenians, therefore Pindar is a conservative Dorian landlubber.

You see that the argument is exactly the reverse of what it should be. All we learn from Pindar is what his audience accepted, and to foist the common prejudices either about or of Boiotia on an international poet is to lose sight of how much of his poetry we have lost and his true calibre. It is to commit the elementary fallacy known variously as the biographic or documentary fallacy, and if one thinks of the innumerable sentences beginning, "Pindar thinks" or "Pindar feels" (esp. "feels passionately") one will have an idea of how simplistic are the judgements passed on him.[26]

In fact there is a good deal of similarity between Pindar and Gorgias, if I may pick up my Nietzsche argument again. I should like to concentrate on one similarity that has to do with my theme here. Gorgias boasts in the *Helen* of the power of the logos. It is this selfconsciousness about the medium in which he expresses himself that Maehler[27] has found to be the distinctive feature of Pindar as against the other lyric poets, that he talks so much about his poetry, its *charis*, and - most Gorgianic - its power to deceive, and give fame. Now there is no work in the whole of classical studies that examines the poetry versus truth controversy in ancient times or indeed in modern criticism.[28] But one thing is certain, the business of talking about what you are doing is neither naïve nor archaic; in fact it is not selfconscious at all. It is not a mark of archaic art or anything but advanced art to reflect on what precisely one is doing, and that is what Pindar is engaged in; but there are two more considerations. Bringing to the attention of the audience the value of poetry is a means of self advertisement[29] which orators also indulged in.[30] But again the view from the aspect of the audience is crucial, conditioning the utterance of the poet. A poet of epideictic poetry was obliged to be not so much selfconscious as defensive, because he was aware of a factor in his audience, viz. that they were liable to repeat the words of another poet, Solon, that poets tell many lies; or they could think of Hesiod where the Muses are said to inspire truth or lies like truth.[31] The audience were then perfectly aware that they could be listening to lies, and like a good orator the poet will do best to raise this issue and lay their suspicions to rest. Pindar admits cheerfully the power of poetry to deceive,[32] at the same time he assures us that others may deceive not him. That is the whole point I am sure in the elaborate *recusatio* in *Olympian* 1; it is designed to make us feel that Pindar is honest and religious unlike previous bards.[33] If we care to affirm that this is so, we will do well to reflect that we have no such evidence, we merely have the argumentation designed to prove it. All we know is that his audience contained potential skeptics.

This supposed selfconsciousness is not then a real selfconsciousness; it too is part of the argumentation towards establishing the good faith of the speaker or chorus, the ethos on which the encomium must be built. A similar purpose is served by the argument from envy, familiar to us from the orators;[34] envy inhibits a correct appreciation of what the poet says and the achievement of the victor.[35] Why bother to say so? It is an enthymema constructed as usual on the minor premise: Great Achievement attracts Envy; this achievement attracts envy; therefore this achievement is great.

A naïve or new critic will derive from this "Pindar or the victor had detractors". In fact all we can derive from it is that the audience accepted the validity of the major premise, that achievement attracted envy. If someone objects that I am suggesting that Pindar therefore told a lie in inventing the minor premise that he or the victor had detractors, I should first admit that this is very possible. Recent studies have finally come to the conclusion that ad hoc *exempla* are common in Homer.[36] I cannot see that it affects our appreciation of the poetry of Pindar whether the minor premise is true or not, but it is an error to assume the truth of minor premises in enthymemata. Secondly I should answer that Pindar may well have shared the prejudice of his audience on this matter, even if offhand he could not in fact name a detractor, it was after all an *eikos*. But I think we should accept the principle of "ad hoccery" both in Pindar's *exempla* and his enthymemata; perhaps this is what he would have called εὕρεσις.[37]

Now I come to the second point I outlined in the beginning. Can we classify the enthymemata and *exempla*? Then we should get behind the mere methods of argumentation to a picture of what the argumentation is built on. There is a danger that one can simply list the various kinds of topoi with which Pindar scholars are now familiar, the envy topos, the debtor topos, *ponos* motif and so forth. But a topos is not an *argumentum*, it is a *sedes argumentorum* under the old system of rhetoric.[38] Even if they seem to be merely metaphors for poetry and the poetic process, they involve argumentation and special pleading, and these are based ultimately on some enthymema. Too often *Toposforschung* is limited to a branch of symbolism or other superficial backwater of what passes for humanistic studies without a proper examination of the structural force of this conventional language, and so its argumentative and dialectical function. Ultimately what we should end up with is a nexus of the moral categorical imperatives of the society to which Pindar addressed himself. In short an understanding of Pindaric argumentation will lead directly to an understanding of the moral values of his society. This is what Frankel meant by his World of Values, the difference being that I am trying to be much more precise about the methodology by which we obtain our data. In the end we shall have an idea of what the accepted ideals were in his audience, and that is much more important than what Pindar thought.

