ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ

12

M. B. SAKELLARIOU

BETWEEN MEMORY AND OBLIVION
THE TRANSMISSION OF EARLY GREEK
HISTORICAL TRADITIONS

ATHENS 1990

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CONTENTS

PART TWO

STUDY-CASES FOR OMISSIONS, ADDITIONS,
AND ALTERATIONS IN TRADITIONS EARLIER
THAN THE ALPHABET

ABBREVIATIONS

AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
AJPh	*American Journal of Philology*
APAW	*Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil-Historische Klasse.*
AR	*Archaeological Reports*
BJ	*Bursians Jahresberichte*
FGrH	*Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*
FHG	*Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*
OA	*Opuscula Archaeologica*
TAPhA	*Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*

Unless noted, translations of ancient sources are those of *Loeb Classical Library*, with occasional minor modifications.

PREFACE

From the time when the Classics were first studied in western Europe down to the end of the nineteenth century, whatever the ancient sources had to say about people or events before the widespread use of the Greek alphabet was generally taken to reflect true historical memories, memories transmitted by word of mouth from generation to generation before finally being written down.

From the last quarter of the 19th century to now, this same information has repeatedly been dismissed as fictitious, intentionally or unintentionally inspired by special interest groups such as families, social entities or states. This approach has been both useful and counter-productive: useful in that the information was no longer simply accepted at face value, but was viewed critically; counter-productive, because the texts were now studied not just critically, but even hypercritically. Indeed, in such an hypercritical approach, the historical value of the entire body of traditions is rejected. Much useful evidence is thus lost to research.

Now there is a third way to study the ancient sources. The information given is carefully questioned. For any verdict proof is required. In fact, this is an application of the judicial rule that to be suspect is not necessarily to be guilty. Thus sources of information are subjected to internal criticism. If two or more variations are found, they are compared, and an attempt is made to discover whether the differences imply additions, omissions, or changes. Whenever possible external evidence is sought for the validity of the sources, specifically in archaeological or linguistic criteria.

This third approach is the one I have used ever since, in 1946, I began to collect material for research on the Greek migration to Ionia. As a result of over forty years of work on the ancient sources referring to people and events before the use of the Greek alphabet, the following observations appear to me to be true. Our written record can contain either authentic or fictitious elements; the core of a story may be

authentic, the hull fictitious. Whether authentic, spurious, or altered, what has reached us is but a small part of the pertinent writings of antiquity. Between the first recordings of oral traditions and the texts that have come down to us, successive authors have dealt with a given subject. Some have abridged the original narrative. Still others have omitted or added a number of elements, and some have fallen into the pit of misinterpretation. There have been changes, omissions, additions of authentic or fictitious elements not only when the narratives were transmitted in writing, but earlier, when transmission was by word of mouth. All these errors and additions were haphazard, made from time to time, so also intentional omissions. With the passage of time there have been still other losses of traditional material. Different bodies of material, however, may well have withstood the assault of time in different ways and to varying degrees.

The critical, rather than hypercritical, approach I follow in this study has met with the approval of a number of colleagues. Yet it has elicited disagreement both from those who think the traditions, just as narrated, are always genuine, and from those who exclude the entire body of material from the discipline of history. Moreover, since on principle I begin my discussion of each tradition by expressing any reasonable doubt, some hasty critics, having read only my initial reservations, have put me down as hypercritical. Others, they too in a hurry, apparently having perused not an entire discussion but only my conclusion that some particular tradition was genuine, have accused me of being credulous. As a result I have every so often thought of giving a systematic explanation of my experiences in working on these traditions, with relevant examples and a description of the method I have always used in studying them. Yet somehow the incentive was never strong enough to push the program through, for it meant sacrificing some other piece of research.

The die was cast through a letter from John Chadwick (August 1977), or, to be exact, a challenging idea in his letter. Among other doubts about views stated in my book, *Peuples préhelléniques d'origine indo-européenne*, 1977, the eminent student of the Mycenaean world expressed his distrust in the ancient authors as sources of information about Bronze Age events (known also from some of his writings), beginning with Homer. I quote the decisive passage:

"Whatever their reliability in dealing with contemporary events, I

cannot place much credence in the account given by Thucydides and Herodotus of events in the Bronze age. This is because such accounts must have come through an oral tradition extending for at least 700 years. I do not deny the possibility of such traditions preserving historical fact, but all parallels suggest that fact becomes rapidly mixed with fiction, and after a few centuries the truth can no longer be discerned – unless of course we have some other witness to it. It would be useful if we could copy a scientific method and establish the "half-life" of an oral tradition, i.e. the time needed for it to become half truth, half fiction. But I would estimate it as 500 years at the highest; thus the chances of a statement about the Bronze Age reported in the 5th century B.C. being correct would be considerably less than 50%. In such circumstances, I think we should dismiss Thucydides and Herodotus as worthless for practical purposes, and I leave you to judge whether later writers are likely to be more reliable."

In my reply to John Chadwick (14 September,1977), I observed that,

"Your idea is not feasible because the loss of historical recollection and the addition of fiction do not happen in such a way as to be measurable. Having said that, it is true that in each case an attempt must be made to determine whether a given tradition contains historical elements, and if so to isolate them. Since I have been studying for a quarter of a century all the ancient accounts of situations and events prior to the Iron Age, I am able to make the following observations. (1) A restricted number of ancient accounts of historical events close in time to the transition from the Bronze to the Iron Age contain elements going back to authentic traditions (as an example, see a text of Nikolaos of Damaskos on the establishment of Greek settlers in Phokaia, cited in La migration grecque en Ionie, *p. 410-411). (2) From the 13th to the 14th century there is nothing comparable, other than a few recollections of wars and migrations wrapped in legends about heroic characters. In this case how can the few remaining bits of the ancient traditions be identified? The answer lies in using appropriate methods whose common denominator is to withhold judgement where people's names or ethnic origin, and cult acts are concerned, until they can be recovered through independent evidence. Sometimes there is fairly valid confirmation of such information, and this is not without significance of a more general sort. (3) There are also narratives of the same type referring to situations*

or historical events of still earlier times (back to the third millennium).
My approach to these is quite unlike my approach to the preceding. I
consider it quite impossible that a reference to a war or migration can
preserve a memory going back to such an early time. It is possible,
however, that a legend about a migration from country A to country B is
based on a memory that a people X once lived both in country A and in
country B. I then look for independent confirmation and sometimes I find
it. (4) There are texts referring to prehellenic peoples or Greek tribes
living in various regions at a very early date. To some extent these
localizations can be confirmed through cross-checking and other
methods."

Yet John Chadwick's challenging idea stayed with me. Since then
there has been no reason for me to alter my opinion that to "establish the
'half- life' of a tradition" was out of the question. In my letter to John
Chadwick I referred, however, to only one of my arguments: that neither
the diminishing of memory nor the elaboration that creates fiction can be
measured. I omitted another argument, one that needed to be developed:
that a tradition is not a single entity like a chemical element, but it is
composed of various categories, such as the names of people and places,
events, chronologies, and so on. Moreover, each component has its own
fate through adulterations and fictionalizing, and the wear and tear of
time. In my experience, some categories of traditional material may well
refer to events somewhat earlier than 1100 B.C. Thus the reply to John
Chadwick's challenging idea should be a systematic exposition of the
behaviour through time of each category of traditional material.

The traditions I have studied touch on various topics: migrations,
wars, the founding and abolishing of dynasties, kings and heroes, cults. It
would be confusing indeed if traditional material from narratives about
all these subjects were presented together. I have therefore confined the
study at hand to a single group of narratives: those having to do with
migrations.

In addition, I have thought it useful to compare my observations with
those of scholars studying the oral traditions that have survived into our
times for these traditions can be approached directly, without the agency
of written transmission. The study of living oral tradition gives us some
idea of the possibilities of transmission by word of mouth, something we
cannot expect from the scraps of prehistoric tradition written down in

archaic times, without scientific method of course, and successively filtered, always subjectively, to become the texts we have inherited. Observations based on living oral traditions therefore can be used as "standards" for assessing data going back to ancient Greek oral traditions of pre-alphabetic times.

INTRODUCTION

I. CONCLUSIONS DRAWN FROM THE STUDY OF PRESENT-DAY TRADITIONS

Oral traditions are widely used today as sources for studying the history of illiterate societies, especially those of Africa. Concomitantly, much has been the discussion about the reliability of this kind of evidence and the relevant methodology. The experience of those working with written sources has likewise, and with profit, been taken into consideration.[1] This, in return, may well be of some use to historians of Greek and Roman antiquity in assessing data derived from oral tradition.

By scholarly definition, an oral tradition is "a testimony transmitted verbally from one generation to another"[2] or "orally transmitted information concerning the past".[3] It is, furthermore, described as follows. "The informant who recounts a tradition did not himself take part in the activity it records nor saw it happen, but received it from some other person through a chain of transmission going back in theory to a participant or eyewitness."[4] Thus "oral tradition" differs from oral history, which refers to information from eyewitnesses and participants of events which took place in relatively recent times".[5]

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[1] Useful information for non-specialists: M.P.Burg, "Problems and Methods of Oral History", B.Barry, "La chronologie dans la tradition orale du Waalo, essai d'interprétation", E.J.Alagoa, "Oral Tradition", and Sylvie Vincent, "L'histoire orale montagnaise, source pour l'histoire et discours idéologique", all in *XVe Congrès International des sciences historiques 1980*, Rapports I (1980) 497-578; J.Vansina, "Oral Tradition and its Methodology", and A.Hampatá Bâ, "The Living Tradition", both in *General History of Africa* (sponsored by the U.N.E.S.C.O.), I (1981) 142-203.

[2] J.Vansina, *op. cit.*, 142

[3] E.J.Alagoa, *op. cit.*, 529

[4] E.J.Alagoa, *ib.*

[5] E.J.Alagoa, *ib.*

1. DISCUSSIONS ABOUT THE RELIABILITY OF
LIVING ORAL TRADITIONS.
HOW THEY HAVE BEEN TRANSMITTED

Students of living oral tradition can be divided into three schools simi-
lar to those found in the study of Helladic-Aegean prehistoric traditions
transmitted through Greek and Latin written sources. These are: the
school that unreservedly believes the traditions to preserve memories of
historical events; the school that, to the contrary, has strong reservations
about any item of information coming from oral tradition; and the school,
between these two, that approaches each item of information separately
without prejudice pro or con, and examines it critically to see whether or
not it echoes actual events or situations.

The second school in the field of living oral tradition, the hypercriti-
cal, has been influenced by socio-anthropological perceptions not yet
introduced in work on Helladic-Aegean prehistoric traditions. Of particu-
lar note is the supposition of the structuralists that oral traditions do not
reflect historical realities but, rather, the idea a given society has about
its own past. That is to say, traditions serve the social and political
designs of the present.

Studying each traditional element from every point of view, scholars
of the third school have made an extraordinary number of valuable obser-
vations. This has provided us with a full picture of the circumstances of
transmission, and the potentialities and limitations of oral tradition. Of
special interest for those studying the Helladic-Aegean area, are their
observations on (a) factors contributing to the transmission of genuine
traditional elements with fidelity and minimal loss, and (b) those which,
to the contrary, produce changes in the authentic traditional material or
bring about the invention of fictions.

(a) Study of actual oral traditions and of the ways they are transmit-
ted has shown that they are of vital importance for the maintenance and
functioning of illiterate societies. Such societies need highly qualified
persons who can keep and transmit traditions as faithfully as possible.
Memory of events of the past has been kept alive through chains of
specialists who learned of these matters from their elder colleagues and

in their turn handed on the information to their pupils. These specialists are known in various African languages by words meaning "the know-ers", or "makers of knowledge". Scholars call them "traditionalists", or "griots", and liken them to "living archives" or "depositories of historical knowledge". In many respects they differ from minstrels and story-tellers (to be discussed below). In an illiterate society, the capacity of recollection is cultivated at a very high level. The traditionalists themselves "are gifted with a prodigious memory",[1] a memory they keep in practice continuously from the years of their training to the end of their lives. To help them they use mnemotechnical devices. They undergo a long and assiduous training with teachers who are themselves sanctioned traditionalists. Their horizon is not limited to their compatriots alone, but they study also with foreign teachers. In their travels they consult as well non-specialists who are in a position to know certain family histories or hidden pockets of history of more general interest. In the bibliography the traditionalists are sometimes described as being versed in cosmological myths, the secrets of man and his natural environment, and in a number of other skills as well. Some confine themselves to memorizing only local events, dynastic and family chronicles. Others specialize much more. The traditionalists come from various social classes, ranging from the aristocracy to the house-captive. Yet all are similarly respected and all may attend the council of the elders. Minstrels and story-tellers, on the other hand, never had that privilege, all the more as they were primarily house-captives. Two factors were responsible for the social eminence of the traditionalists. They were respected for their intellectual ability. They were moreover entrusted with a function of great importance for the community, which wanted to preserve its collective memory and its identity.

This was done according to defined rules and rites. The traditionalists "were bound to respect the truth", not because lying was ethically disapproved, but because lying "would vitiate ritual acts".[2] The traditionalists mentioned their immediate teachers and those who went before them as far back as possible, particularly if their words were challenged. They adhered, moreover, to intellectual probity even to the

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[1] A.Hampatá Bâ, *op. cit.*, 173.

[2] A.Hampatá Bâ, *op. cit.*, 175.

point of narrating two divergent accounts about the same event or
process. Unlike the traditionalists, minstrels and story-tellers narrated
tales known both to themselves and to their listeners to be fiction.

In addition to their faculty to remember and their respect for truth,
other factors as well affected the fidelity of a narrative. The traditional-
ists made their recitals frequently. Their listeners knew the narrations
well and were quite prepared to make corrections if the traditionalist
were to make a mistake. From time to time two or more traditionalists
met together to check each other's learning. Finally, certain kinds or
degrees of error brought on "religious, social and political sanctions",[1]
and were even punishable by death. The heaviest sanctions were suffered
by the traditionalists if they made a mistake in a recital of dynastic
catalogues or in narrating the accomplishments or rights of the royal
ancestors.

Besides the part played by the human factor, that is, the traditionalists
themselves, we should mention the role of a formal factor, the use of
fixed forms. "Certain traditions transmitted in a fixed form can also retain
historical information long after its use or even meaning has been forgot-
ten and in spite of social or political changes."[2] It is worth noting that the
Vedic Hymns too were orally transmitted for centuries although, as time
went on, words or formulae were no longer understood by the public or
by ordinary bards.

b) In contrast to the above, there were other factors with an adverse
effect on the preservation of oral tradition, causing losses, distortions, and
adulterations. Such factors were connected above all with the interests
and preferences of communities, social groups, families, and powerful
individuals. Communities held on to memories of the past that had to do
with their origin and their identity; so also their victories and their
negotiated rights. Leading groups and, within these, dynastic families,
developed and cultivated viewpoints that guaranteed their privileged
position within the community. Dynastic families as a rule had at their
disposal their own traditionalist. He was supervised by his patrons to be
sure he reproduced their tradition exactly and, if the opportunity or need

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[1] J.Alagoa, *op. cit.*, 532.

[2] J.Alagoa, *op. cit.*, 532.

arose, they prevailed upon him to make changes in their interest. Social concerns and interests worked not only selectively, conservatively, and by distorting, but also corrosively: traditions that no longer interested a community, group, or family, faded and disappeared. The same thing happened to a greater extent when a tradition was simply erased by some social agent. Situations in which a political or social change within a community has brought about a total forgetting of the past order have been verified by a number of scholars. Others, however, have found that such changes are not really so erosive in their effect. Oral tradition may suffer also from the extent to which it uses stereotypes. Events and chronological indications may thus be confused with each other or dropped entirely.

