Panhellenism and Local Tradition in Early Greek Epos

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ὦ ξεῖνοι, τίνες ἐστέ; πόθεν πλεῖθ' ὑγρὰ κέλευθα;

Odyssey 3.71 = 9.252 = *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 452

τίς πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν; πόθι τοι πόλις ἠδὲ τοκῆες;

Odyssey (x6)

τίς πόθεν ἐσσὶ, γρηὺ, παλαιγενέων ἀνθρώπων;

Homeric Hymn to Demeter 113

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Abstract

Early Greek epos encompasses a wide range of characters who are each given a local origin: for example, Akhilleus of Phthia, Helen of Sparta, Nestor of Pylos. The surviving poems of the epic tradition, however, do not focus on single locations, but strikingly combine characters and places from all across the Greek-speaking world and beyond, a feature often referred to as 'Panhellenism'.

This thesis critically examines 'local' and 'Panhellenic' aspects of early epos through a variety of different methodologies. The first chapter sets out previous scholarship on the question and my working assumptions about the poetic tradition. I give a brief survey of the corpus as a whole in comparison to archaic lyric. The first part of the thesis then consists of a series of general studies, treating evidence from patterns of material culture during

the period in which the tradition developed; iconography; the dialectal basis of the poetic language; and the importance of the catalogue to epic composition. The second part of the thesis provides a number of case studies of particular characters or places, examining the interaction between epic and local tradition. These case studies are: Akhilleus and Odysseus; the city of Thebes; Helen of Sparta; and the family of Oineus.

In general, I argue against the idea - prominent in previous scholarship - that early epos results from an 8th century fusion of distinct local poetic traditions that formed independently in the Early Iron Age (EIA). Instead, I propose an alternative model in which the inclusion of different places and characters is an inherent aspect of the epic tradition. Incorporation of local material is likely to have occurred at many different points in the development of hexameter poetry, stretching back into the EIA. This long and gradual process results in the rich, complex tapestry of stories and people that characterises archaic Greek epos.

auīs meīs

†Monique Clothier (*née* Bigot), 1924-2022

cui studium semper fuit discendī dē rēbus antīquīs et praesertim aegyptiīs;

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 The Question: Local Tradition, 'Panhellenism', and the Origin of Epos

Across early Greek epos, we find a wide variety of characters from many different places - Akhilleus of Phthia, Helen of Sparta, Nestor of Pylos: they all are given their own local origin. Moreover, even individual poems - most famously the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* - can encompass a massive range of characters from all across the Hellenic world and beyond; they are, it is commonly pronounced, 'Panhellenic'. How, and why, should this be the case? Did stories about these characters originally come from these places - the Ph-

thians singing of Akhilleus, the Spartans of Helen, the Pylians of Nestor - until they were fused together into a 'Panhellenic' form of poetry? These questions seem crucial to understanding the formation of epos as a poetic form, and the origin of the traditions that give rise to the Homeric poems and the other archaic hexameter poems, as well as to our appreciation of the expectations of their first audiences.

A particularly active proponent of analysing early epos in terms of Panhellenism and local tradition is Gregory Nagy, whose understanding of the idea is set out in Nagy (1979) 7:

'From the internal evidence of its contents, we see that this poetic tradition [ie. epos] synthesizes the diverse local traditions of each major city-state into a unified Panhellenic model that suits most city-states but corresponds exactly to none; the best example is the Homeric concept of the Olympian gods, which incorporates, yet goes beyond, the localized religious traditions of each city-state.'

For this scholar, in the 8th century, 'each city would have had its own poetic traditions', varying from place to place;[1] Panhellenic poetry arises as 'the product of an evolutionary synthesis of traditions, so that the tradition that it represents concentrates on traditions that tend to be common to most locales and peculiar to none'.[2] Panhellenism is thus a feature of the content of the poems, but it also relates to their audience: the tradition is 'streamlined into an increasingly rigid form as a result of ever-increasing proliferation'.[3] One of Nagy's key examples is the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, which he considers to be a 'fusion' of distinct Delian and Pythian traditions about Apollo, resulting in a 'truly Panhellenic' appeal.[4]

Nagy's approach has been influential on scholars from a range of theoretical viewpoints, and continues to be so.[5] A recent book by Faraone, for example, returns to the idea that the Delian part of the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* is the insertion of a local hymn, and posits that the first book of the *Il-*

[1]Nagy (1990a) 43.
[2]Nagy (1990) 54.
[3]Nagy (1979) 8; cf. (1990a) 41-2, (1996a) 39-41.
[4]Nagy (1979) 6-7.
[5]For engagement with the theory, ranging from critical acceptance to whole-hearted adoption, see eg. Griffin (1995) 3-4; Foley (1999) 42 (with n14), 58; Graziosi (2002) eg. 15 (and see index under 'Panhellenism'); Kearns (2004) 61-2; Tsagalis (2008) xiii, xix, 111, 149; González (2013); Currie (2016) 99, 202-3; also the collected volumes of essays edited by Bernardini (2000), (2007), Cingano (2010), and Cerri, Cozzoli, and Giuseppetti (2012).

iad is substantially based on a local cult hymn to Apollo Smintheus.[6] Barker and Christensen's work on the use of Theban stories in the *Iliad* considers Panhellenism a fundamental methodological element.[7] A good example of the application of Nagy's theory in practice is in Levaniouk's (2000) doctoral thesis on local traditions in the *Odyssey* and their poetic effect. Many of Levaniouk's findings are plausible, but it is often assumed that a poorly-attested myth must inherently be 'local'. For example, Levaniouk shows that the reference at *Od.* 19.518-24 to the myth of Aedon and Zethos is not simply a trivial version of the Prokne/Tereus/Philomela myth, but refers to a different tradition given by the scholia.[8] What is less clear is that this story, although obviously divergent from the story that becomes standard later on, should be necessarily a 'Theban' version.[9] The assumption that local content must reflect local tradition is found in Nagy's work as well,[10] and surely underestimates the possibility that a tradition from one place could include stories set in another place.

[6]Faraone (2021) 51-82.

[7]Barker and Christensen (2020) 27-32, see also 245-74. Cf. Christensen (2020).

[8]Levaniouk (2000) 152-6. See 372 for further discussion.

[9]Indeed, according to the scholia, the story of Aedon and Zethos is found in Pherekydes of Athens (fr. 124 Fowler).

[10]For example, Nagy (2002) 88-90 on a Korkyran tradition.

This approach may be contrasted with that of Martin West. For West, regions (Aetolia, Thessaly, Messenia...) rather than particular city states, are the most important units for the development of the tradition,[11] and he traces its development back to the Bronze Age. In the 12th-11th centuries, West posits the existence of a Thessalian epic tradition that absorbed traditions from Messenia, Aetolia, and Ithaka,[12] extending to Lesbos by the 11th century.[13] This was then adopted by the Ionians of Euboia during the period of Euboian prominence from the 10th to 8th centuries. Other regions may also have contributed to a lesser degree to the tradition, having retained epic poetry through the Early Iron Age (EIA) - in particular, Boeotia - and fed in to the Euboean tradition.[14] Subsequently (from the mid eighth century), 'the new epic becomes Panhellenic, its dialect and conventions now fixed and available for imitation by poets everywhere'. A slightly different description appears in West's (1984) book on the Hesiodic *Gynaikon Katalogos* (*GK*), in which he posits four 'more or less independent cycles' of heroic epic - a Iolkos cycle, an 'Aetolian-Elean-Pylian' cycle, a Theban cycle, and a Troy cycle - which developed in 'separate poetic traditions' in the 'regional isolationism'

[11] This is in line with the long-running scholarly controversy over the existence of an Aeolic/Ionic phase, to be further discussed at 211-213.

[12] West (1988) 160-1.

[13] West (1988) 164.

[14] West (1988) 166-8.

of the EIA, in different metre, dialect, and style.[15]

In contrast to Nagy, West thus thinks in terms of regions rather than city states; some of his arguments, being based on the contents of the tradition and its relationship to place, are similar to Nagy (Nestor's tales of the sack of Pylos must to some extent reflect historical events in Messenia that were first sung of there), but he also makes use of linguistic arguments (Peleus' name shows an Aeolic form indicating his origin in Thessalian tradition) and indirect evidence (the genealogies of the *GK* show an 'artificial' connection of great heroes with minor local Euboean heroes, indicating Euboean influence).[16] However, certain aspects of the theory are somewhat arbitrary; for example, why should the deeds of Meleagros go together with those of Nestor, or why should traditions about Thebes or Argos not have been part of the original Thessalian tradition? On the other hand, West is better able to account for complex historical development, in contrast to Nagy's concentration on the 8th century as pivotal moment.

[15]West's (1984) statement of the four cycles is consistent with his (1988) article if we assume that the latter explains the details by which the four cycles were synthesised over time.

[16]West (1988) 160, 168-9.

Nagy and West are only the latest in a long series of attempts to come to terms with the prehistory of Greek epos. Looking back over the past century or so, most theories have had to find a place for local and non-local aspects to some degree. Bethe held that the Trojan cycle was formed in the archaic period in NW Asia Minor by colonists who brought together originally independent local traditions from the mainland. Wilamowitz considered that Agamemnon originated in local traditions at Kyme and Lesbos, and Glaukos and Sarpedon came from traditions in the Ionian cities. Nilsson attempted to link the key locations of myth with the important centers of the Mycenaean period.[17] Remnants of these ideas still survive in Nagy, West, and others,[18] and as we have seen, analysis on the basis of local tradition continues in the scholarship.

As well as the problem of what should count as evidence for positing the existence of a local tradition, and the difference between local/Panhellenic in content and local/Panhellenic in origin, there is an additional problem

[17]Bethe (1914-27); Wilamowitz (1925) II.241, Nilsson (1932).

[18]Nagy (eg. (1979) 140-1, (2009) 147-8) follows the idea that Akhilleus is an Aeolic hero associated with the foundation of cities in NW Asia Minor; West (1985) 158-60 considers the Pelopids' origin to be Aeolia.

with the use of the term 'Panhellenism' itself. In reference to the classical period, the term is used for the notion of a single identity encompassing all Ἕλληνες, as extensively studied by Mitchell (2007).[19] In discussing the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, Mitchell does in fact - following Nagy's interpretation - link this poem with the creation of Panhellenic identity in the 6th century.[20] However, the *Hymn* contains no explicit statement of such an identity; it merely connects many different locations to Apollo's cult, just as the Catalogue of Ships connects many locations with the Trojan war. This aspect of the epic corpus paves the way for the creation of Hellenic identity, because it provides a variety of stories that include many of the regions later encompassed by the term Ἕλληνες. However, this does not mean that the *Hymn* or the *Iliad* try to create a 'Panhellenic' identity, even if the Trojan war was later reinterpreted as a shared Greek struggle against the non-Greek Trojans. Of course, the speakers of the various Greek dialects no doubt had much in common with each other since the Mycenaean period, and may well have been aware of this commonality to some degree, but until this is defined with a terminology and discourse around Hellenicity, it remains vague and

[19] cf. also Hall (2002).

[20] Mitchell (2007) 5-8, cf. 64-5 for similar statements about the *GK*. But Mitchell does separate the *Hymn* from the earlier part of the corpus.

undefined.[21] It may therefore be more accurate to speak of 'non-local' or 'supra-local' rather than 'Panhellenic' in relation to early poetry.

Elsewhere, I have studied the role of local tradition in epos, though in a more limited scope than the present study, focusing on three character-based case studies - Nestor, Iris, and Sarpedon.[22] I briefly summarise my earlier findings. In the case of Nestor, there are several competing theories about his local origins (a local hero originating at Pylos, or linked to Miletos because of claims that his descendents were founders there). However, through his family he is connected to a wide range of places (Thessaly, Argos) and the tales he narrates relate to Elis as much as Pylos. Moreover, the rich traditional diction attached to him better fits the aged wise advisor figure than a young Pylian hero. Nestor is therefore not a recent import from a local Pylian tradition but a figure of considerable depth in the epic tradition, who

[21] Signs of the term Ἕλληνες appear sporadically by at least the 6th century: see (with discussion in Hall (2002) 128-34) Arkhilokhos fr. 102, Alkman fr. 77, Theognis 1.247, Xenophanes fr. 6, 8 West, and cf. Mitchell (2007) 42-65 for the sort of political currents that were making the identity expedient (especially conflicts in Asia Minor), Hall (2002) 161-71 for a theory about the development of the identity by the Thessalians in connection with the Olympic games. Xenophanes is the most explicit in using Hellenes with wider reference, demonstrating the incipient presence of this identity. However, it is not until the 5th century that it really takes off, as we see in its frequent attestation in Pindar, Aiskhylos, and Herodotos compared to the Theognidean corpus.

[22] Webber (2019).

has links throughout the Greek world.

Iris appears to be an old goddess, with PIE roots. She is also well-integrated into epos, as is shown by the unique formulaic language associated with her. However, she has no discernable presence in local cult, and her early depictions in art are associated with epic narrative. As such, Iris seems to be a non-local figure in origin, whose basis is in an ancient poetic tradition rather than real cult practice. This suggests that part of the non-local flavour of epos comes from the presence of material that is not a combination of local features, but rather exclusively poetic.

Finally, the etymology of Sarpedon's name suggests that he does have a local origin in Southwest Anatolia; in a later period he received cult in Lycia and formed part of the region's cultural identity. On the basis of his traditional diction (which is mostly not unique) he entered the epic tradition comparatively recently. There are some competing theories about his presence in Milesian, Rhodian, or Cretan local traditions, but on available evidence these remain somewhat speculative. Sarpedon thus provides an example of

a character who tests the (implied) boundaries of the term 'Panhellenism'; that the poet's desire to include a wide range of characters extends to the Lycians may suggest that the general aim is expansiveness rather than constructing a Hellenic identity.

Nestor, Iris, and Sarpedon show, therefore, that the situation is more complex than just the fusion of different local traditions into a Panhellenic whole in the 8th century. However, this earlier study had a more limited scope, which did not permit an in-depth discussion of the nature of linguistic or archaeological evidence, nor could it address the major characters of epos, such as Akhilleus or Helen. The aim of this thesis is therefore to further investigate local and non-local material in archaic hexameter poetry in more detail and from a wider methodological basis, without assuming Nagy or West's theories from the outset. In the remainder of this introduction I shall first discuss the (many) controversial issues in the study of epos, which are often intertwined with the questions of local tradition, and set out my own assumptions. I shall then lay out my methodology for the investigation of local tradition. Subsequently, I shall make a preliminary discussion of the evidence of epos in conjunction with other forms of archaic song.

1.2 Assumptions: The Homeric Problems

1.2.1 The Composition of the Poems

The origin of the Homeric poems - and, by extension, the rest of archaic epos - is one of the most controversial topics in the study of antiquity. Before Parry the main question was whether a poem such as the *Iliad* was the work of a single poet, or a later compiler who had spliced together various previous works. Parry's study of the formulaic language of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and the comparative work together with Lord on South Slavic oral poetry, demonstrated that the epic language originates from a long tradition of singers, who developed over time a system that exhibits considerable economy and extension.[23] By analogy with the South Slavic singers, the singers of Greek epos learnt their craft through oral recomposition-in-performance. Every time a poem was performed, it was recreated anew, with expansion or abbreviation as appropriate to the circumstances. Rather than being recorded in writing, such a song was likely passed from singer to singer, existing purely as a 'multiform' of different versions.

[23] See eg. the collection of works in Parry (1971), Lord (1960).

Most scholars would agree that in the EIA (Early Iron Age) this is how the epic tradition existed; and that by the Hellenistic period, written texts of the *Iliad*, *Odyssey*, and so on had come into being. The question remains, however, of how the oral tradition gave rise to fixed texts. Lord argued for a process of dictation: an outside influence caused the dictation of long poems from an oral performer.[24] This scenario, however, is not without difficulties: as Lord himself argued,[25] there is little motivation to preserve a fixed version of a poem within an oral tradition, and traditional oral poets are not concerned with the preservation of a particular instance of performance. An additional problem is the sheer length of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, which would require substantial amounts of time and resources to record on papyrus or leather; in the 8th century most attested writing is in the form of short inscriptions.

This is also a serious issue for the view that the *Iliad* (and the other poems of epos) were produced by literate poets as a written text - the preferred

[24]Lord (1960) 153-7. The situation, of course, is parallel to that of the research Parry and Lord carried out in the former Yugoslavia, with the foreign researchers replaced by (for example) local Greek aristocrats. For an extended argument for the dictation theory see Janko (1998); cf. Jensen (2011) 281-328, who favours a later (late 6th century) date.

[25]See Lord (1960) 155-63.

variant of West and Powell, although recently its adherents have become less vocal.[26] Lord's arguments that a singer from the oral tradition would have had no motivation to record his songs again apply, and there is also some doubt over whether a singer who has learned to compose with writing would show the pervasive oral elements visible in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*;[27] and it is also notable that the poems themselves avoid reference to writing.[28]

A radical alternative is Nagy's theory of gradually increasing fixity:[29] in the mid-8th to 6th centuries the singers became less and less inclined to vary their texts, so that certain songs acquired greater fixity; from the mid 6th to end of the 4th centuries the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were performed at the Panathenaia at Athens, and certain non-definitive 'transcripts' were produced; finally, down to the mid-2nd century the texts were increasingly standardised by scholarly and official efforts. Crucial to this process is Nagy's conception of Panhellenism: it is the desire to produce a Panhellenic synthesis caused the

[26] eg. West (2011) 10-11; Powell (1996) and (1997). For intimations in favour of literacy, see Currie (2016) 7, 22, 28.

[27] Janko (1998) 3; Lord (1995) 212-7. For further arguments against the idea that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are 'transitional texts' composed with the aid of writing, see Jensen (2011) 179-213.

[28] See Powell (1997) 26-8; the possible exception being the σήματα λυγρά at *Il.* 6.168.

[29] See eg. Nagy (1996) 42.

singers to reach a more fixed version of their songs. Divergent local versions lost out over time to versions that shared a 'least common denominator'.[30] On Nagy's view, therefore, the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are not samples of oral poems from the archaic period, but two particular oral 'poems'[31] which have become especially expanded and elaborated, and crystallised into a final form as late as the Classical period. However, our existing manuscript evidence does not seem to provide any evidence for such a high degree of multiformity.[32] If the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* really had existed as well-diffused multiforms known to multiple singers across the Greek world, with local variants, we might expect at least some of these other versions to survive. Equally, it seems counterintuitive that the proliferation of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* should correlate with their fixation, since one might expect the diffusion of a poem to result in ever more radical variation. I cannot, therefore, accept Nagy's

[30]Nagy (1990) 56-7.

[31]On the understanding that an oral 'poem' may be transmitted from poet to poet or repeated with a greater or lesser degree of elaboration and still be considered the same poem.

[32]Finkelberg (2000) 2. Variants in the text of Homer rarely affect more than minor details of wording, with little to suggest differences in the order and substance of the plot. Finkelberg goes on to suggest (6-11) that such multiformity did characterise the 'Cyclic' poems, like the *Kypria*, on the basis of the differing reports of its content in Apollodoros, Herodotos, Pausanias and Proklos. However, without direct textual witnesses it is difficult to be certain, and Apollodoros does not explicitly claim to be using the *Kypria* as a source in the instances cited. On one way of determining whether MS variation is to be considered as proving oral transmission, see Kelly (2007) 378-409, focusing on the evidence for book 8 of the *Iliad*.

model in its full form or the role of Panhellenism that comes with it, although I accept that the alternative theories have problems of their own.

1.2.2 The Historicity and Date of the Poems

The epic tradition is the product of a long historical development, reaching back to the Bronze Age, and to some extent reflects historical events, though it cannot be taken to give an accurate account of them.[33] To take the Trojan war as an example, there is interesting comparative material from the archives of the Hittite empire on the interaction of the Hittites and Akhaians in Western Anatolia,[34] most prominently the 'Tawagalawa letter' (CTH 181), from the Hittite king to the king of Ahhiyawa, complaining about someone called Piyamaradu raiding Hittite territory using Ahhiyawan land as a base.[35] In passing, the letter mentions 'the matter of the land of Wilusa concerning which he and I were hostile to one another, and we have made

[33]For Bronze Age features of the material culture of the epics, see Dickinson (2017) 12-15; for potentially very old linguistic or metrical features, West (1988) 156-9, Janko (1991) 9-12, Ruijgh (1995) 53-63, though the matter is controversial: see van Beek (2022) 5-6.

[34]Beckman, Bryce, and Cline (2011) collect all Hittite texts mentioning Ahhiyawa (∼ Greek Ἀχαία, probably referring to some group of Mycenaean Greeks).

[35]cf. Beckman, Bryce, and Cline (2011) 251-2, Heinhold-Kramer and Rieken (2020). Piyamaradu's attacks seem to have been a long-running problem for the Hittites.

peace'.[36] Wilusa should be identified with Ilion; regrettably the documents are fragmentary, and so our overall idea of the history of 13th century Western Anatolia is rudimentary at best. However, it is likely that the story of the Trojan War ultimately has its roots in these Bronze Age conflicts, but that key details are distorted and forgotten, as one might expect of an oral poetic tradition over several centuries.[37] For example, the role of the Hittites is forgotten in the Greek tradition, presumably due to the very different political situation in the Early Iron Age.

On Nagy's view, dating the poems is impossible and irrelevant, since the process of their formation extends until Hellenistic times. However, scholars who favour a single act of recording have made efforts to establish the date at which the various poems were fixed.[38] But there are difficulties, because the poems usually avoid referring to contemporary events. West dates Hesiod to the late 8th or early 7th century on the basis of *Theogony* 337-45 (a catalogue of rivers including the Nile, Danube, and some rivers of the SW

[36]Beckman, Bryce, and Cline (2011) 114-5 (§12 of the letter).
[37]cf. Morris (2006) 293, reviewing Latacz (2004).
[38]On the establishment of a chronology, see in particular the contributions to Andersen and Haug (2011).

Black Sea). The *Iliad* is dated by West[39] to after 663, when Assurbanipal sacked Egyptian Thebes (the wealth of which is mentioned at *Il.* 9.381-4); West also invokes references to the Black Sea in which evidence of Greek settlement does not go back further than the 7th century, and to Delphi, which only came to have wider importance in the 7th century.[40] Whilst individually these data could be challenged, overall they seem suggestive for a 7th century dating.[41]

Another method of dating is to use allusions between poems to establish relative chronology. However, this is problematic, because of the oral background of the poems. For example, West argues on the basis of the similar phrases χηρωσταὶ δὲ διὰ κτῆσιν δατέοντο (*Iliad* 5.158) and διὰ ζωὴν δατέονται / χηρωσταί (Hes. *Th.* 606-7), both referring to the division of a man's property after death, that the *Iliad* poet is re-using a phrase from Hesiod. He suggests that the observation is 'neither typical nor obvious' in the *Iliad*, but 'arises more naturally' in the *Theogony*.[42] However, judgements of

[39]Following Burkert (1976).

[40]West (2011) 17-8, along with some other parallels from 7th century art. For the Black Sea in the *Iliad*, see Manoledakis (2013). Cf. the older discussion of Hesiod at (1966) 41-6.

[41]Of course, widely differing opinions exist; for example, Jensen (2011) opts for the late 6th century, linking the recording to the Peisistratids; Ruijgh (2004) for the 9th century.

[42]West (2011) 156. For more arguments along a similar line, see the notes in West

this sort are somewhat subjective. Moreover, given that these poems make extensive use of an oral formulaic language, it seems quite probable that these instances are based on a traditional formulaic phrase known to both poets.[43]

Janko (1982), seeking a more objective approach, attempted to construct a relative chronology of early hexameter based on the frequency of certain linguistic features in the poem, such as observance of 'digamma' (/*w*/, the letter wau), the genitive sg. of masculine a-stems in /*āo*/ rather than /*eō*/ or /*ō*/, and the o-stem genitive singular in -*oio*. For each poem, Janko plotted the frequencies of these linguistic features and found that for most of the poems the relative frequencies tended to cluster (with some outliers).[44] Janko concluded that these frequencies indicated chronology, with the *Iliad* the oldest poem, followed by the *Odyssey*, then the *Theogony* and after that

(2011) referred to in 17n.9, as well as Richardson (1974) 30-43; West (1985) 128-30; West (1995) 206-9 (contrast 205-6); Faulkner (2008) 31-40; West (2011b) 212-26; West (2014) 33-5, 70-7. Whether all of these can or should be explained in terms of shared formulae, or whether there is a core set of examples that would resist such explanation, would require further study.

[43]Note the word χηρωσταί, an archaism which occurs only in these two examples in extant Greek literature: it can be derived from **ǵʰeh₁ro-h₁d-* 'one who eats property left behind' (Beekes (2010) 1631-2).

[44]See Janko (1982) 70-94 for the original analysis of statistics and deductions; the chart is 74 fig. 2.

the *Erga*. Outlying linguistic features were explained as random anomalies or due to intentional 'false' archaism. However, these findings have been challenged on the basis that the features may depend on differences of native dialect, register, content or idiolect instead,[45] as well as supposing (for certain features) the existence of an 'Aeolic phase' in the epic language.[46] More recently, McConnell (2019) has shown that many of Janko's differences lack statistical significance;[47] that the figures may be affected by including formulaic material in the counts;[48] and that the prosodic associations of particular words also strongly affect the statistics.[49]

Date, then, along with other factors, competes with local variation as an explanation of linguistic differences between the poems. This will be discussed in more detail in section 4.4 on the language of the epic corpus. The dating of the poems also has a role to play in another controversy, to

[45]See Graziosi (2002) 92; West (2011b) 227-8.

[46]See Jones (2012).

[47]McConnell (2019) 18-23.

[48]McConnell (2019) eg. 101-2 (for /w/): when formulaic parts are excluded, for example, the *Erga* neglects */w/ less* than the *Theogony*, a reversal of Janko's original result.

[49]McConnell (2019) 107-10: the word ἄναξ (< *wanaks*), for example, is drastically more likely to have an observed */w/* in prosody than not; but because of the nature of the *Iliad*'s content, it is also far more likely to occur in the *Iliad* than the *Odyssey*. This means that overall, the *Iliad* is recorded by Janko as being more archaic (with more instances of observed */w/*), but if the word ἄναξ is discounted, this trend reverses, and the *Odyssey* comes out as more archaic.

which we now turn.

1.2.3 Neoanalysis and Traditionality

The older 'Homer-centric' model treated the Epic Cycle (and, by extension, other works of early hexameter) as expansions on the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, filling in the gaps and expanding on small details unmentioned in the canonical epics.[50] Neoanalysts take the opposite view, seeing the poems of the Cycle as representative of older traditions to which the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* allude. For example, the *Iliad* is said to be based on the *Aithiopis* (or an older version of the same story), with Antilokhos replaced by Patroklos and Memnon replaced by Hektor. The *Iliad* poet is thus considered to have alluded to a prior poem in constructing the story of Patroklos and Akhilleus.[51] As well as alluding to the poems of the Epic Cycle, Neoanalysts have also posited previous versions of the stories about Akhilleus' wrath and Odysseus' homecoming to which the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* allude, such as a version of the embassy to Akhilleus in which there are only two messengers (explaining the anomalous duals in *Il.* 9), or a poem in which Penelope recognises Odysseus before the

[50]For a presentation of this approach see Burgess (2015) 43-4; cf. Griffin (1977) 45, West (2013) 17-20.

[51]For a summary of the Neoanalytical approach see Kullmann (1984) esp. 309-11. For more on this particular Neoanalytical argument, see Currie (2016) 45-72. For criticisms of the Antilokhos-Patroklos dependence see Kelly (2006).

death of the suitors and they plot the suitors' downfall together.[52]

Much of this comes down to a question of what is traditional and what is original in the Homeric poems. The Neoanalyst methodology is based on the principle that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are original compositions, whilst the poems preserved in the Epic Cycle are more traditional. This view has been supported by the idea that the poet(s) of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are 'post-traditional' oral poets, who made innovations and subverted traditional themes, destroying the 'mythic-historic component' of the oral tradition.[53] Many elements of their poetic technique - the length of the poems, narrative complexity, use of direct speech, and so on - are thereby considered innovations.[54] However, on current evidence, this theory is difficult to accept. If the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* (and Čolaković would add the Hesiodic poems as well) are post-traditional, we are left with no actual evidence for what Greek traditional oral poetry was like to compare them with. The South Slavic tradition is a useful comparandum, but diverges from the Greek epic tradition

[52]See Currie (2016) 73-4 (embassy), 47-55 (Penelope) for a recent Neoanalytical view.

[53]This idea originates with Čolaković (2006), who also considered that Avdo Međedović, the singer much studied by Parry and Lord, was 'post-traditional'. It has been followed by Danek (2012) 120, Currie (2012) 578-9, (2016) 75-7; see also Čolaković (2019). For a critique, see Jensen (2011) 201-3.

[54]Čolaković (2006) 170-85.

on a number of points, so if a feature is unusual in the South Slavic poems, this is no guarantee that it is also untraditional in epos.[55]

Similarly, it is difficult to accept the view of Griffin (1977) that the Cyclic poems differ in significant stylistic ways from the Homeric poems (in the use of fantastic elements, 'romance', treachery, oracles, repetitiveness and so on).[56] There were no doubt stylistic differences between the different poems, as there are between the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, but some of Griffin's judgements are subjective, and others rely on the fragmentary state of the cyclic poems.[57] The same criticism applies to Nagy's view that the Cycle is 'more local in orientation and diffusion', the Cyclic poems being less Panhellenic.[58] As such, it is a fundamental part of my methodology that I treat the fragmentary poems as essentially on a par with the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*,

[55]It should be added that Čolaković's acceptance of the stories about Blind Huso ((2006) 162-3, 173n29) may be misguided, since he seems to be a semi-mythical figure. Similarly, for Vlahovljak's critique of Međedović compare Lord (1960) 28-9.

[56]cf. the reevaluation of Sammons (2017), eg. 3-6.

[57]The fragments we have of the Cycle are likely to be unrepresentative to some degree; most are quotations, and thus vulnerable to the selection biases of the authors who preserve them.

[58]Nagy (1979) 7n26. Nagy (1990) 72-3 tries to explain thematic differences between the Cycle and the *Iliad*/*Odyssey* on the basis that the Cycle's themes are 'older' than those of the *Iliad*/*Odyssey*, Panhellenisation causing a loss of the 'older layers'; though this seems to conflict with Nagy (1990) 56-7. For further criticism of this idea, see Brillante (2010) 44.

rather than as the work of late and incompetent poets trying to fill in the gaps in earlier work, or as repositories of deeply archaic tradition that would be reworked by the innovating poets of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

As to Neoanalysis, besides other difficulties,[59] a key problem is that traditional Neoanalysis tries to reconstruct particular poems as the sources for the extant works - a hypothetical **Memnonis*, for example, behind the *Iliad* and the *Aithiopis* - in a manner that does not account for the complexity of the epic tradition. The *Iliad* poet (and his audiences) no doubt heard many complex songs (or parts of songs) on a given story, not one conveniently straightforward and reconstructable song. A more useful first approach, therefore, is the notion of traditional referentiality, whereby repeated material invokes a larger context of traditional phrasing rather than specific reference to a previously-fixed poem.[60] Many of the difficulties and complexities within works identified by the Neoanalysts - such as the anomalous

[59] cf. Kelly (2006), (2012); some counterarguments at Currie (2016) 247-58.

[60] For traditional referentiality see eg. Foley (1999), Kelly (2007) 5-14. There have of course been attempts to modify Neoanalysis to be more in line with oral poetics, replacing fixed poems with performance traditions, eg. Burgess (2006), Tsagalis (2011); cf. the concept of 'interformularity' in eg. Bakker (2013). Difficult questions remain, however, such as the identification of a motif as primary/secondary, and the level of fixity one needs to suppose in the tradition.

Iliad 9 duals - no doubt arise from the pervasiveness of typical patterns, or singers' subsequent modification of their own poems. The latter principle was West's recasting of Neoanalysis,[61] which we might modify by suggesting that an oral poet revised a song through reperformance, rather than an anachronistic editing process through writing.[62]

1.2.4 Personas and Poets

As previously discussed, the process by which fixed texts resulted from the oral tradition is contested. Connected with this is the problem of personas, of who 'Hesiod' or 'Homer' was. For West, Hesiod was a real poet who produced the *Erga* and the *Theogony*.[63] For Martin, however, Hesiod was a poetic persona, attached to a mythical figure, adopted by a school of Hesiodic poets, who would produce versions of the *Erga* and *Theogony* under Hesiod's name.[64] The poet's biography becomes an inherited poetic convention attached to certain traditional epic songs (or types of song).

[61]West (2011) eg. 10-14; (2014) 2-4.
[62]cf. Powell's criticisms of West (*BMCR* 2018.06.39).
[63]West (1966) 40-8. cf. West (1978) 33-40 for discussion of various theories on the reality of Perses.
[64]Martin (1992) esp. 14; cf. Nagy (1979) 296, (1990a) 47-8, (1990) 72n99. For further discussion and references on Hesiod's individuality see Koning (2010) 20-1.

This is certainly plausible for the figure of 'Homer'. Early references attribute to him a large range of poems, perhaps narrative epic in general, which is only in the Classical period narrowed to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.[65] This suggests that he was seen as a semi-mythical originator of epos. On the other hand, there are doubts as to how early the persona of 'Homer' goes back, since unlike Hesiod there is no autobiographical information attached to the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*, and even the blind Khian poet of the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* is anonymous.[66] 'Homer' does seem to be a fictional persona that develops over time, then, but there is no ground for thinking the *Iliad* was composed with this persona in mind.[67]

This question might seem irrelevant to the problem of local tradition; after all, this study is primarily interested in the epic tradition as a whole rather than the formation processes of particular poems. However, if the persona theory is true, and to be extended to all the named poets of epos, we would have a large number of personas, presumably reflecting different

[65]Graziosi (2002) 4 with n9.

[66]Of course, it has been argued that the persona here is a veiled reference to 'Homer', eg. Spelman (2018b).

[67]Indeed, this seems to be a weakness in Nagy's gradual fixation theory: we might expect some indication of Homer as the author to be introduced into the *Iliad* over time.

schools of poets (Homeric, Hesiodic, Stasinian, Arktinian, Leskhian, Agian, Eugammonian, Eumelian and so on). Many of these are localised (Stasinus of Cyprus, Arktinos of Miletos, etc.; even the Homeridai are associated with Khios), which presumably would mean, on Nagy's theory, that these schools of poets were based in particular locations. The matter does, therefore, have an effect on the question of local tradition. However, although there is reason to think that 'Homer' is a fictional persona, the same does not necessarily follow for Hesiod and the other poets. Granted, the autobiographical details serve a poetic purpose in the *Erga* and *Theogony*, but this does not mean that they are all entirely fictional or generic or inherited; the poet may simply have selected and/or constructed appropriate details to produce a convincing poetic persona. Consequently it is far from certain that all poets' names are personas; this is better decided on a case-by-case basis.

1.2.5 Hero Cult

Hero cult refers to cult honours paid to a dead mortal by a community, often a significant individual such as the founder of a city. According to Nagy, there is a close relationship between the local traditions that feed into epos and the cult of the heroes. A figure such as Akhilleus would have received

cult prior to the time of the *Iliad*, and the absence of reference to this cult within the text is another feature of Panhellenism; because hero cult is a local phenomenon, 'the central heroes of this epic tradition cannot have an overtly religious dimension in the narrative'.[68] The origins of hero cult are disputed, however, since it has been argued that later-attested cult to Homeric heroes arise out of the influence of epos.[69]

There are some cases in which late 8th century cult occurs at Mycenaean tombs, for example at the Mycenaean cemetery at Prosymna in Argos.[70] However, this does not represent a continuous tradition from the preceding centuries, nor does it often seem to connect to later, more secure instances of hero cult, so it is rather uncertain whether it can be considered the same phenomenon.[71] There are a handful of cases of longer-term cult, such as the Menidhi Mycenaean tholos in Attica, where Late Geometric offerings appear in the dromos and continue into the early 5th century; a similar case in a dromos at Thorikos, lasting from the mid-seventh to mid-fourth century;[72] the

[68]Nagy (1979) 116.
[69]See Coldstream (1976) for this view, and cf. the discussion at Parker (1996) 36-7 with n28, Parker (2011) 287-92.
[70]Coldstream (1976) 9.
[71]Haysom (2020) 339 is sceptical.
[72]See Antonaccio (1995) 104-112, Parker (1996) 33 with n18

shrine of Helen and Menelaios at Therapne;[73] and Grotta on Naxos, where Protogeometric tombs received constant renewal of structures through to the end of the eighth century.[74]

The Homeric poems regularly use the word ἥρως of the characters, and the *Iliad* has one instance of ἡμίθεος (12.23). The word ἥρως is of unclear original meaning and possibly Pre-Greek etymology[75] but ἡμίθεος is explicit enough, and the *Erga* understands the word as having similar meaning (159-60: ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων θεῖον γένος, οἳ καλέονται / ἡμίθεοι, προτέρη γενεὴ κατ' ἀπείρονα γαῖαν). Poets therefore understood that the characters of mythology were set apart by their strength and closeness to the gods. The question is whether the ἥρως was necessarily an object of worship. The dative *ti-ri-se-ro-e* is found in the Pylos tablets as a minor divinity and may be a cult title */tris (h)ērō(h)ei/*; if this interpretation is correct, there might be worship of individuals as heroes in the Mycenaean period.[76] However, in the *Iliad*

[73]See Antonaccio (1995) 155-66; see below, 406.

[74]Antonaccio (1995) 201.

[75]See Beekes *s.v.*

[76]cf. Gérard-Rousseau (1968) 222-4, Bennett (1955) 44. We also have *e-ro-e* KN Sc 244, *e-ro-e-o* KN Xd 116. *e-ro-e* is followed by *BIG* (denoting a chariot). Currie saw this as evidence that ἥρως represented a term for high ranking nobles in the Bronze Age; but the forms are doubtful. If *e-ro-e* is a dative, *(h)ērō(h)ei* as per Bartoněk (2003) 294, then what form would *e-ro-e-o* be? On the other hand, if *e-ro-e* is nominative (cf. KN Sc 240, 238) then *e-ro-e-o* could be a genitive of the same word, the interpretation suggested by

after death the heroes have little power in the real world, though Patroklos can appear to Akhilleus in a dream (23.65-107). Hesiod envisages the golden race becoming *daimones* and having the power to affect mortal affairs after death, but not the heroes (*Erga* 122-6). This suggests that there was some diversity of views on the matter.

In sum, the characters of epos were seen as a special group called ἥρωες. It seems that it was possible, in the archaic period and before, for such figures to receive forms of cult. However, many of the Classical hero cults do not appear to extend back to the EIA. On our current evidence we should not extrapolate to assume that all, or most, Homeric heroes were the object of well-known local cultic traditions in the EIA that gave rise to local traditions about them. Indeed, many of the later hero cults may arise from the influence of the epic tradition.

Ventris and Chadwick (1973) and Ruijgh (1967) 269; if so, this is probably an unrelated personal name.

1.3 Methodology

It is important to distinguish different meanings of the term 'local'. To say that material in epos is 'local' can pertain to its **content**,[77] **origin**, or intended **audience**. For example, *Odyssey* book 3 (Telemakhos' visit to Pylos) is clearly local to Pylos in its content; but this does not mean that it arises from Pylian local tradition, or that this part of the poem was originally performed to an audience at Pylos. Similarly, material can be said to be supra-local in different ways. The Catalogue of Ships as a whole is supra-local in content, since the heroes come from all over Greece.[78] The god Zeus - as far as we can reasonably tell - is shared across different localities and therefore his presence in epos cannot be attributed to a particular local tradition. A poem could be performed at a major festival at which the audience came from a wide variety of places. We may well expect these ways of being local to correspond, as Levaniouk notes; but we cannot assume automatically that they do.[79] It is certainly possible to have a tradition about a place that does

[77]Perhaps a better term would be 'referent'.

[78]This is more extensively discussed in chapter 5.

[79]Levaniouk (2000) 68-9. Levaniouk uses the example of a story about Medea surviving in a local tradition at Corinth according to Pausanias (2.3.6-7), but this seems unlikely: the city had been destroyed by the Romans and the inhabitants killed or enslaved in 146 BCE, as Pausanias himself notes. Uncertainties surround the μνῆμα to Medea's children mentioned by Pausanias; although exact details may be unclear, it seems unlikely that we can count on a continuing tradition rather than something based on (or at least influenced by) literary evidence in the archaising context of the Second Sophistic: see Abbenes (2015)

not develop in that place; the popularity of settings in Thebes or Argos in Attic tragedy should surely lead us to be cautious about such assumptions.[80]

Equally, just because a tradition is very poorly attested in our evidence - or even confined to one instance in early hexameter poetry - does not mean that it is necessarily a local tradition.[81] To assume so is to conflate 'not Panhellenic' in the sense of 'not Panhellenic in its distribution in a later period' with 'local in its origin in the archaic period'. We should also avoid assuming that any version of a myth attested in the corpus must be traditional in nature, since this unreasonably restricts the freedom of the individual poet to generate new variants.[82] Of course, in many instances it is impossible to tell whether a version is being made up or is simply unattested elsewhere. One of the clearest examples is Niobe in *Il.* 24, in which it is highly probable that the detail of her eating after the deaths of her children is an *ad hoc* invention for the purposes of the paradigm.[83]

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esp. 578-80.

[80]Of course, the stories of Oidipous or Orestes may originally come from Thebes and Argos, but it would be mistaken to attempt to (say) trace all the different versions we find in *Libation Bearers* and the *Elektra* plays back to different Argive local traditions.

[81]For example, Levaniouk (2000) 26-7 argues that the version of the Melampous myth in *Od.* 15.225-38 is different from the version in Pherekydes and *Od.* 11, but cannot be Panhellenic, or we would be aware of it from later sources.

[82]cf. Hainsworth (1982a) 3 reviewing Nagy (1979).

[83]Willcock (1964) 141-2. On the other hand, Willcock perhaps goes too far in certain of

We have already seen one issue with the term 'Panhellenic': it might give the impression that a poet is purposefully trying to promote an identity of the Hellenes, which may well be anachronistic. Another issue is that it leaves ambiguous the border between 'local' and 'Panhellenic'. If a story includes two different locations from across the Greek world - Thebes and Argos, say[84] - is it now Panhellenic (in its content)? Or should Panhellenic - as the name suggests - include representatives from all over the Greek world? Even the Catalogue of Ships, as we shall see, has some prominent gaps in the regions it includes. It is similarly rather misleading to call the language of epos Panhellenic, given that it is so focused on Ionic and Lesbian; certainly it has not been formed by someone going round picking a feature out of each of the local dialects. Moreover, there seems to be an important difference between features that include reference to a range of different places (like the Catalogue of Ships) and those that refer to no real place at all (eg. the floating island of Aiolia in the *Odyssey*). For this reason, I shall generally

his other examples; at 145-6 he doubts the paradigms given by Dione for gods wounded by mortals at *Il.* 5.382-404. But the story about Ares being shut in a jar has parallels in Hittite myths and thus reflects a pre-existing tradition: see Riemschneider (1960) and esp. Harmatta (1968) 60-4, followed by West (1997) 362-3, Garcia (2013) 228-9, Millington (2013) 69.

[84]Though of course the story of the Theban war is more complex, as shall be examined at 7.4.

avoid the term 'Panhellenic' in favour of more precise (although less elegant) terms like 'non-local' or 'supra-local'.

Another important distinction that is often elided is between 'local tradition', 'local poetic tradition', and 'local hexameter tradition' (assuming local in terms of origin here). Nagy, for example, speaks of 'local traditions', 'poetic traditions', and 'Cretan epic traditions'.[85] Local tradition is certainly conceivable in other forms of poetry from hexameter, and it might also exist in non-poetic form, as local stories not told in metre.[86] It seems beyond doubt that there existed local traditions of some form in Archaic and EIA Greece, as there are elsewhere in the world in other periods; but establishing the existence of local traditions of hexameter poetry is another matter. For example, Levaniouk, discussing a tradition about the association of Akhilleus and Delphi, remarks in relation to the formula λάινος οὐδός - which recurs in connection with Delphi - that it can 'leave no doubt that this tradition was poetic'.[87] But λάινος οὐδός can occur in contexts which have no connection to Delphi (eg. Eumaios' house at *Od.* 16.41). The threshold at Delphi may

[85]eg. Nagy (1979) 7, (1990a) 43, (2008) 122.

[86]eg. tales told to children by nurses or mothers, informal anecdotes between friends. cf. Finkelberg (2014).

[87]Levaniouk (2000) 61.

have been famous and inspired the use of this formula in epos, but this does not mean that the exact wording is from a local Delphic tradition: it could just be that this is how the traditional hexameter language expresses the notion of 'threshold'. We should, therefore, be sensitive to evidence for the type of local tradition posited.

The key questions for this thesis are: did the characters of epos (and their stories) originate and develop in local traditions, and if so, how are their local features used in epos? What sort of evidence do we need to posit local traditions, and if we can, what is their nature (hexameter poetry, other poetic form, or non-poetic)? The investigation is organised as follows. Firstly, a series of chapters on **general topics**, all of which are essential for our understanding of the role of local tradition: archaeological evidence for regional or local divisions in the EIA; iconographic evidence for epic traditions; the evidence of the epic language; the role of catalogue poetry in epos. Second, a series of **case studies** on particular characters and places: Odysseus and Akhilleus, the city of Thebes, Helen of Sparta, Oineus and his family. For each instance, I try to establish what sort of local elements are found and how they are used by the poets. Finally, the **conclusion** summarises my

findings and discusses their implications for our understanding of early epos.

1.4 The Evidence: Archaic Greek Song

Keeping in mind, therefore, the different possible meanings of the term 'local', what sort of relationship does the surviving body of archaic song have with local tradition? Some forms of lyric poetry do show the existence of distinct local song traditions in particular areas. A particularly good example are the Lesbian poets Sappho and Alkaios. Their poems derive from an old tradition,[88] and use a language which combines local Lesbian features with specialised poetic language partly (but not entirely) shared with epic.[89] Some of their poems relate closely to local Lesbian political matters, friends, or family members: for example, Alkaios fr. 70, which is directed against his political enemy, Pittakos, or Sappho's 'Brothers' poem, which depicts her relationships with her brothers Kharaxos and Larikhos. Some poems seem closely tied to a Lesbian context, such as Alkaios fr. 129, which describes a sanctuary on the island, others much less so, such as the invocation of Aphrodite in Sappho fr. 1, or Alkaios' description of the Thracian Hebros

[88] As is proved by the similarity of their metres with those of Sanskrit: Bowie (1981) 24-8.

[89] Bowie (1981), esp. 68-86 on /*w*/. cf. Tribulato (2016) 213-4, (2021), Neri (2021) 36.

river in fr. 45; it seems unlikely that all the mythological stories they incorporate - such as Tithonos in Sappho fr. 58c, Hektor and Andromakhe in Sappho fr. 44, Sisyphos in Alkaios fr. 38a - can be tied to local Lesbian myth or cult. Their poetry, therefore, is local in origin to a particular place, Lesbos; its content has some local, autobiographical elements, similar to Hesiod's persona, but is also far wider-ranging. The intended audience is much harder to determine, but we should at least consider it possible that the poets were aware that their songs could spread across the Greek world, far beyond their original performance contexts.[90] However, it is unlikely that the content of the poems themselves, insofar as they reflect specific historical events, are traditional, unless we are to understand Sappho, Alkaios, Pittakos, and so on to be fictional stock characters. This makes a contrast with epos, where the stories sung have been built up over a long tradition; we have little idea what Sappho and Alkaios' predecessors sung about.

Another good case for local lyric tradition is in the poems of Alkman. For example, the first *partheneion* seems specifically crafted for performance by a chorus at a Spartan festival; it has many local details, such as the name of the

[90]For convincing arguments that Sappho envisaged her own broader reception, see Spelman (2018) 155-161.

deity 'Aotis' (87), and at the beginning of the song it includes the names of various sons of the Spartan king Hippokoon killed in the fight with Herakles, which could plausibly reflect a local myth. Moreover, on some views, the language of the poems is in a version of Laconian dialect with archaic elements and possible borrowings from epic language.[91] That the poems apparently have some features of later Spartan dialect - such as σ for earlier θ - might suggest that Sparta was an important pathway for their transmission as well, unless this is the work of later editors.[92] On some interpretations, therefore, the content, origin, and intended audience of the *partheneion* may all be local to Sparta.[93] However, we have less evidence about the 'tradition' part. Was it traditional to compose *partheneia* at Sparta, and the ones composed at a particular time by Alkman were so successful that they were recorded in writing for posterity? Or is Alkman merely the persona attached to traditional songs that had developed over the generations through yearly repeated performances? Or, perhaps, a real poet Alkman once composed songs which were so admired that they became the traditional songs at Sparta and sup-

[91]Page (1951), esp. 163, and see eg. 115-6 for archaic elements that may be preserved by a local traditional poetic language; cf. Kousoulini (2013). For others Doric features are superficial and partly the work of later editors - see Maslov (2013) 18 with further references, and cf. Carey (2011) 442 who stresses the absence of particularly local features.

[92]See Colvin (1999) 169-71, Hutchinson (2001) 75-6, Carey (2011) 439.

[93]Note, of course, that it has also been argued that Alkman composed with a wider audience in mind, eg. Carey (2011) 444.

planted any predecessors.[94] We are back to the quandary over poets and personas. So whilst Alkman's *partheneia* are fairly local in their orientation, the degree to which they reflect a 'local tradition' once more depends on the interpretation of uncertain evidence.

With many of the other lyric poets, such as Stesikhoros of Himera, the case for origins in a local tradition becomes much less tenable. Stesikhoros' poetry exhibits enormous geographical range, covering myth set in Spain, Troy, Thessaly, Laconia and so on; it has been described as 'truly pan-mediterranean poetry', whilst lacking overt connections with a particular place.[95] That Stesikhoros made use of stories originating in (or even concerning) his home city of Himera, or even that he made use of markedly local traditions, is far from certain.[96] On this basis it is plausible that Ste-

[94]cf. the discussion of Budelmann (2013) 95-6 on composers and traditional songs. For Alkman as a real individual in the context of 7th century Sparta, see eg. Hutchinson (2001) 71-6; for Agido and Hagesikhora as 'choral characters', see eg. Nagy (1990) 347. For the third possibility see Bowie (2011) 63-4.

[95]Davies and Finglass (2014) 23, 33.

[96]Some late evidence suggests that Stesikhoros celebrated Himera in his poetry, fr. 299 Davies/Finglass; but Davies and Finglass are agnostic over whether the city was mentioned at all, though it seems probable that the local river was mentioned. It has been suggested that a visit of Herakles through Sicily and even to Himera formed part of the *Geryoneis*, but there is no direct evidence; see Davies and Finglass (2014) 242, 290. For a refutation of attempts to link Stesikhoros' mythic variants to particular places, see Davies and Finglass (2014) 26-9. For a valiant attempt to show that the *Palinode* represented local, opposed to Panhellenic, tradition see Beecroft (2006), but the argument is based solely on the supposed epichoric associations of the word ἔτυμος in fr. 91a.1.

sikhoros envisaged a broad performance context, across the Greek-speaking world, and perhaps himself travelled widely.[97] This certainly is the case for Ibykos of Rhegion, where the testimonia evidencing his travels is supported by explicit evidence from his poems: his time on Samos, as cited in the Suda, matches fr. 282 in praise of Polykrates. In contrast to Stesikhoros he may have made use of local mythology, in particular of Sikyon.[98] One has the impression, therefore, that the early lyric poets travelled widely, for performance and to gather material.[99] This is certainly the case with Pindar, for whom we have the most complete surviving corpus. Though a Boeotian, his *epinikia* are commissions for clients across the Greek-speaking world, and draw on a range of local and non-local detail: for example, *Olympian* 7 draws on various stories and local geographical details about the origins of Rhodes. Pindar seems to have anticipated his own wide reperformance beyond the original point of performance.[100] The origins of choral lyric are the subject of some controversy as to whether it is genuinely Doric or Aeolic; at any

[97] So Davies and Finglass (2014) 23-5.

[98] See Cingano (1986), Davies and Finglass (2014) 24-5, esp. n147. This is on the basis of the possible mention of the Sikyonian king Zeuxippos in 282.37.

[99] On the itineracy of lyric poets, see Hunter and Rutherford (2009), esp. Bowie (2009).

[100] On reperformance in Pindar see eg. Morrison (2007) 81-130, Hunter and Uhlig (2017) (esp. the contributions of Budelmann, Uhlig, and Currie); on the poetics of reperformance, Sigelman (2016) esp. 2-7, Spelman (2018); cf. also Phillips (2016) esp. 5-6; Agócs (2012) 193-4, 205-6. Spelman (2018) 4-5 gives an overview of scholarship on Pindar, both that which focuses on original performance context and the more recent studies that focus more on reperformance.

rate, there is little evidence that Pindar, Stesikhoros or others were adapting a language that they had adopted from local choral traditions,[101] rather than a widely disseminated poetic form.

For much of archaic lyric, therefore, we do not have identifiable and separate local traditions of poetry transmitted in particular cities. Rather, singers use a basis of widely diffused mythic subject matter and occasionally exploit stories and details that they could find originating in particular places, while anticipating a wide audience. One might object that there must have been a range of more local lyric song that does not survive, though it may form a basis for some of the surviving literature: local cult songs to various gods, marriage songs, laments, work songs, drinking songs. This is certainly true, but these do not necessarily require local colleges of bards to produce them. In the historical period such songs are composed by named poets such as Alkaios or Pindar.[102] Once they had been composed, they might well be

[101]On Stesikhoros' language, see Willi (2008) 57-76, Davies and Finglass (2014) 40-6; on the rarity of Boeotianisms in Pindar, see Prauscello (2019) with further literature. For the argument that the language of choral lyric is a non-local traditional poetic language that originates in an Aeolic-speaking region of Northern Greece, see Pavese (1967), (1972), Trümpy (1986), Maslov (2013) esp. 7-8.

[102]cf. Alkaios' hymn to Apollo of Delphi, fr. 307, although Liberman (1999) 229 believes that it is not a cult hymn.

handed down to subsequent generations in the same place, forming a local tradition.[103] These poems are then local in their reception and transmission, but not in their composition: they form a local tradition, but are not produced by one.

Surviving elegiac poetry is found across the Greek world: Tyrtaios in Sparta, Kallinos in Ephesos, Arkhilokhos in Paros, Mimnermos in Kolophon, Theognis in Megara, Solon in Athens; it is often strongly local and political in content, but uses a fairly homogenous poetic language with Ionic basis.[104] To take Tyrtaios as an example, it seems unlikely that he was representative of a local tradition of elegiac poetry at Sparta; this would mean either that there was a local tradition of elegy in Sparta in Ionic dialect, or that Tyrtaios originally wrote in Doric and was later normalised by editors.[105] It has sometimes been argued that elegy was originally associated with lament, in which case we might have supposed that it arose out of local traditions of funerary performance; but actual examples are lacking from the archaic period - sur-

[103]Compare the possible transmission of Alkman at Sparta (discussed above), the use of Tyrtaios in Spartan society (Athenaios 14.630f = Philokhoros *FGrH* 328 F16), and the Arcadians' use of Philoxenos and Timotheos in a later period (Polybios 4.20).

[104]Similar is iambic; see Tribulato (2010) 391-2.

[105]For the (not generally accepted) view that Tyrtaios was originally written in Doric, see Gentili (1988) 56-8, 230.

viving elegy is often associated with the symposium, with inscriptions, and possibly public performance at festivals.[106] Given all this, we presumably have to think in terms of a non-local poetic tradition that was available to poets across the Greek world in the archaic period. Elegiac seems to have exhibited considerable flexibility as to content, including mythological elements (eg. Arkhilokhos' 'Telephus' elegy, fr. 17a Swift; Mimnermos frr. 11, 11a West), philosophical reflection (eg. Solon fr. 13 West), military exhortation (eg. Kallinos fr. 1 West), political propoganda (eg. Solon frr 33, 34 West), and extended 'historical' narrative - that is to say, relating to the foundation of cities and historical events more recent than the typically mythic world of epos;[107] the latter includes Tyrtaios' *Eunomia* elegy, Mimnermos' *Smyrneis*, Kallinos fr. 5 West, Xenophanes' poems on the foundation of Colophon and Elea, Panyassis' poem on the Ionian colonisation, and later on Simonides' *Plataia* poem.[108] A poem such as Arkhilokhos fr. 5 Swift, describing the poet's loss of his shield in fighting with the Thracians around Thasos, is clearly oriented towards local events in terms of its content. However, it is

[106]See Swift (2019) 14-8.

[107]This is hardly an exhaustive list. Unfortunately, elegy survives in a highly fragmentary state, which makes it difficult to say whether these different types existed independently or if eg. mythological narrative was typically integrated into poems of a more personal or protreptic nature.

[108]See Bowie (2010), who argues for the existence of long narrative poems as a distinct genre from short elegies.

not *per se* a 'tradition', since this is a poem composed at a particular historical moment - unless we assume that there was a Thasian or Parian tradition of performing elegy in the persona of Arkhilokhos. In this case, however, the reduction of Arkhilokhos to a traditional fiction is unlikely, because we have good historical evidence that one of his addressees actually existed.[109] In comparison, Mimnermos fr. 9 West, describing the foundation of Smyrna, clearly does include 'local tradition', since the events described are stories that were handed down at Smyrna or Kolophon about the city's past. However, these stories were surely not transmitted in elegiac form, but adapted to it by the poet.[110] In short, elegy seems to have been quite flexible in incorporating non-local material, recent local detail, and local traditions, but we lack attestation of traditions of elegy that are local in the sense of origin.

Looking at the hexameter corpus, the content even of individual poems displays a striking geographical range, as can be seen from the diversity of the Greek heroes of the *Iliad*, or the different places (Ithaka, Pylos, Sparta, Troy; Crete and Egypt in lying tales) that come into the *Odyssey*. This can

[109]Glaukos (frr. 15, 48, 105, and 117) is also commemorated in *ML* 3, a late 7th century inscribed block from Thasos which claims to be the μνῆμα for Glaukos the son of Leptines.

[110]Compare the way Tyrtaios adapts the text of an oracle (that was presumably originally in hexameters) to the elegiac form in fr. 4 West, on which see West (1974) 184-6.

be evidenced from the Epic Cycle as well: the *Kypria* described the mustering of heroes, the *Nostoi* their return, to different locations across the Aegean. This seems more like what we saw for Stesikhoros than Alkman.[111] This poses certain difficulties if we imagine hexameter as originating in local epic traditions in the different city states; we have to suppose that these originally distinct traditions have been mixed together. Even poems which we might have expected to be local in orientation often seem to show supra-local content. For example, the epic known as the *Aigimios* presumably related to the mythical ancestor of the Dorians of that name, but the surviving fragments mention (Argive) Io and the monster Argos; Euboia (fr. 296), Nauplios (fr. 297), Phrixos (fr. 299), and Akhilleus (fr. 300). The *Phoronis* was about Phoroneus, a king of Argos and first human (fr. 1 West = Clem. *Strom.* 1.102.6), so we might expect it to derive from Argive local tradition; but the poem referred beyond this, for example to the Idaean Dactyls.[112] The *Minyas*, from its title, we might expect to relate to the founder of Orkhomenos, but none of the extant fragments refer to him, and the poem apparently included the descent of Theseus and Peirithoos to the

[111]Which is hardly a coincidence, given that Stesikhoros' poetic approach was influenced by the epic tradition.

[112]fr. 2 West = ΣAR 1.1126-1131b.

underworld.[113]

Perhaps the best case for local tradition is Eumelos of Corinth. His *Korinthiaka* dealt extensively with the early mythic history of the city;[114] for example, fr. 15 Tsagalis, which describes the division of the land between Aloeus and Aietes. Other fragments seem to connect other characters from the mythic tradition with Corinth quite unexpectedly: fr. 25 has Neleus die at Corinth; fr. 27 has Leda actually be the granddaughter of Sisyphos.[115] Fr. 31, though attributed to the *Europeia* by Tsagalis, similarly makes the Syrians descendants of the Asopos. It has thus been concluded that the poem is a blatant attempt to rewrite Corinth into Greek mythology by appropriating other legends.[116] The ascription of the poems called *Europeia* and *Titanomakhia* to Eumelos rest on fewer attestations (Test. 3 and fr.

[113]Tsagalis (2017) 307-10 concludes that the poem was merely connected with Orkhomenos in its origin, rather than content. But given its fragmentary form, it is still plausible that Minyas was mentioned in the poem. The *Minyas* may be the source of the hexameters in the Ibscher papyrus, in which Theseus addresses Meleagros, unless this is a different poem (the *Peirithou Katabasis*): see Tsagalis (2017) 312-3 for discussion. However, I am sceptical of the attempt of Debiasi (2010) to attribute the poem to Khersias.

[114]See Tsagalis (2017) 82-131.

[115]This bears some resemblance with the story that Odysseus is actually the son of Sisyphos found in later sources.

[116]West (2002) 125. For the view that Eumelos' treatment of Antiope as the mother of Aietes and Aloios is adapted to appeal to a local Corinthian audience, see Olivieri (2007).

29 for the *Europeia*, fr. 3 and fr. 15 (with doubts) for the *Titanomakhia*). These seem to have been less Corinthian in focus; the *Europeia*, for example, mentioned Dionysos' conflict with Lycurgus in Thrace (fr. 29 Tsagalis) and Amphion who built the walls of Thebes (fr. 30 Tsagalis).[117] However, it has been argued that both are part of a 'Corinthian Epic Cycle';[118] and even that 'Eumelos' may be a collective name to which poems of the Corinthian tradition were attributed.[119] If this is true we would have a local tradition of hexameter poetry at Corinth attached to his name.

Similar to Eumelos is the case of Asios of Samos. At least some of his poetry was about the Samians themselves, as is clear from fragment 13 (preserved third-hand in Ath. 12.525e-f), which describes the Samians visiting the sanctuary of Hera. The rest of the fragments seem genealogical; of these, fr. 7 (= Paus. 7.4.1) included the genealogy of the eponymous Samos, although other fragments include a wider range across the Greek world.[120] Much less is known about Kinaithon the Lakedaimonian, credited with ge-

[117]For possible connections with Corinth, see West (2002) 116, 126-8, Tsagalis (2017) 67.
[118]See Tsagalis (2017) 51, West (2002) esp 128.
[119]West (2002) 109.
[120]eg. Boiotos, fr. 2 = Strab. 6.1.15, Pelasgos, fr. 8 = Paus. 8.1.4, who was Arcadian according to Hesiod, see Serv. Auct. in *Verg. Aen.* ii.84 = Hes. fr. 160.

nealogies, but frr. 3-4 Tsagalis could reflect a local Spartan perspective.[121] One fragment of Hegesinous' *Atthis* survives, also third-hand (Paus. 9.29.1); the name of the poem might suggest it contained content relating to Attica, but in fact the fragment tells of the nymph Askre and foundation of Askra in Boiotia. In a similar context Pausanias 9.38.9 gives verses of Khersias of Orkhomenos with the genealogy of Aspledon in Boiotia.[122] So poets such as Eumelos, Asios, and perhaps Kinaithon, Hegesinous and Khersias, seem to have included local content in their poems, although they were also interested in including more far-ranging material. Owing to their fragmentary state it is hard to know how far they are comparable with Hesiod of Askra. The *Theogony* and the *Erga* both include local details of content: the proem of the *Theogony* shows Hesiod's meeting with the Muses on Helikon, the *Erga* several autobiographical sections with a clear setting (esp. 633-40, 654-9). However, in the rest of the poems there is no noticeable bias towards Boeotian myth to match Eumelos' Corinthian focus.[123]

[121]Tsagalis (2017) 191-4.

[122]To Khersias was also attributed the epigram of Hesiod in elegiacs, Paus. 9.38.4, though this is not universally accepted: see Debiasi (2010) 260-3 (who himself defends Khersias' authorship, at least in part).

[123]cf. West (1978) 31, who suggests that the poet must have travelled on the mainland. Indeed, Hesiod does not even mention the mythological origins of Askra given by Hegesinous.

The fact that in epos (as we saw in lyric) we cannot find a strict association between local content and local origin, and that poets like Hesiod do not seem to have made much concession to their ostensible place of origin at all, means that it is problematic to derive the origin of a poem on the basis of its content - though some such arguments are stronger than others. The *Homeric Hymn 2 to Demeter* relates the aitiology of the founding of the Eleusinian mysteries, so it has been connected to Eleusis and the Eleusinian games.[124] Currie, however, on the basis of a comparison with the fragmentary Orphic *Hymn to Demeter* (which shows some overlap in phrasing), has argued that it alludes to and reworks a traditional local Attic poem, which would be closer to the Orphic version.[125] On this argument there would actually be a hexameter poem passed down in local tradition, albeit not one directly attested. *Homeric Hymn 3 to Apollo* has often been split into a 'Delian' and a 'Delphic' section, again on the basis of content. It is worth emphasising, though, that both parts refer to a range of places around the Greek world, and that the poet of the first part claims to be from Khios, per-

[124]cf. the reference to specific places at eg. 99, 272. For discussion of the circumstances of composition of the *Hymn* see Richardson (1974) 5-12, esp. 12; cf. Parker (1991).

[125]See Currie (2016) 79-104. Bernsdorff (2016) has more recently argued that a fragment of Anakreon reflects such a version.

forming on Delos.[126] The *Homeric Hymn 5 to Aphrodite* is set in the Troad, on Mt. Ida; it has been argued that it was composed locally, due to the reference to bilingualism, two Aeolisms,[127] and the idea that it supports the ideology of a dynasty of Aineidai.[128] The prominence of the Troad in epos in general, however, weakens this case. Much less convincing are the many arguments that use one feature or indirect arguments to attribute local origins to poems: the connection of *Homeric Hymn 1 to Dionysos* with Samian tradition;[129] the connection of *Homeric Hymn 4 to Hermes* with Olympia;[130] the theory that the *GK* was composed in Attica;[131] the Lakonian or Boeotian

[126]I shall discuss this hymn in more detail at 245-252.

[127]κἄλός, τῑμάοχος - although the status of the first as Aeolism is less certain.

[128]See Faulkner (2008) 49, and 4-7 for the Aineidai theory, which applies also to *Il.* 20.307-8. Faulkner also refers to an older theory that it was produced on Cyprus, due to Κύπρις in verse 2, and 292, and a word that was previously supposed to be Cypriot (σατίνη).

[129]Wilamowitz (1937) 25-7 linked this hymn to Samos and Naxos, because the story of Hera being bound to a chair is similar to a Samian ritual deduced from a Hellenistic source (Menodotos *FGrH* 541 F1 = Ath. 15.672a-d.): another deduction of origin from content. West (2011a) 32 is rightly sceptical.

[130]On the basis of reference to the cult of the Twelve Gods at Olympia, the aition of which is mentioned in the poem: see Thomas (2020) 23-36 for an extensive argument, although more focused on performance context than envisaging the hymn as arising from a local tradition; Richardson (2010) 25 for older bibliography. Vergados (2013) 148-53 rightly argues that the hymn has a wide appeal.

[131]West (1985) 196-71, on the basis of certain elements of the genealogies ('Erechtheus' daughter maried to Xouthos, Sikyon and Orneus as sons of Erechtheus, Nisos as son of Pandion'), the deification of Herakles, a ruling by Athena, and an 'Attic section... almost wholly made up of parochial mythology with no general currency outside Attica', as well as the supposed Atticisms οὖσαν (though there are some egs of this elsewhere in the corpus), γλωθρῶν (for βλωθρῶν, which can be explained as an Attic hypercorrection given epic γλήχων = Attic βλήχων). For a refutation see Hirschberger (2004) 49-50; Hirschberger herself leans towards Asia Minor, but none of the evidence adduced is particularly conclusive.

links of the *Megalai Ehoiai*;[132] the supposed pro-Theban stance of the *Aspis*;[133] the suggestion that the *Melampodia* was produced at Corinth;[134] the idea that the *Thebais* was put together on the occasion of the reorganisation of the Nemean Games;[135] or the connection of the *Epigonoi* with Antimakhos of Teos because of a possible reference to Teiresias' daughter ending up at Claros.[136] It is of course conceivable that some of these particular details do have origins in local stories, but they are no reliable basis for determining the origins of the poems that contain them.

Eumelos and Asios are cases where the transmitted identity of the poets - and thus the origins of the poems - match some local interest in their content. However, we far more frequently have cases where the poet attributed to the work comes from an unrelated place: the *Oidipodeia* was ascribed

[132]See D'Alessio (2005) 199-205.

[133]See Janko (1986) 43-8 for a version of this view, on which the Herakles/Kyknos conflict relates to the First Sacred War. Janko concludes that the poem was probably first performed at Thebes, and see further below, p383.

[134]Based purely on the mention of Alkmaion going from Corinth to found Amphilochian Argos (verse 58); see Löffler (1963) 59.

[135]Argued by Torres-Guerra (2015) 240-2, because of the detail that the Seven stopped in Nemea.

[136]West (2003) 9-10: the author is given as Antimakhos by a scholiast on Aristophanes. However, the attribution of fr. 4 West to the *Epigonoi* depends on assuming an error in ΣAR 1.308b, since the original wording states that it is part of the *Thebaid*. Cingano (2015) 246 is justly cautious about this attribution.

to Kinaithon the Lakedaimonian, the *Aithiopis* and *Iliou Persis* to Arktinos of Miletos,[137] the *Ilias Mikra* to Leskhes of Pyrrha, the *Nostoi* to Agias of Troizen, the *Telegony* to Eugammon of Kyrene, the *Capture of Oikhalia* to Kreophylos of Samos (or perhaps Khios). Of course, some of this information is late and may be unreliable,[138] but it does suggest that we cannot simply assume that epic poetry about (say) Thebes must originate there.

Sometimes the names under which the poems are transmitted may have local reference. West states that 'the titles of certain epics, such as the *Kypria*, the *Phocais*, the *Naupactia*, and indeed the *Iliad* and *Little Iliad*... suggest poems identified by their currency in a particular region.'[139] If this is true, the names suggest the poems' origin. In the case of the *Iliad* and *Little Iliad* there is the alternative possibility that they were named after their content. However, the *Kypria* does not seem to have had a particular focus on Cyprus, which is not mentioned in Proklos' summary, although we do find it in the narrative of the same events at Apollod. *epit.* 3.4 and in Dictys

[137]Though in Proklos' account the poem included Akhilleus' conveyance to Leuke, in the area of the Black Sea colonised by Miletos, potentially a detail that could arise from Milesian local tradition. For this view, see Sbardella (2011).

[138]cf. West (1999) 365-6 (considering such evidence completely baseless) and (2013) 26-7, 31-2.

[139]West (1999) 365. One might add the *Atthis* ascribed to Hegesinous.

Cretensis' account.[140] As to the *Naupaktia*, West is partly anticipated by Pausanias (10.38.11), who argues against the majority opinion that it should be attributed to a Milesian in favour of Karkinos of Naupaktos; this is based purely on the name, because otherwise he says that it would be irrational for it to be called *Naupaktia*.[141] This shows conclusively that the poem did not have a Naupaktian focus in its content, since otherwise Pausanias would surely have accepted this as a justification of its name; and indeed the surviving fragments cover quite a variety of different places and peoples, especially the Argonauts.[142] Consequently, if the names of the *Naupaktia* and *Kypria* do reflect their local origins, this is not reflected in their content.

From this brief overview, it is evident that archaic Greek song has a somewhat complex relationship with local tradition, which is hard to fit neatly into a single pattern. On the one side, some poets were more locally inclined in the content of their work. Alkman's poetry provides an example of local

[140]Though even there Cyprus does not feature prominently, and these details are not directly attested for the poem. In the version of the *Kypria* read by Herodotos (2.117) there was no detour between Paris' travelling from Sparta to Troy.

[141]For conjectural theories on the origin of the poem in Naupaktos, see Tsagalis (2017) 366-7.

[142]Pausanias says that it was 'about women' (ἐς γυναῖκας), suggesting something similar to the *GK*.

content, origin, and initial audience, though it should perhaps be noted that his poems still have a universal appeal, and the composer might well have had in mind a wider audience. For epos, Eumelos is a good case, since he seems to have included various stories about Corinth, which may well be taken from local tradition. But even here, it seems that poets of epos were keen to include a range of subject matter that was never narrowly restricted to a particular place. Moreover, unlike Alkman's poems, there is less evidence for hexameter poems having a role in local cult or ritual - though this is a possibility for some of the *Homeric Hymns*. Eumelos and Asios show that local material could be presented in hexameter, even if elegiacs were seemingly a little more common, as with Mimnermos' *Smyrneis* or Panyassis' poem on the Ionian colonisation. And we have seen that evidence of a tradition of epos (or even lyric) that was transmitted in a local context is somewhat evasive, though the metrical forms in Sappho and Alkaios are a good candidate. Furthermore, we have many poets and poems for whom a local bias in their work seems unlikely, even when we do have reasons to ascribe them to a particular poet or region - Stesikhoros is a good example for lyric, the *Naupaktia* or Hesiod's *Theogony* for epos. Pervasive across archaic song seems to be a desire to include a range of references from across the

known world.

Chapter 2

Regionalism in material culture

2.1 Introduction

In the previous section I showed that early hexameter poetry is hard to fit into a model in which distinct, locally-oriented traditions develop in the different city states, because most of the poems so persistently refer to a vast geographical range. As we saw, however, there are certain works and poets' names - most notably Eumelos of Corinth - for which local origin, content and audience may be much more plausibly argued for. It would, therefore, be possible to make a case that poems like Eumelos' or Asios' give us a unique view into the original, more local form of archaic epos, and that the

supra-local quality of songs like the *Iliad* or the *Kypria* arise because they have developed at a later time, when the regionalism of the EIA was receding; that is, the supra-regional tendencies of many of our attested poems may be diachronically explained as resulting from relatively recent Panhellenic tendencies.[1] This would fit relatively well with Nagy's understanding of Panhellenism, in which it arises out of an increased connectivity in the 8th century.[2] It is therefore important to assess whether this is a plausible account of the development of the Greek world from the EIA to the Archaic period: do we have originally isolated local regions, with distinct local culture, giving way to a more interconnected and unified world over time?

In this chapter, therefore, I provide a survey of the evidence of regionalism from the Late Bronze Age (LBA) through to the Archaic period, for which the principal evidence is material culture, especially pottery. Material culture is, of course, not a direct guide to the patterns of society and liter-

[1] Of course, this would require an early date of Eumelos in comparison with the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*, which West (2002) is sceptical of.

[2] Nagy's concept, in fact, is based on the archaeological work of Snodgrass (1971), which emphasised the importance of the 8th century: see Nagy (1979) 7 (cited previously at 2-3), nn23-4. Important changes and greater conspicuousness of sites do come in the 8th century, but it is important not to underestimate the preceding period: for a more recent discussion, see Eder and Lemos (2020) 147-9.

ature. Pots are not people; the spread of goods from one place to another need not imply close communication between their human populations; it could be carried out by intermediaries or result from sequential exchanges over smaller distances. On the other hand, distributions of artefact styles are not random, and through much of this period constitute the best evidence available to us for regionalism in the Greek world. The terminology and significance of regional divisions, particularly the notion of 'koine', has not gone uncriticised.[3] However, for the purpose of this study, the important aspect of a 'koine' is not its political structure, nor on how deep or superficial a level it operates; more salient is the existence of connections between different locations. If motifs in pottery can travel from one location to another, we should at least admit the possibility that motifs in poetry could do the same. And if regional patterns can be identified in a variety of different forms of material culture, from architecture type to pottery decoration, then it seems likely that some sort of pattern in society and communications underlies this.

[3]For a critical approach to 'koine', see Dietler (2017).

2.2 The Late Bronze Age

The Late Bronze Age in the Aegean is determined by pottery styles (on the mainland, LHI-III; on Crete, LMI-III) because of the difficulty in establishing absolute dates for the period.[4] Using these as proxies for historical periods is the only widely accepted way of discussing the Late Bronze Age, but it leads to some apparent anomalies: LHI begins alongside Middle Helladic wares (eg. matt painted ware, polychrome matt mainted, Grey Minyan, and Yellow Minyan, many of which may have regional associations);[5] LH and LM phases do not match up exactly (eg. LMIA begins before, and influences, LHI[6]). As the terminology suggests, a major distinction between regions that is valid throughout the LBA and afterwards is that between Crete ('Minoan' culture) and the Greek mainland ('Mycenaean' culture); other areas, such as the Cyclades, lose a distinctive local material culture as a result of in-

[4]The Aegean LBA may have begun around the 16th century and lasted into the 11th, although absolute dates are still disputed: see Mountjoy (1993) 3, Dickinson (1994) 20-1, (2020) 46-50.

[5]Mountjoy (1993) 33, (1999 vol. 1) 19. Of course, beginning this survey at the start of the LBA risks excluding some aspects of regionalism in the MBA which might be of some significance: notably, the significance of Aigina, which was a copious exporter of pottery in the MBA but less prominent in the LBA, or the distinction between the southern Cretan sites which used Linear A and those which employed Cretan Hieroglyphic (Knossos, Malia, Petras) before the destructions at the end of MMIIB (see Weingarten (2010) 321-2, Tomas (2010) 341).

[6]Mountjoy (1993) 3.

fluence from Minoan and later Mycenaean styles.[7] LH wares themselves seem to have developed under the influence of Cretan pottery styles, at first somewhat restricted in use but coming to replace the MH wares c. LHIIB-IIIAI.[8] Decreasing Cretan influence may be related to the volcanic eruption on Thera around the end of LHI/LMIA and the destructions of major Cretan settlements (except Knossos) near the end of LMIB; in contrast, the mainland seems to have become more prosperous, and its pottery increasingly homogenous, reaching a standardised 'Mycenaean koine' by LH IIIA1 (excluding a distinct regional style in Phocis).[9]

The Mycenaean palaces and their administrative system appear during LH IIB - LH IIIA1. It is tempting to connect the palatial centers with poetic traditions of this period on a number of grounds. The palaces were evidently

[7]Mountjoy (2008), Barber (2010) 160-3. The distinction between Minoan and Mycenaean culture is long-lasting, and Minoan culture seems to have developed earlier; Minoan culture and goods were apparently used in Mycenaean culture in attempts by elites to gain or maintain prestige: Wright (1995) 69-72. In this connection it is interesting to note that Meillet and Ruijgh considered the hexameter rhythm an import from Minoan culture (see Bennet (1997) 526, n27), although realistically there is no evidence for this.

[8]Mountjoy (1993) 33, 58.

[9]Mountjoy (1993) 15, (1999 vol. 1) 15, cf. Gauß and Ruppenstein (2020) 438. The evidence for connectivity through internal exchange is reinforced by the importance of 'trade' with regions outside the Aegean in this period, for which see Cline (1994), (2007). Connected and homogenous does not necessarily imply political unity, a matter which is controversial: cf. Desborough (1964) 219.

culturally highly significant, being located at major centres of population and associated with the Mycenaean rulers; they were clearly able to mobilise considerable resources.[10] Also suggestive is the fresco from the throne room at Pylos which depicts a lyre player, sometimes taken to suggest the performance of epic poetry in the presence of the rulers.[11] Such evidence might suggest that the forerunners of later hexameter poetry were performed in the palatial centres for purposes of entertainment (or ritual) associated with the rulers.[12] However, these arguments cannot be relied on too much. Settlement existed outside palatial centres as well in the Bronze Age, and it is not necessary to suppose that poetry could only exist through the patronage of the elite.[13] Moreover, many regions do not show the palatial system that is so prominent in the Argolid and Messenia: in eastern Achaia and

[10]As well as the monumentality of their architectural construction, the wealth of the artefacts found in them, and the evidence of the linear B tablets, note also the large-scale engineering projects (such as at lake Kopais in Boiotia) that were presumably organised by them: see Cherry and Davis (2001) 156 for more instances.

[11]Bennet (2007) 14-8 interprets the fresco as a sign of the performance of oral poetry celebrating the unification of the Pylos kingdom through military activity. Of course, there is nothing concrete to imply that epic poetry, rather than just instrumental performance, is meant. For a catalogue of Aegean depictions of musical instruments in the Bronze Age, see Younger (1988) 66-80; for depictions of Bronze Age musicians, Younger (2007).

[12]Note also that each individual Mycenaean state is thought to have had, to some degree, 'local rule and an independent local historical development', Wright (1995) 64, which might have encouraged the growth of local traditions of poetry.

[13]cf. Dickinson (2006) 37-8, emphasising that not all economic activities were controlled by the palaces; other sites of varying sizes existed alongside palatial centers (eg. Cherry and Davis (2001) 150 identify a 'four-level hierarchy' in the region around Mycenae) and can hardly be discounted.

the Corinthia, there are no clear palatial centers on the scale of Pylos or Mycenae, presumably as a result of differing historical development;[14] but this surely does not mean that they had no poetry. It is also clear that we do not get markedly distinct regional traditions of pottery production at each palatial center; this high degree of cultural uniformity might argue against the establishment of distinct poetic traditions in each different local center.[15]

Bronze age frescoes in the Aegean are worth considering in more detail, as they provide one possible model for the nature of poetry in this period. Davis (1990) showed that fresco painting on Thera was marked by a distinctive style of execution which marks them out from the Minoan tradition (which is most clearly exemplified at Knossos); Morgan (1990) therefore argues for different artists on each of the Cycladic islands, but with a common training ground and a 'free exchange of ideas' to explain similarities in iconography. On the

[14]Thus Arena (2015) esp. 8-19, 24-6, 33-7; note also the difference between Messenia, in which Pylos became the dominant centre (see Bennet (1995), (1999) for an account of how Pylos comes to dominate the region), and the Argolid, in which Mycenae is not the only major center. In Boeotia, on the other hand, there were a ring of (probably subordinate) sites around the palaces at Thebes and Orchomenos: Dakouri-Hild (2010) 617. Examples of significant but non-palatial sites on the mainland include Zygouries, Eleusis, and Nikhoria (cf. Dickinson (1994) 157).

[15]There were, however, cultural differences and variations across the Mycenaean world - eg. in the usage of figurines (see Tzonou-Herbst (2002) 192-5), or in burials (see Cavanagh and Mee (1998) 77, 134-5). Sherratt (1980) argues that decreased uniformity in pottery can already be seen in later LHIIIB, linked to political unrest.

other hand, paintings from the smaller community on Keos, which lacked the resources to support the development of a local style, were probably produced by artists travelling from Crete at three different points in time.[16] Boulotis argues for a model in which some, but not all, artists were itinerant, since frescoes would be relatively quick to complete (and thus there was unlikely to be sustained employment in any one place), but certain places (Akrotiri and Knossos) functioned as centres.[17] We should therefore consider the possibility that in poetry, likewise, the situation is likely to have been neither completely itinerant poets nor a distinct tradition of poetry in each major centre, but something in between these two extremes.

2.3 The Collapse of the Palatial System

A series of destructions at many palatial and non-palatial sites occurs at the end of the LHIIIB pottery phase,[18] and have often been taken to signify a widespread and violent collapse of society, brought on by foreign invasion, economic collapse, natural disasters, disruption to foreign trade, or internal

[16] Davis (2007).

[17] Boulotis (2000) 852-4, though acknowledging that there might be some complementarity between fresco painting and pottery painting.