An example: Pindar several times claims to be a *xenos* of the victor;[39] he puts that in the mouth of the chorus, so I cannot affirm whether he is referring to them or himself or if it is true. What can be deduced here is that a *xenos* was under an obligation a) not to be envious of his *xenos* and b) to speak well of him.[40] The argumentation is:

Xenia excludes envy, I am a *xenos*, therefore I am not envious and consequently praise honestly. The major premise is suppressed, not surprisingly since this is a characteristic of the rhetorical syllogism.[41] Here too we have a suspicion that the argument is constructed *ad hoc*, that the unexpressed major premise is the really important one, whereas the minor premise amy be true or not.

Now to my answer to my own question. I suggest that these moral imperatives were as Nietzsche says the formal conventional moral language through which Pindar communicated with his audience, and that he could do so because he knew that they were a common denominator for him and his audience. How could he take this for granted? I would answer because they had already long been systematized and propagated by the education process, in the form of poetic and gnomic *hypothekai* containing the Polonius-like commandments of the ancients. These are the *agraphoi nomoi*, the *patrioi nomoi*, the sayings of the seven wise men and the delphic precepts. More particularly we would think of the *Hypothekai Kheironos* and in Athens the *Arai Bouzygiai*.[42] The Ionic *novellae* must have played a part, for the Knoisos story is known in its ethically coloured version by the time of Pindar and Bakkhylides.[43] Also we must assume that precepts regarding social behaviour were in vogue, whose remnants we find in the collection known as Theognis.[44] Such conglomerates of moral and social advice might in detail be contradictory but that was not a major problem, for we find the contradiction also in Pindar.[45] Simonides could use them as a basis for moral criticism, as his attack on Pittakos shows. Pindar could use Aristodemos or Hesiod as *testimonia veterum* to help his case.[46] But wherever they came from they were the moral platform on which a poet argued his case. A particular problem is raised by the influence of the Orphic-Pythagorean sect on Pindar. Whatever his own views were, he must especially in dirges have been obliged to express such views deriving from the tenets of this religious philosophy. We encounter of course great difficulty in defining such precepts as Pythagorean, e.g. the odd remark that one "should not store up wealth, nor laugh at the poor" is almost certainly Pythagorean and recurs at *Aen.* 6.10 and in the Orphic papyrus of Bologna, but also in the *Menandri Sententiae*.[47] It will be a reasonable deduction that the patron of *Isthmian* 2 may have known the context of Pindar's saying, but a very dangerous one to assert therefore that Pindar was an Orphic.

The overall view of ethics we get from Pindar is no different than we would expect in archaic Greece, there is no personality here, only a *Weltanschauung*. The pessimism is not Pindar's, it is his audience's. It is his audience who are aware of the dangers of achievement in the face of an envious, irrational heaven,[48] and like Herodotos of the mutability of fortune. It was impossible not to take into account the prejudices of archaic morality against any achievement. So much the better for us. Pindar could not indulge in the unlimited adulation that makes later encomia unreadable.