Scholars who work with living oral tradition try to avoid its traps and to educe from it whatever valuable information there may be. They use the same means and methods as those employed by historians working with written sources. They subject each particular narrative to internal criticism. They ascertain the trustworthiness of the narrator and of his predecessors in the chain of transmission. They also take into consideration the value attached to truth by the society that produced the tradition u ider study. Furthermore, they look for sources independent of those to be verified, specifically: a) other oral traditions, b) written testimonies of Arab or European traders, adventurers, missionaries, official envoys and government employees and c) linguistic and archaeological data.

2. CHARACTERISTICS AND POTENTIALITIES
OF TRADITIONAL MATERIAL

Study to date of living oral tradition has enabled scholars to show a) which categories of events are preserved through oral tradition, b) how long it takes the various categories of data to be eroded or dropped, c) what changes result from the mythicizing of historical events or situations, from idealizing, or from the use of stereotypes.

a) Living oral tradition commands a wide spectrum of historical events and situations. Most frequently and emphatically recited are deeds of war, the accomplishments of kings, and lists of rulers. Every people or tribe, indeed, likes to hear stories about its genesis and the formation of

its state. If their ancestors happened to have come from another area, references to their place of origin, their migrations, and to their final settling are among the favorite topics. Other stories explain the social divisions, the position of each social class, the rights and obligations of individuals, and the importance of their various social principles.

b) The general perception that the older an event, the more its recollection is stamped on the collective memories of illiterate societies, is both supplemented and refined by many other observations about the effects of time and other factors on the preservation or loss of traditional material. (1) "The maximum length of time social memory can comprehend depends directly on the institution which is concerned with a tradition. Each has its own temporal depth. Family history does not go far back because the extended family covers only three generations and there is often little interest in remembering earlier events."[1] Clans and kingdoms as a rule have long memories that cover many generations and may go back to their beginnings. (2) There are, however, some societies that preserve recollections of many generations, but telescope them to only two, that of the fathers and grandfathers. (3) Other societies like to extend their history as far back as possible, to a more or less mythical time. (4) Where successive kings are listed, memory of the names and order of succession is more reliable than that of the length of each reign. (5) A number of recollections of African tribes can be checked against the written testimony of Arab and Sudanese writers. Such checking has shown that the earliest recollections to be found in the traditions of the kings of Tekkur, Ghana, and Mali, go back to the 11th century A.C. The earliest recollections of the Dolof and Waalo have not been securely dated. Scholars have suggested a number of chronologies, ranging from the 8th to the 14th centuries, one of which is at the transition from the 11th to the 12th century and another from the 12th to the 13th century A.C.

c) The very content of oral traditions recalling historical fact is subject to alteration through contamination with myth. Similarly, it may be distorted by idealization and standardization. (1) Whether or not its content is "true", all narrative tends to become mythical. Traditions describing the origin of a particular people are particularly subject to

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[1] J.Vansina, *op. cit*., 155.

mythicizing. Specific examples are instructive. Thus the tradition of the Kuba people in which their forbears migrated upstream in canoes is no longer in the realm of history, but expresses the idea of movement from the sacred to the profane. Other tales of migration have been shown to be cosmogonical. (2) Traditions likewise have a tendency towards idealization. Thus possibly historical kings take on characteristics that clearly reflect an idealized conception of royalty so that they lose some of their own characteristics and resemble other figures. Many examples of idealized behaviour have been noted as well. (3) Oral tradition also works out standardized types of kings, such as the "warrior", the "just", the "magician" or the "culture-hero". As a result kings who waged some war or other, or became known as wizards, or were connected with some cultural development, may be credited with still more wars, other sorceries, or other cultural advances.

It is worth adding that in many societies there exist two oral traditions: one secret or esoteric, known to a restricted group the other public or exoteric, known and open to all. Both secret and public versions may well refer to the same thing, such as the origin of a dynasty, ritual or commemorative festival. Both are equally susceptible to alteration.

II. GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON GREEK TRADITIONS ABOUT PREHISTORIC TIMES IN THE LIGHT OF PRESENT-DAY ORAL TRADITIONS

The preserved elements of Greek oral tradition of prehistoric times are evidently but a fraction of the traditions that were still alive before the alphabet was in general use. It is equally clear that we confront the problem of their validity under far more difficult circumstances than those of the oral traditions still alive today.

To begin with, we do not have the first alphabetic recordings of oral traditions. Secondly, we do not know exactly when each oral tradition was first written down. The time around 700 B.C. is but the earliest possible date for some initial recordings; the latest may have been several centuries later. Thirdly, sometimes we know that between an oral tradition and its first recording there was a period when it was transmitted through an epic. This raises the possibility that the same

thing could apply in other cases. Fourth, it is obvious that whatever the immediate source of each initial recording, and whatever its date, none of this was done with any sort of scientific method. Quite to the contrary in terms of selection, abridgement, misunderstanding, and intentional or other sorts of changes, it was affected by the results of subjective interference. Finally worth noting are the vicissitudes in transmission of each tradition or element of a tradition, from one author to the next, from its first recording in writing to the texts that have come down to us and are our direct sources. Over the centuries, omissions, abridgements, alterations, and fictional additions accumulated through the interests or tastes of the authors themselves, and, given the opportunity, the interests or tastes of this or that political milieu or family.

Thus the task of criticism imposed by our material is far more demanding than that required by living oral tradition. To begin with, changes made – or that could have been made – during written transmission have to be detected. The mangled bits of what was once oral tradition must be isolated despite their subsequent alteration. Then, only those elements clearly belonging to oral tradition may be considered for comparison, using the standards of living oral tradition. The more an item of information approaches the standards of living oral tradition from the standpoint of content and precision, the greater the likelihood of its being authentic.

Did the illiterate societies of the Helladic-Aegean region have traditionalists? The lack of pertinent evidence is compensated to some extent by analogy with societies that still maintain an oral tradition, and by the existence in some Greek *poleis* of magistrates known as *mnemones*. They were in charge of registering and keeping private contracts, titles of land held privately, and mortgages. They also served as witnesses in trials and played a part in the sale of goods and in the manumission of slaves.[1] The title *mnemon* is certainly more ancient than the use of written documents.[2] Moreover, if specialists in memorizing were needed to assure the safe-keeping of contracts between individuals, would they not have been needed just as well for preserving recollections of interest to

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[1] G.Busolt, *Griechische Staatskunde* (1926) 368, 488, 749; E.Kiessling, "Mnemones", *RE*, XV 2 (1932) 2261-2264.

[2] G.Busolt, *op. cit.*, 488; E.Kiessling, *op. cit.*, 2263; E.Berneker, "Mnemones", *KlP*, III (1969) 1370 ff; R.F.Willetts, *The Civilization of Ancient Crete* (1977) 167-168.

to an entire community or tribe? All the Greek societies were illiterate during the years from the end of Mycenaean times to the eighth century B.C. These people therefore needed traditionalists, who will have been known as "mnemones". The Mycenaeans used a system of writing known as Linear B. Yet the surviving Mycenaean texts have neither a shred of historical information nor the name of a king. One may well question the existence of written chronicles of historical events and written king lists and that is a question we cannot answer. Yet even if there were such texts, we cannot exclude the parallel existence of epics with historical content, transmitted orally by both professional bards and simple people.

The range in categories of topics recorded in writing about events that could have taken place in the Helladic - Aegean area before the alphabet was widely used, is as great as the corresponding spectrum found in living oral traditions. Among the topics preferred are the kings' accomplishments in battle. With few exceptions, the kings are identified not only by their own name, but by the father's name, and, rarely, by that of the grandfather, thus a short genealogy. Long dynastic catalogues make their appearance in late texts and seem to be the product of combinations and calculations by scholars of historical times, notably Hellenistic. Next in frequency are narrations of migrations and settlements of groups of people, or of heroes, alone or with a few comrades. Rarely found are stories referring to the beginning of ritual or religious acts, and even rarer are those recalling the origin of an institution.

Discoveries made in the study of living oral tradition may provide solutions to problems arising in the study of pre-alphabetic Helladic-Aegean traditions. For example, the appearance of two or more variations in a succession of kings in a dynasty may be explained with the help of models taken from living oral tradition. Other results from this branch of study should certainly awaken doubt and caution in the student of earlier tradition. What divergences from the original form might have occurred in an oral tradition before it was written down? What is the role of the specific interests of societies, social groups, or dynasties in this case? What part was played by mythicizing, idealizing or standardizing? Was the tradition under study originally esoteric or exoteric? Finally, the study of living oral tradition has provided something by which to measure the limits of possibility in our traditions. There is always the chance that the demise of the group interested in preserving a tradition, might have

erased a body of collective recollections. If there are signs that this is not the case, we must then look for some other convincing explanation, such as the dissemination of an epic outside the society that formed it. Equally important is the observation that a number of living oral traditions refer to events that happened eight centuries earlier. This means that oral traditions of the Helladic-Aegean area, recorded around 700 B.C., could well preserve memories of events going as far back as ca. 1500 B.C. If, however, a particular tradition were to be handed down by way of an epic before being written down, that is before 700 B.C., then the earliest limit of eight centuries could be calculated backwards from the date when the epic was formed. In actuality, however, this possibility is not in evidence.

III. THE PRESENT STUDY

As already stated, the present study[1] is confined to the cycle of traditions about migratory movements of Greek groups whose recollections of these movements were handed down by word of mouth before they were transcribed.

To reach our goal we have divided the material according to the date of each relevant event, and we have studied each period separately in working back to earlier times. Thus, we begin with the chronological horizon of 630 B.C. and we end with the earliest time reflected in tradition. We can thus determine the quantitative decrease and qualitative deterioration of historical information in relation to the lapse of time.

In fact we are not dealing with all the traditions about migratory movements, but only the most useful from each chronological horizon. We have eliminated from the period 760 - 630 B.C. all traditions whose documentation mentions only metropolises and oikists. In proportion to our ascent in time we retain those cases with the greatest number of items of information that can reasonably be considered genuine. These

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[1] A first brief account of this study was presented at the 8th Congress of the Federation for Classical Studies held in Dublin, 24 August to 1 September 1984, with the title "Quelques observations sur les traditions grecques historiques de haute époque." As this will not be published, a shorter version is in *Εἰλαπίνη*, volume in honour of Professor Nikolaos Platon (1987) 473-478.

items express not a maximum, but a minimum of the possibility oral tradition has of preserving collective recollections. Our appraisal is based on the fact that we have no access to living oral traditions, but only to the debris found in texts. Here there are two difficulties. First of all, these texts were written at the earliest in the 5th century B.C., and more often in Hellenistic or Roman times. In addition, they incorporate the omissions, additions, and misunderstandings of a series of authors from the earliest transcription of a tradition down to the version we have before our eyes.

In sum, we are confining ourselves to study-cases within the limits of each chronological horizon. These in turn will serve as reference-cases for those from earlier horizons.

PART ONE

STUDY-CASES FOR OMISSIONS, ADDITIONS,
AND ALTERATIONS IN TRADITIONS DURING
THEIR TRANSMISSION BY WRITING

INTRODUCTION

All Greek traditions about migrations earlier than the widespread use of the alphabet have come down to us in written form. We have, however, only some of the texts about each migration. In a general way, the loss of the first transcription of each tradition is regrettable. Presumably this will have been more faithful to oral tradition in quantity and quality of items retained than were the texts that followed. Another handicap is that texts giving the history of a migration in a consecutive and balanced fashion are exceptional. The texts of each surviving series increasingly digress from each other in content and form. In content, big differences are evident, both in the preservation of genuine recollections and, conversely, in what has been forgotten, confused, fictionalized or otherwise degraded and weakened. As for form, there is an entire scale of texts ranging from accounts of some length to scholia or lexicon lemmas. Be that as it may, we must first of all try to determine whether and to what extent what we read in our texts goes back to the time when these traditions were being transmitted simply by word of mouth.

To find the answer, it would be useful first to examine a number of traditions that were not slow to be recorded since they were related to post-alphabet migrations. By comparing what we have verified here with verifications made in the dossiers of pre-alphabet migrations, we can reasonably expect to limit the chance of attributing to oral tradition what could instead have occurred at the time of written transmission.

The prob'em of the emergence of writing in Greek is much discussed. For our purposes, suffice it to take note of the following. The oldest extant Greek inscriptions are graffiti on vases datable ca. 740-730 B.C. Some scholars synchronize the date of these documents with the birth of the alphabet. Others interpret it as a *terminus ante quem,* and assume that the alphabet was introduced during the first half of the eighth century. Resemblances of some early Greek letters to their Phoenician prototypes, datable to the same period or earlier, support this second hypothesis. According to Greek tradition, the names of victors at Olympia were first recorded in 776 B.C., and the list of Spartan ephors began in 754 B.C. Given the archaeological data mentioned above, these two traditions seem quite plausible. There is no reason to accept the hypothesis that 776 and 754 were dates given later on to the earliest known Olympic

victors and Spartan ephors. The emergence of the use of the Greek al-
phabet, therefore, coincides with the beginning of successive migrations
from the Greek mainland to colonial areas. This is known as the second
Greek colonization.

Here we shall not examine as study-cases all the migrations in ques-
tion, only those whose dossier proves to yield conclusions. The best
dossiers are those about a group of Theraians sent to Libya ca.638 B.C.
and established at Kyrene eight years later, and the migration of the
Partheniai of Sparta to Taras around 706 B.C. Next is the dossier on the
colonization of Rhegion by Chalkidians and Messenians around 730 B.C.
Finally there are a number of other dossiers relevant to migrations earlier
than 730 B.C.

Although the migratory movements between 760 and 630 B.C. are
later than the appearance of the Greek alphabet, the earliest of them
could have occurred some time before the use of the alphabet for chroni-
cles or other documents from which local historians drew their informa-
tion. In these cases traditions about migrations would have been transmit-
ted by word of mouth over the course of one, two, or even three genera-
tions. This length of time, however, will not have been long enough to
bring about perceptible alterations.

Before taking up the question of the migrations we plan to use as
study-cases, let us make a quick review of the first steps of Greek
historiography in general and especially the migratory movements that
took place between 760 and 630 B.C.

We have already mentioned the lists of Olympic victors and Spartan
ephors, beginning in 776 and 754 B.C. respectively. The list of Athenian
eponymous archons that begins in 683 B.C. may likewise be borne in
mind. Other *poleis* too will have begun to keep similar lists, and their
sanctuaries lists of priests or priestesses. As time passed, those charged
with the keeping of the lists recorded also memorable events of an
archon's or priest's years of office. These were records, however, of
contemporary events. Thus, even if they were started with the first
generation in some of the colonies founded from 760 on, rarely would
they have included also recollections of the actual circumstances of
migration. Real histories of *poleis* or groups of *poleis* began to be written
during the fifth century B.C.

During the Archaic period, however, the Greeks entertained a strong

interest in the remote past, that past which we classify as mythical rather than historical. They were interested also in foreign peoples with a different way of life. This material was collected into epics. In this way were formed the types known as the "historical epic" and the "periegetic epic" (*periploi, periodoi, periegeseis*). These two types reached their peak during the sixth and first third of the fifth centuries in Ionia. From the areas where there were Greek colonies, we know only that two of the archaic poets of Magna Graecia and Sicily, Stesichoros (7th-6th century) and Ibykos (6th century), wrote poems with mythical content. We know also that the fragments of the *Periegeseis* of Hekataios of Miletos contain information about geography beyond metropolitan Greece.