[18] Around 1200, although they were not necessarily close in date to each other.

Figure 2.1: Major centres before the destruction of the palaces



unrest.[19] Although the surviving evidence is probably inadequate to work out exactly what events took place, the palace system disappeared, which probably had major consequences for the system of connections and exchange they supported. Recovery did take place to some extent - at Tiryns, for example, Building T was constructed on the former megaron, and the settlement itself seems to have been rebuilt and extended - but at other sites rebuilding was limited, and it is evident that resources could not be marshalled on the scale they had been in the preceding period: the palatial system was over.[20] Some level of population movement seems to have followed. Generally the population seems to have declined, although certain sites show expansion which might be linked to immigration from other regions or the abandonment of smaller settlements.[21] On Crete, there are an increasing number of 'refuge settlements', in remote but highly defensible locations, like Karphi. New sites appear on Cyprus (such as Maa-Palaiokastro), which have been linked to the arrival of Greek-speaking migrants.

[19]For a detailed discussion see Dickinson (2006) 41-56. Associations with a 'Dorian invasion' from north-west Greece now seem unlikely: see Dickinson (2006) 44, 50-54, cf. Rutter (2010) 420-1.

[20]Dickinson (2006) 60-1, cf. Maran and Wright (2020) 117-9.

[21]Population decline: Nakassis (2020) 277. For examples of expansion, see Dickinson (2006) 63-4. However, for the difficulties of assessing population for this period and the unreliability of estimates, see Lemos (2022) 16-7. The prosperity of Grotta on Naxos early in LHIIIC has sometimes been attributed to rich immigrants fleeing troubles elsewhere, but see Mountjoy (2008) 475, Vlachopoulos (2008) 490; cf. note 29 below.

The ensuing period, LHIIIC, sees a greater regionalism in pottery styles, but certain groupings are evident. Desborough identified a cultural koine in the central/south Aegean islands (especially Phylakopi, Grotta, Seraglio, Miletos, and the foundation of Emborio) on the basis of distinctive forms such as the octopus stirrup jar;[22] particularly homogenous pottery is found in the east Aegean.[23] Another connected area seems to include various settlements in eastern Boiotia and Euboia, including Lefkandi.[24] The different distribution patterns in this period are presented in figures 2.2, 2.3, and 2.4.[25] So whilst it is evident that the population declined in some areas in

[22]Desborough (1964) 228-9, seeing this as an area of continuity unaffected by invasions on the mainland. Vlachopoulos (2008) 491 argues for a less uniform, 'multifarious, singular and heterogenous picture' of the central Aegean, with each island in the Cyclades giving a different picture, and prefers a number of 'autonomous and independent 'centres'' (Naxos, Paros, Melos) with a periphery of influence, rather than political unity. cf. Mountjoy (1999) 50-1: in practice the koine is based on rather general features and these may not be confined to the islands.

[23]Mountjoy (1999): 45, 967–9.

[24]Dickinson (2006) 69.

[25]A few caveats are necessary on the following figures. These are based on the discussions and summaries of Mountjoy, Lemos, Coldstream and Boardman. As such, there is a reliance on individual judgements as to what counts as a sufficiently distinct style to be discussed as such. Moreover, the terms used may not always imply homogeneity, but be based on geographical utility; for example, I have a certain amount of doubt as to whether by the category of 'Cretan' at Boardman (1998) 112-3 would imply that the island was more unified in its pottery styles than in the Geometric period (in reference to figure 2.7; but contrast Boardman (1998) 113 with 52-3, which does seem to imply this). Furthermore, the nature of archaeological evidence is that it is incomplete and dependent on the sites that have been excavated and surveyed, which can skew the patterns. With these qualifications in mind, however, they may be useful for visualising interconnections in this period.

this period[26] - and that instability became more widespread, as the move to more defensible sites demonstrates - this was not a time in which all contact between different parts of the Greek world disappeared in favour of marked isolationism. Indeed, the presence of widespread migration and uncertainty would make this an unlikely candidate for the development of strongly regional traditions of poetry; decline in local production of luxury goods might also suggest that fewer resources were available for the patronage of poetry in this period.[27] On the other hand, one might link the collapse of the Mycenaean system to the prominent notion in hexameter epic of decline in human capacities, whilst the move towards more militaristic values evidenced by the increase in burial with weapons might be related to the highly militaristic ethos of epic.[28]

The end of LHIIIC and the transition through Submyceneaean to Protogeometric pottery styles (c. 11th century BCE) constitute the 'final decline'

[26]See Lemos (2022) 17-18 for the regional differences in prosperity in the Post-palatial period, with some areas and sites increasing in population and prosperity.

[27]See Dickinson (2006) 72-3. Some sites, of course, experienced continuous habitation, such as Argos, Asine, and Lefkandi.

[28]cf. Dickinson (2006) 70-2 (on the psychological consequences of continual social decline), 73-5 (on 'warrior burials' - although of course these remain common into the archaic period). Note especially the absence of a stable elite, which might also have consequences for the maintenance of poets.

Figure 2.2: Regional groupings of pottery in LHIIIC early, from Mountjoy (1999).

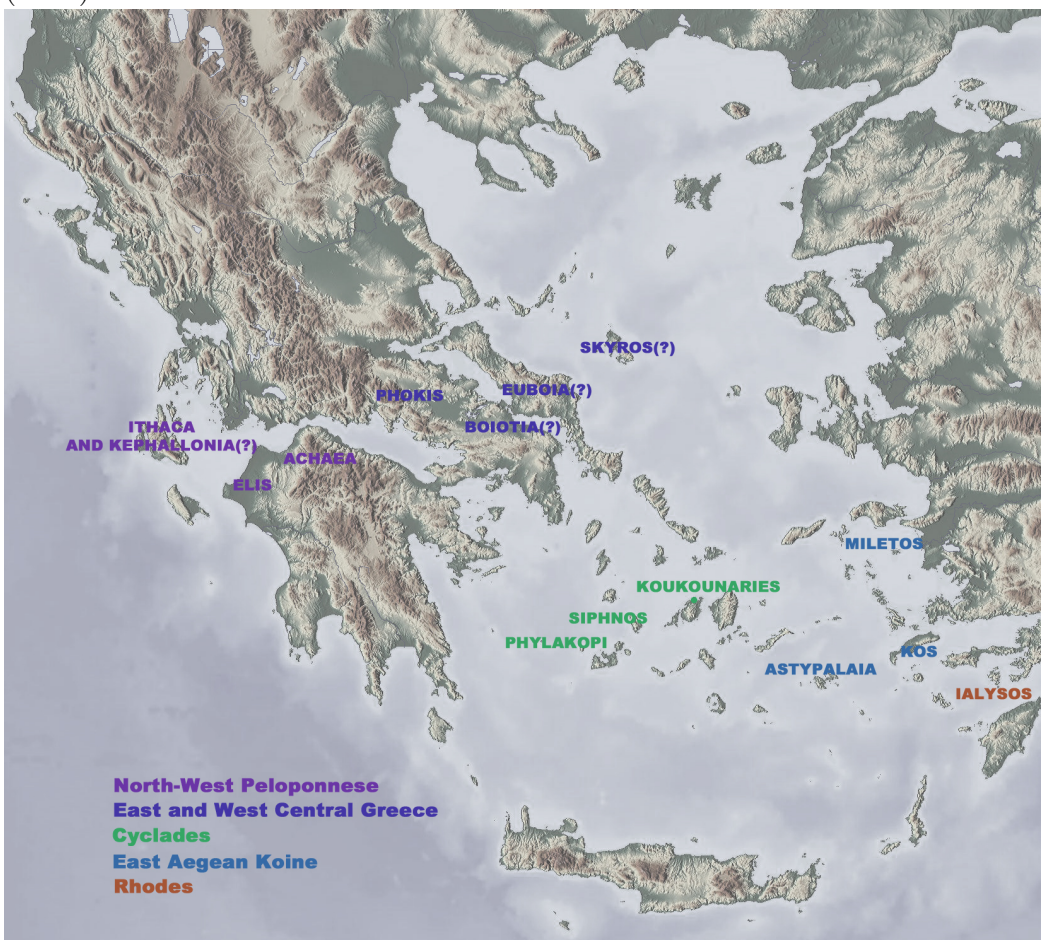
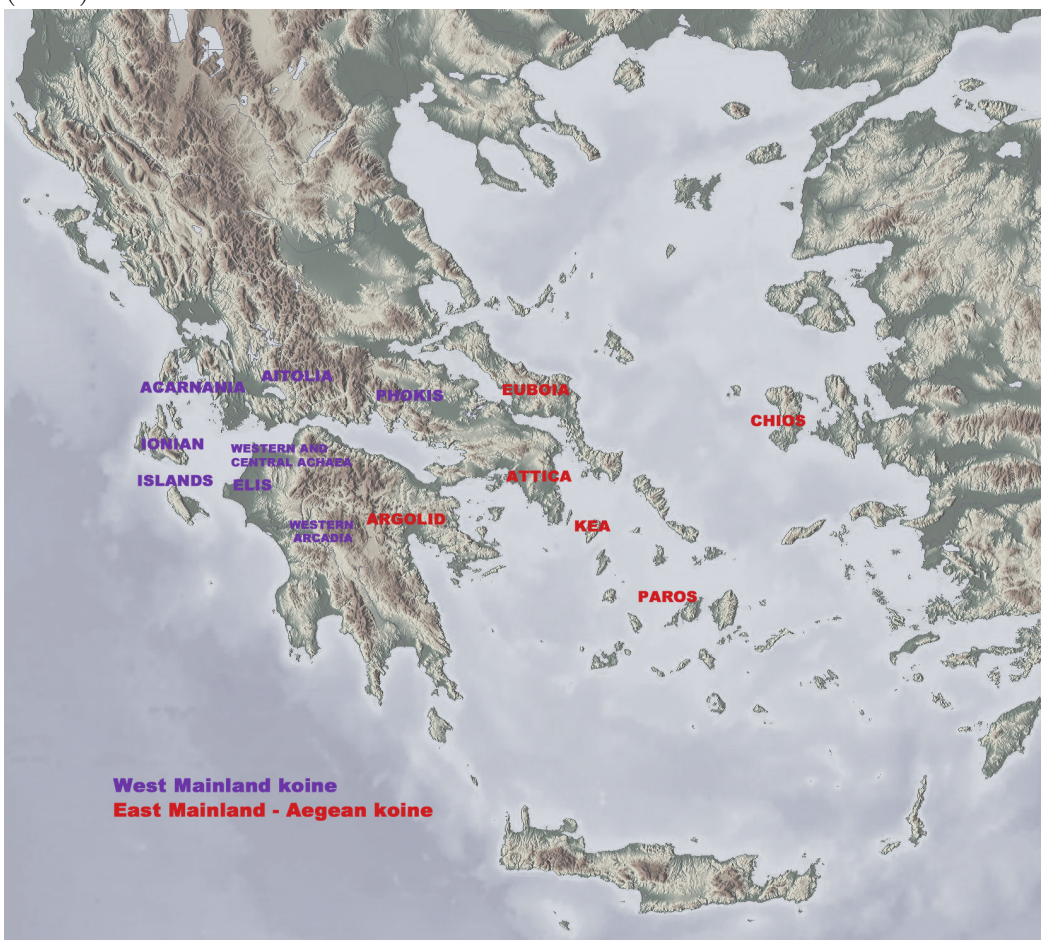


Figure 2.3: Regional groupings of pottery in LHIIIC middle, from Mountjoy (1999), with the addition of the Pictorial pottery from Euboia, Kynos, and Skyros (see eg. Crouwel (2007) 73, 75-6, Dakoronia (2007), Wedde (2000) no. 655).



Figure 2.4: Regional groupings of pottery in LHIIIC late, from Mountjoy (1999).



of Mycenaean civilisation. Elaborate painted pottery disappeared, perhaps due to continuing abandonment of sites and population decrease, especially on the Greek mainland and the central Aegean. Again, this might be associated with further population movement and instability;[29] some aspects of material culture changed significantly, although following trends that had been evident throughout LHIIIC.[30] But we should not think of this relative reduction in connectivity as a sign that the Aegean became entirely fragmented and disconnected - pottery motifs could still spread, such as the 'tight wavy line in a narrow decorated zone' identified by Mountjoy.[31]

At Lefkandi - where there was probably no break in habitation between LHIIIC and Protogeometric periods - any reduction in prosperity can only have been temporary: the rich burials at the Toumba site (dated by MPG pottery to around 950) demonstrate an impressive capacity of one group to marshal resources, and the later pattern of burials around the Toumba building attests that its significance was maintained for a century or more

[29]cf. Mountjoy (2008) 476, linking the 'East Mainland Koine' to population movements from the mainland to the Cyclades in LCIII late.

[30]Dickinson (2006) 77 identifies the use of metal dress-fasteners, the dominance of individual burial in pits and cists, the end of the practice of burying figurines with the dead, and changes in a standard pottery type.

[31]Mountjoy (1999 vol. 1) 57-8.

afterwards.[32] The nature of the Toumba burial has often been compared with Homeric burial practices,[33] in particular the burial of Patroklos in *Il.* 23. It is impossible to know what role epic poetry might have played in Lefkandiot society - was it sung at the funeral of the individuals buried in the Toumba building, as with the competition Hesiod mentions at the funeral of Amphidamas at Khalkis (*Erg.* 654)? - but certainly Lefkandi was well integrated into the PG Greek world. It is a prominent part of the 'Euboian koine' - an area with strong links in terms of pottery and architectural technique - identified by Lemos as a cultural koine through much of the Aegean in the tenth century (see fig. 2.5).[34]

[32]See *Lefkandi* II for the Toumba building, *Lefkandi* I 105 for the cemetery (cf. *Lefkandi* III Plates 3-4 for the layout of the later burials in relation to the Toumba mound). The last burials in the cemetery are from SPG III, roughly contemporary with MGI in Attica (around the 2nd half of the 9th century); Lemos (2002) 202 suggests that they were descendants of the man buried in the monumental building.

[33]eg. Calligas (1993) 22 in *Lefkandi* II part 2 - cf. Coldstream (1977) 349-50.

[34]See Lemos (2002) 212-7. The Euboian koine may develop from regional associations of LHIIIC middle (Lemos (2002) 215). Lemos also follows West's (1988) arguments that the prominence of Thessalian characters demonstrates the contribution of a strong Thessalian tradition, and that Euboia is the most likely place for the formation of the epic language: the koine is thus seen as important in the formation of the epic tradition. The title 'Euboian' reflects the prominence of evidence from Lefkandi and need not be taken to imply that the island formed a meaningful unit in this period or that its settlements were somehow dominant in the koine (cf. the criticisms of Papadopoulos (1996), (1999)); note that eg. Oropos, just across the strait, can equally well be counted a member of the koine (Ainian (2002)).

Figure 2.5: Regional differentiation in the PG period, following Lemos (2002).



2.4 The Archaic Period

Geometric pottery styles (fig. 2.6) are dated to the 9th and 8th centuries, and give a picture of increasing regionalism: for example, Coldstream notes that the 'Thessalo-Cycladic' area, which patterned together for the Protogeometric period, effectively splits up into a number of smaller regions contemporary with Attic MG. There are also signs of increasing organisation in Greek polities in this period, such as the appearance of hekatompedon temples in the 8th century.[35] Fortification walls are also known at certain sites, suggesting that these communities had reached a sufficiently structured level to engage in large-scale public building works.[36] The first examples of Greek writing - mostly inscriptions on pots - are also known from the late 8th century, to become more common in the 7th.[37]

The 8th century also provides some of the earliest evidence for Greek-

[35]Examples from the 8th C: the Heraion of Samos (Kyrieleis (1993) 126-7), the temple of Apollo Daphnephoros at Eretria, Ano Mazaraki in Achaea, and the temple of Dionysos at Yria on Naxos. Large buildings found earlier are more likely to be interpreted as rulers' houses, eg. Unit IV-1 in 10th C Nichoria. However, there are earlier structures which can probably be associated with cult: eg. the apsidal structure στ built at Poseidi in the 11th century, and at Kalapodi - see Niemeier (2016) 23-4.

[36]eg. Old Smyrna, Melie, Minoa, Zagora; Eretria at the start of the 7th C.

[37]eg. the Ypogeio inscriptions from Methone (Besios et al. (2012)), and the early graffiti from the sanctuary of Apollo at Eretria: Theurillat (2007).

speakers settling outside the Aegean and Cyprus. The oldest sherds of Greek pottery found at Pithekoussai are from skyphos vessels of Euboian and Corinthian MG (early 8th C); MGII fragments from Kyme have led some to suggest that the arrival of Greeks there was near-contemporary.[38] Greek 'colonisation' remains a controversial issue: did *poleis* in the Aegean send out organised groups of settlers, or are we dealing with an informal and gradual movement of people who produced such narratives later on as part of the construction of Greek identity?[39] From the point of view of regionalism, the debate over political organisation may be less relevant: the presence of Greek speakers, regardless of the political situation, shows that links have been created across the Mediterranean.[40] That heroic narrative, and quite probably poetry, existed at Pithekoussai is likely from the late 8th C 'Nestor's Cup' inscription.[41] The earliest Greek pottery from Syracuse is

[38]Pithekoussai: Ridgway (1992) 107. Kyme: see d'Agostino (1999) 209-10, Greco and Mermati (2010-11) 109.

[39]See eg. Osborne (1996) 8-17 (on Cyrene), (1998), Malkin (2009), Kotsonas and Mokrišová (2020) 232-5.

[40]Mercenary activity may also be significant: note the 591 BCE inscriptions by Greek mercenaries on a colossal statue of Rameses II in Nubia (ML7); the inscription of Pedon may be evidence of Greek mercenaries in Egypt as early as the 7th century (if Psammetichus I is meant): see Moyer (2006) 248-9. There are passages in the *Odyssey* that might reflect colonisation (6.4-10, 9.125-36: see Osborne (1998) 256-7) and Egyptian mercenary activity (perhaps 14.245-86: but cf. Emanuel (2012) who argues that the relevant context is the LBA).

[41]I discuss this at Webber (2019) 20-22, following the view of Graziosi (2002) 135n33 that the inscription refers to a traditional motif of epos rather than the fixed text of a particular poem.

from the late 8th C; from Berezan, in the mid 7th; from Cyrene, in the late 7th C.[42]

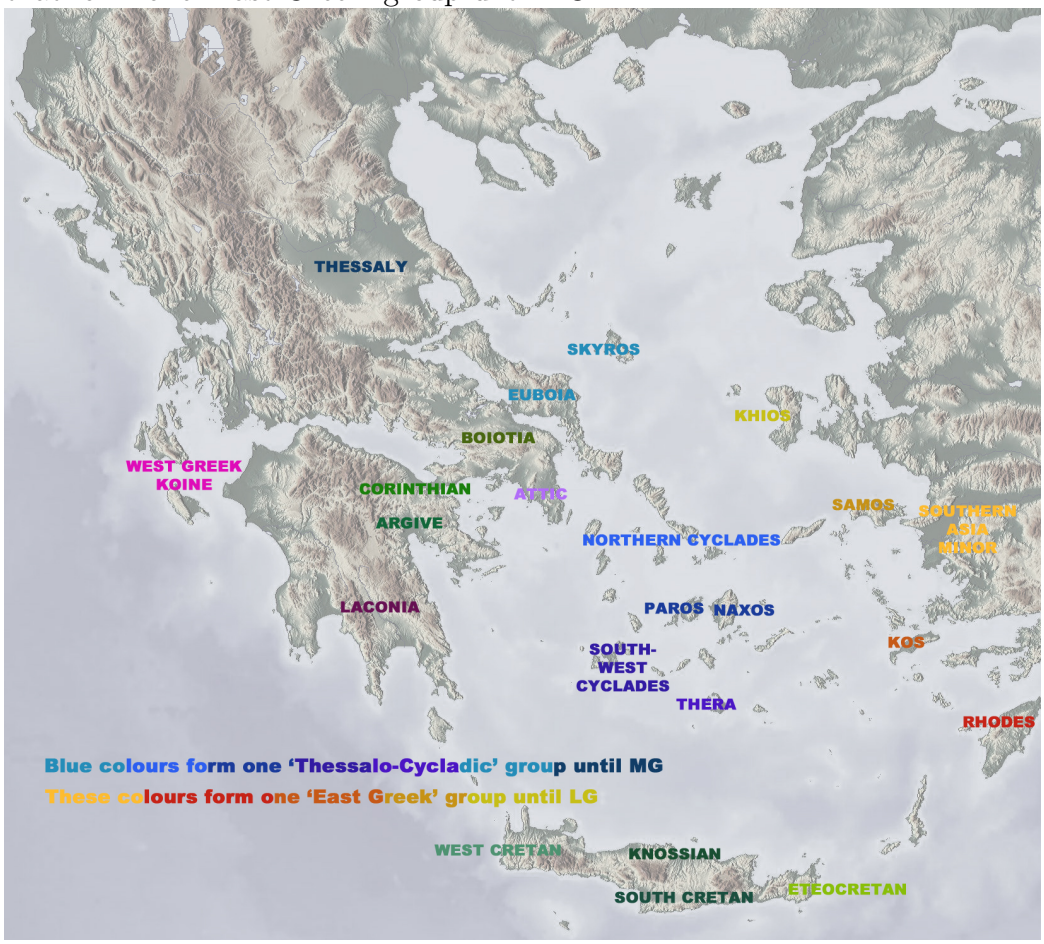
The 7th and 6th centuries show increasing signs of the importance of the *polis* as political unit. The structure of Greek settlements seems to be more regularised, with the 7th century plan of Megara Hyblaia showing an early grid pattern;[43] public buildings become known at increasingly many sites in the 6th century and imply a more formalised civic structure, as do inscribed laws, the spread of coinage, and more elaborate rebuilding of temples.[44] Inscriptions are sufficiently numerous to distinguish local alphabets. The so-called 'orientalising' phase of pottery decoration covers Protocorinthian and Protoattic, and a range of other regional styles of the 7th century (see fig. 2.7); these then develop into the Black Figure styles of the 6th. Generally speaking, vase painting becomes much more figural, attesting a wider variety

[42]See the table in Osborne (1996) 121-5 for a wide range of sites and archaeological data. cf. Tsetskhladze (1994) for the controversy over the dates for foundation in the Black Sea; 117 for Berezan.

[43]Vallet, Villard and Auberson (1976) portefeuille 3 plan 11. Some sites, such as Argos may show increased nucleation in the 7th C, on the basis of burial patterns: Hall (1997) 99.

[44]Public buildings: Metapontum assembly building c. 600, inscription referring to a prytaneion at Proconnesus (575-550), 6th century bouleuteria from Agia Pelagia, Delos, Delphi, and Olympia. For inscribed laws from Crete in particular see Gagarin and Perlman (2016); some date as early as the mid 7th C (Gagarin and Perlman (2016) 200).

Figure 2.6: Regional differentiation in the Geometric period, following Coldstream (2008). Blue colours (as indicated) mark areas which form one related 'Thessalo-Cycladic' group until MG, red colours (as indicated) those areas that form one 'East Greek' group until LG.



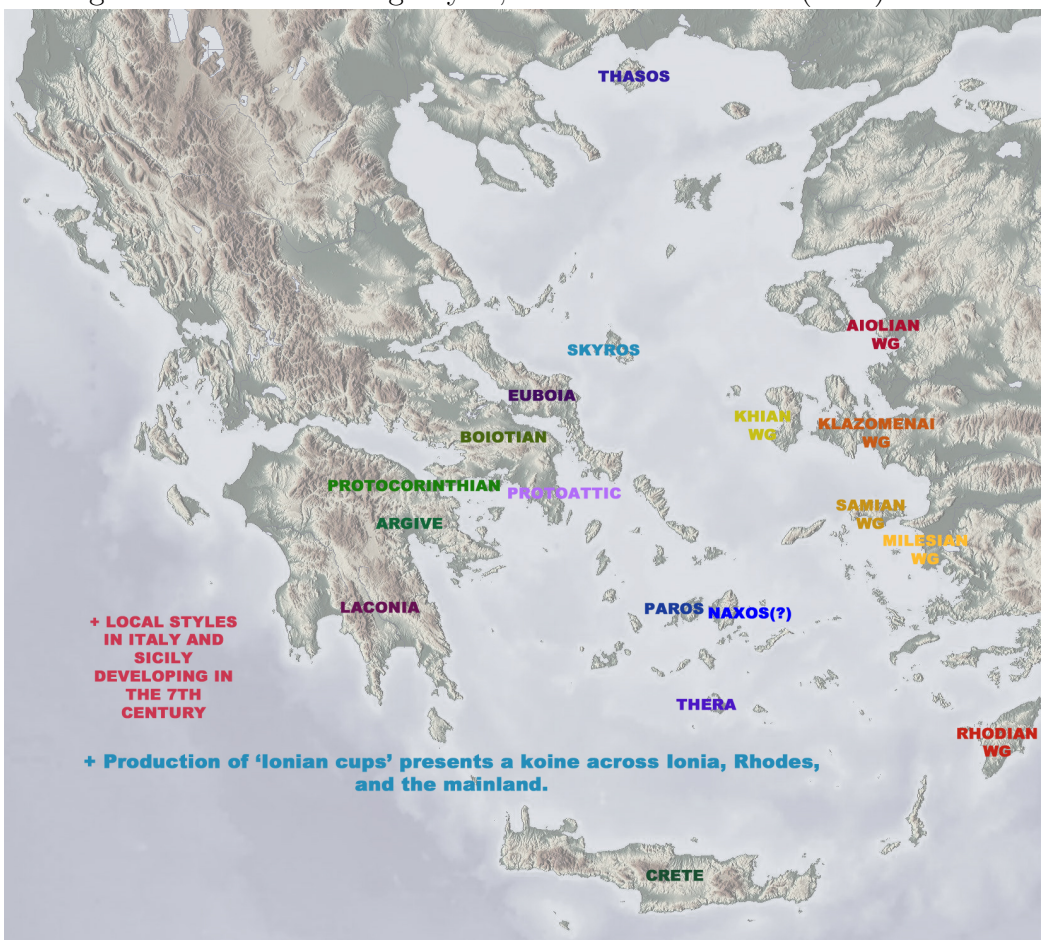
of mythological scenes. The greater prevalence of writing means that many characters are identified by name, and scenes thus become easier to connect with the literary tradition. The 6th century also sees the spread of coinage through the Greek world from its (probably Lydian) origins in Asia Minor,[45] produced by individual city states and marked with symbolic references to local features - yet another sign of the establishment of the *polis* as the basic unit of the Greek world.

2.5 Conclusions

In summary, the Mycenaean period is indeed marked by an overall homogeneity in material culture, which gives way to increased regional differentiation after the fall of the palaces. However, it would be misleading to present this as a sudden devolution of the Hellenic world into local units which then became more interconnected in the ensuing centuries. Rather, the postpalatial period seems to have had a number of groupings that attest continuing contact within large divisions of the Greek world; the tenth century also saw

[45] See Konuk (2012).

Figure 2.7: 'Orientalising' styles, based on Boardman (1998) 83-151



significant connections, including the Euboian koine. Subsequently, with the 9th and 8th centuries, Greek communities show an increase in regional differentiation, as the population increases and settlements develop increasingly sophisticated institutions, the 'rise of the polis'.

There are, therefore, no grounds to think that examples such as Eumelos or Asios reflect an older phenomenon of more local hexameter poetry in polis-sized units that gave way to a 'Panhellenic' form such as the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*. Instead, the analogy of pottery suggests that larger regions were more salient. However, the regional divisions we have seen are not easy to reconcile with any existing reconstruction of the development of the tradition; one could make some links, for example of the West Mainland koine of LHIIIC late to West's 'Aetolian-Elean-Pylian' cycle (see p6 above), but the other three cycles he posits (Iolkos, Thebes, Troy) do not find notable correspondences in the same period; and it is unclear how we might relate significant regional units, such as the Euboian koine, to parts of the epic tradition (Euboia is relatively unimportant in the surviving epic tradition). This simply underlines the difficulties of assuming that a tradition originates (or is transmitted) in a particular region on the basis of its content.

Chapter 3

Regionalism in iconography

3.1 Introduction

In the previous section material culture was used as evidence for regional distinctions from the Bronze Age to the Archaic period. However, another archaeological aspect that is important to any reconstruction of the origins of the epic tradition is the iconographic evidence. If we could identify particular regional preferences for certain mythological scenes, this could be used to argue that certain mythological subjects had a particular association with certain regions or places in the Greek world, which would have important consequences for the plausibility of local poetic traditions. Such an approach

is not easy, not least because our evidence varies considerably by location and period: for example, Geometric pottery has less of a preference for mythological scenes, and in all cases it is much harder to identify specific mythological scenes if they are not marked with characters' names.[1] In the following section I shall look at a sequence of examples of iconography from the Late Bronze Age to the 7th century.

3.2 Bronze Age Seals

Seals from Minoan and Mycenaean contexts constitute one of the largest bodies of iconographical evidence for the LBA. They also have the advantage of usually surviving whole (whereas painted pottery and frescoes often have to be reconstructed on the basis of fragments) allowing the overall composition to be taken into account. However, they provide little evidence for anything like regional mythological tendencies, or any motifs that might correspond to later mythology. Most seals depict animals rather than humans, singly

[1]There is also, of course, the issue of the relationship of iconography to poetry; for discussion of the different reasons why mythological scenes might be popular in vase painting, using the example of Athenian 6th and 5th century vases, that focuses on changes in values rather than the influence of poetry see Osborne (forthcoming).

or in pairs which may be attacking each other;[2] when humans are shown, it is difficult to determine who the people are and what they are doing. Take, for example, the two instances where a woman is depicted riding a dragon: is this a mythological scene, a contemporary religious rite, or purely decorative, originating from the imagination of the artist?[3] Many popular themes on seals - bull-leaping, tree-pulling, and the prominence of hunting - have little obviously in common with the subject-matter of later mythology. Scenes of fighting warriors, for all we know, could well represent the antecedents of stories known to us from narratives of the first millennium - but if so, they lack distinctive features. More complex compositions do occur, with a degree of specificity that does suggest some sort of cultural referent was clear to its original audience - but these are not recognisable from the point of view of later literature.[4] As to regional differences, it is true that particular stylistic groupings of seals are associated with particular times and places.[5] These

[2]Younger (1988) x-xii.

[3]I 167 from LHIIIA Mycenae and HMs 73 from Agia Triada - see Younger (1988) 181. That we also find parallel instances with one motif changed - eg. V 584 (woman riding lion, same page) may suggest that the latter is the case.

[4]For example, consider the so called 'ring of Nestor', a Minoan signet ring with four scenes connected by a tree motif. There have been many interpretations since the speculative analysis of Evans (1925), most recently Vlachopoulos (2020), but what is clear is that reconciliation with attested myth is impossible. Tamvaki (1974) makes the suggestion that a 'master of animals' type figure from the Citadel house area at Mycenae represents Hermes, but this seems arbitrary.

[5]Younger (2000) 349.

differences, however, have mainly been identified on the basis of artistic technique rather than content.[6]

Depictions of minotaurs might seem like a plausible candidate to link LBA iconography with later Greek legend. A creature corresponding to the monster of the Theseus story appears on a number of seals; of the 14 with known findspots, all but one are from Crete and most are from Knossos.[7] This may seem like a strong case for a motif from Knossian local tradition, later adopted into a wider Panhellenic field of myth. However, the minotaurs on Minoan seals should be seen in context. Firstly, they are only one of many combinations of animals and people found on seal iconography - which includes eg. eagle + woman, lion + man, goat + man as well.[8] Even though the minotaur version may be 'the most common' such monster, it might have had a very different meaning in its original context - integrated with these other combinations - rather than as a character in a proto-Theseus legend.[9] Secondly, the minotaur motif is found in the Spectacle-eyes group,

[6]cf. Galanakis (2005) 97, arguing that battle scenes and specific cult scenes on some seals might reflect Mycenaean epic and religion; but no more fine-grained distinction than Mycenaean vs. Minoan is made.

[7]Younger (1988) x-xi.

[8]See Younger (1988) ch 6; cf. Krzyszkowska (2020) 575-7.

[9]It has been suggested that these hybrids might reflect the use of animal masks at

after Knossos was apparently under the control of a Greek-speaking Mycenaeans. That it was 'invented for a Mycenaean administration'[10] adds an extra complication to considering it part of a local tradition. An added difficulty, of course, is that the story of Theseus and the Minotaur is encoded with Athenian political significance - it is hard to see this as coming directly out of local Knossian myth, even though the correspondence of the seals and the legendary monster seems an unlikely coincidence.[11]

3.3 Fresco painting

Frescoes have already been mentioned in the context of regionalism in material culture and style. But their content has also often been linked to epic poetry, especially in the case of the 'ship frieze' from room 5 of the 'West House' at Akrotiri on Thera, which depicts a number of ships and towns on the south wall, with a military scene on the north wall; it has been suggested that it depicts events from, or was accompanied by, narrative poetry.[12] Ships,

rituals: cf. Galanakis (2005) 77.

[10]Younger (2000) 350.

[11]But cf. n44 below.

[12]See Morris (1989) ('cognates of epic motifs, without being illustrations of particular episodes', 515), (2000) 323; Hiller (2000); Sali (2000) (a paradeigmatic epic narrative linked

towns, and battles certainly recall the world of Homeric poetry, but there is nothing to suggest a connection with any specific later narratives. The frieze from the palace at Pylos that shows warriors armed with boar's-tusk helmets killing enemies dressed in skins has been compared with Nestor's fights againsts the Arcadians (*Il.* 7.132-57) and Epeians (*Il.* 11.670-762), but in the *Iliad* there is no suggestion that the Arcadians or Epeians are more primitive than the Pylians in dress or military equipment, and if the frieze is linked to contemporary reality it may be more plausibly connected with the recent unification of Messenia.[13] It is not impossible that the images on the frescoes represent ancestors of stories that are present in hexameter poetry, but if so they are unrecognisable. Equally - as with seals - many of the prominent themes of fresco iconography are completely absent from later epic, such as bull-leaping or griffins.[14]

Hunting - particularly the boar hunt - is also an important theme in LBA

to the legend of Ariadne); Watrous (2007); Bennet (2015) (accompanied by parallel oral narrative); Vlachopoulos (2015) 53-5.

[13]The fresco is from hall 64. Yalouris (1989) argued that it represents the battle with the Arcadians, because they wear sheepskins and the background may show a river (cf. *Il.* 7.133, 135); cf. Morris (1992) 207-8, (2000) 329. For the relevance of political processes in the Pylos kingdom, see Bennet (1995), (2007) and cf. n11 above. Note also the absence of any distinctive characters - Ereuthalion with his armour, or the Molione - in the surviving iconography from bronze age Pylos.

[14]For griffins at Pylos and Knossos, see Bennet (2015) 32; cf. Morgan (1988) 49-54.

wall-painting, and it is not absent from later Greek mythology. The Calydonian boar hunt is a prominent example, and there is also the boar hunt at *Od.* 19.428-58. But there is no evidence that this was a local Calydonian tradition in the LBA: indeed, the theme is found at Orchomenos, Tiryns, Pylos, and Mycenae.[15] Similarly, the depiction of ships at Akrotiri has since been paralleled by examples from Orchomenos, Iklaina, and Pylos.[16] As far as the fragmentary evidence goes, then, fresco art does not show distinct traditions in each major center which might support the notion of contemporary local epic traditions; indeed, fresco themes seem to be spread over a wide area,[17] suggesting that characters and stories in poetry might similarly have spread easily.

[15]For hunting scenes cf. S. Immerwahr (1990) 129-133, Tournavitou (2015) 146-51, Spyropoulos (2015) 360.

[16]Vlachopoulos (2015) 55-6 with n58, cf. Cosmopoulos (2015) 252.

[17]It is often emphasised that Mycenaean iconography is more militaristic in nature, reflecting a more warlike society than the Minoans, eg. S. Immerwahr (1990) 166, Morgan (2005) 29-30; to some extent this may be over-exaggerated, cf. Marinatos (2005) 156.

3.4 Pictorial Pottery in the LBA

Pictorial pottery is relatively rare for much of the LBA, but some was produced in the Argolid (and exported to Cyprus and the Levant) before the fall of the palaces, and it flourished more widely in LHIIIC middle.[18] Warfare and hunting seem to be even more prominent in this medium, which could reflect epic themes in contemporary poetry: a much-cited example is the 'Warrior krater' from Mycenae, which shows a procession of armed men on one side (perhaps being bidden farewell by a woman on the left) and a battle on the other side.[19] Chariots are also a popular subject, particularly on the earlier examples from Cyprus, and one notable example (the so-called 'Zeus krater' of Enkomi) includes a figure apparently holding a pair of scales, which some have compared with the epic motif of weighing fates (at eg. *Il.* 22.209-213).[20] Unfortunately, much of the evidence for pictorial pottery is highly fragmentary and lacking context; this makes questions of interpretation even more acute. Thus the fragment found at Lefkandi, showing a larger and smaller sphinx with a robed human carrying a vessel, has been interpreted variously as a mythological narrative, ritual scene, a symbol of

[18]For pictorial pottery in general see Vermeule and Karageorghis (1982), Crouwel (1991), (2006).

[19]See Sakellarakis (1992) 36-7 no. 32, Vermeule and Karageorghis (1982) XI 43.

[20]But *contra*, Marinatos (1993) 239.

parental bonds, or a parody of palatial-era symbolism.[21] Another vessel, a plate that shows two men (one armed with a bow), three quadrupeds, and a long curved shape, has been interpreted as a scene of Herakles and Iolaos fighting the hydra[22] - again, the scene is not specific enough to do more than speculate.[23] Whilst there may be some iconographical tendencies based on region - at Kynos, for example, scenes of ships and sea battles predominate[24] - there are as yet no repeated scenes which could be interpreted as a local tradition in a particular location. This cannot be entirely due to centralised production, either: local production is known from at least Tiryns, Voudeni (in Akhaia), and Pyrgos-Livanates (in Lokris).[25]

3.5 Protogeometric and Geometric Art

After LHIIIC - in the Protogeometric and Geometric periods - figural decoration is rare on pottery, except for on Cyprus and Crete.[26] A fragment

[21] Crouwel (2006a) 248 G2, cf. Crouwel (2006) 19, Benzi (2009) 25, Rutter (2014) 203-4.
[22] See Iakovou (1988) 27 (no. 33, figs. 77-8: plate from Skales T. 58 on Cyprus).
[23] cf. Coldstream (2006) 160.
[24] See Dakoronia (2006) for the fragments from Kynos. But ships are not a theme confined to Kynos - see Crouwel (2006) 17 fig. 8 (from Phthiotis), Benzi (2009) 25n113.
[25] Crouwel (2006) 20.
[26] For the Protogeometric period see Papadopoulos (1990) 20-1, Lemos (2000) 12.

of an MPG hydria from Lefkandi shows two archers,[27] and Cretan examples include hunting scenes, lions eating a man, and sphinxes.[28] There is the occasional MG example, such as an Attic MGII skyphos from Eleusis which shows a battle on a ship and on land.[29] But, from the point of view of narrative poetry, most of the more relevant scenes come from Late Geometric Attic pottery: *prothesis* scenes with rows of mourners, processions of chariots and warriors, battle scenes on sea and land, centaurs, an armed man killing a lion, a man clasping the wrist of a woman as he leaves on a ship.[30] A particularly interesting example is an LGIb kantharos, which shows armed men, a person apparently being eaten by a lion, and perhaps dancers, the scene being framed by a lyre-player on each side. One possible interpretation, then, is that these reflect the subject of the lyre-player's song, including epic themes.[31] However, none of these scenes make it easy to identify a specific element from attested mythology that they might correspond to. Indeed, a lack of individuation seems to be typical of Geometric style; when scenes

[27]For discussion of this and the metal krater from Lefkandi with images of trees, see Lemos (2000) 13-4.

[28]For these see Boardman (1998) 16, 21-2.

[29]Boardman (1998) 25, 33 no. 41.

[30]See Boardman (1998) 34-46 for examples.

[31]But, of course, the song might not be meant to be hexameter - as opposed to other forms of music or narrative; Ahlberg-Cornell (1988) in fact interpreted this and many other geometric vessels as depictions of performances of a 'circus character'.

are this generic, it is difficult to believe that contemporary viewers would be any more able to distinguish a particular mythological episode (or historical event) than we are.[32] A possible exception is found in the apparent instances of conjoined warriors, which have been identified with the Molione (who were Siamese twins according to Hes. fr. 17a), in a number of depictions from the late 8th century.[33] But although this may well be evidence for the presence of epic themes and even a specific character as early as the late 8th century this does not support the idea that the Molione come from a local Elian (or for that matter Pylian) tradition, at least not in the 8th century: the images come from Athens (6 eg.s), Boiotia (4 eg.s), Argos, Corinth, Arkadia and Lakonia[34] - an impressive spread across the Greek mainland.

One piece of evidence from the Protogeometric period is worth discussing in more detail: the wheelmade terracotta centaur found at Lefkandi.[35] Like the images of the minotaur, this may provide an example of where distinc-

[32]On the difficulties of identifying general mythological scenes, cf. Osborne (forthcoming) 2, 4.

[33]For these see Snodgrass (1998) 26-33, Coldstream (2008) 351. On the other hand, it has been suggested that the conjoined figures are an artistic convention: Boardman (1998) 54.

[34]Snodgrass (1998) 30. Coldstream (2008) 351 suggested that local aristocrats at Athens used the image as a sign of their claimed descent from the Neleids.

[35]See *Lefkandi* I 344-5, pls. 169, 251-2.

tive iconography can show continuity between later-attested myth and earlier archaeological evidence. The centaur has six fingers on its surviving right hand, and an incision in its knee which has been compared with the wound suffered by Kheiron according to one later account of his death.[36] Because Lefkandi in this period has strong links with Thessaly, the centaur might provide evidence for a local tradition, perhaps involving Kheiron (compare the Hesiodic *Kheironos Hypothekai*).[37] However, the broader context of the statuette should not be ignored: the head was found in Toumba tomb 1, the rest of the body in tomb 3; the style is roughly LPG, but it was accompanied by vases of SPG I.[38] In tomb 3 it was accompanied by a vase in the shape of an animal, made using a similar technique (but not of such high quality).[39] Parallels have been found from Cyprus, where wheelmade figures have been found at Ayia Irini from the 10th - 9th centuries, some of which resemble the centaur type;[40] there is also a Black Slip Painted II ware dish from Larnaca

[36] Apollodorus *Bibl.* 2.5.7, see *Lefkandi* I 344-5 nn. 449-50.

[37] Connection between the Lefkandi centaur and Thessalian tradition: *Lefkandi* I 345. For the *Kheironos Hypothekai* see Merkelbach and West (1967) 143-5, Cingano (2009) 128-9.

[38] *Lefkandi* I 344. This deposition pattern remains difficult to explain, but the accompanying pottery suggests that it was kept for a while before being placed in the tombs.

[39] See *Lefkandi* I 345-6, pl. 169, 253.

[40] Desborough, Nicholls and Popham (1970) 29-30 (note that there may also be connections with the technique used in 12th-11th C Crete to make sphinx figures; cf. Lebessi (1996) 146-8).

on Cyprus (c.950-850) which depicts a centaur.[41] The Ayia Irini sanctuary, however, is characterised by offerings with bull imagery,[42] and so it is possible that these figures are bull-human hybrids rather than horse-humans.[43] The situation is even further complicated by one of the 7th C Cycladic relief pithoi, which depicts six humans holding rocks and a thread and confronting a quadruped monster: if this does show the Theseus story, it could be that the dividing line between the 'centaur' and 'minotaur' forms was simply more flexible in earlier myth and iconography;[44] the 10th century inhabitants of Lefkandi might not have made such a distinction. What does seem clear is that a significant motif of later tradition does have potential antecedents as early as the 10th century; but regardless of whether we should be looking towards Cyprus, Lefkandi or a wider region[45] for the origin of a centaur myth,

[41]Karageorghis (1966) 167, Karageorghis and des Garniers (1974) 141.

[42]Karageorghis (1966) 163-4; a comparison is adduced with earlier sanctuaries at Enkomi at which similar iconography was found.

[43]Lemos (2000) 18-9 emphasises the difference between the Cypriot examples and the Lefkandi figure. On the other hand, with many of the Cypriot examples, and perhaps the Lefkandi centaur as well, there is little sign whether the quadruped attatched to the human is meant to be a horse or a bull.

[44]cf. Snodgrass (1998) 84-5: gorgons and giants might also be depicted as part-quadruped.

[45]cf. Bohen (1988) for a SM/EPG pyxis from the Kerameikos which might depict a centaur; a 10th C askos from Kos (Morricone (1978) 349-51) appears to show a hermaphrodite figure hybridised with a quadruped, which Lemos (2000) 19n10 considers closer to the Cypriot examples. Lebessi (1996) 148 also adduced a terracotta figure from Phylakopi (SF 1553 in Renfrew et al. (1985) 223, 229, fig. 6.12, pls. 36b, 37a-b, d), which has strong similarities with the Lefkandi centaur but is too damaged to tell whether it was also a quadruped hybrid.

the archaeological evidence shows little support for a specifically Thessalian tradition.

3.6 The 7th Century

In the 7th century, we find many more identifiable depictions of mythological scenes, but evidence for local traditions is still problematic. This is despite the fact that most such depictions are from the stories that are later found in the poems of the Epic Cycle, which Nagy considered to be less Panhellenic and more local, rather than the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.[46] Consider, for example, Salaminian Aias: two depictions seem likely from the 7th century, a Protocorinthian aryballos, and a steatite intaglio from Perachora. Three other depictions on Corinthian pottery date to around 600 BCE, as well as a bronze relief which may also be Corinthian.[47] Such data might suggest a local Corinthian (but not Salaminian!) tradition; on the other hand, their find-spots were widely distributed around the Greek world, from Thebes, Caere,

[46]For the lack of scenes that resemble the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* see Snodgrass (1998) 98 (and *passim*).

[47]See *LIMC s.v.* Aias I, no.s 110, 118, 119-121, 125; 74 might be a 7th century example from Melos, but the depiction is doubtful.

Caminos, and Corfu.[48] To take the earliest scene that appears in both vase painting and the *Odyssey*, of the 7th century depictions of the blinding of Polyphemos identified by Snodgrass, one is from a cemetery at Eleusis, one is a krater from Argos, another a krater from Etruria, and another Etruscan pithos; there is also an engraved bronze relief from Samos, and another from Olympia.[49] One might also consider the chest of Kypselos dedicated at the sanctuary of Olympia, a wooden container that is believed to have dated from the early 6th century, now lost but described by Pausanias in some detail.[50] Of the scenes that appear on the 'kypsele', only the depiction of Jason and Medeia could possibly be connected with Corinth;[51] indeed, Pausanias seems to have been so dissatisfied with the lack of local detail that he attempted to connect the anonymous battle scene on the third part of the chest with a narrative about the early history of Corinth.[52] A problem here, of course, is that a few major centers produce a large proportion of our evidence (Corinth

[48]On Aias see Bocksberger (2022), on Salaminian origins esp. 16-7. There must be some explanation for Aias' attributed origin of Salamis, but as Bocksberger points out no detail of the hero's deeds take place on the island.

[49]Snodgrass (1998) 90, 91, 96-7, 98.

[50]Paus. 5.17-19.

[51]cf. Eumelos frr. 21-2, 24.

[52]Paus. 5.18.7: ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὐδὲ ἀρχὴν ἀποδέξαιτο ἄν τις, ὡς ὁ τοῦ Κυψέλου πρόγονος Κορίνθιός τε ὢν καὶ τὴν λάρνακα αὑτῷ ποιούμενος κτῆμα, ὁπόσα μὲν Κορινθίοις ἦν ἐπιχώρια, ἑκὼν ὑπερέβαινεν, ἃ δὲ ξενικά τε καὶ οὐδὲ ἄλλως ἥκοντα ἐς δόξαν, ἐτεχνᾶτο ἐπὶ τῇ λάρνακι· αὐτῷ μέντοι παρίστατο ἐμοὶ ταῦτα εἰκάζειν.

and Athens in particular); but the evidence is not confined to this, and this in itself demonstrates the range of legend that was available at Corinth and Athens (and is hardly restricted to Corinthian or Athenian characters).

3.7 Conclusions

It is evident that points of contact between the mythological tradition and attested iconography from the LBA to Geometric pottery are extremely elusive. In response, two extreme positions are conceivable. On the one hand, one could closely match the iconographic evidence as we have it to the development of epic poetry. One would then say that epic poetry began in the Mycenaean period under the patronage of the palaces, reflected in fresco painting, and flourished in the years of uncertainty (but relative prosperity) after the fall of the palaces in LHIIIC, but became less popular in the Protogeometric and Geometric phases before a sudden expansion in popularity in the 7th century. To follow what we can see in the iconography, one would have to say that most of the familiar themes and stories developed in the 7th century, when we can first identify them, even if some underlying themes

(such as chariot fighting) remained essential from the Mycenaean period onwards. An opposite, equally extreme view would be to dismiss the 'argument from silence' regarding the absence of specific epic scenes from iconography before the 7th century, and suppose that the tradition has been strongly conservative from the Mycenaean period, focusing on the few examples that can be reconciled with continuity between the Mycenaean and later periods, like the hall 64 fresco at Pylos with Nestor's Iliadic stories.

Neither of these views are supportable in this form. A preference for geometric designs and general scenes does not mean that narrative poetry was unpopular or undeveloped in the 11th-8th centuries; indeed, the Lefkandi centaur suggests that mythological narrative of some form continued to flourish. On the other hand, there are so many differences between Mycenaean and later Greek culture that strong conservatism seems unlikely; otherwise, we would expect many more reflexes of the distinctive narratives and scenes known from literary sources to turn up in the iconography of the Late Bronze Age. We should not be misled by the relative conservatism of stories and myth in later periods: without writing, it seems likely that stories and myth

could have changed relatively quickly in the centuries before 800 BCE.[53] We therefore have to bear in mind that Greek mythology may have drastically changed between the 12th and 8th centuries, even if many of the themes and characters remained the same.[54] However, the lack of pictorial representations in the Geometric period means that iconography can provide little assistance in reconstructing its early development.

When in the 7th century we do begin to have clearer evidence from iconography for familiar mythological scenes, it is striking how widespread they are, rather than showing traces of originally more local distribution. Given the conclusions of the preceding chapter, it is plausible that this is not a recent development, nor a consequence of a radical 'Panhellenic' movement in the 8th century, but rather an ancient feature of the tradition, in which stories and characters moved easily from place to place; if the Lefkandiots did view their centaur as a representation of a story set in Thessaly, this would fit the picture. We should therefore be open to a model of the development of the tradition in which stories and motifs could easily and rapidly spread across

[53]Note how perhaps the most catastrophic event of the LBAge - the eruption of the volcano on Thera - seems to have left no demonstrable echo in the later tradition at all (*pace* Morris (2000) 326-8: the fate of the Phaiakians seems rather different).

[54]cf., on religion, the view of Haysom (2020) 339-41.

the Greek world.

Chapter 4

Dialect and Epos

4.1 Introduction

As we have seen, for some scholars the unit of local epic tradition is the polis: Thebes, Athens, Corinth, and so on.[1] But other investigations into the prehistory of epos have taken larger regions as the most significant divisions: primarily, the Doric, Aeolic, and Ionic areas. West (1973), for example, assigns different forms of poetry to each area; epic poetry is said to have developed in Ionia and from there spread to the rest of the Greek world in the 8th century. West (1988) provides more detail: epic saga that existed

[1] Nagy (1979) 7.

in a 'swathe of territory' from Pylos and Ithaca to Aitolia made its way to Thessaly around the 12th century, thus forming part of an Aeolic tradition that was conveyed to the Lesbos area by the Aeolian migration. This was then adopted by an Ionic tradition that formed primarily on Euboia around the 10th-9th centuries. Each stage of the tradition is said to have left identifiable traces in the linguistic basis of the poems. Alternative reconstructions posit a different path (eg., Pylian tradition brought by refugees at the end of the BA to Athens, and then disseminated to Ionia by the Ionian migration).[2] These models, therefore, assume that the Doric/Aeolic/Ionic division of the Greeks corresponds to linguistic groups which are valid as far back as the end of LHIIIC or earlier.

Older scholarship supposed that a tripartite division of the Greeks had existed since before their 'arrival' in Greece, corresponding to different waves of migration into the peninsular. More recent scholarship tends not to go so far. On a more-or-less standard view, roughly by the end of the Bronze Age these three ethnic divisions of the Greeks had developed, with dialectal distinctions between them. The Dorians migrated from a location in North-

[2]See Mühlestein (1965).

West Greece to the Peloponnese and the southern Aegean as far as Crete and Rhodes, causing the end of the LBA palatial system. The Aeolians migrated from Thessaly to Boeotia and the North-West coast of Asia Minor. The Ionians migrated from Attica (or perhaps parts of the Peloponnese) to the Aegean and the South-West coast of Asia Minor. West's view, of course, does not require that the Ionic-Aeolic-Dorian distinction is older than the LBA, but does presuppose that these distinctions go back as far as the end of the Mycenaean palaces, and that the Dorian, Aeolic, and Ionian migrations actually took place.[3]

This division of the Greek dialects goes back, at least in part, to ancient sources. Frequently quoted in this connection is Hes. fr. 9:

Ἕλληνος δ' ἐγένοντο φιλοπτολέμου βασιλῆος
Δῶρός τε Ξοῦθός τε καὶ Αἴολος ἱππιοχάρμης

Doros and Aiolos are the eponyms of the Dorians and Aeolians; Xouthos is the father of Ion, the eponym of the Ionians, and Akhaios, the eponym of the Achaeans. The fragment may therefore imply a conception of the Greeks

[3]cf. Rose (2008) 406.

consisting of Dorian, Aeolian and Ionian groups as early as the *GK*.[4] But it is worth noting that the genealogy is not quite as simple as a three-way division[5], and also that there is no explicit reference to dialect. Indeed, in practical terms ethnicity was usually seen in terms of smaller units (Ἀθηναῖος or Λακεδαιμόνιος rather than Ἴων or Δωριεύς), and there were other groups that could not be easily related to the main divisions (eg. the Aetolians or the Dryopes), although in later authors something like this tripartite division becomes standard (eg. Strabo 8.1.2[6]).

However, there is no longer widespread consensus regarding the migrations or the age of the Dorian/Aeolian/Ionian distinction. The decipherment of the linear B tablets showed that at least some of the key distinctions between first millennium dialect groups - such as the Ionic change of inherited $*\bar{a}$ to $*\bar{e}$ - had not occurred as early as the LBA. Moreover, archaeological

[4]For the role of this passage cf. Hall (1997) 40-44, 48.

[5]For the implied system of the *GK*, the Akhaioi are also a group on the same level; in later authors their importance declines (cf. Strabo 8.1.2 for whom they are a subdivision of Aeolians), but note Hdt. 5.72, where Kleomenes lays claim to Akhaian ethnicity in opposition to Dorian. The term 'Achaean' is also used by modern scholars in reference to Proto-Arcado-Cypriot dialect, after it became evident that this should not be classed as a form of Aeolic, but we should not automatically equate the modern categorisation of dialects (Ionic, Aeolic, Doric, Arcado-Cypriot) with the framework of the *GK*; if West (1985) 58 is correct, the Akhaios of the *GK* relates to Achaea Phthiotis, whose dialect would now be classified as North-West Greek.

[6]Note that Strabo gives four divisions by splitting the Athenians from the Ionians.

evidence has challenged various established theories about the formation of dialect areas through migration: there is no identifiable material evidence for a large scale invasion of Dorians in the LBA, no sign of a colonisation attributable to Aiolic Greek speakers in Asia Minor, and little evidence for an organised Ionian migration between the LBA and the archaic period.[7] Chadwick proposed that the Dorians were an underclass that rose up against the Mycenaean palaces rather than an invading ethnic group, and that distinctions between other dialects (Arcadian, Ionic, Aeolic) developed in the subsequent years of the EIA. Others have argued that the 'Aiolic' dialect group is itself a mirage, consisting of dialects which share little other than retained archaisms. It might therefore be argued that the dialect situation, and the division of the Greek world into Dorians, Ionians, and Aeolians, as attested from around the middle of the first millennium, is a recent product of the Archaic period rather than a trace of a prehistoric distinction. Accompanying this is a more critical approach to ethnicity: previous scholars tended

[7]For the Ionian migration see Sakellariou (1958), Lemos (2007), Crielaard (2009), Greaves (2010) 219-30, Mac Sweeney (2017). This is not to say that no movement of people from mainland Greece to Asia Minor took place, but that it was much more heterogenous than eg. an organised process of colonisation from Athens; many of the 'Greek' settlements in Asia Minor likely have a continuous history from the Late Bronze Age. For the Aeolian migration, see Rose (2008) and cf. also Lemos (2007) 722-3. For the lack of archaeological evidence for the Dorians, see Hall (1997) 114-28 for a summary, and Lemos (2007) 722 on movements from the Peloponnese.

to see the Dorians, Ionians and Aeolians as primordial and unchanging entities, more recent studies have emphasised the fluidity of ethnic categories and raised the possibility that these groups have a later origin.[8]

Nevertheless, not all scholars have completely abandoned the antiquity of the major dialect groupings or the historicity of the migrations.[9] Finkelberg goes as far as to assume that the dialects on a more local scale were already distinct in the second millennium, and reconstructs an original dialect continuum to explain their development (before the Dorian, Ionian, and Aeolic migrations - as well as the migration to Cyprus of 'Achaian' speakers - complicated the picture). Whilst this position has been criticised, the mainstream view (in linguistics if less so in archaeology) is still that there occurred some level of migration in the EIA and that a division of the Greek language into 'Proto-Aeolic', 'Proto-Attic-Ionic', 'Achaean'/'Proto-Arcado-

[8]See Crielaard (2009) 37-9 for a brief history and references to further literature. On changes in the assumptions underlying the study of ethnicity cf. Hall (1997) 1-2, cf. 41-2. In fact, the idea that these groups are recent goes back at least as far as Beloch (see Hall (1997) 12).

[9]Sakellariou, for example, argued in the (1958) study that the Ionian migration was a fiction but in (1990) continues to assume that a reconstructable kernel of historical truth lies behind other extant migration legends; see 150-79, 223-30 on the Dorians, 180-9 on the Boeotians. Sakellariou (2009) also attempts to reconstruct the nature of a wide range of Bronze Age ethnic groups on the basis of the 1st millennium legends, but with little attempt to reconcile these conclusions with archaeological evidence; cf. Osborne (1993) on Sakellariou (1990), Schapp (2010) on Sakellariou (2009).

Cypriot', and 'Proto-Doric' goes back to shortly after the time of the tablets, if not further.

How does this affect the study of local tradition in epos? On the one hand, to interpret the dialect features of the epic language, we need some historical model of where the dialect groups were spoken and when they diverged. West's view of where the epic tradition developed (Aeolis, and then Euboea) is fundamentally based on the dialect features of the epic language (Aeolic and Ionic). Conversely, the absence of Doric forms in the poems is usually taken to preclude the possibility of local hexameter traditions in the Doric areas, at least after the point at which Doric dialects had sufficiently diverged from Ionic/Aeolic forms. Moreover, dialect grouping may provide another clue to cultural units in Greek (pre)history. That is, if there is a well-defined 'Aeolic' dialect region, this makes it more likely that this area was culturally highly interconnected, and that this might be the unit relevant for the analysis of local tradition (Aeolic tradition rather than Mytilenean or Chian). Finally, in respect to particular characters (such as will be examined in the case studies later in this thesis), how far can we use the dialect associations of a particular name or formula to draw conclusions about the

local origins of that character?

This chapter proceeds on the following basis: first, an analysis of the use and origin of the terms 'Ionian', 'Aeolian', and 'Dorian', as well as their eponyms and some comparable terms used in early epos. This should help give some idea of how much significance these groups had in the second millennium.[10] Second, an analysis of the linguistic evidence for dialect division, both by the time of, and after, the linear B tablets. The extent of isoglosses may also help assess the patterns of connectivity in the Greek world between the end of the BA and the historical period, which may be compared with the archaeological evidence. Third, a presentation of the evidence for the epic language. This will discuss the extant corpus, particularly in relation to the early epigraphic poetry.

[10]There is much historical or mythical evidence which has a bearing on this question, as treated by Sakellariou (1990), (2009); but there is not space to discuss this in detail here; note as well that these sources are all much later than the EIA.

4.2 The terms 'Ionian', 'Aeolic', etc.

4.2.1 Ἰάονες

The etymology of this term is based on the suffix *-*āwon*, which is used to form ethnic terms, anthroponyms, and some other lexical items; it is especially productive in the Mycenaean texts.[11] It is probably impossible to tell where the initial syllable comes from, though this has been attempted;[12] the most plausible suggestion is probably that the first part is a place name, perhaps originally a part of Cyprus.[13] The other ethnic groups named with the *-*āwon* suffix are spread throughout mainland Greece and Anatolia, so that Ruijgh attributes it to a pre-Greek substrate.[14] It is also possible that the name of Ἰαωλκός is related, which might have an etymology of **Iāwo-olkos* 'the harbour of the Ἰάονες' (see Beekes (2010) *s.v.* Ἴωνες).[15]

There is some limited Bronze Age evidence for the term. In Mycenaean, we find *i-ya-wo-ne*[(Kn Xd 146.4, and probably Kn B 164.4). Kn B 164 is a

[11] See Ruijgh (1968) for a complete list of instances.
[12] See Beekes (2010) *s.v.*, Heubeck (1987) 141, 147n15.
[13] Szemerényi (1968) 156-7, (1974) 154.
[14] Ruijgh (1968) 120-1. cf. also Heubeck (1961) 52-6, Szemerényi (1968) 155-6.
[15] One might also compare Ἰόνιος, but this word may have a separate history (cf. Beekes (2010) *s.v.* Ἴωνες, Jacobsohn (1930) 78, Beaumont (1936) 204).

list of numbers of men; line 2 has *ku-re-we[...]ru-ṿọ* VIR 143; the sequence *ku-re-we* has been argued on the basis of instances in the Pylos tablets to be some sort of ethnic identifier, perhaps pre-Greek.[16] *]ru-ṿọ* might be *o-du-ru-wo*, a toponym that appears in other Cretan tablets - thus the tablet may originally have been a list of groups of men with an assigned location and headcount. The other word in parallel to *i-j̣a-wo-n̤e[* is *a̤-d̤a̤-wo-ne[* (not found elsewhere), which appears to have the same suffix. *i-j̣a-wo-n̤e[* and *a̤-d̤a̤-wo-ne[* are thus plausibly interpreted as ethnic identifiers specifying groups of men.[17] Kn Xd 146.4 is too fragmentary to add much: line 2 contains *k̤u-[.]-i-to*, which may be the toponym *ku-ta-i-to* (probably in the north of Crete) followed by the personal name *a-pi-do-ro* (Ἀμφίδωρος), line 3 the unidentified *ma-u-do[*.[18]

Even less secure is a possible instance in a 14th century list of place names from the mortuary temple of Amenophis III, which has been interpreted as 'Ionia' or 'Great Ionia'. Other names in the same list were taken as locations

[16] Chadwick and Ventris (1973) 430.

[17] Chadwick and Ventris (1973) 528 suggest that *a̤-d̤a̤-wo-ne[* is a man's name in the dative, presumably on the basis of similarity with *a-ta-wo-ne* (Kn Xd 324), *a-ta-wo* (Py An 192), interpreted as "Anthāwōn", but this does not fit the context here (cf. Aura Jorro (1989) *s.v.* *a̤-d̤a̤-wo-ne[*).

[18] On all these words, see Aura Jorro (1989).

in Asia Minor, but Haider (2008) showed that there is considerable uncertainty in their interpretation (arguing that they could be taken as places in the Aegean).[19] Unlike list E_N, which contains a clearly identifiable set of Aegean place names, fragment G_N (and F_N, which may be from the same list) is very fragmentary and no other name can be securely identified. It is also possible, but not overwhelmingly likely, that the toponym Yman mentioned in Ugaritic texts has the same origin.[20] If this were the case, there would be much earlier evidence for the toponym, but it is quite possible that neither of these have anything to do with the name of the Ionians.

After the Bronze Age, the term first becomes prominent in non-Greek sources: a first mention is in a Neo-Assyrian letter of c.730 that makes reference to a people who led a raid by sea on the fringes of the Assyrian empire; this was not an isolated occurrence.[21] However, the term is used far more broadly than just those who would later be considered Ionians. Court documents from Babylon dating to 592-3 mention Yamnāya (although the few

[19]See also Starke (2020).

[20]See Dietrich and Loretz (1998), del Olmo Lete, Sanmartín and Watson (2015) *s.v.*

[21]See Rollinger (2001) 237-9; (2009) 33-4; Radner and Vacek (2022). The latter argue that the term began from the name of a coastal town in the northern Levant in the late 8th century, although this would mean dismissing the Mycenaean attestations (Radner and Vacek (2022) 74).

named explicitly seem to be of Luwian or Anatolian origin) and blue wool that may have been produced at Corinth or Hermione is described as coming from Yāman in 601.[22] In the earliest cases, the term is thus used for the general area of the Greek mainland through to Western Anatolia. The term also appears as Hebrew *yāwān*, Old Persian *yauna*, etc., similarly referring to the Greeks in general rather than a particular subset.[23]

In first-millennium Greek sources, by contrast, the term is at first rather restricted. There is one instance in the *Iliad* (13.685) and none in the *Odyssey*. The *Iliad* line mentions Ἰάονες ἑλκεχίτωνες in the context of a list of groups on the Greek side in battle, alongside Boeotians, Locrians, Phthians and Epeians (neither Phthians nor Ionians are mentioned elsewhere in the poem). As Mac Sweeney remarks, the passage 'strongly implies a mainland Greek location',[24] although why the Ionians should be mentioned just here is unclear. Janko supposes that the phrase refers to the Athenians, mentioned a few lines later at 689, on the basis that they were seen as the ancestors of the Ionians[25] - which would imply that the later-attested story

[22]Rollinger (2009) 37.
[23]cf. Crielaard (2009) 42-3.
[24]Mac Sweeney (2017) 385.
[25]Janko (1991) *ad loc.*, see also Heubeck (1987) 140, and similarly Fowler (2013) 574

that the Ionian cities were colonised by the Athenians goes back as far as the *Iliad*.[26] But the identity of the Athenians with the Ionians is not necessarily the natural reading of 685-722. One could take the Athenians at 689 as an additional contingent,[27] after which the poet begins to give more details on each people in hysteron-proteron order: the Athenians themselves (689-91), the Epeians (691-2), the Phthians (693-700), Locrian Aias (701-11) and the Locrians (712-8).

Elsewhere in epos - besides the eponym Ἴων in the ps.-Hesiod fragment above - the Ionians are referred to twice in *HHAp.* (147, 152) as gathering at Delos for Apollo's festival.[28] There is a possible mention in Sappho fr. 98.12, although unsecure and in a fragmentary line, and Ἰάονας in Ibykos S166.28 PMG, again in a fragmentary passage; Solon fr. 4 West refers to Athens as part of Ionia.[29] By the end of the sixth century and start of the fifth, it is clearer that 'Ionia' refers to a group of Greek-speakers in the Aegean and the

who calls other interpretations 'hypersceptical'. Note also Crielaard (2009) 41n25.

[26]cf. Heubeck (1987) 141.

[27]Janko would have a full stop rather than a comma after 688, which would support the Athenians referring to a part of the preceding; but then οἳ μὲν Ἀθηναίων προλελεγμένοι would be left without a main verb.

[28]On this see the extensive discussion at Crielaard (2009) 69-70.

[29]As Mac Sweeney (2017) 385n29 states, Solon's πρεσβυτάτην could mean 'foremost' instead of 'eldest'. But the latter meaning is perhaps more common, and so the fragment likely presupposes the Athenian colonisation story in some form.

west coast of Asia Minor, as in later times.[30]

It is clear that some group identified as **Iāwones* did exist in the Bronze Age Aegean. From the literary accounts of the Ionian migration, we might have expected them to be a major Greek population group, whether in Pylos, Attica, or Akhaia. This idea could still be defended if one were willing to interpret the Ugaritic and Egyptian data as referring to a land of Ionia, but this evidence is weak. The Mycenaean instances seem rather to suggest that the **Iāwones* were a small and possibly pre-Greek group with a presence in Crete and Thessaly (compare the later literary evidence for Ionians in different parts of Greece[31]); that their name does not appear more frequently in linear B, and is completely absent from the Hittite evidence, reinforces this view. Presumably, we have to reckon with an initially smaller group whose identity was later extended more widely (cf. Ἕλληνες below).

At what time period did Ἰάονες gain wider use, referring to a significant proportion of the Greek-speaking Aegean and Asia Minor? This may have

[30]Mac Sweeney (2017) 386.

[31]see Crielaard (2009) 42n30 (but it is doubtful how old these traditions from Herodotos and Strabo are).

been a gradual process, but there are two key candidates for a significant expansion of Ionian identity. One is the 'Ionian migration', if indeed this should be seen as a historical event, some time between the LBA and the historical period. The other likely context would be the creation of the Ionian league and the foundation of the Panionion, which perhaps occurred some time in the mid-7th century (when the first cult buildings appear at Çatallar Tepe[32]). In favour of the later date, there is the relative absence of the Ionians from the Homeric poems: this would make sense if Ionian identity was comparatively new and unimportant at the time of the poems' composition.[33] Of course, it is possible that the Ionians are intentionally suppressed by the poet (as all Greek settlement on the coast of Asia Minor is) but if so, one might still expect to find them among the mainlanders. On the other hand, there remains the use of the term early in the first millennium to refer to the Greeks in Assyrian, Babylonian etc. sources. This might suggest that Ἰάονες had become a widespread identifier somewhat earlier, by the late 8th century; or perhaps that the adoption of the term as an endonym was influenced by its use as an exonym.

[32]For the archaeological evidence see Mac Sweeney (2017) 394-5. See Crielaard (2009) 65-6 on the role of the Panionion.

[33]Crielaard (2009) 51 argues this further on the basis of a close comparison of Tyrtaios fr. 2 West and Mimnermos fr. 9 West, although with such short fragments it is difficult to learn much about the underlying ideology.

4.2.2 Αἰολέες

Αἰολεύς is probably cognate with the adjective αἰόλος 'agile', 'variegated' (first found as the name of a cow, Myc. *a₃-wo-ro*), itself of uncertain etymology.[34] A possible example exists in the Linear B tablet KN Ws 1707.α.1–2:]*a̤₃-wo-re-u-si*, a dative plural with *do-ke*, but the reading is not certain. If it is correct, we seem to have an instance of a group identified by the name on Crete, not dissimilar to the *i-ya-wo-ne*.[35]

There are a few instances from archaic literature. The term is found first at Hes. *Erga* 636 (Κύμην Αἰολίδα) qualifying the name of Hesiod's father's city. A second archaic instance is at Mimnermos fr. 9 West (= Strabo 14.1.4) where the Colophonians, originally settlers from Pylos, capture 'Aeolic Smyrna' (Σμύρνην εἵλομεν Αἰολίδα). In Hesiod's case, the epithet avoids confusion with Kyme on Euboia, and could be understood in a purely geographical sense (ie., referring to a region, the Αἰολίς, not a people). Indeed, unlike the Ἰάονες, the term Αἰολεύς itself - rather than the adjective Αἰολίς

[34] See Beekes (2010) *s.v.*

[35] This interpretation was suggested by Duhoux (1972); Fowler (2013) 153 suggests they were 'a band of mercenaries'. The remaining word on the tablet is *wi̤-ja-wo-ne*, of uncertain meaning.

or the eponym - is not attested before Pindar. For Mimnermos, on the other hand, it is tempting to take this word as a reference to the former Aeolian allegiance of Smyrna, before it was seized by Ionians (cf. Hdt. 1.150) - although in the surviving few lines there is no reference to 'Ionians'. Alkaios fr. 129.7 refers to an Αἰολήιαν [κ]υδαλίμαν θέον / πάντων γενέθλαν worshipped in a sanctuary on Lesbos, though again this may be geographical rather than referring to a deity in common to the Aeolians as a whole.[36] In the 6th century lyric poet Lasos (fr. 1.3) there is also a reference to the Aiolian tuning of the lyre (Αἰολίδ' ... ἁρμονίαν). In Herodotos, twelve cities in Asia Minor are said to be originally Aeolian, along with Lesbos and Tenedos (1.149-51). The term later spread to more areas in Asia Minor (Rose (2008) 402, Strabo 13.1.3-4, 39); it was also applied to regions in Thessaly (Hdt. 7.176.4) and Aitolia (Calydon, Thuc. 3.102).

In contrast to Ἴων, the eponym seems to be well established in the tradition. Αἴολος is the father of Sisyphos (*Il.* 6.154), Kretheus (*Od.* 11.237), and others (Hes. fr. 7.2; cf. fr. 9 MW above). Αἴολος is also the name of an important character in the *Odyssey* (esp. book 10), the ruler of the

[36]For discussion see Thomas (2021) 24-5.

winds (10.21) who lives on a floating island; but this person seems to have no connection with the Aeolian eponym (his father is Ἱππότης rather than Ἕλλην). The *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (37) refers to Makar, the king of Lesbos, as a son of Aiolos.[37]

Parallel to Ἰάονες, the Αἰολέες seem to have been a small group in the LBA, if indeed they are mentioned at all. They have no explicit presence in the Homeric poems, and the examples from the archaic period are often ambiguous as to whether the term is used in a purely geographical sense rather than a marker of identity, although Mimnermos fr. 9 may be an explicit reference to Ionian-Aeolian conflict. As with the Ionians, it thus seems quite plausible that the key moment in the expansion of Aeolian identity was around the 8th-7th centuries, rather than an earlier origin in supposed colonisations around the 10th century.

[37]Rose (2008) 401 states that Makar is originally 'non-greek' - so also Spencer (1995) 303, who (n222) sees Makar as a pre-Greek figure predating the point the Greeks 'arrived' on Lesbos. It is true that in *Od.* 4.344 and accompanying scholia (= Hellanicus of Lesbos *FGrH* 4 F150) the Achaians and Hellenes are contrasted with the people of Lesbos, and that the island is associated with Priam's power (*Il.* 24.544) and captured by the Greeks (*Il.* 9.129, 9.664); cf. Parthenios 21 (Lightfoot (1999) 496-504). As well as his ascription to Aiolos, there was also a story that he was the son of Helios and Rhode (Σ *Pind. Ol.* 7.131abc, 132a). Tentatively, one might therefore see the attribution of Makar(eus) to Aiolos as a sign of the increasing salience of Aiolic (and indeed Hellenic) identity over the Archaic period.

4.2.3 Δωριέες

The etymology of Δωριέες remains unclear, despite several suggestions linking it to δόρυ or δῶρον.[38] *do-ri-je-we* appears once in the linear B evidence, at PY Fn 867.5, the dative singular of a man's name that was presumably /*dōrieus*/.[39] What relation this has to the Dorians of the first millennium is not entirely clear. In the historical period, the Dorians believed that they originated in Doris, a region comprising the valley of the Pindos by Mount Oita in central Greece (Hdt. 8.31, Tyrt. fr. 2 West). But there was also a place name Δώριον in Messenia, mentioned in *Il.* 2.594 (the site of Thamyris' competition with the Muses). It seems quite possible that the Mycenaean name /*dōrieus*/ originates from this locality rather than a broader identity group parallel to that of the 1st millennium Dorians.[40] As well as the toponyms, the names Δωρίς (the name of several nymphs, *Il.* 18.45, *Th.* 241, 250, 350) and Δ]ωρίχα (Sappho fr. 15b.11) might be related.

The word appears once in the *Odyssey* (19.177), as one of the groups of

[38]eg. (δόρυ) Rabat (1961), doubted by Szemerényi (1987) 1514-6, (δῶρον) Hall (2002) 88, cf. Beekes (2010) *s.v.*; cf. also Frisk (1954-72) *s.v.* Δωριεῖς for further references. Alternative suggestions in Szemerényi (1987) 1517-21, but his proposed link with δοῦλος is not convincing.

[39]See Aura Jorro (1989) *s.v.*; although Szemerényi (1987) 1517 doubts the identification.

[40]eg. Mühlestein (1965) 165n50.

people living on Crete, contrasted with the Akhaians, but also Kydonians, Eteocretans, and Pelasgians. Interestingly this seems to refer specifically to language (175). They are given the epithet τριχάϊκες, which has been interpreted as a reference to their threefold tribal division, but in origin means something like 'of shaking hair'.[41] The inhabitants of Rhodes are described in terms which evoke the myth of the Herakleidai and the Dorian tribal structure, but are not explicitly called Dorians.[42] There is also again the eponym Δῶρος in *GK* fr. 9, and the eponyms of the Dorian constituent 'tribes' also seem to have appeared.[43] The migration from Doris is presupposed as early as Tyrtaios fr. 2 West, which mentions the town (Erineos) in Doris where the Dorians were said to originate.

Again, the evidence seems to suggest that there could have been some sort of antecedent in the 2nd millenium, whether in a place name or an element of personal names, to the name of the Dorians, but there is no mention of

[41] See Beekes (2010) *s.v.*

[42] Their leader, Tlepolemos is a son of Herakles (2.654); they live 'in three divisions', 2.655 (though this seems to refer to the three towns of the following line), sim. τριχθὰ δὲ ᾤκηθεν καταφυλαδόν at 2.668. See Crielaard (2009) 48 for the argument that this reflects the Dorian migration story (but cf. also n79, accepting the similarities with other Homeric stories of colonisation). As Crielaard points out, other Dodecanesan participants also seem to be linked to Herakles: *Il.* 2.678-9 (the sons of Thessalos, a son of Herakles).

[43] *GK* fr. 10a.7 (Πάμφυλόν τε), 10a.10 (Αἰγιμιοῖο); the text is fragmentary but this reconstruction seems highly likely.

a group on the scale of the Dorians as they were in the historical period. However, the Dorians are mentioned in an unambiguous context (as a people on Crete) rather earlier than the Ionians or the Aeolians.

4.2.4 Ἀχαιοί

Like the foregoing terms, the etymology of Ἀχαιοί is also unknown;[44] in contrast to them, it is much more securely attested in the 2nd millennium. The form *Ahhiyawa* is relatively frequent in Hittite texts, denoting a political entity located on the Greek mainland.[45] There is also an Egyptian form, *Aqaiwaša*, mentioned in a list of the 'Sea Peoples' from around the end of the 13th century on, which may come from the same term.[46] A Linear B text from Knossos (KN C914) has the form *a-ka-wi-ja-de*, which is likely to be a place name.[47]

[44]See Frisk (1954-72) *s.v.* for some suggestions. Beekes considers it to be Pre-Greek.

[45]The equation of Ahhiyawa with Ἀχαιοί has been a controversial matter over the past century of scholarship, but is now accepted by most scholars. See Beckman, Bryce, and Cline (2011) 1-6; Hawkins (2020) 346-7; cf. Latacz (2004) 121-8.

[46]Haider (1988) 49-53, 57, 76-7, 81, 84, 225; Lehmann (1991) 112; cf. Kelder (2010) 126.

[47]See Aura Jorro (1989) *s.v.*; alternative interpretations exist (in particular, Chantraine *s.v.* Ἀχαιός doubts the form), but an interpretation as */Akhaiwiān-de/* is defended by eg. García Ramón (2011) 237. According to the scholia to Apollonius Rhodius (4.175b) Akhaia was also the name of a polis on Crete, and so it is possible that this is the referent in the tablet. However, it is equally possible that the name of the Cretan city was later, a remnant left in a similar manner to the name of the Peloponnesian region.

Moreover, unlike the foregoing terms, Ἀχαιοί is an extremely frequent word in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*,[48] and refers to the Greeks in general (ie., all the people who go to fight against Troy). It also appears, usually in contexts referring to the Trojan war, in the rest of epos (Hes. *Erga* 651, fr. 23a.17, fr. 165.14, fr. 198.6, fr. 204.47). Not only is it frequent, but also well integrated into the formulaic language of epos (see *LFrGrE s.v.*). The eponym, Ἀχαιός, is Ion's brother, a grandson of Hellen, in Ps.-Hesiod (*GK* fr. 5.23 H.). However, unlike the Ionians, Aeolians and Dorians, the Achaeans do not make it into the eventually canonical number of Greek peoples.[49] In the first millennium, Ἀχαιοί refers to a people inhabiting a region in the northern Peloponnese (eg. Hdt. 1.145). There was also an Ἀχαία Φθιῶτις in SE. Thessaly (eg. Hdt. 7.132), and a region in Cilicia which was once settled by the Akhaians and derived its name from them,[50] the residents being formerly known as Ὑπαχαιοί (Hdt. 7.91). For many of the *Iliad* examples, it is difficult to tell whether the word is used of people or place on the basis

[48]Similarly in the *Ilias Parva* (5x).

[49]cf. For the eventual 3-4 (Athenians/Ionians, Dorians, Aeolians), cf. Strabo 8.1.2, 14.5.26, Herakleides Kritikos *FGrH* 369A F3, Cicero *Pro Flacco* 64.3. For the earlier lack of such a canonical set, see eg. Hdt. 8.73.1-2.

[50]See Oreshko (2018) esp. 30, Yakubovich (2015) responding to the counterarguments of Hawkins (2015).

of its general use for all the Greeks, or refers to a particular region: eg. *Il.* 2.681-4 (νῦν αὖ τοὺς ὅσσοι τὸ Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος ἔναιον... Μυρμιδόνες δὲ καλεῦντο καὶ Ἕλληνες καὶ Ἀχαιοί).[51]

Ἀχαιοί seems to have been an important term of identity in the LBA, an importance preserved in early epos, but one that declined in the first millennium. Explaining the different distribution between the 2nd and 1st millennium evidence presents difficulties. Should we see the Ἀχαιοί as an ethnic group that was dominant in the LBA (and thus prominent in the Hittite sources) but was later pushed out of Mycenae and ended up in parts of Thessaly and the Northern Peloponnese? Or is Ἀχαιοί in the LBA a term which applied very broadly to the Greek-speaking peoples, with the regions in the Peloponnese and Thessaly merely those that preserved the name? The latter possibility is favoured by the absence of linguistic affiliation between Ἀχαία Φθιῶτις, Ἀχαία in the Peloponnese, and the dialect of the Linear B tablets.

[51]See *LFrGrE s.v.* B I, and the *BK* on *Il.* 2.681: there are examples where it could refer to Thessalians (*Il.* 2.534, 9.461) or Argives (*Od.* 15.274).

4.2.5 Ἀργεῖοι

This is an adjective formed regularly to the TN Ἄργος (n.). The etymology could be linked to the word ἄργος 'shining', 'rapid'. On the other hand, there is no particularly compelling semantic reason to posit a link with that root, and there are derivatives in a different form of the stem with λ (Ἀργόλᾱς, Ἀργολίς -ίδος, Ἀργολικός, Ἀργολιστί) that suggest a borrowing from some sort of substrate language is more likely (so *LFrGrE ad loc.*, Chantraine (1999) *s.v.* Ἄργος). Ἀργεῖοι is used very similarly to Ἀχαιοί in epos, although it has no independent existence as an ethnic identifier (except for the residents of the polis) as the previous terms did.