My thesis then is that all we can learn really from Pindar is the common denominator of his communication with his audience, the precepts and ethical imperatives that were part of the educational and cultural framework of his day. What other data we think we can derive must be re-examined in the light of these precepts when applied as rhetorical enthymemata.[49]

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NOTES

1 K. J. Dover, quoted by G. E. M. de Ste. Croix, *The Origins of the Peloponnesian War* (London, 1972) 232.

2 Aristotle, *Rhetoric* 1.2.4.

3 Aristotle, *Rhetoric* 1.2.8 and passim.

4 H-G. Gadamer, *Hermeneutik . . .* (Frankfurt, 1971) 63. The continued neglect of rhetorical theory by classical students is unpardonable (see K. Dockhorn, *G.G.A.* [1966] 169) and it must be affirmed that literary theories that ignore it are not valid for antiquity or medieval times, or even the baroque era; neither Wellek's *Theory of Literature* nor a survey like C. Segal's Ancient Texts and Modern Criticism (*Arethusa* 1 [1968] 1ff.) or similar "poetics" are suitable frameworks for a study of ancient lyric. The often confused attacks by Brooks, Dronke, Jauss, Jehn and others on E. R. Curtius are more a tribute to his conclusions than a real rejection of the force of the humanistic rhetorical tradition.

5 Kl. Schöpsdau, *Antike Vorstellungen von der Geschichte der gr. Rhetorik*, diss. Saarbrücken, 1969.

6 H-G. Gadamer, *Wahrheit u. Methode* 3 (Tübingen, 1970) 137.

7 W. Barner, *Barockrhetorick* (Tübingen, 1970) 8ff; J. Goth, *Nietzsche und die Rhetorik* (Tübingen, 1970) 4ff.

8 Cited by Barner, *op. cit.*, p. 20, who does not mention that this is a quotation from Gorgias 82B23 D-K[6]. In general see Rosenmeyer, *AJPhil* 76 (1955) 225ff.; the idea is implicit in Empedokles 31B23, but appears to be a commonplace of love poetry (West on Hesiod, *Theogony* 205), and even appears in medicine (Bourgey, *Observation et Experience chez les medecins . . .* [Paris, 1953] 264); see also below note 31.

9 Goth, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

10 Barner, *op. cit.*, pp. 4 and 8, who adds there: "Nietzsche gehört zu den wenigen Repräsentanten der neuren deutschen Geistesgeschichte, die etwas von Rhetorik verstanden."

11 E. Norden, *Vergilius: Aeneis 6*[2] (Leipzig, 1927) 419; E. Meyer, *Geschichte d. Altertums* 4.1.24. E. Bundy, *Studia Pindarica* 1 (Berkeley, 1962) 18 speaks of "rhetorical sophistication." Lohmann, *Die Komposition der Reden in der Ilias* (Munich, 1972) 285 says: "Nie Nachgewiesene Bewusstheit der Strukturierung führt konsequent zur Bewusstheit in der Anwendung poetischer und rhetorischer Mittel. Hier zeigt sich ein Ansatzpunkt für eine Untersuchung der homerischen Poetik und einer vorrhetorischen Rhetorik." This was indeed what Bundy had attempted.

12 F. Wehrli, *Theoria und Humanitas* (Zürich, 1972) 112ff.; G. Wilhelmi, *Zum Bilde vom Fliessen der Sprache*, diss., Tübingen, 1967.

13 Cited above, note 11.

14 I would pinpoint this as the greatest mistake in those studies that seek to relate rhetoric to poetry, in that by rhetoric they understand only tropes and rhetorical "effects", and do not appreciate that rhetoric is a mode of argumentation, and even a way of thought. G. Highet's latest work on Vergil (*The Speeches in Vergil* [Princeton, 1972]) despite perceptive remarks (below n.22) still largely contents itself with a demonstration of the folly of Donatus and his kind.

15 C. H. Perelman and L. Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric*, translated by J. Wilkinson and P. Weaver, (London and Notre Dame, 1969) 20.

16 R. Heinze, *Vergils Epische Technik*[3] (Berlin, 1915) 424 should not be used as evidence that Norden was wrong. Heinze's remarks (p. 432) show his prejudice against rhetoric, as does his Kantian (and false) distinction between rhetoric and poetry. Norden, himself an expert on rhetoric, not surprisingly saw no reason to change a word he had written. One Highet argument (*op. cit.*, p. 285) runs:

> "That Vergil distrusted oratory is shown by another curious fact. In formal speeches and in persuasions and other types of emotional discourse almost all his speakers distort the truth."

I can make no sense of this save as a statement of prejudice.