From the *Souda* we learn that during the time of the Persian Wars one Hippys of Rhegion wrote two works: *Ktisis Italias* and *Sikelikai Praxeis*. Yet it has been suggested that Hippys was fictitious and that his works are spurious, datable no earlier than the 3rd century B.C.[1] Thus the earliest of the historians of Magna Graecia and Sicily known to us is Antiochos of Syracuse who wrote *Sikelika* and *Peri Italias* [2] between the years 430 and 410 B.C. The first work began with the mythical king, Kokalos, and ended with the year 424. The second work also began before the arrival of the Greeks in Italy. Thus it is reasonable to suggest that both works contained information about the founding of the Italian and Sicilian cities. This information will have been drawn from local sources, written or possibly still oral. Events of the Greek colonization of Magna Graecia and Sicily were reflected in the works of the fifth century Greek historians. Pherekydes, Hellanikos, and Herodotos all referred to these subjects, inserting them where pertinent in accounts of other matters. In his introduction to the *Sikelika* Thucydides put together some pieces of information about Greek colonization in Sicily, and the native population. From the fourth century on down to Roman times, we hear of many Greek authors from Magna Graecia and Sicily or other Greek regions. Here I mention those who are or may be connected with our subject. Greeks of Sicily and Italy: Philistos of Syracuse (4th century

[1] 554 *FGrH.*
[2] 555 *FGrH.*

B.C.),[1] Alkimos of Sicily (4th century),[2] Athanas of Syracuse (4th century),[3] Timaios of Tauromenion (4th century),[4] Lykos of Rhegion (4th-3rd century),[5] Andreas of Tauromenion (3rd century),[6] and Diodoros of Sicily (1st century B.C.). Greeks from other places: Hermeias of Mythemna ,[7] Ephoros, Aristotle, and the Pseudo-Skylax (4th century B.C.), Hippostratos[8] and Silenos of Kaleakte (3rd century B.C.),[9] Aristeides of Miletos, Diomedes, Dositheos, Polemon of Ilion (2nd century B.C.),[10] Dionysios of Halikarnassos and Strabo (1st century B.C.).

Our study of the written documentation on migrations occurring after the alphabet was in general use shows also the impact of some factors connected with literacy itself on the transmission of traditions. These are the author, and the type of text. The role of the author is determined by his options which in turn depend on personal and social ideas, concerns, and tastes. We use the word social here in its broader sense, including also the changing ideologies of successive historical periods. It is notable also that some authors show an interest in the genuine elements of a tradition, whereas others succumb to fictions they have fashioned themselves or drawn from earlier colleagues. The texts, for their part, fall into different categories based on the following criteria: occasion and purpose, length, content, conventions, quality. For the first of the criteria we have sections of larger accounts within historical works, occasional digressions referring to an event or theme, commentaries and scholia, and lexicon lemmas. As for length, the spectrum ranges from Herodotos's narrative of the Theraian migration to Kyrene to hints or brief explanations. Between these two extremes are narratives of some extent telling a story in coherent and balanced fashion, and narratives from which details and even items have been omitted. The content depends largely

[1] 556 *FGrH*.
[2] 560 *FGrH*.
[3] 562 *FGrH*.
[4] 566 *FGrH*.
[5] 570 *FGrH*.
[6] 571 *FGrH*.
[7] 558 *FGrH*.
[8] 568 *FGrH*.
[9] *FGrH* III B, 658.
[10] *FGrH* III B, 659.

on the length. A longer text may, to be sure, include more items and details than a shorter one. This is, however, not always the case. Some texts of about the same length may differ in the number of items, with the devotion of more space to one item compensating for the omission of another. Yet the kinds of items we find in our documentation seem to obey some convention. If there is a single item only, by far the most frequently found is that of the mother-city. If we are indulged with two, these will be the mother-city and the oikist. Last in frequency are the preparations for the migration and the expedition itself. The earlier historians, such as Herodotos and Thucydides, have their own conventions and stereotypes for telling about the foundations of colonies. After that, some impersonal conventions and stereotypes gain ground.

The above shows clearly that it is not enough to identify the items of each dossier and to distinguish their original and secondary elements. We must consider likewise the role of the sources themselves in conveying traditions in general, specific items, and, within these, genuine and secondary elements. In Chapter I, it will be seen that the condition of our documentation has obliged me to face the problem of the sources by analysing them in chronological order. In other dossiers this system proved to be impracticable. I found it clearer and more feasible to deal with the problem of the sources as vehicles of traditions in separate sections within each relevant study-case.

I. THE COLONIZING OF KYRENE

THE SOURCES

The dossier on the emigration of a group of Theraians to Kyrene is unique among the dossiers on our subject in having five characteristics, all advantageous for this study-case. To begin with, it is the only dossier preserving the decree of the mother-city to send out a colony. Secondly, it is the only one with a narrative of what happened in Thera once the decision was taken. The source of the narration itself may have been a local chronicle. Third, this is the only dossier in which a detailed account of the events is taken from a literary source, namely the history of Herodotos. Fourth, this account is the only one in all the related literature stating which information comes from the mother-city, and which from the colony. Fifth, the time that passed between the founding of the colony and the narration of Herodotos, one hundred ninety years, is the shortest length of time with which we have to deal. The next in chronological span is a century longer.[1]

PRIMARY AND EARLY SECONDARY SOURCES

A REVIEW OF THE TEXTS

At an unknown time in the fourth century B.C., the Theraians requested the Kyrenaians to grant full citizenship to Theraian residents of their city. To this end, the applicants invoked an agreement, made previously after a decision to send a colony from Thera to Libya, between the people who were to stay and those who were to sail. The agreement provided that any Theraian who might later move to the colony would have a share in citizenship and a portion of the land that had not yet been distributed. The Kyrenaians honoured the request of their mother city and published in their decree the agreement and an appendix which they described as the ὅρκιον τῶν οἰκιστήρων, that is,

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[1] This is the case with the colonization of Taras (*infra*, pages 66 - 93).

the "oath of the founders." Both the decree of the Kyrenaians and the appendix are preserved in an inscription that has been studied by many scholars. The appendix consist of two different parts. It first quotes a text purported to be the very decree of the Theraian assembly stating their decision to send forth a colony and regulating its application. Then it reports that after voting this decree the Theraians took an oath to respect it and put curses on possible transgressors, with magical rites being performed both by those who were leaving and those who were staying. I quote here A. J. Graham's English translation of the appendix, with two departures which I note below.[1]

"Decided by the assembly. Since Apollo has spontaneously prophecised to Battos and the Theraians[2] ordering them to colonize Kyrene, the Theraians resolve that Battos be sent to Libya as leader and king; that the Theraians sail as his companions; that they sail on fair and equal terms, according to family; that one son be conscripted from each family; that those who sail be in the prime of life; and that, of the rest of the Theraians, any free man who wishes may sail. If the colonists establish the settlement, any of their fellow-citizens who later sails to Libya shall have a share in citizenship and honours and shall be allotted a portion of the unoccupied land. But if they do not establish the settlement and the Theraians are unable to help them and they suffer inescapable troubles up to five years, let them return from that land without fear to Thera, to their possessions and to be citizens. But he who is unwilling to sail when the city sends him shall be liable to punishment by death and his goods shall be confiscated. And he who receives or protects another, even if it be a father his son or brother his brother, shall suffer the same penalty as the man unwilling to sail." Here ends the text of the Theraian decree. It is immediately followed by this account: "On these conditions they took an oath,[3] those who stayed here and those who sailed on the colonial expedition, and they put a curse on those who

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[1] A.J.Graham, *Colony and Mother City in Ancient Greece* (1964) 225-226.

[2] Herodotos has αὐτομάτιξεν without stating precisely whether the prophecy was separately or jointly to Battos and the Theraians. This is an important problem (*infra*, page 46 and 63). For the moment it is useful to retain the imprecision of the original.

[3] We have not, then, here to translate ὅρκιον τῶν οἰκιστήρων (*supra*, page 38) as "agreement", as has been proposed. Furthermore, "agreement" accords only with the decree itself, not with the narrative of events.

should transgress these conditions and not abide by them, whether those living in Libya or those staying in Thera. They moulded wax images and burnt them while they uttered the following imprecation, all of them, having come together, men and women, boys and girls. May he who does not abide by this oath but transgresses it melt away and dissolve like the images, himself and his seed and his property. But for those who remain in Thera, may there be abundance and prosperity both for themselves and their descendants."

This narrative most certainly has recorded actual events; not all the events, however. Thus it gives us some idea of a minimum of events that an oral tradition could preserve, if that tradition is not far removed from its origin. We must measure with reference to this minimum, not only Herodotos's account of the Theraian colonization in Libya, but every other account having to do with colonization.

Herodotos's account of the settling of some of the Theraians in Kyrene is the next of our main sources in chronological order and in reliability. It is in the *logos* about Kyrene, and it follows the same model as that used by Herodotos in the other *logoi* incorporated in his definitive work. After noting simply "About this time a great army was sent against Libya also, for a reason which I will give after I have first related this story", and before he comes to the narrative of the campaign, Herodotos makes a digression in four parts. First comes the history of a group of Minyans who settled in Lakonia, and who, after a period of good relations with the Spartans, followed by a time of bad relations, were obliged to leave the country. The second part is the history of Theras. He came from Kadmeian Thebes, and had accompanied the Herakleidai to the Peloponnese. Since he was, on his mother's side, an uncle of Aristodemos's sons, he became regent at Sparta. When his nephews grew up and took on the kingship, Theras planned to emigrate with members of the Spartan community. This happened at the very time that a crisis arose between the Spartans and Minyans. Theras made a successful request to take the Minyans with him. The third part of the digression has to do with the history of the Theraians settling in Libya and the founding of Kyrene. After that comes the history of Kyrene up to its seizure by the Persians. Herodotos represents the oikist of Kyrene and his successors to the kingship of Kyrene, as having descended from a group of Minyan stock.

He affirms that he drew his material about Kyrene from Spartan, Theraian, and Kyrenaian sources. He states quite precisely that the Spartans and Theraians were in agreement about everything connected with the history of the Minyans so also with the history of Thera including even the colonisation of Thera from Lakonia. He then goes on to alert the reader to the points of agreement and disagreement between the Theraians and the Kyrenaians. He uses three verbs: "λέγουσι" (they say), "συμφέρονται" (they agree), and "οὐδαμῶς ὁμολογέουσι" (they do not agree in telling). "So far in my story the Lakedaimonians and the Theraians agree in their account; from this point the Theraians alone say that things happened as follows". "This is what the Theraians say; for the rest the Theraian and Kyrenaian stories agree, except that the Kyrenaians tell a wholly different tale of Battos, which is this." The verbs, λέγουσι, συμφέρονται, and ὁμολογέουσι may be used both in speaking and in writing. In Herodotos's time local histories (ὧροι) had only just started to be written. Herodotos therefore will hardly have drawn on Theraian *horoi* but rather on other sources, such as oral traditions, chronicles, short epics of local interest, or works of the logographers (who will have drawn on the same sources).[1] Pindar's odes in honour of the Kyrenaian victors show us that the royal and aristocratic families nurtured traditions referring to their ancestors.[2] Herodotos, moreover, seems somehow to have known the contents of the decree cited above.[3] Herodotos visited Kyrene and he had access to ample material about Sparta. Yet he seems never to have visited Thera, and nowhere else does he refer to that island. We may well ask where he learned the Theraian viewpoint. Perhaps it was in one of the "genealogies" or "periegeseis" earlier than his time.

Since the story of the Theraian colonization of Kyrene is included by Herodotos in his account of Kyrene, this will have been written after his trip to Kyrene, where he went from Thourioi, that is, around 440 B.C.,[4] one hundred and ninety years after its founding. Consequently, if Herodotos drew some material from oral tradition, and that can have

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[1] Cf. L.H.Jeffery, *Historia*, 10 (1961) 141-142.

[2] W.W. How and J.Wells, *A Commentary on Herodotos*, I (1912,1928²) 351.

[3] A.J.Graham, *JHS*, 80 (1960) 95ff, especially 110.

[4] Ph.-E. Legrand, *Hérodote (Collection des Universités de France)* I (1932) 28-29; F.Jacoby, "Herodotos", *RE*, Suppl. II (1913) 262 ff.

happened only in Kyrene itself, this material will have gone back no
more than one hundred and ninety years. Whatever he took from written
sources will have been passed down by word of mouth over a shorter
time.

Whatever may have been Herodotos's sources for the Theraian colo-
nization of Kyrene, whatever is owed to each of them, all we have
access to is what he wrote himself. His narrative has the familiar style of
the Father of History and it corresponds to his well-known interests. He
will have made as many abridgements and selections as he thought
necessary. Thus when we analyze the text of Herodotos, we can go back
only to some of the information he drew from his sources. Yet it is doubt-
ful that he made mistakes.

Be that as it may, it is Herodotos's text that we have, and not
whatever his sources may have been. In Herodotos's account of the
Theraian version[1] we may distinguish eight stages. *1* Grinnos, king of
Thera, and son of Aisanios, a descendant of Theras, visited Delphi
bringing a hekatomb. He was accompanied by several Theraians, among
them Battos, son of Polymnestos, a descendant of Euphemos of Minyan
stock. When the king consulted the oracle about other matters, the Pythia
ordered him to found a city in Libya. Grinnos then indicated his own
advanced age and weakness and asked the god to lay this command on
some younger man, pointing to Battos as he spoke. *2* After the embassy
returned home, no one heeded the oracle because the Theraians had no
idea where Libya was, and they were afraid to send out a colony to an
uncertain goal. *3* Then for seven years after the oracle, Thera had no rain;
all the trees in the island, save one, withered. *4* Again the Theraians
enquired at Delphi; the Pythia repeated the order to send a colony to
Libya. *5* Since the Theraians could not but obey in order to put an end to
their misfortunes, they sent emissaries to Crete to seek out any Cretan or
sojourner in Crete who had travelled to Libya. In the town of Itanos, they
found a murex fisherman named Korobios who told them that he had
once been blown off his course to an island off Libya called Platea. The
emissaries hired Korobios to follow them to Thera, and they sent him
with a few men to spy out the land of Libya. On landing at Platea, they
left Korobios there with provisions for some months, and sailed home

[1] Herodotos, IV 150-153.

with all speed to bring news of Platea. 6 Arriving at Thera, they
announced that they had founded a settlement on the island. 7 The
Theraians therefore resolved to send out men from their seven regions,
taking by lot one of every two brothers (or, according to an emendation of
the text, sending a man from each household), a total of one hundred
men,[1] with Battos as leader and king. 8 They then manned two fifty-
oared ships and sent them to Platea. Herodotos meanwhile notes that
Korobios was left alone for longer than was agreed, and so was short of
provisions. These were finally supplied by a Samian ship under the
command of Kolaios.