Ἄργος is used of several towns, in addition to the most well-known settlement in the Peloponnese: in Amphilochia,[52] Orestis in Macedonia,[53] on Nisyros, and a place in Thessaly, the last of which is apparently the referent of Ἄργος in several places in epos.[54] Strabo (9.5.6) reports that some people considered this location a city that was no longer extant near Larisa,

[52]eg. Hekataios *FGrH* 1 F102c.10.

[53]Strabo 7.7.8.

[54]The *Iliad* A scholia (esp. 6.152b, 9.141a Erbse) distinguish Ἄργος ἱππόβοτον/ Ἀχαϊϊκόν (in the Peloponnese) from Πελασγικόν (in Thessaly).

whilst others the plain of Thessaly, named after an Argive settler. Indeed, Strabo 8.6.9 seems to presuppose that the word was used to refer to the plain of the Peloponnesian Argos, although this is identified as a more recent usage or perhaps a dialect term in Thessalian or Macedonian. Its use in epos could thus be related to the prominence of the Peloponnesian Argos or be a reflection of Thessalian tradition.

4.2.6 Δαναοί

Like Ἀχαιοί, this is another term used in Homeric hexameter for the Greeks in general (*Il.* 1.56 etc.), which was apparently also used in the second millennium as a term for some area corresponding to Greece. An Egyptian inscription of Amenophis III (c.1390-52) describes a region *tnjw* (*Tanaja*), parallel with the region *kftw* (*Kafta*, Crete) and containing towns that appear to correspond to Mycenae, Thebes, Kythera, and some other locations in the Peloponnese. *tnjw* is also mentioned in the *Annals* of Tuthmoses III for c.1437, its ruler apparently giving a gift to the Egyptian pharoah.[55] The same people are later included among the Sea Peoples mentioned by Ramses

[55]See Haider (1988) 1-18, Lehmann (1991) 106-110, cf. Latacz (2004) 128-36. Earlier scepticism of the Egytian evidence (for which see *LFrGrE s.v.* Δαναοί) was thus misplaced.

III in the 12th century.[56] There do not seem to be any mentions of the term in the Hittite evidence or the Linear B texts, although we do have the names *da-na-jo* (KN Db 1324.B) and *da-na-ko* (PY An 209.7), perhaps related to *da-na* (KN Ce 152.4).[57]

The etymology of the word is (again) unknown. As Beekes (2010) *s.v.* points out, a connection with Scythia or the river Tanais or river Donau is not credible.[58] But it does have a strong connection with legend: Danae (Δανάη), the mother of Perseus, and Δαναός, the father of the Danaids, appear to have cognate names. Both these figures are connected with Argos: Danaos flees from Egypt with his fifty daughters and goes to Argos to seek sanctuary, where in some versions of the myth he becomes king (eg. Paus. 2.19.3-4). Danae is the daughter of king Akrisios of Argos, and the mother of Perseus (ultimately king at Tiryns or Mycenae).

Δαναοί, therefore, looks like an important ethnic term in the Bronze Age, that later declined in use but is preserved in epos. More fine-grained theories about the original significance of Ἀχαιοί and Δαναοί have been advanced, for example Oreshko (2018) 48-51, who suggests that the Δαναοί are associated

[56] See Oreshko (2018) 33, Bachvarova (2016) 317n77.
[57] See Ruijgh (1967) 221n50; cf. also Landau (1958) 38, 269 for similar Linear A names.
[58] cf. Oreshko (2018) 33n38.

with the Peloponnese and the Ἀχαιοί with Central Greece. However, I do not think that Δαναοί has such a specific reference within the *Iliad*, or in the Bronze Age evidence,[59] although I agree that the LBA situation was almost certainly more complex than a single ethnic identity.

4.2.7 Ἕλληνες

This term comes to mean the Greeks in general, but in the *Iliad* the usual meaning is a people in Thessaly (eg. *Il.* 2.684). Each element of the name (deriving from Ἑλλάς) is well-paralleled in names of different Greek peoples (cf. Ἕλλ-οπες, Ἀθαμ-ᾶνες, Αἰνι-ᾶνες, Ἀκαρν-ᾶνες, Δυμ-ᾶνες). Consequently it seems fair to state that the name was originally from that of a smaller group, and etymologically Pre-Greek, but its reference was expanded to include all Greek-speaking peoples.[60]

The shift may have occurred via the form Πανέλληνες. At *Il.* 2.530 the Locrian Aias surpasses Πανέλληνας καὶ Ἀχαιούς with the spear; according to the interpretation of *LFrGrE s.v.* Πανέλληνες, Ἀχαιούς refers to the

[59]For some points for and against, see Kopanias (2008) 73-4.
[60]cf. Chantraine (1999) *s.v.*

Peloponnese and Πανέλληνας to the Thessalians or the whole of mainland Greece; this would represent a midpoint in the expansion of reference of the term.[61] In Hesiod *Erga* 528, the word is ambiguous, but according to Apollodoros (*FGrH* 244 F200 = Strabo 8.6.6), 'Hesiod' (presumably the *Gynaikon Katalogos*) used Πανέλληνες to describe the wooers of the daughters of Proitos (king of Argos), which supposes the wider reference.[62] The history of this word is thus an important parallel to the cases of Ἴάονες, Αἰολέες and Δωριέες.

4.2.8 Conclusions

The terms examined underwent considerable change between the LBA and the late Archaic period. Some names originally identified relatively small groups of people, but later extended their scope to a wider population. This is clear in the case of Ἕλληνες, which comes to denote all Greek speakers; on the basis of their LBA attestations, it is probably true of Ἴάονες, Αἰολέες, and Δωριέες as well. The most important identity terms of the LBA became much more specific (eg. Ἀχαιοί) or dropped out of use completely (Δαναοί).

[61] Although the exact reference of the word is hard to extract from such a context - one could interpret Ἀχαιοί and Πανέλληνες as both referring to the Greeks in general.

[62] *DNP s.v.* Hellas seems to suppose that it was by reanalysis of *Il.* 2.530 that the reference of the term expanded, but this attributes too much importance to the role of epic poetry in language change; more plausibly, the shift was independent of epos.

It is true that the evidence we have for this is somewhat sporadic, and new finds (for example, evidence to confirm the Egyptian reference to 'Great Ionia') might potentially challenge this view. However, the contrast between terms like Ἀχαιοί and Ἰάονες in the LBA is quite striking, and on the present data this seems the most plausible interpretation. It also accords well with the situation in early epos - where the Ἰάονες/Αἰολέες/Δωριέες are barely mentioned and their eponyms (Ἴων, Αἴολος, Δῶρος) have little role beyond genealogical reference points. Even in the Classical period, although these three terms are the most prominent, other ethnic terms abound; some, such as the Aitolians, cannot really be included in any of the above categories, and groups like the Pelasgians - whose historicity is hard to pin down - could also be claimed as ancestors.[63] Thus Herodotos (8.73) claims that there are seven ἔθνεα in the Peloponnese, only two of which (Akhaians, Dorians, perhaps also the Kynourians as former Ionians) correspond to the above categories. Accounts that attempt to reduce the ethnic groups to original Ἰάονες/Αἰολέες/Δωριέες result in inconsistencies; Strabo (8.1.2) considers the Ἀχαιοί to be originally Aeolic, but in *GK* fr. 10a.23 Ἀχαιός is

[63]See Fowler (2013) 84-96 for doubts regarding the historicity of the Pelasgians.

the brother of Ἴων (which suggests a closer relationship between the Ἰάονες and Ἀχαιοί).[64]

It was suggested above that it is more likely that the key moment in the ethnogenesis of the Ἰάονες, Αἰολέες, Δωριέες (although the process must have been far more gradual and complex in practice) was around the 8th-7th centuries, at which time there were the three federations in the eastern Aegean - the Aeolian dodecapolis, Ionian league, and Dorian hexapolis, and events such as the capture of Smyrna from the Aeolians. Tyrtaios fr. 2, however, provides early evidence for the myth of the return of the Heraklei-dai, and perhaps the formation of Dorian identity should be placed rather earlier, spurred by events on the mainland.[65] An alternative theory is that the Ἰάονες, Αἰολέες, Δωριέες arose out of migrations in the EIA (the Dorian, Aeolic, and Ionian migrations). However, if the formation of these identities were that early, we might expect a more significant presence in early epos; moreover, as set out above, there is little archaeological evidence for these migrations as traditionally conceived.

[64]For a study of complexity in the Argolid see Hall (1997) ch. 4. cf. the different groups treated by Sakellariou (2009), although some of these (eg. the Lapiths, 605-50) do not seem to have been identifiable groups outside legend.

[65]cf. Hall (2002) 87-9.

The strongest evidence for an earlier date is the shared traditions or cultural affinities between the areas known as Ionic, Aeolic, or Doric. The Ionians (and Athenians) are said to share the festival of the *Apatouria*,[66] similar foundation narratives based on the descendents of Neleus via Athens,[67] and tribal names.[68] The Dorians are said to have the festival of the *Karneia*, as well as foundation narratives based on settlers from Doris in Central Greece or the Herakleidai (descendents of Herakles, usually returning from Athens), and a tripartite division into tribes.[69] The Aeolians do not seem to have had any common festival or tribes; their foundation narratives center around the figure of Orestes.[70] There are also some patterns in the use of month-names, particularly in Ionian cities, which have led some to propose an original system that was spread through colonisation in the prehistoric period; month names are also the only evidence for the existence of Ionian or Doric festival(s) in most cities. However, much of the evidence for these features is late

[66]The prehistoric roots of Ionian tribes and the *Apatouria* have been doubted, however: see Crielaard (2009) 54-5 for references, and cf. Roussel (1976) 153-5.

[67]For an account of these, see Sakellariou (1958), Fowler (2000-13) 572-90.

[68]But on the latter see Roussel (1976) esp. 193-220.

[69]See *DNP* sv. Karneia and Hall (1997) 39 for the festival; Fowler (2000-13) 334-46, 590-4 for the sources of the Dorian migration stories, cf. the analysis of Hall (1997) 56-65; for the Dorian *phylai* see Roussel (1976) 221-263, Hall (1997) 9-10.

[70]For the Aiolian migration stories see Bérard (1959), Fowler (2000-13) 597-602.

and/or fragmentary,[71] so they can be viewed as a result of convergence in the Archaic period rather than traces preserved from institutions of centuries before.

If these institutions and identities did form earlier, it would be necessary to explain their absence from epos. This would have to be an example of conscious but erroneous archaising[72] - on the basis that the migrations are later than the Trojan war in mythology, reference to them would be excluded from the poems. But although this sort of explanation might work for why the Greek settlements in the Aegean and Asia Minor are not directly mentioned, it does not explain why Ionians are not mentioned in Euboea, Attica or the northern Peloponnese, or why Aeolians are not mentioned in Thessaly. A view on this therefore depends quite heavily on how one weighs the

[71]Note that cities very often had more than one foundation narrative. This was recognised even in antiquity (eg. Herodotos 1.146-8). For an account of the diachronic variation in the myths of the Ionian foundations, see Crielaard (2009) 51-54. cf. also Sakellariou (1990) 134-8; although Sakellariou's general approach is to try to find a historical core amidst the contradictory traditions. The Doric migration stories were less varied, but the myth of the Herakleidai and the Dorians themselves look as if they were originally distinct: Hall (1997) 59-62; 63-4 presses further arguments for original variation in the legends. For some criticisms of the idea of common customs along Dorian/Ionic/Aeolic lines, see Hall (1997) 40.

[72]For this idea cf. Roussel (1976) 222, Crielaard (2009) 49, 49n86. As Crielaard points out (49-50), the world of the poems has a number of features that are clearly not from the Bronze Age; but this does not rule out the possibility that the poets were at least trying to archaise (though having insufficient knowledge to tell eg. that Miletos had been inhabited in the Bronze Age).

different evidence (epos and archaeology vs. literary attestations of shared traditions), but the foregoing reasons seem to point to a later date.

A late origin for the Ἰάονες/Αἰολέες/Δωριέες is not incompatible with Attic-Ionic/Aeolic/Doric/Arcado-Cypriot dialect groupings originating in the LBA or before. Firstly, the ethnic terms used by the ancient Greeks are not a perfect fit for the dialect groups identified by modern linguists. For example, there was nothing to correspond to the Arcado-Cypriot group - the Arcadians were seen as Aeolic or Doric, rather than Akhaian.[73] There are also many more ethnic groups than these three that are acknowledged in the ancient sources.[74] Moreover, linguistic similarity does not need to be explicitly recognised in names; the application of the word Ἕλληνες to Greek speakers in general is secondary, but this does not entail that the Greek language did not

[73]Strabo 8.1.2: ὅσοι μὲν οὖν ἧττον τοῖς Δωριεῦσιν ἐπεπλέκοντο (καθάπερ συνέβη τοῖς τε Ἀρκάσι ...) οὗτοι Αἰολιστὶ διελέχθησαν... σχεδὸν δέ τι καὶ νῦν κατὰ πόλεις ἄλλοι ἄλλως διαλέγονται, δοκοῦσι δὲ δωρίζειν ἅπαντες διὰ τὴν συμβᾶσαν ἐπικράτειαν. Strabo does mention Akhaians (as a subdivision of Aeolians) in the same passage, but they should surely be identified with the (Doric-speaking) group familiar from the Northern Peloponnese rather than ancestors of the Arkadians. The main areas where ancient ethnic terms and modern linguistic terms coincide are with the Ionian cities/Attic-Ionic dialects and the Dorian Peloponnese/Dorian dialects. Note, however, that there is no explicit ancient notion corresponding to 'North-West Greek' - Strabo claims that Greeks outside the Peloponnese were Aeolic, except for Athenians (and presumably the Ionian areas), Megarians, and τῶν περὶ τὸν Παρνασσὸν Δωριέων - ie. the Doric tetrapolis, leaving out the Aetolians, Lokrians and so on.

[74]See above.

exist before the term came to have this meaning. It could be that the dialect groups reflect populations that go back to the LBA, without these populations necessarily being the Ἰάονες/Αἰολέες/Δωριέες of historical sources. However, it does make the dialect groupings less secure than they would have been if we had been able to identify significant Ἰάονες/Αἰολέες/Δωριέες groups in the LBA (in which case these would have been the speakers of the proto-dialects). As to whether the dialect evidence does presuppose cultural units, this will be considered in the next section.

Conversely, terms like Δαναοί, Ἀργεῖοι, and Ἀχαιοί, while they have little role in identity in the first millennium, may have had significant role in the articulation of local or Panhellenic elements in the poems, by this very fact; whatever their original Bronze Age significance, their indiscriminate use in epos give an impression of a Panhellenic unity. No doubt this was both a consequence of adding new contingents to the story of the war at Troy, and also a motivation for including further groups during the development of the tradition. There are instances where these terms were taken in more local meanings - Ἀργεῖοι was perhaps misunderstood as showing local, pro-Argive

sentiment by Kleisthenes of Sikyon.[75] But in general the use of general identity terms for the anti-Trojan side may have contributed to the affinity of the poetry beyond a specific local area.

In summary, our study of these particular terms has shown that we should not assume that prominent ethnic groups of the Classical period have continuity from the LBA. The Ἰάονες/Αἰολέες/Δωριέες division being comparatively recent, it may not be that helpful to look for a specifically Aeolic, Ionic, or Doric culture, much less epic tradition. Indeed, these groups do not have a major presence in epos, and their eponyms are not key characters in the narratives. Moreover, early epos preserves the use of terms such as Ἀχαιοί and Δαναοί from the LBA. This is another pointer to the long historical development of epos, and of the antiquity of its supra-regional appeal. We have also laid the preliminary groundwork for the analysis of the dialect groups themselves in the following section.

[75]Hdt. 5.67. However, it is possible that Herodotos means the more explicitly pro-Argive Theban cycle here: So Stein (1894) *ad loc.*, Gitti (1929) 606, Cingano (1985), Virgilio (1975) *ad loc.*, but *contra* Abbott (1893) *ad loc.* with reference to Hdt. 4.32.6, Davies (2014) 30.

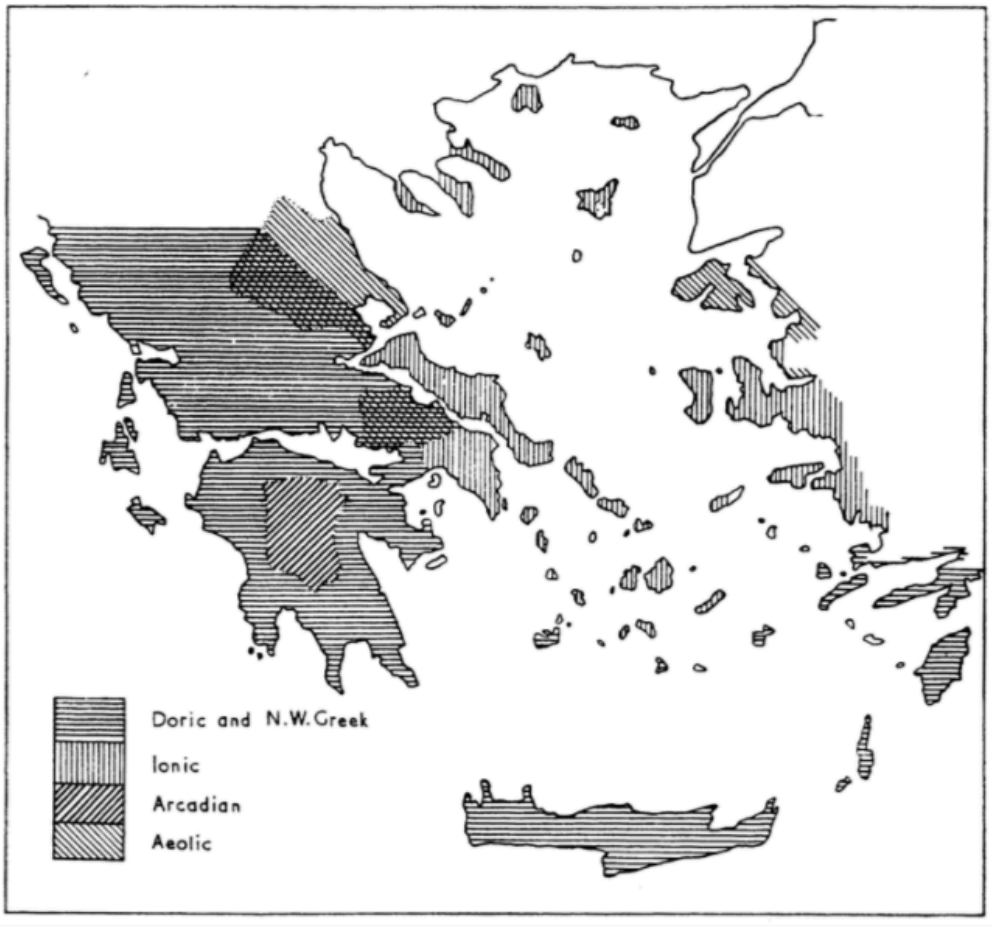
4.3 The Dialect Groups and their Prehistory

'Ionians', 'Dorians', or 'Aiolians' may not continue large population groups of the LBA. But this still leaves the possibility that the groups that developed such identities were predisposed to form these groups by the existence of closer linguistic ties, ie. more closely related dialects. This brings us to the question of the history of the Greek dialects. In the historical period, there existed innumerable local dialects associated with each Greek city-state. Larger groupings of these dialects are defined on the basis of shared features - the commonly accepted groupings are shown on fig. 1. These groupings include Attic-Ionic, Arcado-Cypriot, Aeolic, and North Greek (the latter subdivided into Doric and North-West Greek); Pamphylian is usually either assigned to Arcado-Cypriot or left out as unclassifiable.

Shared features allow us to tell, at least in principle, how close dialects appeared to be at the time at which they are attested.[76] But most scholars also consider that shared features may also reveal something about the prehistoric relationships of the dialects. That is, if dialects share many features,

[76]In practice, however, the comprehension of one dialect by the speaker of a different dialect was probably determined at least as much by familiarity or the overall frequency of the different forms across different dialects.

Figure 4.1: The major dialect groupings, after Chadwick (1956) 39.



they may have, at some point in history, have been in contact with each other, or indeed have been the 'same' dialect. This principle underlies the attempts that have been made to analyse the Greek dialects and account for their distribution in the historical period.

The influential view of Kretschmer (1909) was that the local dialects originated in three dialects of Greek, corresponding to the 'Ionians', 'Dorians', and 'Aiolians', which developed before the arrival of Greek speakers in Greece and arrived through three waves of migration. This was overturned by Risch (1955), who used the relative chronology of sound changes to produce a clearer account of dialect development. He argued that many of the features distinguishing Attic-Ionic from Arcado-Cypriot, on the one hand, and the Doric dialects from Aeolic, on the other, postdate the Mycenaean evidence. For Risch, at the time of Linear B, 'South Greek' (the preform of Attic-Ionic and Arcado-Cypriot) was distinguished from 'North Greek' (the preform of Doric and Aeolic) by the assibilation of *-ti-* to *-si-*.[77]

[77]Risch (1955) 70, building on Porzig (1954), who was writing before the decipherment of Linear B. However, Risch later (1979) 105-9 proposed that a distinction between Western North Greek (the ancestor of Northwest Greek and Doric) and Eastern North Greek (the ancestor of Aeolic) went back to the second half of the 2nd millennium.

On this view, then, the existence of the dialects is a result of the development of the Greek language in Greece. North/South groups were differentiated by the spread of a sound change which occurred by the end of the BA, and the picture was subsequently complicated by migration (first of all the 'Dorian invasion' of North Greek speakers into the Peloponnese and Crete).[78] Particular groupings of dialects (such as Proto-Aeolic, Proto-Attic-Ionic, etc.) would then develop a little after the BA and be spread by subsequent migration (eg. Proto-Aeolic speakers migrating from Thessaly into Boeotia and North-West Asia Minor).[79] This is perhaps still a majority view among linguists;[80] but it has been challenged in recent years. On the one hand, Finkelberg preferred to assume that the dialects were well-differentiated even in the Bronze Age, and attempted to reconstruct an original dialect continuum within Greece (fig. 2), that originally developed through areal contact and was then fragmented by migration at the end of the BA.[81] This has not been generally accepted,[82] although it is now more

[78]eg. Chadwick (1956) 44, according to which Ionic is a South Greek dialect that has undergone influence from North Greek.

[79]eg. García-Ramón (1975), esp. 103-6 (but García-Ramón (2018) would see an Arcado-Cypriot group distinguished as early as Mycenaean).

[80]cf. Colvin (2010).

[81]Finkelberg (2005) 109-39.

[82]cf. García-Ramón (2018) 36-7.

commonly held that Proto-Arcado-Cypriot was distinct at the time of the tablets. A different challenge came from Chadwick. Because the archaeological evidence for the Dorian invasion is lacking, Chadwick instead suggested that the 'North Greek speakers' at the time of the Linear B tablets were in fact the middle and lower classes of the palatial system; on this view, there was no invasion, but a revolution.[83] Further, the whole basis of the comparative method applied to dialects has been challenged by Bile, Brixhe, and Hodot (1984).[84] It has also been questioned whether the Aeolian group of dialects really originates in migration from Thessaly, or indeed whether it should be understood in terms of a number of 'relic areas' that happen to preserve some archaic features.[85]

A central methodological problem is determining when two dialects show similarities due to contact, and when shared features indicate a 'genetic' relationship - implying, if they are not adjacent, that one or both areas were settled by migration from the same source, or that the intervening dialect

[83]Chadwick (1976).
[84]cf. also Brixhe and Vottéro (eds.) (2006).
[85]eg. Parker (2008), criticised by García-Ramón (2010). García-Ramón (2018) and Janko (2018) both strongly oppose this approach.

Figure 4.2: Finkelberg's reconstructed dialect continuum, after Finkelberg (2005) 132.



area is the product of migration. This question remains disputed.[86] Scarborough, in his work on the Aeolic group, adopts Hennig's auxiliary principle from cladistics, which states that the origin of an apomorphic (ie. innovatory) characteristic shared between two varieties should be assumed to be from shared descent rather than convergence unless there is evidence to the contrary.[87] But whilst this is a plausible assumption in the case of different species of animals, or mutually unintelligible languages, it is less clear that such a principle can be accepted in classifying dialects, especially those that had a high level of mutual comprehensibility.

After all, some sound changes did spread across the entirety of the Greek speaking world after the Bronze Age. For example, all the first millennium dialects have labial consonants from labiovelars in the environment before a back vowel or consonant (eg. πο͂υ, βο͂ς), but the labiovelars are preserved in Linear B, so this change must post-date Mycenaean.[88] Similarly, the vocalism in the middle verbal endings has been changed to an a-vowel (eg. -σαι, -ται) in almost all first millennium dialects, although the Linear B evi-

[86]esp. Parker (2008) 439-42, García-Ramón (2010) 221-6.
[87]Scarborough (2023) 48.
[88]See Risch (1979) 94 (with some more examples of such changes).

dence (as well as Arcadian and Cypriot) shows the original **o* vowel.[89] This strongly suggests that the spread of features between dialects should not be discounted.[90] On the other hand, Scarborough is right to criticise the extreme view of Parker, on which almost any conceivable shared feature between two dialects can be dismissed as evidence for genetic subgrouping.[91] Even if individually, shared features might be explained on the basis of diffusion across the Greek world or independent parallel developments, a sufficiently high proportion of agreements between two different dialects must have significance; the real difficulty is identifying when such agreement indicates that both populations have come from a common source and when it is due to convergence as a result of close contacts (for example, through trade, or political unity).

In the following section I set out the evidence for dialect isoglosses that

[89]Although this was occasionally argued to be an innovation, eg. in Palmer (1962) 89-90, it is now accepted to be an archaism: Sihler (1995) 476. This seems to me to weaken the idea of García Ramón (2018) 67-8 that the **o* vocalism is a reason to classify Mycenaean with Arcado-Cypriot - a spread of the **a* vocalism after the BA is entirely possible - although it could be argued that it is a strange coincidence that both Arcadian and Cypriot should be left out of the change.

[90]Note that Garrett (2006) 140-2 argued that Greek in the 2nd millennium was largely defined by its lexical profile, and that most sound changes common to Greek are subsequent. However, with little evidence of word-final consonant clusters in Mycenaean, this is hard to prove.

[91]Scarborough (2023) 32-6.

might go back to the Bronze Age (most of which are disputed to some extent) and for each dialect group. Within the limited scope of this section an exhaustive presentation of the evidence is impossible, but a discussion of the key features will provide some context for the following discussion of dialect in epos.

4.3.1 Isoglosses in the Bronze Age?

A key isogloss that may be relevant to dialect grouping and for which there is secure evidence as early as Linear B is that of 'assibilation', to which Risch accorded considerable importance in distinguishing between the 'South Greek' and 'North Greek' groups: ie. the change of **ti* to *si* in certain cases.[92] However, assibilation is by no means a straightforward phonological correspondance: it is not the case that North Greek has **ti* and South Greek has **si* in all corresponding environments - even when we set aside the phonetic environments in which assibilation fails (eg. in */sti/*, */kti/*, word initially). Rather, all dialects have some morphological environments in which **ti* is retained (before the suffixes -ικός, -ις/–ιδ–, -ίζω) and some in which it is

[92]Risch (1955) 66, (1979) 92, 94-5. The significance of assibilation is accepted widely: eg. Cowgill (1966) 93, Chadwick (1975) 817, (1976) 104-5, (2007) 402, Bartoněk (1979) 114, Karali (2007) 393.

assibilated (nouns in *-*tis* built to verbal stems, abstract nouns in -ία and adjectives in -ιος to stems in *-*t*, the first member of τερψίμβροτος compounds);[93] there are then particular environments in which North and South Greek groups contrast (3rd person sg./pl. verb endings, εἴκοσι/Fίκατι, -κόσιοι/–κάτιοι, Ἀφροδίσιος/Ἀφροδίτιος, Ἀρτεμίσιος/Ἀρτεμίτιος).[94] I therefore follow Thompson's view: assibilation is a 'common Greek sound change which failed to run to completion', and was subsequently levelled by the different dialects through analogy.[95]

Assibilation is well-attested for Mycenaean, which patterns with 'South Greek' in the third person verb forms but also shows some peculiarities: a number of names (eg. *ta-ti-qo-we-u* /*statig*^{w}*oweus*/), place names (*mi-ra-ti-ja* /*mīlātiā*/), and vocabulary items (*me-ri-ti-jo* /*melitios*/) do not show the change.[96] Mycenaean also has an instance of assibilated /*t*^{h}*i*/, *-ko-ru-si-jo* (/*korusios*/ < /*koru*t^{h}*ios*/), an adjective from κόρυς, κόρυθος; in later Greek

[93]Note also some inconsistent suffixes, eg. -τιος, -τία

[94]Lejeune (1972) 62-6 Méndez Dosuna (1985) 118-24, Thompson (2008) 756-7.

[95]See Thompson (2008) 757. Janko (2018) 112 attempts to defend the value of assibilation to subgrouping, but I do not see why the fact that we only find *-si* in Linear B rules out Thompson's theory. However, Janko is correct to point out that there is other evidence for Mycenaean being South Greek: see below at 4.3.2.

[96]Thompson (2008) 754-5.

Figure 4.3: Assibilation in the verb forms

Mycenaean	*e-ko-si /ek^{h}onsi/*	KN G 820.1
Arcadian	απυδωσονσι	*IG* 6.1.97
Cypriot	*e-ke-so-si /ekeso(n)si/*	*ICS* 217.B31, Idalion
Pamphylian	ἐξαγοδι < *ἐξαγωντι	Brixhe no. 3, Sillyon
Attic/Ionic	δίδωσι	
Thessalian	ενθι (3pl.)	McD:347.22, 40, late 3rd C BCE
Boeotian	διδοτι	*I.Thes*p:465/466, ca. 450-425
Lesbian	φασι	*IG* XII, 2: 268.3, 5th C BCE
NW Greek	διδωτι	Dodona, Epirus
Argolic	υπηρετωντι	*IG* IV: 748.16-7 369 BCE
Elean	επαγγελλοντι	Minon 32.3-4
Laconian	hεβοντι	*IG* 5.2 n.159.5 Tegea, 5th C BCE
Cretan	εντι	G 174 1.20

this sometimes occurs with non-Greek place names (Attic Προβαλίσιοι (from Προβάλινθος) vs. Κορίνθιος (from Κόρινθος)).[97] It looks like the change did not much precede the time of the tablets, and that variation still remained in Mycenaean as to the result.[98]

Assibilation is essentially an outcome of palatalisation: it is usually understood as a sequence of changes something like *-*ti*- > *-*t^{j}i*- > *-*t$\int$i*- >

[97]See Thompson (2008) 756, n10 - doubting that this is the same phenomenon. If this is really conditioned by being Pre-Greek loanwords, we might deduce that the change itself was prior to these words being naturalised into the language, or even linked to a substrate language itself. On *ko-ri-si-jo* in Mycenaean see Chadwick (1976) 105n3.

[98]Thompson (2008) 758.

**-tsi-* > *-si-*.[99] It is therefore striking that another important early change is the palatalisation of **t* before **y* (the consonantal form of **i*) in certain dialects, the 'first palatalisation'. This must be seen in the context of the 'second palatalisation', a pan-Greek phenomenon in which various stops followed by **y* undergo a change, for example:[100]

**p*^{h}*ulak-yō* > φυλάσσω/φυλάττω

**eret-yō* > ἐρέσσω/ἐρέττω

**elpid-yō* > ἐλπίζω/ἐλπίδδω

**ƙlep-yō* > κλέπτω

**krin-yō* > κρίννω/κρῖνω

**oiktir-yō* > οἰκτίρρω/οἰκτῖρω

**stel-yō* > στέλλω

**swādew-ya* > **hwēdeyya* > ἡδεῖα

**alētʰes-ya* > ἀλήθεια

[99] Ringe and Eska (2013) 257.
[100] For the following examples, see Sihler (1995) 192-6.

The second palatalisation seems to have occurred as early as the linear B texts, as the z-series of signs is used to write the outcome of *ky, *dy, etc.: eg. *za-we-te* 'this year' (<*$ky\bar{a}$-*wetes*, cf. Att. τῆτες), *to-pe-za* (cf. (τρά)πεζα < *-*ped-ya*). Although the outcome of *ky, *k^hy, *k^wy, *$k^{hw}y$, *ty, *t^hy end up as *ss (initial *s) in most dialects, Boeotian and Attic have *tt (initial *t).[101] Moreover, some Ionic alphabets write a special grapheme Ͳ for the resultant sound, probably implying that they kept a palatalised consonant at the time when they adopted the alphabet.[102] This implies that the change from *t^s was relatively late - shortly before (or even shortly into) the attested period.

However, in some cases where we might have expected the second palatalisation, we in fact find different results: all Greek dialects have *s from *ty-, *t^hy- initially (σέβομαι), or in the cluster *-*Vnty*- (φέρουσα etc. < *φέρονσα < *p^h*erontya*). Moreover, some dialects show a result of *s from medial *ty-, *t^hy- in particular cases (ὅσος, τόσος, μέσος, ἔασα) whereas other dialects show results identical with the second palatalisation (eg. ὅσσος, τόσσος,

[101]The same is the case in some forms of West Ionic.
[102]Woodard (1997) 178. cf. the changing situation in Cretan, Bile (1988) 142-6.

μέσσος, ἔασσα[103]). Note that these cases are where the original consonants are not etymologically transparent. To explain this we posit a 'first palatalisation' of $*t^{(h)}y$- which was reversed for all dialects in medial position in etymologically transparent cases (giving ἐρέσσω), but was kept in some dialects in non-transparent medial position (giving ὅσος, τόσος, μέσος, εασα). However, dialects which have ὅσος, τόσος, μέσος, ἔασα kept the results of the first palatalisation without reversing the forms.

So it seems that some dialects show a wider application of the 1st palatalisation (parallel to the differences in application of assibilation). But there is a complicating factor. Given that the second palatalisation results in a geminate consonant (ἐρέσσω/ἐρεττω), maintaining syllable weight (*e.ret.yō* vs. *e.res.sō*), why does the result of the first palatalisation have a single /*s*/ in (at least) Attic-Ionic and Arcadian? This seems to be comparable to the Attic simplification of geminate **ss* (dat. pl. *posi* (etc.) from **possi* < **pod-si*, *ekomisa* < **ekomissa* < **ekomid-sa*, *etelesa* < **eteles-sa*). In fact, this change is also attested in Arcadian: φυγασι (< $*p^hugad$-*si*, Tegea 4.1.20).

[103]Doric form from **esatya* < $*h_1s\underset{\circ}{n}tya$ for Attic οὖσα, which has been remodelled; cf. Myc. *a-pe-a-sa* /*apea(s)sa*/, Arcadian εασα.

However, this then raises a difficulty: in dialects that do not simplify geminate **ss*, how can we tell that **ss* in a word like ὅσσος is a result of the second palatalisation and not the first with the geminate maintained? In some dialects, where the result of the second palatalisation is kept as an affricate even into the attested period (eg. Cretan οζοι) we may be reasonably sure that the **ty* was restituted to undergo the second palatalisation, but this is somewhat less certain in Lesbian, for example, where the merger of the result of a hypothetical first palatalisation ὅσσος and second palatalisation ἐρέσσω could have been much more recent.[104] There are, therefore, three cases: dialects in which medial **ty* sequences undergo the first palatalisation, followed by the simplification of geminate **ss*, which marks them as distinct from the result of the second palatalisation (eg. Attic); dialects in which any first palatalisation did not happen or was reversed, since medial **ty* sequences demonstrably underwent the later second palatalisation (eg. Cretan); and dialects in which there is no simplification of geminate **ss* and no recorded distinct result of the second palatalisation in these words, and for which therefore we cannot tell (eg. Lesbian).

[104] Assuming that Lesbian did not undergo the degemination of /*ss*/; cf. Bowie (1981) 120-2.

Does Mycenaean pattern with dialects like Attic-Ionic and Arcadian, or with those like Cretan? We find *to-so*, *me-sa-to*, *a-pe-a-sa*, written with the s-series - which represents /*s*/ in sequences from */*ns*/ (*pa-si* ∼ **pantsi*), */*ss*/ (*ze-u-ke-si* ∼ **yeugessi*), and is also used for restituted intervocalic -*s*- (*do-se* ∼ δώσει), in loanwords which also end up with *s* (*sa-sa-ma* ∼ σήσαμον), and in assibilated forms (*pa-si* ∼ φησί). By contrast, the z-series represents the result of the second palatalisation of voiced dentals (*to-pe-za*) and voiceless velars (*za-we-te*). So we could claim that Mycenaean differentiates the result of the first palatalisation (with the s-series) from the second palatalisation (with the z-series), and therefore patterns with Attic-Ionic and Arcadian. But the situation is more complicated, because Mycenaean also has a number of forms written with the s-series that merge with the results of the second palatalisation in all first millennium dialects:

- **ku-pa-ri-so, ku-pa-ri-se-ja, ku-pa-ri-si-jo**: cf. κυπάρισσος/ κυπάριττος

- **wa-na-so-i, wa-na-se-wi-jo**: usually thought to come from **wanassa* < **wanaktya*, cf. Homeric ἄνασσα

- **(mi-to)-we-sa**, etc.: the feminine of adjectives formed with the suffix

*-*went*-, presumably from 0-grade of the suffix, *-*wn̥tya* > *-*watya*. In fact we find fem. (χαρί)εσσα/(χαρί)ϝεττα, where the e-vocalism is presumably influenced by the masculine/neuter stem in -*ent*-; evidently this had taken place by the time of the tablets.

- (**we-ka-sa**: possibly the feminine form of ἑκών, like Thessalian (?) ϝεκασσα, from **wekn̥tya*, though the interpretation of the Linear B is not certain.)

On the basis of these forms, one might conclude that the s-series in Linear B was not just used for sibilants (vs. affricate or palatal consonants) but also for the sounds resulting from the second palatalisation provided that they derive from unvoiced dentals (against *to-pe-za*, *za-we-te*). In this case, there would be no evidence for whether Mycenaean had undergone the first palatalisation in words such as *to-so*. One could try to dismiss these three[105] examples on an *ad hoc* basis, of course. κυπάρισσος is probably a Pre-Greek loan, so perhaps this could have been re-borrowed after the time of the tablets with a palatal/affricate. The interpretation of *wa-na-so-i* is not entirely clear, and it could also be argued that ἄνασσα is a purely poetic

[105] *we-ka-sa* in itself provides little evidence, as we have no direct reflex in Attic-Ionic or Arcadian.

word that could have been transmitted in a dialect other than Attic-Ionic and Arcadian.[106] But the adjectives in *-we-sa* are harder to discount: they have been remodelled, but this occurred before Mycenaean (hence *-we-sa* not *-*wa-sa*) and there seems no way that we would have the -εσσα/εττα variation if at the time of the linear B tablets the word had *-(s)s-*. This means either that writings with the s-series provide no evidence about the first palatalisation in Mycenaean, or alternatively that the first palatalisation went further in Mycenaean than in other attested dialects[107] - cf. the assibilation of forms like *-ko-ru-si-jo*.[108]

Another early (but even less straightforward) change is the loss of syllabic **r*. This appears to have taken place by the time of the linear B tablets, but the outcomes in different dialects are by no means clear. The traditional

[106]But this will then have its own implications for the history of the tradition. It has also been argued that these forms are simply not related to ἄνασσα, as Petruševski (1972).

[107]To determine which is the case, if one does not treat *-we-sa* as adequate evidence, one would have to find an example of a word with a root in a dental that must have been restored to undergo the second palatalisation, eg. a form of ἐρέττω/ἐρέσσω in Linear B, and find if it was written with the *s-* or *z-* series. Effectively, the first view is usually adopted, eg. Bartoněk (1987) 42-3, who reconstructs for Mycenaean a distinction between geminate and non-geminate s that is not represented in the script. Note, however, that his criterion of 'heteromorphemic' for deciding which sequences are geminate is inadequate, as the later evidence for Arcadian non-geminate */s/* in εασα shows.

[108]Note that it has been suggested that Mycenaean has some palatalisation not found in later Greek, eg. *ka-za* ∼ χαλκέα, *a-ze-ti-ri-ya* = *a-ke-ti-ri-ja* ∼ ἀσκητρίαι, *su-za* ∼ συκέᾱ, *a_3-za* ∼ αἴγεᾱ.

view is that syllabic *r became αρ/ρα in most dialects, but ορ/ρο in Aeolic, Mycenaean, and Arcado-Kyprian. However, Morpurgo Davies cast doubt on the evidence for Arcado-Kyprian and (to a lesser extent) Mycenaean, arguing that many of the examples rely on contestable etymologies and that the αρ/ρα outcome is also attested.[109] The matter remains controversial: van Beek argues that we should accept the forms τετορτος, κορζα, and *ka-te-wo-ro-ko-ne* as evidence for a regular outcome -ορ- in Arcadian and Kyprian.[110] In Aeolic the ορ/ρο outcome is relatively certain in Boeotian (εστροτευαθη, Πολυστροτω, etc.) and Lesbian (στροταγοις, αμβροτην) and probable in Thessalian (ορσεν, θροσια).[111] A substantial minority of scholars has argued that the loss of syllabic *r was later than the time of the linear B tablets; but the mainstream view is that it had already been vocalised with *a* or *o* outcomes.[112]

It seems, therefore, that some changes that turn out to be markers of

[109]Morpurgo Davies (1968), making the case for αρ/ρα as the default outcome in Arcado-Kyprian, with conditioning factors such as the presence of *w responsible for ορ/ρο outcomes.

[110]Van Beek (2013) 51-5, 75-9, (2022) 117-141.

[111]See Scarborough (2023) 92-105.

[112]Bartonek (2003) 135. Syllabic *r maintained in linear B: Heubeck (1972), van Beek (2013), (2022).

the later dialects on reasonable evidence must have happened (or started to happen) in the Late Bronze Age: assibilation, the first palatalisation, the simplification of /*ss*/, and the loss of syllabic *$\mathring{r}$. In each case, however, the evidence is somewhat problematic: assibilation is restricted to a fairly narrow class of words and morphological types; the evidence for the first palatalisation is clearer but affects very few lexical items; the outcomes of *$\mathring{r}$ are disputed. This may simply be a problem with insufficient data and the nature of our evidence. A distinction between 'North' and 'South' Greek is highly likely, although there is less evidence for a well-distinguished Proto-Doric, Proto-Aeolic, Proto-Arcado-Kyprian, and Proto-Attic-Ionic.[113] The language of the tablets themselves is relatively homogenous, and what variation there is seems hard to link to the North/South Greek distinction or distinctions between first-millennium Greek dialects.[114]

[113]In particular, the view of Ruijgh (1996) 117, that the Greek dialects were divided by the time of the tablets by such sound changes into Proto Ionian (*si*, *ra*), Proto Achaean (*si*, *ro*), Proto-Aeolian (*ti*, *ro*), Proto-Dorian (*ti*, *ra*) seems over-assertive.

[114]On variation within Mycenaean itself, Risch (1966) originally proposed a distinction between *mycénien normal* and *mycénien spécial* (see also Palaima (1998-9) 205-21). Thompson (1996-7) and (2002-3), however, has argued that this should be interpreted as ongoing linguistic change within Mycenaean; as García Ramón (2018) 63 points out, it is difficult to decide whether it reflects dialectal or sociolectal variation.

4.3.2 North Greek Isoglosses

We have already noted the difficulties posed by assibilation, which divides North-West Greek, Doric, Boeotian and Thessalian from Attic-Ionic, Arcado-Cypriot, and Lesbian, but is restricted to a few morphological categories and select words. However, the Doric and North-West Greek dialects are also defined by a number of other isoglosses. These have been extensively examined both by López Eire and Méndez Dosuna (1980) and Thompson (2008); both studies conclude that these isoglosses are for the most part not innovations and are not in themselves very significant:[115]

- The numeral for 'four' (τέτορες vs. Ionic τέσσαρες). Here the difference between the dialects is that of selection of the grade (o-grade in North Greek vs. zero-grade in Attic), and the loss of /*w*/ in the sequence **tw*.[116]

- The numeral for 'twenty' (ϝίκατι vs. Ionic εἴκοσι). Here the *a*-vocalism in North Greek may be original, and the South Greek o-grade a result of analogy with the suffix -κοντα. The prothetic *e*- in the South Greek

[115]This list follows Thompson (2008) 758-63 closely, which covers most of the features listed by Buck (1928) 141.
[116]Thompson (2008) 758-9.

forms is harder to explain.[117]

- The numeral for 'forty'. Here North Greek τετρώκοντα is probably from the influence of an older **oktōkonta*, τεσσαράκοντα from analogy with τέσσαρα, the original form being **tetwrākonta* < **kwetwr̥̄konta*.[118]

- The suffix for 'hundreds'. -κόσιοι in Attic-Ionic and Lesbian (but not Arcado-Cypriot κάσιοι) is an innovation influenced by -κοντα, North Greek -κάτιοι the original form.[119]

- The ordinal 'first'. This is somewhat problematic; Waanders (1992) 378 considered that South Greek πρῶτος derived from 'an old adjectival stem with spatial meaning' with the addition of *-to-*, ie. **proH₁-to-* (instr. neuter of adjectival stem + adjectival suffix), North Greek πρᾶτος from a feminine **preH₂(e)H₁-to*, with subsequent selection by dialects. Sihler proposes original **prōwos*, influenced by **hupatos* to give **prōwotos* > *prōtos* in South Greek and **prowatos* > *prātos* in North Greek (influenced by *pro*); but there is no inscriptional evidence for a digamma in this word.

[117]Thompson (2008) 759-60.
[118]Thompson (2008) 760.
[119]Thompson (2008) 760.

- The ordinal 'seventh'. North Greek ἕβδεμος vs. South Greek ἕβδομος come from **septmo*- with an anaptyctic vowel - probably influenced by neighbouring **ogdowos* in South Greek.[120]

- The dative singular of the pronouns in North Greek has ἐμιν, τιν, ϝιν, but the ending οι is always found in enclitic forms and frequently in the 2nd/3rd sg. pronouns as well. This might be due to influence from the 3rd declension noun ending -*i*, or (more likely) be a survival of earlier locative sg. forms (Ved. *ásmin* etc.). The pronominal genitive sg. (ἐμ)έος etc. (vs. ἐμέο) has been remodelled on the basis of the nominal consonantal genitive ending.[121]

- The article forms τοί ταί (vs. οἱ αἱ) - are archaisms, οἱ αἱ being innovations based on the singular; but Cretan has οἱ αἱ, and both forms are found in Thessalian and Homer.[122]

- μες (vs. μεν) for the 1st pl. endings. Both endings were inherited (originally with a distinction between historic and primary endings) and levelled differently.[123]

[120]Thompson (2008) 761.
[121]Thompson (2008) 761.
[122]Thompson (2008) 761.
[123]Thompson (2008) 761, López Eire and Méndez Dosuna (1980) 17.

- Local adverbs in (π)ω for North Greek perhaps continue an instrumental or ablative, rather than the ablatival ending in (πο)θεν.[124]

- Locatival adverbs in North Greek show (π)ει (perhaps derived from a locative case) or (π)η (an instrumental), whereas South Greek (π)ου reflects a genitive.[125]

- Temporal adverbs. The (ὅ)κᾰ forms in 'North Greek' (vs. eg. AI (ὅ)τε, Myc. *o-te*) reflects a suffix -κα that was probably inherited by all dialects (cf. αὐτίκα). The Aeolic form, ὅτα, may be considered 'a blend' of the two.[126]

- Conditional particle. Attic-Ionic, Arcadian εἰ, Cypriot [e:], North Greek and Aeolic αἰ (both in Homer), Boeotian ἠ. Unless εἰ is locative and ἠ instrumental, the origin of this distinction is unclear;[127] note that Phrygian also has a conditional particle αἰ.

- Modal particle. North Greek κᾱ is presumably somehow related to Cypriot, Lesbian, Thessalian κε (Attic-Ionic ἄν may arise from mis-

[124]Thompson (2008) 761-2.
[125]Thompson (2008) 762.
[126]Thompson (2008) 762, cf. López Eire and Méndez Dosuna (1980) 17.
[127]Thompson (2008) 762. Parker (2008) 441n37 states that Attic-Ionic inherited all three variants, but this depends on seeing αἰ γάρ as inherited.

analysis of /*oukan*/ from /*ou*/ + /*kan*/). However, its formation is unclear.

- The Doric future in *-*se*-: This is a combination of morphemes attested in other dialects - the sigmatic future of verbs ending in a stop and the future in -*e*- of verbs ending in a liquid. There is some evidence for this combination in AI as well (ἐσσεῖται, πευσοῦμαι), although this may be an independent parallel development.[128]

- The aorist of dental stem verbs with present -ζω is -ξα: this is generalised by analogy from stems in a velar with present -ζω.[129]

- δήλομαι (vs. βούλομαι). This is from *g^w-*e/o-l-s* with expected e-grade in North Greek. The o-grade in βούλομαι is probably influenced by the perfect, and must have happened at a time when the labiovelar was preserved.[130]

- ὀδελός is in Arcadian as well and perhaps the original form, as against ὀβελός in Aeolic (and Attic-Ionic, presumably from Aeolic).[131]

[128]Thompson (2008) 762, cf. López Eire and Méndez Dosuna (1980) 20.
[129]Thompson (2008) 762, López Eire and Méndez Dosuna (1980) 17.
[130]Thompson (2008) 763.
[131]Thompson (2008) 763.

- Ἄρταμις (vs. Ἄρτεμις). This is a non-Greek name - the different vocalism may thus represent different renderings of a non-Greek vowel,[132] or progressive assimilation in the North Greek form.[133]

- λείω (vs. θέλω). This seems to be a matter of selection between inherited verbal roots,[134] although the etymology of λείω is unclear (see Beekes (2010) *s.v.*).

- ἰαρός (vs. Attic-Ionic, Arcado-Cypriot ἱερός, Lesb. ἶρος). Thompson (2008) 763 remarks that this is the conflation of a number of different lexemes meaning 'lively', 'holy' etc., and was possibly contaminated in W.Greek by forms of ἰατρός. It is true that several proposals have been made for the etymology, and it is in principle possible that multiple etyma were conflated to arrive at the attested form; but the strongest connections are with Skt. *iṣirá-*. García Ramón argues that only one pre-form can be assumed for Proto-Greek, **isró-*; the form ἶρος or ἰρός would then continue this, whilst ἱερός and ἰαρός have been remade with different adjectival suffixes.[135] Janko, on the other hand,

[132]Thompson (2008) 763.
[133]Janko (2018) 112.
[134]Thompson (2008) 763
[135]García Ramón (1992).

explains ἰαρός, as well as πρᾶτος and the form ἄρατρον (corresponding to ἄροτρον 'plough' in South Greek), by positing a sound change of $*h_1$ to a in North Greek 'between two consonants, one of which was r'.[136]

None of these need be second-millennium changes, and thus Thompson (2008) 763 concludes that 'I am tempted to suggest that these traditional groupings emerged in the post-Mycenaean period as the result of convergence'.[137] In this case, there would not be a distinction between North and South Greek groups in the BA. It must be admitted, however, that there is no particular reason to consider all of these first-millennium changes either; we simply cannot tell when a change like the remodelling of the pronouns took place. Moreover, these isoglosses do form a consistent whole which needs to be accounted for somehow: why do these changes appear in this particular group of dialects, if not as a result of descent from a shared ancestral proto-dialect? The North Greek dialects are all geographically contiguous, so it seems reasonable to suppose that many of these changes spread by diffusion; but if so why do these particular features become associated (ie. the area

[136]Janko (2018) 117-8.

[137]cf. López Eire and Méndez Dosuna (1980) 30: 'todas las innovaciones comunes a los distintos dialectos dorios o no son exclusivas de ellos o son relativamente recientes'.

with ἰαρός attested being the same in which we have δήλομαι, Ἄρταμις, etc.)? On the other hand, the case for an early distinction is perhaps exaggerated by Janko:[138] since we do not have the Doric forms attested in the BA evidence, and in many cases (ἱερός, Ἄρτεμις, ὅτε) it is unknown which is the innovation, we cannot rule out a post-BA development.

The question of whether there was a distinct South and North Greek in the BA is closely linked to the problem of the Dorian migration. If South Greek, the forerunner of Arcado-Cypriot and Attic-Ionic, was differentiated (via assibilation, the first palatalisation, etc.) from a putative North Greek, the forerunner of Doric and North-West Greek, at the time of the Linear B tablets, it follows paradoxically that the places where South Greek is attested in the BA (Pylos, Sparta, Mycenae, Knossos, Thebes) are all places where North Greek was spoken in the first millennium. One could argue that Mycenaean was just a scribal language that happens to reflect South Greek; perhaps its scribes were trained in Attica or Arcadia and exported from there to the major centres. But it seems unlikely that Attica or Arcadia would happen to be a scribal school, or the source of a prestige dialect. Hence

[138] Janko (2018) 112.

the mainstream view,[139] instead, that the North Greek speakers migrated to these regions between the fall of the palaces and the historically attested period. Presumably this would have to be a gradual process,[140] beginning with the Peloponnese and thence to Crete and the Dodecanese.

One case that might potentially show an ongoing process of language shift is the change $*e > i$ before nasals in some areas that are otherwise Doric speaking; for example, the form ἰς (< **ens*) attested at Metaponton, an Achaian colony. There are other possible examples from Crete and Rhodes; these could reflect a relatively recent spread of the 'Doric' forms to areas that would previously have been considered 'South Greek'.[141] But this evidence is rather weak, resting on so few, isolated forms in one lexical item and its derivatives. In the case of certain features, the evidence could easily be taken either way: Janko uses the presence of Ἄρτεμις on Crete as arguments for an Arcado-Cypriot substrate,[142] but one could equally take it as a sign that the form Ἄρταμις was simply the most recent of the Doric innovations that did not reach the whole 'Doric' area.

[139] eg. Hainsworth (1982) 858, Colvin (2010) 205-6, Janko (2018) 116.
[140] Méndez Dosuna (2007) 444.
[141] See Janko (2018) 114-5.
[142] Janko (2018) 114.

An alternative view is that assibilated forms in the Linear B tablets could reflect ongoing sound changes that had established themselves in the palatial communities but not yet become standard across the whole community, following Thompson's conclusion that assibilation was a Pan-Greek change that was later analogically levelled.[143] The collapse of the palaces, with ensuing concentration of the population, may have disrupted the ongoing sound changes, as a result of the palace elites losing power and perhaps also due to an influx of conservative speakers into central settlements from outlying smaller sites. In particular, in the Argolid the population of Tiryns seems to have increased considerably after the destruction of the palace. Then there is no need to posit large-scale migration to Crete and the Dodecanese; the change of assibilation simply failed to establish itself here, in contrast to much of the Aegean, where the spread of sound changes between LHIIIC and the Geometric period accounts for the rise of Attic-Ionic. This view has the advantage that it does not need to posit an unattested invasion. However, it is a problematic approach insofar as any distribution of a sound change

[143]This option is similar to that of Chadwick (1976), who suggested that the Dorians were the oppressed middle/lower class of the population, who revolted against their rulers. In general this view has not seen widespread acceptance; eg. Méndez Dosuna (2007) 445 for criticisms.

can be explained by that sound change being interrupted and then levelled differently in different regions.

4.3.3 Arcado-Cypriot and Pamphylian

The isoglosses that distinguish Arcado-Cypriot from the other dialects (apart from the matters of assibilation, palatalisation, vocalic *r*, and degemination of **ss* discussed above) are:

- The change of $e > i$ before a nasal. The change is regular in Arcadian and Cypriot[144] and attested at Axos and Eleutherna in West Crete and in Pamphylian (eg. διμο, ἰ, ἰς[145])

- A change of final $o > u$. For Arcadian and Cypriot this is found in the genitive sg. -αυ (famously attested early on in the *o-pe-le-ta-u* inscription from 11th century Palaipaphos) and the middle endings -τυ, -ντυ;[146] Pamphylian has mid. εβολασετυ, υ (< ὁ), gen. sg. Αρχεαυ, etc., and the process even extends to closed syllables, as Μανετυς (< **Manētos*).[147] Mycenaean has *a-pu-* (preverb), and Aeolic shares ἀπύ

[144]Dubois (1986) 17-22, cf. Egetmeyer (2010) 78 for Cypriot.
[145]See Brixhe (1976) 17-8; there are also possible examples at Metapontum and Rhodes.
[146]Dubois (1986) 26, Egetmeyer (2010) 59-62.
[147]See Brixhe (1976) 20-3.

with AC (the inherited form was presumably in *-o* given Skt. *ápa*); but it is more likely that **apu* was an inherited variant unconnected to this sound change.[148]

- Original labiovelars before a front vowel: In both Cypriot and Arcadian there is good evidence that labiovelars before a front vowel are treated differently. In Arcadian we find a specific grapheme ͷ, used to write ͷις and ειͷε (**ei-k*^{w}*e*): presumably this retains a palatalised form.[149] In Cypriot we find the *s*-series used for *si-se* (from **k*^{w}*is*), which on the strength of the Hesychian gloss σί βόλε· τί θέλεις. Κύπριοι reflects a sibilant outcome.[150] However, since the ultimate result in Arcadian is the same as in Doric, this seems to be a case of shared archaism (with a further change in Cypriot only) rather than a shared innovation.

- πός for πρός: Myc. has the adverb *po-si* 'present', which looks like it might represent an earlier form of πός (the final vowel being lost before a following vowel and this vowelless variant then generalised). **posi* in turn presumably derives from assibilation of **poti*.[151] πρός

[148]eg. García Ramón (2018) 37-8, cf. Chadwick (1988) 58.
[149]See Dubois (1988) 64-70; also in the new festival calendar, see Carbon and Clackson (2016) 18.
[150]See Egetmeyer (2010) 205-9.
[151]Contrast eg. Dubois (1986) 135, preferring an unrelated pre-form **pos*.

might similarly come from **proti*. **poti* is paralleled by Av. *paiti*, OP. *patiy* 'against', 'by'. **proti* can be compared with Skt. *práti* 'to', 'against' - except that if the vowel was originally **o* this would violate Brugmann's law, so originally there was probably an **e* vowel (cf. Pamphylian περτ'). Probably, then, we should think of **poti* and **preti* being inherited and **proti* resulting from conflation of the two forms.[152]

- κάς for καί. A connection with a root **kati* is suspected (cf. κασίγνητος, Hittite *katti*) but whilst κάς might be reached by assibilation and generalisation of a prevocal elided form, καί is difficult to explain, because **s* deriving from assibilation is not elided.[153] The word is not attested in Mycenaean, but perhaps this is due to an earlier difference in usage.[154] However, it may be possible to account for καί and κάς as pre-vocalic and pre-consonantal variants if we accept a variant of Kiparsky's Rule.[155]

- ὄνυ for demonstrative ὅδε (although in meaning ὄνυ corresponds to

[152]See Beekes (2010) *s.v.* πρός. Contrast van Beek (2022) 107-8, 139, 308-12 who assumes that all forms must come from **poti* and **prti*.
[153]Klingenschmitt (1975) proposed that the root was originally **ḱás-*, citing some compounds such as ἀνδρακάς 'man by man'; cf. Dubois (1986) 136. But this connection seems less compelling than with the Hittite form.
[154]See Willi (2003) for an account of the difficulties.
[155]See Willi (2012).

οὗτος: Dubois (1986) 125). Both are formed from the old demonstrative ὅ with the addition of a particle. ὄνυ is also attested on Crete.[156] The Pamphylian particle νι could in principle be related - see Brixhe (1976) 131-2 - although it is found only in the combination και νι.[157]

- ἀπό, ἐξ etc. take the dative rather than the genitive in ablatival function. This feature is also in Pamphylian.[158] Thompson has argued that this situation is an innovation that can be seen in Mycenaean as well, on the basis that the preposition *pa-ro* can have both locative and ablative uses with the dative there, and no ablatival genitives are attested. If so, this would point towards a Proto-Myceno-Arcado-Cypriot group at the time of the Linear B tablets.[159] However, it must be admitted that we have no instance of a case following *a-pu* or any form of ἐξ in Mycenaean for direct comparison.[160]

- -κρέτης for -κράτης in names. This is simply the use of the e-grade rather than the zero-grade form.

[156]Dubois (1986) 126n846
[157]The demonstrative ταδε is attested in Pamphylian - see Brixhe and Tekoğlu (2009) no. 276 lines 25, 31, although this does not rule out the possibility of ὄνυ, given the Arcadian data.
[158]Brixhe (1976) 126-7.
[159]Thompson (2000), (2013).
[160]Chadwick (1988) 59.

- Athematic infinitive in -εναι, also in Pamphylian ϙφιιεναι[161] (shared with Attic-Ionic). The choice of different formations for the infinitive in different dialects is not surprising and probably reflects selection between original variants (cf. Sihler (1995) 606-8). This particular ending is from *-*sen* of the thematic stems with the addition of αι from the middle inf. -σαι, -σθαι.[162]

- ὀν for ἀνά[163] (shared with Aeolic).

- μι inflection of contract verbs (shared with Aeolic). Here both athematic and thematic inflection was inherited in different subsets of the later Attic 'contracted verbs'; different dialects may then have generalised the thematic or athematic declension.[164]

- The modal particle ἄν (shared with Attic-Ionic) is found in Arcadian but apparently not in Cypriot.[165]

Chadwick's view was that the Arcado-Cypriot isoglosses do not support the existence of a Proto-Arcado-Cypriot dialect distinct from Mycenaean.[166]

[161]Brixhe (1976) 123-4.
[162]Sihler (1995) 609.
[163]Ruijgh (1970) 309 suggests that the original form was **ano*, changed by assimilation to ἀνά or **on(o)*.
[164]For an extensive presentation of the evidence, see Hock (1971).
[165]Cowgill (1966) 88.
[166]See Chadwick (1988) 60-1, who considers that the strongest evidence for common

In his 1956 article he maintained that Attic-Ionic and Arcado-Cypriot were simply undifferentiated South Greek at the time of the tablets, later differences being due to West Greek influences on Attic-Ionic. Other scholars have preferred a distinct Proto-Arcado Cypriot dialect, supposing that this was Mycenaean,[167] or (given that Mycenaean seems to have some unique features not continued in Arcadian or Cypriot) a closely related dialect.[168]

Arcadia was left as an isolated region from Cypriot, surrounded by North Greek speakers, which might lend support to the idea of migration into the rest of the Peloponnese by North Greek speakers: if South Greek was associated with the Mycenaean elite, why would it end up being spoken in Arcadia but not the Argolid? The answer would have to be that in Arcadia the palatial elite was able to maintain their control, or that the elite of the Argolid retreated there after the collapse; perhaps compare the mountainous refuge settlements like Karphi on Crete.[169] There is also some literary evidence that

development would be the pre-nasal change of $*e > i$, the change of final $*o > u$, and the assibilation of labio-velar stops before a front vowel.

[167]Risch (1979) 104. cf. Thompson (2010) 198-9. For a list of shared features see Colvin (2010) 208, although apart from *po-si*/πος and perhaps the use of cases after prepositions none of these look like plausible candidates for exclusive innovations.

[168]See Rau (2018) 385-7.

[169]See, for example, Panayotou (2007) 424-5 for the idea that some of the Mycenaeans sought refuge in the mountains of Arcadia, whilst others migrated to Cyprus.

the Cypriot settlements were founded directly from Arcadia;[170] otherwise the features shared by Arcado-Cypriot but not Mycenaean would have to be explained by the retention of post-linear B but pre-palatial-collapse tendencies ($*e > i$ before nasals, final $*o > u$) in Mycenaean language, which elsewhere failed to spread, due to their relative isolation from the rest of the Greek world.[171]

The position of Pamphylian, a Greek dialect spoken in the region of Pamphylia on the south-western coast of Asia Minor, is disputed, not least because it is so poorly attested. As we have seen, it shares a number of important isoglosses with Arcado-Cypriot. However, it also has features in common with Aeolic and North Greek:[172]

- Labiovelars before /*e*/ give labial results in the names Πελωραυ, Φηριας, Φεριατυς, Φιραραυ[173] and πετρακις (no. 276.34, from Aspendos, end of 4th/beginning of 3rd C BCE) as against πεδε (< πεντε, in Brixhe no.

[170]Pausanias 8.5.2 speaks of Arcadians founding Paphos: see García Ramón (2018) 79, n85. But at 8.5.4 Pausanias speaks of Orestes moving from Mycenae to Arcadia.

[171]cf. the view of Panayotou (2007) 424-5 that these were features of the 'lower classes' stigmatised in the official written variety; but ultimately we have little indication of their social affinities, cf. García Ramón (2018) 63-4.

[172]Indeed, Colvin (2010) 209 on this basis prefers not to connect Pamphylian with Arcado-Cypriot.

[173]Brixhe (1976) 92.

3 from Sillyon, 1st half of 4th century BCE), φιλάδελφοι, φιλάδελφαι (both from 2nd century BCE Aspendos). The labial result matches Thessalian and Lesbian.

- Dative pl. in οισι, αισι, εσσι. The οισι ending was inherited from PIE (the locative form), and Mycenaean *-o-i*, *-a-i* may reflect */oihi/*, */aihi/* as an ending. -εσσι is found in Aeolic, where it is perhaps to be attributed to an analogy θεοί:θεοῖσι = ἄνδρες:X ⇒ X = ἄνδρεσσι.[174]

- 3rd person pl. imperatives in -δυ, presumably < **nton*. There are two attestations of this ending at Rhodes and one at Phaselis, although it is not the usual Rhodian form; but Lesbian has precisely this -ντον ending.[175]

- Non-assibilation in verbal forms, eg. ατρεκαδι, εξαγοδι.[176]

- Use of οκα 'when' (eg. no. 276.18), the North Greek form.

- **hiaros* (giving hιιαροισι, hιιαρυ, etc.[177]) with the North Greek vocalism.

[174]eg. Brixhe (1976) 103.
[175]Brixhe (1976) 121-3. As 122n8 points out, this form could easily have been innovated in any dialect that loses the dual.
[176]Brixhe (1976) 76.
[177]See Brixhe (1976) 11-2

- φικατι[178] which corresponds to North Greek ϝίκατι.

- Outcomes in *Vr*, *Vl* of original syllabic **r*, **l*, perhaps to be linked to a similar feature in Cretan.[179] However, this can hardly be considered a North Greek feature.

Brixhe accounts for the different forms by supposing an original colonisation by 'Achéens' around 1200, followed by Dorian colonisation from Argos and Sparta in the 8th-7th centuries, and then Aeolian colonisation at Side, each of which accounts for the different aspects of Pamphylian Greek.[180] This is based on the ancient traditions: according to Herodotos 7.91, the Pamphylians were descendants 'of those who were scattered out of Troy with Amphilokhos and Kalkhas'. A statue base from Sillyon from Roman times mentions Mopsos, and statues of founders were also found at Perge, suggesting that this is a local tradition.[181] Strabo (14.4.2) claims that Aspendos was founded by Argos (Ἀργείων κτίσμα) and that Side was a colony of Kyme (Κυμαίων ἄποικος).[182] As ever, one cannot take these stories uncritically.

[178]Brixhe (1976) 141.
[179]Brixhe (1976) 61-3.
[180]Brixhe (1976) 148. Brixhe (1976) 148 is more sceptical about Aeolic influence, but Brixhe and Tekoğlu (2000) 52-3 accept it on the basis of πετρακις; García Ramón (2018) 69 argues that the -εσσι ending is convincing evidence for Aeolic influence.
[181]See Hereward (1958) 57-9, Mansel (1956) 106-11; the names at Perge include Kalkhas, Mopsos, Leonteus, Rixos, Makhaon, Minyas, and Labos.
[182]So also Arrian, *Anabasis* 1.26.4 - with a story that as soon as the colonists arrived

For example, it seems equally probable that the reported 'Argive' origin of Aspendos is due to the connection with Amphilokhos and Kalkhas, both Argives.

The strongest parallels for Pamphylian are with Arcado-Cypriot and North Greek. The North Greek features attested are some of the weakest isoglosses: the difficulties of assibilation have been discussed above; the -κα suffix of οκα is Pan-Greek; the origin of **hiaros* is not known; ϝίκατι is the archaism against South Greek. Their significance is therefore mainly in the combination of such features rather than their individual weight. If we accept the Dorian invasion, we will presumably think of it reaching Pamphylia; if not, these would be archaisms. The Arcado-Cypriot features may be more compelling, but we also have to take into account that Cyprus is relatively close to Pamphylia and that this could have played a role (rather than common inheritance).[183]

they miraculously produced a new non-Greek language.

[183]Colvin (2010) 209 doubts a link with Arcado-Cypriot on the basis of Pamphylian's North Greek features.

4.3.4 Attic-Ionic

Attic-Ionic is differentiated by the following isoglosses.

- Long *$\bar{a}$ becomes η. This is certainly an innovation, and one that may not much predate the historical period, as early Ionic inscriptions show an intermediate stage (where original $\bar{a}$ is denoted by a particular letter which is not the same as for seconday $\bar{a}$ or inherited $\bar{e}$ - eg. the Nikandre inscription from the mid 7th century).[184]

- Quantitative metathesis (eg. gen. of ναῦς 'ship', νηός > νεώς). This is an innovatory sound change, postdating the change of $\bar{a}$ to $\bar{e}$ (eg. λᾱός 'people' gives *ληός > λεώς).

- *Nu ephelkustikon.* This arises through processes of analogy, as explained in Buck (1928) 78.

- ἡμεῖς, ἡμέας > ἡμᾶς : the pronoun is reanalysed (on the basis of the genitive pl.) as a stem in ἡμέ-, to which the consonantal declension endings are added.

- ποῦ, ὅπου etc. show an original genitive ending.

[184]Chadwick (2007) 396. See Chadwick (1956) 42 for the argument that this occurred after the 9th century on the basis of the word Μῆδος.

- The 3pl. -σαν ending spreads to forms like ἔθεσαν, ἔδοσαν, etc. from the sigmatic aorist.

- The 3 sg. impf. of εἰμί is ἦν, originally a 3rd pl. form from *$\bar{e}sen$, replacing original ἦς < *eh_1est[185] found in other dialects.

- Conditionals introduced by εἰ (shared with Arcadian)

- Modal particle ἄν (see above)

- Athematic infinitive -ναι (shared with Arcado-Cypriot)

- The loss of /w/. A sound change that occurs in most dialects eventually, but is early in Attic-Ionic.

For many of these isoglosses - particularly the change of *$\bar{a}$ and quantitative metathesis - it is relatively clear that we are dealing with shared innovations that spread through contact across a contiguous geographical area (the southern part of the Aegean) over the course of the first half of the first millennium BCE. There is an additional link with geographically separated regions (Arcadia and Cyprus) in certain features (εἰ, ἄν, -ναι, as well as the assibilation and first palatalisation discussed above). On the

[185]Sihler (1995) 467, 551.

Dorian-migration view this is a result of refugees to Ionia and Attica from the formerly South Greek speaking areas in the Peloponnese; alternatively it could be due to relative stability in the Aegean area, away from the collapse of the palatial centres.

4.3.5 Aeolic

The isoglosses that mark out the Aeolic group are:

- Labial reflexes of the labiovelars before e: Thessalian and Lesbian πεμπε; Boeotian names in Πειλε-, Lesbian πήλοι; Thess. βελλειται, Boiot. βειλειτη; Boiot. οβελος, Thess. οβελλον; Boeot. Φετταλος, Thess. Πετθαλος; Thess. πεφειρακοντες, Lesb. φῆρα etc.; but all dialects have τε rather than *πε. τε seems a rather basic word to be borrowed from a dialect with dental reflexes, so perhaps we should think in terms of a conditioning environment that is not apparent from our available data. The real problem here, however, is whether the labial reflexes are an innovation of Proto-Aeolic or an archaism, which depends on the process by which the labiovelars became dentals/labials. In answering this question, Scarborough develops the account of Parker

as follows:[186] in other dialects the labiovelars (*k^w, *g^w, *k^{wh}) become labiopalatals before front vowels (except for *k^wi, which palatalises to *t^si and takes a different route). When the following vowel is *e, the palatal feature becomes a palatal glide (*k^je, *g^je, *$k^{jh}e$), and the consonant then develops to a dental. But when the following vowel is *i, the sequence *^ji is linguistically disfavoured, and so the labiopalatal reverts to a labiovelar, and develops into a labial.[187] In the Aeolic group, however, the development to labiopalatals and thus to dentals fails to occur. At first sight, one would view the palatalisation of the labiovelars as an innovation that spread across the Greek-speaking world by diffusion, suggesting that the Aeolic group merely fail to innovate in this stage, although they participate in the general labialisation of the remaining labiovelars. But Scarborough suggests that the Aeolic group could have had an early labialisation that occurred before the spread of labiovelar palatalisation, on which interpretation this feature would count as an innovation. However, Scarborough can only support this with the argument that, because Boeotian and Thessalian are located

[186]See Parker (2013), Scarborough (2023) 89-92.

[187]A recent article by van Beek (2020) has argued that *g^wi word-internally does palatalise, but the palatalisation process is inhibited by a preceding /*o*/ in Attic-Ionic.

in Central Greece, they are geographically speaking unlikely to retain an archaism. This reasoning seems somewhat unconvincing, and it is probably more parsimonious to assume a single labialisation.[188]

- Occasional lowering of /*i*/ > /*e*/ after /*r*/. See Scarborough (2023) 107-8 for the evidence, which is sufficiently variable that it could be due purely to independent innovation.

- Desyllabification of prevocalic **i*. This appears in a few personal names in Boiotia (Δαματρα for Δαματρια) but is sporadic and may be a later development.[189] A similar phenomenon is better attested in Lesbian (eg. περρ αυτων) and Thessalian (πολλιος < *πολιος, κυρρον < *κυριον etc.), but the underlying reason in each case may differ.[190]

- Thematic inflection of perfect participle. The inherited form was in **wos/us* and is found in Mycenaean; most other dialects change this to a dental stem in the masculine and neuter; but in Boeotian, Thessalian, and Lesbian the perfect participle is a thematic stem in -*ont*-, perhaps

[188]There is also a certain amount of evidence for a labial reflex in Cypriot forms such as *pe-i-se-i* (see Egetmeyer (2010) 211-2) and some forms in Pamphylian (see above). This would strengthen the idea that labial result can be considered an archaism; but the evidence currently available is not adequate to be certain.

[189]Scarborough (2023) 108-10

[190]Scarborough (2023) 134-6.

by analogy from the strong aorist. Such forms are found sporadically in other dialects, but are only regular in the Aeolic group.[191]

- Consonant stem dat. pl -εσσι, the normal form in Boeotian, Thessalian, and Lesbian.[192] This is also present in Phocian, East Locrian, Corinthian colonies, and in isolated examples in other dialects.

- ἴα 'one' (for μία). This appears to be a generalisation of the inherited oblique stem in the Aeolic group, whereas other dialects generalise the nominative/accusative stem.[193] The Aeolic group has thus selected a different inherited alternative compared to the other Greek dialects.

- Patronymic adjectives. These appear in all dialects of the Aeolic group, but with different realisations and tendencies in the different dialects, and may be a shared archaism.[194]

The unity of Aeolic was denied by Parker (2008).[195] However, Parker's methodology was to dismiss all evidence for Aeolic subgrouping that was not constituted by shared innovation, or that was potentially paralleled in a

[191]García-Ramón (1975) 63-4, Parker (2008) 447-8, Scarborough (2023) 117-20.
[192]García-Ramón (1975) 83-4, Parker (2008) 447, Scarborough (2023) 110-7.
[193]Parker (2008) 448-50, Scarborough (2016) 122-6.
[194]García-Ramón (1975) 49, (2018) 68, Scarborough (2023) 127-9.
[195]Janko (2018) 122, n83 does not go so far, but holds that Boeotian is not part of the Aeolic group; cf. Pantelidis (2018) 172. The argument that Boeotian is different because it undergoes the first compensatory lengthening, however, is not convincing (cf. below).

non-Aeolic dialect. As Scarborough has shown,[196] even shared selections of inherited variants can have cumulative force, and certainly features such as the -εσσι datives cannot be discounted on the basis that they occur in a few other dialects. Once one allows this, the evidence for the grouping is not much different from that of Arcado-Cypriot or Attic-Ionic. The real question is not so much the cohesiveness of the group, but rather what date these shared features developed, and whether they require us to suppose an original Aeolic tribe in, say, Thessaly that then spread the dialect by migrating to the Aeolis and Boiotia (rather than convergence caused by strong connections between Thessaly, Boeotia, and the Aeolis).[197] None of the innovations here - the most crucial of which are the perfect participle in -*ont*- and the dative pl. ending in -εσσι - need be particularly early, although there is nothing specially to rule out a development shortly after the time of the Linear B tablets either.[198]

4.3.6 Isoglosses that do not match these divisions

There are also some major innovations that are not associated with these categories.

[196]Scarborough(2023) esp. 44-47.

[197]The former is the predominant view: eg. García-Ramón (1975), Bartoněk (1979) 117. Note the prosperity in Thessaly of LHIIIC Middle, according to Mountjoy (1999) 49.

[198]García-Ramón (1975) 103 argues for an origin just after the end of the Bronze Age.

- The first compensatory lengthening. This occurs with intervocalic **sr*, **sl*, **sm*, **sn*, **ny/ry*,[199] **ln*, and original **ns*. In Attic-Ionic and most other dialects, this results in lengthening of the preceding vowel (eg. Ionic χειλιοι < **kheslioi*, εἰμί < **esmi*, σελήνη < **selasnā*, κτείνω < **ktenyō*, ἀείρω < **aeryō*, βουλή < **bolnā*, ἔκρῑνα < **ekrinsa*). In Thessalian and Lesbian, however, the resonant is doubled (eg. χέλλιοι, ἔμμι, σελάννᾱ, κτέννω, ἀέρρω, βόλλᾱ, ἔκριννα).[200] It is most likely that the first stage in the sound change was the assimilation of the two segments to the resonant, and degemination with lengthening of the preceding vowel is a further change.[201] In Arcadian, Kyprian, Boeotian, and some (the so-called 'severior') Doric dialects (Elean, Laconian, Heraclean, Cretan, and to some extent Argolic, Rhodian, Theran, and Coan), if the lengthened vowel is *e*, *o* it merges with inherited *ē*, *ō*, whereas in Attic-Ionic and some other dialects (Doric of the 'mitior' type, eg. Corinthian) this forms new (more closed) *e*, *o* which eventually merge with original diphthongs (*ei*, *ou*). The whole process must have preceded the fronting of **ā*, hence Attic-Ionic σελήνη from

[199] When preceded by **e*, **i*, and **u*.
[200] Also in a few forms from Arcadia: see Bartoněk (1979) 120-1.
[201] See Scarborough's discussion, (2023) 131-4. As Scarborough points out (133n10) Mycenaean probably retains a geminate phase.

$*selānā < *selannā < *selasnā$.

- The second compensatory lengthening. This occurs with $*ns$ clusters that were word final[202] or developed via sound change and thus did not undergo the first compensatory lengthening. In some dialects this $*ns$ is retained (Cretan τονς, τανς, πανσα etc.) but in Attic-Ionic and some other dialects there was a further lengthening of the preceding vowel (τούς, πᾶσα). In Lesbian this vowel was not lengthened, but diphthongised (τοίς, παῖσα) - which is also found word-finally in Elean as an independent development.

- Contraction of vowels. This shows some variation between dialects - such as Attic-Ionic $*a + e > ā$ (eg. νῑκᾶν) vs. North Greek $ē$ (eg. Cretan νῑκην) - but is likely to be a late change, as it occurs after the fronting of $*ā$ in Attic-Ionic and is not found in Mycenaean. For a more detailed account see Buck (1928) 33-40.

- The result of the second palatalisation. Most dialects have /*ss*/, but Attic, some Euboian dialects, and Boeotian have /*tt*/ - as does Cretan,

[202] In final position -*Vns* became -*Vs* before a consonant, and some dialects generalise this variant instead, resulting in short accusative plurals in *a*- or *o*-stems - the situation in Arcadian (potentially also Cypriot, although the script is uninformative), Theran, Coan (partly), and some other Doric dialects: Buck (1928) 63.

although in the earliest inscriptions it probably retains the affricate (οζος).

4.3.7 Comparison with the Archaeological Evidence

We have seen thus far that, by the time of the palatial collapse, a dialectal differentiation between 'North' and 'South' Greek is probable, although issues arise when one tries to identify where exactly 'North Greek' speakers were at this time, and how they managed to replace 'South Greek' all across the former palace-ruled areas. Further subdivision is less clear, but there are some distinctive tendencies connecting Arcadian and Cypriot that cannot be dismissed as common archaisms (change of final $*o > *u$, $e > i$ before a nasal); Attic-Ionic commonalities are mostly relatively recent innovations; Aeolic shares some retained archaisms or choices of forms and the innovated thematic inflection of the perfect participle, which shows common development even though it is hard to pin down how far back this commonality goes. At least some of this may go back to tendencies already present at the end of the Bronze Age, although it seems unlikely that there was strong differentiation of dialects into Ruijgh's four groups.

It may be useful to compare the linguistic data with the archaeological evidence for trade patterns (in the form of pottery distribution) from the time of the palaces through to the Geometric period, as outlined in the preceding chapter. For the palatial period, the palaces are spread across the Greek mainland, the Peloponnese, and Crete. The relative uniformity of material culture between these sites matches the relative uniformity in the language of the Linear B tablets (at Pylos, Mycenae, Sparta, Knossos and Thebes). Moreover, there is little archaeological evidence to support a large scale invasion of different regions in Greece by 'Mycenaeans' from one particular location, rather than the growth of local elites with strong connections between different sites. This suggests that we should not see this uniformity as purely the imposition of a standard language by the elite of one particular region.[203]

As we move to the LHIIIC, there is increasing regionalism; however, it does not occur as we might expect. In LHIIIC Early there are several divisions that might be consistent with the linguistic evidence, such as the north-west Peloponnese grouping that encompasses Elis and Achaea (both

[203]Many have noted the uniformity of Mycenaean: cf. Morpurgo Davies (1985) 84-5, Christidis (2007) 383, Chadwick (2007) 401, Brixhe (2007) 496.

Doric-speaking in historical times). However, there are also groupings that seem less consistent with the linguistic distribution, such as the East Aegean Koine, which encompasses both Kos and Miletos. There is no sign of anything that might correspond to the Dorian invasion; at any rate, given the continued prosperity at Tiryns at this time, it is rather hard to imagine that it had just been invaded by speakers of Doric. In LHIIIC Middle, Desborough's Aegean koine around east Attic and the south Aegean would presumably reflect the origins of an Attic-Ionic group. However (besides the fact that it includes the later Doric-speaking Dodecanese) some of the most distinctive elements (such as the Octopus Style stirrup jars) are also produced in the Argolid, Laconia, and even Arcadia, and it may turn out to include more of the Peloponnese. LHIIIC Late may be more promising: there are two clear regional groupings, the West Mainland koine and the East Mainland-Aegean koine, and the former does in fact incorporate many Doric-speaking areas (Aetolia, Achaea, Elis) and the latter includes Attica, Euboia and much of the Aegean. On the other hand, note that the Argolid is firmly in the East Mainland-Aegean group rather than with the West Mainland areas.