17 F. Cairns, *Generic Composition in Greek and Latin Poetry* (Edinburgh, 1972).

18 H-G. Gadamer, *Wahrheit* etc., p. 16.

19 Quoted by Perelman, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

20 Perelman, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

21 The phrase is that of L. Nelson, *Baroque Lyric poetry* (New Haven and London, 1961) 91.

22 This fact was used by ancient critics too to explain inconsistencies. The λύσις ἐκ τοῦ προσώπου appears in the scholia to Pindar, especially in the separation of chorus from poet (See Drachmann's index Sermo Technicus *s.v.* πρόσωπον in *Scholia Vetera*[3] 392; more in Highet, *op. cit.*, p. 286). It must be observed however that Plato's division of poetry at *Republic* 394c classifies the dithyramb and so choral lyric as ἀπαγγελία, i.e. direct poetic utterance ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου προσώπου. Not surprisingly most readers, like Nikolaos the Progymnasmatist 12.10 Felten took this to mean Pindar. Here we have a theoretical basis for the later biographical fallacy.

23 Frr. 74-6 Sn.: K. F. Johansen, "Eine Dithyrambos Aufführung", *Arkaeol.Kunsthist.Med. Dan.Vid.Selsk* 4,2 (1959) 37ff.

24 *Pythian* 2.87.

25 E. Meyer, *op. cit.*, 3.424 note 1 protested vigorously against Wilamowitz' equation of doric and aristocratic. Even more opposition was aroused by Wilamowitz' unwarranted assertion that Pindar as a Boiotian had no feeling for the sea; this was corrected by Dornseiff's pupil J. Kahlmeyer, *Seesturm und Schiffbruch . . .*, diss., Greifswald, 1934, 15 (following Dornseiff, *Pindars Stil* [Berlin 1921] 65). Wilamowitz did not represent the normal view cf. E. Curtius, *Gr. Geschichte*[3] [Berlin, 1867] 253ff. D. Young, "Pindaric Criticism", in: *Pindaros und Bakchylides= Wege der Forschung* 134 (Darmstadt, 1970) 53 rightly calls Wilamowitz' statement irresponsible.

26 S. Young, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

27 H. Maehler, *Die Auffassung des Dichterberufs im frühen Griechentum* (Göttingen, 1963).

28 So. W. Stroh, *Die Römische Liebeselegie* (Amsterdam, 1971) 174, note 1. Neither of the two most recent works (A. Komornicka, *Eos* 60 [1972] 235ff.; Ortega, *Helmantica* 21 [1970] 353ff.) can be said to get to the root of the problem.

29 "Nur die enorme Feierlichkeit hindert uns, die Reklame zu erkennen"; so Jacob Burckhardt, who was Nietzsche's colleague at Basel, quoted by Stroh, *op. cit.*, p. 236 in reference to Pindar; Gsella, *Eos* 58 (1969-70) 171ff.

30 Like Lucian's encomiast, *De Hist. Conse.* 14; εἶτ' ἐπῆγεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τι ἐγκώμιον καὶ ὡς ἄξιος εἴη συγγράψαι τὰς πράξεις οὕτω λαμπρὰς οὔσας.

31 Solon fr. 29W (parodied by Plato fr. 23W), Hesiod, Theog. 27, where add in West's commentary the parallels *Diss. Logoi* 3.10, Xen. *Mem* 3.10.7, Antiphon 1.2.8, Dion. Hal. 1.30.13; the continuity of the tradition that poetry is not truth is attested by Plutarch, *Quomodo Poetas Aud. Deb.* 2: ...ποίησιν οὐκ οὖσαν, ᾗ ψεῦδος μὴ πρόσεστι, and standard Hellenistic theory.

32 On this point see especially A. Köhnken, *Die Funktion des Mythos bei Pindar* (Berlin, 1971) 49ff.

33 *Olympian* 1.37ff.

34 Thoukydides 2.35.2 and often; Arist. *Rhet.* 2.10.1.

35 Köhnken, *op. cit.*, index *s.v.* Neid.

36 Lohmann, *op. cit.*, p. 198, citing Willcock, *CQ* 14 (1964); add now K. Brasewell, *CQ* 21 (1971) 16ff. Surely in *Olympian* 1 Pindar is telling us that his version of the myth is an ad hoc *exemplum*, and that we are supposed to admire him for that fact.

37 εὑρησιεπής *Olympian* 9.80; εὑρίσκω of composition *Olympian* 1.110, *Olympian* 3.4, *Pythian* 12.12, fr. 122.14.