So far, this is the Theraian version. Herodotos now tells the story of
Battos himself according to the Kyrenaians.[2] It contains two sections: the
first refers to the ascendancy of Battos; the second describes Battos's
visit to Delphi. The first may be summarized as follows. Etearchos, king
of Oaxos, a town in Crete, was left a widower with a daughter named
Phronime, and so took a second wife. This woman ill-treated the child
and planned all kinds of evil against her. At last, having accused the girl
of indecency, she persuaded the king to plan an act of impiety against his
daughter. Etearchos had made a guest and friend of a Theraian trader
living in Oaxos, whose name was Themison. He therefore bound him on
oath that he would offer him whatever service he might demand. This
done, Etearchos gave Phronime to Themison requesting him to take her
away and throw her into the sea. Themison, however, was very angry at
being so tricked with the oath, and he renounced his friendship ·with
Etearchos. He sailed away with the girl and fulfilled the oath that he had
sworn in this way: when he was on the high seas he bound Phronime
with ropes, lowered her into the sea, and drew her up again. In Thera,
Phronime was taken as concubine by a noble named Polymnestos. There
she bore him a son, of weak and stammering speech, to whom he gave
the name Battos. Herodotos stresses that the Kyrenaians and Theraians
agreed that this was indeed the name of the boy. He adds, however, that
in his opinion he was originally given some other name and that the
name was changed to Battos when he came to Libya, because "battos"
in Libyan means "king". The Pythia called him Battos in her prophecy

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[1] There are other emendations as well.
[2] Herodotos, IV 154-156.

because she knew he was to be king in Libya. Herodotos then continues with Battos's visit to Delphi. Here suffice it to note that: Battos went to Delphi to ask about his voice, and in reply received an oracle ordering him to find a home in Libya. Battos protested that he could not carry this out, but the god insisted on his order.

Here evidently ends the second part of the Herodotean narrative, drawn entirely from a Kyrenaian source. What follows represents both the Kyrenaian and Theraian views. In this last part[1] we may distinguish nine stages. The first three correspond to stages *3*, *4*, and *6* of the first part, that is, of the Theraian version. *1* As the divine order was not obeyed, matters went badly with Battos and the other Theraians. *2* Having sent to Delphi to enquire about their misfortunes, the Pythia declared that they would fare better if they helped Battos found a colony at Kyrene in Libya. *3* The Theraians sent Battos with two fifty-oared ships. *4* These sailed to Libya, but not knowing what else to do, they returned to Thera. *5* There, as they came in to land, they were shot at by the Theraians who would not allow the ship to put in, and ordered them to sail back; by necessity, the colonists finally obeyed. *6* They then planted a colony in the island of Platea off the Libyan coast. *7* Here they dwelt for two years but as everything went wrong, having left one of their group behind, they repaired to Delphi and told the god that although they were living in Libya, they were no better off for all that. The Pythia then replied in terms meaning that they were not yet really in Libya, and she urged them to go there. *8* Obeying the oracle, the colonists landed on the Libyan continent opposite Platea, at a place called Aziris. Here they dwelt for six years. In the seventh year the Libyans persuaded the colonists to leave that place so that they could lead them to a better one. *9* The Libyans led the colonists westward to a place called the Fountain of Apollo. They told them that this was the best place to stay because here there was a hole in the sky (meaning by this that there was ample rainfall). The Libyans, however, arranged to lead the Greeks by night past the fairest place in Libya, called Irasa, lest they see it.

Pindar too, somewhat older than Herodotos, refers to the foundation of Kyrene, but only briefly. He describes the Kyrenaians as the "men who

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[1] Herodotos, IV 156-158 .

were brought by Aristoteles, when, with his swift ships, he opened a deep path across the sea".[1]

A SURVEY OF THE ITEMS OF INFORMATION

The decree of the Theraians (henceforth DT), the narrative accompanying it (henceforth NT), the part of the Herodotean account that is according to the Theraians (henceforth HT), the part of the same account according to the Kyrenaians (henceforth HK), and the part of the same account that is according to both the Theraians and the Kyrenaians (henceforth HTK), have several points in common. At the same time they differ from each other in various ways.

Taken as a whole, the information touches on six major items of the story, namely: (i) the causes and events leading up to the migration; (ii) the investigations of the Theraians to find out the location of Libya; (iii) the decision, and the events related to it; (iv) the carrying out of the decision; (v) the role of Battos; (vi) Duration of time. A diagram of these items together with the sources gives us this general picture:

Items			Sources		
	DT	NT	HT	HK	HTK
I	+		+	+	+
II				+	
III	+	+	+		+
IV			+		+
V	+		+	+	+
VI			+		+

For items I, II, and III there are cases in which we can compare the information given by the primary sources DT and NT, with that from the secondary sources HT, HK, and HTK.

For many years DT has been suspected as a forgery fabricated by the Theraians to support their request (mentioned above, page 38), or by

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[1] Pindar, *Pyth.*, V 87-88.

some other people for reasons unknown.¹ Most of the arguments,
however, have been rendered obsolete. This is the case with a few
obvious anachronisms, such as the use of the name Kyrene before the
city was founded, as well as some other words and expressions. Yet all
these anachronisms have been persuasively interpreted in another way:
as a device of the Kyrenaian authorities, who quoted the old DT, to
avoid archaisms that might not be understood by fourth century readers.²
Other traces of intervention at the beginning of DT are limited and cast
no doubt on the rest of the text.³

I. CAUSE OF THE EMIGRATION; EVENTS PRECEDING THE
RESOLUTION OF THE THERAIANS

Information as to why the Theraians sent out part of their population,
as well as events preceding and connected with the city's decision are to
be found in DT, HT, HK, and HTK. We might expect DT to be
authoritative on the subject. Yet we find quite the opposite, at least in
the first sentence: "Apollo has spontaneously prophecised to Battos and
the Theraians ordering them to colonize Kyrene".⁴ Of the other sources,
HT is helpful in restoring historical reality, whereas HK testifies to later
interventions.

(1) The anachronistic use of the name *Kyrene* referred to above⁵ is
found in the quotation of DT. In HT, HK, and HTK, Delphi reasonably
orders the Theraians to plant a colony "in Libya".

(2) The phrase in DT "Battos and the Theraians" would be credible
only if Battos were king or tyrant of the Theraians. According to HT,
however, Battos was at this time simply one of the attendants of King

¹ U.von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *APAW*, 1925, no. 5, pp. 38-40; G.Busolt, *Griechische
Staatskunde*, II (1926) 1265, n. 3; H.Bengtson, *Griechische Geschichte* (1950) 90, n.2 = 5th
ed. (1977) 100 (note); F.Chamoux, *Cyrène sous la monarchie des Battiades* (1953) 108ff.
² R.Meiggs in J.B.Bury, *A History of Greece*, 3rd ed. (1951) 862; A.J.Graham, *op. cit.*, 95-
111; idem, *Colony and Mother City in Ancient Greece* (1964) 27; L.H.Jeffery, *loc. cit.*
³ They are debated in the following discussion.
⁴ *Supra*, page 39.
⁵ *Supra*, page 46.
  Supra, page 46.

Grinnos. It was Grinnos who had consulted the god and received his oracle. DT is thus presenting Battos as more important than he could have been at the time of the embassy. In similar fashion, a phrase of HTK declares that "matters went badly with Battos and the other Theraians" since the divine order was not followed. To this, we shall return later.

(3) Whereas DT mentions only one oracle given to "Battos and the Theraians", HT records two. The first ordered Grinnos to send out a colony, although his enquiry was about a different matter. The second oracle repeated this order when the Theraians sent an embassy to seek a remedy for famine. HK departs from both DT and HT. Unlike HT, it refers to a single oracle. Although in this respect it is similar to DT, it differs in declaring that the oracle was given to Battos, rather than to "Battos and the Theraians", when he was enquiring about his voice (not as a public matter). It is thus clear that HT and HK are in opposition to each other throughout, whereas DT shows some signs of compromise.

HT	HK	DT
Two oracles:	One oracle:	Fusion of the two oracles in HT to one:
first given to Grinnos, king of Thera; second addressed to the Theraians.	given to Battos, a mere citizen of Thera	addressed to Battos, as a private man, and the Theraians
Motives for consulting of the first oracle: private or public? of the second: public.	Motives for consulting of the only oracle: private.	Motives for consulting of the only oracle: unspecified.
First oracle: spontaneous. Second oracle: not spontaneous		One oracle: spontaneous.

As we have seen, HT and HK reflect respectively the Theraian and Kyrenaian versions of the events as adapted by Herodotos in his own account. Both versions therefore were earlier than Herodotos's composition of his Libyan *logos*. The sequence of events and the role assigned to Battos as given in HT seem likely; in HK, unlikely. The Kyrenaian version gives the impression that the main concern here was to leave the entire stage to Battos, the founder of the royal dynasty in Kyrene.[1] HK does not even mention King Grinnos of Thera, and the oracle he received. The sentence in DT giving the reason for sending out a colony not only appears to be later, but in fact is later than HT and HK. It seems clear that the author of this sentence had to follow the version in HK which omits everybody but Battos.

(4) HT stresses (a) that Thera had suffered drought and famine for some time, (b) that the Theraians sought advice from Delphi for this very reason, and (c) that the god had ordered them to plant a colony in Libya as a means of being delivered from the calamity. No other source associates the colonization of Kyrene by Theraians with drought and famine in Thera. Yet the severe clauses of the Kyrenaian resolution, recorded in DT, and even more the hard events following this resolution, related in NT, strongly suggest that Thera was then in a very critical situation. The clauses in HT, NT, and DT thus fit together. In the first sentence of DT where the reasons for sending out the colony are given, no mention is made of drought and famine. It is, rather, implied that Thera at that time faced no such problem. Indeed the statement that Apollo had spontaneously told Battos and the Theraians to establish a colony suggests that they had consulted Apollo on a matter which did not need colonization as a remedy. Yet this suggestion seems absurd, for in the event of drought and famine, the Theraians would surely have consulted Apollo.

We have seen that the first sentence of DT brings together many points that cannot be genuine:1) the use of the name "Kyrene" is an anachronism; 2) the phrase "Battos and the Theraians" is untenable; 3) the fusion of the two successive visits of the Theraians to Delphi known from HT into one, so that Grinnos is eliminated and Battos is the focus; 4) the ignoring of the fact that Thera was suffering from drought and

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[1] Cf. H.W.Parke and D.E.M.Wormell, *The Delphic Oracle* (1956) 73-74.

famine, and that this was why the Theraians consulted Delphi and were
told to send part of their population to found a colony. All these signs of
intervention point to Kyrene. We suspect that the Kyrenaian government
gave the recorder not the official copy of DT it had received from the
Theraian embassy, but a text modified according to the Kyrenaian view
of events preceding the Theraian resolution to colonize in Libya.

So far we have discussed the problems that come to light in collating
the events recorded in DT, HT, and HK. We now continue with a
comparison of items from HT, HK, and HTK, rather than DT. Let us
bear in mind that to some extent all three reflect local traditions in Thera
and Kyrene as they were differentiated before the time of Herodotos: HT
presents the views current in the mother-city alone, HK selects views
found in the colony, and HTK gives views common to both. Let us
review and compare the items attributed by Herodotos to HT, HK and
HTK.

HT	HK	HTK
Pythia ordered Grinnos, king of Thera, to send a colony.	Pythia ordered Battos when enquiring about his voice to found a colony in Libya.	
The order not being executed, a long-lasting drought tormented the Theraians		The order not being executed, matters went badly for Battos and the Theraians.
As the Theraians asked Pythia for a remedy, they received again an order to colonize and instructions on how to proceed.		As the Theraians asked Pythia for a remedy, they were invited to help Battos colonize in Libya

Both Theraians and Kyrenaians had preserved in their respective

traditions the memory of two oracles ordering the founding of a colony,
and of a drought in the interim between the two oracles. Both believed
the drought to be a punishment by Apollo because his first oracle went
unheeded. It seems likely that these events had been associated as a
whole in Thera before the colonists set out. We have already seen that
the Kyrenaian version gave Battos a role he did not have in the original
tradition.[1] We may add here that the Theraian version, except for some
fictional elaboration, is quite close to the Kyrenaian.

Turning from the traditions to historical realities, we comment on
three items: (1) A long period of drought would have reduced the
Theraians to the point of starvation. Indeed, starvation or lack of ade-
quate food supplies was a recurrent reason for Greek communities to
send part of their population abroad. It is thus likely that HT and HK
preserve the memory of why the Theraians[2] decided to get rid of numbers
of their own families with severe measures, sanctioned by oaths, curses,
and magical rites, all cited and described in DT and NT. (2) Grinnos
may well have been king of Thera by the middle of the seventh century
B.C.[3] (3) It is, however, highly unlikely that while Thera was suffering
from drought, he consulted the Pythia on quite a different matter. Surely
things happened in some other way. We may suppose, for example, that
an oracle given to Grinnos was later on interpreted by the Theraians as
being the first order to colonize.

II. THE INVESTIGATIONS OF THE THERAIANS WITH A VIEW TO SETTLING IN LIBYA.

Herodotos's account of how the Theraians obeyed the oracle by
establishing a colony in Libya, is part of his HT. Along general lines it
appears to be quite genuine. Two items alone are questionable, and that
only to an extent. The first is Korobios's name and the tale of his being
left in Platea. "Korobios" was also the name of a sea god of Itanos.[4] Yet

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[1] *Supra*, page 46.

[2] Cf. A.J.Graham, *op.cit.*, 41.

[3] W.W.How and J.Wells, *op.cit.*, 351.

[4] G.Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte*, 2nd ed., I (1893) 480.

even were this name derived from a religious context, it would not necessarily rule out the possibility that a Cretan from Itanos had led the Theraians to Platea.[1] That the Theraians left a man alone in Platea for so long a time is difficult to believe. Such an episode could have come from a fairy-tale. Even so, Kolaios and his voyage appear to be historical fact. It is possible that events happened in another way, and that when Kolaios and his crew landed at Platea, they found there the Theraian colony rather than just one man.

III. THE DECISION OF THE THERAIANS TO PLANT A COLONY IN LIBYA

In the present book, only in the tradition about the Theraian decision to send a colony to Libya can we compare a literary source with original documents, that is, Herodotos's story with DT and NT. It is most important to compare these texts step by step.

A

Primary Source: DT   Secondary Source (Herodotos)

1. Appointment of the colonists

(1)"that they sail on fair and equal terms according to family"	"to send out men from their seven regions"
(2)"that those who sail shall be in the prime of life"	
(3)"that one son be *conscripted* from each family"	"taking *by lot* one of *every pair of brothers*".

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[1] W.W.How and J.Wells, *op. cit.*, 351, take Korobios as a real person.

(4)"and that of the rest of the
Theraians any free man who
wishes may sail".

2. Provisions for after the founding of the colony

(5)"If the colonists establish the
settlement, any of their fellow cit-
izens who later sails to Libya
shall have a share in citizenship
and honours, and shall be allotted
a portion of the unoccupied land."

(6)"But if they do not establish the
settlement and the Theraians are
unable to help them and they suf-
fer inescapable troubles up to five
years, let them return from that
land without fear to their posses-
sions, and to be citizens."

3. Sanctions

(7)"But he who is unwilling to sail
when the city sends him shall be
liable to punishment by death and
his goods shall be confiscated."

(8)"And he who receives or pro-
tects another, even if it be a father
his son or brother his brother, shall
suffer the same penalty," etc.

B

Primary Source (NT)	Secondary Source (Herodotos)

After the Decision

"And they put a curse on those
who should transgress these condi-
tions and not abide by them,
whether those living in Libya or
those staying in Thera. They
moulded wax images and burnt
them while they uttered the fol-
lowing imprecation all of them,
having come together, men and
women, boys and girls. 'May he
who does not abide by this oath
but transgresses it melt away and
dissolve like the images, himself
and his seed and his property. But
for those who abide by the oath,
both those who sail to Libya and
those who remain in Thera, may
there be abundance and prosperity
both for themselves and their de-
scendants'."