When we turn to the Protogeometric period, there seems to be a clearer

break with the Peloponnese. An Attic group encompasses Attica and a select group of islands in the Aegean (though including Thera). Most prominent is the so-called Euboian koine, encompassing a range of places connected by the Aegean: several islands in the Northern Cyclades, Euboia, Boiotia and East Lokris, Thessaly, and areas in the northern Aegean including Lesbos. This effectively includes the areas in the Aeolic group; however, it is difficult to see it as the foundational area for Aeolic, because it also includes Lokris (North-West Greek in later times) and Ionic-speaking Euboea.[204] More promising could be the area of 'Grey Ware' associated with the Aeolis (but including Khios);[205] Kos and Rhodes show a distinct group in this period. The ensuing Geometric period does not present a substantially different picture, although many of the larger regions of the Proto-Geometric period split up into further regional divisions towards Middle or Late Geometric (eg. the 'Thessalo-Cycladic' group that follows the Euboean koine).

[204]This assumes, of course, that a region which is linked by trade will grow more homogenous. Another approach would be to say that the confrontation of different groups provides a motivation for increased dialect differentiation on the basis of identity, cf. Hall (1997) 156-7, 179-80 for the Argolid. This may well be the case, and explain some of these difficulties; but it is not clear, on this view, how one could proceed on anything other than an *ad hoc* basis when dealing with the prehistoric period.

[205]For arguments against, see Rose (2008) 405.

In short, the archaeological evidence for patterns in pottery styles is not easy to reconcile with the linguistic evidence for dialect; associations like the Aegean koine may well have something to do with the Attic-Ionic group, but there is no precise correspondence, and important groups like the Euboean koine seem to have little linguistic correlate. Faced with such difficulties, we might simply deny that the archaeological evidence and/or the linguistic evidence corresponds to cultural or ethnic affiliation. Different pottery types or dialect varieties may be markers of identity, but need not be, and trade between different communities does not necessarily imply high levels of linguistic contact. It could be the case that the linguistic evidence really does reflect patterns of migration and invasion which just happen to be completely invisible to the material record; conversely, it is possible that the material evidence reflects the significant cultural divisions, and the dialect divisions arise purely through the diffusion of innovations across cultural boundaries throughout the EIA. However, it must be admitted that archaeologists usually like to think of their patterns as somehow reflective of cultural groupings, and so do linguists; the disagreement is thus a problem.

4.3.8 Conclusions

There is no precise correspondence between the patterns of dialect and of archaeology, but the spread of sound change gives a similar impression to the spread of material culture: the Greek world from the LBA to the archaic period was not split into completely isolated regions but was still an area across which innovations and information could spread. But assessing the historical significance of the dialect groups is difficult because many of their defining isoglosses are difficult to situate chronologically, either because they are inherently difficult to date (eg. when is ὅκα or ὅτε generalised?) or because their origin is obscure (eg. why does εἴκοσι < **ewikati* have an initial **e*?). Equally, the changes that probably did start before the time of the Linear B tablets are problematic to some degree. We are therefore left with several key questions: was there a migration of North Greek speakers into the Peloponnese, Crete, Rhodes etc., or is this a case of some innovative linguistic changes associated with the palatial elite which was mostly reversed upon the collapse of the palace system? Is the Aeolic group due to convergence or migration from Thessaly? Are Arcadian and Cypriot fragments of an interrupted dialect continuum, or the result of direct migration from Arcadia to Cyprus?

It might be argued that the model of migration assumed here - in which two geographically separated dialects which share features are assumed to originate in a single dialect which already had those features - is too simplistic. Rather than a single movement of people resulting in a clean split with minimal further contact, it may be the case that contact continued on the basis of familial relationships or guest-friendships. Note, for example, the case of *Od.* 19.410-66, where Odysseus travels back to his maternal grandfather's home in Thessaly. Another interesting case is Hesiod's account of his father's migration to Boeotia from Kyme in the Aeolis (*Erga* 633-40). There is no detail on why his father chose this particular destination; but it is striking that he moved from one Aeolic area to another. Of course, the latter example may or may not be fictional and the former certainly is, but presumably it reflects the sort of scenario that was recognisable to audiences at that time. Indeed, the reason memories of such migrations were preserved could well be due to continuing connections between two places; compare the passage of Pausanias cited above (8.5.3), according to which a descendant of the founder named Laodike sends back an offering to Tegea that reinforces her connection with her ancestor's place of origin. However, if one permits

a more nuanced theory and a larger number of possible mechanisms, the explanation of the data becomes more and more *ad hoc* (due to the added possibilities). This means that one can accommodate the archaeological evidence more readily, but it also makes the model more arbitrary; it is not really a substitute for more detailed linguistic data.

New inscriptional evidence - for example, more Linear B tablets from Thessaly or different sites - or the clarification of key isoglosses like εἴκοσι - might perhaps eventually shed light on some of these issues. For the moment, however, it is important to take this uncertainty into account when considering the language of epos, particularly in how it affects the existence and identifiability of 'Aeolic' and 'Ionic' (or indeed Arcado-Cypriot or Doric) elements in the epic tradition. The following section will deal with the language of early hexameter itself and its possible dialect affiliations.

4.4 The Language of Epos

We must now consider how the language of early epos relates to the dialect situation. This subsection starts with an overview of the main features of

the language of hexameter, and the primary controversy that arises (Aeolic phase vs. borrowing), which has important consequences for our view of local traditions. After that I discuss linguistic variation within the corpus that might provide evidence for local traditions of hexameter.

4.4.1 The main features of the language of early hexameter

Ionic features[206]

- η for inherited *$\bar{a}$ is found regularly. eg. οὐλομένην (*Il.* 1.2), Τροίης (*Od.* 1.2), κρήνην (*Th.* 3), ἕκητι (*Erga* 4).

- Quantitative metathesis is found in some cases. eg. Πηληϊάδεω (*Il.* 1.1), ἡμέων (*Od.* 1.33), ἀπασέων (*Th.* 79), νεικέων (*Erga* 30).

- ν *ephelkystikon*. eg. κοίλῃσιν (*Il.* 1.26), ἴδεν (*Od.* 1.3), ἔχουσιν (*Th.* 2), βουλῇσιν (*Erga* 16).

- Athematic infinitives in **-ναι.** eg. εἶναι (*Il.* 1.91, *Od.* 1.15, *Th.* 401, *Erga* 365).

[206]This and the following list is based on Horrocks (1997) 212-3 with some additions. For reasons of space, these lists are not intended to be entirely comprehensive, but I do cover most of the main features.

- Extension of 3 pl. aorist indicatives in -σαν. eg. δόσαν (*Il.* 1.162), ἔσαν (*Od.* 1.12), ἵσαν (*Th.* 28), ἔθεσαν (*Erga* 74).

- Modal particle ἄν. (eg. *Il.* 1.143, *Od.* 1.65, *Th.* 392, *Erga* 181).

- The conditional particle ἤν. (eg. *Il.* 1.90, *Od.* 11.159, *Erga* 401).[207]

- The pronouns ἡμεῖς, ὑμεῖς etc. (eg. *Il.* 2.75, *Od.* 1.37, *Th.* 649, *Erga* 248).

- Agent nouns in -της. eg. ἀγορητής (*Il.* 1.248), αἰχμητής (*Od.* 2.19), ἀστεροπητής (*Th.* 390), ὑψιβρεμέτης *Erga* 8).

- Compensatory lengthening of a vowel before *-*Rw*-, where *R* is a resonant. eg. ξεῖνος (*Il.* 4.377), οὔλῳ (*Od.* 24.118), καλούς (*Th.* 8), μοῦνον (*Erga* 11).[208] Forms with a lengthened vowel are found in East and Central Ionic; the shorter forms (where **w* is lost without lengthening) are found in West Ionic, Attic, and Lesbian among others,[209] and are much rarer but still present in the language of hexameter, eg.

[207] No instances in the *Theogony*.

[208] Miller argued that *-*Rw*- sequences were tautosyllabic in Aeolic and thus a continuous Ionic tradition was necessary to explain the lengthened forms; for arguments against see Horrocks (1987) 275-9.

[209] Chantraine (1942-53) i.161n1 considers that the shorter forms are due to variation in syllabification within Ionic, rather than dialectal influence.

ἕνεκα (*Il.* 1.110), ξενίη (*Od.* 14.158), κἄλόν (*Th.* 585), ἐνάτη (*Erga* 772).[210]

- Forms with a single /*s*/ from the first palatalisation. eg. τοσόνδε (*Il.* 2.120), τόσον (*Od.* 1.62), ὅσοι (*Th.* 370), ὅσον (*Erga* 41). The forms with /*ss*/ are also found. The degemination of /*ss*/ is shared with Arcadian, but not Doric, so if the geminate forms are archaisms, they go back to before the isolation of Arcadian. Unfortunately there is little evidence on whether or not Lesbian Aeolic underwent the degemination of /*ss*/, although both forms are found in poetic texts;[211] if not, this could be an Aeolism.

Aeolic features

- Genitive sg. of masculine a-stems in -ᾱο and of o-stems in -οιο. eg. ἑκατηβελέταο (*Il.* 1.75), Ἀτρεΐδαο (*Od.* 1.35), βαθυρρείταο (*Th.* 265), Ἀίδαο (*Erga* 153), Πριάμοιο (*Il.* 1.19), Ἠελίοιο (*Od.* 1.8), Περμησσοῖο (*Th.* 5), μεγάλοιο (*Erga* 4). In no cases are these ever elided to -ᾱ' or -οι' in the MSS before a vowel.[212]

[210]For examples in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* see Chantraine (1942-53) i.161-4. cf. West (1966) 82.
[211]Bowie (1981) 120-2.
[212]cf. Ruijgh (1995) 54.

- Labial reflexes of labiovelars before front vowels in certain instances. eg. πέλωρον/πέλωρ/πελώριος (eg. *Il.* 2.321, *Od.* 9.257, *Th.* 295), πίσυρες (eg. *Il.* 15.680, *Od.* 5.70),[213] βέρεθρον (*Il.* 8.14, *Od.* 12.94), πέλομαι (eg. *Il.* 1.284, *Od.* 1.393, *Th.* 425, *Erga* 30).[214] However, as discussed above, in this case the labial reflex may be an archaism.

- Thematic infinitives in -έμεν. eg. χολωσέμεν (*Il.* 1.78), ἐριδαινέμεν (*Od.* 1.79), ἐξέμεν (*Th.* 394), φερέμεν (*Erga* 215).

- Athematic infinitives in -μεν (which are found in Thessalian and Boeotian). eg. ἴμεν (*Il.* 1.170, *Od.* 1.441), συνιέμεν (*Th.* 831), θέμεν (*Erga* 61).

- Athematic infinitives in -μεναι (which are found in Lesbian). eg. δόμεναι (*Il.* 1.98), ἔμμεναι (*Od.* 1.33), μιγήμεναι (*Th.* 306), ἔμμεναι (*Erga* 272).[215] There are also some thematic infinitives of this kind, eg. φευγέμεναι (*Il.* 10.359), which are likely to be an analogical creation within the epic language.

[213] πίσυρες is not found in the Hesiodic poems; τέσσαρες is the usual form.

[214] The form Φῆρες is another example, *Il.* 1.268, 2.743; see Miller (2014) 315, Beekes (2010) *s.v.* θήρ. Szemerényi (1966) 34-5 raises the possibility that the resemblance to θῆρες might be coincidental, but goes on to suggest that it might be due to 'the story of the Φῆρες, first sung by local bards in Thessaly' being 'received into the main stream of epic poetry' with the local form.

[215] For the metrical utility of such forms, see Ruijgh (1995) 55.

- Perfect participles in -ων, -οντος. eg. κεκλήγοντες (*Il.* 12.125, *Od.* 14.30).[216]

- Analogical double /*ss*/ in aorists from stems ending in short vowels. eg. ἐκέδασσε (*Il.* 5.88), ἱλάσσομ' (*Od.* 3.419), ἐκάλεσσε (*Th.* 391), ἐγέλασσε (*Erga* 59).

- Dative plurals in -εσσι. eg. κύνεσσιν (*Il.* 1.4), Κυκλώπεσσι (*Od.* 1.71), στήθεσσι (*Th.* 122), χείρεσσι (*Erga* 94). These include hyper-Aeolisms in -έεσσι to s-stems, eg. ἐπέεσσιν (*Il.* 1.223), λεχέεσσι (*Od.* 1.366), βελέεσσι (*Th.* 716), νεφέεσσι (*Erga* 204).[217]

- Inherited *$\bar{a}$ is preserved in some words, such as θεά (eg. *Il.* 1.1, *Od.* 1.10, *Th.* 380, *Erga* 72), λᾱός (eg. *Il.* 1.10, *Od.* 2.13, *Th.* 84, *Erga* 222), Ποσειδᾱων (eg. *Il.* 1.400, *Od.* 1.20, *Th.* 15, *Erga* 667),[218] ὀπάων (*Iliad* only, eg. 7.165), perhaps with some examples of inconsistent vocalism: πολυπάμονος (*Il.* 4.433) vs. *Od.* 24.305 Πολυπημονίδαο, μάν (22x *Il.* 2x *Od.*) vs. μήν (7x *Il.* 2x *Od.*),[219]

[216]There do not seem to be any examples in the *Theogony* or the *Erga*

[217]Horrocks (1997) 205 suggests that these were originally introduced by Aeolic bards in order to avoid hiatus after the loss of *w in sequences such as *ἀταρτηροῖσι ϝέπεσσι → ἀταρτηροῖς ἐπέεσσιν (*Il.* 1.223), whereas Ionic bards could have substituted -ν *ephelkystikon*. Chantraine (1942-53) i.206, however, argues that νέεσσιν must be an Ionic creation.

[218]But note *Th.* 732 Ποσειδέων.

[219]Perhaps conditioned: Chantraine (1942-53) i.15-6.

τετράορα (*Od.* 13.81) vs. μετήορος/παρήορος.[220]

- The pronouns ἄμμες, ἄμμε, ἄμμι(ν), ὔμμες, ὔμμε, ὔμμι(ν).[221] These are Aeolic forms that are metrically useful (for example, ἄμμες scanning as - u before a vowel).

- Tmesis may have survived into Proto-Aeolic, in which case it would be an Aeolic feature. However, apocopation of prepositions is common in Aeolic and yet tmesis forms are usually not apocopated; moreover, tmesis in Homer often involves types which are not found in Aeolic poetry, suggesting that this is an archaism.[222]

- Some words that undergo the first compensatory lengthening have the Aeolic geminate resonant rather than a lengthened vowel. eg. ἐρεβεννή (*Il.* 5.659, *Th.* 213), ἔννεπε (*Od.* 1.1), ἐννέπετε (*Erga* 2).[223]

- Some forms show $*\mathring{r} >$ -ρο- rather than Ionic -ρα-, eg. βροτός, ἄμβροτος. As Ruijgh points out, an interesting case is ἤμβροτον, with the -ρο- outcome of the syllabic resonant but Ionic $*\bar{\alpha} > \eta$ in the augment

[220]See Chantraine (1942-53) i.17-22; cf. τιμάοχος *HHAphr.* 31 (which Faulkner (2008) 44-5 takes as an Aeolism).
[221]See Chantraine (1942-53) i.268-71. These do not appear in the *Theogony* or *Erga*, although perhaps this is due to the smaller corpus size (cf. ὑμεῖς 2x *Th.* 1x *Erga*).
[222]Horrocks (1997) 201-2, cf. Haug (2011) 100.
[223]Ruijgh (1995) 52 suggests that this is because they had no equivalent in contemporary Ionic.

(found alongside ἄμαρτον, which has an *a*-vocalism but the absence of the augment).[224]

- Certain words have an unexpected recessive accent which may indicate Lesbian dialect: ἄμμες, ἄμμι(ν) etc., and also some forms such as υἷος, υἷι, λᾶος (genitive of the word for 'stone'); Ruijgh argues that this is because they have no metrically equivalent version in Ionic.[225] Other examples include αἰγίοχος, ἱππόδαμος, ἄμυδις, but not including a number of words for which there is reason to think that they might be Aeolic, eg. ἐρεβεννός, βροτός, ἀμός, θεά, λαός.[226]

- The Aeolic form of the feminine of εἷς, ἴα is found in the *Iliad* (ἴα, 4.437, 13.354, 21.569; ἰῆς, 16.173, 24.496; ἰῇ, 9.319, 11.174, 18.251, 22.477; ἰῷ, 6.422) and *Odyssey* (ἴαν, 14.435). The Aeolic stem probably arises from the generalisation of what was originally the oblique feminine stem, **sya-*.[227] The forms ἰῆς, ἰῇ - which show Ionic vocalism and accent - may thus be archaisms from within Ionic, rather than

[224]Ruijgh (1995) 51, n179. The absence of the augment is not evidence that this form in particular is old. However, see van Beek (2022) 292 for the argument that **ro* developed from **r̥* specifically in epic language.

[225]Ruijgh (1995) 53.

[226]See Chantraine (1942-53) i.190-1. As Chantraine points out, in many of these cases analogical influence might apply, eg. of ἐμός on ἀμός.

[227]Parker (2008) 448-50; Scarborough (2016) 123-5; this would be in opposition to the nominative/accusative **smia-*.

ionicised versions of the Aeolic form. ἰῷ has been considered an analogical form,[228] but it is paralleled by a pronominal form ἰῷ found at Gortyn and by Messenian ἰόν;[229] these forms themselves are probably best taken as parallel extensions of the oblique feminine stem, which supports the view that ἰῆς, ἰῇ are archaisms rather than Aeolic borrowings.

- Apocope of prepositions, eg. πάρ (*Il.* 2.355, *Od.* 1.132, *Th.* 64, *Erga* 87), ἄν, κάτ, as well as the isolated ὑββάλλειν (*Il.* 19.80), ἀππέμψει (*Od.* 15.83).[230] ἄν and πάρ are rare in Ionic but found in most other dialects; κάτ in most of West Greek, Aeolic, and Arcado-Cypriot.[231] ἀπ, ὑπ are rarer; along with ἐπ, they are found in Thessalian, and ἐπ is found in Boeotian before labials only,[232] ἀπ once in Lesbian.[233]

Other features

- Metrical lengthenings.[234] Some 'metrical lengthening' represents an analogical extension of the doublets ξένος/ξεῖνος with optional length-

[228]eg. Scarborough (2023) 123n243.
[229]Chantraine (1942-53) i.259, for the Messenian inscription see Bechtel (1921-3) 2.427-8.
[230]See Chantraine (1942-53) i.87-8.
[231]Buck (1928) 74-5.
[232]Bechtel (1921-3) 1.258.
[233]Bechtel (1921-3) 1.47 - ἀπ πατέρων from Alkaios fr. 371.
[234]See West (2018a), Horrocks (1997) 209-211.

ening of the vowel before an original *-*Rw*- cluster, or ἔλαβε/ἔλλαβε from original *-*sR*-,[235] to lengthening before resonants with no etymological justification, eg. ἀνέρες. However, metrical lengthening can also occur in words that would otherwise be impossible to use in hexameter due to their metrical shape (eg. ἀθάνατος). Sometimes the MSS have a lengthened vowel (ἠγάθεος < *ἀγάθεος), but sometimes the following consonant is written doubled (ἔλλαβε).[236]

- Genitive endings in -oo. These are never found in the MSS, but are required by the metre in certain places, eg. ἀδελφειοῦ κταμένοιο (u - - - u u - -, *Il.* 5.21) with unexpected lengthening of ἀδελφεοῦ, explained by original *ἀδελφεόο κταμένοιο.

- προτί (eg. *Il.* 7.429, *Od.* 4.9, not in the Hesiodic poems), ποτί (eg. *Il.* 1.245, *Od.* 2.80, not in *Th.*, *Erga* 552), πρός (eg. *Il.* 1.160, *Od.* 1.127, *Th.* 24, *Erga* 197). προτί and ποτί are rarer than πρός, but Janko has shown that for many cases of πρός, ποτί would be more regular from the point of view of the metre.[237] Both προτί and ποτί

[235]Also initially, eg. (ν)νιφόεντι < **sni*-.
[236]Occasionally neither, eg. ζεφυρίη *Od.* 7.119.
[237]Janko (1979). For a different view see van Beek (2022) 308-12.

have IE parallels[238] and so the alternation is likely to be old; πρός is the form attested in Attic-Ionic and Lesbian, whereas ποτί appears in West Greek, Thessalian and Boeotian. If this is an areal feature spread from West Greek[239] it would be a sign of recent (ie. post-assibilation) influence on the tradition from Thessaly or Boiotia; alternatively it could be an archaism in Aeolic (replaced by πρός in Lesbian from Ionic), but if it had been in Lesbian continuously we would expect assibilation to ποσί (cf. Arcado-Cypriot πός).

- There are numerous cases of shared vocabulary items with Arcado-Cypriot and/or Mycenaean. eg. ἄναξ, δέπας, ἔγχος, τεύχω (cf. Myc. *wa-na-ka, di-pa, e-ke-si, te-tu-ko-wo-a*).[240] However, in many cases it is possible that these are archaisms that happen to be preserved in early hexameter and Arcado-Cypriot rather than necessarily implying a connection between the two. A similar case is the retention of the πτ- in πτόλις, πτόλεμος, and its derivatives, which is attested in Arcadian, Cypriot and Mycenaean but also in Thessalian and Cretan; it has been explained as a Proto-Arcado-Cypriot feature but may simply be an

[238] Buck (1928) 100.
[239] A possibility raised by Scarborough (2023) 202.
[240] For a fuller list, see Ruijgh (1957) 89-97, 111-167, Horrocks (1997) 197.

archaism.[241]

- The particle αὐτάρ is attested in Cypriot[242] and is well established in the formulaic systems of hexameter poetry.[243] The same is true of ἰδέ, perhaps of νυ.[244]

- Epic language shows alternative forms with the athematic conjugation of contract verbs: eg. ὀρῆτο (*Il.* 1.56, 286), ὄρηαι (*Od.* 14.343), αἴνημι (*Erga* 683), δείκνυ (*Erga* 526), infinitives such as καλήμεναι (*Il.* 10.125), ἀρήμεναι (*Od.* 22.322), ἀρώμεναι (*Erga* 22), φορῆναι (3x *Il.*, *Od.* 17.224), and dual forms such as ἀπειλήτην (*Od.* 11.313), συναντήτην (*Od.* 16.333), φοιτήτην (*Il.* 12.266).[245] The athematic inflection is original for certain verbs that (in later Attic-Ionic) belong to the contracted class, but not all of them.[246] It is attested in Thessalian, Arcado-Cypriot, Mycenaean, and sporadically in some of the West Greek dialects.[247] It is thus probable that we have a case of ar-

[241]See Ruijgh (1957) 75-81, explaining the Cretan evidence as due to substrate influence.
[242]See Egetmeyer (2010) 452.
[243]Ruijgh (1957) 29-55.
[244]Ruijgh (1957) 55-67. The evidence for νυ is less clear outside epos, and may well be simply an archaism shared by all dialects.
[245]See Chantraine (1942-53) i.305-7. The infinitives in -μεναι are most common.
[246]So eg. Hock (1971) 670-97, Blümel (1982) 167-72, Ruijgh (1986) 148, without agreement on the precise details; cf. Tucker (1990) 73n83, Scarborough (2023) 136-42.
[247]See the references in Scarborough (2023) 136n23.

chaism, preserved in the Homeric language. An interesting feature of the duals is that those from a-contract verbs show an Ionic vocalism (συναντήτην, φοιτήτην rather than *συναντάτην, φοιτάτην)[248] - which suggests that they are indeed an inherited feature rather than a later borrowing from Aeolic or (Proto-)Arcado-Cypriot.[249]

- Perfect participles in -ωτ-. eg. ὑποπεπτηῶτες (*Il.* 2.312), μεμαῶτες (*Od.* 15.183).[250] These are metrically equivalent to the Aeolic perfect participles in -οντ-. According to Ruijgh, the morpheme was taken from forms like τεθνεῶτες < *τεθνηϝότες < *τεθνᾱϝότες.[251]

- Secondary verb formations using the suffixes -άζω, -ίζω in Homeric language sometimes have aorists and futures in -ξ- rather than -(σ)σ-, ie. they follow original velar stems (like ἔρρεξα from ῥέζω, root **wreg-*) rather than dentals (like ἐκάθισα from κάθιζω, root **sed-*).[252] In Attic-Ionic, Lesbian, and most of Boetia, the dental inflection is found, whilst Thessalian has both, and West Greek shows the velar inflec-

[248] Chantraine (1942-53) i.306.

[249] As Ruijgh (1957) 67-71 argued for the infinitives like φορῆναι and ἀῆναι. On the duals, however, Ruijgh (1995) 56 argues that they have been ionicised 'superficiellement' against the expected forms *ἀπειλειτην, *φοιτάτην (by contraction).

[250] No examples are found in the *Theogony* or the *Erga*

[251] Ruijgh (1995) 56-7.

[252] This is not true of all -άζω, -ίζω, forms; eg. ἀκοντίζω from ἄκων, ἄκοντος gives eg. ἀκόντισε.

tion. According to Ruijgh, the Homeric evidence (with velar-type inflection in certain verbs - eg. ἀβροτάξομεν, ἀλαπάξεις, πτολεμίξομεν) matches the evidence of Arcado-Cypriot (with -ξ- except when the preceding consonant is a velar) and should therefore be considered evidence for an 'Achaean phase' of the epic language.[253] The Arcadian evidence is fairly unclear, but the Cypriot evidence seems to uphold this pattern.[254] However, this could be another case of archaism rather than signs of a close relationship with Mycenaean or Arcado-Cypriot; the velar-type inflection is not necessarily an innovation.[255]

- Some, but not all, words in the Homeric poems show psilosis (the loss of the aspirate), eg. οὖλος 'whole', οὖρος 'boundary', ἦμαρ 'day'. The aspirate often seems to occur where the word is also found in Attic and the koine, (eg. ὁρᾶτο, ἡμέρη, ἡδονή) but there are several exceptions showing psilosis despite an Attic equivalent (eg. ἀνύω, ἅμαξα, ἵστωρ) and some possible cases of aspiration where there is no Attic equivalent (eg. ἅλιος, ἁμός), though most of the latter show considerable varia-

[253]See Ruijgh (1957) 71-89.
[254]Egetmeyer (2010) 492-3, although the evidence is confined to a few forms.
[255]It is generalised in West Greek, and also found in Thessalian and some areas of Boiotia, which Ruijgh (1957) 73 discounts on the basis of potential West Greek influence.

tion in the manuscripts.[256] Psilosis is a feature of Lesbian and East Ionic, but the distribution in Homeric language is puzzling; it has been attributed to Attic editions of the text[257] but this does not account for the counterexamples.

- Words such as πῶς, πως, ὅπως, ποῖος etc. have initial π- rather than the κ- attributed to East Ionic (in the manuscripts of Anacreon, Herodotos, Kallinos etc.). West[258] considered that this was evidence against an East Ionic origin for Homeric language, but in fact the distribution of these forms is fairly restricted within East Ionic.[259]

- Omission of the augment. This is likely an archaism, found also in linear B (eg. *a-pu-do-ke*).[260]

- The language of epos has both ἄν and κε(ν). There are some differences in distribution - οὐκ ἄν is much more common than οὔ κε(ν), but in general κε(ν) is much more common than ἄν.[261] κε(ν) has been seen

[256]See Chantraine (1942-53) i.184-8.
[257]Wackernagel (1916) 45-52. Ruijgh (1995) 49-50 instead attributes it to Euboean influence.
[258]West (1988) 166.
[259]See Chadwick (1990) 175. cf. Ruijgh (1995) 16, who argues that earlier East Ionic had κῶς only after a negative, and that this is the stage represented by Homer. But there is no case of κῶς even after a negative in Homer, and Ruigh's explanation for this (n44, due to Aeolic bards) is *ad hoc*.
[260]Ruijgh (1995) 54.
[261]For more details, see Chantraine (1942-53) i.345-9.

as an Aeolism[262] but this depends on one's view of the development of these particles (see the preceding section) - it may simply be an archaic form.

- The word τελήεντ- (found in the formula τεληέσσας ἑκατόμβας 2x *Il.* 5x *Od.*) presumably derives from **teles-went-*, with the first compensatory lengthening. As Ruijgh (1995) 66-8 argues, we would expect the Aeolic (Thessalian and Lesbian) form to be **telewwent-* giving *τελευέσσας, and the Ionic form to be τελειέσας (cf. χειλιοι < **kheslioi*). This outcome is found in Arcado-Cypriot, Boeotian, and 'severior' Doric; Ruijgh attributes it to an 'Achaean' phase.

- λαμπράν τε σελήνην at *Th.* 19, 371 shows an Atticism (cf. also *Hom. Epigram* 3.4). The Attic form οὖσα is attested at *HHAp* 330, *HHHerm* 106, Hes fr. 204.91, but as Janko points out, this could be an inherited archaism.[263]

- The pronoun τύνη (6x *Il.*, eg. 5.485; *Th.* 36, *Erga* 10, 641), τεοῖο (*Il.* 8.37=468), τεΐν (*Il.* 11.201, 4x *Od.*) as well as ἑέ, ἑοῖ, τεός, ἑός, ἀμός, ὑμός. There are a number of reasons to see these as Doric: the tes-

[262]eg. Ruijgh (1995) 58.
[263]Janko (1982) 145.

timony of Hesychius and parallels in inscriptional evidence.[264] Janko (1991) 324 ad 16.64-5 uses parallels from the modern dialects (eg. Modern Cypriot εσούνη, Pontic ετούνε) to argue that this is a case of archaism rather than West Greek borrowing.

- Ruijgh[265] held the view that the ablatival uses of the -φι case in the Homeric poems should be linked with the use of the dative after ablatival prepositions in Arcado-Cypriot. If this was true, it could be argued that this usage is specific to a clade comprising Arcado-Cypriot and Mycenaean (which also uses the -φι case), and so could be seen as an 'Achaian' feature. However, Thompson has made the case that there is little evidence for an ablatival use of -φι in Mycenaean and that the Homeric and Arcado-Cypriot evidence should be seen as independent developments.[266]

[264] See West (1988) 167-8.
[265] eg. Ruijgh (1995) 68-71.
[266] Thompson (1998), esp. 248.

4.4.2 Explaining the dialect mixture: phases vs. borrowing

There has been considerable dispute over whether there was an 'Aeolic phase' in the epic tradition.[267] Key evidence comes from a morphological feature - the genitive singular of masculine a-stem nouns (as well as the genitive plural of a-stem nouns generally). The genitive singular of masculine a-stem nouns was originally *-*āo*, which underwent the change of *$\bar{a}$ > *$\bar{e}$ in Ionic, followed by quantitative metathesis to -εω (one syllable): ie., *-ᾱο > *-ηο > -εω (the genitive pl. is parallel). Quantitative metathesis changed the metrical structure of the ending, so in the language of hexameter we might expect to find *-ηο as an archaism maintained by the poetic language for metrical purposes alongside the newer -εω**.** However, we usually find either -ᾱο or -εω**.** Some scholars therefore hold that the epic language was at one point entirely in Aeolic dialect, with -ᾱο**,** but was then adopted by Ionic-speaking bards (at a stage subsequent to that of quantitative metathesis),

[267]In antiquity a belief that Homeric poetry was originally Aeolic was held by Zopyros of Magnesia and Dikaiarkhos of Messana (Nauck (1867) 273). Hinrichs (1875) 166 argued that the Aeolic features in Homeric poetry were due to the use of Aeolic in previous epic tradition (see 159-171 for discussion of prior literature). cf. Fick's belief that the original form of the text was Aeolic; Meister (1921) 171 argued for a gradual process of 'Ionisierung' of the Kunstsprache. The notion of an Aeolic phase has been further accepted and developed by (among many others) Parry (1932) 23-57, Ruijgh (1957) 1-10, Wathelet (1970) 375-8 (provisionally), Janko (1982) 89-90, West (1973) 189, (1988) 162-5.

who replaced Aeolic forms by Ionic language where possible, and introduced forms with -εω where possible, but kept those Aeolic forms necessary for the metre. As Ionic had lost *-ηο by then, the Ionic bards retained the Aeolic form. On this view, the tradition passed through an 'Aeolic phase'; in other words, the Ionic tradition is not continuous.

Other scholars have argued that there was no break in the Ionic tradition.[268] Some forms in the epic language do have -ηο or -ηω: eg. παιήων, μετήοροι, παρήοροι, forms of νηύς 'ship' (eg. νηός), νηός 'temple', πηός 'kinsman', verb forms like βείω, στείομεν;[269] compare ὄνειαρ, παρειαί, ῥεῖα, (without quantitative metathesis).[270] It might be objected that νηός from 'ship' could have been analogically restored on the basis of dat. νηΐ, acc. νῆα etc.,[271] but it is hard to apply this explanation to νηός 'temple' or πηός.[272]

[268]Strunk (1957), Hooker (1977) 71-5, Miller (1982), Horrocks (1987), (1997) 212-7.

[269]On the view that the ει we find in the manuscripts reflects original η: Meister (1921) 153-4, Horrocks (1987) 280.

[270]Another explanation is that there was never an intermediate *$\bar{e}o$ form. There are reasons to think that *$\bar{a}$ shifted to *$\bar{æ}$ before merging with *$\bar{e}$ (see Sihler (1995) 50-3), and so it could be posited that this *$\bar{æ}$ might be shortened to $\breve{e}$ without ever being interpreted as the same phoneme as *$\bar{e}$. However, on this argument it is unclear how we could end up with forms like νηός.

[271]See Janko (1998a).

[272]Another explanation of νηός as due to the original intervocalic *w, with this delaying quantitative metathesis until after the transfer into Ionic - cf. Horrocks (1987) 291 - is no more helpful: if this were the case it would be difficult to explain λαός rather than *ληός (from *$l\bar{a}wos$).

Furthermore, the results of metrical lengthening of $*a$ are sometimes $\bar{a}$ but sometimes $\bar{e}$ (ἠνεμόεις, ἠνορέη,[273] ἠγάθεος), suggesting that some metrically-lengthened forms were produced before the fronting of $*\bar{a}$ in Ionic, which tells against a discontinuity after this sound change.[274] Some scholars attempt to explain the distribution of Aeolic and Ionic forms on the basis that Ionic archaisms were replaced by Aeolicisms borrowed from a parallel tradition; hence for example the thematic infinitive -έμεν is found rather than the archaism *-εεν.[275] But this cannot be the whole story, or we would expect Aeolic νᾱός rather than (archaic or artificial) νηός (gen. of 'ship'). Thus we have to accept the presence of both Aeolic[276] and Ionic dialect elements in the language of early epos.

Can we be more precise and identify a specific branch of Aeolic or Ionic? We have seen that the arguments for West Ionic on the basis of question

[273]Wathelet (1970) 372 takes -ρε- here as an Aeolic trait - as Buck (1928) 23 - and the η vowel as secondary, but cf. Scarborough (2023) 107-8: the evidence for this as an Aeolic sound change is weak and contradictory.

[274]cf. West (2018a) 364. Because of this I am not inclined to accept the view that the end of an Aeolic phase must have been shortly before the production of the *Iliad*, as espoused by eg. Wachter (2007) esp. 326-7, Janko (1982) 87-92, (1998).

[275]Horrocks (1987) 289-90. For counterarguments, see Nikolaev (2013) esp. 89.

[276]Strunk (1957) attempted to argue that none of the apparently Aeolic forms were genuinely Aeolic; but many arguments, especially against the Aeolic affiliation of -εσσι or -μεναι, are not convincing: cf. Risch (1958) 91n1.

words in π- are insufficiently well grounded. More useful is the matter of aspiration. East Ionic and Lesbian Aeolic were psilotic, ie. they lost initial *h*- from the language. However, in the Homeric text there is a mixture of aspirated (eg. ἡμέρη, ἡμεῖς, ὑμεῖς) and unaspirated (eg. ἄμαξα, ἄμμε) forms. Some of these, such as ἄμμε, are Aeolic and so the psilosis is expected. The rough breathing on the remaining forms most likely points towards West/Central Ionic influence on the tradition. A counterargument is that they are simply due to later Attic/koine copyists of the text;[277] it is true that in many early texts aspiration was not written (although in many early inscriptions it is shown using H), but it would have been indicated even in texts without breathing marks in cases where an elided stop precedes an aspirate, eg. αἰδεῖσθαί θ' ἱερῆα at *Il.* 1.23. This could be attributed to later editors,[278] but, as Chantraine proved, this fails to explain the distribution of certain words like ἄμαξα (note esp. ἐπ' ἄμαξαν, *Il.* 12.448 etc.), or ἀνύω (eg. οὐκ ἀνύω, *Il.* 4.56) which are attested in Attic.[279] Some of the psilotic forms could perhaps come from East Ionic influence, but if so it is difficult

[277]Chadwick (1990) 174-5.

[278]cf. the discussion of the reliability of the manuscript tradition below.

[279]ἄμαξα may have been the standard form in non-Attic dialects, see Chantraine (1942-53) i.187. According to Herodian 1.541, Attic had the aspirated form ἀνύω; cf. Myc. *a_2-nu-me-no*. For a complete overview of psilotic forms in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* see Chantraine (1942-53) i.184-88.

to distinguish this from Aeolic influence.[280] In any case, it is worth noting that many forms which are considered particular to West Ionic (eg. τοῦτα for ταῦτα, -ττ- for -σσ-) are absent from the poems.

In terms of Aeolic, most of the features point to the Lesbian branch. Ruijgh (1995) 62-3 argues that the athematic infinitive forms -μεν and -μεναι shows an original mainland Aeolic phase followed by a Lesbian phase. -μεναι is the Lesbian form; -μεν is found in Boeotian and Thessalian. -μεναι is thus convincingly a feature from Lesbian dialect; -μεν could in principle come from Thessalian and Boeotian, but if we accept that Lesbian originally had -μεν and remade it to -μεναι under the influence of Ionic -ναι, it seems that -μεν would be an archaism in Lesbian - so again we are faced with a question of whether this is an archaism or a dialect feature. Similar cases include the genitive -οιο - attested in Thessalian but also an archaism - and apocope of prepositions (see above), more widespread in Thessalian but with potential parallels in Lesbian as well. Barytonesis is found in some words and seems to be specific to Lesbian Aeolic.[281] West demonstrated that some

[280]See perhaps εἰμένος, perfect participle of εἵνῡμι, and εἶμα: this is not an Aeolic form (ἔμμ-). An added complexity is that many forms, including these, show alternations in the manuscripts.

[281]See Wathelet (1970) 221-3, Bowie (1981) 51-2, cf. Chantraine (1942-53) i.190-1.

sort of Lesbian poetic tradition about Troy existed, based on the alternations Πέρραμος, Πέραμος for the name of Priam.[282] Nagy argues that correspondances between phrasing in hexameter poetry and Sappho fr. 44 should be understood in terms of shared inheritance (in cognate metres) rather than borrowing.[283] Granted that an Aeolic poetic tradition existed that has had an influence on the dialect of epos, the question arises of whether this was in hexameter metre. We have seen one possible piece of evidence in the phrase ἀταρτηροῖς ἐπέεσσιν, presumably a remodelling of *ἀταρτηροῖσι ϝέπεσσι. This has the metrical shape u - - - u u - u, which is not readily identifiable with elements of Aeolic metre, although it could (for example) work as part of a Sapphic stanza. However, it must be noted that we have little evidence for hexameter poetry in Aeolic dialect. Some poems of Sappho are in hexameters (see Voigt (1971) 16), but these often show greater influence from epic dialect than other Sapphic poetry: see Kelly (2021) 57, noting χρύσειοι in Sappho fr. 143, and compare also ἦσαν in Sappho fr. 142 (an Ionic innovation for other dialects' ἦν < ἦεν, with epic correption of the preceding word).[284]

[282]These result from sound changes in Lesbian (*CριV > CερρV), the degeminated form being created to preserve the metrical structure of original Πρίαμος: West (1973) 191.

[283]Nagy (1974) 118-39; similarly, Hooker (1977) 71-83 makes a case for two interacting traditions.

[284]Of course, the Sapphic hexameters also have Lesbian dialect features, eg. fr. 142

Ruijgh (1957) argued for an 'Achaean' phase in epos, ie. a proto-Arcado-Cypriot stage in the tradition, based on features shared between Homeric language and Arcado-Cypriot and/or Mycenaean.[285] In principle, these could be archaisms that are recorded in linear B, survive in the conservative language of hexameter epos, and also happen to occur in the isolated dialects of Arcadian and Cypriot. In this case, such features would be purely indicators of the age of the tradition. Alternatively, it could be that these are specifically features of the language of the palaces, identifiable with (or closely related to) Proto-Arcado-Cypriot but not Proto-Aeolic or Proto-Attic-Ionic, demonstrating that epos went through a phase in which is was closely connected with the palatial civilisation, before being borrowed into an Aeolic/Ionic tradition (this is Ruijgh's view). A third possibility is that these features are due to more recent borrowing from Arcadian and/or Cypriot into the language of Ionic/Aeolic epos. Which of these is the case is partly dependent on the view taken of Arcado-Cypriot, Aeolic, and Attic-Ionic and their relationship with Mycenaean (see above). For example, if one holds that Proto-Myceno-Arcado-Cypriot was not already differentiated from Proto-Attic-Ionic at the

Λάτω, fr. 105.2 μαλοδρόπηες.

[285]cf. Pavese (1972) 16.

time of the tablets, coincidences between Mycenaean and Homeric language are simply archaisms. Most of the features discussed by Ruijgh - the velar inflection of some -άζω, -ίζω verbs, particular items of vocabulary - would work on each view. An interesting case, however, is that of τεληέσσας. As Ruijgh has shown (see above), the outcome of the first compensatory lengthening here does not correspond to what we might expect of Ionic or Aeolic dialect. However, it is unlikely that this distinction existed at the time of the linear B tablets. As we have seen, the process of de-gemination with lengthening postdates Mycenaean, and so the borrowing would be placed at a rather later date, supporting a borrowing from Arcadian or Cypriot rather than a direct connection with the language of the palaces. τεληέσσας could thus be evidence for Arcadian or Cypriot dialect influence on the epic tradition; though one has to be wary about placing too much weight on a single form.[286]

4.4.3 Variation in the corpus

One of the most extensive and influential studies of the language of early epos has been the statistical approach of Janko (1982). Janko investigated

[286]Lejeune (1972) 136, 236 (supported by Latacz *et al.* (2002) 119) explains it instead by a dissimilation from *τελειεις or via analogy with forms like φωνήεις.

a number of linguistic features across early Greek epos and their statistical distribution. In many places he does come to conclusions about the geographical origins of the different poems. However, for the most part Janko does not attempt to establish geographical groups based on the statistics, but rather tries to reconcile the statistical data with place of origin as determined by content, which can be somewhat arbitrary.[287] For example, the innovative oblique forms of Ζεύς (Ζῆνα, Ζηνός, Ζηνί) - typical of East Ionia and the Dorian South Aegean - are absent from the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* but frequent in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*. According to Janko, the absence in *HHAp.* is because this is from a 'mainland' tradition, but the high frequency in *HHAph.* is not a sign of Ionian origin but a 'hyperionism'.[288] Set on Mt. Ida, *HHAph.* can then be attributed to Lesbian local origin. This interpretation may, of course be correct, but it is not a direct consequence of the linguistic evidence. The figures for ν *ephelkystikon* may be more promising - perhaps separating the poems into two groups, which Janko identifies as Ionic/Attic/Lesbian vs. the mainland/Hesiodic school.[289] Even if we accept this, however, it is very difficult to localise the poems more

[287] In general Janko is perhaps more interested in questions of relative chronology.
[288] Janko (1982) 63, with the idea that there was a 'cessation of Ionic influence' on mainland tradition after a certain point.
[289] Janko (1982) 66.

precisely with this method.

One feature in particular deserves more attention: the accusative plurals of *a* and *o* stems. In the *Th./Erga*, these are sometimes regarded as light syllables; they are placed before a consonant more frequently than is expected of heavy syllables (true also of the *GK* and *HHAp*), and there are instances in the *Theogony* and *Erga* where the a-stem accusative plural acts as a light syllable when placed before a vowel (6x *Th.*, 3x *Erga*).[290] Janko argues that this difference is a chronological one, because the *Odyssey* shows a slightly larger proportion of accusative plurals of either kind before a consonant.[291] Many scholars, however, have viewed it as a difference in dialect, or between 'mainland' and 'Ionic' traditions.

The original ending was *-*ans*, *-*ons*; probably *-*ns* was simplified before a consonant, resulting in a distribution **Vns* / _*V*, **Vs* / _*C*. This distribution is preserved in Cretan, especially in the article in the Gortyn Code;

[290] See Edwards (1971) 142-6 for the instances. The *Gynaikon Katalogos*, *HHAp.*, but not the *Aspis*, *HHDem.*, *HHHerm.*, *HHAphr.* also show a significant difference from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in the o-stems. Cases where they are short before a vowel are also found at *GK.* 150.15, *HHHerm.* 106, *Aspis* 302: Janko (1982) 58.

[291] Janko (1982) 61.

other dialects then generalise one or the other form, the prevocalic ending often being simplified with lengthening or diphthonisation of the preceding vowel to maintain syllable weight. Thus Ionic -*ās*, -*ōs*; Lesbian -*ais*, -*ois*. The short forms are generalised in Thessalian, Arcadian, possibly Kyprian, Theran, and some older inscriptions from Mycenae.[292] A similar development is shown in the preposition εἰς/ἐς, deriving from **ens*, a parallel form that must have originally been distributed as **es* / _*C*, **ens* > **ēs* / _*V*.

There are several conceivable interpretations of the data:

- *Il./Od.* retains the original distribution (eg. **as* / _*C*, **ās* / _*V*), though this is invisible to us because of the orthography of our texts. But for the poets of the 'divergent' group the salient feature (compared to their vernacular) was that epic language had an ending -*as*, and to accentuate the distancing effect from their own language they avoided **ās* / _*V* and occasionally even used **as* / _*V*.[293] This way, the distribution can still be understood temporally, with the starting point being an archaic Ionic poetic language. However, it seems to go against

[292]See Buck (1928) 63-4, 148. Also in Coan alongside -ους.

[293]For a mechanism by which this might have come about, see Morpurgo Davies (1964) 161-2.

Parry's principle that bards will normalise the epic language to their own vernacular when it is not protected by the metre: on those grounds we would expect the loss of the short endings to occur preconsonantally by levelling.

- Alternatively, we could suppose that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* only have the long form of the endings, having lost the original distribution (which held no advantages from the point of view of metre). In this case, the short forms found in the divergent group would be signs of an alternative tradition. This is supported by the occurrence of such endings in non-epic poets such as Alkman, Tyrtaeus, and Stesichorus.[294] That they were borrowed into epos from a local dialect that retained them seems rather unlikely: we would have to suppose quite a large scale shift in morphology, rather than a few instances of borrowing. Thus this view seems to presuppose a separate local tradition of hexameter poetry that preserves an archaic feature.

Janko supposes some difference between 'mainland' poems and those from Ionia/Aeolis, but overall stays with the view on which all the poems are reflexes of an Ionic poetic tradition, which was exported to the other regions

[294]Troxler (1964) 74-6 collects these forms.

and supplanted any form of hexameter in local dialect that might have existed in eg. Lesbos.[295] This is in contrast to the approach of Pavese (1972), who argued that the Hesiodic poems and the Hymns should be seen as part of a mainland tradition, and that the Ionic language in these poems was due to later transmission rather than the original form of the text.[296] However, Pavese relies on features that are normally classified as Aeolisms in the Homeric poems to argue for this 'tradizione poetica settentrionale'.[297] As Janko points out, there is so much in common between the language of the Homeric and Hesiodic poems that it seems difficult to see them as two distinct traditions;[298] although in practice the features that distinguish the 'Hesiodic' and 'Homeric' group are often ambiguous between geographical and chronological factors.[299] The degree to which we can trust the transmitted text will be discussed below.

The following sections will look more closely at potential signs of linguistic variation in various parts of the corpus that might indicate the influence of

[295]cf. Janko (1982) 12-13 on Pavese.
[296]Pavese (1972) esp 74.
[297]Pavese (1972) 25-7.
[298]Janko (1982) 13.
[299]cf. Pavese (1972) 47-52.

local dialect, and hence local traditions. Except for features that affect the whole corpus (for which see above), such individual local dialect features are relatively rare in poems transmitted in manuscript.[300]

The Hesiodic poems

- *Th.* 260 δίη (= δῖα), *Th.* 938 Μαίη (= Μαῖα), *Erga* 443 ἰθείην (= ἰθεῖαν) are described by West as 'hyper-Ionisms'.[301] However, it would be better to describe them as analogical forms (X:Μαίης::τίμη:τίμης ⇒ X = Μαίη, etc.). *Erga* 68 Ἑρμείην is a more plausible case of 'hyperionism', also found in some manuscripts of Homer.[302] The form ἑωυτῇ is found at *Th.* 126 in a papyrus and an ancient citation, but was also read by Zenodotos in some points in the Homeric text.[303]

- There are a number of probable Aeolic forms in Hesiod not found in the Homeric poems (eg. *Th.* 875 ἄεισι, *Erg.* 666, 693 καυάξεις), for which see West (1966) 82-3. This is not a fundamentally different phenomenon to what we find in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, although Janko has argued that they cluster in the description of winter and the advice on

[300] As West (1966) 79 puts it: 'The most important and not the least remarkable fact about the dialect of Hesiod's poems is that it is essentially the same as that of Homer'.
[301] West (1966) 80.
[302] West (1966) 80-1.
[303] West (1966) 81.

seafaring, and suggests that these show influence from Aeolic poetry.[304]

- There are some ambiguous forms that could be dialect forms or archaisms (West (1966) 83-4). Of these, the contracted genitive in (θε)-ᾶν could be Doric, Lesbian, or Thessalian; 3pl. ἦν is found in all dialects except for Attic-Ionic and is thus quite probably an archaism, as is ἐγκάτθετο (following West). *Erga* 394 μέταζε is considered Doric by Hesychius.[305]

- A few forms are classified by West as 'West Greek' forms:[306] the word order εἰ γάρ τίς κε at *Erga* 280, the form μέζεα (vs. usual μήδεα) at *Erga* 512 (but given Cypriot κορζία the dialectal associations of this are by no means certain), a short infinitive ἀποδρέπεν at *Erga* 611,[307] τεῖδε restored at *Erga* 635, and (most securely) *Erga* 698 τέτορα, *Erga* 392 ἀμάειν. *Erga* 524 ἀνόστεος may be Lacedaemonian.[308]

- Φίξ at *Th.* 326 is probably a local Boeotian term for the Sphinx.[309]

[304]Janko (1982) 168.
[305]West (1966) 89.
[306]West (1966) 85-7, cf. Morpurgo Davies (1964).
[307]Although cf. Morpurgo Davies (1964) 140n1 for a sceptical point of view.
[308]See West (1966) 89.
[309]West (1966) 88.

The *Homeric Hymns*

- *HHHerm.* contains a number of Atticisms that escape Janko's criticism:[310] 76 ἴχνη, 140 ἐμάρᾱνε, 158 Λητοΐδου, 255 θᾶττον (could also be Boeotian); 50 ἀμφοῖν 342 εὐθύ, 355 εὐθύς are not necessarily Atticisms. But as Janko points out, these are not metrically guaranteed and could have been introduced by later copyists.

- A similar phenomenon holds for the *HHAphr.*, where a number of cases have contracted forms, but these could all be copyists' replacements of uncontracted forms.[311] *HHAphr.* also has the Doric forms 147 ἕκᾱτι, 280 νιν. Janko (1982) 171 follows Kamerbeek (1967) 388 in attributing νιν to the influence of Callimachus' hymns on the transmission. The same explanation, however, cannot really apply to ἕκᾱτι; although as Janko says it could potentially have been the form in Aeolic as well.

- There are also Attic forms in the transmitted text of the *HHDem.* As Richardson has shown, for the most part these could have been introduced by copyists.[312] The exception is 439 κόρην, which is metrically guaranteed but - as the cult title of Persephone - proves nothing about

[310]Janko (1982) 143-8, cf. Vergados (2013) 45-6, Thomas (2020) 36.
[311]Faulkner (2008) 45.
[312]Richardson (1974) 52-6.

the circumstances of composition.

The Epic Cycle and other fragments

The language of the Epic Cycle is presented in Bernabé (2015) and does not present a fundamentally different picture from the *Homeric Hymns*. As far as the paucity of the fragments permits us to tell, the dialect mixture seems to have been much the same as the Homeric poems and there are no forms that point to a particular local origin.[313] A number of 'late' or 'Attic' forms are not metrically guaranteed, and could have been introduced by later copyists.[314]

There is potentially a methodological difficulty throughout the analysis of the epic corpus, however. We must look for specifically dialectal forms - such as Ionic vocalism of η for *ᾱ - rather than just for archaisms or unusual artificial creations within epos. But archaisms and analogical forms are frequently markers of local dialect. Take for example the controversial

[313]As to their date, some scholars (most recently Davies (1989)) have argued that the extant fragments are late, perhaps not long antedating the 5th century; however, as Bernabé (2015) 139 states, this argument is based on the unreliable assumption that a form not attested in the rest of archaic literature must be late. It is in any case hard to draw clear conclusions one way or the other about poems of which we do not have many explicit quotations.

[314]See, for example, Davies (1989) 93 on *Kypria* 4.3 φοροῦσ', and *passim*.

form εὖκτο (*Thebaid* fr. 3.3), which is probably an old athematic aorist.[315] Suppose this was actually a feature retained in a local Theban poetic tradition; we would have no means to identify it as such with our current level of evidence.[316] Because of this, we have to look at more superficial phonological or morphological features, but it is precisely these which might most easily have been changed during the process of transmission.

Inscriptional hexameter poetry

More interesting variation appears in the inscriptional evidence. Unlike the poems known from manuscript tradition, these do show local dialect features. For example, the "Mantiklos" dedication from Thebes, *CEG* 326 (ca. 700-675):

Μάντικλός μ' ἀνέθεκε ϝεκαβόλοι ἀργυροτόξοι
τᾶς {δ}δε|κάτας· τὺ δέ, Φοῖβε, δίδοι χαρίϝετταν ἀμοιβ[άν]

This shows a number of local dialect features which are not found in the poems preserved in manuscript evidence: the preservation of <ϝ> (/w/),

[315] This seems most likely, given the Avestan parallels (see Beekes (2010) *s.v.*). For other references see Bernabé (2015) 148 nn. 30-1 (but for "GH i.", Chantraine (1999) is meant).

[316] Alternatively, of course, it could just be that this coincidentally never appears in the Homeric poems, or is associated with content rather than local variation; cf. forms like δέκτο, λέκτο, Chantraine (1942-53) i.296-7. But note also the form γέντο (*Th.* 199), epigraphically attested at Mycenae, discussed by Morpurgo Davies (1964) 150-1.

τύ rather than σύ, δίδοι is the Boeotian present imperative,[317] Boeotian ττ corresponds to σσ in Ionic. The inscription is in hexameter, and it shows several phrases which match traditional language in the Homeric poems: for ϝεκαβόλοι cf. ἑκηβόλος, integrated into the traditional language for Apollo;[318] for ἀργυροτόξσοι cf. the use of ἀργυρότοξος as an epithet of Apollo (though less commonly in this *sedes*).[319] For τᾶς {δ}δε|κάτας perhaps cf. #τῇ δεκάτῃ;[320] σὺ δέ is common mid-line;[321] Φοῖβε starts the 3rd foot in 8/13 instances in early epos.[322] δίδοι χαρίϝετταν ἀμοιβ[άν] is paralleled exactly by δίδου χαρίεσσαν ἀμοιβὴν# (*Od.* 3.48). At first sight, therefore, this seems like excellent evidence for a local tradition of hexameter poetry.

Another substantial and early hexameter inscription is *CEG* 143 (ca. 625-600), from Corcyra:

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[317]Found in Pindar; see Strunk (1961).

[318]ἑκηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος# *Il.* 1.14, 1.373, *HHHerm.* 18, *HH*25.2, *Th.* 94; ἑκηβόλον Ἀπόλλωνα# *Il.* 1.21 (preceded by Διὸς υἱόν), *HHAp.* 177, *HHHerm.* 236; ἑκηβόλῳ Ἀπόλλωνι# *Il.* 1.438, 16.513, 23.872; this *sedes*, *Il.* 1.96, 1.110, 22.302 (preceded by Διὸς υἷι), *HHAp.* 45, *HHHerm.* 218, 417, 509, 522, cf. *HHAphr.* 151 ἑκηβόλος αὐτὸς Ἀπόλλων.

[319]# - u u ἀργυρότοξε voc. *Il.* 1.37=451, 21.229, *HHAp.* 140; ἀργυρότοξος Ἀπόλλων# 6x *Il.* 2x *Od.*, *HHHerm.* 327, *HH*7.19, *HH*9.5, Hes. fr. 185.9; see also *Il.* 5.517, 24.56 (line final but vocative), *HHAp.* 178, *HHHerm.* 318 (line final accusative).

[320]2x *Il.*, *Od.* 10.29, but found elsewhere in the line.

[321]This precise position less commonly: 3x *Il.*, 4x *Od.*, *HHAphr.* 140, Hes. *Erga* 27∼274, Hes. fr. 31.3.

[322]The exceptions are all line initial.

hυιοῦ Τλασίαϝο Μενεκράτεος τόδε σᾶμα :

Οἰανθέος γενεάν, τόδε δ' αὐτõι δᾶμος ἐποίει. :

ἐς γαρ πρόξενϝος δάμου φίλος· άλλ' ἐνὶ πόντοι :

ὄλετο, δαμόσιον δὲ καϙὸν ρο[(u) - u u - -].:

Πραξιμένες δ' αὐτõι γ[αία]ς ἄπο πατρίδος ἐνθὸν :

σὺν δάμ[ο]ι τόδε σᾶμα κασιγνέτοιο πονέθε.:

Here, as well, there are features that are not typical of Ionic epic but fit the Doric local dialect: <A> rather than <E> or <H> in Τλασίαϝο, σαμα, γενεάν, δᾶμος/δάμου/δαμόσιον/δάμ[ο]ι, /w/ preserved in πρόξενϝος, the 'spurious diphthongs' at an early date. The inscription is written in distinctive Corinthian script. However, there are also elements that we might not expect from Corinthian Doric. The endings of Τλασίαϝο and κασιγνέτοιο are the archaic forms found in epos (although Τλασίαϝο has an unexpected /w/). This does not, of course, rule out the possibility that there existed a local tradition of hexameter poetry at Corinth, in which these endings were retained as archaisms. More difficult is the synizesis in Οἰανθέος (guaranteed by the meter), genitive of Οἰανθεύς. This looks very much like the Ionic ending (written Οἰανθέως in later orthography), which would be consistent with the hypothesis that this is merely poetic technique borrowed from Ionic

epos with a superficial veneer of local dialect. However, this statement is a little problematic because we do not know what the genitive ending would be in Corinthian; most dialects have -εος for the genitive,[323] but in later times at least this was turned into a diphthong. Much of the phrasing finds parallels in hexameter poetry: for τόδε σᾶμα cf. τόδε σῆμα *Il.* 7.89, *Od.* 21.231, 23.202; ἐνὶ πόντῳ is line final 8x in the *Odyssey* and at *Th.* 189 (often in the formula πολυκλύστῳ ἐνὶ πόντῳ, but also note *Od.* 16.367 ἀλλ' ἐνὶ πόντῳ); γαίης ἄπο πατρίδος is at *Il.* 13.696 = 15.335, *Od.* 10.49, although there beginning in the middle of the second foot.

Compare *CEG* 145, ca 600, from the same part of Corcyra:

σᾶμα τόδε Ἀρνιάδα· χαροπὸς τόνδ' ὄλεἰσεν Ἄρες
βαρνάμενον παρὰ ναυσἰὶν ἐπ' Ἀράθθοιο ρhoϝαῖσι,
πολλὸἰν ἀριστεύ{τ}<ϝ>οντα κατὰ στονόϝεσαν ἀϝυτάν

Interesting to note here is the genitive Ἀρνιάδα, where in Ionic epos one would expect Ἀρνιάδεω - this is a form that we never find in the Homeric poems, despite the fact that it is found in Lesbian dialect.[324] Another

[323]Buck (1928) 85.

[324]Ruijgh (1995) 61 suggests that the forms with synizesis in the Homeric poems replaced genitives in -$\bar{a}$ in the Aeolic phase.

interesting form is βαρνάμενον, equivalent to μαρνάμενον in the standard manuscript form of the Homeric poems; this is usually explained through dissimilation.[325] One can compare the Hesychian gloss μορνάμενος, presumably with dialectal outcome of syllabic *r*.[326] If this is a dialectal innovation, it could strengthen the case for local epic traditions, given that this word is strongly associated with epic poetry, but the distribution of the forms with β- is not encouraging.[327] The inscription does make use of ν *ephelkystikon*, however (ὄλε|σεν, ναυσι|ίν); although this could potentially have been independently innovated in different dialects, it is strongly associated with Attic-Ionic. Much of the phraseology matches that of epos attested in manuscripts: χαροπός is an epic word (*Od.* 11.611, 4x in the *Hymns*, *Th.* 321, *Aspis* 177), for παρὰ ναυσι|ίν cf. παρὰ νηυσί(ν) 48x *Il.* 7x *Od.*; for ῥοϝαῖσι cf. line final ῥοῇσι (*Il.* 16.229, 16.669∼679, *Od.* 6.216); for ἀριστεύ{τ}<ϝ>οντα cf. ἀριστεύοντα in the same metrical position 3x *Il.*, Hes. fr. 33a.23; for στονόϝεσαν ἀϝυτάν compare especially στονόεσσαν ἀϋτήν (*Od.* 11.383) (for στονόεσσαν in this position cf. *Il.* 24.721, cf. *Od.* 17.102=19.595; ἀϋτή line final 18x *Il.* 4x *Od.*, *HH*11.3, 3x *Aspis*, Hes. fr. 10a.53).

[325]See Buck (1928) 70, Beekes (2010) *s.v.* μάρναμαι, van Beek (2013) 286-7.

[326]van Beek (2013) 287.

[327]The form is found here, in 5th C Acharnania (*IG* IX 1^2 214.4), and in a 4th century Attic inscription (*IG* I^2 934.46); this sort of assimilation does not show a clear dialectal pattern. There is no context for the Hesychian form.

The fundamental question is whether the language of these poems is essentially borrowed from Ionic epos, and then given a superficial appearance of local dialect forms,[328] or whether they represent traces of distinct hexameter traditions in local dialect (which might share some inherited formulae with Ionic epos). In a study of the overall corpus of such inscriptions, Mickey (1981) showed that their language is challenging to classify: it does not intentionally appear Attic-Ionic (for example, *nu ephelkystikon* does not appear without metrical utility outside the Attic-Ionic region[329]) but neither does it espouse archaisms unless they are useful for the metre (omission of the augment is rare and usually avoided when optional[330]), and it may even avoid forms specific to the local dialect (the -οιο ending does not occur in Thessalian epigrams, despite being the normal form in this dialect; demonstratives like ονυ never appear[331]). There is thus a balance between the local and the non-local (but not necessarily Ionic).

There also appears to be some level of chronological change. We have

[328]As, for example, Kaczko (2009) 91, van Beek (2022) 49n130.
[329]Mickey (1981) 45-6.
[330]Mickey (1981) 50-1
[331]Mickey (1981) 50-1, 54

seen this to some extent in the inscriptions above, with the Mantiklos dedication from the early 7th century displaying fewer non-local features than the Corcyran examples (at least in respect to *nu ephelkystikon*) from the end of the 7th century. Indeed, the ττ result in χαρίϝεττα̃ν should be contrasted with the σσ of Boeotian and Attic inscriptions of a later period.[332] The same may be the case with the preservation of the νς cluster in early verse inscriptions from the Argolid, but not in later Thessalian inscriptions (as against prose inscriptions, which maintain νς throughout in both localities).[333] This would be consistent with the hypothesis that hexameter traditions in local dialects existed early on, and these inscriptions drew on these, but that over time the prestige of Ionic epos increased and thus local dialect features were successively avoided. But it would also fit a view on which later poets simply became more conscious of dialect differences and more competent in avoiding them.[334] The problem is partly that we do not have enough early inscriptions - comparing an early Argolic inscription with later Thessalian ones is obviously not ideal, since it introduces an additional factor (location) as well as chronology - but partly also that the inscriptions we do have tend to be short,

[332]See Mickey (1981) 53.
[333]Mickey (1981) 53-4, citing *CEG* 363 for the earlier instance.
[334]As Mickey (1981) 55 suggests.

lack narrative material, and have a restricted range of functions (funerary, dedicatory). It would therefore be possible to make the argument that they represent an entirely different phenomenon to extended hexameter poetry.[335]

The issue could potentially be decided if we had some cases of archaic formulae in the inscriptional evidence unattested in the manuscripts. An obvious candidate is κλεϝος απθιτον αιϝει (*CEG* 344, from early 6th century Crisa) which might be prior to the Homeric expression (κλέος ἄφθιτον ἔσται, *Il.* 9.413),[336] and potentially cognate with a Vedic expression;[337] however, Finkelberg has argued that this is a coincidence and we are dealing with an innovation within Homeric language.[338] So while the early and widespread existence of local hexameter inscriptions makes it clear that the epic tradition was interacting with the Greek world well beyond Ionia, there is not sufficient evidence to point to the existence of traditions of hexameter poetry in local dialect from inscriptional evidence.

[335]Which may well be the case; cf. Kaczko (2009) 92 'stone epigrams were no recognised literary genre'.

[336]For the argument that this is earlier, see Finkelberg (2007) 345, though Finkelberg does not see this as an inherited expression.

[337]See the literature cited in Finkelberg (1986) n1, (2007) nn2-3.

[338]Finkelberg (1986), (2007). Even if Finkelberg is wrong about the expression being recent, its occurrence in the inscription can hardly prove that it did not come from Ionic epos.

4.4.4 How reliable is the manuscript tradition for the language of hexameter?

We have seen that there is a striking difference between the uniformity of the poems transmitted in manuscript form and the local linguistic features found in the early inscriptions. Pavese pointed out that this is parallel to the transmission of some epigrams from the Classical period, such as *CEG* 131 (attributed to Simonides), for which the stone inscription has Ο Ξ<ΕΙ>ΝΕ ΕΥΗΥΔΡΟΝ ΠΟΚ ΕΝΑΙΟΜΕΣ ΑΣΤΥ ϘΟΡΙΝΘΟ and the transmitted form in the manuscripts is ὦ ξεῖνε, εὔυδρόν ποτ᾽ ἐναίομεν ἄστυ Κορίνθου.[339] On this basis, Pavese concluded that a number of poems of early epos, particularly the Hesiodic poems and some of the *Homeric Hymns*, were not originally composed in the Ionic-Aeolic language found in the manuscripts; rather, this dialectal form would be due to the transmission of the text.[340] This is reminiscent of Fick's attempt to restore the 'original text' of Hesiod in Aeolic dialect:[341]

Οὐκ ἄρα μόννον ἔεν Ἐρίδων γένος, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ γαῖαν

[339]Pavese (1972) 61-63; some of the same material is discussed by Kaczko (2009) esp. 96-7.

[340]Pavese (1972) 61-74. Pavese thought that this was because of a phase of oral (but verbatim) transmission in which the dialect of the texts was prone to alteration, but one could also argue that the text was retranscribed into the more familiar Kunstsprache.

[341]Fick (1887) 64, cf. *Erga* 11-13.

εἶσι δύω· τὰν μέν κεν ἐπαινήσειε νοϝήσαις,

ἃ δ' ἐπιμωμήτα· διὰ δ' ἄνδιχα θῦμον ἔχοισι· ...

Clearly, if we could establish that certain hexameter texts had undergone a process of dialect alteration, and even ascertain what their original dialect was, this would have very important consequences for the question of local tradition in early hexameter. It would also provide an explanation for the uniformity of the corpus, and a reason why Hesiod's purported location seems to have had little or no effect on the dialect of the *Theogony* or the *Erga*

Considering the manuscript evidence itself, there is some reason to think that the text was not exactly what we find in the papyri and MSS. In particular, there is evidence that it was written in an archaic alphabet that did not distinguish geminate consonants or certain vowels. For example, καιροσέων in the manuscripts at *Od.* 7.107 is probably an erroneous transcription from ΚΑΙΡΟΣΕΩΝ, to be interpreted as a derivative of καῖρος (καιρουσσέων from καιρό-εις). The participle of τέθνηκα appears both as τεθνειώς and τεθνηώς, perhaps suggesting alternative transcriptions of a form ΤΕΘΝΕΩΣ.[342] This is an issue for some of the distinctive dialect

[342]For more cases of this kind, see Chantraine (1942-53) i.5-16.

features identified above. For example, from such an alphabet, one cannot tell if a form such as ὑμεῖς, ostensibly Ionic, in fact represents an original Aeolic ὔμμες, except in those cases where it is guaranteed by the metre; nor that ἐρεβεννή is the Aeolic form with the geminate resonant rather than a hypothetical Ionic *ἐρεβεινή.[343]

However, other cases are harder to fit in with this approach. *Il.* 7.238 has βῶν in most of the MSS. This has been identified as a genuinely old form of the accusative of βοῦς.[344] However, if the Homeric text was transcribed from a version which had BON, it is hard to see how the unfamiliar form βῶν could have arisen instead of the regular βοῦν.[345] This suggests that the alphabet used (for at least one source of our current tradition) did have Ω as well as O, as was the case in some archaic alphabets quite early. Potentially the oscillation over τεθνειώς/τεθνηώς could be explained without resort to a lack of H as well, because the transcribed form ΤΕΘΝΕΩΣ might represent the later (but unmetrical) τεθνεώς, restored by later transcribers on the basis

[343]cf. Chantraine (1942-53) i.12.

[344]See Kirk (1990) 267, Leumann (1950) 201 (who points out that it likely retains this form because of the meaning 'shield' in this line).

[345]Despite the explanation of the T scholia that this is an erroneous transcription of BON.

of the metre.[346]

In any case, the ambiguity found in cases such as ἐρεβεννή is not sufficient to imperil the overall dialect basis of the poems. One could, of course, go a step further and mistrust any feature that is not guaranteed by the metre, on the basis that the text could have been altered like the Simonidean fragment.[347] But even if we accept that certain features could have been radically changed (for example, the removal of the letter wau (F) - which many inscriptions have - or the changing of A to Ionic H), there would still be a number of metrically guaranteed features. In particular, the alternation between long and short vowels before original *-*Rw*-, and the various infinitive forms, as well as the -εσσι datives, secure the mixture of Aeolic and Ionic dialect.[348]

Furthermore, an argument made by Hooker in respect to the language of Alkman applies here as well.[349] We find in the text 'fluctuation between

[346]Chantraine (1942-53) i.9-10: the same may be true of cases such as ὄνειαρ.

[347]For this view, on which the text is a product of later - Attic or Hellenistic - editing, cf. Chadwick (1990) 174-6.

[348]Potentially also the alternation of forms with /*s*/ vs. /*ss*/ from the first compensatory lengthening, if this is actually dialectal (see above).

[349]See Hooker (1977) 64-5, defending the authenticity of certain features in the text.

one form and another, sometimes but not always brought about by metrical necessity'. For example, some instances of Aeolic ὔμμες rather than Ionic ὑμεῖς are guaranteed by the metre (ie. with the prosody - u before a vowel). Someone who transcribed the form ΥΜΕΣ into a more explicit alphabet could thus have distinguished the two on the basis of metre, writing ὑμεῖς by default and ὔμμες where the metre required it. But this is clearly not what happened in practice: at the end of the line there would be no difference in metre between the two forms, and yet we find *Il.* 23.458, *Od.* 9.16 καὶ ὑμεῖς#, *Od.* 12.81 περ ἂν ὑμεῖς#, vs. *Il.* 14.481, 24.242 καὶ ὔμμες#.[350] We have seen that the same is true with the outcome of inherited *$\bar{a}$, which is most commonly changed to η but occasionally retained (and does not affect the metre). We have to account for the distribution found in the texts, and a regular process of Ionicisation would surely have reached more uniform results; the current distribution, therefore, is more likely to reflect the original dialect mixture of the composer.

[350]cf. Chantraine (1942-53) i.269.

4.4.5 Conclusions

Early hexameter poetry as preserved in manuscripts and papyri is written in a dialectal form which has both Ionic and Aeolic elements; the Aeolic forms come from (at least) Lesbian, and the Ionic forms may suggest (at least) West or Central Ionic, but without any more specific pointers. There is at least one case (τελήέσσας) where Arcadian or Cypriot seems to be the source of a form. The archaising nature of early hexameter does make it difficult to distinguish borrowing from local tradition from independent survivals of archaic forms. In general, linguistic variation within the corpus is not large, and in many cases it may be due more to chance occurrences of certain forms than to genuine differences. There are scattered forms (like τέτορα in Hesiod or κόρην in *HHDem.*) which show influence from local dialect but are too few to prove anything about the origin of the poems.

This contrasts rather markedly with what we find in the inscriptional evidence, where hexameters do seem to be written in local dialect. This might lead us to suspect the reliability of the manuscript tradition, but as I have shown, there are reasons to think that our texts are mostly reliable for their

dialectal mixture. It therefore appears that, at the time when our texts were recorded, epos already had the dialect form preserved in the manuscripts, even if local hexameter traditions with more varied dialectal form existed at an earlier date. This dialectal form cannot accurately be called 'Panhellenic', as it is predominantly based on Ionic and Aeolic forms, although certain elements may have been interpreted as coming from other dialects from a synchronic point of view. In particular, a strikingly non-Panhellenic feature is the use of η for inherited ᾱ.

Hexameter inscriptions in local dialect do not provide enough evidence to guarantee the existence of local hexameter traditions, because they are short and restricted in their language and text-type; but they are not incompatible with the idea of local traditions of hexameter poetry, and give us some idea of what form we might expect such traditions to have. Direct evidence thus comes exclusively for Ionic hexameter tradition, and possibly also for Lesbian Aeolic. It seems undeniable that Aeolic poetry influenced the language of hexameter, but in the absence of any hexameter poems written in Aeolic, the only evidence for a specifically hexameter tradition is the indirect testimony of cases like ἀταρτηροῖς ἐπέεσσιν (see above) and Aeolic

formulae, which in principle could have come from poetry in a different metre.

The linguistic evidence, therefore, is not particularly in favour of a wide variety of local, independent hexameter traditions contributing to early epos; instead it points towards certain regions, that is, Ionia and the Aeolis, being the focal areas that establish the norms of epic language. Other dialects do contribute to the language of epos, sometimes with significant words that may give an epichoric feel to a narrative (κόρην, Φῆρες), sometimes unpredictably (τέτορα), but if local hexameter traditions did exist elsewhere in the Greek world, they do not seem to have had a detectable influence on the language of the surviving poems. It is also worth reemphasising the absence of local forms that can be narrowed down more precisely. Partly this may be due to our inadequate knowledge of the local dialects, or the difficulty in establishing whether forms are archaisms or innovations,[351] but it is also possible that the poetic language exhibits an avoidance of forms that seem too local - supra-local, if not Panhellenic, forms are preferred.

[351]cf. the attestation of γεγωνέοντες (∼ Homeric γεγωνέω) at Chios; but the etymology of this form is still not clear: see Beekes (2010) *ad loc.* At any rate we find none of the other Chian features noted by Buck (1928) 131, which may be Aeolic in origin anyway.

Chapter 5

Catalogue Poetry and Local Tradition

5.1 Catalogue poetry and the question of local tradition

A key example for the theories of Panhellenism is the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (*HHAp.*). Nagy considers that the hymn arises from the fusion of 'two distinct traditions'[1] - a version of the traditional view that the poem can be divided into a 'Delian' section, concerned with Apollo's birth on Delos,

[1] Nagy (1979) 6-7.

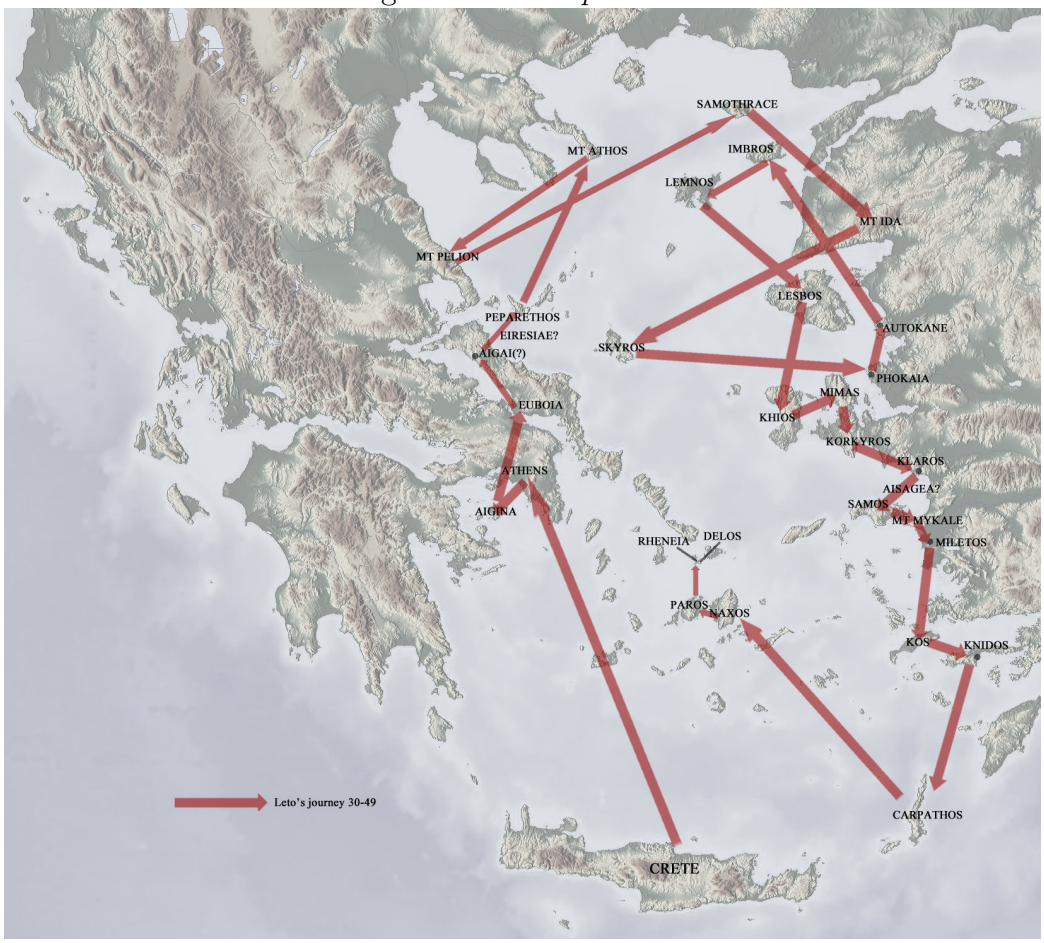
and a 'Pythian' section, describing the origins of Apollo's oracle at Delphi.[2] Nagy follows Giovannini in identifying these distinct traditions with particular regions:[3] the worship of the Delian Apollo is practiced on the coast of Asia Minor and the Aegean islands; the Pythian Apollo, by contrast, is worshipped on the mainland. So, according to Nagy, *HHAp.* is a particularly stark case of the fusion of local (or in this case, regional) traditions of poetry to make a Panhellenic whole, in which we can still distinguish the (originally separate) traditions. Now, this hymn contains three substantial catalogues, each consisting of a sequence of geographical references which purport to describe a journey: the journey of Leto to find a place to bear Apollo (30-46, map 1[4]); the journey of Apollo to found his oracle site at Delphi (214-285, map 2); and the journey of the Cretans to Delphi to become his priests (392-439, map 3). The theory of different regional traditions (not just specifically Delian and Delphic) arises partially from the geographical course of these

[2]For further bibligraphy see Clay (2006) 18n1, Bonnell (2019) esp. 1-2.

[3]Giovannini (1969) 64-7. See also Janko (1982) 99-100 for previous scholarship on the question. Janko himself adds linguistic arguments, but the differences for his criteria are not statistically significant: see the table at McConnell (2019) 21.

[4]Maps 1-3 have been produced by reference to Richardson's (2010) commentary for the location of places, occasionally with further reference to Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1970); I have not followed Richardson's judgement on eg. which Pylos is referred to in map 3 (see below). Where the location of a place is deduced from a later source but was not known or was contested in historical times, I have marked it with '(?)'; places that are completely unknown are written next to the connecting arrows with a question mark, eg. 'Aipy?'.

Figure 5.1: *HHAp.* 30-46



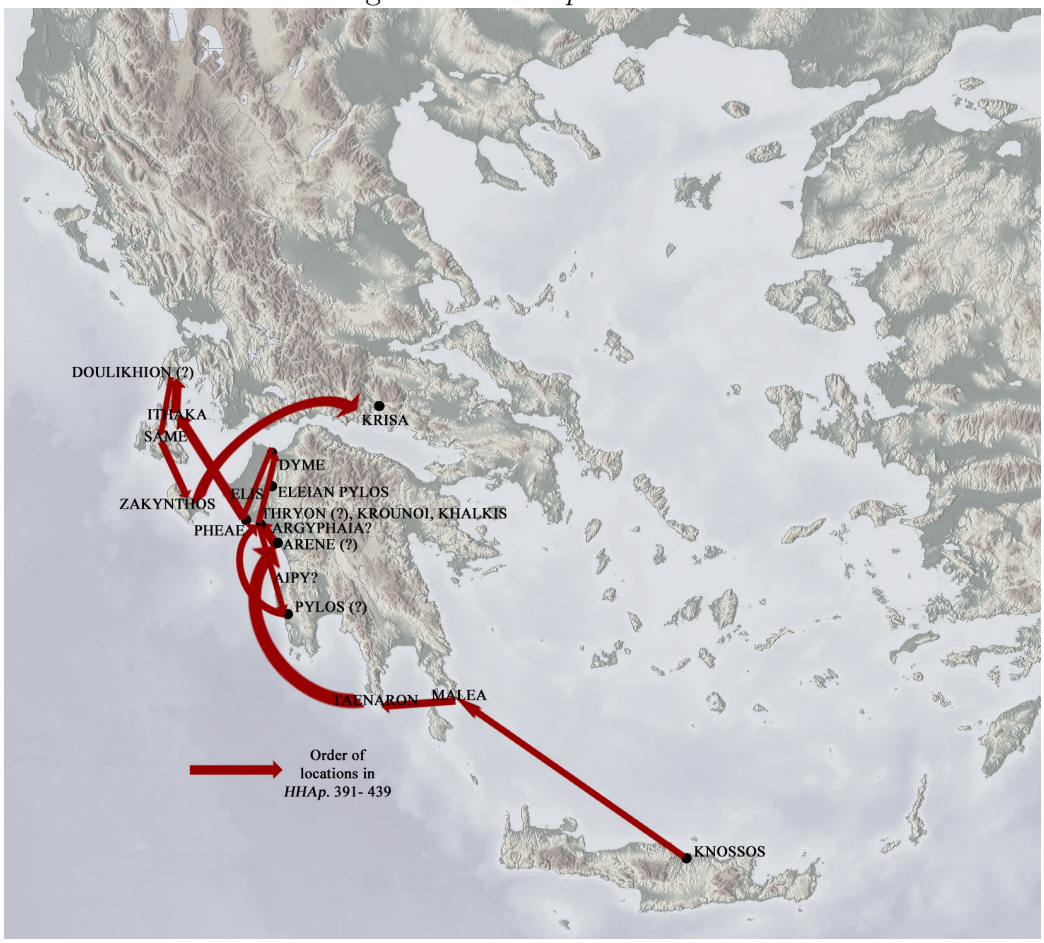
catalogues: Leto's journey, broadly speaking, encompasses the Aegean and Asia Minor, whilst Apollo's journey is through Thessaly and Boeotia, and the Cretans travel round the western Peloponnese.[5]

[5]See Giovannini (1969) esp. 69.