38 Most of the arguments concerning this problem are set out in P. Jehn, *Toposforschung: eine Dokumentation* (Frankfurt, 1972) though it is nowhere there made clear that there was a clear distinction even in antiquity between the simple progymnasma "topos" and the complex oratorical "topoi", which was a system for discovering arguments.

39 It needs to be reiterated that no official position is meant by the term proxenos, as claimed by many, most recently M. B. Wallace, *Phoenix*, 24 (1971) 189ff.

40 *Odyssey* 19.332. More passages in E. Ahrens, *Gnomen in griechischer Dichtung* (Würzburg 1937) 63. In Pindar see esp. *Nemean* 7.69 and cf. *Olympian* 4.4 with *Herodotos* 7.237.2.

41 E. M. Cope, *Introduction to Aristotle's Rhetoric* (London, 1867) 103.

42 Litt. in H. Bolkestein, *Wohltätigkeit u. Armenpflege in vorchr. Altertum* (Utrecht, 1939). Add: M. Treu, *Rhein.Mus.* 103 (1960) 327ff.

43 On such stories see F. Wehrli, *Lathe Biosas* (Leipzig, 1931) 38ff.

44 Especially the sympotic rules often ascribed to Euenos.

45 E.g. *Pythian* 9.95 against *Pythian* 2.84, cf. Lloyd-Jones, *The Justice of Zeus* (Berkeley, 1971) 48.

46 *Isthmian* 2.11, *Isthmian* 6.67.

47 Bolkestein, *op. cit.*, 91; Vergil, *Aen.* 6.610; Dieterich, *Nekuia*^{2} (Berlin, 1913) 168, confirmed by the Bologna Papyrus, Merkelbach *Mus. Helvet.* 8 (1951) 7, ll.6-8.

48 Esp. Plato, *Hipp. Mai.* 282; Wehrli, *Lathe Biosas*, 24, 69.

49 I should like to express my gratitude to Prof. H-G. Gadamer for discussing many points in this essay with me.

18. KORINNA'S SINGING MOUNTAINS

by Paolo Vivante

1

A papyrus of the second century AD from the ancient Hermopolis Magna in Middle Egypt, first published by Wilamowitz in 1907, restored to us something of Korinna's poetic personality with two important fragments - *The Contest between Helikon and Kithairon* and *The Daughters of Asopos*. Since then the research of scholars has chiefly aimed at determining the poet's date, on the basis of dialect, orthography, metre, style. The result has been a collection of ambiguous data. Thus the blurring of diphthongs into simple vowel sounds points to the spelling of Boiotian inscriptions in the third century BC, but the poems of Korinna might have been transcribed into that spelling from an earlier form. Or, again, her use of choriambics in a systematic fashion might seem to point to the Alexandrian age; but in our ignorance of Greek lyric poetry how can we deny the possibility of such systems at a much earlier date? And, as for style, is it truly archaic or is it archaistic? The same text, the same data lend themselves to opposing conclusions. Paul Maas[1], for instance, accepts the traditional early date of Korinna as contemporary with Pindar, Edgar Lobel[2] places her in the third century, D. L. Page[3] inclines to agree with Lobel, M. L. West[4] takes a middle course.

Korinna, on the other hand, offers us no internal evidence of her date. She is wholly absorbed in her myths, with the exception of two fragments: one referring to herself[5], another to Myrtis and Pindar[6]. But it is precisely this connection with Myrtis and Pindar which is denied to-day, though all our ancient authorities refer to it (Plutarch, Pausanias, Aelian, *Suidas*)[7]. As a result Korinna is relegated to a no man's land. As in the case of Homer, we must rely on her work and solely on her work.

2

Let us look, therefore, at the way she relates a myth. Take the contest between Helikon and Kithairon. I translate the fragment as it is given by D. L. Page[8]:

". . . . . .
the Kouretes reared in a cave,
hiding from crook-witted Cronos,
the holy son of the goddess,
when blessed Rhea stole him;

great honour he got from the immortals".

Thus he sang.

The Muses immediately bade
the gods throw their secret votes
into the gold-gleaming urns.

All together they rose.

The greater part was Cithaeron's.