I hope repetition here of the relevant texts (with some omissions),
may be forgiven. The reader will appreciate the advantage of having
before him all the differences between the primary and secondary
sources. The differences may be divided into three categories: *A* items
found in the primary sources, but missing from the secondary; *B* items
found in the secondary source, but missing from the primary sources;
C items found in both kinds of sources, but with differences of detail.

A. Herodotos mentions only one out of the eight clauses of DT, and
says nothing about the events referred to in NT. We may suppose that the
original Theraian tradition was considerably fuller than NT. Thus

Herodotos's account will have retained even less of the original tradition
than appears from a comparison with DT and NT alone. Bearing in mind,
moreover, that in his love of detail Herodotos is exceptional as a narra-
tor, we may have some idea of how faintly a tradition is reflected in our
sources when circumstances are less favourable than they are here. It is
notable in any case that Herodotos's omissions are not entirely the result
of his own choices. As already observed, he never visited Thera where
he might have gathered local information by word of mouth or from a
chronicle. Furthermore, we have seen that the only source he could have
had at his disposal will have been a "Genealogy" or "Periegesis" having
a far wider horizon than Thera alone, and recording events in Thera only
briefly.

   B Herodotos's account has only one piece of information that is mis-
sing from our primary sources: that the colonists were to be drawn from
all seven of the regions of the state of Thera. This detail was not stated
in the decree because it was covered by the requirement that each family
was to send a son. Oral tradition could have given this detail also as an
extension of the requirement that colonists be drawn from every family.
From oral tradition it would have come to Herodotos through his source,
HT.

   C Although Herodotos's information that one of every pair of brothers
was to be appointed by lot as colonists, corresponds to the clause in the
Theraian decree by which one son was to be conscripted from each
family, there appear to be two divergent statements: (1) by lot, or by
conscription (2) one of every pair of brothers, or one son from every fam-
ily. These are insignificant differences, easily explained. (1) The decree
was that the men be conscripted. Carrying out the order, the families
might appoint by lot the son who was to join the colony. (2) The decree
ordered each family to send one of its sons. A narrator or author of the
source used by Herodotos, or Herodotos himself, could express the same
idea in slightly different words. As we see, the content itself is essen-
tially the same in the Theraian decree, DT, and the text of Herodotos,
HT. This fact is of considerable importance. It shows the extent to which
a written source could reflect the essence of information that went back
to oral tradition even if this written source did not rely directly on oral
tradition.

IV. THE CARRYING OUT OF THE RESOLUTION

How the resolution voted by the Theraians was carried out is to be found in HT and HTK. HT notes only that the Theraians manned two fifty-oared ships. The same information is given by HTK with a significant addition: the mention of Battos as leader of the expedition. "The Theraians sent Battos with two fifty-oared ships". Subsequent events are narrated only in HTK. Briefly, they are: the colonists sailed to Libya, but returned from there to Thera; the Theraians shot at them and prevented their landing; they sailed back to Libya and planted a colony in the island of Platea; after two years, since everything had gone wrong, they left Korobios behind and went to Delphi with their complaints; the Pythia replied in terms meaning that they were not yet in Libya; following the oracle given them, they landed on Libyan soil at a place called Aziris; here they dwelt for six years; in the seventh year they were led by Libyans to their final place of settlement.

Some of these events appear to be historical, drawn from some genuine tradition; others imaginary, taken from tales.

The colonists' return to Thera and their expulsion by their relatives and former fellow citizens is historical. The attitude of the Theraians towards them has the same tenor as do the enforced nature of the colonization and the decreed sanctions. Those who might disobey were liable to the death penalty, together with confiscation of their goods. The colonists had not the right to return and to recover their possessions for five years, and then only if they had really tried to establish a colony and had received no help from the mother-city. We should remember also the weight of the religious arsenal mobilized: oaths taken by those leaving and those staying, curses and acts of magic against any who might break their oaths. Thera, as already noted, decided to send away part of her population because of famine. A return of the colonists might well have again plunged the community into misery. It would, moreover, have created tensions between those returning and those who had taken over their possessions. Other genuine historical events that appear to have been transmitted faithfully are: the successive settlings in Platea, Aziris, and finally at the place that became known as Kyrene[1]; also the role of

[1] Cf.H.W.Parke and D.E.M.Wormell, *op. cit.*, 76.

the Libyans in leading the Greeks to their ultimate home, Kyrene.

There is, on the other hand, reasonable doubt about the authenticity of the mass visit of the colonists to Delphi, and of the oracle quoted by Herodotos. Both have the flavour of fiction.

V. THE OIKIST

HT calls Battos a son of Polymnestos of Minyan stock in Thera. All of HK is devoted to the story of Battos's mother and to his handicap. This story is romantic and resembles others we know to be simple tales. Yet it contains some points that may not be spurious. Such are the mention of the city Oaxos, the personal names, especially those of Battos's parents, Etearchos and Phronime, the description of Phronime as a concubine, and Battos's illegitimacy. If this were a fabrication, it could hardly have been reported in Kyrene. Only if true, it could not have been denied. As a bastard, Battos would have been among those most likely to be obliged to leave Thera. As the son of an aristocrat with a long and illustrious pedigree, he was in any case qualified to be the leader of the colony and king of the new community.

As we have seen, the Kyrenaians have over-emphasized the role of Battos before he was appointed leader of the colonists. This is clear in HK and HTK. First of all, he received the order to colonize, when he was simply enquiring about his voice (HK). This is of a pattern well known in legend, in which the hero consults the oracle for some reason and is then unexpectedly told by the god to found a colony.[1] Secondly, the oracle quoted on this occasion (HK) is a patent invention. For this reason we have omitted it up to now, and we shall not comment on it here. Thirdly, Battos is singled out in the phrase "as the divine order was not fulfilled matters went badly with Battos and the Theraians" (HTK). Fourthly, the role of Battos as leader of the colonial expedition and oikist of Kyrene is stressed in a second oracle with the statement that "the Pythia declared that they would fare better if they helped Battos to plant a colony in Kyrene, in Libya" (HTK). It should be borne in mind that, as emphasized by Herodotos, HTK contains details on which the Theraians

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[1] H.W.Parke and D.E.M.Wormell, *op. cit.*, 50.

and Kyrenaians agreed: The details about Battos, which are found only in the Kyrenaian tradition, are an exception.

Herodotos, who consistently refers to the founder of Kyrene as *Battos*, in one place states his opinion that *Battos*, instead of being a name, might be an epithet, the Libyan term for "king" given the leader of the colony after he became king of the new city.[1] He appears to be simply guessing, being ignorant of the original name of Battos. Pindar refers to the Kyrenaians as having been brought by Aristoteles.[2] In this text, Aristoteles is the same as Battos. Two points are notable. First, Pindar was older than Herodotos. Second, he was familiar with the tradition of the early history of Kyrene. In the scholia on· Pindar, we read that the Pythia called Aristoteles, the future founder of Kyrene, by the surname Battos, a Libyan word.[3] The scholiast mistakenly attributes to Herodotos the knowledge that the founder of Kyrene was originally called Aristoteles. This information the scholiast took from Pindar. That Battos was originally known as Aristoteles is reported also by Diodoros of Sicily.[4]

What is the actual situation with the names Aristoteles and Battos? There are three possibilities. The first is that the oikist of Kyrene was in fact named Aristoteles, and was subsequently known as Battos, the local word for "king".[5] The second is that he was actually named Battos and later given the name of Aristoteles on the initiative of the royal family of Kyrene. The third possibility is that his name was Aristoteles and he was given the sobriquet Battos in Thera as a child because of some defect in his voice.

Two things argue against the first possibility. To begin with, Herodotos uses the name Battos not only in the account of the Kyrenaians, but also in that of the Theraians. Furthermore he states that both agreed that this was "the true name of the boy". Secondly, it seems most unlikely that the king of a Greek colony would have taken as a sobriquet the native word for "king", and that this sobriquet, *battos,*

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[1] *Supra*, page 43.

[2] Pindar, *Pyth.*, IV 85ff.

[3] *Schol. Pind. Pyth.*, IV 10a.

[4] Diodoros, VIII, fr.29.

[5] W.W.How and J.Wells, *op. cit.*, 352; H.W.Parke and D.E.M.Wormell, *op. cit.,* 74; F.Chamoux, *op. cit.,* 96-97.

would have replaced his original Greek name, Aristoteles.

The second possibility would imply that the royal family of Kyrene or its flatterers preferred to omit a name that indicated a defect. Yet this can be ruled out. To begin with, Battos was the official name of the founder of the dynasty and of every second generation of his successors. Secondly, we have clear evidence that the Kyrenaian dynasty acknowledged officially that its founding ancestor had a problem of some sort with his voice. Indeed, we know from Pausanias that the Kyrenaians dedicated a statue at Delphi showing Battos in a chariot and that there was a reason for this dedication: " When he was going over the territory of Kyrene in the most distant parts of it which were still desert, he saw a lion, and the fear occasioned by the sight compelled him to a clear and loud shout."[1] It has been noted that Pindar knew the tale of Battos recovering from his speech defect on seeing a lion.[2] The only difference is that he has Battos frightening the lion with his newly strengthened voice.[3]

Thus we are left with the last of our three possibilities. It appears to present no difficulties. It answers all the problems found in the first and second hypotheses, and it can be considered plausible.

VI. DURATION OF TIME.

Herodotos's account has three references to duration of time: the duration of the drought in Thera for seven years (HT), the sojourn of the colonists for two years in Platea before they consulted the oracle at Delphi (HTK), and their stay at Aziris for another six years before their move to Kyrene in the seventh year (HTK). It is worth noting, however, that the number seven was considered sacred by the ancient Greeks.

If we accept the two last figures as correct, two years in Platea, and six in Aziris, the departure of the colonists from Thera must have been eight years before the founding of Kyrene,which was sometime around 630 B.C. This means that the decree of the Theraians is datable to ca. 638 B.C.

[1] Pausanias, X 15, 6-7.
[2] H.W.Parke and D.E.M.Wormell, *op. cit.*, 76-77.
[3] Pindar, *Pyth.*, V, 57-59.

LATER SOURCES

A number of ancient authors, among them Menekles of Barka, writing in the mid-second century B.C., give sedition as the reason for the Theraian emigration to Libya. This information we have from the scholiast on Pindar, who notes the following: Menekles declares that the story about Battos's voice is not true, but mythical; he thinks instead that sedition was the real reason for the colony. The Theraians broke into factions that fought each other. The faction headed by Battos left the country. Despairing of ever returning home, the exiles planned to colonize. Accordingly Battos visited Delphi and asked whether his group should continue to struggle or go abroad. Menekles also quoted the oracle given to Battos.[1] Stein believed that Menekles would have preserved the memory of the real reason for the Theraian colony in Kyrene. This opinion, however, has been refuted by W.W.How and J.Wells and by A.J.Graham. These scholars instead see Menekles' story as an attempt at rationalization.[2] Here I add a few comments. To begin with, Menekles' view does not coincide with the actual content of the Theraian decree, which is an official document.[3] It is therefore a later invention. Secondly, Menekles himself admitted that his view was a rationalization by using the words μυθικωτέραν and πιθανωτέραν to characterize respectively Herodotos's version and the other one. Whether the rationalizing story was conceived by Menekles or by an earlier author is a matter for speculation. In either case one thing is sure: ancient authors were not bound to accuracy in their transmission of traditions. They could freely substitute details of their own invention.

Diodoros of Sicily quoted a text supposed to have been the oracle given to Battos when he came to Delphi about his voice. It begins like the oracle quoted by Herodotos in HK: "Battos, thou did'st come about thy voice. But Lord Phoibos Apollo sends thee to Libya....". Where the Herodotean version adds only "to be an oikist", Diodoros continues: "to rule over broad Kyrene and enjoy kingly honour. When thou settest foot on Libyan soil, barbarian warriors clad in sheepskins will attack thee. In

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[1] 270 FGrH *6 = *Schol. Pind. Pyth.*, IV 10a; Tzetzes, *Lyc. Alex.,* 886.

[2] W.W.How and J.Wells, *op. cit*., 353; A.J.Graham, *op. cit*., 41, n.3.

[3] *Supra*, pages. 38 - 40, 45 - 46, 48, 57.

praying to Kronos's son and to Pallas, the grey-eyed goddess who fights
with the spear, and to the son of Zeus, Phoibos of the unshorn hair, thou
wilt have the upper hand in victory and wilt rule as king over blessed
Libya of the fair crown, thou thyself and thy family. Phoibos Apollo
guides thee."[1] Thus Diodoros's version of the oracle goes beyond that of
Herodotos. The sense and intention has been interpreted as an emphasis
on the kingship of Battos and his dynasty.[2] I feel, rather, that the empha-
sis is on Battos himself, as victor with divine help, as oikist of Kyrene,
as its first king, and as the founder of a dynasty.

A passage of Pompeius Trogus shows several differences from Hero-
dotos and from the other sources as well. The peculiarities of this
passage are as follows. (1) The founder of Kyrene is called Aristaios
rather than Battos, contrary to Herodotos and others, or contrary to Pindar
who calls him Arisoteles. It would appear that "Aristaios" was
mistakenly substituted for "Aristoteles". (2) This person received the
surname Battos because of his defective voice, an explanation counter to
the hypothesis of Herodotos or the information in other sources that the
founder of Kyrene was named Battos because *battos* was the Libyan
word for "king". (3) The same person is said to be the son of King
Grinnos of Thera (in Herodotos he is son of Polymnestos, not a king). (4)
Grinnos is the one who asks the oracle of Delphi about the voice of
Battos (a version unknown in, or unreconcilable with the other accounts).
(5) The Theraians are striken by pestilence rather than drought, as in
Herodotos. (6) So great were the losses from epidemic suffered by the
population that the colonists needed only one ship (Herodotos speaks of
two, giving no explanation for the number).[3] The text of Pompeius Trogus
is of considerable importance in demonstrating how many changes a
tradition could undergo in the course of transmission, not orally, but from
writer to writer.

Of all our later sources, Pausanias alone supplies us with some
genuine information. He refers to an inscribed stele near the tombs of the
Agiads in Sparta honouring Chionis the Lakedaimonian for his victories
at Olympia and elsewhere. In the same inscription, adds Pausanias, it

[1] Diodoros, *loc. cit.*
[2] H.W.Parke and D.E.M.Wormell, *op. cit.*, 75.
[3] Pompeius Trogus, XIII 7.

was reported that Chionis took part in the expedition of Battos as well and that he helped him to found Kyrene and to reduce the neighbouring Libyans.[1] Here is a piece of information that came from tradition transmitted neither at Kyrene nor at its mother-city. In content it is limited to the moment of Kyrene's settlement.

None of the sources we have examined so far gives us a date or any sort of chronological context. For such information we turn to other sources which are silent, however, about the events reported elsewhere. Although Kyrene was founded after writing came into use, there is considerable inconsistency in the foundation dates given. According to the earliest of our sources for chronology, Theophrastos, Kyrene was founded three hundred years before Simonides' archonship at Athens (311/310 B.C.),[2] that is, in 611/610 B.C. Solinus gives a slightly later date, corresponding to our 598/597 B.C.[3] Eusebios, on the other hand, and the scholia on the IVth Pythian Ode of Pindar date the settlement of Kyrene earlier than does Eusebios. The Armenian version of Eusebios's *Chronicle* gives two dates, in our chronology 758 and 631 B.C. The Latin version has only one entry with a date equivalent to our 762 B.C.[4] The scholia on Pindar state that kingship lasted in Kyrene for two hundred years.[5] On this count Kyrene will have been founded in the middle of the seventh century B.C. Pausanias gratifies us with indirect chronological indications in the dating of some historical events in terms of years of Olympiads defined after victories of the Lakedaimonian Chionis who, as we have seen, helped Battos to found Kyrene. These Olympiads are the XXVIIIth, XXIXth, and XXXIInd,[6] held respectively in 668, 664, and 656 B.C. Scholars agree in regarding as authentic Eusebios's dating of the foundation of Kyrene in 631/630 B.C. If this is so and if Chionis won his first victory at the age of twenty, he will have been in Kyrene when he was 57, which is not unlikely. We may then assume that this dating of Kyrene's foundation goes back ultimately to a reliable source.