Figure 5.2: *HHAp.* 214-285



Figure 5.3: *HHAp.* 392-439



The theory that *HHAp* is a fusion of two poems has not gone unchallenged. Richardson's commentary on the hymn makes a strong structural case for literary unity, showing that it falls naturally into three movements (each containing one of the catalogues above mentioned), with close parallels between them.[6] Clay's study has also convincingly demonstrated the unitary outlook and ideology behind the hymn.[7] It is therefore hard to accept that the *HHAp.* originated in two originally separate compositions which were later stuck together: such close correspondence between the detail of the narratives in the 'Delian' and 'Pythian' parts would be an unlikely coincidence.[8] A weaker view could still be maintained, in which the traditional material of each part goes back to local or regional traditions, but its particular arrangement and development in the poem does not. But this has little basis except an *a priori* linking of local detail with local origin; and there is little reason to suppose a specifically poetic tradition.[9] This is not to deny that *HHAp.* is 'Panhellenic', at least in the sense that it refers to

[6]Richardson (2010) 10-13.

[7]Clay (2006) 19, 49; see also 39, 67, 72-3 for the development of a theme throughout the poem. cf. also Bonnell (2019) 1-12

[8]One could of course hold that the 'second half' of the hymn has been modelled on the first part, or vice versa; but in that case the expansion would not originate in a different local poetic tradition from the original part.

[9]cf. Clay (2006) 48-9 on the essentially Panhellenistic outlook of the hymns, with a critique of scholars' attempts to extract local traditions; also Bonnell (2019) 5-7

a wide range of locations from around the Greek world;[10] but we are left with the same fundamental impasse on the question of local tradition: does local reference imply local origin? And if we do have local tradition, was it originally in poetic form?

The geographical catalogues of the *HHAp.* are clearly an important aspect of the poem's Panhellenism, since they allow a wide range of places to be included. In general, catalogues are extremely common in early epos and frequently comprise collections of local details, which implicates them in the questions of local and Panhellenic tradition fundamental to this thesis. But whilst any given catalogue in early hexameter has generally been well-studied - particularly the Catalogue of Ships in the *Iliad*[11] - less work has been done on comparing the different catalogues across the surviving corpus of epos as a whole.[12] In this chapter, I will consider the nature of catalogue poetry within epos, the overall ordering and distribution of catalogue items, and

[10]cf. Clay (2006) 52, 93-4 on the Panhellenic appeal of the hymn.

[11]On the *Iliad* 2 catalogues in particular, see especially: *BK* 2.2.145-288, Sammons (2010) 135-96, Visser (1997), Kirk (1985) 166-263, Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1970); see Edwards (1980) 83n5, Kirk 169-70 for more comprehensive listing of past scholarship.

[12]For this, see Sammons (2010) (on the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*), (2017) (though focused mostly on the Trojan cycle), Minchin (2001) 73-99 (on the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*), Visser (1997) 1-3, Edwards (1980) 97-100.

the source of the material in individual entries. Each of these points carries important implications for the nature of 'Panhellenism' in early hexameter.

5.2 The role of catalogue poetry in hexameter

Catalogues are ubiquitous in early epos, ranging from smaller catalogues of men killed in battle to the Catalogue of Ships and Catalogue of Trojans (together occupying about 400 lines of *Iliad* 2); the longest is the Pseudo-Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* (henceforth *GK*), where the whole poem is itself a catalogue.[13] But defining the term 'catalogue' presents certain difficulties. The Iliadic Catalogue of Ships, the *GK*, and many others consist of a large number of independent entries which are each parallel in the information they provide (for example, the number of ships, leaders, and geographical locations associated with each entry in the Catalogue of Ships) and the phrasing they use;[14] often there is also an introductory section that introduces the catalogue and sets out expectations for its content.[15] Where the entries are each of minimal size, catalogues are often rather called lists

[13]For examples of lists and catalogues in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, see Minchin (2001) 75 nn. 3-5.

[14]See Sammons (2010) 8-13.

[15]Often in the form of an invocation: see Minchin (2001) 90-1 and n44; Minton (1960), (1962).

(as with the Nereids who mourn Patroklos at *Iliad* 18.39-49).[16] But much of Homeric narrative works on a similar principle, with a series of loosely-linked episodes following a parallel structure. Many battle scenes are based around lists of who kills who, with varying degrees of detail, and may be preceded by a similar invocation; this structure is very similar to that of a catalogue.[17] Krischer emphasised the role of catalogue-type structure as a general feature in Homeric narrative technique, a finding accepted and developed by Danek and Sammons.[18] Examples of particularly catalogue-style narrative structure in the *Iliad* include the funeral games of Patroklos in book 23, in which each contest is independent and follows a set structure, or the *Teikhoskopia* of book 3, in which Helen describes several of the main Greek warriors from the Trojan walls.[19] Evidently, we do not have a distinct category of poems or parts of poems within epos which can be termed 'catalogues', so much as a spectrum between a series of sections that are dissimilar and have strong narrative links between them, and a series of sections that are parallel and

[16]For discussion of the list and its relationship with the catalogue, see Minchin (2001) 74-6. For the purposes of this study, I consider lists as a sub-category of catalogue.

[17]For example at *Il.* 14.508-22. See Beye (1964) 352, Krischer (1971), Sammons (2010) 13, n29.

[18]Krischer (1971) 131-58. See also Edwards (1980) 101-3 for the same idea. cf. Perceau (2002), Bakker (1997) 59-60 and following discussion, Sammons (2010) 7-8, Danek (2004) 59.

[19]Edwards (1980) 102-3, Sammons (2010) 8-9, cf. Lynn-George (1988) 31-3 on the way the *Teikhoskopia* and the Catalogue of Ships form a contrasting pair.

independent.

'Catalogues', then, are found throughout the corpus, and there is no clear dividing line between them and other modes of poetic composition in epos. For this reason, it is difficult to accept a view on which catalogues are a 'marked and unusual mode relative to ordinary narrative',[20] or that they primarily emphasise the differences with a separate genre of 'catalogue poetry'.[21] There seems no reason to take less catalogic parts of epos (such as, say, Akhilleus' meeting with Priam in *Iliad* 24) as more standard than the more catalogic parts (such as the funeral games for Patroklos).[22] It is true that we can recognise certain parts as catalogues in the strict sense (eg., the Catalogue of Ships) and distinguish them from the surrounding narrative, but the same is true of, say, hospitality scenes.

Of course, one view holds that catalogue poetry is a distinctive feature of a 'mainland' or 'Boeotian' school of composition, exemplified by Hesiod

[20]Sammons (2010) 21, followed by Ready (2018) 340-1, 347.
[21]Sammons (2010) 21, 34, 61-2, 101-2, and *passim*.
[22]Minchin (2001) 90-9 rightly emphasises the different tone and pace of lists compared to the main narrative, but this applies more to lists in the strict sense, in which the entries are not elaborated; at any rate it does not show that one mode of narration is more basic or unmarked than another.

and of later date than the Homeric poems.[23] This has obvious relevance to the question of local tradition; if it were true, this would mean that we could identify catalogues as being Boeotian (or 'mainland') contributions to the Homeric poems. This view has often involved seeing catalogues in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* - notably the Catalogue of Ships - as interpolations, a fundamentally 'analyst' argument that has outlived many of the other 'analyst' approaches to the poems.[24] However, in view of the strong arguments for seeing catalogues as an integral part of epic composition, the idea that they are an intrusive (or late) element in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* (or for that matter in other parts of the corpus) is implausible. Indeed, more recent studies have emphasised the relevance of the Catalogue of Ships to the *Iliad* as a whole as part of a unified literary work.[25] Moreover, catalogues implicitly involve a large number of distinct items; frequently these are people or places. This

[23]For this view cf. Kirk (1962) 162-3, (1985) 178-9; cf. Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1970) 168-9; West (1966) 13 (against theogonies being distinctively Boeotian).

[24]In this I follow Visser (1997) 2-3n3.

[25]See especially Gaertner (2001), Sammons (2010); also Kirk (1985) 169; Taplin (1992) 84; Visser (1997) 3n4; Haubold (2000) 60-1, 85; Minchin (2001) (with extensive discussion of the poetics of lists more generally in the Homeric corpus). A similar controversy surrounded *Odyssey* 11.235-332 - see Tsagarakis (2000) 70-1. cf. Bowra (1930) 70-73, seeing catalogues as a 'primitive' element which the poet exploits in a new use ('the old device is completely mastered and subordinated to the tragic story'). Given that in our surviving corpus catalogues have an important literary role, there is no reason to assume that at some 'primitive' stage they were merely a way of 'recording facts'. Kullmann (2012) 210-11, 222 accepts that the Catalogue was not an interpolation but supposes that it was taken en masse from a pre-existing poem.

inherently leads them to encompass a wide geographical range - as is certainly the case with our attested examples - so it would be strange if they were a feature of specifically Boeotian local tradition.[26]

Catalogues are, therefore, a fundamental part of epos; and also a mode which is inherently supra-local in nature. This, then, is one way in which early hexameter is itself fundamentally supra-local. It is thus unlikely that this characteristic is a superficial result of a recent (8th century, say) development in the tradition through the fusion of local material.[27] This is not to say, of course, that particular catalogues (like the Catalogue of Ships) are primordial survivals of Mycenaean tradition preserved in epos;[28] rather, the form of the catalogue and its supra-local reference is deeply embedded in the poetics of the genre.

[26] For more on the Boeotians in the Catalogue of Ships, see below, 7.1.

[27] *Contra* Nagy (1979) 7: 'the eighth century B.C.... was a watershed in the evolution of Hellenic civilization... there emerged... the trend of Panhellenism'.

[28] On the antiquity of the ordering, see below, § 4; on the material itself, § 7.

5.3 The distribution of places in geographical catalogues

For geographical catalogues, one aspect we can investigate is the distribution of the entries: what gaps might the catalogue have, and are there any regions that are particularly focused on? The Catalogue of Ships is the easiest example to look at in this light, because it has a large number of entries (which means that any pattern is less likely to arise through chance) and survives in full. Despite its length, however, it is clear from map 4 [29] that there are substantial areas of the Greek-speaking world missing from the Catalogue: most prominently the Cyclades, but also innumerable other settlements, including most of Attica.[30] It is sometimes considered that the Catalogue of Ships intentionally aims at representing the whole of Greece, as part of an

[29]Map 4, as well as map 5 (which shows the contingents of Trojan allies) have been constructed using the identifications in Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1970) and Kirk (1985).

[30]Other major omissions include the Megarid, Western Lokris, Eastern and Western Crete (Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1970) 114-5), many of the later towns on the coast of Asia Minor (Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1970) 177), and important islands such as Paros and Naxos in the Aegean - for full details see Kirk's (1985) commentary on each catalogue entry. It is sometimes supposed that the absence of Attica is due to later tampering with the text, perhaps to emphasise the position of Athens: so eg. Edwards (1980) 93, Finkelberg (1988); see Haslam (1997) 83, Visser (1997) 228n23 for arguments against this idea; cf. Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1970) 56, Kirk (1985) 179-80. Minchin (2001) 86 considers it possible that eg. the Cyclades may have been accidentally omitted by the poet. Visser (1997) 744 explains the absence of Western Lokris and the Cyclades on the basis that they did not enter into mythological traditions at the end of the Mycenaean period. In general, the omissions are problematic for Minchin's notion (2001) 97 that the catalogue creates suspense because the audience awaits its completeness.

attempt to appeal to a Panhellenic audience.[31] The gaps in the catalogue are a problem for this theory; this can only partly be explained by the idea that the catalogue is just 'representative',[32] which might explain the omission of some well-known settlements but not the omission of whole regions. Another possible explanation is the archaising outlook of the poet: the absence of Greek towns in Asia Minor may reflect a conception that Ionian cities were founded in the Ionian migration, which traditionally took place after the Trojan war, whilst the Doric islands of the South Aegean were colonised by Herakles' descendants at an earlier time.[33] Thus a town like Miletos is included, not as a Greek city but a Carian settlement, in line with the traditions about its foundation.[34] This explanation is perhaps more plausible, although it does not wholly explain why Miletos could be included in the catalogue of Trojans but Naxos and Paros (for example) could not.

Conversely, the prominence of certain regions might provide information

[31] See eg. Danek (2004) 69, Sammons (2010) 139.

[32] eg. Danek (2004) 67.

[33] eg. Danek (2004) 70. cf. also Kirk (1962) 224, arguing that the catalogue is old because it shows a pre-Dorian situation. A problem with the idea of a historicising poet is that there was also a tradition that the Boeotians only occupied Boeotia after the Trojan war (cf. Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1970) 34) yet they are mentioned in the Catalogue; cf. Kirk (1985) 226-7 on whether the Dorians are implied in the Rhodian contingent.

[34] *Il.* 2.867-9. cf. Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1970) 178-180. This is not to say that such traditions were historically accurate; cf. Mac Sweeney (2017).

about the nature of the catalogue. The theory of the Boeotian origins of the Catalogue of Ships emphasised the fullness of the Boeotian contingent; but this may be simply a consequence of its position (the first contingent in the catalogue).[35] More striking is the Thessalian region, which has nine contingents (cf. the 6 contingents covering the whole of the Peloponnese). One explanation for this would be that Thessalian tradition had particular prominence in Greek epic; but in fact the leaders of the Thessalian contingents, except for Akhilleus, are not major characters in the rest of the *Iliad*, and many are extremely obscure (Gouneus, for example). Perhaps these figures were part of Thessalian local tradition,[36] but had less popularity in Panhellenic epos; or perhaps their absence is merely a matter of chance. Alternatively, Sammons argued that characters like Gouneus could be innovations of the *Iliad* poet, and emphasised the importance of literary motivations to the arrangement of the catalogue.[37] A complicating factor is that the geography of the Thessalian section is problematic.[38]

[35]eg. Bowra (1930) 70, Kirk (1960) 154-5; however, Minchin (2001) 96 suggests that the poet may be intentionally delaying mention of the more major heroes. On the prominence of certain figures in the Catalogue compared to the *Iliad*, see Visser (1997) 217-224; of certain contingents, 224-8.

[36]cf. Bowra (1930) 78-80, ascribing the Thessalians to 'old family traditions' of Aiolians.

[37]Sammons (2010) 185-92, cf. 158-9.

[38]Because the areas given to different heroes seem to be impossibly overlapping: see Kullmann (2012) 218-9.

In comparison, the shorter length of other catalogues makes it harder to conclude much about where they focus on. But it has been suggested that the journey of Leto in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* shows a prominent number of obscure geographical locations around Chios, where the poet of the *Hymn* claims to originate from.[39] Otherwise, the distribution of places in the catalogues of the *HHAp.* seems to serve a similar function to the distribution in the Catalogue of Ships and that of the Trojan allies; in both cases the wide geographical spread serves poetic effects, demonstrating the breadth of Apollo's power or the size of the armies involved in the Trojan conflict, and provides an opportunity for virtuoso display of poetic technique.

[39]Richardson (2010) 89 *ad HHAp.* 40. cf. Kirk (1985) *ad Iliad* 2.864-6, linking the biographical traditions about Homer's birthplace to the level of detail about Maion in the Catalogue of Ships; Visser (1997) 750 for a similar argument.

Figure 5.4: Iliadic Catalogue of Ships

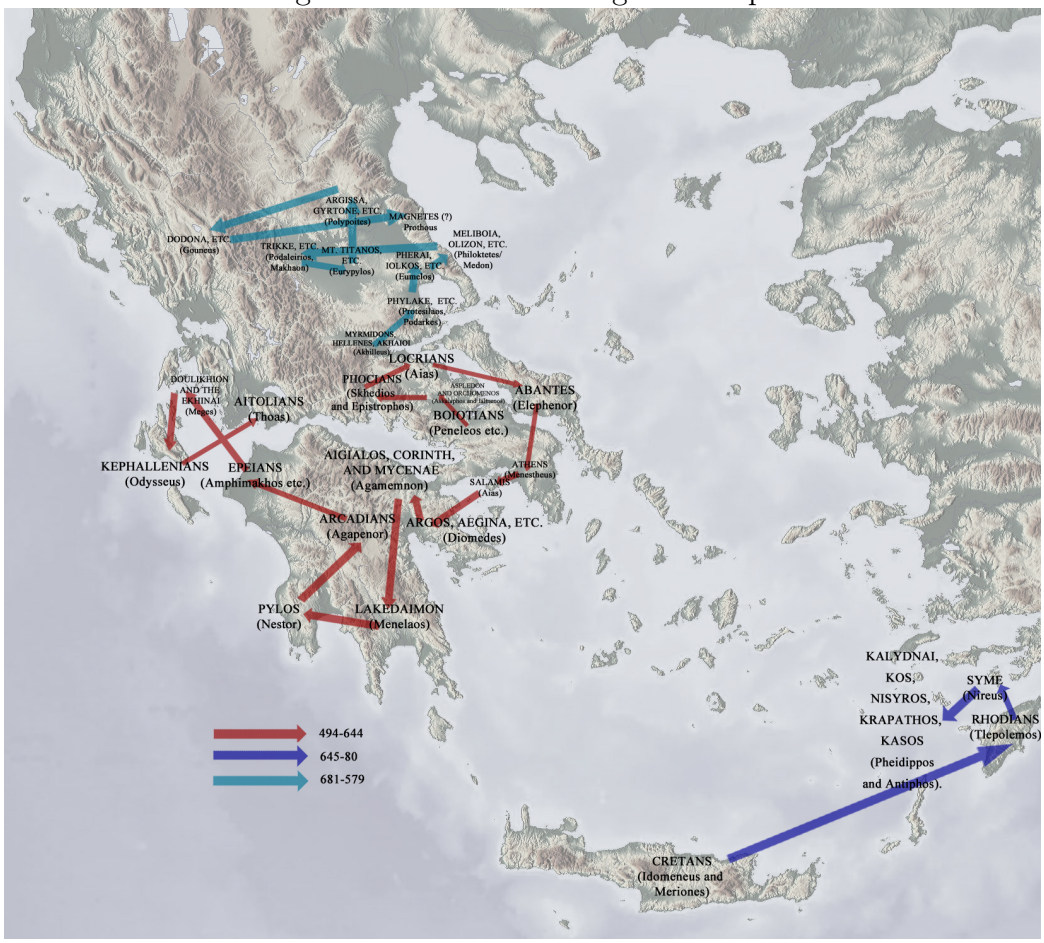


Figure 5.5: Iliadic Catalogue of Trojan allies



5.4 The ordering of places in geographical catalogues

Several of the attested catalogues list the Greeks who participated in different stages of the Trojan war. As well as the Catalogue of Ships, a portion of the *Kypria* seems to have covered the mustering of the Greeks, when Menelaos travelled around collecting the allies who would gather at Aulis;[40] moreover, the *GK* contained a catalogue of the suitors of Helen, in its fifth book, which has considerable similarities to the Catalogue of Ships. As Danek and Sammons have shown, there are numerous other places in the Trojan saga which would have provided poets with an opportunity to list the different heroes or contingents: the fleet at Aulis, the arrival at Troy, the disembarkation of heroes from the Trojan horse, or the apportioning of the spoil after the sack of the city.[41] Indeed, it has often been suggested that the Catalogue of

[40]See Sammons (2017) 86-91 for extensive discussion of the mustering episodes in the *Kypria* and mentions of the mustering elsewhere in the corpus.

[41]Danek (2004) 64-6; Sammons (2017) 72-100 studies catalogues elsewhere in the epic cycle. Danek (2004) 64 identifies points in other mythological cycles, such as the Seven Against Thebes myth and Kalydonian boar hunt, which also imply a gathering of heroes (cf. also Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1970) 166), and identifies this with the 'spätestens im 8. Jh. manifesten Tendenz des griechischen Mythos zur Panhellenisierung', with local myths growing in importance through 'die Hinzufügung überregionaler Helfer'. On the relationship of the other catalogues of the Trojan expedition/Helen's suitors, cf. the observation (Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1970) 166) that some entries in the Catalogue of Ships and the catalogue of Helen's suitors in the *GK* could easily be converted from one occasion to the other by using a different formula.

Ships was originally intended to describe the Greek fleet at Aulis: Aulis is the starting point for the Catalogue, and a number of entries (eg. Philoktetes') first state the former leader of a contingent before updating it with the figure in charge at the current stage of the war.[42] However, this does not mean that the Catalogue of Ships is an interpolation from a poem that originally described the mustering at Aulis but was later slightly edited and added to the *Iliad*;[43] if providing a catalogue of the contingents at Troy was a typical feature of poems of the Trojan saga, as seems likely, then it may be that the poet of the *Iliad* was used to singing of the mustering at Aulis and this starting point remains as a reminiscence even when a catalogue of the Greeks is given in a different context; or, as Sammons suggests, the reference to Aulis may be a deliberate allusion to the start of the war, parallel to Odysseus' reminiscence of Kalkhas' prophecy at *Il.* 2.303-330.[44]

If giving a catalogue of the Greeks at a point in the Trojan war was a

[42]cf. Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1970) 159-60. For more on the position of Aulis and the Boeotians in the Catalogue of Ships, see below, 7.1.

[43]The view of eg. Bowra (1930) 70-1.

[44]See Sammons (2010) 144-8. cf. Danek (2004) 64-6, pointing out that there are numerous occasions at the start of the war appropriate to a catalogue of the Greeks. As Danek notes, assimilating episodes from earlier in the war is characteristic of the opening books of the *Iliad*.

traditional theme, it is worth investigating whether the order of the Catalogue of Ships is itself traditional. In Proklos' summaries of the *Kypria*, the sequence seems to have been as follows:

- Iris brings the news about Paris and Helen to Menelaos in Crete.
- Menelaos first goes to his brother in Mycenae, since this is the point when the expedition is decided on.
- The next location mentioned after this is Pylos, where Nestor is recruited.
- Agamemnon sends heralds to a wider range of leaders.
- Subsequently Proklos mentions the recruitment of Odysseus, which is achieved through the trick of Palamedes.
- The Greeks gather at Aulis.

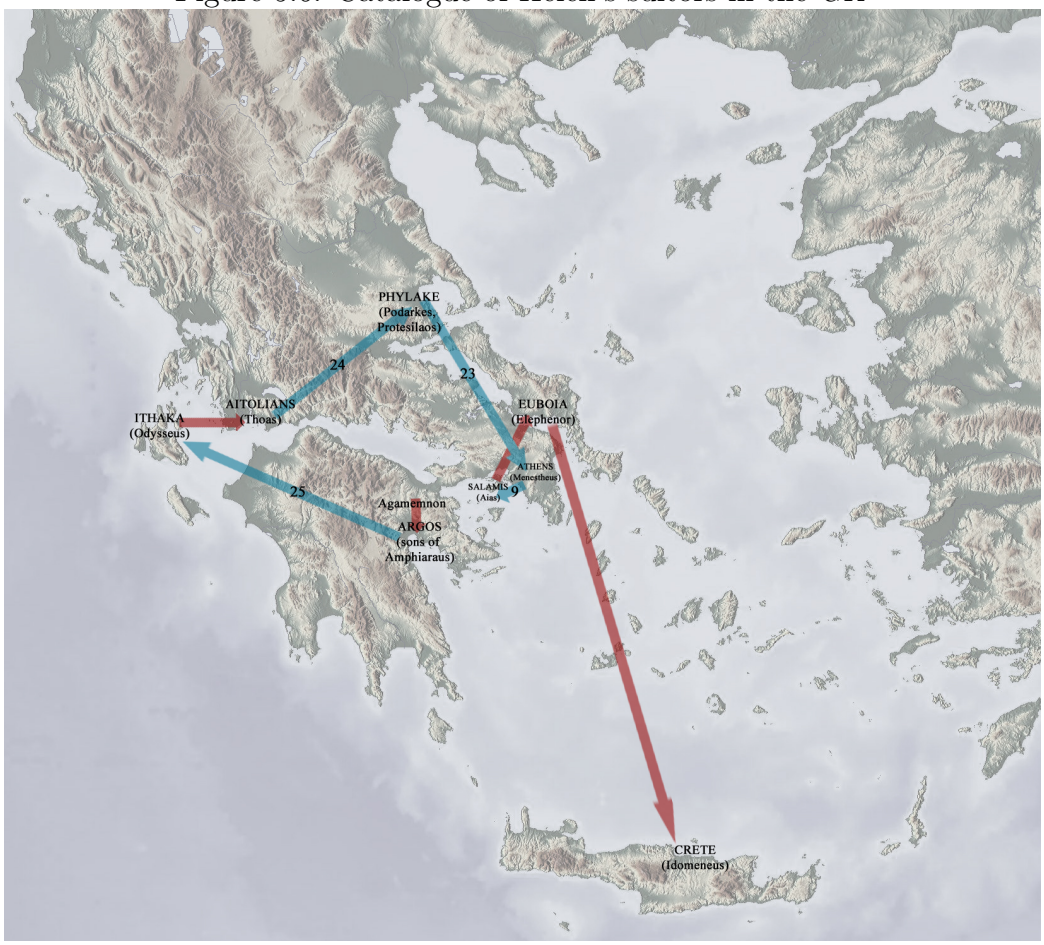
Proklos' summary is unlikely to be a complete account, and leaves it somewhat unclear whether other heroes had explicit mustering scenes, or whether the names of different contingents were given when Agamemnon sends out the heralds.[45] As it stands, the order in Proklos is not entirely incompatible

[45]cf. the scene in which Peleus sends off Akhilleus, reported by Odysseus at *Il.* 9.252-9; this may also be referred to at 7.125-8, which itself seems to suppose a catalogue of the Greek forces.

with that in the *Iliad* Catalogue of Ships, but by no means suggests it; we would have to assume that visits to the Arcadians, Epeians, and Doulikhion had been omitted before the arrival at Ithaka. At any rate, it seems unlikely that the poet of the *Kypria* narrated a journey of Menalaos back to Crete to recruit Idomeneus and Meriones, and the path in the Catalogue of Ships is too fragmented to serve as a continuous journey. More informative is the catalogue of Helen's suitors in the *GK*; this survives only partially, but because it is on a single piece of papyrus it is possible to estimate the size of the gaps between the attested entries. From the reconstruction on figure 6,[46] compared with fig. 4, it is clear that the order of the entries cannot have been the same as that in the Catalogue of Ships, regardless of which regions were mentioned in the gaps: in the *GK* Attica cannot have been near the start; there is no jump from Aetolia to Crete; the Thessalians come in the middle, not at the end. It thus seems unlikely that the specific order of entries in the Catalogue of Ships is a traditional feature of catalogues of the Greek expedition. Equally, it is clear (simply from the number of lines missing in the catalogue of Helen's suitors) that not all of the regions mentioned in the

[46]Reconstructed using the calculations of West (1985). Red arrows show the transitions which are attested in the papyrus, blue arrows lacunae with the estimated number of missing lines. The first attested entry is that of Agamemnon, which was preceded by c.32 lines; the last attested entry is that of Crete, followed by c.13 lines.

Figure 5.6: Catalogue of Helen's suitors in the *GK*



Catalogue of Ships can have had entries in the *GK*.[47]

Supporting evidence comes from Danek's comparison of the Catalogue of

[47]To get an idea of how long the intervening entries would have been, the attested entries have lengths of >5, ⩾4, 7, ⩾4, ⩾4, >6, >7, >3, 5, 4, and ⩾9 lines each: it is thus fairly unlikely that the catalogue of Helen's suitors included an entry for every contingent in the Iliadic Catalogue of Ships.

Ships with South Slavic epic, in particular with a similarly monumental catalogue produced by Avdo Međedović.[48] Međedović seems to have produced this catalogue as an expansion of a much shorter version from a written source, expanding it with a large number of additional entries that incorporated a wider geographical range and emphasised the significance of his narration. This might point us towards a similar view of the *Iliad* poet's creation of the Catalogue of Ships; certain individual entries may of course be traditional, and certain features of the ordering could be as well, but as a whole the ordering and selection of items is probably the work of the poet.[49] Furthermore, Danek has shown that the ordering is at least partially determined by associations between the entries: for example, the poet shifts from Agamemnon to his brother Menelaos, at first bypassing Arcadia (which is, in geographical terms, between the two).[50] This means that the poets of early

[48]See Danek (2004) 60-3 for a comparison.

[49]One could also compare the ordering of shorter lists in the *Iliad*, such as the Greeks facing Hektor at 13.685-700 - apart from also starting with the Boeotians, the order does not match the Catalogue of Ships (note that this particular list has been much criticised, see Edwards (1980) 100, although Janko (1991) 132-3 defends it). This conclusion partially contradicts the assumption of Minchin (2001) 79 that the Catalogue of Ships is a collection of traditional material that the 'audience itself have heard before and perhaps knows well', although Minchin accepts that innovation can occur in lists and catalogues as well (79n13, 80). On the other hand, I would not deny that catalogues required more preparation - and were subject to less performance-based variation - than other forms of Homeric narrative (Minchin (2001) 79, 79n15). For the notion that the *Catalogue* has grown by accretion, see eg. Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1970) 164-7, although they would place this process in the Mycenaean period.

[50]For a list of such associations see Danek (2004) 67-8. This is not to deny that geograph-

epos probably did have the freedom to order, compress, or expand catalogues as they wished - making it quite plausible that they could introduce items from local traditions if they wished.

An obvious feature of the journeys in *HHAp.* is that the ordering is occasionally illogical for that of a real journey. Note that Leto, in the course of a generally clockwise path around the Aegean, visits Mt Athos and Mt Pelion in the 'wrong' order, and having reached Phokaia doubles back via Autokane, Imbros, Lemnos and Lesbos before getting to Khios.[51] To an even greater degree, the places mentioned in the journey of the Cretans to become Apollo's priests seem to be given in an irregular order. Even when we take into account the uncertainty over the location of certain places in the western Peloponnese - many of which, by the time of our sources, had become obscure or the subject of controversy - it does not appear that the poet followed a clear geographical order.[52] Compare this with the Catalogue of Ships in the

ical association is important in the construction of the catalogue: see Minchin (2001) 85-7 for the role of such associations to the memorisation processes of the singer. Literary motivations also play a role in the arrangement of catalogues: for example, the discontinuity with Thessaly gives Akhilleus emphasis (Sammons (2010) 137).

[51]Although as Clay (2006) 33 notes, the actual reference of the list as the journey of Leto is unclear until line 45, before which it could have been interpreted as a list of sites important to Apollo.

[52]See map 3; the locations of Arene and Argyphaia are not entirely certain, but they were certainly further north than the Messenian Pylos. Even if we follow Richardson

Iliad: we go from the Epeians to the kingdom of Meges, then to the Kephallenians, and then cross back eastwards to the Aitolians; the path goes from Crete straight to Rhodes and then doubles back until it reaches Kasos; and in Thessaly the order is particularly contorted.[53] It is overly generous of Danek (among others) to describe such ordering as a 'spiral';[54] we simply have to accept that catalogues of geographical locations in epos do not represent real or even notional journeys, even though geographical closeness plays a role in the sequence of locations.[55] This should not be surprising; the poets of early hexameter had no maps to refer to, and would not have conceptualised the world in the terms presupposed by our neat aerial views.

In sum, one could consider it unlikely that a 'Khian' poet (that is, a poet with good personal knowledge of geography around Khios) would have

(2010) *ad HHAp.* 398 and suppose that a Triphylian Pylos is intended, and even accept Càssola's argument - (1975) 511 *ad* 425 - for a Triphylian Dyme, there is no way that Zakynthos can be anything but south of Doulikhion, Ithaka, and Same. It seems better to simply accept that the order does not strictly correspond to any real journey. See Richardson (2010) 139 for more details on the controversy over where these locations are.

[53]The catalogue of Trojan allies (map 5) is to some degree more coherently ordered, although note the transition from Asios' contingent to the Pelasgoi.

[54]Danek (2004) 66, cf. *BK* 2.2.153-4. Compare also Sammons (2010) 136, whose formulation in terms of only two discontinuities is somewhat over-simplified; similarly, Visser (1997) 746. Some scholars (Giovannini (1969) 51-71, Kullmann (2002) 58, Kullmann (2012) 220) have supposed that the order of the Catalogue of Ships reflects the itineraries of the Delphic Theorodokoi: for discussion see Kirk (1985) 184-5, Danek (2004) 66-7.

[55]*Contra* - assuming that the Catalogue of Ships does show real itineraries - Kullmann (2012) 221.

produced the sequence of places to the north of Khios in Leto's journey in the *HHAp.*, or that a 'Thessalian' poet would have produced the sequence of locations in the Thessalian part of the Catalogue of Ships. In view of just how widespread discontinuities and illogicalities are in the ordering of catalogues in epos, such arguments have very little weight; although a point in their favour is that there are some parts of the catalogues in which the ordering seems more straightforward.[56]

5.5 Genealogy and Panhellenism in the catalogues

The *Theogony* and the *GK* (excepting the suitors of Helen in book 5) also have a strongly catalogue-based form, but their ordering is not geographical; it follows principles of genealogy, progressing through different family lines.[57] For the Catalogue of Women at *Odyssey* 11.225-322 - although Alden has shown that the selection of women's stories narrated or alluded to by

[56]cf. Kirk (1985) 183 arguing that Odysseus was 'a folk-hero of western Greece' and that the 'Ionic heroic tradition' thus has 'vagueness and inconsistencies' regarding the geography of his region.

[57]For these precise principles see West (1966) 37-9 on the *Theogony*, (1985) 46-50 on the *GK*.

Odysseus are all relevant to the main plot and themes of the *Odyssey*[58] - the ordering principle itself is less clear.[59] What is evident, however, is that all three catalogues show an impressive geographical range across the Greek world. Indeed, the *GK* is perhaps the most 'Panhellenic' or 'supra-local' of all the poems of early hexameter, narrating the origins not only of all the Greeks but also many non-Greek peoples.[60] Even within the Greek world, genealogy seems to cross geographical boundaries: for example, Neleus and Peleus are brothers, but come to be rulers of Pylos and Iolkos respectively.[61]

[58] Alden (2017) 43-54; as 55-63 demonstrates, the ensuing scenes of male heroes Odysseus sees have a similar function.
It is interesting to consider to what extent the principle of a 'Catalogue of Women' was traditional. The structure, after all, seems not to concentrate on the feelings and experiences of women in particular, but uses 'women' as a general framework under which to index the mythological tradition: that is, a story like that of Pero in the *Odyssey* (11.287-97) is as much (and perhaps more) about Melampous as it is about Pero, and could easily have been narrated in a different framework. On the other hand, we have at least three good examples: the *GK*, the *Megalai Ehoiai*, and *Odyssey* 11.225-322. The *Naupaktia* may also have been genealogical (described as ἔπεσιν ... πεποιημένοις ἐς γυναῖκας according to Pausanias 10.38.11; see Hirschberger (2004) 53; Matthews (1977)) although it is unclear how a genealogical structure was harmonised with the narrative of the Argonauts in the poem.

[59] Minchin (2001) 87n37 suggests that spatial factors may be involved, but provides no explanation of how. Sammons (2010) 91 suggests that the failure of the catalogue to form 'coherent genealogical history' is due to Odysseus' status as a mortal.

[60] eg. West (1985) 131. The Trojan Catalogue is similar in that it incorporates many non-Greek peoples into the *Iliad*, although some of its entries (eg. for Miletos) might be included as references to the contemporary Greek settlements in those places.

[61] West (1985) 142-3; cf. 147 (links between Argos and Thebes). Nonetheless, West (1985) 138-67 (cf. 3, 30) analyses the *GK* as a diachronic accretion of local genealogies. This is based on a methodology that works backwards towards isolated local traditions and excludes non-Greek links as later additions; that this methodology produces a possible explanation of the *GK* data does not prove that it is valid. On the other hand, the sheer quantity of data in the *GK* about mythological figures with different local affiliations strongly suggests that not all of the material was completely Panhellenic in diffusion; but

This seems to be a general feature of genealogies in the Greek mythological tradition, suggesting that supra-local elements are well embedded in the tradition. Like catalogues, genealogy was an integral part of our extant corpus, and many of the genealogies are supra-local in nature.

From studies on both contemporary and ancient societies, genealogy is usually used to lay claim to prestige for someone in the present on the basis of the worth of their ancestors.[62] Within early epos, this is certainly the case. For example, as Alden has shown, Diomedes' assertion of his ancestry at *Il.* 14.110-32 is used to increase the persuasiveness of his advice.[63] We might therefore naturally suspect that the genealogies in epos relate to real people in the contemporary world of the poets, who laid claim to ancestry from important heroes like Menelaos or Nestor.[64] But the poems provide no explicit evidence for this: many heroes are given genealogies, but any descen-

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this is not to say that they reflect necessarily poetic traditions. Compare Hirschberger (2004) 62, 70, emphasising the way the poet connects regional traditions ('verschiedener Regionaltraditionen') into a Panhellenic whole, a principle attributed to supraregional poetic competitions. Thomas (1989) 183n71 also follows West, considering that the author of the *GK* 'synthesized disparate traditions', and argues (182-3) that variation in legendary geneaologies between Akousilaos and Hesiod may reflect local variation.

[62]For copious cross-cultural parallels for genealogical literature, see West (1985) 11-27. For classical Athens, see Thomas (1989) eg. 103-4, 107-9.

[63]Alden (2000) 164-7 (see 153-73 for the role of genealogy in the *Iliad* generally).

[64]So Bowra (1930) 75, citing *Iliad* 2.101-8, 6.153-211, 20.215-41.

dants in the contemporary world go unmentioned. Indeed, references to the contemporary world of the poets are rare in epos, and generally unspecific when they do occur.[65] The closest example to contemporary resonance is found with the prophecies about the descendants of Aeneas, at *Iliad* 20.307-8 and in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* (*HHAphr.*) 196-7. Scholars have posited that these prophecies might reflect a dynasty of rulers in the Troad who claimed descent from Aeneas: in this case, the *HHAphr.* and the *Iliad* would be linked to the influence of a local tradition or at least a local audience.[66] But even if this were true, the poets make no explicit mention of such a dynasty or their names in the poems.

It is possible that the characters of epos originated in aristocratic genealogy known to the poets, but that this connection was deliberately suppressed; or that such links had once existed (eg. in the LHIIIC period) but had since

[65]Such references are usually very unspecific, like the οἷοι νῦν βροτοί εἰσ' motif (*Il.* 5.304, 12.383, 449, 20.287). Perhaps the non-Hesiodic fragmentary 'genealogical' poets (cf. West (1985) 4-8) had more overt local links; eg. Eumelos' *Korinthiaka*, cf. Asios of Samos fr. 7 = Paus. 7.4.1 - which mentions 'Samia' and 'Samos', though among many other names; Hirschberger (2004) 52 suggests that Asios might have made up the genealogy himself. Genealogies in which connections are not readily made with the contemporary world do have parallels: see Hirschberger (2004) 65-7.

[66]For this theory, see Faulkner (2011) 4-10, cf. Aloni (2012). cf. West (1985) 9-11, 132-3, 169-71 on ways in which genealogy in the *GK* could reflect political interests in the Greek world.

been lost; or that they never existed in the first place. Which of these options is true might well depend on the particular character in question. An explanation might also have something to do with the phenomenon of 'telescoping' in oral tradition: the tendency to remember remote, legendary ancestors and the most recent generations, but not the generations in between.[67] Full genealogies are extremely rare in Classical Greece; perhaps the same was true of the Archaic period, and even aristocrats would not know the precise details which connected them to legendary figures, even if they claimed descent from a divinity or hero at a remote degree.[68] This might well have created a sense of distance between the past and present, which poets might be reluctant to break. What is clear, in any case, is that in the poems as we have them any explicit link to the genealogies of contemporary figures is avoided, and there is a marked distance between the heroic past and present reality. However it comes about, this is effectively a Panhellenic feature: an absence of specific reference ensures that the poems do not become particularly associated with a given place or context but are of wider appeal across the Greek world.

[67]For this see Thomas (1989) 156-8.

[68]For full genealogies, or rather their absence, see Thomas (1989) 159; Thomas shows at 161-73 that Pherekydes' genealogy from Aias to Miltiades is highly problematic.

5.6 The source of catalogue material

Where does the material for the individual entries in catalogues come from? Reading (or listening to) the *Catalogue of Women* in the *Odyssey* (for example), one might be struck with the impression of a series of disparate local myths, collected and assembled by the poet in a virtuoso display. However, as Sammons has shown, an inherent part of the rhetoric of a catalogue is to disrupt the connections between the different items, which reinforces the audience's sense of independent items even when they are in fact more closely connected.[69] Note that two of the main entries in Odysseus' catalogue are those of Tyro and Chloris (though the latter focuses substantially on her daughter Pero). Tyro is actually Chloris' mother in law and Pero's grandmother, but the genealogical connection is obscured by the catalogue format and the separation of the entries. So how far can we tell whether the source of catalogue entries is local poetic tradition? We have already seen some arguments for items in catalogues that derive from local geographical knowledge, like the mountain near Chios; but these do not suppose a local tradition in poetic form, which is what this investigation is aimed at.

[69]Sammons (2010) 15-6, cf. 29-30. For the idea that individual items come from local traditions, see eg. Sammons (2010) 158-61, 164.

Returning to Tyro, her story in the *Odyssey* corresponds to another telling of the same story in the *GK*. There are precise correspondences in phrasing between the two poems, which plunge us into the usual controversies over whether the overlap is due to shared traditional phraseology or a direct imitation of the *Odyssey* by the poet of the *GK*.[70] Partly due to the fragmentary state of the *GK* at this point, partly on general methodological grounds, I would prefer to see these correspondences as a sign that both poets are drawing on a shared poetic tradition; but whether we are dealing with a local tradition is independent of this problem: the *Odyssey* could be drawing on a local tradition, or non-local tradition, and the *GK* could be doing the same or imitating the *Odyssey* directly. That Tyro was the mother of Nestor and Pelias, who ruled at Pylos and Iolkos respectively, may indicate a less local tradition.[71] In any case, the appearances of the Trojan heroes in the

[70]The correspondences are between *GK* fr. 31 (=24 Hirschberger) and *Od.* 11.248-252, ie. the point (in the *Odyssey*) where Poseidon addresses Tyro - see Hirschberger (2004) 239-41. In favour of the *GK* imitating the *Odyssey*, see Tsagarakis (2000) 83-5, followed by Sammons (2010) 86. Tsagarakis points out that the passage is in direct speech, otherwise unparalleled in the *GK* - although it is similarly unparalleled in the remainder of the *Odyssey* catalogue of women, not to mention an unusual instance of triply reported speech (the poet quoting Odysseus quoting Tyro quoting Poseidon). As Hirschberger (*ad loc.*) points out, the situation strongly resembles the scene at *HHAphr.* 193-290. Given the extremely fragmentary state of fr. 31 (restored and placed using the *Odyssey* parallel!), firm conclusions are difficult. For discussion of this and other similarities in language between the *GK* and early epos, see Hirschberger (2004) 59-62.

[71]cf. West (1985) 142-3; somewhat differently, (1988) 160.

second part of the underworld scene in *Odyssey* 11, in which figures like Aias are clearly drawn from the traditions about the Trojan war - which is about as non-local as traditions get in early epos - shows that items in catalogues are not all drawn from local traditions.[72]

Another case of shared material is found with certain phraseology describing geographical locations. For example, take the journey of the Cretans in the *HHAp.*:[73]

πνοιῇ δὲ ἄναξ ἑκάεργος Ἀπόλλων
ῥηϊδίως ἴθυν'. ἣ δὲ πρήσσουσα κέλευθον
Ἀρήνην ἵκανε καὶ Ἀργυφέην ἐρατεινήν
καὶ Θρύον, Ἀλφειοῖο πόρον, καὶ ἐΰκτιτον Αἰπύ
καὶ Πύλον ἠμαθόεντα Πυλοιγενέας τ' ἀνθρώπους·
βῆ δὲ παρὰ Κρουνοὺς καὶ Χαλκίδα καὶ παρὰ Δύμην
ἠδὲ παρ' Ἤλιδα δῖαν, ὅθι κρατέουσιν Ἐπειοί.
εὖτε Φεὰς ἐπέβαλλεν, ἀγαλλομένη Διὸς οὔρῳ,
καί σφιν ὕπεκ νεφέων Ἰθάκης τ' ὄρος αἰπὺ πέφαντο

[72]In this I am assuming that the description of the male heroes Odysseus meets in the underworld in *Od.* 11.385-631 is essentially a continuation of the Catalogue of Women at 11.225-329, and still counts as a catalogue.

[73]Reading Φεάς for Φεράς in both texts, as Richardson ad. *HHAp.* 426-7.

Δουλίχιόν τε Σάμη τε καὶ ὑλήεσσα Ζάκυνθος.
ἀλλ᾽ ὅτε δὴ Πελοπόννησον παρενίσατο πᾶσαν...

The phrasing is partly parallel to the Catalogue of Ships in the *Iliad*, and partly to the journey of Telemachus back from Pylos in the *Odyssey*:

οἳ δὲ Πύλον τ᾽ ἐνέμοντο καὶ Ἀρήνην ἐρατεινὴν
καὶ Θρύον, Ἀλφειοῖο πόρον, καὶ ἐΰκτιτον Αἰπύ
καὶ Κυπαρισσήεντα καὶ Ἀμφιγένειαν ἔναιον... (*Il.* 2.591-3)

οἳ δ᾽ ἄρα Βουπράσιόν τε καὶ Ἥλιδα δῖαν ἔναιον
ὅσσον ἐφ᾽ Ὑρμίνη καὶ Μύρσινος ἐσχατόωσα
πέτρη τ᾽ Ὠλενίη καὶ Ἀλήσιον ἐντὸς ἐέργει,... (*Il.* 2.615-7)

τοῖσιν δ᾽ ἴκμενον οὖρον ἵει γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη,
λάβρον ἐπαιγίζοντα δι᾽ αἰθέρος, ὄφρα τάχιστα
νηῦς ἀνύσειε θέουσα θαλάσσης ἁλμυρὸν ὕδωρ.
βὰν δὲ παρὰ Κρουνοὺς καὶ Χαλκίδα καλλιρέεθρον.[74]
δύσετό τ᾽ ἠέλιος σκιόωντό τε πᾶσαι ἀγυιαί·
ἡ δὲ Φεὰς ἐπέβαλλεν ἐπειγομένη Διὸς οὔρῳ
ἠδὲ παρ᾽ Ἥλιδα δῖαν, ὅθι κρατέουσιν Ἐπειοί. (*Od.* 15.292-8)

[74]This line is rejected by West (2014) 243n163.

Note also that *HHAp.* 429 = *Od.* 9.23 ∼ 1.245 = 16.122 = 19.130 (in the dative). Nestor's recollected adventures from his youthful days in the Peloponnese (*Il.* 11.670-761, 23.627-645) also make reference to geographical features mentioned in the *Iliad* Catalogue of Ships entries for Pylos and the Epeians, namely Thryoessa (11.711), the Alpheios (11.712, 726, 728), Arene (11.723), Bouprasion (11.756, 760, 23.631), the latter with Olenia and Alesios and particularly similar phrasing to the Catalogue entry:

> ὄφρ' ἐπὶ Βουπρασίου πολυπύρου βήσαμεν ἵππους
> πέτρης τ' Ὠλενίης, καὶ Ἀλησίου ἔνθα κολώνη (*Il.* 11.756-7, cf. 2.615-7 above).

What are we to make of these parallels?[75] Again, it looks like at least some of this material was circulating within the poetic tradition. One could, of course, argue that the recollections of Nestor in the *Iliad* are innovations based on the bare details provided in the Catalogue; however, in Nestor's stories more detail about the geography is presupposed than a poet could extract from the Catalogue (or several versions thereof) - note, for example,

[75]Richardson (2010) 16-7, 139 *ad* 425-7, following Janko (1982) 129-31, suggests that *HHAp.* is influenced by the *Odyssey.* But whilst an argument for literary resonance can be made (such as for the divine support behind both voyages) the circumstances are not close; and that we find such parallels with other geographical descriptions elsewhere points to shared traditional language.

the mention of the river Minyeios (11.722), which does not appear in the Catalogue. The converse idea - that the Catalogue is based on stories of a kind similar to Nestor's, from which geographical details could be extracted - seems more plausible,[76] although given the enormous quantity of names in the Catalogue of Ships that have no apparent correlate in the epic tradition, it seems likely that some data comes from direct local knowledge or previous catalogues.[77] Some of the material might well have been transferred from other cycles in Panhellenic (ie., non-local) tradition: Kullmann showed that many of the characters in the Catalogue of Ships are related to characters in other mythical cycles, especially the Argonauts.[78] It could be that there was a reserve of characters available to the poets to be included in narrations of Panhellenic deeds, without necessarily involving purely local traditions. But it is difficult to assess this finding properly, because our sources for the Argonautic tradition - whether Apollonios of Rhodes or Pseudo-Apollodoros - are much later, and may be based on works which themselves exploited the *Iliad* catalogue.

[76]cf. Visser (1997) 774 (and *passim* in the commentary for the importance of mythology).

[77]cf. Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1970) 159 on details in the rest of the *Iliad* that are not reflected in the Catalogue of Ships - Patroklos, for example, goes unmentioned.

[78]Kullmann (2012) 216-8. Visser (1997) 749, though, emphasises that Trojan myth is most central.

A supporting case is the catalogue of Nestor's victories at the funeral games of Amarynkeus (*Iliad* 23.629-45).[79] This is said to be a gathering of Epeians, Pylians, Aitolians (632-3) - making it supra-regional, though by no means Panhellenic. We can perhaps get some idea about the source of the catalogue from the names. Klytomedes and his father Enops have no apparent resonance (Klytomedes is a *hapax* in the *Iliad*; Enops is used at 14.445 and 16.401, each time the name of a father of a Trojan fighter). The same goes for Polydoros (637), but the other names appear more meaningful. Ankaios of Pleuron (an Aitolian town) shares the name of Ankaios of Arkadia (*Il.* 2.609, Bakkh. 5.117; the Francois Vase), who is a participant (and casualty) in the Calydonian boar hunt, and (at least in Apollonios) an Argonaut. Iphiklos is the name of the ruler of Phylake[80] at *Od.* 11.287-97, whose flocks Melampous takes, and the father of Podarkes (*Il.* 2.705); he had supernatural powers of running (Hes. fr. 62). This was also the name of Meleager's uncle in Bakkhylides, a participant in the Calydonian boar hunt and in later tradition an Argonaut as well.[81] As for Phyleus, the mention of

[79] See Richardson (1993) 237-8.

[80] Presumably the town in Thessaly for the *Iliad* poet, as most commentators assume (and *Il.* 2.705 implies); but the *Odyssey* is not explicit, and there was also a town of this name in Arkadia (Pausanias 8.54.1).

[81] Bakkh. 5.128-9; cf. Pseudo-Apollodorus, Bibliotheca 1.9.16; Valerius Flaccus, Arg-

his exile to Doulikhion at 2.625-9 seems to presuppose that for the *Iliad* poet he was (as in Diod. Sic. 4.33.4) the son of Augeias of Elis (cf. the mention in Nestor's tale at 11.701), forced out by his father when he favoured Herakles in a dispute. In sum, to create this catalogue it looks like the poet has taken some characters from (probably supra-local) mythological traditions, in some cases with slight alteration (resiting Ankaios to Pleuron?), and supplemented them with more generic names to produce an authentic-sounding anecdote for Nestor.[82]

We noted above that the order of places mentioned in the Peloponnesian part of the journey in *HHAp.* was especially confused, and one explanation is that the material comes via a poetic tradition rather than first-hand geographical knowledge. There are similar geographical difficulties in Nestor's war against the Epeians.[83] Of course, even if we do accept that this material is from hexameter tradition, this is a 'local poetic tradition' only in that its content is associated with a locality: the shared lines need not actually be from a hexameter tradition originating in the western Peloponnese. We

onautica 1.370.

[82]cf. Janko (1991) on *Il.* 13.427-33 for the possible reuse of names from a different cycle.

[83]*Il.* 11.670-761: on the difficulties see Hainsworth (1993) *ad* 670-762, although I think the assumption that a Triphylian Pylos is necessary takes the story too literally.

are left once more with the question of whether local content implies local origin, a difficulty that is not specific to catalogues. Familiar problems also arise where radically different variants of myths appear in catalogues. For example, in the Catalogue of Women in the *Odyssey*, the entry for Ariadne (11.322-5), where she dies by 'the testimony of Dionysos' diverges from the later accounts (or indeed her immortality according to *Theogony* 947-9).[84] One interpretation of this could be a local variant of the myth (perhaps an Athenian version in which Theseus was not culpable for abandoning her). But it could easily be due to the chronological development of the myth, or simply be ascribed to greater variability in the early tradition.

5.7 The antiquity of the material in individual entries

It was argued above that the order of items in catalogues of the participants of the wooing of Helen and the Trojan war is unlikely to be traditional. But what of the material itself? A number of scholars - most prominently Hope Simpson and Lazenby in their commentary - argued that the Catalogue of

[84] cf. Tsagarakis (2000) 87; for a plausible suggestion of the paradigmatic purpose of Ariadne, see Alden (2017) 53.

Ships preserves material from the Mycenaean period.[85] If this were the case, it would follow that the material in the entries of the catalogue cannot be from different local traditions, but rather from a non-local and highly conservative tradition. One of their best examples is the settlement of Eutresis in Boiotia, mentioned in the Catalogue.[86] This site was inhabited in the Bronze Age, but abandoned in LHIIIC, and only occupied again in the 6th century, on a site slightly to the north of the BA occupation.[87] But there is a problem with their inference that a Bronze Age site of Eutresis, no longer in existence in the 8th century, was remembered through the poetic tradition of the Catalogue. If the settlement was abandoned in LHIIIC, how would the name get retained for the 6th century reoccupation? How would the 6th century (re)settlers know that this was the correct site? Presumably, if the Classical Eutresis

[85]Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1970) 153-8 and *passim*. However, Parry and Samuel (1960) 85 argue that much of the Catalogue is post-Mycenaean; one of their strongest points is the lack of closeness between the Pylian entry and the place names mentioned in the Linear B tablets (cf. Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1970) 86-7, 155-6, less convincingly). Dickinson (1986) attacks the notion that Homeric poetry represents a primarily Mycenaean situation; see esp. 30-33 on the Catalogue of Ships, with a criticism of Hope Simpson and Lazenby's methodology. See also the extensive discussion of Visser (1997) 1-48 on the historicity of the Catalogue. Latacz (2005) 244-8 makes much of the Theban tablets discovered more recently, but they do not represent a qualitatively different situation; eg. on TH Ft 140 (discussed by Latacz (2005) 246-7) there are indeed at least two (and probably three) places identifiable in the Catalogue of Ships, but there are also two that are unidentifiable: see Aravantinos, Godart and Sacconi (2001) 263, although cf. 176 on *o-ke-u-ri-jo*.

[86]Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1970) 27. cf. Kirk (1985) 192-3, 195, Visser (1997) 269-70, Latacz (2005) 245-8; see Aravantinos, Godart and Sacconi (2001) 263 for a probable instance of the name in Linear B (in a different form, *e-u-te-re-u*).

[87]Goldman (1931) 239.

is the same site as the Bronze Age Eutresis, the location must have been remembered in local tradition - in which case, the hypothesis of a Mycenaean origin for the Catalogue becomes unnecessary; the poet of the *Iliad*, or a predecessor, may simply have drawn on this local tradition.[88] This means that with Eutresis, again, we have a good candidate for local tradition in the sense of local knowledge; perhaps this was linked to the story of Amphion and Zethos, who (according to Strabo and Stephanus of Byzantium) lived at the site before they founded Thebes.[89] Amphion and Zethos have some presence in epos,[90] so it is not unthinkable that the mention of Eutresis in the Catalogue might have come from a poetic version; but in none of the instances of the story in epos is the town even mentioned.[91] On the other hand, an 8th or 7th century origin for the whole of the *Catalogue* seems unlikely, especially given the obscurity of many of the places mentioned; we should rather think of an accumulation of material in the tradition over many

[88]Of course, an alternative possibility is that the actual reference of the site in the *Iliad* had been lost by the 6th century, and the new foundation was given that name (or later renamed thus) because of its presence in the *Iliad*, and happened to occupy the same site as a Bronze Age predecessor; on renaming, cf. Visser (1997) 245.

[89]Stephanos of Byzantium *s.v.*, Strabo 9.2.28.

[90]cf. *Od.* 11.261-5, *GK* fr. 182, Asios fr. 1.

[91]A similar situation obtains for Glisas: Visser (1997) 273-4. Visser supposes considerable influence from (presumably Panhellenic) heroic myth in Ionic (eg. 744); for many places, however, we could equally be dealing with epichoric traditions in some form.

centuries, perhaps as far back as the late Mycenaean period.[92]

5.8 Conclusions

In the previous chapters, we saw that the archaeological evidence did not give much support to the idea that the Greek-speaking world split up into distinct, isolated regions after the collapse of the palaces, whose traditions could only be brought together in the eighth century. Moreover, the linguistic evidence suggested that the language of epos arose over a long period of time, the most recent center of gravity of the tradition being the Aeolic and Ionic-speaking areas. The investigation of epic catalogues in this chapter complements and supports this evidence. We have seen that catalogues are deeply integrated into the poetics of epos, rather than a late and intrusive element or a peculiarly Boeotian literary device. We have also seen that crucial to these catalogues is variety, especially geographical variety; they often give a strong impression that the poet is drawing on disparate local traditions to create an overall composition with supra-local significance, and in many cases they probably do draw on local knowledge, whether geographical

[92]So Kirk (1985) 237-40. But much of this may originally have been unconnected with the Trojan war story.

or mythological/historical (although we have thus far found no clear signs of locally-originating traditions of hexameter). Catalogues, therefore, provide excellent evidence of how deeply embedded in the tradition is the tendancy towards the supra-local.

There is, moreover, evidence for shared diction describing particular geographical locations (the geography of the Western Peloponnese), and recurring characters - like Ankaios and Iphiklos - who are used consistently enough across the corpus to suggest that they were widely known. This shows the existence of a mythological background that was not just restricted to the cast of the Trojan War. Crucially, such characters participate in mythological traditions that are distinctly supra-local: they go into exile or marriage in a different region, and fight with (or alongside) heroes associated with other places. The catalogue, therefore, is at once inherently supra-local and at the same time emphasises the local associations of particular characters. This is a good example of how the 'Panhellenic' or supra-local, and local detail, are not necessarily opposed, illustrating the flaws of trying to pin down particular poems as more 'local' or 'Panhellenic'. Precisely the impression of local detail can be used - by accumulating different locations - to give a

supra-local impression.

What exactly does this supra-local tendency in epos aim at? Is it an intentional attempt to represent (or define?) the whole Greek world? Or does it aim simply to be expansive, subsuming as much material as possible into a monumental composition? One way to view catalogues (and through them, 'Panhellenism' as a feature of early epos) is that they are driven by the desire to create a compendious work, which can also be seen in the sheer length of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and their tendency to incorporate other events from the mythological background into the main narrative.[93] We can see something similar in the *GK* and the *Theogony*, which also aim towards compendiousness by narrating the origins of all the heroes or gods, methodically going through their genealogies. The same is also true for the Cyclic epics, which also seem to have aimed at including as broad a segment of the tradition as possible, although through a different approach from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Moreover, the omission of certain key areas of the Greek

[93]cf. Sammons (2010) 19-20 on the capacity of the Catalogue of Ships for world building, creating a mythological background for the *Iliad*. One might, however, question how far this was necessary when the original audience are assumed to be familiar with this background to some degree anyway. On the Panhellenic appeal of a geographical catalogue in general see Sammons (2017) 87, on the Panhellenism of the Catalogue of Ships Danek (2004) 69.

world in the Catalogue of Ships, as well as the inclusion of various non-Greek peoples and places - which is also a feature of the *GK* - might support the idea that the primary motivation is compendiousness or expansiveness rather than defining or appealing to Greek identity. The findings of this chapter therefore further emphasise the potentially misleading qualities of the term 'Panhellenism', rather than 'supra-local' or 'non-local'.

We have also seen that the different poems can exploit the supra-local possibilities of the catalogue in different ways for poetic effect. In the *Iliad*, the Catalogue of Ships (including the catalogue of Trojans) is used to outline the scale of the Trojan conflict, incorporating an enormous range of combatants and building suspense for the ensuing battle. The effect of scale is enhanced by the sheer length of the poem - a length that is possible because the poem embraces catalogic style to such a degree. The Cyclic epics may well have exploited catalogues in a similar manner, at key moments like the disembarkation from the Trojan horse, to draw out suspense whilst giving a wide view of the many participants in the war. In the *Odyssey*, as Alden has shown, the catalogues of the Nekyia place Odysseus himself in a wider context, providing a wide range of paradigms that contextualise his success-

ful nostos to a faithful Penelope. For the *GK* and the *Theogony*, on the other hand, the catalogue is not confined to a subsidiary episode in the narrative, but becomes the organising principle of the whole poem, permitting a far greater level of inclusivity and compendiousness. Variation in narrative tempo is then achieved by varying the length and detail of the entries - the *GK* going so far as to include the catalogue of Helen's suitors as an entry in the whole. As to the *HHAp.*, it does not have the monumental length of the *Iliad* or the *GK*; here, the three catalogues do much of the work to emphasise the range of Apollo's influence throughout the Aegean, the mainland, and the Peloponnese, generating the impression of Panhellenism that scholars have been so struck by.

In the first part of this thesis, we have explored the outlines of the use of the local and the supra-local in epos, through a series of broad approaches. This has given some rough impression of the prehistory of the tradition and the complexity and controversies involved. We have often seen that a single account is too reductive - just as we cannot explain the material of the Catalogue of Ships as either a Mycenaean survival or a recent fabrication and account for all the data. To develop our analysis of epos further, therefore,

it is necessary to inspect more closely particular case studies and examples. This, then, shall be the approach of the following chapters of the thesis.

Chapter 6

Akhilleus and Odysseus

The purpose of this chapter is to examine Akhilleus and Odysseus from the point of view of local tradition. Akhilleus and Odysseus are the central[1] characters of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* respectively, and these are the longest poems to survive in the corpus of early hexameter. They are thus a suitable starting point to look for traces of local traditions in epos. Do these characters - or the stories attached to them in epos - originate in local traditions? If so, where do these traditions come from, and were they originally in hexameter poetry? As we shall see, they are parallel in ways that go beyond just being a protagonist in their respective poems, so that it is useful to compare and

[1] 'Central' insofar that they are named in the first line of the poems and the narrative is framed around them.

contrast them.

This chapter will look at a variety of different kinds of evidence that might potentially inform us about their traditional background outside the poems. Firstly, etymology: how are their names formed, and what can this tell us about the prehistory of the characters? Secondly, traditional language and formulae - what unique formulae do they have, and how can this inform us about the development of the tradition? Thirdly, what stories are actually attached to these characters in epos, and do any of them appear to be local traditions? Fourthly, how are they connected to the wider tradition through familial ties? And finally, is there any archaeological or historical evidence (eg. for hero cult) that relates them to particular locations? Ultimately, these will raise again and again the central problems of the thesis: how can we tell if a feature is local or not? How can we avoid circular reasoning in studying the prehistory of the tradition? How stable is myth over time, and how far can late evidence reliably shed light on the stories of early epos? And, in the end, what consequences does all this have for our understanding of the poems?

6.1 Etymology

There have been numerous analyses of Akhilleus' name (Ἀχιλλεύς or Ἀχιλεύς, found in Mycenaean as *a-ki-re-u*, *a-ki-re-we*) ever since antiquity, although we find no explicit explanation within the *Iliad* itself.[2] Perhaps the most common proposed link is with the word ἄχος, 'grief', which is found already in the scholia to the *Iliad*.[3] This connection is the basis of Palmer's analysis, which Nagy has used to interpret Akhilleus' role in epos and has since been supported by Janko (2014). Other scholars have considered the name pre-Greek.

Palmer argued that Ἀχιλ(λ)εύς was a hypocoristic form of *Ἀχίλᾱϝος, 'the one who brings grief to the people (λᾱός)'.[4] Ἀχι- would be the Caland form of ἄχος (compare Καλλιάνασσα, Κυδιάνειρα, Θερσίλοχος from κάλλος, θέρσος). The suffix -λεύς would be a shortened form of -λᾱϝος; for

[2]This is not to deny that Akhilleus' name is the subject of indirect associations within the poem, on which see Risch (1947) 86, Kanavou (2015) 31-33; for example *Il.* 18.22 ὣς φάτο· τὸν δ' ἄχεος νεφέλη ἐκάλυψε μέλαινα.

[3]ΣΑΤ *Il.* 1.1.

[4]See Palmer (1963) 79-80, (1980) 97-8.

the use of the -εύς suffix to shorten names, compare Ἀτρεύς (which can be explained as being from Ἀτρέστης), Ἀνδρεύς (cf. Ἀνδροκλέης), Εὐρυσθεύς (cf. Εὐρυσθένης), and perhaps Νηλεύς < *Νεσελεύς (< *Νεσέλᾱϝος). What this does not explain is why Ἀχιλλεύς should have optional gemination; but Palmer states that this is 'particularly characteristic of shortened forms', comparing the names Χάριλλος, Χαρίλλης, and Πέριλλος.[5] This etymology was endorsed by Nagy, who argued that ἄχος is an intrinsic feature of Akhilleus' story with deep roots in the epic tradition.[6] A modification was proposed by Holland (1993), who suggests that the associations of the name in epic are due to folk etymologising, and that the original significance of the name (on the basis of Germanic parallels to ἄχος) is 'causing fear to the λᾱός'.[7]

Against this it must be said that Palmer's derivation is not watertight. There are no parallels for a name compounded from ἄχος. Janko (2014) argues that nouns in -εύς are all from IE or Greek roots, but in fact men-

[5]Palmer (1963) 79.

[6]Nagy (1979) 69-93.

[7]cf. Nagy (1994), who rightly points out that we should first look for the meaning of ἄχος within Greek. However, as a name it seems more likely that Ἀχίλᾱϝος would mean 'the one who causes ἄχος to the enemy people' (cf. Μενέλᾱος) rather than 'the one who causes ἄχος to his own people'.

tions several counter-examples (ἑρμηνεύς ∼ Carian *armon*, χαλκεύς), and even were this generalisation true for lexical nouns, there is no reason why it should extend to names. More problematic is the gemination of λλ. The names in -ιλλος/ιλος have a different suffix from Akhilleus; although it is possible that they are hypocoristics of Χαρίλᾱος, Περίλᾱος, it could simply be a different formation (cf. the suffix -υλλος); and without attestation in poetry it is difficult to see if we are dealing with a change to the syllable length.[8] It is true that Akhilleus brings his λᾱός ἄχος, but there are remarkably few characters within epos of whom this could not be said. ἄχος is deeply embedded within the story of Akhilleus, but it is equally deeply embedded in epic narratives in general, which center around themes of war and suffering.[9] If we do not accept Palmer's theory,[10] we are left with a pre-Greek name, which has been compared with other non-explicable names

[8]cf. Beekes (2004) on the name Καδμῖλος - but Beekes thinks that the optional gemination in the suffix -ιλος and the name Ἀχιλ(λ)εύς are both explained by a pre-Greek origin. The one attestation of a name in -ιλος in epos is Τρωΐλος with short ι. This exhibits no geminate forms, but has only a single attestation in epos (*Il.* 24.257). In general we sometimes find lengthening of syllables before a liquid in epos, especially where necessary for the metre, eg. Οὔλυμπον/Ὄλυμπον, Πειρίθοος, due to analogy from cases like ξεῖνος/ξένος where the variation is dialectal (different results of **ksenwos*). This would imply that the original form has a single λ; cases with λλ do not seem to be shortened, cf. Ἀπόλλων (whose first syllable is lengthened instead in epos).

[9]Note that Nagy's connection is far less specific than the etymology cited in the *Iliad* scholion: οὕτως ἀναγνωστέον δι' ἑνὸς λ διὰ τὸ μέτρον καὶ διὰ τὸ ἄχος (ὃ ἐστι λύπην) ἐπενεγκεῖν τοῖς Ἰλιεῦσιν (ΣΑΤ *Il.* 1.1), where it is clear that the -ιλευς- part of the name is meant to refer specifically to Akhilleus' effect on the Trojans (Ἰλιεῦσιν).

[10]As argued by Beekes (2010) s. v.

beginning with Ἀχ- (Ἀχαῖος, Ἀχέρων); optional gemination of λ is found in other pre-Greek words.[11]

Akhilleus' name is found in Mycenaean, once without context and once among lists of other anthroponyms; it seems therefore to have been an ordinary personal name at this time.[12] We might take this to suggest that Akhilleus was the name of a real person in the LBA who subsequently entered the realm of myth. Of course, as Nagy suggested, it is not impossible that a personal name might be taken from contemporary epic poetry, ie. that the Mycenaean person might be named after the epic figure.[13] However, this would require us to posit a very early (pre-Linear B) date for Akhilleus' tradition. This brings back the familiar question of how stable and ancient the epic tradition is; others have thought it more likely that Akhilleus' deeds at Troy are a more recent innovation to the tradition.[14]

Odysseus' name (Ὀδυσσεύς or Ὀδυσεύς in epos) receives an explicit analysis at *Od.* 19.407-9, where his grandfather Autolykos gives him a name:

[11]See Beekes (2014) 21, citing βαλήν/βαλλήν, θυλίς/θυλλίς, σπέλεθος/σπέλληξι, μακέλη/μάκελλα.
[12]See Aura Jorro (1989) s. v. *a-ki-re-u*.
[13]See Nagy (1976) 210, Palmer (1979) 258-9.
[14]Kanavou (2015) 30.

πολλοῖσιν γὰρ ἐγώ γε ὀδυσσάμενος τόδ' ἱκάνω
ἀνδράσιν ἠδὲ γυναιξὶν ἀνὰ χθόνα πουλυβότειραν·
τῷ δ' Ὀδυσεὺς ὄνομ' ἔστω ἐπώνυμον. ...

It might be thought that Odysseus (and Autolykos) are more the object of other people's anger than the originators of it,[15] but *ὀδύσσομαι is elsewhere only found with the meaning 'be angry with', so that it is difficult not to accept this as the sense here. However, while this etymology is significant to the characterisation of Odysseus within epos, modern scholarship has considered it a folk etymology.[16]

Palmer's explanation of the name Odysseus[17] is even more ingenious but rather less plausible than for Akhilleus: a compound verbal stem with suffix -εύς parallel to Ἐπειγεύς (from ἐπείγω). Ὀ- is taken to be a verbal prefix meaning 'onwards', seen in the verb ὀτρύνω (perhaps the origin of Ὀτρεύς) and in the variants ὀκέλλω/κέλλω. -δυσσ-, in the absence of a suitable verb within Greek, has been explained as a derivative **duk-j-* from the PIE root **deuk-* (cf. Latin *dūcere*) 'lead' - Odysseus would therefore be the 'one who

[15] cf. Kanavou (2015) 92-5.
[16] See Beekes (2010) s. v. Ὀδυσσεύς for references.
[17] See Palmer (1980) 98.

leads on'. As this etymology relies on a very rare prefix - which could potentially be explained differently - and a root that is not otherwise attested in Greek, it can hardly be accepted.

Another reason to doubt Palmer's explanation is the large number of variant forms of the name that are found, which Palmer's etymology cannot account for. These are especially relevant to this study because they may show traces of local variation:[18]

- Ὀδυσσεύς/Ὀδυσεύς (*Il.*, *Od.*)
- Ὀλυσεύς (Boeotian vase inscriptions, Wachter (2001) 265)
- Ὀλισεύς (Corinthian vase inscriptions, Wachter (2001) 265)
- Ὀλυτ(τ)εύς (Attic vase inscriptions, H. Immerwahr (1990) 45)
- Οὐλιξεύς (Hdn. Gr. 1.14, cf. Ibykos *PMGF* 305 (apud Diom. Gr. p. 321 K), Plutarch *Marcell.* 20; presumably the origin of Latin *Ulixes*)
- Ὀλισσεύς ('Aeoli' according to Quintilian *Inst. Or.* 1.4.16 Cousin)

[18]For detailed presentation of the variants, see Nova (2021) 26-8.

This variation may be a sign that Ὀδυσσεύς is originally a pre-Greek name, since it has parallels in other words of the substrate: the alternation of δ/λ,[19] and of υ/ι.[20] Various arguments have also been made to posit an origin for the name in other non-Greek cultures, such as Illyrian or the Anatolian languages, but the comparisons that have been made are not compelling, and none has reached wider acceptance.[21] What the different forms of the name do show, however, is that Odysseus' name had acquired local variants by the archaic period,[22] which surely indicates the existence of local traditions about the character.[23] Furthermore, these different versions can surely not derive from the form found in Homeric/Hesiodic epos, which shows that they originated at an earlier period.

[19]See Beekes (2014) 20, citing δάφνη/λάφνη, *da-pu$_2$-ri-to-jo*/λαβύρινθος, καλάμινθα/*ka-da-mi-ta*. It has been argued by some (eg. Kretschmer (1896) 280-1, (1940) 253, Wachter (2001) 266) that the λ is original and the δ has developed within epos by folk etymology with *ὀδύσσομαι, but the occurrence of δ within epos (our earliest evidence) is surely good evidence that this form is early.

[20]See Beekes (2014) 25, citing αἰσυμνάω/αἰσιμνάω, ἀνθρίσκος/ἄνθρυσκον, βίδην/βυδοί, βρικός/βρυκός, etc.

[21]See Helbig (1876) 281 (Illyrian or Epirotic origin); Kretschmer (1896) 281-2 (various connections between Odysseus and non-Greek peoples); Gemser (1926), Hrozný (1929) 338 (cf. Kretschmer (1930)) (from the Sumerian/Akkadian flood hero); Krahe (1931) 143 (perhaps Messapian due to the -*x*- in Ulixes); and Kretschmer (1940) 253-4, 278, who suggests that the name might be related to the Karian name Λύξης and Lydian Λίξος, but note that Zgusta (1964) §817, §836 considers the connection between these two unlikely.

[22]cf. West (2014) 6-7, Nova (2021) 32. The Corinthian and Chalkidian examples cited by Wachter are from the 6th century, the Boeotian form from the late 5th.

[23]cf. Wachter (2001) 266.

The variation between σσ, σ, ξ, ττ is puzzling. As was discussed in the chapter on dialect, Attic and Boeotian ττ corresponding with σσ in other dialects represents the outcome of the second palatalisation. The ξ could potentially be another dialectal outcome of this (cf. the use of the *za-* series in Mycenaean). However, the alternation of σσ and σ in epos would point to an outcome of the first palatalisation (as in ὅσος/ὅσσος), since in such words both single and geminate forms are found in epos as required by the metre. This inconsistency is difficult to explain,[24] which could be a sign that the name is a borrowing from a substrate language with a phoneme that had a different outcome in the different dialects (or was repeatedly borrowed, leading to outcomes from both the first and second palatalisations).

Is it a coincidence that both Akhilleus and Odysseus, the central characters of the longest epic poems, have an optional gemination of the middle

[24]Wachter (2001) 266 explains this through folk-etymological connection with *ὀδύσσομαι (aorist ὠδυσάμην), but it seems unlikely that a folk etymology could have such a profound influence on the word's form. For variation between σ and σσ in epos, see Chantraine (1988) 178-9; it occurs in cases with etymological justification, eg. δικάσσατε/δικάσω (from **ds*), ὅσσος/ὅσος (first palatalisation); forms from the second palatalisation always keep σσ (πέσσω, μέλισσα). Chantraine would classify Ὀδυσσεύς with ὅσσος, but this neglects the Attic inscriptions with ττ. One explanation could be that synchronically it was not clear to the epic poets that Ὀδυσσεύς belonged with μέλισσα (etc.) rather than ὅσσος (etc.), although this is somewhat unsatisfactory given that the two categories are otherwise kept apart.

consonant, and one which poses some issues from an etymological point of view? This feature makes their names metrically identical (and, as we see, they do share some formulaic epithets). In theory we could consider a scenario in which optional gemination in the name of one major character led to gemination in the other, through an analogy such as δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς# : δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς# :: X : # - Ἀχιλεύς ⇒ X = # - Ὀδυσεύς. But since the optional gemination is unclear in both cases, this cannot solve the issue.

To sum up, Akhilleus' name could be a loan from a substrate language, or a hypocoristic form of Ἀχίλᾱϝος with optional gemination. Odysseus' name is most likely pre-Greek, as no convincing Greek explanation of it can be found and it shows several linguistic features that are considered signs of a substrate language origin. Odysseus' name exists in several different variants, attested from across the Greek world, which suggest that the character existed in a number of local traditions, although we have no evidence as to whether they were poetic or not or for how they differed in detail. In contrast, we do not have this sort of variation for Akhilleus; this could imply that Akhilleus was known from a single (or not many) local versions.

6.2 Traditional Language and Formulae

As with other characters in early epos, Akhilleus and Odysseus possess a range of traditional epithets that fit different positions in the hexameter verse. Some of these epithets are sufficiently generic that they can be used of nearly any hero in epos - for example, δῖος is found of both these heroes (δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς# (*Iliad*) ∼ δῖος Ὀδυσσεὺς# (*Iliad, Odyssey*)) but also of many others, from Diomedes to Priam, in early hexameter poetry.[25] Others are more specific, restricted to just a few heroes, and others still are unique, being confined to a particular character.[26] For the purpose of this section, it is these unique formulae that are most important. Because the system of epithets is at least in part inherited from poet to poet, the formulae attached to a given character may give us clues about the prehistory of the character in the tradition. If the character originates in a local tradition, one might hope to find some clues to this in their formulaic system.

Many of Akhilleus' unique (or near-unique) epithets are concerned with

[25] See *LFrGrE* s. v. δῖος.

[26] Of course, this is more of a spectrum than distinct categories; it is always possible that an originally unique formula might spread to other characters, or that a more generic formula might become confined to one individual.

speed. The formula ποδάρκης δῖος (Ἀχιλλεύς)# is used only of Akhilleus, and only appears in the *Iliad* - in fact, this is the only phrase where the word ποδάρκης is found. There is also πόδας ὠκὺς (Ἀχιλλεύς), which is also used of Iris in the *Iliad* and Orsilokhos in the *Odyssey*; ὠκὺς (Ἀχιλλεύς) by itself, which is also used of Iris and other non-human entities (eg. horses and missiles); ποδώκης (also used of horses, and in the *Theogony* applied to the Khimaira); and πόδας ταχύν, which is also used of Aeneas at 13.482. This reflects Akhilleus' ability to chase down his enemies, which we see in *Iliad* 22 (chasing Hektor).[27] The use of formulaic language thus makes Akhilleus' speed supersede the human, since it is on a level with horses and the messenger of the gods herself.

Particularly interesting is the use of both ποδάρκης and ποδώκης, since these are metrically identical: why should the poets keep the two forms in simultaneous use? Note that ποδάρκης is confined to a particular expression in the nominative, whilst ποδώκης is found mainly in the genitive (esp. ποδώκεος Αἰακίδαο 8x *Il.* 2x *Od.*) and dative (ποδώκεϊ Πηλεΐωνι

[27]With the complication that the chase ends in a duel. Compare also chasing Aeneas on Ida (*Il.* 20.90-6), and the pursuit of Troilos (in vase paintings by the 6th century, see Boitani (1989) 10 on *LIMC s.v.* Achilleus 292).

2x *Il.*). The one exception is *Il.* 18.234 μυρόμενοι, μετὰ δέ σφι ποδώκης εἴπετ' Ἀχιλλεύς, where perhaps the poet was generating a form to fit a new context and preferred to use ποδώκης because it is more productive in epos generally. One explanation of this suppletion would be that several different formulaic systems have been combined at some point - potentially, of course, different local traditions, but this could equally be explained as the combination of systems produced by different singers.[28] ποδάρκης is both isolated and somewhat obscure in meaning; it derives from ἀρκέω, in the meaning 'protect', which is somewhat inappropriate to Akhilleus' story in the *Iliad*, since he fails to protect Patroklos. The epithet is thus probably a characteristic of Akhilleus preserved from the prehistory of the tradition, although it does not inform us about his local affinities.

Other than this, the formula Ἀχιλεὺς Θέτιδος πάϊς ἠϋκόμοιο# is (unsurprisingly) unique to Akhilleus. πάϊς is used to create a patronymic formula for other heroes, but in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* never a matronymic; this is thus a sign of the importance of Akhilleus' divine mother. Other unique formulae

[28] Alternatively, it could be that ποδώκης is supplanting ποδάρκης, under the influence of the πόδας ὠκύς formula, and that the transitional stage is preserved in the language of the *Iliad*; this may be more likely given the isolation of ποδάρκης.

are in the vocative: θεοῖσ' ἐπιείκελ' Ἀχιλλεῦ# is only found of Akhilleus in the *Iliad* (5x), although θεοῖσ' ἐπιείκελ' ... is found more widely in Hesiod. The vocative formula (Πηλεΐδη) πάντων ἐκπαγλότατ' ἀνδρῶν is addressed to Akhilleus twice in the *Iliad* in non-complimentary contexts; Akhilleus himself uses it of one of his victims (*Il.* 20.389). Finally, a whole-line vocative formula occurring twice in the *Iliad* and at *Od.* 11.478 is ὦ Ἀχιλεῦ Πηλῆος υἱὲ μέγα φέρτατ' Ἀχαιῶν. To call Akhilleus the greatest of the Ἀχαιοί in the *Iliad* is praise of a Panhellenic kind, but the word may potentially have had older local connotations, although as discussed above its exact development is uncertain.

Odysseus' unique formulae relate partly to the theme of suffering or enduring, which certainly fits his characterisation in the *Odyssey.* The adjective πολύτλας, found in πολύτλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς# (*Iliad, Odyssey*) only appears in this formula and is thus unique to Odysseus. τλήμων (τλήμων Ὀδυσεὺς, *Il.* 10.231 and 10.498) is otherwise not used explicitly of people.[29] Another characteristic which matches Odysseus' appearance in the *Odyssey* is his cunning: he is (Λαερτιάδης) πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς# (*Iliad*, *Odyssey*).

[29]If *Iliad* 10 is a later addition, this might be a subsequent development in the hexameter language.