Hermes forthwith
proclaimed with a shout
that he had won sweet victory.
The gods adorned him with crowns,
and his heart rejoiced.

But with grievous pain beset
Helicon tore out a smooth rock.
The mountain shook.
With pitiful groan
he dashed it down from on high
into a myriad stones.

The scene presented to us is quite clear. Where the fragment begins, the contest is nearly over. There are the last lines of a song about Kronos and the infant Zeus, with which one of the mountains ends its part. Kithairon gets the prize. In spite of Helikon's anger, the contest has been a peaceful one. All differences are resolved in song and celebration.

Now, as Page points out, Korinna's treatment is unique. It stands in contrast with all other traditions concerning these mountains. Compare the following information which I condense from the respective passages:

Scholiast to *Od.* 3.267: Automedes of Mykenai wrote epic verse about the strife of Helikon and Kithairon who gave their names to the mountains in Boiotia.

Tzetzes, *Introduction to Hesiod* (20 Gaisf.): The Helikon and Kithairon were so called from the brothers Helikon and Kithairon who fought against each other, according to Lysimakhos of Kyrene in the first book of his work *On the Poets*.

Pseudo-Plutarch, *On Rivers* (2.2, Bernadakis): Kithairon refused Tisiphone, whereupon she threw at him one of her snakes, and killed him; the place of his death was called Kithairon.

ib. 2.3: Kithairon murdered his father to get his inheritance, and threw his brother Helikon down a cliff, but fell with him, and both died. The mountains were called after them: Kithairon became a retreat for the Furies, Helikon of the Muses.

Such data are typical of aetiological myths. What prevails is a story-telling versatility. The myth lying behind the names is turned into a tale. We may well guess what kind of narrative is implied: an account of intrigues, adventures, plots and counter-plots leading to a certain *dénouement*. The interest centred on episodes and their issues rather than on a central mythical event. Such was the taste of Kallimakhos' *Aitia:* it was an achievement of the Alexandrians to turn mythical drama into plot.

The fragment of Korinna obviously belongs to a different world. There is no contrived story whereby the mountains bear the names of erstwhile human beings. On the contrary they stand where they are in their own right, and it is as if the reverse were true: the mountainous bulk seems to assume a human shape. See the last lines of the fragment:

But with grievous pain beset
Helikon tore out a smooth rock.
The mountain shook.
With pitiful groan
he dashed it down from on high
in a myriad stones.

Korinna has maintained here the true nature of the mountain while giving it a human voice.

3

This singularity of Korinna stands out not only in contrast with Alexandrian story-telling, but also with the way myth is treated in what we might call the mainstream of Greek Literature. For in most of Greek poetry from Homer to Greek tragedy myth was presented as action, as drama played out by the characters to its ultimate human issues, while it is not so at all in Korinna. What shall we make, in our present case, of the singing contest between two mountains? Though we have but a fragment, we may well imagine the rest - the Muses drawing from each of the mountains its capacity of song, the two songs, the verdict. There is no action, no individual human characterization. The mountains are still mountains, only articulate in so far as they sing. Likewise their song hardly portrays feeling or action; it is a theme which they rehearse, like Hesiod's Muses around Zeus. The scene is thus remarkably self-contained where it belongs. The place (that is to say, the two mountains) is at once the spot where it happens and the agent that makes it happen. The landmark itself carries out the part allotted to it. These mountains are inevitably bound up with their associations, they have a life of their own, and myth is, as it were, embedded within them, not to be drawn out and rendered in terms of human action.

That this was Korinna's feeling for myth seems confirmed by the other fragment - *The Daughters of Asopos*. Here again there is no action, no individual characterization. We hear nothing, for instance, of Asopos pursuing Zeus to recover the daughter Aigina. No, the father Asopos simply asks a seer for news of his daughters; and the seer answers how each of them is wedded to a god. Now the names of these daughters are also names of cities: in the reply of the seer Kerkyra is mentioned, and there are in the fragment traces of Aigina, Sinope, Thespia. What was foremost in Korinna's mind was the reality of these landmarks. She saw them as presences, as tokens of divine power. The same name evoked at once a place and a deity. Here the legends were felt to be as one and all with the holiness of a certain spot, they were not conceived on their own account as exploit, action, drama. The daughters of Asopos, like Helikon and Kithairon, are rooted where they are. The event is all one with its scene.