[1] Pausanias, III 14, 3.
[2] Theophrastos, *Plant.*, VI 3, 3.
[3] Solinus, XXVII 44.
[4] In *Eusebius Werke*, V, 181 and 185, VII 1, 87.
[5] *Schol. Pind. Pyth.* (argument).
[6] Pausanias, III 23, 4 and 10; VIII 39, 3.

A SYNOPSIS OF THE CONCLUSIONS

Our evidence about the migration of Theraian colonists to Kyrene has enabled us to identify a considerable number of the main points of the original tradition. It has, moreover, given us some idea of the kinds of losses, inventions, and other changes possible in the time that lapsed between these events and our sources.

With the help of three kinds of written sources, we have been able to reconstruct to a degree some elements of the original tradition. One source, DT, gives the only example we have of a resolution ordering the founding of a colony and setting forth the terms of the undertaking. Except for the first sentence, it is an authentic document: the Theraian decree ordering the founding of the colony. The non-genuine first sentence was compiled in Kyrene of authentic elements of the Theraian decree and views elaborated by the Kyrenaians. A second source, NT, likewise is unique of its kind. It appears to be an excerpt from a Theraian narrative. All the other sources, HT, HK, HTK, Pindar, and so on, are secondary.

If all the items we believe to go back to oral tradition are arranged in chronological order, this is the sequence of events. During the reign of Grinnos the Theraians were starving because of an extended drought. They consulted the Delphic oracle about this calamity, and were told to send a colony to Libya. Making inquiries, they got useful information from a fisherman from Itanos. After this, the fisherman led a Theraian exploring mission to an island called Platea. There the Theraians decided to plant a colony. In order to collect colonists, it was decreed that one son from each family be obliged to go, and that others could join them voluntarily. Other provisions of the decree described the rights and duties both of the colonists and of those remaining in Thera. The colonists were to be allowed to return only if their attempt were unsuccessful and if they had received no help from the Theraians. If they returned under these conditions, they were to be received and reinstalled in their possessions and civil rights. Were they to settle and establish a city, they were bound to grant citizenship and land to any Theraian who wished to live among them. Moreover, the Theraians decreed that any designated to leave who

did not obey, and any Theraians who might help them, were liable to the death sentence and confiscation of their properties. The obligation to obey was sealed by magic rites, curses and oaths. The colonists were led by Aristoteles, surnamed Battos, and were transported in two fifty-oared ships. The leader was an illegitimate son of an aristocrat, Etearchos, and a foreign concubine, Phronime. The colonists were dissatisfied with their settling in Platea, so they turned back to Thera. The Theraians impeded their landing and threw stones at them, so they sailed back again to Platea. Conditions of life there were so bad that they complained to Apollo at Delphi saying that despite having followed his order, they had not fared well. The Pythia replied to them that they had not yet really gone to Libya as they had been ordered. Obeying the oracle, they landed on the continent and occupied a place called Aziris. Some years later they moved from there to Kyrene.

Unlike the genuine elements of the tradition, the non-genuine are unessential. They transform the story into a sort of novel. There are a number of these. All the texts of oracles quoted in our sources are imaginary. So also the spontaneous order to colonize given to Grinnos or to Battos. The name Korobios, given to the fisherman from Itanos who led the Theraians to Platea, was really the name of a god worshipped in Itanos. The tale of leaving the fisherman alone in Platea makes no sense. The story that all but one of the colonists went to Delphi with their grievances is equally senseless. The identification of Battos as a descendant of Euphemos, the Minyan Argonaut, was connected with the legend that Euphemos had acquired rights in the territory that was to become Kyrene. The tale of the mother of Battos has many elements of the novel: she was the daughter of a king but was ill-fated; she was hated by her step-mother who persuaded her husband to plot the death of his daughter; she unexpectedly escaped death, but became a concubine.

Any evaluation of possible losses, additions, and alterations in the written transmission of the original oral tradition about the migration of the Theraians to Kyrene, must take into account two general observations: (1) There are important differences between the changes that might have been made from the time of the events themselves to Herodotos, and the changes observable from Herodotos to Pompeius Trogus. (2) Data drawn from the original oral tradition are couched in dissimilar terms, since some are to be found in documents contemporary with the events,

others are mentioned in secondary sources accessible to us, and still
others go back to secondary sources that we know from Herodotos.

A comparison of Herodotos with the Theraian decree ordering and
regulating the colony to Libya is striking in that it shows how little of the
decree is echoed by the Father of History. The only provision he notes is
that which obliges each family to send out one of every pair of brothers.
All other provisions of the decree are missing from his account. One may
well ask whether this is attributable to Herodotos or his sources, or to a
still earlier stage of the transmission. Be that as it may, these omissions
are not the result of oblivion. The preservation of the decree in the
archives of Thera, and, possibly, of Kyrene, rules this out. A more likely
explanation is that the logographers and their public had no interest in
stating the decree in full. The one provision that Herodotos refers to, the
selection by lot of one of each pair of brothers, has an emotional charac-
ter quite appropriate to a *logos* (ἐς τὸ παραχρῆμα ἀκούειν).

Herodotos recorded, however, an item of information not in the
decree: that the men sent to Libya were drawn from all seven regions of
Thera. The decree evidently did not mention this since it was implied in
the provision about the sons. That Thera was divided into seven regions,
Herodotos would have learned through the ordinary transmission of the
tradition.

Some of the events recorded in NT are highly dramatic, and the sort
of material Herodotos might be expected to include. That they are
missing from his account cannot be attributed either to lack of interest on
his part or to lack of preservation in collective memory. A more likely
explanation is that since he never went to Thera he had no opportunity to
learn those particular elements of the local tradition.

It follows that the "Theraians" of Herodotos (HT) would have been a
written source. His "Kyrenaians" (HK), on the other hand, may have
been a written source, an oral source or sources, or both together. Since
all we know of the information he drew from the "Theraians" and the
"Kyrenaians" we owe to Herodotos himself, there is no way to identify
and assess omissions, additions, and alterations made, first, between the
original oral tradition and the sources of Herodotos, and, then, between
these sources and Herodotos himself. We can only suppose that
Herodotos drew abundant information from his sources, but adapted it to
his own taste and style. The first hypothesis has seemed plausible

because Herodotos's account is so detailed. The second has been suggested because in terms of theme, composition, and style, his account is characteristically Herodotean.

Herodotos's account of the Theraian migration to Kyrene proves to be the best study-case for tracing an oral tradition and for identifying some omissions or additions. Accordingly it will be used as a reference-case for all other narratives to be studied in this book. There are a number of reasons for this. First of all, Herodotos has handed down to us an account of a migration far longer and more informative than any other preserved in Greek literature. Secondly, he wrote no later than one hundred and ninety years after the events. Thirdly, we have exceptionally good evidence in the form of two documents with which Herodotos may be compared.

We have only three sources later than Herodotos, and these are very short. Despite their small number and their brevity, they contain an impressive number of inventions and errors. They show that writers were quite free to invent, and could easily make mistakes.

Thus Menekles invented or adopted a fictitious tale in which the Theraian colonists to Libya belonged to a faction that was obliged to leave Thera after being defeated. This explanation of the Theraian migration to Kyrene responds to conditions current in Greek antiquity. Consequently, it might well be taken as true were the real circumstances of the migration not known.

Diodoros, for his part, supplies us with an example of an oracle forged for political purposes.

At the end of the chain, Pompeius Trogus's passage is a collection of errors. Had we no other sources of information, his would pass unnoticed.

II. THE COLONIZING OF TARAS

The colonizing of Taras is datable to around 706 B.C., that is, three quarters of a century or two and one half generations before the founding of Kyrene. Yet the earliest ancient reference we have is that of Antiochos of Syracuse, at the end of the fifth century B.C. The next is a fragment of Ephoros, whose floruit was after the middle of the fourth century B.C. After this come the texts of Diodoros of Sicily and Dionysios of Halikarnassos, writers of the first century B.C. The dossier on Taras includes also many later texts of historians, scholiasts, and lexicographers, in both Greek and Latin. The list of writers and literary works ends with the scholia on Dionysios the Periegete, put together by Eustathios, the Metropolitan of Thessalonike. The dossier has a greater number of texts and more diversity than that on the Theraian colonization in Kyrene. We are thus equipped to comment on the vicissitudes of information about an historical event slightly earlier than 700 B.C. that was handed down through written narratives and references of Classical, Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine times.

As in the preceding chapter, here too we shall follow a plan dictated by the circumstances of documentation. Conditions, however, are not the same in both cases. For the migration and founding of Kyrene, we have three exceptional sources: a Theraian decree sending out a colony and stipulating the terms of the adventure; a quasi-official narrative of events in Thera following the passing of the decree; and a long account in Herodotos based on the Theraian and Kyrenaian traditions. Each of these three texts we have first analysed separately. We have then studied every item of information comparatively, which has given us at the same time an outline of the events. Finally we have studied a few additional sources, both short and aberrant in nature.

For the migration of the Partheniai of Sparta to Taras, while we have many sources, there is no single source that forms an axis. Were we to begin with an analysis of the sources, following the plan of the preceding chapter, the problems to be studied, although similar, would be all out of order, a hopeless situation. To avoid this, we begin with a general view of the evidence, and then go on to examine the individual sources.

A SURVEY OF THE ITEMS OF INFORMATION

Thirteen major items are found in our sources: (i) the formation of the group that was obliged to leave Lakedaimon to colonize Taras, (ii) the motives of their plot against the Spartans, (iii) their leader, (iv) their allies, (v) planning the plot: where and when, (vi) planning the plot: the signal to revolt, (vii) discovery of the plot, (viii) measures taken by the authorities, (ix) conduct of the plotters after their plans were discovered, (x) decision to send the plotters off to colonize, (xi) settling of the colonists, (xii) a miracle, (xiii) oracles and their fulfilment, (xiv) chronology.

I. THE GROUP

The most important of the writers describing the group, Antiochos and Ephoros, have similar information on the subject. A fragment of Antiochos preserved in Strabo tells us that "those of the Lakedaimonians who did not take part in the expedition against the Messenians were adjudged slaves and were named helots; and all children who were born to them during the war were called Partheniai and deprived of the citizenship." [1] Again through Strabo we know what Ephoros said: "At the beginning of the war against the Messenians, the Lakedaimonians took an oath that they would not return home again until they either destroyed Messene or were all killed. In the tenth year of the war the Lakedaimonian women sent a deputation of their own people to make complaint to their husbands that they were carrying on the war on unfavourable terms for Sparta in that whereas the Messenians, staying in their country, were begetting children, they were far away from their wives whence the fatherland was in danger of being in want of men. The Lakedaimonians adopted this view, but they would also keep their oath. They therefore devised a solution. As the younger men had not taken part in the oath, they sent the most vigorous of them home to cohabit with the maidens, every man with every maiden. The children thus born were called

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[1] Antiochos, 555 *FGrH* 13 = Strabo, VI 3, 2.

Partheniai."[1] The central idea about the Partheniai, known from
Antiochos and Ephoros, recurs in Dionysios of Halikarnassos,
Herakleides, Pompeius Trogus, Acro, Servius, Hesychios, Eustathios and
the anonymous scholiast of Dionysios the Periegete.

Diodoros provides a discordant note in referring to the group twice
with another name: *epeunaktai*, although he uses the term *Partheniai* as
well.[2] An earlier writer, Theopompos, refers to the *Epeunaktai* as *Epeu-
naktoi*. He explains that this was the term used for some of the helots
who were permitted to have children by the widows of Spartans killed in
the First Messenian War. This fragment of Theopompos, however, makes
no mention of the attempted revolt by the *epeunaktoi* or their founding of
Taras.[3] Partheniai and Epeunaktoi are confused also in a lemma of Hesy-
chios, who goes no further than this identification.[4]

The writers who agree that the group that plotted against the Spartans
and colonised Taras were Spartan bastards known as Partheniai, may be
divided into three groups. They disagree as to who were the fathers of the
Partheniai. This same disagreement is to be found in our two earlier
writers, Antiochos and Ephoros. As we noted, according to Antiochos
the fathers of the Partheniai were helots, formerly Spartans. According to
Ephoros they were Spartans selected to have children with unmarried
Spartan women. Antiochos's version appears again in the Latin scho-
liasts Acro and Servius.[5] It is reflected, somewhat incongruously, in a
text of Eustathios, Metropolitan of Thessalonike.[6] Ephoros's version was
followed by Aristotle, Pompeius Trogus, Servius, Eustathios of
Thessalonike in another passage, and by the anonymous scholiast of
Dionysios the Periegete. It is implied, moreover by Polybios who makes
no mention of the Partheniai.[7] There is still a third version, in which the
fathers of the Partheniai did not belong to any particular group. This

[1] Ephoros, 70 *FGrH* 216 = Strabo, V 3, 3.

[2] Diodoros, VIII fr.21.

[3] Theopompos, 115 *FGrH* 171 = Athenaios, VI 101, p. 271 C-D.

[4] Hesychios, s.v. ἐνέναχτοι(sic).

[5] Acro, *Comm. Hor. Od.*, II 6, 11; Servius, *Comm.Verg. Aen.*, III 551.

[6] Eustathios, *Comm. Dion. Per.*

[7] Aristotle, *Pol.*, 1306b 28-32; Pompeius Trogus, III 4,1-11; Servius, *loc. cit.*; idem, *Comm.
    Verg. Georg.* IV 125; Eustathios, *Comm. Dion. Per.*, 376; Anon., *Comm. Dion. Per.*, 377. Cf.
    Polybios, XII 6b 5-10.

version has two variations. The first is rationalistic, the second supernatural. The first, adopted by Herakleides, says that during the Messenian War children were born whose "fathers suspected them not to be theirs", and that these children were called "Partheniai".[1] The second, the supernatural version, known through Hesychios, states that the Partheniai were born of gods.[2]

The first and third versions give no details whatsoever. The second is embedded in many supplementary bits of information. These we have seen in Ephoros. We find them again in the writers that follow him, but not all together. Thus, the oath of the Spartans is found in Diodoros, Pompeius Trogus, Servius, Eustathios, and the anonymous scholiast of Dionysios the Periegete.[3] The complaints of the women are reported by Dionysios of Halikarnassos, Pompeius Trogus, and Eustathios, but are eliminated by Servius.[4] The decision of the Spartans after the women's complaint, and the carrying out of the decision are noted by Dionysios of Halikarnassos, Pompeius Trogus, and Eustathios.[5]

II. THE REASONS FOR THE PLOT

While in disagreement as to the origin of the group in revolt, Antiochos and Ephoros agree that they revolted because they had been wronged.[6] Antiochos goes no further. Ephoros specifies the way in which they had been wronged: the Spartans divided Messenia among themselves but when they returned home, they refused to honour the Partheniai with civic rights on the grounds that they had been born out of wedlock. The later texts referring to the reasons for the plot follow the same line as Antiochos and Ephoros. There are, however, a number of differences: the much abbreviated text of Herakleides says that the

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[1] Herakleides, fr. xxvi *FHG*, II, 220.