πολύμητις is also used of Hephaistos, but otherwise solely of Odysseus. πολύτροπος is only used for Odysseus in the *Odyssey* (1.1, 10.330), but appears with Hermes twice in the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*. Διὶ μῆτιν ἀτάλαντος#, which also fits this aspect, is also used of Odysseus (4x *Il.*, although also twice of Hektor). ποικιλομήτης is also unique to Odysseus (in the accusative phrase Ὀδυσῆα (ἄνακτα) δαΐφρονα ποικιλομήτην, *Iliad*, *Odyssey*), except for in the *Homeric Hymns* (again of Hermes). πολύφρονα is also used of Hephaistos (*Il.* 21.367, *Od.* 8.297, 327, also of a generic person at *Il.* 18.108, *Od.* 14.464, Hes. fr. 43a.18), but usually found with Odysseus in the *Odyssey* (in the set line νοστῆσαι Ὀδυσῆα πολύφρονα ὅνδε δόμονδε, 5x). These epithets emphasise Odysseus' craftiness; many center around derivatives of μῆτις, 'cunning', which is derived from an IE root *meh_1 'measure'.[30] Interestingly, the word shows the preservation of *-ti-*, which Beekes describes as 'an archaic element of Aeolic (and perhaps Doric)'. One could attempt to explain this as a feature of local dialect, but the word is not exclusively or primarily associated with Odysseus (note for example the very common formula μητίετα Ζεύς). Furthermore, as mentioned above at p146, 'Aeolic' is probably a mischaracterisation, since verbal nouns

[30]See Beekes (2010) s. v. μῆτις.

are usually found with -σις in all dialects, making μῆτις an anomaly throughout Greek.[31]

Odysseus has a number of vocative expressions. πολύαιν' Ὀδυσεῦ, μέγα κῦδος Ἀχαιῶν# (*Il.* 9.673, 10.544, *Od.* 12.184) is built from μέγα κῦδος Ἀχαιῶν, otherwise found only in a vocative formula for Nestor (4x *Il.* 2x *Od.*). Although it is interesting that Odysseus as well should be connected to the Akhaioi, the overlap with Nestor's formulae demonstrates how mobile these forms can be. Another formula occupies the full line: διογενὲς Λαερτιάδη πολυμήχαν' Ὀδυσσεῦ (7x *Il.* 15x *Od.*). διογενής is commonly used of other heroes, but πολυμήχανος is restricted to this formula in epos, with the exception of *HHHerm.* 319, and is another manifestation of Odysseus' cunning nature. A slightly modified form is found at *Od.* 24.192 (ὄλβιε Λαέρταο πάϊ, πολυμήχαν' Ὀδυσσεῦ) which seems to reflect the phrasing at *Od.* 24.36 (addressed to Akhilleus). Both these formulations show the integration of Odysseus' parentage into his formulaic system. A more negative version is *Il.* 11.430 ὦ Ὀδυσεῦ πολύαινε δόλων ἆτ' ἠδὲ πόνοιο, partially found at *Od.*

[31]Odysseus is also described uniquely as πτολιπόρθιος (*Od.* 9.504, 9.530, both in the speech of the Kyklops) but this is most likely a modification based on πτολίπορθος, used of many other heroes.

13.293 (#σχέτλιε, ποικιλομῆτα, δόλων ἆτ', - u u - -). πολύαινος occurs only here and in the formula cited above; it is thus exclusive to Odysseus, and perhaps was understood as another reference to his intelligence.[32]

As with Akhilleus, Odysseus' traditional language includes little that can be considered local. Instead, it points to his traditional characteristics, endurance and trickery. An exception is the adjective Ἰθακήσιος, applied to Odysseus at *Od.* 2.246 (in the words of the suitor Leokritos, threatening to kill him), 22.45 (in the words of the suitor Eurybates, trying to placate him), and to his herald at *Il.* 2.184. More commonly, this adjective is found in the *Odyssey* in addresses to the Ithacans or the description of them as a whole. Perhaps it is designed to locate Odysseus within his Ithacan context here; but the absence of the more elaborate epic form could be interpreted as the suitors belittling him or underestimating his epic stature. Overall, expressions of local affinity are not prominent in Odysseus' or Akhilleus' traditional language, compared to references to genealogy and to their heroic

[32]Hence eg. ΣbT *Il.* 9.673 (διὰ τὸ φρονιμώτερον εἶναι), ΣbT *Il.* 10.544 (ὡς συνετωτέρου), though cf. ΣbT *Il.* 11.430 (πιστὸς ὁ ἐκ πολεμίων ἔπαινος. ἢ εἰρωνεύεται. ἢ παρὰ τὸ αἰνόν ἡ σύνθεσις.), ΣA^{im} *Il.* 11.430 (μυθολόγε καὶ φλύαρε). The scholia's interpretation is probably based on synchronic study of the range of meanings of αἶνος and its derivatives ('riddle', 'praise', 'decision'). The etymology of αἶνος is not known (Beekes s. v.).

characteristics. From this point of view, it is the Panhellenic, un-localised aspects of these two heroes which is emphasised in epos.

Because of the conservative nature of the epic diction, it is worth asking whether the formulae can shed any light on the variation in Odysseus or Akhilleus' names. In terms of absolute frequency, the forms with a double consonant are the more common by a small margin (Odysseus: 72/123 (59%) *Il.*, 376/602 (62%) *Od.*; Akhilleus: 232/367 (63%) *Il.*, 11/16 (68%) *Od.*). If one accepts the arguments of Janko that the *Iliad* is older than the *Odyssey* and shows older linguistic forms,[33] this could imply that the form with a single consonant is older (which would bode well for Palmer's etymology of Akhilleus' name).[34] However, in Akhilleus' formulaic diction the form with the geminate λ is better established - it is found, for example, in the formula ποδάρκης δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς discussed above. The same is true for Odysseus, with many of the formulae having his name at line end. The form with a single consonant seems to be more common in oblique cases.

[33]See Janko (1982).
[34]Note that for Akhilleus the difference is not statistically significant.

6.3 Connected Narratives

Due to their position in the two surviving long epics, and popularity in the corpus in general, both Akhilleus and Odysseus are associated with a multitude of narratives. There is not space here to give a comprehensive analysis of all the stories attached to them, but the purpose of this section is to look for specifically local connections in their narratives in early epos, or for stories that could plausibly originate in local tradition. The main narratives attached to both characters are structured around a very non-local event, the expedition to Troy, which in the surviving corpus appears as strikingly Panhellenic, requiring that heroes from all round the Greek-speaking world (and beyond) gather to fight in the Troad. It has been argued that the war at Troy is a tale that has grown by accretion and that Akhilleus is not part of the core set of characters in the story;[35] despite his central role in the *Iliad*, he is not a suitor of Helen and does not participate in the sack of the city. The same argument can be made of Odysseus,[36] although he is both a suitor and an important figure in the sack. This argument is fair, but it is worth emphasising that, in the tradition we do have, Akhilleus is well-integrated

[35]See West (2011) 42-4 for this argument, with further references; approved by Kanavou (2015) 30 with n15.

[36]See West (2014) 7 for references.

into the Trojan story, and that he was inserted by the poets wherever possible. For example, note that the *GK* poet felt the need to mention why he did not win Helen (Hes. *GK.* fr. 204.87-92), and that the story of Polyxena includes a reference to him at the sack of the city (eg. in the *Iliou Persis* according to Proklos). Stories attached to Akhilleus or Odysseus that are not linked to the Trojan war are relatively rare.

Akhilleus' upbringing is not strongly linked to the Trojan war. There is a story that Thetis attempted to make him immortal by secretly burning off his mortal parts with fire or in a cauldron, but was discovered by Peleus and abandoned the attempt.[37] This is strikingly similar to *HHDem.* 239-62, where Demeter does the same to Demophoon,[38] and perhaps reflects a motif that was readily attachable to different heroes. More local in orientation is his upbringing by Kheiron, since the centaur is associated with Mt. Pelion. This is well established in epos (*Il.* 11.830-2, *GK* fr. 204.87-9). In addition there existed a poem known as the *Kheironos Hypothekai* attributed to

[37]For this see especially Hesiod fr. 300 (from the *Aigimios*), Ap. Rhod. *Argonautica* 4.869-79, Apollodorus 3.13.6; see further the references under Hornblower ad Lykophron 178, and Burgess (2009) 9-13 (who also discusses the later versions in which he is dipped in the Styx).)

[38]For further parallels see Richardson ad *HHDem.* 239.

Hesiod, which consisted of advice given to Akhilleus by Kheiron. One could therefore make the argument that Akhilleus' upbringing by Kheiron was a highly traditional story which might potentially go back to local folklore or local wisdom poetry, independent of or preceding the Trojan war. However, the beginning of this poem is cited by the scholia to Pind. *Pyth.* 6.22 (=Hes. fr. 283):

εὖ νῦν μοι τάδ' ἕκαστα μετὰ φρεσὶ πευκαλίμηισι
φράζεσθαι· πρῶτον μέν, ὅτ' ἂν δόμον εἰσαφίκηαι,
ἔρδειν ἱερὰ καλὰ θεοῖς αἰειγενέτηισιν

If this is indeed the beginning of the poem, there was apparently no narrative frame to the advice, and it is possible that the entire poem consisted of such precepts, with little or nothing that directly relates to Akhilleus; fr. 285 is of a similar nature, as it tells us that the poem advised that children younger than seven should not be taught to read - which was unlikely to be an issue in the illiterate world of the heroes.[39] Furthermore, an upbringing by Kheiron was also attached to Iason (*Th.* 1001, Hes. fr. 40), so perhaps it was a general motif that could be applied to various heroes (or specifically

[39]It is of course possible that the surviving parts of the poem are unrepresentative of the whole, and it is true that the first few lines of Hesiod's *Erga* would not give us very much of an idea of the narrative frame, but the evidence we do have is not encouraging.

Thessalian ones).

In addition to fighting at Troy, Akhilleus participates in numerous military expeditions in the vicinity: he sacks Skyros (*Il.* 9.668), Lesbos (*Il.* 9.129, 271, 664), Tenedos (*Il.* 11.625, cf. Apollod. *epitome* 3.26), Lyrnessos (*Il.* 2.691, 19.60, 20.94, 191, *Kypria* Arg. 62 Bern.), Pedasos (*Il.* 20.92, *Kypria* Arg. 62 Bern.), Hypoplakian Thebe (*Il.* 1.366, 2.691, 6.415, 16.153) and other places (*Il.* 9.328-9, 18.341-2, *Kypria* Arg. 62-3 Bern.). It has been argued that, rather than being expansions of his Trojan narrative, these episodes were originally more central to Akhilleus' narrative, and reflect local foundation narratives.[40] These places had Aeolic cities in the historical period, and thus Akhilleus could be seen as originally an Aeolic hero, who featured in a variety of local origin myths for Aeolic cities. There is some evidence for this, but it is not necessarily secure: in the case of Lesbos we are well supplied by the mythographers with foundation stories by Pelasgians led by a Xanthos from Argos, or Pelasgians led by Pylaios of Thessaly, or Makareus from Ias in the Northern Peloponnese, or the Aeolid Lesbos, which do not relate to Akhilleus.[41] None of these are explicitly stated in the *Iliad*, but Pylaios ap-

[40]Nagy (1979) 140-1, Schmid (1947) 83-87.

[41]For further details, see Fowler (2013) 515-7. A more peaceful trip to Lesbos is mentioned in the *Aithiopis* (Proklos' summary), whereby Akhilleus is purified by Odysseus for the killing of Thersites. Note that this is ascribed to a Milesian poet Arktinos, whilst

pears in the Catalogue of Ships (*Il.* 2.842), Makareus' origin is found in Hes. fr. 184, and at *Il.* 24.544 Lesbos is described as Μάκαρος ἔδος. Nor is there any sign of hero cult to Akhilleus in these places.[42]

Evidence that does point towards Akhilleus as a founder figure is a story found at Parthenius *Erot. Path.* 21 about the sacking of Methymna, where the city is betrayed by the daughter of the king, who falls in love with Akhilleus. The author is referred to as ὁ τὴν Λέσβου κτίσιν ποιήσας, whose verses are then quoted. The identity of this poet is uncertain, but may perhaps be Apollonios of Rhodes.[43] That this represents a genuine local tradition may be suggested by the princess' name, Πεισιδίκη, which can be a specifically Aeolic speaking name ('the one who pays the price', from the root of τίνω, not πείθω, but with Aeolic outcome of the labiovelar).[44] Of course, a poem about the foundation of Lesbos might include reference to what happened before or after the foundation, and so it does not necessarily follow that Akhilleus' sack of the city was presented as another founding. However,

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Lesbos is not mentioned in the *Little Iliad* ascribed to Leskhes of Mytilene, as far as the surviving evidence goes.

[42]For more on hero cult to Akhilleus, see below under 'Archaeological evidence'. There was a cult to Tenes (who was killed by Akhilleus, see Tzetzes *ad* Lykophron 232-233) on Tenedos at a later date (Cic. *Nat. Deor.* 3.39), but this raises the usual question over whether later cults can be projected back onto the archaic period.

[43]See Lightfoot (1999) 499.

[44]Lightfoot (1999) 496 and n274.

there is a similar story about Pedasos in ΣAbT *Il.* 6.35 and Eustathius' commentary to the *Iliad* (623.16). Here the maiden sends a message betraying the city to Akhilleus inscribed on an apple. The b scholia go on to say that Akhilleus (περιμείνας ὑπέταξε τὴν πόλιν) καὶ Πήδασον ὠνόμασε διὰ τὴν παρθένον, which could be interpreted as a statement about foundation. The AD scholia attribute the story to Hesiod (= fr. 214), but Lightfoot is sceptical over whether all details go back this far;[45] the prominence of writing is unlikely to be an early feature given its exclusion from epos, but the story of the betrayal might have been found in one of the pseudo-Hesiodic works. There is also a fragmentary Oxyrhynchus papyrus (P.Oxy. 3711, of the second century CE) which may contain a foundation myth involving a lion and Makar, which seems to have genuine Lesbian sources; however, the existence of a talismanic lion may not necessarily presuppose Akhilleus' sack of Methymna.[46] In general, it seems at least plausible that there were local legends about Akhilleus on Lesbos or at other towns in the vicinity that go back to the time of Hesiod; but there is no guarantee that they are older and primary compared to Akhilleus' Trojan exploits.

The story about his youth on Skyros shows considerable variation. A tradi-

[45]Lightfoot (1999) 497.
[46]cf. Lightfoot (1999) 497 comparing Hdt. 1.84.3.

tion found in later sources is that Akhilleus was sent to Skyros to be disguised as a daughter of Lykomedes, so as to escape going to Troy. This is found in the scholia (ΣD *Il.* 19.326) in a relatively full form, including Akhilleus' relationship with Deidameia and the trick used by Odysseus to expose him, which is attributed to the Cyclic writers. While *Il.* 19.326 is indeed compatible with this version of the story, at *Iliad* 9.668 is a statement that in fact Akhilleus sacked the city (Σκῦρον ἑλὼν αἰπεῖαν Ἐνυῆος πτολίεθρον). The T scholia to this line state that Akhilleus took Skyros when recruiting for Aulis, because the Dolopes there had revolted from Peleus. Different again are the mention in the *Little Iliad* (*PEG* 24 = ΣT *Il.* 19.326) that Akhilleus was carried to Skyros by a storm when sailing to Troy, and the version in the *Kypria* (Proklos' summary) where Akhilleus is carried to Skyros by a storm when leaving Mysia, and there 'marries' (γαμεῖ) Deidameia. Fantuzzi argued that the story of Akhilleus' disguise is later, and was not found in the *Kypria*, but it goes back at least to the 5th century.[47] However, despite the existence of multiple versions of the story, it is striking that most of them are well integrated with the Trojan saga. Akhilleus' disguise only has meaning in

[47]Fantuzzi (2012) 25-6: the arguments are convincing that this is not the version in the poem read by Proklos, but a different version of the *Kypria* might well have had it; at any rate, it probably appears on two 5th century vase paintings, for which see Fantuzzi (2012) 35-6.

preventing him from participating in the Trojan war (cf. Odysseus' similar trick); or he is carried there by a storm in the course of the expedition; even the version in which he subjugates the island for revolting from Peleus is linked to the mustering for the war. Evidence from Skyros itself that might suggest a local tradition about Akhilleus is restricted to a mention at ΣT *Il.* 19.326 that the island had a bay called the Ἀχίλλειον. This might easily have been a later re-naming, of course, and it is not informative in respect to the details of local tradition.

Odysseus also has a large number of stories that are well integrated into the Trojan saga, such as his competition with Aias, the theft of the Palladium, and the Trojan Horse. However, in the *Odyssey* there are also numerous stories about his return home from Troy. These are motivated by the necessity of returning after the sack, and from the synchronic standpoint of the *Odyssey* are well-linked to the Trojan tradition (compare the way Odysseus introduces himself and his companions to Polyphemos at 9.263-6: λαοὶ δ' Ἀτρεΐδεω Ἀγαμέμνονος εὐχόμεθ' εἶναι ...). However, there is no necessary connection with the Trojan saga, so that these stories could in principle have been attached to Odysseus before he was connected with the Trojan war - there might have been another excuse for his wanderings. But it must be

admitted that the majority of the stories of Odysseus' travels are not particularly local, because they do not relate to real places at all; the land of the Lotus Eaters, of the Kyklops, of Kirke and Kalypso are resolutely fictional. Often these were connected to real places in a later period: the location of his escapade with Polyphemos was later identified as Etna, for example in Euripides' *Kyklops*, Thuc. 6.2.1 and earlier in Epikharmos.[48] Whether or not the connection was invented by Epikharmos, this example shows that local connections for a story do not necessarily have to be primary: that is, a local aspect to a tradition can appear based on Homeric poetry rather than the other way round. Even the identity of the hero in these stories may not be primary: it has been argued that some have been borrowed from Argonautic saga, and even at the time of composition of the *Odyssey* some of these stories may not have been firmly linked to Odysseus.[49]

Before being blown off course into the unknown, however, Odysseus does visit a real place - Ismaros in Thrace, home of the Kikones, where he sacks the city before being defeated by the local inhabitants. Could this episode have its roots in a local tradition? It has been suggested by Pepper[50] that

[48]See Hunter and Laemmle on Eur. *Kyklops* 20.

[49]See West (2014) 119-20, with reference to earlier literature, such as Meuli (1921). cf. also Davies (2002) 24-7.

[50]Pepper (2011), paragraph beginning 'Maron's abode is given as...'.

Maron, who is spared by Odysseus, was a local hero of Ismaros at the time the *Odyssey* was produced, based on an account in Philostratos (*Heroicus* 17.2) that describes cult to Maron;[51] the connection to the cult would have been known to the poet and audience but explicit mention 'suppressed by the conventions of epic'. Moreover, according to Diodoros Siculus, Maron was associated with vine-cultivation and Osiris, and was the founder of Maroneia and overseer of plants in Thrace.[52] For Pepper, the name of Maron's father in Homer (Εὐάνθεος υἱός, *Od.* 9.198) would reflect Maron's fragrant smell in Philostratos' account (ἀναπνέων πότιμόν τε καὶ οἰνῶδες), and Maron's own name would derive from μάρη, 'hand', a reference to his activities using his hands in the vineyard, although Maron is a paralleled Greek name.[53] The connection of Maron with wine may go back to the archaic period, in light of Eustathius' citation of Hesiod for Maron's ancestry from Dionysos.[54] However, there is no guarantee that the cult is that old: the sources for the cult are all late, and the connection with Osiris can hardly go back to the archaic period. An alternative view is that the name of Maron was suggested to

[51]Also in Strabo, according to Eustathius ad *Odyssey* 9.30.

[52]Diodorus Siculus 1.18.2, 1.20.2.

[53]The derivation from μάρη (which is only attested in an *Iliad* scholion referring to Pindar fr. 310) is doubtful; see Beekes s. v. μάρη (the Germanic/Celtic parallels are now 'obsolete'); Blanc (1992) 550 prefers a definition from **smer*-. For parallels to the name see Blanc (1992) 554-5.

[54]Eustathius ad *Od.* 9.198 = Hes. fr. 238.

the *Odyssey* poet by the toponym Μαρώνεια (a town on the south coast of Thrace near Ismaros), and that the character's connections with wine were then elaborated on the basis of the wine given to Odysseus in the poem. From the point of view of the *Odyssey*, Maron does not function as a hero (no divine descent is mentioned and he does not participate in battle), but as a priest of Apollo in a similar manner to Khryses in the *Iliad*.[55] Furthermore, the Kikones function as generic enemies in this episode, without individual fighters being named, which suggests that we are not dealing with a genuine Thracian local tradition. This example, therefore, is more plausibly seen as a case of the *Odyssey* poet (or the poet's predecessors) making use of local details - the name of Μαρώνεια and the tendency for this region to produce wine - to add a local atmosphere to the episode.[56]

During Odysseus' trip to the underworld, he receives a prophecy from Teire-

[55]Both Khryses and Maron are priests of Apollo, but Agamemnon takes Khryses' daughter, threatens him and refuses to respect his supplication, resulting in divine punishment; Odysseus respects Maron and his family, and receives gifts in return. For a detailed presentation of the parallels, see Hernández (2002) 323-7. This need not be an intentional, specific allusion, but rather the use of a common motif with different outcomes.

[56]This is the only part of Odysseus' nostos to occur in the real world in the *Odyssey*, but it has been suggested that his lying tales and some textual variants attributed to Zenodotos attest to an alternative version in which Odysseus went via Crete (see eg. Reece (1994)), which might have some connection to a local Cretan tradition (cf. Beck (2020) 361-2). However, this idea has been strongly criticised by Beck (2020), who argues that the variants are Zenodotos' conjectures; cf. also Camerotto (2010).

sias narrating what will befall him after his return to Ithaca (*Od.* 11.121-33).

ἔρχεσθαι δὴπειτα λαβὼν ἐυῆρες ἐρετμόν,
εἰς ὅ κε τοὺς ἀφίκηαι οἳ οὐκ ἴσασι θάλασσαν
ἀνέρες, οὐδέ θ' ἅλεσσι μεμιγμένον εἶδαρ ἔδουσιν·
οὐδ' ἄρα τοί γ' ἴσασι νέας φοινικοπαρήους
οὐδ' ἐυήρε' ἐρετμά, τά τε πτερὰ νηυσὶ πέλονται.
σῆμα δέ τοι ἐρέω μάλ' ἀριφραδές, οὐδέ σε λήσει·
ὁππότε κεν δή τοι συμβλήμενος ἄλλος ὁδίτης
φήῃ ἀθηρηλοιγὸν ἔχειν ἀνὰ φαιδίμῳ ὤμῳ,
καὶ τότε δὴ γαίῃ πήξας ἐυῆρες ἐρετμόν,
ἔρξας ἱερὰ καλὰ Ποσειδάωνι ἄνακτι,
ἀρνειὸν ταῦρόν τε συῶν τ' ἐπιβήτορα κάπρον,
οἴκαδ' ἀποστείχειν ἔρδειν θ' ἱερὰς ἑκατόμβας
ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι, τοὶ οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχουσιν ...

The prophecy is very specific and has been judged likely to be an aition for a local cult of Poseidon.[57] This seems a plausible explanation for the cryptic tone of the oracle, but note the implausible details - a people so far from the sea that they do not use salt, and who do not know what an oar is, which look

[57]West (2013) 295; cf. Heubeck *ad loc.*

more like characteristics of the fantastic lands Odysseus sees on his travels (cf. *Od.* 10.81-6). The scholia to *Od.* 11.122 explain the reference as εἰς Βουνίμαν ἢ εἰς Κελκέαν (similarly Eustathius). Kelkea is scarcely attested, but Stephanus of Byzantium (b 147) says of Bounima: κτίσμα Ὀδυσσέως, ἣν ἔκτισε πλησίον Τραμπύας, λαβὼν χρησμὸν ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ἄνδρας, „οἳ οὐκ ἴσασι θάλασσαν". βοῦν οὖν θύσας ἔκτισε. Other sources relate to an oracle of Odysseus: so Lykophron 799-800 (at Trampya), Arist. fr. 508 (in Aitolia, from the *Ithakesion Politeia*), and Nicander fr. 8 (both Aristotle and Nicander are cited in Tzetzes *ad* Lyk. 799). The evidence therefore points to the existence of an oracle of Odysseus in this area by the fourth century BCE. Whether the local tradition about Odysseus existed at the time of composition of the *Odyssey*, or whether it was the *Odyssey* passage that was later linked with this oracle, remains uncertain.

Teiresias' prophecy in the *Odyssey* does not exhaust the evidence for Odysseus' deeds after the end of the *Odyssey*. Pausanias (8.14) relates a Phenean local tradition that Odysseus travelled through Greece looking for some lost mares, and found them in Pheneus; after which the hero dedicated a bronze statue of Poseidon and a sanctuary to Artemis. It is interesting

that this narrative is not a direct adaptation of Odysseus' wanderings in the epic tradition, and in fact it has similarities with the story of Heracles and Geryon (Hes. *Th.* 287-94) or Apollo and Hermes (*HHHerm.*). In principle it could be the case that this reflects some pre-Homeric tradition preserved in the ancient Arcadian town, but note that some of the essential details (the bronze statue, as Pausanias points out at 8.14.7, but also the written instructions inscribed on it) are unlikely to go back so far. Another Arcadian local tradition is reported in Pausanias 8.12.5-6, in which Penelope separates from Odysseus after his return, and finishes her life at Mantinea, where she had a tomb. Even more so than the Phenean tradition, this is likely to be much more recent than the time of early epos, because the story is attested very late and only after Mantinea was apparently completely destroyed and resettled in 222 BCE; Penelope is not the only figure to have a tomb at Mantinea without having any obvious connection to the city,[58] and this is therefore probably a case of local tradition being created on the basis of epos to strengthen local identity.

A version of Odysseus' life after the events of the *Odyssey* is found in the

[58]See Pretzler (2005) 25, and more generally on the likely status of the Mantinean traditions in Pausanias.

Telegony and/or the *Thesprotis*, which may be the same poem.[59] Odysseus makes a journey to Thesprotia, where he marries the queen of the Thesprotians and fights in a war against the Brygoi. After this, he returns to Ithaka, but is killed by Telegonos, his son by Kirke, who does not recognise him. Telegonos, Telemakhos, Odysseus' body, and Penelope then go to Aiaia and the survivors are married off to each other, presumably leaving the remaining son of Odysseus, Ptoliporthes or Arkesilaos, to rule Ithaka. Here there seem to be two clear potential connections to local tradition: the Thesprotian connection and the name of Ptoliporthes/Arkesilaos. Commentators have assumed that the motivation for Odysseus' stay in Thesprotia is to 'confer Odyssean ancestry on a Thesprotian dynasty';[60] the story is somewhat unlike his tales in the *Odyssey*, insofar as it is set in a real place, although in other respects it resembles his stay with Kirke and Kalypso, and might be regarded as an extension of the same pattern.[61] If we do accept the existence of a Thesprotian tradition, this presumably entered the epic

[59]On this poem see West (2013) 288-315, esp. 288, 290-1, 299 on the relationship with the *Thesprotis*, Tsagalis (2015) esp. 400-1 positing an original **Thesprotis* that was adapted by the *Telegony* poet. For a date in the early 6th century see West (2013) 289, Tsagalis (2015) 384.

[60]West (2013) 297.

[61]Compare Foster (2017) 65-6 for the idea that Odysseus' presence in Thesprotia is a development of the pattern of Odysseus as colonist, following Dougherty (2001) 161-76 for Odysseus as a colonist of Ithaka.

tradition between the composition of the *Odyssey* and the *Thesprotis*, given that Teiresias' prophecy makes no reference to his stay with the queen; perhaps it should be seen as a development of the tradition about the oracle at Trampya.[62]

Proklos attributes the *Telegony* to a Cyrenaean Eugammon. It is therefore interesting that in the epic the second son of Odysseus was called Arkesilaos (*Telegony* F4 West). This name was used by 6th-century Battiad kings at Kyrene, and it has therefore been suggested that 'the poet of the *Telegony* lived at Cyrene and sought to honour the Battiads by tracing their descent back to a son of Odysseus';[63] and there may be more general links between the environs of Ithaka and the Cyrenaica, given a town in Libya and Arkesilas II's brother had the name Zakynthos.[64] If this is not a coincidence, it shows that local context could influence the production of epos; however, as far as our evidence goes, there is no particular local connection to Cyrene

[62]A story in which Odysseus is exiled from Ithaka to Aitolia, where he marries the daughter of Thoas, is found at Apollod. *Epit.* 7.40. Marks (2003) 217-24 believes that this reflects an old tradition (following a suggestion of Kullmann (1960) 220n3), which the *Odyssey* implicitly denies through its presentation of Aitolian characters. However, there are no other ancient sources for this version besides the mention of an oracle of Odysseus in Aitolia (Arist. fr. 508 Rose). Kullmann thought that Apollodoros was drawing on a longer story in Aristotle, but in Arist. fr. 507 Rose Odysseus' next destination is Italy.

[63]West (2013) 39.

[64]West (2013) 289.

in the *Telegony* beyond this, and there is no reason to think in terms of a longer-running local tradition at Cyrene; since Greek-speakers did not arrive in the region before the late 7th century, there was certainly no tradition about Odysseus through the Early Iron Age.

The variants do not stop there. In Hesiod *Th.* 1011-16 (considered spurious by Solmsen and West, but see Arrighetti *ad* 886-1022 for a defence of their authenticity), Odysseus and Kirke's children are Agrios and Latinos; 1014 mentions Telegonos but, according to West, is a secondary addition to reconcile this with the *Telegony* (and 'may be of Byzantine date' given its doubtful metre).[65] The following two lines also state that he had Nausithoos and Nausinoos by Kalypso, the former being the name of the first king of the Phaiakians at *Od.* 6.7. West points out that Kirke in the *Odyssey* lives in the East (*Od.* 12.3-4), which is at variance with her sons ruling the Tyrrhenians (Etruscans). The case could be made, especially given the presence of Latinos, that this has its origins in local details. In particular, the name Latinos is based on Latium, which has no secure etymology, but is unlikely to be an exonym. This need not suggest that the genealogy here originated with the

[65] West *ad loc.*; note, however, the word-play between the name Τηλέγονον in 1014 and τῆλε in 1015.

Etruscans, since it could equally well have been an innovation by the poet to incorporate the Tyrrhenians into the genealogical framework; note that the phrasing implies that the Etruscans inhabit islands (νήσων ἱεράων), which suggests that the poet may not have had much accurate information about them.

Finally, a version of Odysseus' fate after the events of the *Odyssey* that very probably does reflect local tradition is given in Plutarch, *Greek Questions* 294, deriving from Aristotle (= fr. 507 Rose, most probably from the *Ithakesion Politeia*). After the killing of the suitors, Odysseus was exiled from Ithaka and went to Italy, but the suitors' families had to pay a recompense, which was transferred to Telemakhos. The details of the recompense are given in some detail, which suggests that some custom based on it was extant in the 4th century, for example requiring that the recompense be paid to a group claiming to be Telemakhos' descendants. Moreover, there is said to be a group on Ithaka called Koliadai claiming descent from Eumaios, and Boukolidai claiming descent from Philoitios. However, it does not seem likely that Eumaios and Philoitios arose from these local traditions and were thus adopted into the *Odyssey*. The tradition is reported several centuries

after the composition of the poem, and may have arisen through interaction between local tradition and the Homeric poems.

To conclude this section: the most plausible cases of local traditions that might be prior to their Trojan stories are Akhilleus' upbringing by Kheiron on Mt. Pelion; Akhilleus' sacking of various cities around the Troad; Odysseus' inland dedication to Poseidon; and Odysseus' time in Thesprotia. In none of these cases is there convincing evidence that a local tradition (whether poetic or otherwise) existed before the characters' roles at Troy; if this is the case, the original story has been integrated into the overarching narrative of their Trojan exploits. There are a number of instances where a local tradition developed influenced by the figures' importance in epos - the story of Akhilleus' sack of Methymna in Parthenius, or the Mantinean tradition about Penelope, or the Koliadai and Boukolidai groups on Ithaka. There are also places where specific local detail in epos is probably misleading, because it shows the eagerness of the poets to include authentic-seeming local detail rather than genuine traces of a local tradition, as we have seen in the case of Odysseus' conflict with the Kikones, reflecting local detail but not a Kikonian tradition, or his supposed ancestry of the Etruscans. In the

case of the *Telegony* it is likely that the ultimate fate of Odysseus' progeny - in particular the son Arkesilaos - may have been influenced by political ends of a Cyrenaean poet, but this could easily be the invention of Eugammon rather than a more general local tradition. In this case, the local origin of the poet would affect the epic tradition, but without showing the existence of a long-running tradition at Cyrene about Odysseus.

6.4 Genealogical basis in the mythic tradition

Another way in which characters have local links is through their family connections: where their parents come from, who they marry, and where their children go. Since the family trees of almost all the characters of Greek mythology are linked together, identifying all a character's links is a potentially endless task, and it is not always entirely clear which relatives are relevant and which are not, but the most immediate of them should be considered.

Akhilleus' mother is Thetis, and his father is Peleus, son of Aiakos. This genealogy is embedded in his formulae (Πηλεΐδην, Αἰακίδην), and his descent from Thetis is important enough to be the basis of a matronymic for-

mula (Ἀχιλεὺς Θέτιδος πάϊς ἠϋκόμοιο# *Iliad* 4.512, 16.860). Thetis was worshipped in Thessaly in later times (at Pharsalos, and perhaps at Sepias),[66] as well as at Sparta (Paus. 3.14.4). Peleus has an existence in myth independent from his role as the father of Akhilleus, going back to an early date. The Potiphar's wife motif that appears in association with Akastos' wife (Apollodoros 3.13.3) goes back to the archaic period, as is evident from Hes. fr. 208-9. He was also known for his wedding to Thetis at which the gods attended and gave gifts (*Il.* 18.84-5), his connection with Kheiron (*Il.* 16.143), and his sack of Iolkos (Hes. fr. 211). He also appears on 6th century vase paintings, often in contexts that relate to his own deeds rather than Akhilleus.[67] His involvement with Akastos, with the sack of Iolkos, and with Kheiron, link him securely to Thessaly - in this respect he is a far more local hero than Akhilleus.

For later mythology Peleus' father Aiakos is from Aigina, and this was where Peleus was born; according to a story found in Ps.-Apollodoros' library

[66]On the Thetideion at Pharsalos cf. *BNP s.v.*; the earliest mention is Euripides' Andromache (eg. line 20). At Sepias there seems to have been a local tradition relating to Thetis, see Hdt. 7.191.2.

[67]See *LIMC s.v.*: with Akastos (7); in a tree in the wilderness (9-10); with Atalante (11-3, 16-8); wrestling with Iason (32); wrestling with Hippalkimos (33); on the boar hunt (34-8); cf. with Thetis (many eg.s, including 162-4, 169, 173, 187, 196, 205, 207-8); receiving the gods at his palace (211-2); bringing Akhilleus to Kheiron (215-22, and 214 from the 7th century); present while Akhilleus arms himself (228).

(3.12.6) and referred to in Apollonius, Peleus and his brother Telamon killed another son of Aiakos, Phokos, and had to leave Aigina for this reason.[68] However, Pherekydes (*FGrH* 3 F 15 = Apollodoros 3.12.6) said that Telamon and Peleus were not brothers, and the epithet Αἰακίδης is not applied to Aias in the *Iliad*. This may suggest that Aiakos was originally a Thessalian figure, who was only later connected with Aigina.[69] West states that that the creation of the Myrmidons from ants around Aiakos is located in Aigina by Strabo 8.6.16 and in the *GK*, but in Thessaly by Serv. auct. *ad Aen.* 4.402;[70] in fact, the *GK* fragment may be ambiguous, since the fragment itself (fr. 205) does not mention a location:

ἣ δ' ὑποκυσαμένη τέκεν Αἰακὸν ἱππιοχάρμην ...
αὐτὰρ ἐπεί ῥ' ἥβης πολυηράτου ἵκετο μέτρον,
μοῦνος ἐὼν ἤσχαλλε· πατὴρ δ' ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε,
ὅσσοι ἔσαν μύρμηκες ἐπηράτου ἔνδοθι νήσου,
τοὺς ἄνδρας ποίησε βαθυζώνους τε γυναῖκας.
οἳ δή τοι πρῶτοι ζεῦξαν νέας ἀμφιελίσσας,
<πρῶτοι δ' ἱστί' ἔθεν νηὸς πτερὰ ποντοπόροιο>

[68] *Argonautica* 1.93. The birth of Phokos from Aiakos is mentioned at *Th.* 1004.
[69] So Jebb (1907) 4, West (1985) 162-4.
[70] West (1985) 163n84.

The fragment is cited by Tzetzes' on Lykophron 176, with the following wording: μύρμων· ληροῦσιν ὅτι Αἰακὸς ἐξ Αἰγίνης Διὶ γεννηθεὶς ἐν τῇ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Αἰγίνῃ νήσῳ κατελείφθη μόνος ᾐτήσατο δὲ τῷ Διὶ καὶ ὃς τοὺς μύρμηκας ἀνθρώπους ἐποίησε καθὰ καὶ Ἡσίοδος ἐν τῇ ἡρωικῇ γενεαλογίᾳ φησίν· (the fragment follows). ληροῦσιν surely need not apply to Hesiod, so it could be that the *GK* itself did not specify that the location was Aigina, and that Tzetzes simply cited it for the creation of humans from ants. The best counter-argument could be made on the basis of the mention of ships in lines 6-7: perhaps this is more appropriate to Aigina than it is to Thessaly, since leaving Aigina requires the use of ships.[71] At any rate, the story about Peleus and Telamon killing Phokos was known to archaic epos, as it appears in fr. 1 Bern. of the *Alkmaionis* (attributed to the 6th century). If we accept that Peleus was originally a figure confined to Thessaly, we would have a clear case of a local figure who later becomes drawn into Panhellenic tradition through connection with a different part of the Greek world.[72] This does, however, strongly contrast with Akhilleus - who as we have seen does

[71]Note that Hirschberger *ad loc.* supposes that the *GK* had Aiakos in Aigina.

[72]Although Peleus' fugitive movement from place to place, whether this was within Thessaly or broader, does seem embedded in his story; see Alden (2012) esp. 121. Note also that Patroklos and Phoenix both seek refuge with him.

not engage in heroic deeds in Thessaly itself, in the surviving traditions.[73]

Odysseus is the son of Laertes and Antikleia in surviving early epos. However, there is an alternative version that he was a son of Sisyphos, which appears at least by the 5th century.[74] S. West conjectured that Laertes was a recent introduction into the story of Odysseus for the purpose of embellishment,[75] on the basis that he has no presence in the mythological tradition beyond being Odysseus' father. However, the name Laertes is extremely rare. It is paralleled by Myc. *e-ti-ra-wo*, presumably */Ertilāwos/*, 'the one who urges on the people'.[76] It thus reflects knowledge of old patterns of name-formation that had been lost by the historical period, and so the character is likely to be old. Moreover, Λαερτιάδης is relatively well integrated into Odysseus' formulae,[77] so the idea that this was a generic name used to

[73]As for Akhilleus' son, Neoptolemos is mentioned twice in the Homeric corpus (*Il.* 19.327, *Od.* 11.506-537). According to Proklos' summary, in the *Nostoi* he travelled to Thrace after leaving Troy, and goes to the Molossians, where he is recognised by Peleus. His actual involvement in Thessaly was therefore minimal (cf. Euripides' *Andromakhe*, set in Phthia).

[74]See Σ Soph. *Aias* 190, Hyg. fab. 201, Tzetz. Lykophr. 344; this is also implied in Soph. *Aias* 190, *Phil.* 417, fr. 567 Pearson, Eur. *Iph. A.* 524, Eur. *Cycl.* 103-4.

[75]S. R. West (1988) 115-8; so also M. L. West (2014) 23. M. L. West notes that trickster figures in Greek literature often have a less developed genealogy.

[76]See Kanavou (2015) 106-7, who rightly points out that it does not fit his characterisation in the *Odyssey*.

[77]West (2014) 23 argues that the occurrences are mainly in more recent passages of the *Odyssey*, but this argument requires that we accept his view of the development of the poem.

fill in Odysseus' genealogy seems unlikely.[78] Laertes in turn is the son of Arkeisios (*Od.* 14.182, 16.118), although Ἀρκεισιάδης is never applied to Odysseus himself. The original form of the name may have been Ἀρκέσιος, again paralleled in Mycenaean nomenclature, which may be more evidence of antiquity.[79] For some sources, Arke(i)sios was the son of Zeus; another version made him the son of Kephalos.[80] That neither Laertes nor Arke(i)sios are well-integrated into wider Greek mythology might be some evidence that they do come from a local Ithakan tradition. Odysseus' mother, Antikleia, is the daughter of Autolykos and Amphithea. Autolykos does have some independent existence in archaic epos, most prominently for his skill as a thief (Hes. fr. 67).[81] His appearance in the *Odyssey* is due to his naming of Odysseus and Odysseus' later visit to him (*Od.* 19.393-466). In the *Odyssey* passage he is localised on Mount Parnassos; and according to *GK* fr. 64,

[78] *contra*, Kanavou (2015) 107.

[79] See Heubeck *ad loc.*, who states 'he may have been important in earlier tales and later have faded from Greek legend'.

[80] Zeus: Dindorf scholia and Eustathius on *Od.* 16.118. Kephalos: Aristotle in *Etymologicum Magnum* 130. 21, under Arkeisios; also Hyginus, *Fabulae*, section 189, where Kephalos the son of Deion and Procris the daughter of Pandion are the parents. Perhaps the Kephalos version is a later development, although Aristotle's information could come from a local Ithacan tradition. It is possible that this Kephalos was originally distinct from the son of Deion. Alternatively, this could be a local Ithakan attempt to connect Odysseus' genealogy to the wider stemmata: an interesting case of a local tradition aiming at Panhellenisation.

[81] Ov. *Met.* 711-715 may be an interpretation of the Hesiod passage. For further later sources see Polyaenus, *Strat.* 6,52; Hyg. *Fab.* 201, Apollod. 2.129. It is interesting that according to Apollod. 1.9.16, Autolykos was the father of Polymede, the mother of Iason.

he was the son of Philonis (daughter of Deion, the king of Phokis) by Hermes; she lay with both Hermes and Apollo on Parnassus.[82] This ancestry, therefore, connects Odysseus beyond Ithaka, to a figure closely linked with Parnassos.

Penelope does not have much in the way of stories independent from Odysseus; however, as with Antikleia, the institution of marriage builds up links between different regions, since her father is Ikarios. In the later tradition Ikarios lives at Sparta, but his genealogy is somewhat complex,[83] and he is not connected with Sparta in the *Odyssey*. In fact, *Alkmaionis* fr. 5 Bern. puts his origin in Akarnania, and it has been convincingly argued that this would be more appropriate to the *Odyssey* narrative.[84] There is, of course, a danger of circularity here (it is more natural for Odysseus' father-in-law to live nearer, therefore Akarnania is more plausible, therefore Odysseus' details are more local) but it is notable that Ikarios is not mentioned when Telemakhos visits Sparta. The story about Penelope at Mantinea has been mentioned above; there was also a tradition that she was the mother of Pan,

[82]The story is also found at Pherekydes *FGrH* 3 F120.

[83]See West (1985) 67n86, 157 (doubting that the association with Tyndareos is original).

[84]See *LFrGrE s.v.* Ἰκάριος. Eumelos of Pherai marries another daughter of Ikarios (*Od.* 4.798); Pherai is closer to Akarnania than to Sparta, but this is not a strong argument.

but this is only attested later.[85] As for Telemakhos himself, he has no independent existence from the story of Odysseus; he is mentioned in the *Iliad* (2.260, 4.354) and the *Kypria* in Proklos' summary, so is unlikely to be the *Odyssey* poet's invention, but he probably exists only in order to play the role of Odysseus' son.[86]

The familial connections of these characters, therefore, do form an important aspect of how local or non-local they are. It seems that both Akhilleus and Odysseus have been made more Panhellenic - that is to say, acquired links more widely across the Greek world - by developments in the tradition that are arguably post-Iliadic, in particular through Odysseus' wife Penelope becoming a Spartan and through Akhilleus' father becoming an Aiginetan. It is, however, worth noting that these cases show a broadening of elements that were already present and indeed inherent in epos: Penelope may originally have been an Akarnanian, but there is no evidence to suggest that she was originally an Ithakan; Peleus may originally have lived his whole life in Thessaly, but his travelling from city to city (to Akastos in Iolkos)

[85] See *LIMC s.v.* Penelope; the oldest mentions are in Pindaros and Herodotos.
[86] See Kanavou (2015) 109-110.

is embedded in the traditions about him.[87] This may therefore point more towards regional traditions than traditions in different city states; although it is probably simplistic to think that a tradition based in a given city state would not include references to surrounding regions.

6.5 Archaeological evidence

It is important to consider what bearing archaeology and physical geography may have on the question of Odysseus and Akhilleus' localisation. This applies both to the location of the places mentioned in the poem in relation to the heroes, but also on whether they receive cult (and at what date) which might be related to traditions about them.

For both these characters, there is some question over the location of their homelands, from antiquity onwards. Akhilleus is said to rule over Pelasgic Argos, Alos, Alope, Trekhis, Phthia, and Hellas (*Il.* 2.681-5). His followers are called Myrmidons, Hellenes, and Akhaioi. He is closely linked with the Sperkheios (23.142-4) and refers to Zeus as Δωδωναῖε,[88] Πελασγικέ (*Il.*

[87] As is his reception of figures from outside: Phoinix (*Il.* 9.445-84, Epeigeus *Il.* 16.571-4, Patroklos *Il.* 23.84-90. This pattern also connects him with a wider range of supra-local stories. For metanastic figures, see Alden (2012).

[88] This reference was seen as problematic by some in antiquity because Dodona is in Epirus, not Thessaly; some posited a second, Thessalian Dodona. See Velardi (2012)

16.233). In antiquity there seem to have been conflicting ideas over whether Pelasgic Argos was a lost city near Larisa or referred to the plain of Thessaly (Strabo 9.5.6). Alos, however, is a well-attested city on the west side of the Pagasetic gulf in Thessaly; Alope existed in historical times in Phthiotis (Strabo 9.4.9); Trakhis existed in historical times at the base of mount Oita.

Phthia and Hellas are more problematic. Strabo (6.5.6) observes that there was debate in antiquity as to whether Phthia was the same as Hellas and Akhaia, and whether Hellas and Phthia referred to regions or cities. Σb *Il.* 2.683 wants Hellas to refer to the whole of the Phthiotis. Φθιῶτις is attested in Herodotos 1.56 and Thucydides 1.3.2-3, but in reference to events in the distant past; the first attested use to refer to a contemporary region is Hellanicus of Lesbos fr. 52, where Phthiotis is named as one of the four parts of Thessaly. Polybios (5.99) uses the term to specify a contemporary city. Early inscriptional uses are *IG* XII.5.542 (from Keos, 4th C. BCE) and *Epigr. tou Oropou* 205 (from Oropos, 3rd-2nd C. BCE). As for the evidence of epos itself, Visser argues that some verses are best read as denoting a region, and some as an *Ortspunkt*, although the latter examples look fairly ambiguous.[89]

57-60.

[89]Visser (1997) 654-5. That the name is used to denote the *Wohnsitz* of Peleus does not necessarily prove that it is a city rather than a region.

It is clear, therefore, that the location of Phthia was not clearly known in historical times; it seems unlikely that a local tradition there can have lasted to the time of the poems, especially if the *Iliad* is uncertain over whether Phthia is a region or a city. Perhaps the lack of a precise origin is one of the contributing factors to Akhilleus' popularity or Panhellenism. However, the poet of the *Iliad* is still eager to show superficial details that link Akhilleus to a particular place, as we have seen through his invocations of Zeus and dedication of his hair to the Sperkheios.

There is a long-running scholarly controversy over the location of Ithaka as well (the earliest surviving discussion being Strabo 10.451-8). In summary, the descriptions of Ithaka in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* for the most part (eg. τρηχεῖα, κραναή) fit the island now known as Ιθάκη, but 9.25-6 (αὐτὴ δὲ χθαμαλὴ πανυπερτάτη εἰν ἁλὶ κεῖται / πρὸς ζόφον, αἱ δέ τ' ἄνευθε πρὸς ἠῶ τ' ἠέλιόν τε) do not make sense, because Ithaka is not low nor to the west of the other islands.[90] However, these lines are well integrated into their context and cannot be dismissed as interpolation without getting rid of the surrounding lines as well. This suggests that the poet of the *Odyssey* did not have detailed knowledge of the position of Ithaka, and seem to be

[90]For a more detailed summary with references to previous bibliography, see Heubeck (1989) on *Od.* 9.21-7.

good evidence against direct access to a local tradition.[91] It does demonstrate the eagerness of the *Odyssey* poet to create a vivid sense of setting, which is also clear from various other details in the poem; see especially *Od.* 4.601-608, 9.21-28, 13.237-249, 13.344-351, 24.336-44, for the use of evocative, emotionally-charged depictions of the Ithakan landscape.[92]

There is evidence that Akhilleus received hero cult. Philostratus (*Heroicus* 15.8-23) contains a detailed history of a Thessalian custom of sailing with offerings to his tomb in the Troad, which is presumably the one mentioned in the *Odyssey* (24.80-4) which was later the site of the town Akhilleion (mentioned at Hdt. 5.94). According to Philostratos the custom existed before the Persian wars but had been neglected by his time.[93] Cult is also known from across the Greek world,[94] but especially in the Black Sea, where it seems to start in the 6th century, especially on the island of Leuke.[95] Hommel argued

[91] cf. the possibility that the poet is Euboean, eg. West (2014) 89-90, esp. on *Od.* 7.321.

[92] For studies of the poetics of landscape in the *Odyssey*, see Haller (2007), esp. 167-72, 211-73, and Xian (2021), especially 72-93 on Ithaka and 80-82 on 9.21-8 in particular.

[93] Discussed by Burgess (2009) 115-6; see n14 for further literature accepting Philostratus' account. For scepticism of Philostratus, see Farnell (1921) 287.

[94] See *BNP s.v.* Achilles: Kroton in South Italy (see Lykophron 859-65, which perhaps describes a festival), Lakonia (Paus. 3.20.8), Elis (Paus. 6.23.3 - mourning as part of a festival), Astypalaia in the Cyclades (Cic. *Nat. Deor.* 3.45), Erythrai in Asia Minor (*Erythrai* 58, 60, 264, cf. Graf (1985) 351-3), and Epirus (Plut. *Pyrrh.* 1.2). Akhilleus' cult is also discussed in the light of the (then) new Simonides fragment by Shaw (2001). See esp 164-70 for more references on cult and toponyms. cf. also Farnell (1921) 285-89, Burgess (2009) 111-31 for discussion of a range of cults.

[95] For extensive discussion see Hedreen (1991), although it seems unlikely that the origin of the cult can be attributed to geographical speculations on the part of the early Milesians.

that the cult of Akhilleus was brought to Leuke by the Milesian settlers, and that some place names in the vicinity of Miletos provide evidence of an older cult to Akhilleus,[96] but there does not seem to be any evidence for an early cult (such as a priesthood or shrine). For known hero cults in Miletos, see Herda (2011) who claims (p90) that Akhilleus was one of the founders, but evidence for this seems to be lacking. Whilst cult to Akhilleus could potentially go back early, there is no evidence for it before the 6th century, and it is possible that many of the later cults were influenced by his prestige in epic and other literature.

As for Odysseus, there is a sanctuary on the Polis Bay on the northern shore of Ithaka, which is associated with Odysseus in the Hellenistic period (the first dedication to mention him is *IG* IX.1^2, 4, 1615). Worship at the site may be continuous from the Mycenaean period, and bronze tripods are found at the site from an early date. If this were a sanctuary associated with Odysseus, it would offer a potential case where a character and his stories could develop in a local tradition with partial continuity from Mycenaean times. A case has indeed been made for continuity of cult to Odysseus at the site in the context of Euboian colonisation by Malkin,[97] who considered the island to

[96]Hommel (1980) 23-4 n58.
[97]eg. Malkin (1998).

be a stopping point for seafarers on the way to Italy. Against this, Morgan and Haywood (2020) argue that the Polis Bay sanctuary is best understood in terms of the internal social dynamics of Ithaka; there is no evidence for a connection with Odysseus before the second-century BCE inscription, and this may therefore be a later development.[98] Earlier interpretations were misled by the identification of the Polis Bay site as a cave sanctuary, attractively corresponding to the cave of the nymphs in the *Odyssey*, but Morgan and Haywood show that this is a misinterpretation of the site, which is not in a cave. Otherwise, specific cults of Odysseus seem to be lacking or late.[99]

6.6 Conclusions

Both Akhilleus and Odysseus are characters with a deep history in the tradition. Odysseus' name is pre-Greek, and it is quite possible that he originates in pre-Greek tradition. By the archaic period his name existed in multiple local variants that are probably testament to local traditions about the figure. Akhilleus' name may be a Greek hypocoristic, or pre-Greek; it was a normal name at the time of the linear B tablets and thus the character may

[98] Morgan and Haywood (2020) 86.

[99] See Farnell (1921) 326 (worshipped in Laconia, in Libya), cf. 325 (Thuc. 3.70 mentions worship of Alkinoos in Kerkyra).

well derive from a real individual of that time or later.

It is possible that Akhilleus was a hero in sagas about the sacking of various towns in the North-East Aegean, perhaps linked to their local foundation narratives, but we have no direct evidence that these precede his Trojan deeds. At any rate, he seems to do little in Thessaly itself apart from his upbringing there; the main reason to view him as a Thessalian is because of his family and teacher, with Peleus, Thetis, and Kheiron having strong Thessalian associations. With Odysseus it is possible that there was a local tradition around the area of Trampya relating to his journey to placate Poseidon, but again there is no guarantee that this is as old as the *Odyssey*; there is a case to be made for a local Thesprotian tradition, but based purely on the internal evidence of the *Telegony*. Again, Odysseus' family provides the strongest reason to link him to Ithakan tradition, as the names of his father and grandfather look ancient but obscure, potentially reflecting a tradition that was not well-known to the *Odyssey* poet - but even here, there is no guarantee that this was not an ancient tradition within (non-Ithakan) epos, rather than a local tradition.

From the synchronic standpoint of early epos, their traditional character-

isations both focus not so much on their local identity as their universal heroic excellence - Akhilleus' speed at running and Odysseus' endurance and trickery. Their narratives are well-integrated into the Panhellenic sequence of the Trojan War (and in Odysseus' case, his return from it). Nevertheless, the poets strive to add local connections to their stories, emphasising Akhilleus' links to the Sperkheios or Odysseus' attachment to his homeland, even though they seem to have had a rather hazy idea of Phthia and Ithaka, and none of these details need come from an authentic local tradition. The relationship between epos and local detail is therefore a complex one: the heroes must be presented as reaching a universal level of excellence, but at the same time local detail is important in their characterisation.

There are also signs that the development of the traditions makes these figures more Panhellenic over time: it seems reasonable to suppose that Penelope becomes Spartan, and Peleus Aiginetan, through a process of creating links between traditions. Paradoxically, perhaps, this Panhellenisation may itself be driven by local tradition, as different locations sought to establish connections with the prestigious figures of epos; this is certainly the case with later examples such as the story of Penelope at Mantinea. However, it is important to note that even if we focus on the most local features of the

heroes - such as Akhilleus' upbringing on Mt. Pelion or Odysseus' visit to Parnassos[100] - they still operate in a wider geographical sphere than a single city-state. This is unsurprising, as it is clear that many of the characteristic elements of epic narrative - marriage, travelling, war - necessitate the inclusion of a range of locations. The development of epos is evidently more complex than simply a trajectory from local traditions in different city-states to Panhellenism, even if we have found some signs of a drift towards broader links across the Greek world.

[100]Or, for that matter, the killing of the suitors themselves, who are drawn from neighbouring islands and kingdoms as well as Ithaka.

Chapter 7

Thebes

The preceding chapter looked at two characters from early epos and examined how far they were attached to particular places, to uncover any traces of local tradition to be found in early Greek hexameter. This chapter takes a different approach: I will focus on a particular place, the city of Thebes in Boeotia, and examine how far characters in epos have links to Thebes from which we can deduce the existence of Theban local traditions.

Thebes seems an appropriate choice for this investigation; it was an important city both in the first and second millennium. In the Mycenaean

palatial period it had impressive tombs, a massive palace, and Linear B archives, putting it on a level with the other palatial centers. It experienced decline (along with most of the rest of Boeotia) after the destruction of the palace c. 1200, although it was still the most important site in Boeotia in the 11th and 10th centuries.[1] There is also much tradition from early epos that is local to Thebes in the sense of 'content'. For Hesiod, the (or 'a') war against Thebes was of equal importance to the war against Troy:

καὶ τοὺς μὲν πόλεμός τε κακὸς καὶ φύλοπις αἰνὴ

τοὺς μὲν ὑφ᾽ ἑπταπύλῳ Θήβῃ, Καδμηίδι γαίῃ,

ὤλεσε μαρναμένους μήλων ἕνεκ᾽ Οἰδιπόδαο,

τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐν νήεσσιν ὑπὲρ μέγα λαῖτμα θαλάσσης

ἐς Τροίην ἀγαγὼν Ἑλένης ἕνεκ᾽ ἠυκόμοιο. (*Erga* 161-5)

The balanced structure here (τοὺς μὲν...τοὺς δέ, repetition of ἕνεκ᾽ with the name of the character following the place name) implies the equivalence of the Theban war to the Trojan war over Helen.[2] Nor can Hesiod's attitude

[1] For the archaeology of Boeotia see Aravantinos (2020); for Thebes' continuing importance, 774.

[2] *pace* Barker and Christensen (2020) 248, who state that for this passage, 'The pull of Troy, even here, seems greater', on the basis that Troy comes second.

be explained purely on the basis of his professed Boeotian origins, since the rest of the epic corpus also contains ample reference to the Theban war.[3]

Ancient testimonia from a relatively late date (the *Certamen*, Pausanias, Apollodoros) refer to a particular poem about the Theban war, the *Thebaid*, which no longer survives, although we have a few fragments. There are also references to other poems that may have covered myths about Thebes: Davies cites the *Oidipodeia*, Ἀμφιάρεω ἐξελασία, *Epigoni*, and *Alcmaeonis*. Stories about Thebes were clearly an important part of early epos.[4] The recent study by Barker and Christensen has looked at the traditions about Thebes as found in epos, but largely from the point of view of elucidating their role in the *Iliad*. They argue that Theban traditions are in competition with Iliadic stories and that the poet of the *Iliad* makes an effort to emphasise the superior qualities of the *Iliad*'s narrative and characters.[5] I am

[3]For extensive reference to the *Thebaid* in the *Iliad*, see eg. Davies (2014) 32-40.

[4]See eg. Davies (2014) 27-98; 34-6 in particular for evidence that the *Iliad* is drawing on the epic tradition rather than innovating when referring to stories about Thebes. An overview of Thebes in the epic tradition can be found at Berman (2015) 27-48.

[5]Barker and Christensen (2020) *passim*; see for example the case of Herakles, where they say 'Homer never treats Herakles at any length or in any detail. This reticence is an indication of the Homeric poems' antagonistic rivalry with the Heraklean fabula' (101-2) or similarly, 'As the Theban hero par excellence, Herakles is modified to (not) fit the world of Homer's *Iliad*' (125). This may be true to some extent, but the references to Herakles also surely establish the hero as an important reference point and part of the tradition.

not entirely convinced that an agonistic, competitive spirit pervades early epos to the extent that Barker and Christensen would suppose; it has long been emphasised that the device of comparison is deeply embedded in early hexameter,[6] and any comparison between a hero within and without a poem can be interpreted in a competitive manner. Moreover, the familiarity of the poet of the *Iliad* with Theban material may suggest that the same poet was capable of telling the story of the Theban war; we have no good reason to think that a poet stuck exclusively to one particular cycle in their repertoire. The use of reference between the Theban and Trojan cycles may have a mutually reinforcing effect, building up the prestige of both events. At any rate, it is clear that stories about Thebes were an important part of the early epic tradition, and that they found expression in separate hexameter poems by the Classical period.

Thebes, then, offers a useful case study for the key questions of this thesis. There are clearly traditions about Thebes, ie. local traditions in the sense of content. But can we identify traditions that are local in the sense of 'audience' or 'origin'? How does putative Theban tradition relate to Boeotian

[6]See especially Alden (2000), (2017).

tradition, and can we distinguish the two? Can we relate it to the history of Boeotia through the Bronze Age to Archaic periods? And (a recurring issue in this study) what is the relationship between the data provided by the epic tradition and details or narratives known from later sources or different genres? I shall attempt to answer these questions with respect to certain key areas of evidence - the appearance of Thebes and Boeotia in the Catalogue of Ships, the different legends about the foundation of Thebes, the relationship of Herakles with Thebes, and the story of Oidipous and the Theban wars.

7.1 Thebes and Boeotia in the Catalogue of Ships

The Boeotians have a very prominent entry in the Catalogue of Ships in the *Iliad*.[7] Their entry is first and they have a large number of places listed.[8] On the other hand, their leaders cannot be counted among the most prominent or important Greek fighters. Πηνέλεως and Λήϊτος (*Il.* 2.494) have a few appearances but no memorable role in the story, whilst Ἀρκεσίλαός,

[7] *Il.* 2.494-516; on which see esp. Kirk (1985) 178-9, 190-9; Visser (1997) 239-363, 364-378; *BK* 2.2.145-65.

[8] Kirk (1985) 190, cf. 197 - saying that the figure of 120 per ship is 'honorific exaggeration' in their favour; cf. Visser (1997) 247n1-2.

Προθοήνωρ and Κλονίος appear elsewhere in the *Iliad* only to die (14.450, 15.329-42).[9] Why is the entry for the Boeotians so impressive if they play little role in the poem?[10] One answer that has been posited is that the Boeotians (in the time of the *Iliad* poet) were particularly given to catalogue poetry, that traditions of poems in the form of catalogues flourished in Boeotia, and that the *Iliad* draws on this material. On this view, the Boeotians naturally had a greater interest in their own cities and this emphasis has been preserved in the Catalogue of Ships. I have explained why I think this implausible in my earlier chapter on catalogue poetry: the idea that catalogues are particularly Boeotian is based purely on an impression that catalogues are prominent in the corpus attributed to Hesiod.[11] However, catalogues are an essential element of the style of epos and cannot be considered a feature specific to the Hesiodic poems.

Another explanation is that the expedition to Troy began at Aulis. Consequently, the poet began the Catalogue at the mustering point in Boeotia,

[9]See Kirk (1985) 190, and Janko (1992) 218 for the argument that Προθοήνωρ's father's name is 'an *ad hoc* invention to fit the metre'.

[10]For various ancient answers - such as that they had a large navy as descendants of the Phoenicians, or that the ships set out from Aulis - see Σ vet. b *Il.* 2.494-877.19-24 Erbse.

[11]cf. Koning (2010) esp. 36, 118, 153, 157, for catalogues and Hesiod.

and the first entry is naturally more prominent.[12] However, this does not in itself settle the question, because we are left with the problem of why the expedition to Troy, led by the king of Mycenae, should set out from Aulis in Boeotia. Could this be a survival from a prior stage in the tradition where Boeotia was a more important center - the Mycenaean period, perhaps, when Thebes was prominent?[13]

It has sometimes been argued that the Catalogue of Ships preserves earlier traditions on the basis of a correlation between the place names identified in the Linear B tablets and the Catalogue.[14] This is partly the case: six of the 29 cities in the Catalogue are named in the Theban Linear B tablets (Γραῖα, Ἐλεῶν, Ὕλη, Πετεῶν, Εὔτρησις, and Thebes itself).[15] Of these Eutresis may have had some presence in the mythological tradition,[16] Eleon existed later and Peteon is mentioned by Strabo, but Hyle (mentioned also at *Il.* 5.708)

[12]Kirk (1985) 178, cf. Visser (1997) 247n2; this is found as early as the scholia, see sch. b on 494-877 Erbse 23-4. The reason for beginning the Catalogue of Ships in the *Iliad* at the original mustering point of the expedition would then be that the poet was influenced by the (more usual) cataloguing of the Akhaians when they set out, which seems a plausible argument.

[13]cf. Latacz (2004) 126-7, 243, although he wants Thebes to be the capital of the whole of Aḫḫiyawa.

[14]Latacz (2004) 245.

[15]See Aravantinos et al. (2001) 355-8.

[16]See Visser (1997) 269-70; on Eutresis cf. the discussion above, 5.7.

is unknown and Graia's location is unknown. That the catalogue mentions Mycenaean towns that were lost or renamed by the historical period could be evidence that it preserves earlier material in some way, rather than just picking up the prominent towns of the Archaic period. On the other hand, many of the towns mentioned in the Catalogue of Ships are not found in the tablets.[17] Moreover, the Catalogue omits Gla, Tanagra (unless this was Graia), Khaironeia, and Lebadeia, despite their importance in the Archaic and Classical periods (Gla and Tanagra being also important in Mycenaean times).[18]

Some Boeotian place names in the Catalogue may have been important in local tradition but not known more widely: as well as Hyle, Hyrie may have links to Orion, in one source the grave of Oidipous is at Eteonos, Harma is where Amphiaraos was swallowed by the ground.[19] As we have seen, Eutresis

[17]Though it should be said that the towns in common provide a reasonable proportion of the place-names mentioned in the Theban tablets, 6 out of c. 13.

[18]Kirk (1985) 194-5 sensibly concludes that the list could be 'the product not of any single and systematic listing... but of various pieces of information culled from the diverse oral tradition'.

[19]See Visser (1997) 264-5, 251, 255 (but note that for *Il.* 23.679f, Paus 1.28.7, Oidipous is buried at Thebes), 259-60. Visser (1997) 282 suggests that Alalkomenai may be missing die to its having beeen granted an exemption from the expedition, but this is only found at Strabo 9.2.36 and so is probably a late tradition to explain its absence from the Catalogue. It could be that the story about Harma was created at a later period based on its name.

is said to be the place of origin of Amphion and Zethos in Strabo 9.2.28. This is a reminder that the process which shaped the *Iliad*'s list was more complex than simply the preservation of a Mycenaean index. Poets may have drawn names from mythic traditions known to them as well as on contemporary settlement patterns. One interesting case is Arne (507), which like Mideia in the same line (and Nisa in the following verse) was unknown already in antiquity. Since Arne is the name of the traditional hometown of the Boeotians before they came to Boeotia, it has been argued that the name is not that of an actual Boeotian town but was added for this mythological relevance.[20]

One major point of interest is that the Catalogue distinguishes the rest of Boeotia from Orkhomenos as separate entries. Since the linear B tablets from Thebes do not mention Orkhomenos, it has been supposed that in Mycenaean times the two places formed separate kingdoms; the extensive fortifications near lake Copais, and the fortress at Gla, would be signs of tension between the two regions. In this case, the *Iliad* would preserve the Mycenaean situation. However, recent studies based on the archaeological evidence have been

[20]Prandi (1982) 6. Kirk (1985) 195 expresses 'suspicions' about Arne, Mideia and Nisa, because they cannot be identified.

sceptical of the idea that Mycenaean Boeotia was thus divided; Aravantinos supposes that they were both important centers in the same political unit.[21] There was conflict between Thebes and Boeotia down to the 6th century, so the idea that they were separate states could be an EIA or Archaic period feature.[22] On the other hand, Mycenaean Orkhomenos was a very significant city, compared to its status in the first millennium, and so its placement on an equal level with Thebes surely reflects memories of the earlier period.

The *Iliad* poet provides an origin story for the Minyan commanders (*Il.* 2.513-5; similar to the story at 16.184) and gives Orkhomenos the epithet Μινύειος. Its wealth is mentioned at *Il.* 9.381. The two leaders, Ἰάλμενος and Ἀσκάλαφος are not prominent, but Ἀσκάλαφος has a heroic death within the *Iliad* and is mourned by Ares.[23] In general, it may be seen that the Minyans have little presence in early epos (or indeed Greek mythology as a whole); they were perhaps once significant in the tradition, but lost ground

[21] See Aravantinos (2020) 770-1 with further references; in general Mycenaean states may have had multiple focuses, the same perhaps true for Mycenae and Tiryns. A more decentralised administration may indeed be supported by the assumptions of the Iliadic catalogue, which does not give a capital but assigns each group multiple towns.

[22] cf. Kirk (1985) 198.

[23] On the possibility of Ares having cult in Thebes, see Hutchinson (1985) 63.

to other stories and characters.[24] The *Iliad* poet seems to have a clear idea that Orkhomenos is important, and separate from the rest of Boeotia, but any actual details or characters have been diminished or forgotten.[25]

Another prominent feature of the Catalogue of Ships is the absence of Thebes. Thebes is not mentioned, although there is a place called Ὑποθῆβαι (2.505). It has long been recognised that this reflects the poet's view that Thebes had already been sacked at the time of the *Iliad* and was consequently only in existence as a diminished successor settlement.[26] How far this can reflect any sort of historical reality is less clear; the palace at Thebes was destroyed around 1200 BCE, and Troy VIIa around 1180, but the dating for this period is not precise. However, it is evident that the poet of the *Iliad* had an idea of the chronology of the legends, which is interesting to compare with another description of uninhabited Thebes at *HHAp* 225-8, during the description of Apollo's journey to found Delphi:

[24]For discussion of the Minyans in Greek mythology, coming to this conclusion, see Fowler (2013) 191-4.

[25]cf. Visser (1997) 369-72.

[26]cf. Kirk (1985) 179, 196 'Hupothebai must refer to the settlement below the Kadmeia, and which must have survived the destruction by the Epigonoi... it suggests a suburb, or the relic of a ravaged city'; cf. *BK*2.2.161, Berman (2015) 42. On Hypothebai see also Visser (1997) 274-6, Cingano (2000) 128-32.

Θήβης δ' εἰσαφίκανες ἔδος καταειμένον ὕλῃ·
οὐ γάρ πώ τις ἔναιε βροτῶν ἱερῇ ἐνὶ Θήβῃ,
οὐδ' ἄρα πω τότε γ' ἦσαν ἀταρπιτοὶ οὐδὲ κέλευθοι
Θήβης ἀμ πεδίον πυρηφόρον, ἀλλ' ἔχεν ὕλη.

Of course, this could be seen in a competitive light (Apollo's temple at Delphi is older than the one at Thebes) or as a nod to the importance of the city (even unfounded, Thebes is worth four lines!); but what it surely does show is that the poets of epos were concerned about getting relative chronology right. It goes without saying that this does not reflect real history, but it shows an interest in integrating details of individual stories into the larger mythic tradition.

To conclude this section, what have we learned from the Boeotian part of the Catalogue of Ships? The importance of Boeotia and Orkhomenos in the Catalogue is probably due to their historical prominence in Mycenaean times, and the presence of some towns in the Catalogue probably reflect their Mycenaean importance. However, this does not mean that this prominence was preserved in specifically Boeotian local tradition. There is an argument

to be made that the presence of some towns (Hyrie, Eteonos, Harma, Eutresis) in the catalogue may be due to their importance in local myths (at least, stories that seem to deviate from the mainstream of the tradition and would most naturally originate from these places), although we again face the issue over whether the late evidence goes back to the Archaic period.

The fate of the Minyans, however, should force us to acknowledge that the formation process for epos is a long one. As Fowler shows, the Minyans were clearly once prominent in the tradition, but through a lack of contemporary relevance they seem to have faded from view even by the time of the *Iliad*. The importance of Boeotia and Orkhomenos in the Catalogue seems similar - the poet has a sense that these places ought to be important, even though any original role by their leaders seems to have faded from memory. That Thebes - unlike the Minyans - continues to be significant in the tradition probably reflects the fact that the city continued to be important in the EIA and Archaic period, regardless of whether there was local epos in Thebes itself. Both in the Catalogue and in *HHAp.*, the poets saw Thebes as a key point to refer to, even if it was sacked or not yet founded, and they had a

clear enough idea of the mythic history of the city to describe its state at the relevant time. The next section will deal with a key point in Thebes' mythic history: its foundation.

7.2 The foundation of Thebes

The city of Thebes has two different foundation stories: the version with Kadmos and the version with Amphion and Zethos. In one, Thebes is founded by Kadmos, a Phoenician who comes looking for his missing sister Europa, kills a dragon that lived at the site of Thebes and sows its teeth to grow warriors.[27] In epos, there is no evidence for an extensive narrative of his foundation of Thebes. However, Kadmos is mentioned in epos at *Od.* 5.333 (as the father of Ino), *Th.* 937 (the husband of Harmonie), *Th.* 975-8 (a list of his children, born at Thebes), *Thebaid* fr. 2.3 (the silver table of Kadmos was set before Oidipous). In the *Iliad* Kadmos as a person goes unmentioned, but the Thebans are referred to as Καδμείωνες/Καδμεῖοι.[28]

[27] For a full account, see Apollodoros 3.4.1-2, Paus. 9.12.1-3.

[28] *Il.* 4.385, 388, 391; 5.804, 807; 10.288; 23.680; once in the *Od.*, 11.276, once at *Th.* 326, *Aspis* 13. The Iliadic examples all relate to Tydeus' involvement with the Theban war, except 23.680 which - as the *Od.* and *Th.* - relate to Oidipous, the *Aspis* to Amphitryon's exile to Thebes. Moreover, it has been suggested that Kadmos appears as an ancestor of the Aḫḫiyawan king in a letter written to the Hittite king (AHT6 = CTH 183); see Latacz (2004) 244. However, the name is now read *ka-ga-mu-na-as* by Beckman, Bryce and Cline (2011) 134-5, 138, and cannot be connected to Kadmos.)

The age of Kadmos' Phoenician origins are disputed. That Kadmos is the son of Agenor, a Phoenician, and looking for his sister Europa, is given at Apollodoros 3.1.1 (cf. 3.4.1) and Pausanias 9.5.2; it is already the case for Herodotos (5.58.1) but not mentioned by previous authors. A substantial number of scholars,[29] building on the work of Gomme, have held that the Phoenician origin of Kadmos is a later creation. Gomme (1912) was arguing against the theory that mariners would travel across Boeotia by land to reach the sea route on either side. This was not a very plausible theory, but Gomme's counterarguments are based mainly on *a priori* reasoning drawn from geography.[30] Gomme (1913) argued that Kadmos' Phoenician origins are a creation of the 5th century, originating in Ionia and coming to the mainland between Pindar and Herodotos, but his argument rests entirely on an *argumentum ex sīlentiō*. As he says, there is no argument for or against a Phoenician origin from the early mentions of Kadmos, including Pindar.[31]

[29]Mitchell (2007), Hall (1996), Vermeule (1971) 183. Mackowiak (2010) 579 also follows this view, seeing the Phoenician origin as a development of Athenian theatre to deemphasise 'l'autochtonie thébaine'; cf. Vermeule (1971) 183 (a reflection of charges of Medizing in the Persian wars).

[30]It is worth noting that his claim that there was no reason for Phoenicians to come near Thebes and that Euboea was insignificant in the 'Homeric period' ((1912) 208) has since been invalidated by the finds at Lefkandi.

[31]'there can... be little doubt that Pindar regards Cadmus as a true Theban, blessed by his marriage with a goddess: there is no hint of a foreign origin; which is significant.' Gomme (1913) 66.

However, Pindar never narrates Kadmos' story in much detail, although he does hint that his life has been difficult (*Pyth.* 3.88) and he does know the story in which the Thebans are 'sown' from the dragon's teeth (Σπαρτῶν ἱερὸν γένος ἀνδρῶν, fr. 29.2), which presumably presupposes that Thebes was not previously populated.[32] There is simply no extant telling of the Kadmos story in any detail before the 5th century, and thus no good argument to view Kadmos' Phoenician origin as a later development.

West championed the originality of Kadmos' Phoenician origins on the basis of the name's etymology.[33] He argued that it is unusual for a people to take their ethnonym from individuals, and that the reverse is more likely, Kadmos being the eponym of the Kadmeioi. He therefore takes Kadmeioi/Kadmeiones as the starting point, and follows the theory that links it to the Semitic root *q-d-m*, meaning 'East' and 'ancient'.[34] West suggests that there was a 'trading colony' of Phoenicians in Thebes. One suggestion is that Semitic-speaking immigrants of the LBA to the area called themselves

[32]Gomme also argues, rather unconvincingly, that the prominent mentions in Euripides are a sign that he 'wished to make the theory known to the audience', (1913) 69.
[33]West (1997) 448-52, seemingly followed by Berman (2004) 18.
[34]See, for example, the extensive discussion of Astour (1965) 220-4.

'Easterners', and thus the name developed; West's alternative suggestion is that Iron Age Phoenician immigrants associated the Mycenaean ruins with the 'men of old', later reanalysed as 'men of the East' or descendants of Kadmos. On this view, the term *Kadmeioi* would have developed locally to Thebes and thus would be a local feature in epic.

Beekes (2004) argued against this strongly,[35] suggesting that a pre-Greek etymology is more plausible on the basis of the phonological shape of the word (comparing the placenames Πάτμος, Λάτμος, Λάκμος) and its use as a place name in Caria.[36] On Beekes' theory, the name would be a remnant of Pre-Greek tradition, presumably local to Thebes, and Beekes tries to support this by connecting Kadmos to Ogyges (another old and perhaps local figure), unconvincingly.[37] An alternative explanation that permits a Greek etymology is given by Vian, connecting Kadmos with κέκασμαι, κεκαδμένος, Κάστωρ, Ἰοκάστη, Ἐπικάστη, Πολυκάστη.[38] On Vian's theory, therefore, the name would be a generic epic name and does not tell us much about local

[35]Describing West's ideas as 'a complicated and improbable series of assumptions'.

[36]Beekes (2004) 172-3. Neither Chantraine nor Frisk provide an etymology.

[37]The connection of Kadmos to Ogyges is that Kadmos is his son in some late texts (Photius and the Suda); however, there is no such connection in earlier texts.

[38]Vian (1963) 156, 231.

tradition, and his parallels are perhaps more convincing.

Another argument for Phoenician (or rather, Canaanite) connections in the Bronze Age might be archaeological - there is indeed evidence of Near Eastern cylinder seals, Levantine influence on pottery, and iconographic similarities between the Tanagran larnakes and Levantine art, but this is also the case at other Mycenaean sites, and may simply reflect the same trade with Thebes.[39] So whilst there is some plausibility to the Phoenician etymology, the evidence for it is not strong enough to be decisive; it might well be a Greek root. As to the historical stage to which Kadmos' Phoenician origin goes back, there seems no reason to deny that this goes back to the archaic period (the Phoenicians have a significant role in epos[40]) but to tell exactly how it arose is beyond the scope of our current evidence.

A second version of the foundation of Thebes attributes it to Amphion and Zethos. This is clearly attested in the *Odyssey*:

[39]So Vermeule (1971) 184-5.
[40]See Hainsworth, Heubeck, and West (1988) on *Od.* 4.618, Winter (1995) 247-9.

τὴν δὲ μετ᾽ Ἀντιόπην ἴδον, Ἀσωποῖο θύγατρα,
ἣ δὴ καὶ Διὸς εὔχετ᾽ ἐν ἀγκοίνῃσιν ἰαῦσαι,
καί ῥ᾽ ἔτεκεν δύο παῖδ᾽, Ἀμφίονά τε Ζῆθόν τε,
οἳ πρῶτοι Θήβης ἕδος ἔκτισαν ἑπταπύλοιο
πύργωσάν τ᾽, ἐπεὶ οὐ μὲν ἀπύργωτόν γ᾽ ἐδύναντο
ναιέμεν εὐρύχορον Θήβην, κρατερώ περ ἐόντε. (*Od.* 11.260-5)

Some scholars have seen this as an explicitly polemic statement pointedly referring to (and rejecting the primacy of) the story of Kadmos,[41] but this is a forced reading, reflecting scholars' discontent with the difference between this and the more popular Kadmean account. According to Apollodoros (3.5.5), Amphion and Zethos were later than Kadmos. In Apollodoros' version, their mother Antiope is the daughter of Nykteus, who fled Euboia (sic) along with his brother Lykos after they killed the king of Orkhomenos (Phlegyas). Nykteus and Lykos come to Thebes, where Lykos becomes regent at the death of Labdakos (Laios is still a child). Antiope becomes pregnant by Zeus and then runs away to marry Epopeus at Sikyon. At this Nykteus takes his own life, and in revenge, Lykos captures Sikyon, kills Epopeus, and exposes the infant Amphion and Zethos at Eleutherai. They grow up as shepherds and

[41]Vian (1963) 70, Prandi (1982) 9, Mackowiak (2010) 572, Biga (2018) §25.

eventually kill Lykos and his wife Dirke, whose name is attached to a spring at Thebes. The version in Pausanias (2.6.1-4, 9.5.4-7) is similar; Pausanias tries to reconcile the Kadmos myth with the *Odyssey* version by specifying that the twins added the lower city of Thebes (9.5.6-7), Kadmos having established the upper.

The birth of Amphion and Zethos was also mentioned in Asios (fr. 1 Tsagalis = Paus. 2.6.4)

Ἀντιόπη δ' ἔτεκε Ζῆθον κἀμφίονα δῖον
Ἀσωποῦ κούρη ποταμοῦ βαθυδινήεντος,
Ζηνί τε κυσαμένη καὶ Ἐπωπέϊ ποιμένι λαῶν.

And it is possible that (as Tsagalis (2017) 102, 216 suggests) some or all of Pausanias' account at 2.6.1-4 goes back to him, although the reconciliation with the Kadmos version is Pausanias' own (ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν). There is also a brief reference to these events in the *Kypria* amongst Nestor's narratives to Menelaos (Proklos Arg. 27-8 Bernabé): ὡς Ἐπωπεὺς φθείρας τὴν Λυκούργου θυγατέρα ἐξεπορθήθη. This suggests that the story (which presumably presupposes the sequel with Amphion and Zethos) was known to

the poet of the *Kypria* (at least in the version read by the summariser).[42] Hes. fr. 181 (a single line mentioning a girl from Hyrie) refers to Antiope,[43] and Hes. fr. 182 shows that the Hesiodic catalogue told the story of how Amphion and Zethos founded Thebes with Amphion's lyre. From an etymological point of view, although the name Amphion is unremarkable, there is no Greek etymology for Zethos,[44] and the name is completely isolated within Greek onomastics. This suggests a pre-Greek origin and an ancient tradition.

In the *Odyssey*, and Asios, Antiope is the daughter of Asopos, but in Euripides' *Antiope* and Apollodoros 3.5.4 she is the daughter of Nykteus; we do not have explicit evidence for the *GK*.[45] But Antiope's Nyktean parentage seems essential to the myth in the Apollodoros version - the motivation for the war against Sikyon is the defection of Nykteus' daughter. So would the version of the Amphion and Zethus story supposed by early epos (the *Odyssey* and Asios) have been very different from the later version? On the other hand, in Pausanias (2.6.1) Antiope is said to be the daughter of Nyk-

[42]Here the woman in question is not named; Λυκούργου may be a mistake for Λύκου (Heyne), or a sign of original variation in the story (cf. below).
[43]cf. West (1985) 98, 101.
[44]See von Kamptz (1982) 348-9; Pindaric form Ζέαθος (Paian A1.44 Rutherford).
[45]For discussion, see West (1985) 101-2, Hirschberger (2004) 352.

teus even though there is a rumour that she is the daughter of the Asopos, so this might explain the variation.