4

It is certainly difficult for us to identify with Korinna in this respect, to recover at least something of the imaginative feeling which led her to compose *The Contest of Kithairon and Helikon*. But let us try. It is not so much a question of Korinna as of mythical thinking.

We have the two mountains, Kithairon and Helikon, conspicuously visible from each other, both standing out, both impressive in different ways. I quote from Mahaffy's *Rambles and Studies in Greece*[9]: 'On the east, where we stood, was the gloomy Cithaeron - the home of awful mythical crimes, and of wild Bacchanalian orgies, the theme of many a splendid poem and many a striking tragedy. To the south lay the pointed peaks of Helicon - a mountain (or mountain chain) full of sweetness and light, with many silver streams coursing down its sides to water the Boeotian plains, and with its dells, the home of the Muses ever since they inspired the bard of Ascra - the home, too, of Eros, who, long after the reality of the faith had decayed, was honoured in Thespiae . . . . '

Now two mountains facing each other are natural rivals. The rivalry may appear more striking where, as in the case of Helikon and Kithairon, they are associated with different legends and traditions. What happens in the mountain belongs to the mountain. It becomes part of it, a theme of awareness. This is normal in ancient Greece, quite apart from Korinna. Thus in Sophokles' *Oidipous Tyrannos* Mount Kithairon is often mentioned as if it were aware of Oidipous. The Chorus so addresses it (*O.T.* 1089 ff.):

On to-morrow's full moon, o Kithairon,
by heaven, full well you will know
how Oidipous honours you,
you native to him, his mother and nurse.

And Oidipous himself (*O.T.* 1391):

Ah, why did you shelter me, Kithairon, why
did you not take and kill me . . . ?

Or again (1451):

Let me live on the mountains where my own
Kithairon has its name . . . .

Similarly, in the *Bakkhai* of Euripides the same mountain seems to partake in the revelries of Dionysos (B. 141):

It flows with milk, it flows with wine, it flows with the nectar of bees.

The same might be said about any remarkable place, but especially a mountain whose contours tend so often to assume a well-defined recognizable shape. Let this shape be associated with an important event, and it seems to take a personality of its own. To Korinna's eyes Kithairon appeared steeped in its legends no less than Helikon in the religion of Apollo, the Muses, Eros. On *Kithairon* Herakles performed his first exploits, here grew Amphion and Zethos, here Dirke was killed and Antiope revenged. An inexhaustible store of Boiotian lore lay concealed in the mountain. It is as if Korinna wished to vindicate the religion of the place by giving the victory to Kithairon rather than to world-famed Helikon.

In a similar spirit we might appreciate the fragment of the *Daughters of Asopos*. Asopos, the river-god, son of Poseidon or of Okeanos, marries Metopa, daughter of the river-god Ladon, nymph of the Stymphalian Lake. Many daughters are born, carried off by gods and scattered as islands and cities throughout the Greek world. Now Asopos is also the name of other rivers - in the Peloponnesos, in Thessaly, on Paros, in Phrygia. The same water appears in different parts, and towns grow, expand, fed by these waters. D. L. Page remarks that the transplantation of Asopos' daughters has often been held to symbolize a long-forgotten colonial or commercial expansion from Kerkyra to Sinope, from Thebes to Salamis and beyond. But even if this is true, this is not Korinna's point. We have here vital and wide-ranging relations imaginatively conceived. It is as if we were told that water is a primordial condition of life, but the actual birth or foundation of a city needs the embrace of a god. At any rate, Korinna perceives these Asopides enthroned in their allotted places, ready to give birth, removed from all turmoil. So represented in the revelations of a seer, they appear as terms of fulfilment - like Helikon and Kithairon depositories of a glory which cannot be expressed in the forms of human action and feeling.

5

The only poet I know who comes near to Korinna in this treatment of myth is Pindar. Very often in his poetry the name of a place is at one and the same time the name of a nymph or goddess - Libya, Kyrene, Aigina, Kamarina, and so forth. So much so that the reader is often puzzled as to which is which. This is how he begins *Isthmian* 1, excusing himself for writing about Thebes and not Delos:

O my mother, gold-shielded Theba,
I now place my task for you
above all else I might do.
O rocky Delos,
bear no anger against me,
Delos in whom my heart is shed.