[2] Hesychios, s.v. Παϱθένιοι.

[3] Diodoros, *loc. cit.*; Pompeius Trogus, III 4,5; Servius, *Comm. Verg. Aen.* III 551; Eustathios, *loc. cit.*; Anon., *Schol. Dion. Per.*, *loc. cit.*

[4] Dionysios of Halikarnassos, XIX fr.2; Pompeius Trogus, III 4, 3-4; Eustathios, *loc. cit.*

[5] Dionysios of Halikarnassos, *loc. cit.*; Pompeius Trogus, III 4, 5-6; Eustathios, *loc. cit.*

[6] Antiochos, *loc. cit.*; Ephoros, *loc. cit.*

Partheniai were indignant.[1] According to Pompeius Trogus, the
Partheniai acted from fear of poverty since they had no father and hence
no inheritance.[2] Eustathios and the anonymous scholiast on Dionysios the
Periegete say the reason for the plot was that the Partheniai were held up
to ridicule as bastards.[3]

III. THE LEADER

Antiochos and Ephoros are in agreement that the leader of the
Partheniai was one of themselves, a man named Phalanthos. Diodoros
believed he was a Spartan who took on the leadership of the Partheniai.
This is quite evident from the phrase "as soon as Phalanthos, in full
armour, should pull his helmet over his forehead". Only those who were
full citizens had the right to appear on various occasions wearing their
armour. Contrary to Diodoros, both Antiochos and Ephoros say the signal
was to be given, not with a helmet, but with some other headgear, "a
cap of dogskin" or "a Lakonian cap". The distinction made by Diodoros
between Phalanthos and the Partheniai can likewise be understood from
the line "the Epeunaktai (for Partheniai) had agreed with Phalanthos that
they would rise in revolt, etc". It is noteworthy that the text of Diodoros
is simply a summary of the prototype. Other writers connect Phalanthos
with the Partheniai, but not as their leader.[4] Antiochos also adds some
other information. Phalanthos, he says, "was not pleased with those who
had been appointed to be members of the council."[5] What council?
Presumably it was a body of councillors designated to work with him,
and intended eventually to take over various functions once the
revolution was won.

[1] Herakleides, *loc. cit.*
[2] Pompeius Trogus, III 4, 8.
[3] Eustathios, *loc. cit.*; Anon., *Schol. Dion. Per.*, *loc. cit.* The phrase of Eustathios
ἐπεβούλευσαν ὁμόφρονες ὄντες πάντες (the Partheniai) ὡς ἂν ἀλλήλων ἀδελφοὶ
λογιζόμενοι is a misunderstanding of Ephoro's τῶν δὲ εἱλώτων τινὲς ἐξαγγείλαντες τὸ
μὲν ἀντεπιτίθεσθαι χαλεπὸν ἔγνωσαν (the Lakedaimonians) καὶ γὰρ πολλοὺς εἶναι καὶ
πάντας ὁμόφρονας, ὡς ἂν ἀλλήλων ἀδελφοὺς νομιζομένους.
[4] *Infra*, page 83 - 84.
[5] Antiochos, *loc. cit.*

IV. ALLIES

Ephoros has it that the Partheniai were in league with the helots in plotting.[1] No other source gives this information.

V. WHERE AND WHEN THE REVOLT WAS TO HAPPEN

Each of the two earliest sources follows a different line of information. According to Antiochos, the uprising was planned for the Hyakinthian festival, and was to be carried out in the Amyklaion where the games were celebrated.[2] Ephoros identifies the place as the market, thus disassociating the uprising from the festival.[3] He is followed by Polyainos and Diodoros.[4]

VI. THE SIGNAL FOR THE UPRISING

Here too, Antiochos and Ephoros represent two different versions. According to Antiochos, Phalanthos was to put on his cap.[5] Ephoros says that a Lakonian cap was to be raised.[6] Diodoros reports that Phalanthos was to pull off his helmet in the market place.[7] Aineias and Polyainos follow Ephoros.[8]

VII. THE DISCOVERY OF THE PLOT

Antiochos wrote that on learning of the conspiracy, the citizens used

[1] Ephoros, *loc. cit.*
[2] Antiochos, *loc. cit.*
[3] Ephoros, *loc. cit.*
[4] Polyainos, II 14, 2; Diodoros, *loc. cit.*
[5] Antiochos, *loc. cit.*
[6] Ephoros, *loc. cit.*
[7] Diodoros, *loc. cit.*
[8] Aineias, XI 12; Polyainos, *loc. cit.*

spies to gather further information.[1] Ephoros says the plot was discovered by some helots.[2] His testimony may well refer to the way in which the citizens had been alerted, a point noted also by Antiochos. In Aristotle's text the plot was detected by the Spartans, rather than reported to them.[3]

VIII. THE RUSE OF THE AUTHORITIES

While disagreeing in other matters, Antiochos and Ephoros agree as to the type of stratagem used by the authorities to prevent the uprising. The difference between the two reports is minor and it is linked to their differing accounts of the kind of signal and where it was to be given. According to Antiochos, they ordered the herald to come forward and forbid Phalanthos to put on his cap. Ephoros's version is that "they ordered those who were about to raise the signal to go away from the market place."[4] Diodoros has followed Antiochos: "the herald should publicly proclaim that Phalanthos was to leave his helmet as it was" (the difference of cap or helmet has been noted above).[5] Aineias and Poly-ainos depend on Ephoros.[6]

IX. REACTION OF THE PLOTTERS

According to Antiochos, as the conspirators saw that their plot had been discovered, they began to run away or beg for mercy.[7] No act on the part of the conspirators is mentioned by Ephoros who states only that they "held back".[8] He is followed by Polyainos.[9] Diodoros departs from

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[1] Antiochos, *loc. cit.*

[2] Ephoros, *loc. cit.*

[3] Aristotle, *loc. cit.*

[4] Antiochos, *loc. cit.;* Ephoros, *loc. cit.*

[5] Diodoros, *loc. cit.*

[6] Aineias, *loc. cit.*; Polyainos, *loc. cit.*

[7] Antiochos, *loc. cit.*

[8] Ephoros, *loc. cit.*

[9] Polyainos, *loc. cit.*

Antiochos and Ephoros in saying that the Partheniai sought a reconcilia-
tion.[1] Dionysios of Halikarnassos has the Partheniai acting without any
interference from the Lakedaimonians: "when the Partheniai were
defeated, they voluntarily withdrew from the city and sending envoys to
Delphi, they received an oracle, etc".[2]

   In addition to the sources reporting the plot and its details, there are
others in which the plot is deleted entirely.[3]

X. THE RESOLUTION TO COLONIZE

   Antiochos has Phalanthos being sent to ask the oracle about the
founding of a colony. He quotes the god's reply: that he is giving him
Satyrion so that both dwell in the fertile land of Taras and become a
bane to the Iapygians.[4]

   In the record of Ephoros, the following three points are notable. *1* The
Lakedaimonians persuaded the Partheniai to found a colony. *2* They were
able to persuade them through their fathers. *3* The two parties agreed that
if the colonists found no place suitable for their needs they were to return
and take over shares of land in Messenia amounting to a fifth of the
territory annexed by the Spartans.[5] Aristotle is very concise. He notes
only that since the Spartans caught out the Partheniai in conspiracy, they
sent them away to colonize Taras.[6] Diodoros, on the other hand, includes
several details. The Epenauktai (he has, as we saw, substituted this term
for "Partheniai") sent envoys to Delphi to enquire of the god if he would
give them victory over Sikyon. The oracle they received (quoted by
Diodoros) they could not understand. Whereupon the Pythia spoke more
plainly, declaring that the god would give them Satyrion to dwell with
them in the rich land of Taras and to be a bane to the Iapygians.[7]

[1] Diodoros, *loc. cit.*
[2] Dionysios of Halikarnassos, *loc. cit.*
[3] *Infra*, page 86.
[4] Antiochos., *loc. cit.*
[5] Ephoros, *loc. cit.*
[6] Aristotle, *loc. cit.*
[7] Diodoros, *loc. cit.*

According to Dionysios of Halikarnassos, the god bound the Partheniai to
sail to Italy. When they found a town in Iapygia called Satyrion and a
river called Taras, they were to make their abode where they saw a goat
dipping his beard in the sea.[1] Other sources mention the colony of the
Partheniai at Taras without noting that this was preceded by a conspiracy
and a recommendation of some sort by the Delphic sanctuary. These
omissions sometimes result from the brevity of the passage. Such is
probably the case with Diodoros's "then it was that the children called
Partheniai were born and founded the city of Taras",[2] or Pausanias's
"Taras is a colony of the Lakedaimonians and its founder was
Phalanthos, a Spartan".[3] There are other texts, however, that explicitly
give versions from which all references to friction between the
Lakedaimonians and the founders of Taras were intentionally deleted.[4]

XI. THE SETTLING OF THE COLONISTS

Our two earliest authorities, Antiochos and Ephoros, agree that there
was no Taras before its colonization by the Greeks. About the native in-
habitants and the relations of the Greeks with them, however, they dis-
agree. Antiochos says that the Greeks found in this land barbarians and
Cretans, and that they were welcomed by both.[5] Ephoros states that they
found Achaians who were at war with the barbarians, and that they
aided the Achaians.[6] The opinion that Taras had not existed before this
time is shared also by the Pseudo-Skymnos,[7] Dionysios of Halikarnas-
sos,[8] and Servius.[9] Servius, in addition, notes three different explanations
for the name of the city. One says that the name was found inscribed in a
sepulchre. In another the colonists were led to Italy by one Taras, a son

[1] Dionysios of Halikarnassos, *loc. cit.*
[2] Diodoros, *loc. cit.*
[3] Pausanias, X 10,6.
[4] *Infra*, page 86.
[5] Antiochos, *loc. cit.*
[6] Ephoros, *loc. cit.*
[7] Pseudo-Skymnos, 333-334.
[8] Dionysios of Halikarnassos, *loc. cit.*
[9] Servius, *loc. cit.*

of Herakles. According to the third Taras was founded by Taras, a son of Neptune, before the arrival of the Greeks and for this reason it was said that *"Taras condiderat, auxerat Phalantus"*.[1] The version accepted by Ephoros, that the Greeks made war on the barbarians, reappears in Dionysios of Halikarnassos and in Pausanias, with the additional information that the "barbarians" were the Iapygians.[2]

XII. A MIRACLE

Pausanias mentions a miracle: "they say that Phalanthos suffered a shipwreck in the Krisaian Sea, when sailing to Italy, and that he was brought ashore by a dolphin."[3]

XIII. ORACLES

We have already encountered the "oracle" in texts of Antiochos, Diodoros, and Dionysios of Halikarnassos. All the relevant oracular texts quoted by these authors are imaginary.[4] Sometimes the oracle is followed by a story telling how the oracle was fulfilled in an unexpected way. Dionysios of Halikarnassos describes what happened in the case of the oracle telling the Partheniai to settle in the place where they saw a goat dipping its beard in the sea. They found a wild fig-tree growing near the sea. It was overspread by a vine with a tendril hanging down and touching the sea. Here they settled.[5] In Pausanias we read that it was predicted to Phalanthos that he would win both a territory and a city when rain fell on him from a cloudless sky (αἰθρία). Phalanthos interpreted the oracle as referring to a moment when he was in despair, and his wife Aithra took his head on her knees and wept showers over him. Plutarch mentions Phalanthos among a number of leaders of expeditions

[1] Servius, *op. cit.*, III 551, cf. VI 773, *Georg.* IV 125
[2] Dionysios of Halikarnassos, *loc. cit.*; Pausanias, X 10,8.
[3] Pausanias, X 13, 10.
[4] *Supra*, pages 73-74.
[5] Dionysios of Halikarnassos, *loc. cit.*

who had to discover by means of a sign the place of settlement granted
by some obscure oracle.[1]

XIV. CHRONOLOGY.

According to the Latin version of Eusebios's *Chronicles*, Taras was
founded in a year equivalent to our 706/705 B.C.[2]

HISTORY AND FICTION

Most items classified and discussed above show some sign of not
reflecting historical fact. The few that seem at first glance to be true
must be verified to see whether or not this is actually so. To be
conclusive, verification must be based on independent data, data that can
be found in the answers to three questions. 1) Between the end of the
First Messenian War and the founding of Taras (ca. 715-708/6 B.C.), did
Sparta have an upheaval of some sort that agrees with what we can infer
from the dissatisfaction and rebelliousness of the Partheniai? Could the
crisis, as in the episode of the Partheniai, have been resolved by sending
away the dissatisfied? 2) Could the group of plotters have been formed
under the circumstances connected with the birth of the Partheniai? 3) If
the previous question cannot be answered in the affirmative, can the
social position of the rebelling group be described in another way?

1) Pausanias writes that when the war against Messenia had been
fought to a finish, King Polydoros was murdered by a noble Lakedai-
monian, Polemarchos. Polydoros had a great reputation at Sparta and
was very popular with the masses, for he never did a violent act or said
an insulting word to anyone, while as a judge he was both upright and
humane and his fame had by this time spread throughout Greece. After
his death, he received many signal marks of respect from the
Lakedaimonians. Polemarchos too, however, had a tomb in Sparta.
Pausanias, who seems to mean that it still existed, comments: "either he

[1] Plutarch, *De Pyth.or.*, 27, p.408 A.
[2] *Eusebius Werke*, VII, 91.

had been considered a good man before this murder, or perhaps his relatives buried him secretly."[1]

The murder of Polydoros would not be evidence of political agitation if it had been committed for personal reasons. This, however, is ruled out by the facts that the murderer was buried in Sparta and that his tomb was well-known for centuries. Furthermore, that the tomb was in a conspicuous place and that the person buried there was remembered, imply that the deed was approved by a component of Spartan society which was in a position to honour the murderer, that is to say, a group that had had the upper hand in Sparta for some time. This component of society, however, would not have been able to lessen the popularity of Polydoros with the masses. Quite otherwise: Polydoros became a national figure. Pausanias tells us that in the agora of Sparta there was a statue of Polydoros, who had risen to such honour that the magistrates used a seal with his likeness for everything that required sealing.[2] The statue, no doubt archaic, is likely to have represented in fact some god or hero rather than Polydoros.[3] Yet even its later identification as Polydoros demonstrates the honour attributed to him some time after his death, when social opposition would have subsided.[4] It thus appears that the good reputation of Polydoros and the memory of his murder were well rooted in Spartan tradition.

It has been claimed that the profile of Polydoros handed down to us by Pausanias is that of a king-model shaped by revolutionary Spartan monarchs of the third century.[5] This opinion has not been supported by any argument. Moreover, we may well ask why Polydoros would have been picked out over all the other kings of Sparta as the model of a democratic king, if this were not backed by tradition. The hypothesis thus invalidates itself.

Other scholars accept the statements of Pausanias about the character

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[1] Pausanias, III 3, 2-3.

[2] Pausanias, III 11,10.

[3] Ed.Meyer, *RhM*, 42 (1887) 86 n.1 = *Forschungen zur alten Geschichte*, I (1892) 288, n.1; F.Kiechle, *Lakonien und Sparta* (1963) 175, n. 2.

[4] Such a social crisis was that connected with Terpander's presence at Sparta ca. 675 B.C. (G.L.Huxley, *Early Sparta* [1962] 49-50), or with the equalizing of the Spartan citizens after the Second Messenian War.