Another, very different version is found in Eumelos. Antiope marries the sun and their children divide up the land of the Asopos (presumably part of Boeotia) and Ephyra (Eum. *Korinthiaka*. fr. 18 Tsagalis). Tsagalis suggests[46] that this is Eumelos' inovation, bringing in Antiope from another mythical tradition to replace Perse/Perseis in other sources. Epopeus, in this version, is the grandson of Antiope, who ends up ruling the land of Asopos and Ephyra. On the other hand, in the *Europeia*, Eumelos (fr. 30 Tsagalis) depicted Amphion as the first to use the lyre and as capable of moving stones and animals by song, which suggests strongly that this contained a reference to the foundation of Thebes. The question is how the versions in the *Korinthiaka* and the *Europeia* were reconciled (if indeed they were).

More evidence for variation is found at *Od*. 19.522-3 in a comparison made by Penelope to the daughter of Pandareos:

[46]Or at least implies, Tsagalis (2017) 99.

παῖδ᾽ ὀλοφυρομένη Ἴτυλον φίλον, ὅν ποτε χαλκῷ
κτεῖνε δι᾽ ἀφραδίας, κοῦρον Ζήθοιο ἄνακτος,

In later versions this story is told very differently. Pandion's daughter is Prokne, who kills her son Itys in revenge after her husband Tereus kidnaps, rapes and mutilates her sister (Apollod. 3.14.8). The scholia to the *Odyssey*, however, tell a different story:

Ἀηδὼν δὲ ἡ πρεσβυτάτη Ζήθῳ γαμηθεῖσα τῷ Διὸς μὲν παιδὶ, Ἀμφίονος δὲ ἀδελφῷ, Ἴτυλον ἔσχε παῖδα. φθονοῦσα δὲ τῇ ὁμονύμφῳ τῇ Ἀμφίονος γυναικὶ Νιόβῃ τῇ Ταντάλου, τινὲς δὲ Ἱπποδούσῃ, πλείονας ἐχούσῃ παῖδας, ὧν ὁ ἄριστος ἦν Ἀμαλεὺς, ἐπεβούλευε τούτῳ. καὶ τῶν ἀνεψιῶν συντρεφομένων, ὅθεν καὶ συγκοιμᾶσθαι συνέβη, κρύφα παρῄνεσε τὴν ἐνδοτέρω κοίτην ἑλέσθαι, ὅπως εὐεπιβούλευτος αὐτῇ νύκτωρ ὁ Ἀμαλεὺς γένηται. καὶ τοῦ πάθους αὐτὴν σφόδρα καταλαβόντος ηὔξατο πᾶσι θεοῖς μεταστῆναι ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ἠλλάγη εἰς τὸ ὁμώνυμον ὄρνεον. ΣV *Od.* 19.518 (Dindorf).

ἀλλ᾽ ἡ μὲν Ἀηδὼν Ζήθῳ γαμηθεῖσα, καὶ κτείνασα τὸν Ἀμφίονος υἱὸν, φόβῳ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν ἴδιον υἱὸν Ἴτυν ἔσφαξε, προλαβοῦσα τὴν ἐκ τῆς δυσμενοῦς κόλασιν. τινὲς δὲ φασιν ὅτι Ἀηδὼν ζηλοτυποῦσα τὴν πολυπαιδίαν Νιόβης τῆς Ἀμφίονος γαμετῆς, διὰ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀνοίας ὥρμησε νύκτωρ μετὰ

ξίφους ἀποκτεῖναι τὸν μείζονα τῶν Νιόβης παίδων, ἔλαθε δὲ τὸν ἴδιον φονεύσασα. διωκομένη δὲ ὑπὸ Ζήθου διὰ τὸν φόνον τοῦ παιδὸς εἰς ὄρνεον μετεβλήθη τὴν ἀηδόνα. ΣΒ *Od.* 19.518 (Dindorf).

γαμεῖ δὲ Ζῆθος μὲν Ἀηδόνα τὴν τοῦ Πανδαρέου, τῶν δὲ γίνεται Ἴτυλος καὶ Νηΐς. Ἴτυλον δὲ ἡ μήτηρ Ἀηδὼν ἀποκτείνει διὰ νυκτὸς, δοκοῦσα εἶναι τὸν Ἀμφίονος παῖδα, ζηλοῦσα τὴν τοῦ προειρημένου γυναῖκα, ὅτι ταύτῃ μὲν ἦσαν ἓξ παῖδες, αὐτῇ δὲ δύο. ἐφορμᾷ δὲ ταύτῃ ὁ Ζεὺς ποινήν· ἡ δὲ εὔχεται ὄρνις γενέσθαι. καὶ ποιεῖ αὐτὴν ὁ Ζεὺς ἀηδόνα. θρηνεῖ δὲ ἀεί ποτε τὸν Ἴτυλον, ὥς φησι Φερεκύδης. ΣV *Od.* 19.518 (Dindorf).

Russo *ad loc.* comments that '[t]his story may be an earlier variant of the Attic tale, or perhaps a fiction largely invented by the scholia, which misunderstood ἀηδών of 518 as a proper name'. However, the authenticity of the scholia's version(s) has been defended convincingly and at length by Levaniouk, who shows that the parallel works best from the point of view of the internal logic of the *Odyssey* if we suppose that the poet had a version like the scholia in mind rather than the later 'Attic' version - in particular, if Aedon kills her child by accident.[47]

[47]Levaniouk (2000) 154-6. She adds (159-65) that it may be significant that Pandareos is Aedon's father, and Tantalos Niobe's father, both having similar characteristics and geographical associations in Anatolia. Levaniouk suggests that this might be linked to

In the *Iliad*, Amphion and Zethos are not mentioned, but Amphion's wife Niobe appears as a paradigm cited by Akhilleus at *Il.* 24.602-17. Not only is Thebes not mentioned, but Niobe is in fact said to be turned to stone in Sipylos (615).[48] The passage has been judged strange for independent reasons (particularly the detail of the people being turned to stone).[49] The T scholia seem to indicate considerable variation on the location of Niobe's story (and in other details as well!):

τὴν Νιόβην οἱ μὲν Πέλοπος, οἱ δὲ Ταντάλου· γυναῖκα δὲ οἱ μὲν Ἀμφίονος, οἱ δὲ Ζήθου, [οἱ δὲ] Ἀλαλκομένεω. ... ἡ δὲ συμφορὰ αὐτῆς, ὡς μέν τινες, ἐν Λυδίᾳ, ὡς δὲ ἔνιοι, ἐν Θήβαις.

There might be some question as to whether - to the *Iliad* poet - Niobe was connected with Thebes at all, if one were to suppose that Alalkomeneus was a Lydian and that this was the *Iliad* poet's version; but in fact Alalkomeneus

population movement from Anatolia to Boeotia in the late Geometric/ early Archaic period, and that stories about Pandareos may be linked somehow to migration from Thessaly to Magnesia, on the basis that many locations on the route there are somehow linked to the myths of Pandareos or his daughters.

[48]Bastianelli (2007) 27 accepts that a journey of Niobe from Thebes back to Lydia after the death of her children is an old feature of the myth, but this is not as clear as one would like from the sources cited; it could rather be a later attempt to reconcile the Theban and Lydian settings.

[49]See Richardson *ad loc.* 599-620, Willcock (1964) 141-2.

(admittedly a highly obscure figure first mentioned in Pherekydes fr. 126 Fowler as a son of Niobe) is if anything associated with Boiotia,[50] and might be evidence for a local Boeotian tradition. This does not rule out the possibility that there was some other version in which Niobe married a Lydian, but note that her marriage to Amphion may be attested early (Hes. fr. 183, though the wording is not completely explicit). It is evident that the stories about Amphion, Zethos, and Niobe go back to the time of the *Iliad* but were subject to a large degree of variation, which is likely to be due to different local traditions even if we cannot in most cases pin down variants to localities.

What can we make of this double foundation narrative for Thebes? Various ancient authors attempted to reconcile the two accounts. As we have seen, Apollodoros and Pausanias put the twins later, but this is in direct conflict with the *Odyssey* account (πρῶτοι, *Od.* 11.263). Pherekydes had a version in which Thebes was destroyed by the Phlegyans between the twins' foundation and Kadmos, which looks like another attempt to reconcile the

[50]There were towns called Alalkomenai in Boiotia and Ithaka in antiquity (see *BNP s.v.*); Paus. 9.33.5 mentions a local Alalkomeneus who 'brought up Athena' (who received cult at the site), which matches an Iliadic title of Athene (Ἀλαλκομενηΐς Ἀθήνη, *Il.* 4.8, 5.908); Alalkomeneus was perhaps viewed as the 'first human' of Boeotia (Hippolytos, *Scr. Eccl. Refutatio omnium haeresium* 5.7.4).

conflicting versions (in a different order). Tsagalis argues that Eumelos likely put Kadmos' foundation first on the basis that the *Europeia* was structured around the abduction of Europa.[51] However, there are no inherent links between the characters of each version and the narratives are independent, even contradictory; so as Berman concludes, they were in origin 'distinct and independent narratives'.[52]

Could these narratives derive from different local traditions? It is *a priori* plausible that an important city such as Thebes, well-known across the Greek speaking world, should have a variety of different legends in different places about it, within and without Boeotia. Eutresis is said to be the place of origin of Amphion and Zethos in Strabo 9.2.28. This site was important in the MH period but then destroyed; there is a theory that the survivors moved to Thebes and that this is the basis of the twins' legend.[53] However, the legend mentions nothing about the destruction of Eutresis, so while it is possible that the early significance of the site is responsible for the attribution of the twins there, the evidence is not decisive.

[51]Tsagalis (2017) 146.
[52]Berman (2004) 5.
[53]See Visser (1997) 269-70.

Various scholars have attempted to link the different versions to different areas. A fairly specific localisation is suggested by Vian and Prandi. Vian argued that originally both Kadmos and the twins co-existed, and the version in which Amphion and Zethos have more prominence is due to a wider Boeotian version; Prandi supposed that the Amphion and Zethos myth arose from the Parasopia (a region along the Asopos river), due to the more extra-Theban associations of the twins, whilst the Kadmos myth was propogated by Delphi (because of the involvement of the oracle in the story).[54] Although coming to slightly different conclusions, both explanations are based on deducing the origin of variants from their content. Berman, less specifically, suggests that the Amphion and Zethos story is a 'more indigenous perspective'; they are 'local heroes, born from Zeus' who fight against a 'foreign host'.[55] In contrast, Berman thinks the Kadmos myth is more recent, noting similarities with colonisation narratives of foundation from a late period, especially the use of the oracle of Delphi.[56] However, this could simply be because this story has been influenced by such narratives in its later retelling.

[54]Vian (1963) 69-75, Prandi (1982) esp. 15; for scholarship following the Parasopiad origin of Amphion and Zethos, see Olivieri (2011) 25 and note 45.

[55]Berman (2004) 18, noting that foundation by twins is an Indo-European motif.

[56]Note how here the question of the age of the myth and its localisation intersect.

Mackowiak would go further and challenge the antiquity of the Amphion and Zethos myth as well, arguing that it may also reflect later concerns such as a founder figure or 'l'idée de héros constructeurs qui fondent par là une forme de communauté.'[57] Of course, it is true that all myths are subject to constant recreation according to contemporary concerns, but this does not mean that all underlying older detail is completely changed and lost. In this case the etymological evidence, at least, suggests that the myth has old roots.

These scholars' attempts to localise the versions, therefore, are based on tenuous deductions from the content of the different stories. Moreover, both these foundation myths both have some sort of geographical relationship to the site of Thebes. A hill north of the Theban acropolis was called the Ampheion, which was regarded as the tomb of the twin founders according to Pausanias, and referred to by Xenophon and Aiskhylos.[58] Equally, the raised acropolis of Thebes was called the Kadmeia, first named in Xen. *Hell.* (5.2.29, 5.2.31, 6.3.9, 6.3.11, 6.5.46) and Isocrates, but not in the tragedians.

[57]Mackowiak (2010) 570: 'Car les jumeaux, finalement, viennent à surimposer les unes sur les autres des réalités objectives historiques différentes lesquelles empêchent non seulement de faire de ce mythe un souvenir mycénien, mais un souvenir tout court.'

[58]See Berman (2004) 6-13, Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.9, Paus. 9.17.4, Aesch. *Seven Against Thebes* 528.

This suggests strongly that both these versions of the foundation story must have had some existence in Thebes as early as the fifth century.

What have we learned from the foundation myths of Thebes? We seem to have a good case where two contradictory versions exist but, on the evidence of the toponymy in the Classical period, may well have existed in the same place, Thebes. This should encourage caution in future when we come across mutually contradictory variants of myth: radically different variants could evidently co-exist in the same location, and don't necessarily have to presuppose different local variants. With Kadmos both Beekes and West have advanced proposals that imply that Kadmos is an old name, entrenched in the ancient history of the city of Thebes. Even on Vian's proposal this may still be true, of course, but if the name is just an old epic name on a Greek root - as is perhaps more likely - we do not get quite the same embedding in the local context. Then, even within the story of Amphion and Zethos - which was much more popular in epos than Kadmos - we find considerable variation (especially regarding 'Aedon' and Niobe). There may be some evidence (regarding connections to relatively small settlements such as Eutresis

and Alalkomenai) that suggests that some of these variants could be local within Boeotia, but this is not clear-cut.

The presence of different variants is a sign of the importance of Thebes in the epic tradition, which we saw in the previous section. It may be that the very popularity of the city led to a range of different versions being created by different singers. But it also shows how readily epos can contain contradictory versions of the same myth. This may reflect the permeability and diversity of the oral tradition, with different versions making their way into epos and sustaining themselves because they are useful to the poets in different ways - the story of Epopeus and Antiope provides a parallel to Paris and Helen in the *Kypria*, Niobe a paradeigma for grief in the *Iliad*, Antiope in the *Odyssey* an example of a famous woman who slept with Zeus, and Kadmos may have been important as the ancestor of Oidipous in the *Oidipodeia*. Their differences, of course, cannot be accounted for purely in terms of function: Niobe is not more pitiful by virtue of being in Lydia rather than Thebes. But, as we have seen, it is difficult to establish a difference due to different local traditions either (eg. a Theban story of Kadmos against a

Eutresian story of Amphion and Zethos) on the basis of the details in epos. If these variants did originate in local traditions, any local features seem to have been less important to the bards than the opportunity to enrich their craft with a range of different tales.

7.3 Herakles and Thebes

Herakles has a number of links with Thebes.[59] Although his mortal father is Amphitryon, king of Tiryns, and his mother is also from a Tirynthian family, he is born in exile in Thebes, and marries Megara of Thebes after helping the city in its conflict with Orkhomenos. Indeed, he has been called a 'Theban hero par excellence'.[60]

These links are clearly articulated in early epos. For example, in Zeus' catalogue of his paramours in book 14 of the *Iliad*:

[59]For recent work on Herakles in epos, see eg. Haubold (2005), Bernardini (2010), Kelly (2010), Bär (2018), Bakker and Christensen (2021). cf. also Olivieri (2011) 89-118.

[60]Barker and Christensen (2020) 125. Others, however, emphasise his links with multiple locations: see Prinz (1974) 162, West (1997) 458 'Argive and Theban saga come together in Heracles', (2009) 569 'although Herakles was born at Thebes, had members of his family buried there, and was worshipped there, he was not in Pindar's eyes a specifically Theban hero but rather a Panhellenic one', cf. Bernardini (2010) 385-7 ('l'aspetto tebano nell'epos omerico non è mai fortemente accentuato'), Olivieri (2011) 91-2.

οὐδ' ὅτε περ Σεμέλης οὐδ' Ἀλκμήνης ἐνὶ Θήβῃ,
ἥ ῥ' Ἡρακλῆα κρατερόφρονα γείνατο παῖδα·
ἣ δὲ Διώνυσον Σεμέλη τέκε χάρμα βροτοῖσιν· (*Il.* 14.323-5)

Alkmene is placed alongside Semele, a daughter of Kadmos who is undeniably Theban. This shows how far the birth of Herakles was fixed in Thebes in the mind of the poet. In the *Odyssey* underworld scene Herakles' mother and wife are seen one after the other, and in a passage surrounded by Theban events (in fact just after the mention of Amphion and Zethos).

τὴν δὲ μετ' Ἀλκμήνην ἴδον, Ἀμφιτρύωνος ἄκοιτιν,
ἥ ῥ' Ἡρακλῆα θρασυμέμνονα θυμολέοντα
γείνατ' ἐν ἀγκοίνῃσι Διὸς μεγάλοιο μιγεῖσα·
καὶ Μεγάρην, Κρείοντος ὑπερθύμοιο θύγατρα,
τὴν ἔχεν Ἀμφιτρύωνος υἱὸς μένος αἰὲν ἀτειρής. (*Od.* 11.266-70)

Here the focus on Herakles' wife Megare helps to emphasise his Theban connections. There is also a far more extensive account of Herakles' conception at *Aspis* 1-56, 78-82. Here the Theban setting is clear from the second line (ἦλυθεν ἐς Θήβας), and reinforced by the use of local place names (Zeus goes to Alkmene via the local mountains Τυφαόνιον and Φίκιον, *Aspis* 32-3).[61] In

[61]Though cf. Haubold (2005) 98, who emphasises the 'theogonic' associations of these

the short *Homeric Hymn* to Herakles of nine verses, his birth from Alkmene at Thebes is singled out for description in the first lines (*HH*15.2-3).[62]

Thus far it is fair to emphasise Herakles' Theban links. However, to describe him as a Theban hero is perhaps misleading. Herakles appears many times in extant epos[63] - though mostly in paradeigmata, rather than in direct narrative like the *Aspis* - but he is associated with many other places in the known world.[64] Many of his labours take place in the Peloponnese (the Nemean lion, the Lernaean hydra, the Ceryneian hind, the Erymanthian boar, the Augeian stables, the Stymphalian birds), and his father (as noted above) is from Tiryns.[65]

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names, recalling Typhoios' challenge against Zeus.

[62]cf. Bernardini (2010) 388-9.

[63]For a list of passages from epos in which Herakles appears, see West (2018) 267-8, Barker and Christensen (2020) 284-5, and the detailed discussion of Bernardini (2010) 387-97.

[64]See esp. Bernardini (2010) 391-2, who notes that the poets who composed about him were from Ionia as much as Doric areas, and that Herakles' non-local aspects are persistent.

[65]In Euripides' *Herakles Mainomenos*, Heracles returns to Thebes to discover his father and children threatened by the tyrant Lykos, whom he then kills. Given that the ordering of this play (Herakles going mad after the labours, not before) may be Euripides' innovation (so Silk (1985) 3), it is probable that this version of Lykos is also Euripides' modification of the myth: see Bond (1981) xxviii, Papadopoulou (2005) 25.

Of all the surviving poems of early Greek epos, the *Aspis* attributed to Hesiod is the most focused on Herakles. It describes Herakles' fight against Kyknos in Thessaly. Barker and Christensen argue that the *Aspis* has 'local colouring', based on the references to 'Boeotian and southern Thessalian cities', and claim that it is 'rooted in local traditions around Thebes', in competition with the Panhellenic tradition of Homer and Hesiod.[66] It is, however, difficult to back this up from the lines they cite:

πᾶσα δὲ Μυρμιδόνων τε πόλις κλειτή τ᾽ Ἰαωλκὸς
Ἄρνη τ᾽ ἠδ᾽ Ἑλίκη Ἄνθειά τε ποιήεσσα
φωνῇ ὕπ᾽ ἀμφοτέρων μεγάλ᾽ ἴαχον· (*Aspis* 380-2)

Phthia and Iolkos are cities of Thessaly; Arne, as discussed above, is attributed to Boeotia in the Catalogue of Ships but may be a reflection of the Thessalian town. Helike is only known in Akhaia (so presumably refers to a different Helike here, of location unknown); Antheia is also in Thessaly. This seems therefore little evidence for specifically Boeotian tradition. A more established theory is that the *Aspis* is propaganda for Thebes in the First Sacred War, on the basis that it features a hero with Theban associations (Herakles) defeating a Thessalian character (Kyknos) interfering with

[66] Barker and Christensen (2021) 290-1.

the worship of Apollo.[67] However, as it is attested, the First Sacred War was a conflict between the town of Krisa and the Amphictyonic League, not Thessaly and Boeotia; hostility between the two is in fact a secondary deduction from *HHAp* and the *Aspis*, which raises a danger of circular reasoning.[68]

There was cult to Herakles in Thebes: a Herakleon to the south of the Cadmea has been confirmed through excavation.[69] Explicit dedications to Herakles go back to the 6th and perhaps the 7th century, cult activity to the second half of the 8th century. The cult is mentioned in Pindar *Isth.* 4.60-9, according to which there was a feast for Herakles and burnt offerings for his eight dead children by Megara. Thus it is clear that a real local tradition about Herakles existed here.[70] Larson[71] points out that these children are bronze-clad (χαλκοαρᾶν) which probably supposes a version of the story different from the Classical one in which Herakles kills his children when they are still young. Schachter suggested that this was originally a cult of

[67]Guillon (1963), Janko (1986) 43-8.

[68]There are also questions about the historicity of the First Sacred War, for which see Robertson (1978), although for counter-arguments see Lehmann (1980).

[69]For discussion see Symeonoglou (1985) 108-109, 133-134, writing before the excavations in 2004-5; Aravantinos (2014) esp. 149-57 for a brief description of the archaeology; Larson (2021) 454-7.

[70]Olivieri (2011) 114-8, with the references under note 153; Aravantinos (2020) 777.

[71]Larson (2021) 455, following Schachter (1986) 1.11, 2.17.

eight warriors, perhaps led by Iolaos,[72] and that Herakles' appearance is a later development. By the late 4th century there was a temple at the site which may reflect an older archaic building.[73] By Pausanias' time, a number of landmarks in the area were linked to Herakles' legends (Pausanias 9.11.1-7), although many of these are probably much more recent than the archaic period, especially considering the break in Thebes' history when it was destroyed by Alexander. There was also hero-cult at Thebes to Iolaos, including an annual festival with athletic contests.[74]

It is thus clear that there were local traditions about Herakles and Iolaos at Thebes, which went back as far as the 7th century and perhaps further, with a basis in cult. Worth mentioning here is an early 7th century dinos which shows Herakles killing the centaur Nessos when abducting Deianeira, which was dedicated at the sanctuary of Herakles to the south of the Elektrai Gates at Thebes. This shows that some form of this myth was known at Thebes this early, which is interesting because it is usually set in Western

[72]Iolaos was regarded as Herakles' eromenos during the Classical period, Plutarch *Pelopidas* 18 [287] = Aristotle fr. 97 Rose.

[73]Aravantinos (2014) 155n31, cf the ancient wooden image mentioned by Pausanias (9.11.4).

[74]See West (2009), esp. 567-74.

Greece (at the river Euenos) rather than at Thebes.

Therefore, it is probable that Herakles' attachment to the city (in his birth and in some subsequent adventures) in myth in general (and thus in epos) was facilitated by his presence in local cult. Herakles was a 'Panhellenic' hero, and the wide spread of his adventures and labours across the Greek-speaking world and beyond no doubt reflect his appeal and cult in many different geographical locations. We do not know how his cult at Thebes came about, or how far back in the EIA it goes: one possibility is that cult to Herakles began around the 8th century at Thebes, resulting in a local story about his birth there that later became canonical, alternative versions dropping out of the tradition.[75] Another possibility is that the myth is far older, with stories about Herakles developing in the Bronze Age and giving rise to the attested hero cult in the 8th century on. This might explain the lack of alternative versions of his birth, but requires a more conservative form of legend; and as Herakles is not mentioned in the Linear B tablets this may be less plausible.

[75]Prinz (1974) 163 argues that Amphitryon's exile to Thebes was an innovation designed to place Herakles' birth at Thebes. It is true that exile is an easy way to make connections in the tradition, but it is strange that there are no alternative localisations for Herakles' birth.

However, the evidence for a local tradition of epos about Herakles at Thebes is not strong. A case could be made on the basis of the *Aspis*, but as stated above the *Aspis* displays no clear signs of Theban origin beyond its content. Herakles' presence across epos in general in fact demonstrates the widespread popularity of the hero throughout the Greek-speaking world.

7.4 Oidipous and the Theban Wars

The passage of the *Erga* that refers to the Theban War has already been cited above, but is worth looking at it again for the specific phrasing about the war:

καὶ τοὺς μὲν πόλεμός τε κακὸς καὶ φύλοπις αἰνὴ
τοὺς μὲν ὑφ' ἑπταπύλῳ Θήβῃ, Καδμηίδι γαίῃ,
ὤλεσε μαρναμένους μήλων ἕνεκ' Οἰδιπόδαο (*Erga* 161-3)

Here there is said to be a war over Oidipous' sheep. Buck (1979) 48 seems to envisage three Theban wars: this war mentioned by Hesiod, the expedition of the Seven against Thebes, and the Epigonoi who eventually sacked the city. However, μήλων ἕνεκ' Οἰδιπόδαο might just refer to the wealth of the city in general (without the implication that Oidipous was alive or ruling at

Thebes at the time), so that Hesiod's reference could be to the Seven or the Epigonoi or indeed both; hence most commentators suppose two wars.[76] The poems called the *Thebaid* and the *Epigonoi*, of which only fragments remain, dealt with these conflicts, the *Alcmeonis* and the *Oidipodea* with related legends.[77] These are not, however, ascribed to Theban or Boeotian poets.[78]

One reason that might make us think that for Hesiod there was an independent war more associated with Oidipous is that his story in the *Odyssey* exhibits many variations from the version known from later sources. In the katabasis Odysseus sees Oidipous' mother and wife (*Od.* 11.271-80):

μητέρα τ' Οἰδιπόδαο ἴδον, καλὴν Ἐπικάστην,
ἣ μέγα ἔργον ἔρεξεν ἀιδρείῃσι νόοιο
γημαμένη ᾧ υἷι, ὁ δ' ὃν πατέρ' ἐξεναρίξας
γῆμεν. ἄφαρ δ' ἀνάπυστα θεοὶ θέσαν ἀνθρώποισιν·
ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐν Θήβῃ πολυηράτῳ ἄλγεα πάσχων

[76]eg. West (2003) 5, Torres-Guerra (2015) 226.
[77]As well as the poem *Amphiaraus' Expedition to Thebes* (see below).
[78]The *Thebaid* was associated with the figure of 'Homer' in Callinus (Paus. 9.9.5) and Herodotos (5.67.1, which may refer to epic about Thebes). One of the ascriptions of the *Epigonoi* was to Antimachos of Teos, said to be an 8th century poet (see West (2003) 10, who is doubtful).

Καδμείων ἤνασσε θεῶν ὀλοὰς διὰ βουλάς·
ἡ δ' ἔβη εἰς Ἀίδαο πυλάρταο κρατεροῖο
ἀψαμένη βρόχον αἰπὺν ἀφ' ὑψηλοῖο μελάθρου,
ᾧ ἄχεϊ σχομένη· τῷ δ' ἄλγεα κάλλιπ' ὀπίσσω
πολλὰ μάλ', ὅσσα τε μητρὸς Ἐρινύες ἐκτελέουσιν.

In this version, Oidipous kills his father and marries his mother, but unlike in some later accounts he continues to rule at Thebes after this is revealed. Moreover, his mother is called Epicaste rather than Iocaste. This continued rule seems to have been the basis of the *Thebaid* as well, since one of the fragments has Oidipous cursing his sons for presenting him with the cup and table of his father:

αὐτὰρ ὁ διογενὴς ἥρως ξανθὸς Πολυνείκης
πρῶτα μὲν Οἰδιπόδῃ καλὴν παρέθηκε τράπεζαν
ἀργυρέην Κάδμοιο θεόφρονος· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
χρύσεον ἔμπλησεν καλὸν δέπας ἡδέος οἴνου.
αὐτὰρ ὅ γ' ὡς φράσθη παρακείμενα πατρὸς ἑοῖο
τιμήεντα γέρα, μέγα οἱ κακὸν ἔμπεσε θυμῷ...
(*Thebaid* F2.1-6 Bernabé).

The use of πατρὸς ἑοῖο in this fragment (F2.5) is surely a sign of focalization through Oidipous at this point, presenting it as his internal reason for anger, which implies that at this point Oidipous is already aware of his patricide.[79] Oidipous' death at Thebes and funeral games are mentioned in the *Iliad*, in passing (*Il.* 23.677-80), although we are not provided with explicit details of his death; in other contexts δεδουπότος usually implies falling in battle.[80] This suggests that at the time of the *Iliad* the story had numerous variants. It has been argued that variation in the story of Oidipous - particularly in which children he had with which wife - reflects the agenda of local dynasts who wanted to claim descent from the hero without considering themselves the product of incest,[81] and there is some direct evidence for claims of de-

[79] *Contra* Davies (2014) 61: 'The only author cited above who definitely portrays Oedipus as continuing to rule over the Thebans is Homer, and it seems safe to conclude that he was in fact the only author who ever presented this version of events. This is a feature of his normalization of the story'. Because Davies thinks in terms of 'authors', he considers the version of Oidipous in Homer to be an innovation, but given the other variations in the legend (Epikaste's name can hardly be justified on ideological grounds!) it seems more likely to be a sign of the tradition found in the Homeric poems being considerably removed from the later sources. March (1987) 124-6, 134-8 argues that Oidipous' continued rule is standard in literature before the 5th century. Torres-Guerra (2015) 230-1 suggests that Oidipous is blind and out of power in the *Thebaid*.

[80] March (1987) 122.

[81] Buck (1979) 48-9 surveys various versions recorded in the prose writers, concluding 'It is clear that widely discrepant versions of the career of Oedipus were to be found in epic poetry and in the local legends'; cf. Fowler (2013) 402-8 for different variants. Buck (1979) 45-52 esp. 51 tries to organise these into three strands, corresponding to Hekataios, Hellanikos, and Pherekydes. See Huxley (1969) 41 for the idea of links with local dynasts, although Buck (1979) 48n45 suggests that accusations of descent from Iocaste originated from political opponents and 'somehow stuck'.

scent from him, though not at Thebes: Theron of Akragas and the Spartan Aigeidai claimed descent from Polyneikes.[82]

Such variation in detail is worth considering alongside the level of duplication in the stories about Thebes. The story of the *Epigonoi* duplicates that of the *Thebaid*, although it has a very different outcome. We have already noted that there may or may not have been a separate war over Oidipous' sheep. Similarly, it has been suggested that the story of the *Epigonoi* is secondary: 'the subject of the *Epigoni*[...] was a later invention, a pallid reflection of the first war, on which some of its details were clearly modelled'.[83] It is possible that at a pre-Iliadic stage the two or three different conflicts originated from variant tellings of the same war, perhaps reflecting different local perspectives (Argive vs. Theban?). Note also the war between Thebes

[82]Fowler (2013) 404n21, citing *Ol.* 2.41-7 and Hdt. 4.149. Perhaps some Therans also claimed descent (Hdt. 4.150.1); cf. also the family tree in Σ *Ol.* 2.82d Drachmann which goes from Λάϊος to Θήρων.

[83]West (2003) 4-5. cf. Davies (2014) 107-9 on the relationship between the *Epigonoi* and the *Thebais*. Barker and Christensen (2020) follow a similar line, arguing that the Epigonoi have a lesser presence in Greek myth in general: 'the story [of the Epigonoi] that is strongly fronted by the *Iliad* appears to have enjoyed a rather tenuous existence' (52); 'the *Epigonoi* seems to be derivative from and secondary to the main stage' (52); 'it lacks the paradigmatic quality of either of the other expeditions [to Thebes and Troy]' (53); 'in a way, the derivative status of the *Epigonoi* represents in part the general attitude from early Greek poetry that the present is degenerate and the past was more "heroic"' (54). However, that later references privilege the first war against Thebes to the *Epigonoi* does not necessarily mean that this was the case for the *Iliad* poet.

and Erginos of Orkhomenos.[84] However, it is clear that by the time of the *Iliad* the distinct first expedition of the Argives and the expedition of the Epigonoi had already been fixed as separate events.

It is also possible that multiple versions of the *Thebaid* existed into the historical period. We have several fragments featuring Oidipous' curse on his sons, F2 and F3 Bernabé (from Athenaios and a scholion on Sophokles respectively, the latter backed up by Zenobios of Athos and Eustathios). In one the curse arises because his sons set before him the heirlooms of his father, while in the latter he gets angry after receiving the wrong cut of meat. Buck argued that this meant that the fragments came from different poems, although Davies comes to the opposite conclusion.[85] It is not impossible that the two curses came from the same poem - duplication of this sort is found in archaic epos, consider the double assembly of the gods in book 1 and 5 of the *Odyssey* - but it is highly plausible that different versions of the *Thebaid*

[84]Some sources report a war between Thebes and Orkhomenos, the latter led by the king Erginos, until he is killed by Herakles: Apoll 2.4.1, Diodoros 4.10.3-6 (perhaps from Matris of Thebes), Paus. 9.37, cf. Pind. *Ol.* 4.32. Buck (1979) 59 assumes that this is due to a Theban tradition 'these two versions are obviously based on tendentious Theban sources. One wonders what the Orchomenian version said'.

[85]Buck (1979) 49, referring to Huxley (1969) 41, 43; Davies (2014) 46-7 with more bibliography.

existed fixed in writing, reflecting earlier variation in the oral tradition.[86] We should also bear in mind the mention of a poem entitled *Amphiaraus' Expedition to Thebes* ascribed to Homer in the Pseudo-Herodotean *Life*. West considers this to mean a specimen from the *Thebaid*,[87] but it could easily be a separate poem preserving another version of the same tradition covered in the *Thebaid*.

Another angle on the question is raised by considering external influences: Burkert, for instance, argued that the legend of the Seven Against Thebes is related to Babylonian purificatory rituals and the *Epic of Erra*.[88] On Burkert's view, the epic took root in Thebes as a local tradition deriving from anti-plague magic. Davies endorses the conclusion that the Greek story could not be later than 750 BCE, and indeed implies that the *Thebaid* was not part of the oral tradition,[89] in contrast to those who view the sack of Thebes as having some sort of historical basis in the Mycenaean period.[90] If this were true, it would imply that the story of the Seven was not a local tradition of

[86]cf. p15, n. 32.
[87]West (2003) 9.
[88]Burkert (1981) 42 = (2001) 160; (1992) 108-14.
[89]Davies (2014) 41-3, although Davies does not mention Burkert's later (1992) article.
[90]Dirlmeier (1954) 154 = (1970) 53, rightly pointing out that this does not mean that the particular poems from which our fragments come are that early.

Thebes, or at least not one of great antiquity. However, Burkert's late date seems highly unlikely. The Theban legend is well-integrated into the story of the *Iliad*, given the frequent references (especially to the expedition of the Epigonoi), which shows that it is an integral part of the tradition.[91] One could suggest that even though the story of the war was old and part of the tradition, it was reshaped on the basis of the Babylonian myth. However, the very epithet of Thebes as seven-gated (ἑπτάπυλος, *Il.* 4.406, 11.263, *Erga* 162, *Aspis* 49) is surely traditional and not due to recent influence. It is true that the motif of the seven should not be viewed as a preserved historical fact and there is no evidence that Mycenaean or Early Iron Age Thebes had seven gates. However, seven is a cross-culturally significant number, so the number does not have to originate from the Erra myth, and we should bear in mind the possibility that the Babylonian texts we have reflect an older story that has influenced Greek myth (or vice-versa) at an earlier date.[92]

[91] As well as the frequent references to Tydeus, it has been argued that the plot of the *Iliad* has been more fundamentally influenced by the Theban story, in particular with the story of the Akhaians defending their seven-gated wall: Barker and Christensen (2020) 120-1, cf. Tsagalis (2014). Barker and Christensen (2020) 195 also suggest that Agamemnon's 'sexual transgression', warned of by a seer, causing a plague, and Agamemnon investigating the plague only to find himself responsible is influenced by the story of Oidipous. Of course, it is difficult, perhaps impossible, to detect where this is primary, and it is better to think more in terms of common motifs and patterns in early epos than direct influence.

[92] cf. Powell's (2002) review of Burkert's *Kleine Schriften*: 'Such extraordinary parallels cry out for explanation, but we have a hard time imagining how a strictly magical ritual can have been translated into heroic saga.'

The opening line of the *Thebaid* is perhaps unexpected if we want to think of the poem as originating in Theban local tradition.

Ἄργος ἄειδε θεὰ πολυδίψιον ἔνθεν ἄνακτες... (*Thebaid* F1 Bernabé)

This is a good reminder that the expedition to Thebes is as much an Argive story as it is a Theban one.[93] On the other hand, it is true, as Davies points out, that we should not assume that 'the initial allusion to Argos entails a bias towards that city'.[94] However, if we compare the Trojan war, it is evident that in that case a story of a major conflict with contributions from different areas is an excellent way for poets to bring in a variety of different regions and traditions into a single narrative. Is the same true of the Theban war? The identity of the Seven is mostly Argive, or from the surrounding areas. However, there are some signs of including areas beyond Argos; in particular, Tydeus, an exile from Calydon. Moreover, the story of the Thebaid itself may have told of wider travels in search of help on the expedition. Note, for example, Agamemnon's reference to Tydeus and Polyneikes' visit to Mycenae, at *Iliad* 4.376-81:

[93]West (2003) 6-7.
[94]Davies (2014) 45-6.

ἤτοι μὲν γὰρ ἄτερ πολέμου εἰσῆλθε Μυκήνας
ξεῖνος ἅμ᾽ ἀντιθέῳ Πολυνείκεϊ λαὸν ἀγείρων·
οἳ δὲ τότ᾽ ἐστρατόωνθ᾽ ἱερὰ πρὸς τείχεα Θήβης,
καί ῥα μάλα λίσσοντο δόμεν κλειτοὺς ἐπικούρους.
οἳ δ᾽ ἔθελον δόμεναι, καὶ ἐπήνεον ὡς ἐκέλευον,
ἀλλὰ Ζεὺς ἔτρεψε παραίσια σήματα φαίνων.

No Mycenaean fighter is recorded in the Seven, but Mycenae could still be included in the story, simply by making Polyneikes' appeal for help be refused. Of course, this particular story could be an *ad hoc* invention by the poet to give Agamemnon a link with Tydeus; but it does suggest that travelling widely to gain an army may have been a feature of the story of Thebes' sack that allowed poets to include a variety of different places, like the mustering in the Trojan war or the Catalogue of Ships. However, it is noticeable that in the form of the legend which we have attested in later sources, the fighters against Thebes are far more focused on Argos than the wider range of heroes fighting against Troy.[95] Perhaps the Trojan war was originally also a conflict more focused on a single location, and has simply grown more widely than the Theban war in the versions which we now have. In addition to the

[95]For a list of the Seven and its variants, see Cingano (2002), Davies (2014) 68-9.

mustering, the stories of the Argive army's actions on the way to Thebes were also an opportunity for wider connections,[96] as was the dispersal of the Thebans after the sack of the city. Later accounts mention Tilphusa in Boeotia, Hestiaea in Thessaly, Illyria, and Claros in Asia Minor as places visited by the survivors. These are comparable to the episodes that take place in the Trojan cycle on the Akhaians' journey to Troy (Telephos, the death of Tennes, Philoktetes' snakebite, a quarrel of Agamemnon and Akhilleus)[97] and the various stories about the dispersal of the heroes after Troy's sack.[98]

It seems, then, that although the legends of the Theban war occupied a prominent and integral place in the epic tradition as we have it, it is difficult to pin them down to connections with Theban local tradition. In fact, the Theban war story connects not just to Thebes, but also to Argos, and to a number of other locations, in a manner reminiscent of the *Iliad*, although not to the same extent (at least from the evidence that survives). Thus it is not quite so simple as to say that the Theban war is 'local' and the Trojan war

[96]See Gantz (1993) 510-4, including the death of Arkhemoros at Phlious and the foundation of the Nemean games (Simonides 553 *PMG*, Bakkh. 9.10-20, Pindar *Nemean* 9.9), and Tydeus' attempt to negotiate (*Il.* 4.382-400).

[97]See Gantz (1993) 576-92.

[98]See Gantz (1993) 662-713; cf. Malkin (1998) for the uses of *nostoi* stories.

'Panhellenic': rather, the Trojan war (in the form that we have) contains a wider range of connections than the Theban war, which is more focused around two particular places. There is considerable variation in the details of Oidipous' story, which certainly reflect different variants of the story, but there is no evidence to link this to local variation, and on one theory the different versions would plausibly come from the same place (if they reflect rival claims to Oidipean ancestry within the Theban elite). It is possible but far from certain that the wars around Thebes originated in different variants of the same story, but by the time of the *Iliad* the distinction between the first expedition and the *Epigonoi* had become fixed. However, it is possible, as we have seen, that variants of the *Thebaid* that differed in some other respects survived into the historical period.

7.5 Conclusions

We have seen throughout this chapter that the myths about Thebes are very rich in variation, whether this is the name of Oidipous' mother or the fate of the daughter of Pandareos. Scholars are keen to attribute these variants to different local traditions, as we saw in the case of the different foundations of

Thebes (by Kadmos or the twin sons of Antiope). However, at least in the Classical period at Thebes, we know that these myths existed simultaneously in the same place. This is not necessarily unexpected: in Thebes itself we would expect the story of its foundation to be popular, frequently told, and therefore acquire more variation. Even if these versions of the foundation stories did not originate in Thebes, it is not surprising that they should become known there. This clear case should encourage us to be cautious if we find variation in stories in other contexts - contradictory versions of myth need not reflect variant geographical sources.

Again, we have had the difficulty over how far we can project back later-attested stories - for example, the story of Kadmos as Phoenician - into the earlier period. In this connection, it is worth considering the example of Teiresias. Teiresias has a prominent place in Theban myth in the later period, but in extant archaic epos none of this is evident, and we might have assumed that Teiresias was a later invention. However, Teiresias does in fact appear in the *Nekuia* of the *Odyssey*: there is no reference to what he did when alive, but it is clear that he is an important seer (given his status in

the underworld) and that he is strongly associated with Thebes (note the formula Θηβαίου Τειρεσίαο#, 6 times in the *Odyssey*). Had the *Odyssey* poet not chosen to make him the figure to advise Odysseus, we would have no evidence for him at all before Pindar. At the same time, we have seen that we should not project back the later mythological situation exactly - as is clear with the version of Pandareos' daughter's story preserved by the *Odyssey*. We have also seen that epos as a whole can reflect the earlier importance of a place (Orkhomenos, and Boiotia in general) and have a general sense that such a place ought to be given weight without actually containing many details of the people from that place. This is a demonstration of how the development of epic traditions is a long process that may reflect EIA or Mycenaean realities but has also been reshaped by the intervening centuries.

We have found few clear cases of myths that are entirely centred around Thebes. The Theban War, as we have seen, is as much about Argos as it is about Thebes. Herakles is in no way exclusive to Thebes, having many links with the rest of Greece, especially the Peloponnese. Even Oidipous (at least in the later accounts) spends his infancy in Corinth. Again, we see that it

is impossible to tease out the tradition into separate strands corresponding to particular localities. The stories rely on connections, migrations, and war between different places. As we have seen with the concern over Theban chronology - with poets actively thinking about whether it had been founded or sacked - the story of Thebes is inseparably integrated into the wider epic tradition. Of course, someone might object, stories about the foundation of Thebes or the succession of its kings must at some point have arisen from the place itself. This is not inevitably the case - there is no reason why an important city might not give rise to stories about it in different cities - but it does seem true that a story about the foundation of Thebes is more likely to arise in Thebes itself than in, say, Ithaka. As we have seen, there is strong evidence for local traditions at Thebes (from the Herakleon and its warrior burials to the cult of Iolaos) but there are no points of direct contact between these and the details in epos.

Let us try, therefore, to answer the questions raised in the introduction to this section. Do we have traditions about Thebes? Yes - they proliferate in the epic tradition. Do we have local traditions from Thebes in epos? We

cannot link any particular stories of epos to a Theban origin, but the fact that Thebes is so prominent in epos (and, unlike Orkhomenos, has many detailed stories attached) probably reflects the continued importance of the city in the Archaic period; we also have evidence that connects the stories of Thebes to nomenclature and cult in the city. It thus seems certain that epos has been influenced by Thebes' importance and local traditions, but actually pointing to a particular narrative or detail is not possible. Do we have traditions aimed at a Theban audience? This is potentially the case, but hard to ascertain. Certainly, there is nothing that requires intimate local knowledge of Thebes. And can we distinguish Theban tradition from other Boeotian tradition? I have argued against this in the case of the foundation narratives; the one case where there does seem to be plausibility to local traditions is with regard to the mentions in later sources of significant events at much smaller centres (Eteonos, Hyrie or Eutresis for example). These often deviate from the version in the Homeric poems (there is no mention of Eutresis with Amphion and Zethos in the *Odyssey*) and it is difficult to see how they could have arisen without local interest or input. That these do not appear in our corpus might suggest that local traditions from smaller sites did not find expression in epic poetry, although - as we have seen - many such

towns are named in the Catalogue of Ships, and they may have appeared in the many poems that do not survive. The case study of Thebes, therefore, reinforces our previous findings about the epic tradition: we cannot precisely identify and extract a 'Theban epic tradition' that developed in the city (or other parts of Boeotia), but it is reasonable to think that the place has had an influence on the development of epos, and that various details - from the name of the Φίξ to the different foundation stories - may have come from epichoric traditions.

Chapter 8

Helen of Sparta

8.1 Introduction

As we have seen with Akhilleus and Odysseus, it is often very difficult to find evidence for any sort of local tradition that links a character of epos with their stated home city. Helen is an interesting case because she really did have an undeniable local cult at Sparta, attested very early, as well as elsewhere in the Greek world. Moreover, it has been proposed that she can be traced back to a proto-Indo-European divinity, and/or a character in proto-Indo-European epic. If this is the case, the history of her character could give insights into the prehistoric development of the Greek epic tradition.

However - as will become clear - many of the theories about Helen are deeply problematic. The compelling and somewhat ethereal quality of her character in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* has inspired a range of speculative interpretations; although these can provide insights into the power of her characterisation or universal human conceptions, they may lead to unrealistic assessments of her historical development.

8.2 Helen and Local Cult

Helen received cult in Laconia and Rhodes, though not necessarily in the same form. A sanctuary of Helen at Therapne (a town very close to Sparta) is mentioned by Herodotos (Hdt. 6.61.3-5).[1] In the story he narrates, the mother of Demaratos (a Spartan king) was ugly when she was a baby, so her nurse carried her every day to the sanctuary and asked the divinity to help her, and the child was miraculously beautified. The sanctuary has been archaeologically identified, and a conglomerate terrace was first built in the 7th century; dedications to Helen and Menelaos are found from the 6th.[2] Isokrates mentions the sanctuary, and states that the Spartans honoured

[1] On this site, see Parker (2016), Stelow (2020) 258-284.

[2] Parker (2016) 1. The sanctuary was published as Catling and Hughes-Brock (2009), but the more recent excavations are as yet unpublished. See Stelow (2020) 265-9 for a description of the evidence of cult, beginning in the late 8th century.

them there as gods rather than just heroes (οὐχ ὡς ἥρωσιν ἀλλ᾽ ὡς θεοῖς, *Helen* 63). Pausanias (3.19.9) mentions a temple of Menelaos at the site.

There was also a sanctuary of Helen in a more central part of Sparta called Πλατανιστής ('the grove of plane trees'), mentioned by Pausanias (3.15.3). This may be referred to, although not explicitly, in Theokritos' 18th *Idyll*, a wedding song for Helen and Menelaos, which includes a passage that may allude to a rite connected with Helen (43-8):

πρᾶταί τοι στέφανον λωτῶ χαμαὶ αὐξομένοιο
πλέξασαι σκιερὰν καταθήσομεν ἐς πλατάνιστον,
πρᾶται δ᾽ ἀργυρέας ἐξ ὄλπιδος ὑγρὸν ἄλειφαρ
λαζύμεναι σταξεῦμες ὑπὸ σκιερὰν πλατάνιστον·
γράμματα δ᾽ ἐν φλοιῷ γεγράψεται, ὡς παριών τις
ἀννείμῃ Δωριστί· 'σέβου μ᾽· ῾Ελένας φυτὸν εἰμί.'

The use of πρᾶται has been interpreted as a sign that the chorus of maidens - at their imagined historical moment at Helen's wedding - are carrying out the first instance of a repeated rite that would become part of Spartan cult.[3]

[3]This is the interpretation of eg. Gow (1988), Dover (1992), *ad loc.*; see also Brillante (2002) 44.

Theokritos would then have based these details on a contemporary Spartan custom, presumably involving the offerings of the garland and oil and the inscription on the tree.[4]

There is also some less concrete evidence for rituals or traditions involving Helen at Sparta. A Hesychian gloss mentions a festival, presumably to Helen (Ἑλένεια· ἑορτὴ ἀγομένη ὑπὸ Λακώνων). An ode in Aristophanes (*Lysistrata* 1308-15) mentions Helen leading choruses of maidens at Sparta. Aristodemos *FGrH* 22 F1 narrates a story in which a plague occurs at Sparta, and an oracle reveals that it is necessary to sacrifice a well-born maiden on a yearly basis to avert it. Helen is chosen as the first maiden and nearly killed, but is saved by an eagle that takes away the sword and drops it by an unfortunate cow, who is sacrificed in her place. That the sacrifice was to be κατὰ ἔτος suggests that this might be the *aition* of a yearly ritual, otherwise

[4]Edmunds (2007) 13 emphasises that Theokritos' evidence is not likely to be 'documentary' or precise, due to his Hellenistic self-conscious mannerism. This is of course true insofar as Theokritos was not trying to write a description of the ritual, but produce a literary work. Certainly we cannot rely on the poem as if it were the authentic text of a Spartan ritual (note that με would not elide before ϝελένας if this were Laconian Doric!). However, this does not mean that the poet did not make use of details from a real ritual, and the actions of the maidens are sufficiently unusual that they are unlikely to come purely from Theokritos' imagination.

unknown.[5] Brillante has suggested that some compositions of Alkman (eg. fr. 1 Page) celebrated Helen's cult, but if so there are no explicit cases.[6]

Since Edmunds has denied that the Spartans considered Helen to be a goddess, it is worth setting out the evidence. Herodotos uses the phrase ἐλίσσετο τὴν θεόν referring to the nurse asking Helen (6.61.3).[7] Isokrates (*Helen* 63, see above) says that the Spartans honoured Helen and Menelaos as gods; he also states that Helen did not just attain immortality but τὴν δύναμιν ἰσόθεον (61), that she made her brothers gods (admittedly an unexpected claim) and that she made Menelaos a god (θεὸν ἀντὶ θνητοῦ ποιήσασα).[8] Pausanias (3.15.3) calls the sanctuary of Helen at Platanistes ἱερόν, as he does for the sanctuaries of Heracles and Athene there, rather than a hero shrine (ἡρῷον) as of Kyniska, Alkimos, Enarsphoros and so on, or the tomb

[5]Edmunds (2016) 110 suggests that Helen was chosen for this story purely as the first Spartan maiden 'who came to mind'.

[6]Brillante (2002) 49. cf. Bowra (1936) 52-5 on fr. 1 Page, though concluding that there is insufficient evidence to identify Aotis with Helen. However, there may be a mention of the cult at Therapne in Alkman fr. 7.

[7]λίσσεσθαι in itself may be used by Herodotos of human interaction, 1.24.2, 9.91.1; in the oracle at 7.141.3 of Athena to Zeus; but ἡ θεός is always elsewhere used of goddesses: 1.31.4 (Hera), 1.60.5 (Athena), 1.105.3-4 (Aphrodite), 1.199.3-4 (Mylitta/Aphrodite), 2.181.5 (Aphrodite), 4.76.4 (Mother of the gods), 4.180.2 (Athena), 5.72.3 (Athena), 5.102.1 (Kybebe), 6.91.1 (Demeter), 8.41.3 (Athena), 9.61.3 (Hera), 9.65.2 (Demeter).

[8]cf. also Euripides *Helen* 1667, θεὸς κεκλήσῃ.

(μνῆμα) of Alkman. The material evidence also supports this conclusion.[9] Edmunds minimises this feature, stating that 'the cult of Helen and Menelaus at Therapne was, then, a hero cult that in its sacrificial ritual had an element of divine cult';[10] but his counter-arguments are weak. It is true that the written evidence comes from non-Spartan sources; that Isokrates may be distorting his presentation to praise Helen; and that Pausanias' evidence is later.[11] However, Edmunds' argument that Herodotos' use of ἡ θεός merely distinguishes Helen as divinity from her statue, because in another passage of Herodotos involving Hera (1.31.4) the term is used with this distinction, seems to be special pleading.[12] Even if individually these pieces of evidence might be dismissed, as a whole they provide as good evidence as can be imagined that from an early date the Spartans considered Helen and Menelaos to be gods.

Beyond Sparta, we find reference to a sanctuary of Helen Δενδρίτης at Rhodes in the time of Pausanias (3.19.10). Pausanias does not give details

[9]Parker (2016) 2-3.
[10]Edmunds (2016) 181; cf. Edmunds (2007) 21-4.
[11]Pausanias (3.19.9-10) also said that Menelaos and Helen were said to be buried there, which Edmunds (2016) 176 considers good evidence that they cannot have been gods.
[12]Edmunds (2016) 185-6.

on the cult but mentions a story attributed to the Rhodians (3.19.9-10) in which after Menelaos' death Helen is exiled from Sparta by Nikostratos and Megapenthes, and comes to Rhodes. However, Polyxo, the widow of Tlepolemos (who died at Troy) seeks revenge on Helen; Polyxo sends her attendants, dressed as Erinyes, who seize Helen while she is bathing and hang her on a tree. Polyainos (*Strategemata* 1.13) tells a different version of this story: when Menelaos and Helen were on the way back from Troy, they stopped at Rhodes, but Polyxo comes after Helen with a mob of men and women with 'fire and stones'. Menelaos cannot escape because the wind is unfavourable, but he dresses up a luckless slave as Helen, who is then executed in her place.

There is some evidence for local cult or traditions about Helen elsewhere in the Greek world, although these may be late developments:[13]

- Pausanias (1.35.1) mentions an island near Sounion in Attica called Ἑλένη, where Helen was said to have landed on her return journey from Troy.

- At Kenkhreai (near Corinth) there was a place called Ἑλένης λουτρόν,

[13]Parker (2016) 7.

'the bath of Helen' where salty and warm water flowed into the sea (Paus. 2.2.3).

- Stephanus of Byzantium (*s.v.* Ἑλένη) mentions a spring called Ἑλένη in Khios, 'where Helen washed herself'.

- Pausanias (8.23.4) mentions a large and beautiful plane tree near a spring near Kaphyai in Arcadia, which was called Μενελαΐς and said to have been planted by Menelaos on the way to Troy. This has often been connected with the plane tree of Helen mentioned in Theokritos, and the temple of Artemis 'Hanged' a stade distant (8.23.6-7) has been compared with the hanging of Helen in the Rhodian story, but this could be a coincidence.

- There were places with the name of Helenion at Anaktorion and Skotoussa, but Parker argues that they are better connected with Helenos.[14]

- Pausanias (3.19.11-13) gives a story he attributes to the people of Kroton and Himera, whereby Leonymos was the first person to sail to Leuke in the Black Sea, and there met various Trojan war heroes, in-

[14]Parker (2016) 23-4.

cluding Akhilleus, who was then married to Helen. Helen then ordered him to tell Stesikhoros about the cause of his blindness (a reference to Stesikhoros' palinode).[15]

The evidence for Helen's cult has not lacked interpretations; but as they must also take into account the IE comparative evidence, they will be discussed after that.

8.3 A Proto-Indo-European Helen

It has been suggested that Helen is cognate to the Vedic Sūryā, the daughter of the sun.[16] She is associated with the Aśvins, a pair of gods similar to the Dioskouroi - in some hymns she rides in their chariot and is married to them, but in *RV* 10.85 they are unsuccessful suitors and she marries Soma instead (there identified with the moon). There is also a comparandum in a mythological figure in Baltic tradition (Lithuanian and Latvian folksongs), again the daughter of the sun, who is associated with the (sometimes two) Sons of God, who are her suitors (but in different songs other divinities are the

[15]Nagy (1990) 420 comments 'the recantation of Stesichorus seems to be a theme that also reaffirms the traditions native to Kroton and Himera.' But presumably this tradition must have arisen based on Stesikhoros rather than the other way round.

[16]For the comparison see West (2007) 227-37. The comparison is made earlier, in West (1975) 9-11, cf. Clader (1976) 49-50.

suitors). West connects the decoration of trees at the time of the Daughter of the Sun's marriage in the Latvian songs with the decoration of the plane tree at Platanistas and the hanging of Helen at Rhodes (suggesting that this reflects a ritual in which an image was hung on a tree);[17] he also states that the Estonian version of the Baltic figure, like Helen, was born from a goose egg.

However, this particular reconstruction has been strongly criticised on the basis that the parallels are not close enough to reconstruct an original PIE divinity. Edmunds emphasises that Vedic myth about Sūryā and the Aśvins does not have a clear parallel to the abduction of Helen in Greek myth.[18] He points out that West's goose egg parallel is an error, as the Estonian Salme appears from a hen (in the same myth someone else is created from an egg, but it is a grouse-egg rather than a goose's).[19] Edmunds probably goes too far in denying the parallel altogether between Helen and the Dioskouroi and Sūryā and the Aśvins. Certainly his belief that 'it is difficult to see in cult a

[17]In addition West compares numerous springtime customs across Europe.
[18]Edmunds (2016) 76-7.
[19]Edmunds (2016) 81-85. He further points out that birth from an egg is a cross-culturally common mode of miraculous birth (83).

reflex of the Indo-European trio'[20] ignores the fact that Helen was the sister of the Dioskouroi, and their worship was characteristic of Sparta. Therapne, the site of Helen's major cult, was also close to cult sites of the Dioskouroi (Paus. 3.20.1-2).

An alternative PIE connection (this time championed by Edmunds himself) reconstructs an antecedent in putative PIE epic. This is based on an argument made by Jamison, who compared the abduction/reabduction of Helen by Paris vs. Menelaos with the abduction/reabduction of Draupadi by Jayadratha vs. the Pāṇḍavas in the *Mahābhārata*.[21] Jayadratha tries to escape from the Pāṇḍavas with Draupadi on a chariot, and while they pursue, Draupadi describes them to Jayadratha, which has similarities to Helen describing some of the Greek heroes to Priam in the *Teikhoskopia*. Jamison also argues that both episodes reflect a form of marriage, marriage by abduction, with PIE roots, and that the issue in both cases is not the abduction itself, but that the the abductor does not announce his intentions, have legal witnesses, or perform feats of valour.[22] However, it is not clear that the sim-

[20]Edmunds (2016) 87.
[21]Jamison (1994).
[22]Jamison (1994) 10.

ilarities are close enough to reconstruct a PIE form of marriage; the notion of marriage by abduction could easily arise independently,[23] and in neither the Greek nor the Sanskrit attested case does it seem likely that Menelaos or the Pāṇḍavas would have been happy to lose their wife if the abductor had gone through a more formal process. In any case, there are many scenes in epic where a series of warriors are described in turn, and the *Teikhoskopia* and Jayadratha's chariot escape are not sufficiently close to posit a scene in PIE epic from which they might derive.[24]

Based on this, therefore, Edmunds attempts to reconstruct an inherited narrative pattern in which a wife is abducted and rescued, arguing for a PIE source that gave rise to the stories of Helen, Sītā, Draupadī, and other examples in Irish and Welsh traditions.[25] This is founded on a repeated pattern of motifs found between each tradition: the original wooing of the bride, abduction following a game of chance, the 'double' nature of the abductor, and the 'doubling' of the abducted wife. If it were possible to show that a narrative

[23]See eg. Hanh (2016) for a description of the practice.

[24]So, rightly, West (2007) 438.

[25]Edmunds (2016) 92-5, (2007) 6. This is not dissimilar to the idea at West (2007) 237 that perhaps some Celtic abduction legend or ritual, with possible parallels in a Manx ritual and Arthurian legend, might reflect the story of Helen's abduction.

with such specific details could be found across different branches, this would indeed be convincing evidence for an inherited narrative pattern. However, in this case Edmunds' motifs are either so vague that their recurrence is unsurprising, or do not recur sufficiently systematically in the sources. First, as to the wooing of the bride, in the Helen story Edmunds means the gathering of suitors for Helen's hand, but in the story of Étaín this refers to the wooing of the abductor; in any case it is hardly surprising that these stories should narrate the wooing of the woman involved. The game of chance appears in the *Mahābhārata* in relation to Draupadī - but not in the abduction by Jayadratha. The divine nature of the captor (which is what Edmunds means by 'double') is hardly a surprise in stories that deal with beings with legendary powers. The Irish tales cited for the image of the woman (a different meaning of 'doubling') are not a close match to the phantom image of Helen; in *Dubh Lacha*[26] an old woman is disguised as a young woman (different from the abductee) as part of a trick, and in *Tochmarc Étaín*[27] the husband has to pick out his wife from 50 identical women. Overall, then, the story pattern of a woman's abduction is more likely to be a recurring cultural universal rather than based off a single shared prototype.

[26]T25 in Edmunds (2016).
[27]T24 in Edmunds (2016).

8.4 A Proto-Indo-European Phantom Helen?

A further argument for Helen having PIE roots is based on the story of her phantom image. In Stesikhoros' *Palinode*, Helen was replaced by an image of her that went to Troy in her place, while she remained in Egypt:

... τὸ μὲν ε[ἴδωλο]ν ἐλθεῖ[ν εἰς] Τροίαν, τὴν δ' Ἑλένην π[αρὰ] τῶι Πρω[τε]ῖ καταμεῖν[αι·

P. Oxy. 2506.26 col. i 14-6 = fr. 90.13-5 Davies-Finglass

It has been argued that the story of the phantom Helen might be an inherited narrative pattern. There are similarities with a story alluded to in the *Rigveda*.

त्वष्टा॑ दुहि॒त्रे व॑हतु॒ं कृ॑णो॒तीती॒दं विश्वं॒ भुव॑न॒ं समे॑ति । य॒मस्य॑ मा॒ता पर्यु॒ह्यमा॑ना म॒हो जा॒या विव॑स्वतो ननाश ॥

अपा॑गूहन्न॒मृता॒ं मर्त्ये॑भ्यः कृ॒त्वी सव॑र्णामददु॒र्विव॑स्वते । उ॒ताश्विना॑वभर॒द्यत्तदासी॒दज॑ह्हादु॒ द्वा मि॑थु॒ना स॑र॒ण्यूः ॥

tvaṣṭā duhitre vahatuṃ kṛṇotītīdaṃ viśvam bhuvanaṃ sam eti / yamasya mātā paryuhyamānā maho jāyā vivasvato nanāśa //

apāgūhann amṛtām martyebhyaḥ kṛtvī savarṇām adadur vivasvate / utāśvināv abharad yat tad āsīd ajahād u dvā mithunā saraṇyūḥ //

'Tvaṣṭā carries out the wedding for his daughter, so that the whole world assembles; the mother of Yama, when married as the wife of great Vivasvat, disappeared.

They concealed the immortal woman for mortals, and having made a similar woman, they gave her to Vivasvat; and she bore the two Aśvins when that happened, and Saraṇyu gave birth to twins.'

RV 10.17.1-2

Vivasvat is used as a name of the sun in later literature. According to the later (14th century) commentator Sāyaṇa, this alludes to a story in which Saraṇyu was married to Vivasvat but substituted an image for herself, whilst she escaped in the shape of a mare. Vivasvat, after producing a son from the image, realises the deception, and finds his wife, with whom he fathers the Aśvins. Skutsch argued that Saraṇyu was like Helen because she left an image of herself behind, and suggested that Helen's name should be cognate with Saraṇyu.[28] This idea has been taken up by Doniger and Edmunds.[29] Furthermore, in some versions of the story of Sītā, Sītā is replaced by an

[28]Skutsch (1987) 189, the idea originally from Pisani (1928).

[29]Doniger (1999) 43, Edmunds (2007) 4. But ultimately Edmunds (2007) 9 views the Saraṇyu parallel as less relevant than the comparison with Sītā.

image which is captured by Rāvaṇa instead of her, a close narrative match for Paris abducting an eidolon of Helen rather than the real woman.[30] Both of these connections with Sanskrit literature have been used to argue that the motif of the *eidolon* of Helen at Troy in Stesikhoros in fact goes back to an inherited PIE narrative, rather than being Stesikhoros' innovation.[31]

However, under closer examination these parallels cannot stand. Doniger discusses images in Sanskrit literature at length, and it is evident from her discussion that shadow images were used extensively in many different works and applied to different characters.[32] The use of an image for Sītā specifically is not found in Valmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa*, only in later texts such as the *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa* and *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa*.[33] This strongly suggests that the double of Sītā is a later innovation rather than a PIE inheritance.[34] As to the story of Saraṇyu, this is not a close match with the Helen story;

[30]Doniger (1999) esp. 12-16, Edmunds (2007) 5.

[31]Doniger (1999) 63: 'from these bits and pieces it seems likely that Homer may well have known about the phantom Helen, as Herodotus insisted, for the general theme of the shadow woman is pre-Homeric, at least on the evidence of the related Vedic texts.'

[32]The full discussion is Doniger (1999) 8-87.

[33]See Doniger (1999) 12-13, 15, cf. 16. These date no earlier than around the 8th C CE and 13th C CE respectively.

[34]Edmunds (2007) 6, with n22, claims that there are instances of an image of Sītā in Valmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa*, but I was unable to find any such references in the passages cited (6.68.1-28; 7.89.4).

Saraṇyu is not abducted and the deception of the image is not ultimately successful. Moreover, it is probable that the image of Helen is Stesikhoros' innovation.[35] His *eidolon* can be explained through its parallels to the epic device, used in the case of Herakles in the *Odyssey* (11.601-4) and Iphigeneia at her sacrifice in the *GK* (fr. 23a.17-26); its motivation must be to absolve Helen of any blame she might have in the traditional story from leaving with Paris, which fits the overall aim of Stesikhoros' *Palinode*.[36] Thus both in the Sanskrit and the Greek tradition, the use of the image results from the ingenuity of later authors, rather than being an inherited pattern.[37] The motif of the image itself may well be older, but its application to Helen or Sītā is a later development in the separate traditions we can observe.

8.5 Helen the Vegetation Goddess

Given the evidence for Helen's cult and possible descent from a PIE daughter of the sun figure, there are various ways this data could be interpreted,

[35]This is the view of the ancient commentator, fr. 90.15-17 Davies-Finglass, who goes on to cite further mythological innovations by Stesikhoros.

[36]See Kelly (2007a) 11; cf. Davies and Finglass (2014) 302-3, who show that the *eidolon* of Helen is unlikely to have appeared in Hesiod, despite Hes. fr. dub. 358.

[37]That the motif happens to become attached to both Sītā and Helen is no surprise, since the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the Trojan War respectively are so productive within their respective traditions, generating a large number of variants.

which have different consequences for the existence of local traditions. A popular theory is that Helen is a 'Vegetation goddess', which is taken to mean a goddess associated with the growth of vegetation who is temporarily abducted in mythology, corresponding symbolically to the winter months in which the growth of vegetation is reduced. Helen's abduction by Paris is compared with her abduction by Theseus, Theseus' abduction of Ariadne, Theseus and Peirithoos' attempted abduction of Persephone, and Hades' abduction of Persephone, which are said to be all versions of an original legend; moreover, Helen's connection with trees (the plane tree at Sparta and being hanged from a tree at Rhodes) is used as evidence that she is associated with the growth of vegetation (as well as Erigone and Phaidra, who also hang themselves).[38] On this view, there was once one legend about the abduction of a vegetation goddess, and diverse modifications of this story then arose, presumably as scattered local variants, which were then brought together within one mythological framework; this has some similarities with the theory by which a range of (originally) local epic traditions are brought together into Panhellenic epos. The various cults or place names associated with He-

[38]See especially Nilsson (1932) 74-5 (1967-74) i.211, 315, 475, 487; von Geisau (1975) 989; West (1975) esp. 5-6; Skutsch (1987) 189; Puhvel (1987) 141-3; Clader (1976) 70-82; Brillante (2002) 44.

len would derive from the once-widespread cult of this vegetation goddess.

This theory has been justly criticised. Firstly, the variants that are considered derivative of an original story share little apart from abduction and some overlap in characters. Some are closer than others - for example, the story of Theseus' abduction of Helen is similar to Paris' abduction of Helen, insofar as in both include the abduction of Helen by a foreigner followed by her successful rescue by two brothers.[39] Such parallels certainly suggest that there was some sort of influence between the two stories at some point in time. However, within the supposed variants there is also a lot of variation in the narrative; Theseus and Peirithoos fail to abduct Persephone, Hades' abduction is partially successful; some are sanctioned by the gods, some are opposed by them. We should surely explain this in terms of recurring motifs in Greek mythology, and sometimes the creation of similar stories for the same character, without deriving them all from some prehistoric prototype.

[39]In fact, this similarity is precisely what Edmunds (2007) 16 objects to, on the basis that Helen's abduction by Paris and by Theseus belong to different types according to his classification - the abduction of a wife vs. bride theft (ie. of someone not already married) - see Edmunds (2007) 9, (2016) 67-8, 101, 162. This disregards the close similarities between these two stories, and relies too much on a classificatory system.

Even if the vegetation goddess theory is accepted, there is a problem as to where she comes from. For some scholars, the vegetation goddess is a pre-Greek survival, of which a few traces remain in Spartan and Rhodian cult; from there she was borrowed into epos.[40] However, the potential PIE connections have led others to see Helen as a vegetation goddess of PIE myth, who has kept her godlike qualities in Spartan cult, but lost them in the epic narrative.[41] Others have preferred to posit a fusion of a local pre-Greek deity with a PIE goddess.[42] If Helen was a pre-Greek vegetation goddess, surviving in a few places across the Greek world, this might suggest that her story is a local Spartan tradition that is then absorbed into the epic tradition. On the other hand, if she has roots in PIE epic, she could potentially have come down in epos as a non-local figure from the beginning (depending on the areas in which this tradition of epos was transmitted). Of course, as we have seen, the whole idea of a 'vegetation goddess' is problematic; as Parker remarks, 'a tree can stand for or suggest a goddess without the goddess be-

[40]Nilsson (1932) 75 (the pre-Greek myth reinterpreted under influence of the frequent abduction of women in the 'heroic age'); Nilsson (1967-74) i.211, 475. cf. Preller and Robert (1887-1921) ii.1 306.

[41]West (1975), Clader (1976) 82. Kakridis (1971) 29 believes that the name alone was borrowed from a vegetation goddess.

[42]Homeyer (1977) 2, Puhvel (1987) 143.

ing especially associated with the growth of trees or other natural products'.[43]

There is indeed evidence for the sacred significance of trees for the Minoans. That they worshipped trees and stones was argued by Evans (1901), who saw such practices as 'primitive cult' that survived in some cases into the historical period. Bronze Age glyptic images[44] often show trees; sometimes they are integrated with architectural elements in what appear to be shrines. Sometimes figures are shown touching or shaking the trees, which is probably a ritual act.[45] Occasionally a small humanoid figure is depicted in the air in front of the tree, which might represent an epiphany of the associated divinity.[46] However, this evidence is somewhat ambiguous: it might show a practice similar to the historical Greek examples, in which trees could be part of the sacred landscape but not themselves divinities; or it could show that they had a greater significance in cult.[47] Given the ritual involving touching trees, their function in cult was surely at least slightly more prominent in

[43]Parker (2016) 8-9.

[44]For a comprehensive treatment see Tully (2018), especially appendix A, which contains various images that might show tree cult.

[45]Tully (2018) eg. fig. 6, 14, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25.

[46]Tully (2018) eg. fig. 3, 36, cf. 10. In fig. 44 the tree appears to be in a boat.

[47]Note, at any rate, that trees are not depicted with anthropomorphic elements; contrast the tree goddess of 18th and 19th dynasty Egypt, discussed at Tully (2018) 132, figs. 174-6.

Bronze Age cult than in the later period, but a variety of interpretations are possible. In any case, since trees could be a feature of later cult places without necessitating that the gods connected to them (such as Zeus, Athena, or Apollo) were 'vegetation gods', this is weak evidence on which to posit the existence of a 'vegetation goddess' for Minoan culture. Moreover, there are many centuries between the Minoan evidence and Theocritus' day.

To explain the tree-related cult mentioned by Theokritos, without making reference to a 'vegetation goddess', we might adduce a number of parallels in Greek culture.[48] Elsewhere in Greek religion,[49] a certain class of nymphs are associated with trees, the hamadryads that live for the same length of time as the trees; these are mentioned in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* (256-72); possibly the Meliai (Hes. *Theog.* 187, *Erga* 145) are such divinities.[50] The oak tree of Zeus at Dodona is mentioned at *Il.* 16.233-5, *Od.* 14.328, 19.297, and associated with the Pelasgians and the Selloi; prophecies were learned

[48]The closest parallel to the title Δενδρῖτις is a dedication to EP]MAI KEΔPITAI, found at the sanctuary of Kato Symi in Southern Crete. The sanctuary was in continuous use from the BA to the Roman period, and includes dedicatory images of young men wrestling with goats, but also an image of Hermes seated on a tree; the dedicatory plaques may have been hung from trees. See Parker (2001) 233-5, Lebessi (1981) 5.

[49]The most comprehensive account of sacred trees to date is Boetticher (1856).

[50]See *BNP s.v.* 'Meliae'.

from the rustling sound of the tree. Other trees considered sacred to deities include Athena's olive tree on the Athenian acropolis (Hdt. 8.55) and the associated *moriai*,[51] and the monk's pepper tree in the sanctuary of Hera on Samos (Paus. 8.23.4, also mentioning an olive tree on Delos[52]). Laurel trees in general are associated with Apollo, and a woman pursued by him is said to have been changed into one.[53] In all attested cases the tree is a part of (or the focus of) the sacred space, and associated with the god, but not in itself a divinity - as seems equally true of the cult in Helen's case.[54] Therefore, the instances of trees connected to Helen can be explained by parallels in other contemporary Greek cults. These practices may of course originally be related to the sacred trees of the Minoan tradition, but by the first millennium they have become a common feature of Greek cult in general; they do not show that Helen is in origin a Minoan goddess, any more than Zeus, Athena, or Apollo.

[51]See *BNP s.v.* 'Moriae', Papazarkadas (2011) 260-84.

[52]cf. the palm tree mentioned by Odysseus on Delos, *Od.* 6.162-3, on which see Marks (2016) 162-4.

[53]Daphne (Parthenius *Erotica Pathemata* 15; Phylarkhos *FGrH* 81 F32).

[54]cf. Brillante (2002) 58: Helen does not become the tree in Theokritos; Edmunds (2007) 14-5, (2016) 168: the tree itself is not worshipped.

8.6 Traces of a divine Helen in Epos?

Given her presence in local cult, and possible connections with a PIE deity, it will come as no surprise that there are suggestions that traces of Helen's originally divine qualities are visible in epos.

- When she is seen by the Trojan elders they compare her to the gods: αἰνῶς ἀθανάτῃσι θεῇς εἰς ὦπα ἔοικεν (*Il.* 3.158). However, comparison to the gods is common enough of mortals in epos.[55]

- Helen is able to recognise Aphrodite in disguise, unusually for a mortal character, and attempts to defy her (*Il.* 3.396-420).[56]

- She is skilled in the use of drugs, which she has received from Polydamna in Egypt (*Od.* 4.219-32); this use of drugs is parallelled in the *Odyssey* by Kirke (eg. *Od.* 10.236).[57]

[55] See Farber, Sullivan, and Ziolkowski (2018) 398-412.

[56] This is not unparalleled, though: Akhilleus recognises Athene at *Il.* 1.199-200 (although Akhilleus has a particularly close relationship with the gods in the *Iliad*).

[57] Butterworth (1966) assumes that the drug used by Helen in *Od.* 4.219 was opium on the basis of a Bronze Age statuette from Crete that may be evidence for opium extraction, and the name of Sikyon as Mēkōnē with a temple of Asklepios according to Pausanias (175); cf. also Hughes (2005) 233 for the use of opium within BA palatial culture, and the argument that this was the drug used by Helen. Against this specificity, one might object both that there is little evidence that such practices continue across the centuries, and that in the text of the *Odyssey* there is no such indication, and the poet specifically refers to the existence of a variety of drugs in Egypt. Thus we have no compelling reason to see this as a BA survival attached to Helen's story.

- Helen is able to imitate the voices of the Akhaian's wives (*Od.* 4.271-89) when they are in the horse. This suggests some sort of supernatural ability.

- Menelaos is told by Proteus that he will be granted immortality because of his relationship with Helen (*Od.* 4.561-9). Presumably this must mean that Helen too will have immortality.

- Helen correctly prophesies that Odysseus will return (*Od.* 15.160-78), surpassing Menelaos in her ability to interpret the omen.

- Telemakhos promises, on leaving Helen and Menelaos, that if her prophecy comes true he will pray to her as a goddess:

  τὴν δ' αὖ Τηλέμαχος πεπνυμένος ἀντίον ηὔδα·
  'οὕτω νῦν Ζεὺς θείη, ἐρίγδουπος πόσις Ἥρης·
  τώ κέν τοι καὶ κεῖθι θεῷ ὡς εὐχετοώμην.'
  (*Od.* 15.179-81).

  This seems like a very good candidate for an explicit reference to Helen's local cult at Sparta. Not only does Telemakhos promise to treat her as a goddess, but the location is Sparta itself, where there seems a

good probability that her cult was present in the archaic period. One caveat, however, is that the same wording is used at *Od.* 8.467 when Odysseus says farewell to Nausikaa:

'Ναυσικάα θύγατερ μεγαλήτορος Ἀλκινόοιο,
οὕτω νῦν Ζεὺς θείη, ἐρίγδουπος πόσις Ἥρης,
οἴκαδέ τ' ἐλθέμεναι καὶ νόστιμον ἦμαρ ἰδέσθαι·
τώ κέν τοι καὶ κεῖθι θεῷ ὡς εὐχετοώμην
αἰεὶ ἤματα πάντα· σὺ γάρ μ' ἐβιώσαο, κούρη.'
(*Od.* 8.464-8).

This use of the same phrasing is unlikely to be a coincidence. Odysseus and Telemakhos are being placed in parallel.[58] However, Nausikaa (who receives a much fuller use of this phrasing[59]) certainly never received divine cult. It is also not clear that this phrasing need suggest actual worship on the level of a god;[60] compare the similar phrasing at *Il.* 22.393-4: ἐπέφνομεν Ἕκτορα δῖον, / ᾧ Τρῶες κατὰ ἄστυ θεῷ ὡς ηὐχετόωντο (cf. at 22.434-5 οἵ σε θεὸν ὡς / δειδέχατ').

[58]eg. Alden (1987) 134-5.
[59]Hoekstra *comm. ad* 15.181 remarks that the purpose of καί is less clear in that instance than in the book 8 instance.
[60]Hainsworth *comm. ad* 8.467 'a traditional hyperbole'.

- A number of Helen's epithets seem to connect her with divinity.[61] λευκώλενος (*Il.* 3.121, *Od.* 22.227) is overwhelmingly attached to Hera (33 out of 40 occurrences in archaic epos).[62] τανύπεπλος (*Il.* 3.228, *Od.* 4.305, *Od.* 15.171) is only otherwise applied to nymphs and to Lampetie (the daughter of Helios).[63] An epithet in the genitive - or, more accurately, an epithet of Paris everywhere except at *Il.* 9.339 - uses the word ἠΰκομος, Ἑλένης πόσις ἠϋκόμοιο (*Il.* 6x). This is parallel to the epithet of Zeus, πόσις Ἥρης ἠϋκόμοιο (*Il.* 10.5),[64] although note that Paris' epithet is much more common. This evidence seems to connect her with the gods, specifically Hera.[65]

- Epithets referring to her descent from Zeus (Διὸς θυγάτηρ, κούρη Διὸς

[61]For detailed studies of Helen's epithets, though with rather different conclusions, see Clader (1976), Edmunds (2019).

[62]Clader (1976) 44-5; Edmunds (2019) 97 discounts this, and concludes (101) that 'its main significance is social rank' - despite the fact that (cf. his 93) it sometimes refers to serving women.

[63]Clader (1976) 45.

[64]Clader (1976) 45-6. The epithet of Zeus may be related to (Ζεὺς - u) ἐρίγδουπος πόσις Ἥρης, occurring 4x *Il.* 3x *Od.*

[65]Clader (1976) 81 (diction subtly presenting Helen as 'overtly divine'), Austin (1994) 73, Higbie (1995) 127 (similar to Hera). Less compelling are Clader's similar suggestions about κυνῶπις and Ἀργείη. Clader (1976) 46-7 suggests that κυνῶπις might be parallel to Hera's βοῶπις (so that its associations of reproach are a secondary misinterpretation). Clader also (1976) 55 seeks an explanation of Ἀργείη as referring to a generic Ἄργος as a place of 'life and light' or 'purely legendary land' in which Menelaos and Helen live as gods; there is no such use of Argos attested in Greek. More convincing is Edmunds' (2019) 42-6 interpretation, whereby Ἀργείη refers to Helen's Greek/Akhaian identity and is used to emphasise this - ie., it is not used of her by the Trojans when they consider her to be one of them.

αἰγιόχοιο, Διὸς ἐκγεγαυῖα) are also shared with divinities, naturally enough.[66] Moreover, ἐκγεγαυῖα (always with Διός) is found of Helen (2x *Il.* 3x *Od.*), Athene (*Od.* 6.229), the Muses (Hes *Th.* 76), and Dike (Hes. *Erga* 256), though cf. ἐκγεγαῶτι *Il.* 21.185 (Asteropaios), ἐκγεγαῶτα *HHDem* 237 (of a mortal, but in the phrase ὡσεὶ θεοῦ ἐκγεγαῶτα).[67]

- On the other hand, Edmunds points out that some epithets used of Helen, such as εὐπατέρεια, are peculiar to mortal women.[68]

Are these hints signs of suppressed divinity, or devices introduced in order to characterise Helen as someone with particularly important status who is closely connected with the gods? Scholars have reached rather different con-

[66]Edmunds (2019) 141-2 tries to minimise Helen's connection with these epithets by arguing that Helen uses the principal epithets of Athene and Aphrodite in the works where these goddesses are less prominent, ie. κούρη Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο in the *Iliad*, Διὸς θυγάτηρ in the *Odyssey*. However, these are only used of Helen once each, so this is an over-extrapolation of the data.

[67]ἐκγίγνομαι in epos in other forms is sometimes used of divinities (Hes. *Th.* 76, 106, 124, 147, 154, 263, 362, 421, 630, 648, 668, 916, Hes. fr. 123.1, 10(a).17), sometimes of mortals born of gods (*Il.* 5.248 (Aineias), 5.637 (men born of Zeus), 20.106, 209 (Aineias), 20.305 (children of Zeus), 21.185 (born of a river), *HHDem.* 237 (born of a god), cf. *Od.* 10.138 (Kirke and Aietes of Helios), *HH*17.2 (Dioskouroi), Eum. fr. 3 (Aietes, Aloeus born of Helios), where divine/mortal status less clear), sometimes of mortals born of mortals (*Il.* 14.115 (the sons of Portheus), 20.231 (sons of Tros) which both have the same phrase, τρεῖς παῖδες ἀμύμονες ἐξεγένοντο; *HHAphr.* 197 (descendents of descendents of Ankhises), Hes. fr. 26.5, fr. 135.6 (suppl.), fr. 161.1). So the verb itself probably lacks particular associations with immortality.