It is no wonder that Pindar, like Korinna, lets places speak. Thus in a fragment of *Paian* 7 (Bowra 42) the islan of Delos seems to talk to herself in anticipation of her future troubles. This, I believe, was no mere presentation of the island in human form. There is in Pindar no such dialogue as that between Leto and Delos in the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo*, no narrative as that in Kallimakhos' hymn. No, Pindar induces us to a different view. See with what dynamism he portrays the establishment of the island at the moment Leto sets her foot upon it (Bowra 79):

Then straight up from the roots of the earth
four columns arose with adamant feet,
and they held up the rock
on their capitals . . . .

The poet succeeds in imparting a vital movement to the rocky structure. Again, in a fragment of *Paian* 5 (Bowra 39) the first colonists of Delos are mentioned.

since gold-haired Apollo
gave them for dwelling
Asteria's body.

Notice the word δέμας 'body' applied to the island.

In *Paian* 2 (Bowra 36) the city of Abdera, a colony of Teos which in turn was a colony of Athens:

I inhabit the land of Thrace
full of vines, rich in fruit.
May mighty Time never tire
to run on smoothly for me.
A new city am I;
my mother's mother I saw
struck by the enemy's fire.

In *Paian* 4 (Bowra 38) the island of Keos:

I inhabit a rock
and am known
for contests of strength,
known too for rich voice of the Muses.
My soil also bears
Bakkhos' life-giving balm.
Horseless I am, without pastures.

Such passages reflect the same mythical approach as Korinna's - in the way of conceiving places as animate presences, in the tendency to see the legends as embodied in the place itself and not forming a separate story running its own course. The myth is not allowed to branch off into drama or narrative. It remains bound to the earth, to the spot that first suggested it. The haunting sense of a certain place still persists even where the story is drawn at length - in Pindar's *Pythian* 4, for instance, in which the account of the Argonauts hinges on that famous clod symbolizing the colonization of Libya.

We are thus made aware of a reality which it is difficult to grasp, but is nevertheless authentic. We may perhaps realize it in the urge which we feel to give a name to any place: a name, that is to say - an identity, a recognizable form. But what is for us, in most cases, a purely geographical sign was for Korinna and Pindar a pregnant presence.

6

We are here in a realm of thought in which myth is not separated from the religion of the place, not developed on its own account as a human event and, much less, as an entertaining story. We would not find, I think, in Pindar or in Korinna such an account as that of Asteria who, in order to escape the embrace of Zeus, took the form of a quail and threw herself into the sea, hence metamorphosed into the island Asteria, or Ortygia, afterwards called Delos. There seems to be no room in this kind of poetry for a tale of metamorphisis in the Ovidian sense. Nor do we have the idea of an eponymous hero simply giving his name to a certain town, nor anything like the Latin *genius loci* or the Christian patron saint. No, it is rather the place itself - its sanctities, its mystery, its power of suggestion which is here the primary element. The human images of gods, heroes, nymphs are hardly detached from their background. Their habitations are more important than their personalities. The landmarks of nature are gathered into one with their presiding deities.

The fact that Korinna rejoins Pindar in this treatment of myth is certainly significant. It points to a common conception of feeling over and above the obvious differences of style. The ancient anecdotes about the two poets may thus rest on more solid reasons than is generally assumed.

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NOTES

1 Paul Maas, *Greek Metre*, transl. H. Lloyd-Jones (Oxford 1962) 9-10; *Real-Encyclopädie*, s.v. *Korinna*.

2 Edgar Lobel, "Corinna", *Hermes* (1930) 356-365.

3 D. L. Page, *Corinna* (London 1963).

4 M. L. West, "Corinna", *The Classical Quarterly* (1970) 277-287.

5 *Poetae Melici Graeci*, edidit D. L. Page (Oxford 1962) fragm. 657.

6 *Ibid.* fragm. 664.

7 Plut. *Glor. Ath.* 4 (347 f.); Paus. 9.22.3; Ael. *V.H.* 13.25; *Suid.* s.v. Πίνδαρος.

8 D. L. Page, *op. cit.* 19.

9 J. P. Mahaffy, *Rambles and Studies in Greece* (New York 1913) 191.