[68]Edmunds (2019) 132-3. However, in this case there are only 3 instances in Homer and none in Hesiod, which is not enough for a conclusive statement.

clusions on the basis of the Homeric evidence, some seeing clear remnants of divine status,[69] others emphasising the lack of any explicit statement in the poems and Helen's relative powerlessness.[70] What is relatively clear, however, is that in the Trojan saga as we have it, Helen is well integrated into the story of the fall of Troy; she provides its motivation. Helen has therefore not been recently transferred to the story from a local Spartan tradition about the abduction of a vegetation goddess,[71] though of course she may have been absent from the initial story (if it really does arise out of historical Bronze Age disputes hinted at in the Hittite letters, cf. 16).

A strong argument in favour of the idea that there are traces of divinity

[69]eg. Austin (1994) 87: 'The silence of the Homeric poems with regard to Helen's mother, their insistence on Helen as "the daughter of Zeus," the glancing allusion of the *Iliad* to Helen's powerful but absent brothers, the Dioskouroi, and the implication of apotheosis with which the *Odyssey* brings the Helen story to a close - such hints betoken a larger Helen myth from which the poetic tradition drew what suited its own purposes'.

[70]Reckford (1964) 12 on the *Iliad*: 'Helen is no goddess... although she is a daughter of Zeus, the epithet κούρη Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο becomes in its context a kind of mockery of her state'; Edmunds (2019) 124. cf. Clader (1976) 40.

[71]So Edmunds (2016) 98. Skutsch (1987) 190-1, modifying a theory by Webster, suggests that a 'poetic genius' combined the disappearance of Helen with the Trojan war to give a reason to the conflict, by which he presumably means the *Iliad* poet. cf. Blondell (2013) 47. Edmunds does at (2019) 142 argue that Helen is 'needy' and 'the borrower' in the use of her epithets, which might imply a later addition; Edmunds explains this 'on the hypothesis that she has an importance in the Homeric epics that she did not have in Cyclic Epic'. This seems unlikely given that Helen has a peripheral role in both epics, whereas in the *Kypria* she must have taken center stage. It is true that most of Helen's epithets are shared with other characters, but this does not change the fact that she has an unusually rich epithet system for a human woman.

here is that, unlike Akhilleus, Helen is not the central character of the *Iliad*. While there is a motivation for the poet to present Akhilleus as an exceptional hero, to show that the central character of his poem surpasses the others, it is less clear that the same strategy would explain similar features in Helen's characterisation. Added to the stronger pieces of evidence above, this suggests that Helen's divine nature is indeed apparent in epos, although of course from the point of view of the poems, at the time when the narrative of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* takes place, she is still a mortal.

8.7 Helen and Spartan myth

It is evident from Helen's cult that there was local tradition connected to her at Sparta from an early date. It has been suggested that Spartan tradition might have differed from the Homeric version of her story. Austin (followed by, or following, Nagy in his foreword to Austin's book) identifies this with Stesikhoros' version: the story that Stesichorus told... may have been... a variant, perhaps promulgated by the devotees of Helen's shrine at Therapne in Sparta'.[72] However, as we have already seen, it is likely that

[72] Austin (1994) 3 (xi for Nagy's foreword); the same view is suggested in West (1975) 6-7. Nagy leaves it unclear whether the image itself is a local tradition or was invented by Stesichorus as part of his poetics in order to reconcile the Iliadic events with a local

Stesikhoros' version is that poet's innovation. In fact, there seems to be no evidence for any sort of divergent Spartan tradition (for example, in which Helen was never mortal, or did not go away with Paris), as far as we can tell, but rather the expected references to the Trojan war story.[73] For example, an ivory relief from the Artemis Orthia sanctuary from around 600 BCE perhaps shows Paris' elopement with Helen, and in the same sanctuary a similar relief has been interpreted as showing the judgement of Paris.[74] Alkman refers to Paris in terms which presuppose the whole story (fr. 77 Δύσπαρις Αἰνόπαρις κακὸν Ἑλλάδι βωτιανείρᾳ).[75] Theokritos' *Idyll* 18 also seems to suppose the normal story in which Helen marries Menelaos as a mortal woman.

The story that Theseus abducted Helen when she was young also appears to have had an early appearance at Sparta: it is referred to in Alkman (fr. 21 Page) and on the 6th C BCE Amyklaian throne (Pausanias 3.18.15). It is probably also attested in the *Iliad* (through the mention of Aithra among

version of the story.

[73]So Parker (2016) 4, 10, 14-5; Parker does say that 'Spartan tradition can be presumed to have favoured Leda as her mother' but this is no more than an assumption.

[74]*LIMC* 'Helen' 181, 'Alexandros' 6.

[75]Moreover, fr. 68 mentions Aias and Memnon, fr. 71 Priam's mother. On the other hand, there is no trace of the Trojan war in Tyrtaios.

Helen's slave women, 3.144), and also appears on a proto-Corinthian aryballos from c.680 BCE.[76] In this story, she was taken to Aphidna in Attika, from where the Dioskouroi rescue her. As Parker points out, however, there is no reason to suppose an Attic tradition of Helen (despite the tradition in the *Kypria* that she was the daughter of Nemesis, who had a temple at Rhamnous in Attica), given the early attestations at Sparta and elsewhere.[77] With this story - like that of the Trojan war - we find that local tradition does not seem to diverge from the Homeric poems. As we have seen in other cases, both the Attic abduction of Spartan Helen, and the Trojan war story in general, clearly incorporate different places from across the Greek world; they are not confined to Lakonia, or even the Peloponnese. It seems, therefore, that Sparta was important in the development of stories about Helen, but through continuous interaction with the rest of the Greek world, not in isolation from it: they do not seem to have maintained a distinct tradition.

[76]See Hughes (2005) pl. 8, who comments that Helen's 'monstrous proportions' may suggest a 'quasi-divine figure'.

[77]Parker (2016) 11-12.

8.8 Helen's Etymology and Family

Helen's etymology (and that of Ἕλενος, presumably cognate) is controversial; Chantraine in fact says little beyond 'il est vain de chercher une étymologie'.[78] Frisk's and Beekes' dictionaries are non-committal.[79] An obvious connection is with the obscure word ἐλάνη/ἐλένη meaning 'torch' or 'basket', mentioned in some lexica and in Athenaios:

- ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐλένη πλεκτὸν ἀγγεῖον σπάρτινον, τὰ χείλη οἰσύινον, ἐν ᾧ φέρουσιν ἱερὰ ἄρρητα τοῖς Ἐλενηφορίοις. (Pollux 10.191)
- ἐλένη· λαμπάς, δετή (Hesykhios 2.1995 Latte)
- ἐλενηΐς· πλεκτὸν ἀγγεῖον ἐξ ὁλοσχοίνου. (Photios 2.584 Theodoridis)
- ἄλλος δὲ ἐλάνην, ὁ δέ τις ἐλάνας, τὰς λαμπάδας οὕτω φάσκων καλεῖσθαι παρὰ τὴν ἕλην· οὕτω δ' εἰπεῖν Νεάνθην ἐν πρώτῃ τῶν Περὶ Ἄτταλον Ἱστοριῶν (Athenaios 15.699d (= epitome 161.7), cf. 15.699e, epitome 161.10)
- ἐλάνη δὲ ἡ λαμπὰς καλεῖται, ὡς Ἀμερίας φησίν. Νίκανδρος δ' ὁ Κολοφώνιος ἐλάνην τὴν τῶν καλάμων δέσμην. (Athenaios 15.701a

[78] Chantraine (1999) *s.v.* Ἑλένη. cf. Kanavou (2015) 75 'an Indo-European prototype is not to be denied, but the issue is impossibly complex'.
[79] Frisk (1954-72) *s.v.*, Beekes (2010) *s.v.*

(= epitome 161.31))

The festival of Ἑλενηφόρια presumably involved carrying torches or baskets (cf. Δαφνηφόρια). Some theories derive Helen's name as a back-formation from Ἑλενηφόρια - ie., the name originally referred to the ritual act of carrying the torches/baskets, but then was reinterpreted as referring to the name of the goddess.[80] The form ἑλένη is difficult to explain, but ἑλάνη has been compared with δρεπ-άνη, στεφ-άνη, ἔρ-ανος, οὐρ-άνη, if these are nominal derivatives from verbs (δρέπειν, στέφειν, ἔραναι, οὐρεῖν).[81] The form ἑλένη would then have to arise by assimilation.[82] Such an assimilation is not well parallelled in Greek, and in any case the back-formation idea is unlikely.[83]

An issue is that in Lakonian inscriptions the name occurs with ϝ, but in early Corinthian inscriptions this is absent.[84] Skutsch suggested that this

[80]So Clader (1976) 80, who alternatively proposes that ἑλένη could mean 'shoot' (of vegetation).

[81]For this see von Kamptz (1982) 136 (§48b), Skutsch (1987) 191 who compares Helen signalling with a torch from the walls of Troy (Virg. *Aen.* 6.518, Tryphiodoros 512-21).

[82]As per Schmidt (1893) 393.

[83]See Kanavou (2015) 75; add to this that the word Ἑλενηφόρια is only attested securely in Pollux.

[84]See Wachter (2001) 264-5.

was due to the fusion of two originally separate goddesses, the one without **w* being cognate with Saraṇyu (which Skutsch derives from *saraṇa-*).[85] As we have seen above, the connection with Saraṇyu is far from certain, and Skutsch's etymology from *saraṇa-* is doubtful; so it seems more likely that the name came into Corinthian from epos, in which **w* had already been lost in Helen's name. Initial **se-* is thus ruled out, as this would not give the required ϝ in Laconian. A derivation from a form beginning with **we-*, such as the **welh*$_1$- suggested by Jamison,[86] could account for both forms, but Jamison's arguments for Helen as 'the chooser' are not probative,[87] and usually initial **w* only results in aspiration in words where **s* follows.[88]

The most plausible etymology is thus to derive the name from initial **swe-*, which has often been connected with the PIE word for 'sun': that is, Gr. Ἥλιος < **sāwelios* < **seh*$_2$*wel-iyos*, Skt. *sūrya-* < **suh*$_2$*l-iyos*, original **seh*$_2$*u-el-*.[89] Although the different PIE words must be related, there seems

[85]Skutsch (1987) 190, de Simone (1978).
[86]Jamison (2001) 314.
[87]It relies on taking the fundamental part of the story to be her free choice of a suitor, but in the Greek evidence this is not attested earlier than Euripides *IA* 68-71.
[88]Sihler (1995) 184, although the phonetic mechanism is unclear.
[89]See Beekes (2010) *s.v.* ἥλιος.

to have been some complication in this particular root.[90] For initial **swe-*, Puhvel compares Avestan *xvarənah* < **swelnos*.[91] There are some words for sunlight that are close to Helen's name and may come from this root: Laconian βέλα and γέλαν (Hesch.) presumably represent ϝέλα, matching ἕλη < **swelā*.[92] However, there are a number of formal problems (indeed, Beekes considers these words to be from a distinct root **swel(H)-* 'burn'.[93]). The suffix is also problematic: a suffix -ένη (or -άνη) is unparallelled in personal names, so instead it may be best to start from Ἑλέ-νη, for which West compares κοίρανος, derived from **koryo-nos*; but this also has considerable formal problems.[94] Even accepting a **-no-* suffix, we would be going from something like **swelHneh₂-*, but if the laryngeal is the same as in the 'sun' word this would give an *a*-vowel. An etymology from the 'sun' root is thus plausible, but given the difficulties with this particular root, there is no clear formal derivation, and thus the etymology cannot be taken as further evidence for the connection with Sūryā, though it is certainly compatible with it.

[90]See West (2007) 194 with references to further literature.

[91]Puhvel (1987) 143. von Kamptz (1982) 136 (§48b), West (2007) 231 also support this etymology.

[92]See von Kamptz (1982) 136 (§48b).

[93]Beekes (2010) *s.v.* εἴλη, although Beekes cannot find a derivation for εἴλη itself. If we were to take this as **swelh₂-* we could derive Ἑλένη as **swelh₂-neh₂*.

[94]See Peters (1980) 170-81.

It is also important to consider Helen's family and the etymologies of their names, to see whether they provide any evidence on her local affiliation.

- Her mother or adopted mother Λήδη (*Od.* 11.298, *HH*17.3, 33.2, Hes. fr. 23a.5-8). According to ΣAR 1.146/9, she was said to be the daughter of Thestios, an Aitolian king (as probably in Hes. fr. 23a.5) but Eumelos and Alkman claimed she was the daughter of Glaukos (son of Sisyphos) who had intercourse with her mother Panteiduia before she married Thestios. Λήδη has no Greek etymology.[95] Θέστιος, however, might be related to θέσσασθαι (see Beekes *s.v.*).

- Her adopted father Τυνδάρεος (*Od.* 11.298-9, 24.199, Hes. fr. 23a.7 suppl., 14, 196.7, 199.8, 204.61). From Hes. fr. 204.61 the son of Οἴβαλος. Outside Homer this is found as Τυνδάρεως/Τινδάρεως, and there are some similar names, Πηνέλεως (cf. Πηλελόπεια), Πανδάρεος, Βριάρεως (compare also Πάνδαρος, Πίνδαρος, Μίνδαρος and place names like Πίνδος, Μίνδη, Τίνδη).[96] Given the use of roots with no inner Greek explanation and the connection to place names, this is

[95]See von Kamptz (1982) 49 (§15b3), 52 (§15c4), 151 (§55), 350-1 (§83). Closest comparison is with the place name Θήβη. I do not find the Lykian comparanda compelling, not least as Leda has no connection with Lykia.

[96]See von Kamptz (1982) 120-1 (§40b2), 129 (§45d), 365-7 (§83).

surely pre-Greek. Οἴβαλος is also unexplained.

- Her brother Κάστωρ (*Il.* 3.237=11.300, *HH*17, Hes. fr. 197.3, 198.8, 199.1, *Kypria* fr. 8, 15). Presumably Κάσ-τωρ is related to καίνυμαι, κέκασμαι.[97] This root may be PIE, although the Sanskrit form this is based on is very restricted: see Beekes *s.v.* κέκασμαι.

- Πολυδεύκης (*Il.* 3.237=11.300, *HH*17, Hes. fr. 197.3, 198.8, 199.1, *Kypria* fr. 8, 15, Hes. fr. 23a.9 suppl.). This root is found elsewhere, Δευκαλίων, ἀδευκής, ἐνδυκέως, δεύκει· φροντίζει (Hesykh.); it has been suggested that it is related to Lat. *dūcere*, but Beekes (*s.v.* ἀδευκής) rules out the connection.[98]

- Her sister Τιμάνδρη (Hes. fr. 23a.9 (probable suppl. from Apoll. *Bibl.* 3.10.6), 23a.31, 176.3). There is a clear Greek etymology to her name, although it may be ironic (cf. Eust. 305,17).

- Her sister Κλυταιμήστρη (*Il.* 1.113, *Od.* 3.266, 11.422, 11.439, Hes. fr. 23a.9, 14, 27 probable supplements, fr. 176.5). The name can be derived from κλυτός (as in κλυτό-τοξος etc.); -μήστρη is the feminine equivalent of -μήστωρ (cf. Κλεοπάτρη ∼ names in -πάτωρ);

[97] See von Kamptz (1982) 36 (§11b), 172 (§64), 241 (§69a2), 274 (§75b).
[98] cf. von Kamptz (1982) 31 (§10d), 36 (§11b), 76 (§23a), 217 (§66); de Vaan *s.v.* *dūcō*.

the unexpected -αι- is then due to reshaping, as in names such as Κραταιμένης.[99]

- Her sister Φυλονόη (Hes. fr. 23a.10). According to Apoll. *Bibl.* 3.10.6 she was made immortal by Artemis. The Greek etymology is clear.

- Her daughter Ἑρμιόνη (4.14, Hes. fr. 175.1, 204.94) has the same name as a town in the Argolid (*Il.* 2.560, Hes. fr. 204.49). There are lots of similar place names (eg. Ἑρμιών, Ἕρμος) and this is likely a pre-Greek name.[100]

Several of Helen's family, therefore, do have unclear or pre-Greek etymologies - Λήδη, Τυνδάρεος, Ἑρμιόνη, and possibly Κάστωρ and Πολυδεύκης (depending on one's view of those roots). So it is not unthinkable that the etymology of Ἑλένη might also be obscure and go back to pre-Greek, preserved in a local tradition or otherwise. What is clear, however, is that the formation of her name and that of many of her family is not transparent, and thus that these characters are likely to have a considerable antiquity within the mythological tradition.

[99]See Beekes *s.v.* κλύω, von Kamptz (1982) 29 (§10c), 79-80 (§25b), 103-4 (§34a5), 111 (§37a2), 204 (§66).
[100]See von Kamptz (1982) 306 (§80b).

8.9 Conclusions

Helen was a goddess of several cults; at least the one at Therapne goes back early. She probably has roots in the PIE divinity that gives rise to the Vedic Sūryā, daughter of the sun (and may have a cognate name); but the arguments that narratives about her go back to PIE prototypes, and the attempts to derive her from some once-popular vegetation goddess, are overstated. There are plausible traces in epic diction and narrative of her divine status. She is so well-integrated with the Trojan war story that it is hard to imagine that she is a recent add-on. There is, however, no evidence that the Spartans had a divergent mythological tradition about her; both epos and Spartan tradition supposes her role in the Trojan war and earlier abduction by Theseus.

If this is the case, has she originated in Spartan local cult (preserving some PIE traces) and then been borrowed into epos, or has an epic character been borrowed into local cult? Neither of these options seems satisfactory. The former option does not seem adequate to account for her depth of integration into the epic tradition. The latter option does not adequately explain

her specifically divine honours at Sparta, not just hero cult in the manner of other figures from the legendary Spartan past. Perhaps one or the other may ultimately be the case at some prehistoric point in time, but it looks like for as far back as we can reasonably reconstruct, Helen belonged both to epic and to local cult. This suggests that we might consider the two strands - local cult and epic tradition - as being in a reciprocal relationship, at least for a considerable period before our attested epos. There is thus a strong case to be made that Homeric epos shows an awareness of Helen's cult at Sparta, though it does not say so explicitly, whilst for Spartans the epic tradition reflected their own myths, even if not in their particular language.

Helen, therefore, fits well into the broader view of the epic tradition evident from the previous examples. We cannot isolate a distinct Spartan narrative about her, any more than we can distinguish a particularly Theban version of Herakles; but we have strong reasons to think that her importance (and worship) at Sparta has influenced the epic tradition, just like Herakles' importance at Thebes. Crucially, though, this has to be seen not as a one-sided process of local traditions being subsumed into epos or the epic

tradition giving rise to local cults, but rather a process of continuous mutual interaction. Equally, as we have seen with Akhilleus and Odysseus, this sort of interaction with ongoing local traditions cannot be assumed for all characters.

We have again seen how pervasive supra-local links are in the epic tradition: like Akhilleus and Odysseus, Helen fits into a larger network of relationships and stories that extends across the Greek world, from her Aitolian ancestry to her Athenian and Trojan abductions. This is a process that goes beyond attested epos to connections we find in other sources with Attica, Corinth, Rhodes and so on, although many of these may have developed later. On the other hand - again rather like Phthian Akhilleus, Ithacan Odysseus, and Theban Herakles - the poets of epos do outline Helen's primary connection with Sparta. This is less pronounced in the *Iliad*, although Helen does recall her homeland and family with longing (esp. 3.174-5, 239, 24.766), but clearer in the *Odyssey*, where Telemakhos comes across her in Menelaos' hall in Sparta. While the degree to which the local identity of a character is exploited varies from character to character, therefore, it is clear

that it remains an important aspect of the way the poets of epos structured the tradition.

Chapter 9

The Family of Oineus

9.1 Introduction

We have so far examined the most central material of the epic tradition: Akhilleus, Odysseus, and Helen - some of the main characters involved in the Trojan cycle; and the city of Thebes - about which the Theban epics revolve. This chapter widens the scope of the analysis by investigating a group of characters who are not the protagonists of any of the surviving poems, but seem to have an obvious local link and important roles in the epic tradition. This is the family of Oineus, husband of Althaia and father

of Deianeira, Meleagros, and Tydeus.[1] Oineus is located in Aetolia, and thus the question arises of whether the stories about these characters reflect Aetolian local traditions. This has often been supposed for many of these characters; Oineus was thought to be an old god of wine (the name being based on οἶνος), and the tale of Meleagros and Althaia told by Phoinix at *Iliad* 9.529-99 was often considered to come directly from Aetolian legend. Deianeira's suitor is initially the Aetolian river Akheloos, although she herself marries Herakles and leaves Aetolia. Tydeus leaves Aetolia in exile, but is occasionally described as an 'Aetolian hero'.[2] A look at these figures will deepen our understanding of the role of local connections in the hexameter corpus.

[1] In fact, in the *GK* Meleagros' father may have been Ares, given the phrasing of fr. 25.14 and Plut. *Parall.* 26a; for Deianeira's disputed parentage, see below.

[2] For discussion of Aitolian figures beyond Oineus' family, such as Thoas, and the role of their Aitolian identity within the *Odyssey* and its interaction with putative Aitolian tradition, see Marks (2003); the possibility of an Aitolian tradition about Odysseus is discussed above, 327n62.

9.2 The Archaeological Background of Aitolia

On present evidence, Aitolia seems to have been peripheral compared to the major palatial centers in the Mycenaean Period. For the early period there are tholos tombs, but few have escaped looting or been published. For the Palatial Period, few luxury goods and no monumental architecture has been found, suggesting that it 'belonged only partially to the so-called Mycenaean koine'.[3] This is similar to Epirus and Acarnania, although Elis seems better integrated into Mycenaean culture. The most evidence has come from Kalydon, for which Mycenaean pottery and some architecture has been attested. In the Postpalatial period we find more, 'a dense network of sites that expanded along the coast on either side of the Antirion strait'[4] and a combination of Mycenaean and handmade pottery. For the Early Iron Age as well, the south coast was best connected with the surrounding regions, and several PG cemeteries have been found. This does not include the important site at Thermon, which is further inland; settlement is known from the LBA, although the cult activity to Apollo is not attested so far back. From the 8th

[3]Gadolou and Paschalidis (2020) 841 (this paragraph and the following are based on this study).

[4]Gadolou and Paschalidis (2020) 843.

century the Thermon sanctuary became important as a regional sanctuary, forming a focus for Aitolian ethnicity. In the 7th century various towns in the coastal regions were settled or occupied by Corinth.

The Catalogue of Ships entry for Aetolia exclusively mentions settlements near to the coast (*Il.* 2.639-40),

οἳ Πλευρῶν᾽ ἐνέμοντο καὶ Ὤλενον ἠδὲ Πυλήνην
Χαλκίδα τ᾽ ἀγχίαλον Καλυδῶνά τε πετρήεσσαν

Moreover, in the poetic tradition it is Kalydon and Pleuron that have the most importance.[5] It seems, therefore, that what we find in epos reflects the Mycenaean and Post-palatial situation, where the south coast is most important, and ignores the more recent importance of the inland areas.

Iconographic evidence is known from temple metopes of the archaic period, in particular the metopes from Temple C at the sanctuary of Apollo at Thermon (late 7th century), and the sanctuary of Artemis Laphria at Kalydon (early 6th century).[6] Many of the metopes survive in a fragmentary

[5]Houby-Nielsen (1998) 238.

[6]For the metopes from Thermos, see Payne (1925-6), Antonetti (1990) 172-192. For the

state and it seems likely that very many are lost. The metopes from temple C at Thermon include Perseus running from a gorgon, Aedon and Khelidon killing Itys, a hunter, and several unidentified seated figures.[7] The metopes from the nearby temple of Apollo are even more damaged but include Iris and the centaur Pholos. The metopes from Kalydon include Herakles carrying the Erymanthian boar,[8] a siren[9] and a figure accompanied by the inscription TPOḶ[which might be Troilos.

It must be said that none of these images clearly make reference to a local mythological tradition. The most plausible connection would be if the hunter represented Meleager, as has been suggested (among many other hypotheses).[10] However, the image seems to have no obvious connection to the Boar Hunt: the hunter carries a rod with an animal hanging from each end, rather than spoils that might be linked to the Kalydonian boar. Moreover,

metopes from Kalydon, see Dyggve and Poulsen (1948) 149-64, Antonetti (1990) 249-53.

[7]For various hypotheses, see Antonetti (1990) 175, 177.

[8]In highly fragmentary form; see Taf. XIX 2A in Dyggve and Poulsen (1948).

[9]Accompanied by a letter that may be Α or Λ. Antonetti (1990) 250 notes that the sirens are the children of the river Akheloos, although this detail is not known to epos, and the oldest sources give a different father: Fowler (2013) 30-1.

[10]Antonetti (1990) 176-7. For a discussion of the myth of Aedon and Khelidon and its variants, see Antonetti (1990) 178-81; it is evident that the myth is widespread throughout Greece and not distinctively Aitolian. Antonetti's remark that ornithomorphic religious elements were especially important in Aitolia is not convincing, since many of the examples given are not solely connected to Aitolia, and this is a fairly widespread motif.

the metopes are thought to show strong influence from Corinthian painting (though being produced locally) and the letters are in a mixture of scripts, both Achaian and Corinthian.[11] At least with regard to the artists involved in producing these sanctuaries, it seems that Aitolia was in contact with the wider Greek world, both in artistic style and mythological detail.

9.3 Oineus: an old local god?

A popular theory used to hold that Oineus (Οἰνεύς) was an old local god of wine, relating his name to the word οἶνος.[12] This finds some correlation in ancient sources (Nikandros fr. 86 Gow = Ath. ii. 35a, Melanippides *PMG* 761):

τὸν οἶνον ὁ Κολοφώνιος Νίκανδρος ὠνομάσθαι φησὶν ἀπὸ Οἰνέως.

Οἰνεὺς δ' ἐν κοίλοισιν ἀποθλίψας δεπάεσσιν
οἶνον ἔκλησε

φησὶ δὲ καὶ Μελανιππίδης ὁ Μήλιος·

ἐπώνυμον δέσποτ' οἶνον Οἰνέως

[11] Jeffrey (1989) 226.

[12] eg. Wilamowitz (1931-2) 2.65n1. See Robertson (1993) 217-8 with n56. On the formation of the name, see Chantraine *s.v.* οἶνος, Von Kamptz (1982) 31 (§10d), 123 (§42b1), 125 (§42c2), 278 (§76a), 298-9 (§80a), who relates it either to οἶνος or Οἰνόη.

The opposite explanation is found in Hekataios of Miletos fr. 15 Fowler, in which Oineus is named in honour of his father Orestheus' discovery of the vine. However, a story in which Oineus is again the source is found in Hyg. *Fab* 129 Marshall, which relates a tale in which Dionysos is the real father of Deianeira:

Liber cum ad Oeneum Parthaonis filium in hospitium uenisset, Althaeam Thestii filiam uxorem Oenei adamauit, quod Oeneus ut sensit, uoluntate sua ex urbe excessit simulatque se sacra facere. at Liber cum Althaea concubuit, ex qua nata est Deianira; Oeneo autem ob hospitium liberale muneri uitem dedit monstrauitque quomodo sereret, fructumque eius ex nomine hospitis oenon ut uocaretur instituit.[13]

On the theory that Oineus was formerly a god of wine, this story could be explained on the basis that Oineus has been replaced in his marriage by Dionysos in the same way that his role as a god has been appropriated.

Further evidence that has been adduced in favour of Oineus as local god or

[13]On this see Gantz (1993) 116-7. See also Apollod. 1.8.1, but the story may be referred to as early as Eur. *Kykl.* 39. cf. Seaford (1984) *ad. loc.*, who suggests that this was the subject of a satyr play, and Fowler (2013) II.135n48, Hunter and Laemmle (2020) *ad. loc.* for further sources.

'culture hero' includes a story about him building city walls in Aristophanes Boeotius fr. 1A.[14] Within a description of the death of Ephippos at the hands of his father for jumping over the ditch he had dug around the city (similar to the story about Romulus and Remus), the commentator quoting Aristophanes (P.Oxy. XXVII 2463.20-3) adds:

καὶ Τοξέα φησὶν ὑπὸ το[ῦ πα]τρὸς Οἰνέως ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς τελευτῆσαι·

There is in fact a mention of Τοξεύς in the *GK* (fr. 25.16) as the son of Oineus. However, it is unlikely that such a story was mentioned in this part of the *GK*, given the space in the fragment: immediately before is the story of Meleagros (from the start of the fragment to line 13) and the children of Oineus is followed by an account of Deianeira and the death of Herakles (lines 18-33).

We have seen with Helen that it is plausible that her cult was contemporary with the existence of a corresponding mortal character in epos, so it is certainly conceivable that a local god might be assumed into epos as a character. However, a critical examination of the sources will show that this

[14]Fowler (2013) II.135n48. cf. Apollod. 1.8.1, Ogilvie on Livy 1.6.3-7.3 for the parallel with Poimandros.

is unlikely in the case of Oineus. Firstly, there is no direct evidence in any of these sources that Oineus was ever considered a god or received any form of worship. Secondly, the idea that Dionysos is a recent god who arrived in Greece just before the historical period (and thus replaced local wine gods such as Oineus supposedly was) has been falsified by the discovery of *di-wo-nu-so*[in the Linear B tablets. Thirdly, the earliest testimonies (Hekataios and Melanippides) are contradictory and the sources are so disparate that they cannot easily be derived from a coherent early story. Rather than preserving genuine archaic local traditions, therefore, the links between Oineus and the discovery of wine may arise independently by etymological speculation.

On the other hand, the link with Dionysos is interesting, since according to Pausanias (7.21.1) there was a cult of Kalydonian Dionysos at Patras that was moved there when Augustus forced the inhabitants of Aetolia to migrate to the city. Pausanias goes on to narrate the story of Koresos and Kallirhoe, which was presumably a local tradition at Patras connected with the cult, originally based at Kalydon (it makes reference to a spring there). This gives some plausibility to the idea that Dionysos' connection with Oineus,

and Hyginus' story about Deianeira, might also have originally been local Kalydonian traditions, though it certainly does not justify the assumption that Oineus was originally a local wine god.[15]

Oineus is mentioned by Diomedes in the *Iliad* for acting as a host to Bellerophon (*Il.* 6.216-21):

Οἰνεὺς γάρ ποτε δῖος ἀμύμονα Βελλεροφόντην
ξείνισ᾽ ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἐείκοσιν ἤματ᾽ ἐρύξας.
οἳ δὲ καὶ ἀλλήλοισι πόρον ξεινήϊα καλά·
Οἰνεὺς μὲν ζωστῆρα δίδου φοίνικι φαεινόν,
Βελλεροφόντης δὲ χρύσεον δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον·
καί μιν ἐγὼ κατέλειπον ἰὼν ἐν δώμασ᾽ ἐμοῖσι.

This story is likely to be the poet's invention, to justify the guest-friendship between Diomedes and Glaukos. There is no other mention of Bellerophon ever visiting Aitolia in attested Greek mythology, and it is not even on the

[15] As to the etymology, it is difficult to tell if the stories connecting Oineus to the origin of wine arise because of the similarity of the name or vice versa.

way to any of Bellerophon's more well-known journeys. However, this very fact is of interest: it shows how connections could be constructed between different parts of the poetic tradition, using a frequent motif (guest-friendship) that is well-integrated into the framework of epos. The tradition can develop and change, but by making use of strategies that naturally arise from its narrative structure. Moreover, this sort of development shows how stories or characters that might have started out as distinctive local tradition in origin can be gradually assimilated into epos, so that local features are diluted: more distinctive patterns (such as Oineus killing Toxeus, if we were to suppose that this is an old story) with an all-local cast may lose out over time to stories that connect better to other characters from across epos.

9.4 Meleagros and Althaia

The story of Meleagros and Althaia, used as a paradigm in the *Iliad*,[16] has attracted considerable scholarly attention. In the version of the story told in the *Iliad* (9.529-99), war breaks out between the Kalydonians and the Kouretes over the hide of the Kalydonian boar. Meleagros fights for the Kalydonians, until he is cursed by his mother for killing her brother, at which

[16]For its use as a paradigm see Alden (2000) 229-53.

point he withdraws in anger from the fighting. His whole family begs Meleagros to return to the fighting, and he is promised a reward, but in the end he is only persuaded by his wife, and he does not receive the reward. Older commentators saw this story as a direct citation of Aitolian saga, and therefore as directly adopted from local tradition; with the turn towards Neoanalytical methods, however, the story was reinterpreted as a reference to a preexisting poem about Meleagros which might have inspired the story of Akhilleus' wrathful withdrawal in the *Iliad*.[17] Subsequently, this view was opposed by a reaction that sees the Meleagros story as constructed by the poet on the basis of the context in the *Iliad*. A recent discussion by Burgess with direct bearing on the question of the locality of the story expresses agnosticism: 'One might guess that the myth of Meleager originated as an epichoric Kalydonian narrative. The story is fundamentally a family affair... But for all we know this family drama developed from Aitolian or pan-Hellenic stories.'[18]

[17]See, for an overview of scholarship, Grossardt (2001) 3 with nn1-4.

[18]Burgess (2017) 54. Meleagros' name is often connected with μέλομαι and ἄγρᾱ 'hunt' (Von Kamptz (1982) 62 (§18a), 109 (§36d), 209 (§66)). This suggests that the role in the boar hunt is integral to the character. However, Watkins (1986) theorised that Μελέαγρος was in fact connected to Ved. *vájraḥ* = Av. *vazrō* from PIE *u̯aĝros*, cognate with **waĝ-* in ἄγνῡμι, on the basis of the hiatus within the word (contrast eg. Hom. Μενοίτιος, Φειδίππος, though note the late-attested Theran name Μελέϊππος) and the metrical lengthening of Hom. ἐάγηι, ἀᾱγές. If Watkins is correct, I suspect that the name was re-analysed and understood as being from μέλομαι and ἄγρᾱ when the character was attached to the story of the boar hunt. Althaia's name may be related to the herb ἀλθαία (Beekes, Chantraine *s.v.*); it could perhaps be related to a word for 'healing' (Von Kamptz (1982) 118 (§39f1) on Hsch. ἄλθα).

The paradigm in the *Iliad* has led to a number of controversial and interconnected questions, such as:

- Who are the Kouretes and where do they come from? The *Iliad* version states that the battle was around Kalydon (530) but speaks of Aitolians rather than Kalydonians (529, 531, 549, 575, 597). In Bacchylides, the Kouretes are the people of Pleuron (5.149-51), but they have the same name as the mysterious Kouretes who are found in other parts of Greece, especially associated with the upbringing of Zeus on Crete.[19] This appears to have been already a matter of controversy in the time of Strabo (see 10.3.1-8).

- How far has the story in the *Iliad* been modified to make a closer parallel to the story of Akhilleus?[20] Conversely, how far is the story

[19]March's view at (1987) 36-7 was that the Kouretes were an 'alien tribe' with no connection to Pleuron; as this would mean attributing to the *Iliad* a version extremely divergent from all other attested versions and for which we have no clear statement in the text, it seems less likely. *Il.* 9.552, which states that the Kouretes could not 'remain outside the walls' has been seen as strange given the Kouretes are attacking Kalydon; Willcock (1964) 149-50 argued that it is due to the influence of Akhilleus' story. For Burgess (2017) 64 this is because Phoenix' parallel is 'poorly executed', in keeping with a generally bad speech. For others this means the walls of Pleuron, see Grossardt (2001) 10n5. Alternatively, it could just reflect the difficulties of maintaining a seige under attack.

[20]Drerup (1921) I.66, Oehler (1925) 14-5, Bethe (1925) 9-11, Schadewaldt (1938) 139, Kraus (1948) 18, Von der Mühll (1952) 176, Willcock (1964) 153, Bannert (1981), eg. 81, Alden (2000) 248-9, Currie (2016) 74-5.

of Akhilleus in the *Iliad* based on the story of Meleagros?[21] Or are they both based on a general story-pattern? In particular, the name of Akhilleus' companion Πάτροκλος is very similar to the name given for Meleagros' wife, Κλεοπάτρη (9.556), which can hardly be coincidence.

- What is the relationship between the version in the *Iliad* and that found in later authors, such as Bacchylides, in which Meleagros' life is dependent on the survival of a brand found in the fire when he was born, so that when his mother burns it he dies?[22] Is this the original folk-tale-esque form of the story that has been altered by the *Iliad* poet to fit into the more rational heroic world?[23] Or is it a later innovation?[24]

- What is the relationship between the version in the *Iliad* and the version in the *GK* (fr. 25.12), *Minyas* fr. 7 *PEG*, where Meleagros is killed by Apollo?

[21]So Howald (1924), Bremmer (1988) 41. Kakridis (1948) 47-61 has an extensive Neo-analytical study of the influence of a hypothetical *Meleagris* on the *Iliad*. cf. West (2011) 227.

[22]Bakkhylides *Ode* 5, Phrynikhos' *Pleuroniai* (for which see Paus. 10.31.4), Aiskhylos' *Khoephoroi* 602-11. The motif of the brand is often thought to be inherently ancient, but mainly on the basis that it represents some primitive folk belief, cf. Frazer (1929) 667-678, Garvie on *Khoephoroi* 603-12. For March the brand is an invention of lyric (see (1987) 44 with further literature).

[23]Schadewaldt (1938) 139, Kraus (1948) 14, Kakridis (1949) 16, Willcock (1964) 151, Robert (1920) 91.

[24]So Bethe (1925) 7, March (1987) esp. 25, Fowler (2013) II.137

Clearly, if the story of Meleagros has been built mainly using the details of the story of Akhilleus in the *Iliad*, it cannot be a clear account of a local story from Kalydon (or Aitolia more generally). However, there is good reason to suppose that the version in the *Iliad* supposes knowledge of a more substantial independent story. It has been argued, even by scholars who argue that much of the story is constructed to fit the context in the *Iliad*, that at least part of the account in book 9 is a compressed allusion to a fuller traditional story that might be known to the audience of the poem; March considers that 550-598 represents a 'sudden change' to a different narrative style, but in fact there are still compressed references, such as κασιγνήτοιο φόνοιο (567) referring to the killing of Meleagros' uncle[25] and κασίγνηται (584) referring to Meleagros' sisters.[26] These presumably include Deianeira, and perhaps Gorge, who is referred to at *GK* fr. 25.16; at any rate it suggests that the poet has some idea about Meleagros' family.

[25]So Willcock (1964) 149; cf. Bremmer (1988) 41. March (1987) 34-6 claimed that the uncle-killing was the invention of the *Iliad* poet as an *ad hoc* justification for Altheia's curse (itself, according to March, an *ad hoc* justification); rightly, this has not found wide acceptance in the scholarship.

[26]The story about Meleagros' other sisters turning to birds from grief at his death (Nikandros, ap. Antoninus Liberalis 2, Ov. *Met.* 8.533-46, perhaps Soph. *Meleagros* fr. 830a R) can probably not be projected back to the archaic period.

This is not to deny that some features of the Meleagros story have been influenced by the story in the *Iliad*. Whether the whole theme of wrathful withdrawal from the fighting was introduced into the story of Meleagros seems less certain, but it is at least a possibility, since it is not found in the *GK* (as far as we can tell) or in the later accounts.[27] Moreover, in the case of Πάτροκλος/Κλεοπάτρη the balance of probability is that the name was introduced into the Meleagros story in order to foreshadow the role of Patroklos in the *Iliad*. Κλεοπάτρη is not heard of elsewhere in archaic epic, and the poet of the *Iliad* explicitly acknowledges that there existed another name for her (9.561-4):[28]

τὴν δὲ τότ᾽ ἐν μεγάροισι πατὴρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ
Ἀλκυόνην καλέεσκον ἐπώνυμον, οὕνεκ᾽ ἄρ᾽ αὐτῆς
μήτηρ ἀλκυόνος πολυπενθέος οἶτον ἔχουσα
κλαῖεν, ὅ μιν ἑκάεργος ἀνήρπασε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων

[27]This is argued extensively by March and other scholars, but some of the arguments are rather unconvincing, for example that it is unlikely that Meleagros withdrew from battle out of anger at his mother's curse because this might be seen as a sign of cowardice (March (1987) 31, following Robert (1920) 91-2).

[28]The name Κλεοπάτρη introduced by the *Iliad* poet: Oehler (1925) 16, Schadewaldt (1938) 140, March (1987) 32-3, Grossardt (2001) 38; Alden (2000) 239-40; Currie (2016) 75n220; *contra*, Kakridis (1949) 29-31, Kraus (1948) 17, Willcock (1964) 150n4; for Howald (1924) 411 Patroklos is based on Kleopatra. Bremmer (1988) 41-2 goes even further and suggests that Meleagros' wife was completely made up by the *Iliad* poet, but this is in order to fit his initiatory interpretation. cf. Eustathius *Comm.* 775.65-776.1.

However, Patroklos does appear elsewhere in epos to a limited extent (*Od.* 3.110, 24.77, 24.79, Hes. fr. 212), and on his first appearance in the *Iliad* he is not explicitly named (Μενοιτιάδῃ, 1.307), suggesting that the poet assumes the audience's familiarity with him.[29] Although his depth in the tradition may not have been very great, therefore, it is reasonable to suppose that it is greater than that of the name Kleopatre.

As for the question of how local or supra-local the story of Meleagros is, it is clear that for the *Iliad* poet the boar hunt itself is envisaged as involving participants from many different cities (9.543-4):

τὸν δ' υἱὸς Οἰνῆος ἀπέκτεινεν Μελέαγρος
πολλέων ἐκ πολίων θηρήτορας ἄνδρας ἀγείρας

In the *Iliad* version, though, there is no indication as to whether the story is just about Aitolia or whether it involves a wider scope. Nor is it explicitly stated that this is a war between Kalydon and Pleuron. However, it is some-

[29]Reinhardt (1961) 21, Kirk (1985) 84; *contra*, Scodel (2002) 109-10. The traditional diction applied to Patroklos is somewhat limited, as observed by von Scheliha (1945) 248, who argues against a traditional background, and Kahane (1994) 138-41 (especially regarding speech-introductory formulae). Kahane explains this in terms of Patroklos' role within the epos as 'essentially a 'listener', not a 'speaker''. Much of the repeated material is based around Patroklos' death, especially περὶ Πατρόκλοιο θανόντος (4x *Il.*), (Πατρόκλοιο) Μενοιτιάδαο θανόντος (3x *Il.*, *Od.* 24.77), μετὰ Πάτροκλόν γε θανόντα (*Il.* 24.575 = *Od.* 24.79), Πάτροκλον... τεθνηῶτα (*Il.* 17.229, 341, 19.403, cf. 17.402, 23.192).

what misleading to suggest, as Burgess does,[30] that there existed a variety of versions ranging from purely local to regional to Pan-Hellenic. There is no attested version of the story which relates purely to Kalydon, and we cannot deduce from the fact that Pleuron is not mentioned in the *Iliad* 9 story that this is a version that excludes Pleuron; in this case the absence of evidence is not decisive. In the early 6th century depiction on the François vase (ABV 76.1), the hunt includes Peleus, Akastos, Atalanta, and the Dioskouroi, supposing a supra-regional narrative; later versions similarly include a variety of heroes. There was considerable variation as to who was included in the hunt, but its supra-regional quality is persistent.[31]

As one particular local detail, it has been noted that the sacrifice omitted by Oineus includes both the fruits of the harvest and animal sacrifices (*Il.* 9.534-6):

[30]Burgess (2017) 54-5. cf. Gantz (1993) 331, who baldly states that the boar hunt was originally 'built around a local war between neighbouring cities' before being expanded to wider significance by later poets and artists, possibly including Stesikhoros; also Grossardt (2001) 37, who believes that the story was 'eine[ ] lokale[ ] Jagdgeschichte' before the *Iliad* - because of the idea that the Kouretes must be in origin some religious group associated with initiation.

[31]For more evidence of Meleagros' supra-regional qualities, see also Simonides 564 *PMG*, citing Stesikhoros (4 Finglass-Davies) and 'Homer' for Meleagros' victory in the javelin throw at the funeral games of Pelias. 'Homer' here must reflect some lost epic poem; so Gantz (1993) 192, Poltera (2008) 513, 515. Another example is *Kypria* fr. 26 *PEG* = Pausanias 4.2.1 (Protesilaos marries a daughter of Meleagros).

χωσαμένη, ὅ οἱ οὔ τι θαλύσια γουνῷ ἀλωῆς
Οἰνεὺς ἔρξ', ἄλλοι δὲ θεοὶ δαίνυνθ' ἑκατόμβας,
οἴῃ δ' οὐκ ἔρρεξε Διὸς κούρῃ μεγάλοιο.

This fits the sacrifices attested in the sanctuary of Artemis Laphria at Kalydon, both from archaeological evidence and the account of Pausanias of a sacrifice at Patras which probably descends from a Kalydonian custom.[32] If this is the case the boar hunt story would have a local link, and perhaps origin, but the connection is not so clear. There is considerable emphasis in the *Iliad* on the first fruits of the harvest, but the sacrifice in Pausanias focuses more on the animals. The specific details of the sacrifice in Pausanias - the unusual animals offered, the burning of the animals while still living - are not referred to in the *Iliad*.[33] However, what is undeniable is that Artemis' involvement is a key part of the epic narrative, and her cult as Laphria was very important in Kalydon. The same must be said of Apollo, who finally kills Meleagros. This can hardly be coincidence, and suggests that the story of the boar hunt did come from Aitolia at some stage, although exactly when is much harder to determine.

[32]Grossardt (2002) 426-7, Dyggve and Poulsen (1948) 344-5, 350, Paus. 7.18.12-13.
[33]Though of course this could be due to assimilation to the normal pattern of epic sacrifice.

The presence of the Kouretes can also be reconciled with a supra-regional story, rather than explained as a relic of local ritual. Ephoros (*FGrH* 70F122 = Strabo 10.3.2) implies that the Kouretes were a people who previously lived in Aetolia before retreating to Akarnania when the Aetolians came. The Kouretes may therefore be an old name for a group inhabiting Aetolia; we do not need to subscribe to the precise view of invasion and migration in Ephoros to suggest that at some point there was a group called the Kouretes as well as a group called Aetolians in what later became Aetolia. We have seen in section 4.2 on the names Ionians, Dorians, Akhaians etc. that names of different ethnic groups were subject to considerable change over time, and the Homeric tradition often preserves to some degree previous historical stages. It is therefore plausible that the Homeric story preserves an older state of affairs in which the Kouretes were associated with Pleuron, before the whole region became Aetolia. As such, the *Iliad* version of the war would be between two regional groups, rather than including a semi-mythological people usually associated with Crete. That the same name should end up applying in two different cases would not be surprising, given the situation with the Akhaioi (both a historical ethnicity and an identity term important

in Homeric epos). This seems to me more convincing than attributing the presence of the Kouretes to some hypothetical element of initiatory ritual.[34]

As to the variation in Meleagros' fate, the different versions are not as incompatible as they might seem, given the well-established principle of double determination in the epic tradition. That Apollo kills Meleagros (Hes. fr. 25.12-3, *Minyas* fr. 7.2 *PEG*) would be thus compatible in principle both with a death through his mother's curse (*Il.* 9.567-72) and with the burning of the brand (Bakkh. 5.140-4), although the latter two are probably not compatible with each other.[35] It could perhaps be argued that the curse version correlates with the tendency of the *Iliad* to avoid fantastical or magical motifs, in contrast to the brand version, which represents an ancient folktale motif from local tradition, thus aligning the variation with a contrast between Panhellenic 'epic realism' and the 'folkloric magic' of local tradition.[36] However, since we have no evidence to connect either version more closely

[34]As per Bremmer (1988) 45-9, Antonetti (1990) 182-3, Grossardt (2001) esp. 14-5. The supposed parallels with Peloponnesian myths and rituals (see Grossardt (2002) 430) do not convincingly establish that the boar-hunt story goes back to an old and widely distributed aitiological myth, since the details they have in common are insufficiently specific.

[35]Though cf. Grossardt (2001) 15-6. Gantz (1993) 329-30 unconvincingly argued that in the *Iliad* we are 'meant to understand' that Althaia's curse is later retracted; there is no textual basis for this.

[36]cf. Burgess (2017) 52.

with Aitolia, such a view rests on no more than pre-conceived notions of what should typify local tradition. The variation could equally well reflect diachronic development, or the diversity of the epic tradition itself (as we saw in the case of Thebes).

It is evident that the story of Meleagros and the boar hunt was an important part of the tradition, and one which does interact with local Aitolian cult to Artemis. Meleagros is not, however, a raw piece of Aitolian saga inserted into epos, but a figure with broader integration into the epic tradition. The same will be seen in the case of his sister Deianeira, to whom we now turn.

9.5 Deianeira

The story of Deianeira's marriage to Herakles and the poisoned robe she sent him is found at *GK* fr. 25.17-24; otherwise, however, she is absent from early epos.[37] In Sophocles (*Trakh.* 9-25) Herakles' rival in marrying her is the river

[37]There is a tradition about Herakles killing a cupbearer when staying at the home of Oineus: see Athenaios 9.80 = Hellanikos fr. 2 Fowler = Herodoros fr. 3 Fowler, Apollodoros 2.150, Pausanias 2.13.8, Diodoros 4.36.2, ΣAR 1.1212-19a, Tzetzes on Lykoph. Alex. 50, Chil. 2.459, Fowler (2013) II.326-7. In Apollodoros, Diodoros, and Hellanikos this is after helping Oineus in a campaign against the Thesprotians, and is presumably set

Akheloos, local to Aitolia. The fight between Herakles and the Akheloos is popular in art from the early 6th century on (*LIMC* 'Acheloos' 214, 215, 221, 222, 246), which might suggest that this story is old; but there are no references to it in epos.[38] As the story of the poisoned robe goes in Sophokles, the poison comes from the blood of Nessos the centaur when he is killed by Herakles for trying to assault Deianeira while ferrying her across the river Evenos (*Trakh.* 559), which runs through Aitolia.[39] We might therefore suppose that this was a local detail supposed by the Hesiodic story.[40]

On the other hand, the Hesiod passage does not mention Nessos at all, merely that (20-1):

> τοὺς τέκε καὶ δείν᾽ ἔρξ ' [, ἔπεὶ ἀάσατ]ọ μέγα θυμῶι,
>
> ὁππότε φάρμακον .[ἐπιχρί]ọασα χιτῶνα

It has therefore been argued by March that in the original version of the

in Kalydon; in Tzetzes at the wedding feast with Deianeira. This can therefore be seen as a story that relates to Deianeira's marriage, and it is plausible that this is old.

[38]On the Akheloos in epos see D'Alessio (2004).

[39]However, it has been argued that the use of Nessos' blood as the poison is a later innovation: Fittschen (1970) 169, March (1987) 53-64 (attributed to Sophokles). Segal (1975) 31 is non-committal on the matter.

[40]cf. the phrasing of Jebb (1902) 8, who speaks of these events as the 'Aetolian legend of Deianeira'.

story Deianeira intentionally poisoned Herakles, using her own poison, rather than being tricked by the dying words of the centaur Nessos. However, the evidence for a malign Deianeira is mostly late,[41] and the story of Nessos is attested early.[42] It may be, therefore, that the association between Deianeira and various Aitolian rivers was found in the lost *Capture of Oikhalia* or other early hexameter poetry, but we have no direct evidence.

It is therefore possible that the Deianeira and Nessos story originates in a local tale, though of course we have no direct evidence from Aitolia itself. What is clear is that Deianeira provides a further instance of how marriage could be used to forge links between different characters and locations in the tradition, as we have seen previously in the case of Penelope (p337). Deianeira's marriage with Herakles thus further connects Aitolia with the

[41]The idea that Deianeira killed Herakles out of vengeance, is based largely on her name, 'slayer of men/husband' (see Chantraine *s.v.*), and a few depictions of her as a warrior figure: ΣAR 1.1212-19a, Apollodoros 1.8.1, Nonn. *Dion.* 35.89-91, see Fowler (2013) II.329; it is possible to interpret the σοὶ φυάν ἀλιγκία of Bakkhylides 5.165-8 this way as well, March (1987) 52. cf. Parca (1992) 187n61 who sees this as typical of the 'Aetolian mythological tradition' (though none of these sources are Aitolian). Hoey (1979) 219 argued this was the older version on the basis that - if it were not pre-Sophoclean - later tradition would never have dared to challenge Sophocles' authority, which does not seem a particularly convincing argument. Cf. Pozzi (1996), who points out that Deianeira's name might reflect a trait of her father rather than herself.

[42]On its popularity in vase painting of the 6th century, see Osborne (forthcoming) 5, 7-8.

wider tradition.

9.6 Tydeus, Diomedes, and other relatives

Tydeus[43] is a son of Oineus (*Il.* 5.813, Hes. fr. 10(a).55). However, similarly to Deianeira, he leaves Aitolia and the majority of the stories about him take place elsewhere, associated with Argos or Thebes, although he is once called Τυδεὺς Αἰτώλιος by Agamemnon (*Il.* 4.399). The only story that relates to Aitolia is the cause of his exile, which varies considerably in different sources: he killed his uncles (Hes. fr. 10a.55-7) or his cousins (*Alkmeonis* fr. 4)[44] with his brother (Pher. fr. 122a Fowler, from Apollodoros, perhaps Pher. fr. 122b, corrupt according to Fowler (2013) II.410), or just his brother.[45] Tydeus was better known for his exploits in Argos and Thebes; he was not actually mentioned among the other children of Oineus at Hes. fr. 25.15-17, although this is probably because he was not the son of Althaia,[46] and he is not connected with the boar hunt.

[43]The name is pre-Greek and likely cognate with Τυνδάρεος, see von Kamptz (1983) 49 (§15b3), 126 (§42e), 124-5 (§42c1-2), 365 (§83).

[44]In this version - which therefore was found in archaic epos - the sons of Melas were plotting against Oineus, similarly to the story about Oineus being overthrown by the sons of Agrios and restored by Diomedes (on which see below).

[45]Melanippus accidentally while hunting (Hyginus *Fab.* 69.2) or Toxeus (Schol. Stat. *Theb.* 1.282).

[46]See Hesiod fr. 12, *Thebaid* fr. 5 *PEG*, Peisandros *FGrH* 16F1.

Tydeus represents a pattern of exile followed by marriage in a new land, which is extensively parallelled in Greek mythology: Bellerophon travels to Lykia and marries the king's daughter; Melampous goes from Messenia to Argos and marries the daughter of Proitos; and so on. This pattern has been extensively studied by Finkelberg, who compares it with the succession of Hittite kings and the apparent alternation of kingship between different family lines in the mythology of many Greek cities.[47] Whether this pattern was once standard or not, it is important in the mythic tradition as an integral contributor to connectivity. As Finkelberg remarks, 'this lack of local identity [ie. acceptance of exogamy]... was directly responsible for the commonly acknowledged fragmentation of the legendary history of Greece.'[48] Of course, we have seen with Deianeira that virilocal marriage is also important as a connecting motif.

Since Tydeus' son Diomedes was born and ruled in Argos, it is interesting that his Aitolian ancestry is still mentioned when Idomeneus describes him

[47]See Finkelberg (2005) 65-89, with many more parallels. The reconstruction reached for some cities, particularly the royal lines of Argos, are attractive, but does require us to assume several errors in the transmitted genealogies.

[48]Finkelberg (2005) 87.

approaching in the Funeral Games (23.470-2):[49]

...δοκέει δέ μοι ἔμμεναι ἀνήρ
Αἰτωλὸς γενεήν, μετὰ δ' Ἀργείοισιν ἀνάσσει
Τυδέος ἱπποδάμου υἱός, κρατερὸς Διομήδης.

That Diomedes' Aitolian ancestry is still important to the character - and the poet - has been argued by Houby-Nielsen, who suggests that his attack on Ares in book 5 is 'clearly provoked by the god's violation of Diomedes' Aetolian blood-ties', because Ares has just killed the Aitolian Periphas.[50] This statement is not perhaps entirely fair to the presentation of events in the *Iliad*, where Athena first encourages him to attack Ares (5.793-834) and they come upon him as he is stripping the body of Periphas (5.842); however, it is plausible that the poet chose this particular victim with a view to Diomedes' Aitolian connections, and indeed according to the scholia Periphas was also a grandson of Oineus.[51] Since this detail is attributed to Nikandros' *Aitolika*, it might potentially be the case that it goes back to an Aitolian tradition, but if so it seems unlikely that this preserves a genuine archaic local tradition from some five centuries previously - the Aitolian Periphas and Okhesios are

[49]cf. Andersen (1978) 14.
[50]Houby-Nielsen (1998) 239.
[51]ΣbT *Il.* 5.843 = Nikandros *Aitolika* fr. 8a.

never heard of again outside this scholion, or elsewhere in the poem, and one therefore suspects that they are inventions of the *Iliad* poet. Regardless of whether Nikandros was using an Aitolian source, this idea must have developed inspired by this particular episode in the *Iliad*.[52]

There is also a story about Diomedes' visit to Aitolia (Apollodoros 1.8.6), in which Oineus has been overthrown by the sons of Agrios. Diomedes, however, comes from Argos and kills most of Agrios' children, except for Onkhestos and Thersites. Instead of restoring Oineus to power, Diomedes gives the kingdom to Andraimon (who had married Oineus' daughter), and takes Oineus back with him to the Peloponnese, where he (Oineus) is unfortunately ambushed and killed by Onkhestos and Thersites. This is attested earliest in Euripides' *Oineus*, and thus is probably not archaic in date;[53] however, the story is interesting because it provides a fuller explanation of the situation regarding Aitolia in the Catalogue of Ships (*Il.* 2.638-44):

[52]It is interesting, however, that Phoinix, rather than Diomedes, should be the one to tell an Aitolian story in *Iliad* 9; although there it is introduced as one of many κλέα ἀνδρῶν/ ἡρώων that 'we have heard of' (ἐπευθόμεθα) rather than a local tale (*Il.* 9.524-5).

[53]See also Aristoph. Σ vet. ad *Ach.* 418a, Paus. 2.25.2, 4.35.1, Tzetzes comm. ad Lykophron 50, Ovid. *Her.* 9.153-7, Hyg. *Fab.* 175, Ant Lib. 37, Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.8.6. For Euripides' *Oineus*, see Jouan and Van Looy (2000) 459-67. Oineus is buried in Oinoe (Apollodoros and Pausanias) - perhaps the story was invented to explain the similarity in names.

Αἰτωλῶν δ' ἡγεῖτο Θόας Ἀνδραίμονος υἱός,
οἳ Πλευρῶν' ἐνέμοντο καὶ Ὤλενον ἠδὲ Πυλήνην
Χαλκίδα τ' ἀγχίαλον Καλυδῶνά τε πετρήεσσαν·
οὐ γὰρ ἔτ' Οἰνῆος μεγαλήτορος υἱέες ἦσαν,
οὐδ' ἄρ' ἔτ' αὐτὸς ἔην, θάνε δὲ ξανθὸς Μελέαγρος·
τῷ δ' ἐπὶ πάντ' ἐτέταλτο ἀνασσέμεν Αἰτωλοῖσιν·
τῷ δ' ἅμα τεσσαράκοντα μέλαιναι νῆες ἔποντο.

The *Iliad* poet feels the need to give an explanation of why Thoas should lead the Aitolians and explain what has happened to the more familiar Aitolian family. This is further evidence that the audience might be expected to have some knowledge of Aitolian mythology, as an important part of the epic tradition.

Thersites is an interesting case. According to various sources, he is the son of Agrios, thrown off a cliff by Meleagros when he declined to take part in the boarhunt, or (as above) is involved in the overthrow of Oineus.[54] How, though, does the Aitolian Thersites relate to the Homeric character found

[54]Pherekydes fr. 123, Euphorion fr. 82, Σ Lykophr. *Alex.* 999, Tzetzes *Chil.* 7.879-89, Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.8.6. cf. Kullmann (1960) 102-3, 146-8, 303, Rankin (1972) 39-41.

at *Il.* 2.211-277 (and in Proklos' summary of the *Aithiopis*)? Some scholars suppose, with Fowler, that Thersites' Aitolian origin 'was in the background for Homer in the *Iliad*, who completely and unusually suppresses his genealogy'.[55] If so, the *Iliad* poet would be adopting a figure from local tradition but removing his local affiliation. Others have supposed that the Aitolian Thersites was originally a separate figure.[56] Given his presence in the *Aithiopis* and the wider mythological tradition, it seems plausible that the *Iliad* poet has adopted a traditional figure, eliding many of his original characteristics. If this is so, though, this is not so much a case of an epichoric figure being Panhellenised by the *Iliad* poet, but rather a figure integrated in the epic tradition (as in the *Aithiopis*) being deprived of his usual features for poetic purposes.[57]

Another complex case of a character from the boar hunt is Ankaios.

[55]So Rankin (1972) 46-9, Fowler (2013) II.139. cf. Kirk ad *Il.* 2.212, who does not mention this problem but remarks that Thersites is the 'only character in the *Iliad* to lack both patronymic and place of origin'. For the explanation that this is due to Thersites' assimilation to the iambic persona, see Marks (2005) 6-9. However, this is less than convincing, because even if iambic poets may be of humble origin, their ancestry is not suppressed.

[56]West, cited *per litt.* in Fowler (2013) II.139n60. See Webster (1958) 251 for the view that Thersites in the *Aithiopis* was a further invention based in the Iliadic character; cf. Andersen (1982), esp. 22-5.

[57]On the role of Thersites in the poem, see Scodel (2002) 204-10, Marks (2005).

Homer mentions an Ankaios as father of Agapenor the Arkadian (2.609-10). In the later tradition this Ankaios is said to be son of Lykourgos, descendant of Arkas, and killed by the Kalydonian boar.[58] However, the *Iliad* also mentions an Ankaios of Pleuron (23.634-5) in one of Nestor's digressions, and this Ankaios is thus closer in origin to Aitolia, fitting with Bakkhylides' statement that this Ankaios was Meleagros' brother (5.117-8); Nestor also mentions an Iphiklos (*Il.* 23.636), the name of Meleagros' uncle in Bakkhylides. Gantz therefore proposed that the earlier version is that of Bakkhylides, and the Aitolian Ankaios was 'in time replaced by a (more famous) Arkadian of the same name'.[59] If this is true, it would be an example of how the tradition can become more interconnected over time through the syncretism of originally distinct characters with the same name. However, both are attested in our earliest evidence in the *Iliad*, and Richardson *ad loc.* provides some plausible grounds for seeing them as chosen by the poet because of their suitability for the games.[60] It may therefore be the case that, rather than preserving an older form of the tradition, the *Iliad* poet (or some predecessor) inserts

[58]Apollodoros 1.8.2, 3.9.1, Pausanias 8.4.1-10, Argonautica 1.161-71; however, Ankaios as boar victim is much older than this, being found in vase paintings in the early 6th century, see *LIMC s.v.* Meleagros 6-15. Obviously in such representations we cannot tell if he is Arkadian or Pleuronian.

[59]Gantz (1993) 332.

[60]In particular, Ankaios' name is suitable to a wrestler (cf. ἀγκάς) and Iphiklos is also the name of Podarkes' father (*Il.* 2.704-5), a famous runner (Hes. fr. 62).

Ankaios here because he associates him with the region, but changes his origin because he is thinking of the Boar Hunt in Aitolia. The reverse might also be possible, with the Arkadians appropriating an Aitolian hero for their own tradition. To complicate matters even further, there is a third Ankaios, a grandson of Oineus, mentioned at Asios fr. 7, ΣAR 2.865-72b.[61]

9.7 Conclusions

Of the stories discussed here, the most prominent in the poetic tradition is certainly that of the boar hunt, involving Oineus, Althaia, and Meleagros. Like the Theban or Trojan war, or the marriage of Helen, the Kalydonian boar hunt was not an exclusively epichoric story, but likely operated as a useful poetic tool to bring together heroes from many different regions in competition with each other. Oineus' family also has a good many links with other stories. Deianeira has a crucial role in the story of Herakles, and Tydeus was a key character in the Theban cycle. Aitolian links are even maintained to some extent in the hero Diomedes. It is therefore not surprising that the *Iliad* poet (in the above-quoted passage from the Catalogue of Ships) has to situate the current leadership of the Aitolians with respect to

[61] See Tsagalis (2017) 229-31 for discussion.

this important mythological datum.

We have seen that the stories about this 'Aitolian' family in fact connect to other people and places across the Greek world. Equally, we have seen that in the earliest evidence from Aitolian iconography at Thermon and Kalydon, fragmentary and incomplete as it may be, we have a variety of different stories whose settings come from a wider geographical range. The results of this study of the Aitolians is therefore in line with, and supports, the findings elsewhere in this thesis. Rather than supposing an Aitolian tradition that was local in audience and flourished around Kalydon and Pleuron in the isolation of the EIA before being linked in to the rest of the tradition in a Panhellenic movement of the 8th century, then, we should think in terms of a group of stories and people that are characterised within the epic tradition as Aitolian, but exist through interaction with other characters and places (like Herakles, Thebes, and Argos) within epos.

As we have seen, it seems quite likely from the gods involved in the boar hunt that the story may have come from Aitolia at some point. However,

actually pinning down the date and circumstances of the entry of the boar hunt into epos is much harder. Even before cult began at the sanctuary of Artemis Laphria at Kalydon, the goddess may still have been important in the area, so the foundation date of the sanctuary does not necessarily provide a terminus post quem. We have seen in the evidence so far that there is no one-size-fits-all solution for all cases - some elements of epos are very old, such as the separation of Orkhomenos in the catalogue; other aspects are more recent, such as the absence of Akhaian groups from Miletos. Because the poetics of epos encourages connections between different characters and stories, a narrative such as the boar hunt is easily integrated into a larger network of tales, as we find in our earliest evidence.

Chapter 10

Conclusions

This thesis has investigated the local links of archaic Greek epic poetry. Why is there such a variety of different characters and places in these poems? Do they originally come from local traditions, and if so when were they absorbed into the epic tradition? If local traditions existed, what form were they in? In this final section I summarise my results and consider the implications for our understanding of the epic tradition and its development, before suggesting some potential new lines of research.

In my introduction, I laid down a methodological basis for the investigation, giving an initial critique of the term 'Panhellenism' and distinguishing

the ways a tradition can be local (content, origin, or intended audience). In an overview of archaic Greek song, both in hexameter and other metres, I found considerable diversity in its relationship with local tradition. Some poets, such as Eumelos of Corinth and Asios of Samos, do seem more local in their focus, although they are interested in mythology beyond their homelands as well. In other cases, we find that poems given local-sounding names (like the *Kypria*) or authors (like Kinaithon the Lakedaimonian) may show little or no connection with that place in their actual content. This diversity is similar to what we find in lyric, with poets such as Alkman contrasting with the less localised ethos of Ibykos or Stesikhoros; the difference is that epos seems a less suitable medium for material of more contemporary relevance, like that found in Solon or Tyrtaios. We found little sign of distinct traditions of hexameter developing in the different regions, the best candidate being a Corinthian epic tradition behind Eumelos; it may be more plausible to see different poets as working within a broad, interconnected tradition, just as Tyrtaios, Mimnermos, or Arkhilokhos adapted a widespread elegiac poetic form to their particular local purposes.

A study of the material evidence provided further reason to think in terms

of a poetic tradition that had long been widely connected, rather than one originating in distinct local traditions. Recent archaeological work provides little support for a view in which the interconnected Mycenaean world gave way to a period of isolated, distinct units which were subsequently brought back into a connected world in the 8th century. Although the collapse of the palaces at the end of the 13th century does herald an increase in regionalism, it does not mean that the Greek-speaking world was no longer interconnected, and even in the 11th century decorative pottery motifs could spread. In the 10th century we find the 'Euboean koine', which testifies to strong connections throughout the Aegean. In fact, it is in the 9th to 6th centuries that we find an ever-increasing tendency towards greater regionalism and local tradition. This should be linked with the increasing complexity of civic institutions, realised in local coinage, laws, and alphabets. Increase in trade or connectivity did not bring the dissolution of local identities, but instead seems to have strengthened and developed them.

I then turned to iconography, to see if mythological depictions showed any signs of local tendency. Mycenaean art, especially frescoes, shows similar themes to archaic epos, but specific stories from later myth cannot be

identified. A fundamental methodological difficulty is the rarity of mythological depictions in Protogeometric and Geometric art. However, when we do finally find identifiable figures in the 7th century, they show that the stories depicted had already diffused widely across the Greek world. Iconographic evidence, therefore, supports the idea that mythological characters and stories could spread easily from place to place.

From material evidence for regional or local divisions, I turned to the linguistic evidence, in which a primary issue is the situation of epos with regard to Ionic, Aeolic, or Doric groups. However, to avoid confusing ethnic with dialect groups, I distinguished the groups historically identified by the ethnic terms from the dialect classifications associated with them. First, therefore, I looked at the ethnic terms Ἰάονες, Αἰολέες, Δωριέες, Ἀχαιοί, Ἀργεῖοι, Δαναοί, Ἕλληνες, to evaluate whether they might represent significant groups in the Bronze Age, with which the prehistory of epos must be reconciled. I found that the three standard terms of the first millennium had little importance in the Bronze Age, where they may have been applied to smaller groups; their history seems similar to the term Ἕλληνες, which starts off attached to a small group and gradually expands its reference.

Conversely, the terms that were important in the Bronze Age subsequently decline, being reduced to relic groups (Ἀχαιοί) or going out of use (Δαναοί). Significantly, epos seems to preserve the older patterns of usage: the newer terms are scarcely mentioned in favour of the terms Ἀχαιοί, Ἀργεῖοι, Δαναοί. I argued that the survival of these terms in epos contributes to its supra-local feel.

Next I examined the dialect evidence. This is somewhat complicated by the problematic evidence for the origin of the first millennium Greek dialect groups. For example, many of the features that distinguish the North Greek grouping are archaisms or selections between inherited variants. Nevertheless, they form a consistent whole that must be accounted for - which is challenging, because neither a large-scale Dorian migration nor Mycenaean class divisions can adequately account for the linguistic and archaeological evidence. At any rate, it is clear that a significant part of the dialect differentiation is the product of the 12th to 8th centuries, but some - especially a rough North-South Greek divide - was already present in the Mycenaean period. The linguistic evidence is, however, in accord with the archaeological evidence in showing that the Greek-speaking world was interconnected even

after the palatial collapse, as we find from a number of sound changes whose spread cuts across the dialect groups.

With these caveats on the complexity of the dialect situation in mind, I then looked at the language of epos itself. The dialectal form we find in manuscripts and papyri has both Ionic and Aeolic elements, as well as many archaisms. I have argued against both the idea that epos was originally Aeolic and was later adopted by Ionic bards who replaced forms where possible with Ionic ('Aeolic phase') and the theory that epos has always been Ionic and Aeolic forms can be explained away as archaisms (or replacements of archaisms); instead, it is better to accept both Aeolic and Ionic influence on epos to a substantial chronological depth. The branches involved seem to be (at least) West or Central Ionic and Lesbian Aeolic. Epic language in general seems to avoid highly local forms, except for occasional borrowings associated with local details (Φίξ, Κόρη); but it is certainly not 'Panhellenic', since it is linked more closely with a particular region. Generally this language is very consistent across the corpus, but inscriptional hexameter gives a more complex picture: early inscriptions, such as the Mantiklos dedication, show different local dialects. However, because these inscriptions are rela-

tively restricted in their content, they do not adequately show the existence of a range of epic traditions in local dialects, and can be accounted for as local engagement with the wider tradition; nor can the relatively homogenous language of the manuscripts and papyri be explained as due to later normalisation. The language of epos, then, is a supra-local poetic form that is focused around a particular region but has a far wider geographical and chronological reach.

The final general investigation dealt with the phenomenon of the catalogue in archaic hexameter. Catalogues are important because they are a well-integrated part of epos, found throughout the corpus, but are particularly well-suited to include a wide variety of people and places. The prominence of catalogues such as the Iliadic Catalogue of Ships, and their similarity to the standard narrative structures of epic, suggests that they are not a recent development of the archaic period, but an ancient and integral part of the epic tradition. This provides further support for the chronological depth of an interconnected, supra-local hexameter tradition. Moreover, the investigation of catalogues showed some clear instances of local details being used in catalogues, some adapted from material within the poetic tradition,

others probably imported from local knowledge.

At the end of the general part of the thesis, therefore, we are left with an impression of the epic tradition as a supra-local poetic form which develops from the Bronze Age to the Archaic period. Its main focus seems to have been the areas of West/Central Ionic and Lesbian Aeolic dialect, which provided the primary form of its language, but it had far wider connections - as we can see from the presence of epichoric hexameter inscriptions, as well as the existence of poets such as Hesiod of Askra or Eumelos of Corinth. An important part of the epic mythology, in fact, valued by the singers, was its connectivity and ability to encompass a wide geographical range.

I then turned to case studies to see in more precise detail how the epic tradition might interact with local tradition. First I compared Odysseus and Akhilleus, the protagonists of the *Odyssey* and *Iliad*. Odysseus' name existed in local variants from an early date, which suggests the existence of local traditions about him, but they are fairly elusive; one candidate is the oracle whose foundation is perhaps supposed by *Od.* 11.121-33, but I argued

that the Kikones episode in the *Odyssey* is likely to reflect the poets' use of local geographical detail, not a story connected to local cult. Moreover, it is unlikely that the poets of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* had direct contact with a contemporary Phthian or Ithakan local tradition, and the exploits of their heroes are well-integrated into the overarching supra-local Trojan saga. However, we also saw that the poets' focus on the universal heroic qualities and supra-local exploits of their protagonists was balanced by authentic local connections, crucial to Odysseus or Akhilleus' characterisation. At the same time, we can see ongoing processes that drive connections within the epic tradition: Ikarios may originally have lived in Akarnania but was moved to Sparta; Peleus may not originally have been Aiginetan. These widening links may sometimes find purely poetic motivation, but sometimes we can see signs of direct interactions with epichoric identities, a possible example being Odysseus' Thesprotian stay (attested in the *Telegony* but perhaps unknown to the *Odyssey*), and the 6th century hero cult of Akhilleus. In later times we find clearer examples of epichoric stories arising out of epic influence, such as the Ithakan, Phenean and Mantinean local traditions about Odysseus and the Methymnan story about Akhilleus.

The next case study was the city of Thebes, which provided another good example of how we need to distinguish tradition that is local in the sense of content from tradition local in origin. The 'Theban' cycle is very obviously about Thebes, but this does not mean that such stories originated there, and the use of this term can also conceal how prominent Argos is to the Theban wars. Indeed, the Theban war is similar to the Trojan war in its capacity to draw in different characters and places to create a supra-local narrative. We also saw that the foundation stories, and those about Amphion, Zethos, and Niobe, were subject to a striking level of variation; I argued that it is misguided to explain this variation in terms of conflicting versions from different places, and that in fact the different foundation narratives may have coexisted within the city itself. Another demonstrable local element is the cult activity to Herakles, which may go back to the 8th century, where it seems that local tradition is again interacting with a supra-local figure. Herakles' Theban birth must be due to the influence of the city, but he has such wide connections that he cannot have originated from a once-parochial Theban local hero.

Helen provides another case where we have an early local cult, and where

it is better to posit a long period of mutual influence between epichoric tradition and supra-local epos, rather than an originally distinct local tradition being absorbed into the epic tradition or a late development under epic influence. I defended the idea that Helen had an exceptional status in Spartan cult, and linked this to traces of her divine qualities in epos. I showed that there is no evidence for a Spartan narrative of Helen distinct from what we find in the epic tradition, Stesikhoros' version being an innovation. Moreover, Helen is well integrated into the Trojan story; even if she does develop from a PIE goddess at some remote stage, her role within the tradition is one that easily forges supra-local links, gathering heroes together as suitors and later for the war itself.

For the final case study, I turned to the Aitolian family of Oineus. Again, I found little reason to think of a local tradition in Aitolia separate from the wider epic tradition. The evidence of the metopes from Thermon and Kalydon suggest that even in the archaic period the region was in contact with the rest of the Greek-speaking world. There is little to support reconstructions of Oineus as a local god of wine, but there are clear local links to the boar hunt narrative: the gods involved in the story of Meleagros, Artemis and

Apollo, are important in Aitolian cult. But the hunt narrative is also like other epic events, in providing an opportunity to attract participants from afar and build a supra-local narrative. Moreover, we saw several further examples of how Oineus' family are linked to the wider tradition: Oineus' guest-friendship relationship with Bellerophon (perhaps an Iliadic innovation); Deianeira's marriage to Herakles, which gives the hero yet another local link; and Tydeus' exile and Argive marriage, which again connects the Aitolians to the wider epic world. We should not, therefore, think of an isolated Aitolian saga, but rather an integral part of the tradition, with which the poets of epos expected their audiences to be familiar.

In sum, the findings of this thesis fit well with the previous independent case studies on Nestor, Iris and Sarpedon.[1] Iris' non-local aspects - finding no parallel in local cult - are matched by Odysseus' adventures in imaginary lands, showing that epos can gain a transcendent quality through avoiding local reference as well as by combining different places. Nestor's traditional diction, deep-rooted involvement in the Trojan war, and the wide links of his family show that the character had long developed as part of the supra-local

[1] Webber (2019); see p9.

Trojan undertaking, in this respect like Helen and Akhilleus, who are similarly tied to the war at Troy. The challenge posed by Sarpedon to the idea of 'Panhellenism' has been borne out by the various issues with this term: we have seen that epos' expansive reference is a product of the supra-local tendency inherent in its poetic form, rather than a purposeful attempt to build a new ethnic identity.

The study has vindicated the methodological principles with which it started out, especially the importance of distinguishing local origin, content, and audience. We have seen cases where it is plausible that an epic character developed through continuous interaction with local tradition (Helen), but also cases (Nestor) where a very ancient local tradition likely influenced the epic tradition but no longer existed in local form in the archaic period, and several cases where the epic tradition inspired the later creation of local tradition, such as the Ithakan tradition about Odysseus preserved in Aristotle. We have also seen that local-sounding stories and characters could easily spread (as is clear from the iconographic evidence), and do not guarantee a local audience. This should be a warning that we must be cautious about positing the existence of a local origin or local audience for a story or poem

based purely on its content, of which we have seen many examples in both past and recent scholarship.

A key conclusion, therefore, is that no single reductive model can cover every case. This is true in other respects as well: Iris, and potentially Helen, come from a PIE origin; Akhilleus, however, is most likely based on a real person from some point between the fall of the palaces and the archaic period; Odysseus' name may originate in a Pre-Greek loan. But some local details may be much more recent, based on the contemporary archaic world (as we saw with Maron). An enduring property of the epic tradition is therefore its receptability to new characters and traditions, which occurred over the centuries of its development.

Overall, we have seen how deeply embedded supra-local connectivity is in epos. The main constituent events of epos - war, the gathering of suitors, marriage, funeral games, exile, travel, hunting - all involve the incorporation of different places and people. The greater the spread of heroes involved in the event, the more prestigious the undertaking. This provides a strong

motivation for bringing in new characters to existing stories, creating a supra-local tendency. But at the same time, the local identity of characters within the tradition is also crucial: we have seen the degree to which poets are keen to give Akhilleus or Odysseus a local attachment. Local and supra-local elements are by no means contradictory; on the contrary, it is necessary to establish the local aspects of characters in order to combine them into a supra-local collection. Indeed, we saw how the poets when constructing catalogues try to create an impression of disparate local stories - and thus the comprehensiveness of the catalogue - even they are closely linked by overarching narratives.

What general impression, therefore, do we have of the development of the epic tradition? I have argued against the view that our surviving poems are the result of an 8th century fusion of distinct local traditions that developed in the EIA. Not only does the archaeological and linguistic evidence suggest a greater level of connectivity, but what we find within the tradition itself are characters and stories that are deeply intertwined. Furthermore, I have also resisted the idea that epos developed purely in an Aeolic/Ionic area in the EIA, before spreading to the mainland and the Peloponnese in the archaic

period. This does not account for the apparent interaction between epos and local traditions of cult that we saw in the case of Herakles' cult at Thebes and Helen in Sparta. Rather, it seems that the epic tradition developed with a focus on the Aeolic/Ionic region that determines its language, but was also well-known further afield.

There is reasonable evidence that performers of epos travelled. For later rhapsodes it was normal to travel widely to compete at important festivals, as Ion of Ephesos is envisaged as doing in Plato (visiting Epidauros and the Panathenaia at Athens).[2] In epos, bards are presented as attached to prominent households: Phemios to Odysseus' house, Demodokos to Alkinoos'; but also as travelling. Thamyris is a Thracian who is travelling from Oikhalia when he encounters the Muses (*Il.* 2.596). Hesiod claims to have travelled little, at least by sea, but went to compete in a poetic competition at the funeral games of Athamas in Khalkis (*Erga* 651-9). I therefore posit that epic poets were mostly based in the Ionic/Aeolic dialect area but that some would travel or settle beyond there, just as Hesiod's father is said to come

[2]Plato *Ion* 530a-b. The evidence for travelling rhapsodes is collected by West (2013a) 347-68.

to Askra from Aiolian Kyme (*Erga* 636).[3]

10.1 Directions for Future Research

Since we have seen that there is no one-size-fits-all explanation for the development of different aspects of the tradition, the further study of the history of different epic characters and places would give more insight into the development of the tradition. One example that would repay investigation is that of Corinth. As we saw, Eumelos of Corinth provides one of the best cases for local epic (p46); there is a local Corinthian version of Odysseus' name (p300); and Helen's name may have entered Corinthian from epos (p438). Moreover, Corinthian pottery was very significant from the 8th - 6th centuries and includes many mythological scenes.

I have presented a wide range of case studies relating to the heroes of epos, but one area which I have not focused on for investigation has been the

[3]There are of course some issues with using accounts of singers within epos; they may be distorted for poetic purposes. Phemios and Demodokos' attachment to wealthy households might be an attempt to archaise, or a dim memory of Mycenaean palaces; but in the EIA there were also important local rulers who could have served as patrons to singers. One area on which we learn little from epos itself is the process by which bards learnt their craft, since this is presented as the result of inspiration from the Muses (*Th.* 22-34, cf. 94-5, *Erga* 658-9, *Od.* 8.63-4, 74, 22.347), although we know that it must have been transmitted from bard to bard.

gods of epos (with the exception of Iris, and in part Helen and Herakles). The gods have, however, played an important role in the notion of Panhellenism,[4] because the epic vision of a unified system of gods seems to contrast with the existence of various local cults in real religious practice.[5] An important aspect of this question that might further our understanding of supra-local tendencies in epos is the similarity between the system of gods in Greek epos and what we find in Ugaritic and Hittite literature.[6] Exploring this question would therefore require seeing Greek epos in the historical context of other epic traditions in the East Mediterranean, as well as engaging with the question of the complex historical origin of the various gods.

[4]See eg. Kearns (2006), esp. 62-3, Nagy (1990a) 36-8, (2011), Clay (2006) 8-11.

[5]But cf. Metcalf (2015) 109-11, 124-5 on hymns.

[6]For recent engagement with this topic, see Kelly and Metcalf (2021), especially the contribution of López-Ruiz (37-57), although this focuses more on the local associations of gods than their supra-local qualities.

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Σ *vet.* A. *Il.* 1.1 Erbse = 'Scholia Vetera in *Iliadem*, 1.1, editionis Erbse'; ΣAR denotes the scholia on Apollonios Rhodios' *Argonautika*.

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