[5] P.Cartledge, *Sparta and Lakonia, A Regional History* (1979) 134.

and murder of Polydoros. In his murder they see evidence of social and political discord in Sparta at that time. Yet they lower the date of Polydoros's reign from the end of the eighth to the beginning of the seventh century on several grounds. In our sources Polydoros is connected with the end of the First Messenian War, and with the rider to the *Great Rhetra*. Some students maintain that the traditional dates of these events (late 8th century B.C.) are not correct and they propose to lower them some decades. Polydoros's dating has to follow this change. Second, Polydoros is also said by our sources to have reigned together with Theopompos who is reported to have been alive at the time of the battle of Hysiai (669 B.C.). Third, Polydoros's image and his murder by an aristocrat would make sense in a seventh century context, but not earlier.[1] Yet the arguments used in support of a date at the beginning of the seventh century for the First Messenian War and the rider are not strong enough. The date of the kingship of Theopompos is problematical. In addition to other incongruities, we have two different king-lists for the dynasty to which he belongs.[2] There are no such problems with the catalogue of the Agiads, the family of Polydoros. I have gone over the evidence again and again, and appraised the arguments of those who have studied these questions. I believe that the First Messenian War was before the founding of Taras, whose traditional chronology has been verified archaeologically. It seems to me also that Polydoros reigned in fact during the last years of the war and afterwards.

Suppose we overlook the murder of Polydoros. We cannot, however, overlook the story about the Partheniai. Could this story have grown out of nothing at all? It is most improbable. First, the story is reported by both our earlier authorities who agree on the essentials. The story culminates with the conspiracy of the Partheniai. Then follows the foundation of Taras by the Partheniai who left Sparta when their conspiracy was discovered. In the interval between 700 and 450 B.C. could the reason for the founding of Taras have been forgotten and then replaced by an imaginary event? If you accept this, you would have to show why a conspiracy of the Partheniai, rather than of some other group, was

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[1] G.L.Huxley, *op. cit.*, 40, 50, 117-118; F.Kiechle, *op. cit.*, 174-176; W.G.Forrest, *A History of Sparta 950-193 B.C.* (1968) 65-67.

[2] *Infra*, pages 160-164.

conceived as an explanation. Secondly, after Antiochos and Ephoros, as time goes on there are further modifications, additions, and omissions. This all happens quite freely around two simple ideas: the conspiracy of the Partheniai and their colonization of Taras. In fact, these ideas remained unaltered precisely because they were deeply rooted in memory.

2) With a few insignificant exceptions, our sources state that the group that organized the conspiracy in Sparta and went to Italy where it founded Taras, consisted of sons of Spartans, born out of wedlock during the First Messenian War under the following circumstances: the Spartans who left Sparta at the beginning of the Messenian war remained continuously in Messenia for a period of twenty years, and as a result, Sparta faced an acute population problem. Yet this piece of information is fictitious. Even in classical times cities such as Athens, Sparta, and Thebes, with large populations, strong economies, organization, and technical means, could not manage expeditions lasting longer than the good season. The First Messenian War will have been fought in a number of sporadic expeditions, all of short duration. It is also possible that in some years there were no campaigns at all. Suppose, even so, that the Spartans called up during first year of the war did not return to Sparta for the duration, since they had taken an oath. If this were so, each year the number of those who had taken the oath would diminish, the ranks being thinned by death or old age. The numbers of those who had taken no such oath, on the other hand, would grow, and consequently they could return periodically to their homes.

3) Since the account we have of the birth of the Partheniai has been shown to be imaginary, we may look for a more likely origin. We may start with a definition of the general character of the group when it comes into conflict with the Spartans. Two facts must be considered here. The members of the group believed they were entitled to claim shares of land and political equality with the citizens. The citizens, for their part, held that it was their right to refuse those demands. These terms of definition are applicable only to people connected in some way with the Spartan community. In later years, such people were the so-called *Hypomeiones*, members of the Spartan community who were not citizens. They too were fomenters of rebellion. After the First Messenian War, such people could well have been bastards, as tradition has it.

Dispensing with the fictitious circumstances of their birth described in
the tradition, we may investigate a number of other possibilities. The
sobriquet "Partheniai" is one that could refer to the children of unmarried
mothers.[1] It is likely that because of the war pre-marital relations were
more frequent than during times of peace, and that in some cases these
relations were not followed by marriage because the father was killed.
More numerous will have been the illicit Spartan children born of non-
Spartan concubines, a phenomenon quite unrelated to war. When the
illegitimate sons all together came into conflict with the citizens, the
term *Partheniai*, used properly to mean the bastard children of Spartan
virgins, will have included, with irony, the sons of non-Spartan
concubines as well. In addition, there will also have been a number of
Spartan children wrongly or rightly considered to be illegitimate.[2] Sparta
had bastard children of all these classes even before the period with
which we are concerned, and later as well. Why were they were such a
problem only after the First Messenian War? At that time they may have
formed a critical percentage of the population, and in addition they may
have been frustrated after the war. A number of things can have brought
about an increase in the number of illegitimate children during the war.
We mentioned two above.[3] Another reason will have been that with war
time loss of men, the exposure of extra-marital new-born boys would
have been less frequent. Wartime casualties and the difficulties the
Spartans had in trying to defeat the Messenians, will have inspired a
policy of reinforcing the Spartan community through new members.
These new members will have been the illegitimate sons and the
Epeunaktoi. As already noted, the Epeunaktoi eventually received
political rights; not so, the illegitimate sons. The commitments made to
the illegitimate sons were not respected, perhaps because the Spartans
did not manage to take as much of Messenia as they had expected when
the promises were made.[4] As a result, the frustrated Partheniai became a

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[1] Many scholars have shown an unjustified aversion to this interpretation of Partheniai. They
have proposed instead other explanations, all hypothetical.

[2] The children born of Spartan women and Epeunaktoi will not have been considered
illegitimate since the Epeunaktoi had been given political rights (*infra*, page 84).

[3] Page 79-80.

[4] The evidence about the state of the Messenians after the First Messenian War is contra-
dictory. According to some ancient attestations or hints, the land was divided by lot among

revolutionary element within the community.

In addition to the character of the Partheniai are there any other authentic elements in our dossier? Some details of the conspiracy and how it was foiled seem likely candidates. That the Spartans made use of spies is plausible. That the leader of the conspiracy was not pleased "with those appointed to the council" is likely to be authentic for two reasons. First of all, it is too concrete and specific simply to have been imagined. Secondly, were it not authentic, its invention would have to have served some specific purpose. No such purpose is evident. The signal to be given with the cap is a piece of information more likely to have been devised by one of the plotters than to have come from a logographer or historian. Similarly, the ruse of the Spartans to foil the plot, rather than being the creation of some narrator, is more likely to have originated with someone experienced in leading people and with a feeling for avoiding bloodshed.

Opinions differ as to whether Phalanthos was a historical or mythical figure. Arguments of three types are used to support the view that he was mythical: (1) some details about Phalanthos in the narrations; (2) hypothetical similarities of Phalanthos with gods; and (3) a statement about an Arkadian hero named Phalanthos. Arguments of the first type (1) are the following: (a) in Antiochos's text Phalanthos has reservations about the conspiracy; (b) when the plot is brought to light, he is officially instructed to found a colony; (c) according to Justin, he received sacred honours at Taras, and most authors connect him with the Delphic Apollo.[1] The first argument (a) rests on a misconstrued reading of the passage in Antiochos[2]; the conclusion drawn is biased. Why should the leader of a conspiracy who has reservations about approving it not be considered an historical figure? Strong objections may be raised against

the Spartans and the Messenians were obliged to work it as helots. Others suggest that the Messenians were given some degree of freedom and autonomy (F.Kiechle, *Messenische Studien* (1959) 56-71). It appears likely that the Spartans distributed lots only in part of Messenia, namely in Stenyklaros. This policy they will have followed with the realization that after a long, difficult, and exhausting war they were not in a position to enslave all the Messenians.

[1] P.Wuilleumier, *Tarente des origines à la conquête romaine* (1939) 33-34, who refers also to other scholars having the same idea.

[2] Supra, page 70.

the other two arguments (*b* and *c*). Since the conspiracy was neutralized
by peaceful means, and the crisis was resolved by sending the
dissatisfied conspirators out to found a colony, there is nothing peculiar in
the authorities' recognition that the right person to lead the colony was
the leader the plotters had already chosen. All the historical oikists of the
ancient Greek colonies were honoured exactly as was Phalanthos in the
colony he founded. Finally, Phalanthos's relation to Delphi was that of
all who consulted its oracle. The second type of argument (2) appeals to
hypothetical similarities of Phalanthos to Apollo or Poseidon.[1] These
similarities, however, are dubious. What (3) about the hero known as
Phalanthos in Arkadia?[2] Pausanias refers to that hero in the following
way: "Mt.Phalanthos, on which are the ruins of a city Phalanthos; and it
is said that Phalanthos was a son of Agelaos, a son of Stymphalos".[3]
There is no other reference to this particular Phalanthos in this passage or
in any other ancient source. It is therefore evident that Phalanthos the
Arkadian is simply a secondary eponymous hero of the city and the name
of a mountain. Consequently the only sure thing is that Phalanthos,
leader of the Partheniai in Sparta and oikist of Taras, had the same name
as a mountain and a city in Arkadia. Is this sufficient to consider him a
mythical personage? Let us look at things from the other side. If
Phalanthos had been taken from a mythical or religious context, he
would never have been one of the Partheniai. From the start he would
have been on a higher level. Yet a look at the ancient sources in
chronological order shows quite the opposite. Phalanthos, starting out as
one of the Partheniai and an instigator of the revolt becomes,
successively, a Spartan citizen, leader of the conspirators and finally a
Spartan aristocrat, descendant of Herakles, who was chosen to be the
leader of the colony.[4] We have thus entered the territory of secondary
elements in the dossier on the Partheniai.

The secondary elements are far more numerous than the primary. This
shows the extent to which traditions about actual events were subject to
every kind of interference, even after the alphabet had been introduced.

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[1] References in P.Wuilleumier, *op. cit.*, 33-34.

[2] F.Kiechle, *op. cit.*, 176-177.

[3] Pausanias, VIII 35,9.

[4] *Infra*, pages 83-84.

We shall examine the most significant of the innovations in the
Partheniai tradition according to their order in the story.

The first three, in order, the oath of the Spartans, the complaint of the
women, and the promiscuous relations, form a whole. No one stands
without the other two. Quite evidently they were fashioned all together.
Antiochos is unaware of the first two. He attributes the birth of the
Partheniai to Spartans who had not been mustered and had become
helots, rather than to Spartans who had been sent home to produce
children.[1] The entire sequence of these innovations appears for the first
time in Ephoros, then in other authors. The complaint of the women is
found in three successive variations, expressing changes of an ethical
nature. According to Ephoros, all the women decide to present their case
to their husbands who are far away from Sparta, using the argument that
Sparta is threatened by a shortage of men. The wording of the argument
shows clearly the influence of rhetoric: "they were conducting the war
with the Messenians on unequal terms: the Messenians, being in their
own country, were begetting children, whereas they, having abandoned
their wives to widowhood, were on an expedition in enemy territory" and
therefore "the fatherland was in danger of having no men".[2] The variation
cited by Dionysios of Halikarnassos gives the same argument in concise
wording, but adds one demand: "the women, especially the maidens of
marriageable age, begged them not to leave them unwed and childless".[3]
This demand involves a conception of individual rights for young women
to marry and for all women to bear children. Such a conception probably
is datable not much earlier than its statement. Still later, it seems that a
Christian author may have considered it indecent for young or even
mature women to use an argument of this sort. Therefore he attributed it
to elderly women. The variation appears in the scholia on Dionysios the
Periegete, both the anonymous and those compiled by Eustathios the
Metropolitan of Thessalonike.[4]

Phalanthos, originally one of the Partheniai, then becomes a Spartan
who is chosen by them to be their leader. At the same time, the attempt
of the Partheniai to rebel is omitted. Both views are to be found in

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[1] Antiochos, *loc. cit.*

[2] Ephoros, *loc. cit.*

[3] Dionysios of Halikarnassos, *loc. cit.*

[4] Eustathios, *loc. cit.*; Anon., *Schol. Dion. Per.*, *loc. cit.*

Pompeius Trogus, Porphyrio, and Eustathios of Thessalonike. Pompeius
Trogus refers to Phalanthos thus: first he says that the Partheniai had
taken on Phalanthos as leader of their expedition to colonize; next, he
names Aratos as the father of Phalanthos, which is quite the opposite of
the interpretation of the Partheniai as children of unknown fathers; third,
Phalanthos is described as *"qui auctor Spartanis fuerat iuventutis ad
generandas subolem domum remittendae, ut sicuti dudum patrem eius
nascendi auctorem habuissent, sic ipsum spei ac dignitatis suam haberent."*[1]
Porphyrio appears to give an abridgement of Pompeius Trogus
*"Phalanthus Lacedaemonius fuit, quo auctore et principe partheniae
Spartani Tarentum condiderunt".*[2] The wording of Eustathios gives us to
understand that the initiative was that of Phalanthos, who was a
Spartan.[3] Once he became a Spartan, Phalanthos went on to become an
aristocrat, descended from Herakles. This information is given by the
scholiasts Acro and Servius.[4] The promotion of Phalanthos from being
one of the Partheniai to Spartan citizen and eventually aristocrat would
have taken place at Taras rather than at Sparta.

Ephoros is the only one who refers to collaboration between the
Partheniai and the helots.[5] Perhaps this got into the story of the
Partheniai by analogy with the rebellion attempted by Kinadon in 397
B.C., whose secret, as Xenophon says, was known to helots, freedmen,
lesser Spartans, and perioikoi.[6]

As for the timing of the uprising of the Partheniai for the festival of
the Hyakinthia, it has been suggested that this was perhaps a fabrication
inspired by the existence in Taras of a tomb of Hyakinthos or of Apollo
Hyakinthos.[7]

Our earliest authority for the Epeunaktoi or Epeunaktai in Sparta is a
fragment of Theopompos. According to this, the Spartans, fearful because
of the losses they had suffered by the Messenians, decided to replace

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[1] Pompeius Trogus, III 4, 21-25.

[2] Porphyrio, *Comm. Horat. Od.*, III 6,1.

[3] Eustathios, *loc. cit.* "οὓς Φάλανθός τις ἀνὴρ ἐπιχώριος λαβών τε καὶ εἰς ἀποικίαν
σταλεὶς ᾤκισε τὸν Τάραντα."

[4] Acro, *loc. cit.*; Servius, *Comm. Verg. Aen.*, III 551; *Verg. Georg.*, IV 125.

[5] *Supra*, page 71.

[6] Xenophon, *Hell.*, III 3, 4-11.

[7] F.Kiechle, *op. cit.*, 177.

with a helot every citizen killed. These helots, later made citizens, became known as Epeunaktoi because they had been assigned to take the place of the dead in the nuptial bed.[1] This text not only does not relate the Epeunaktoi to any revolt, but it excludes the possibility of any such connection since it states clearly that they received political rights. Thus the substitution of *epeunaktoi* for *Partheniai* in the texts of Diodoros, Acro, Servius, and Hesychios is a result of misunderstanding of what was written by Theopompos or some other relevant source.

From Diodoros we have a noteworthy explanation of the ruse of the Spartan authorities to prevent Phalanthos from giving the signal to revolt. When the plot was exposed, "most of the ephors held that they should put Phalanthos to death. Then a certain Agathiadas, who had been his lover, argued that to do this would plunge Sparta into the greatest civil strife, in which were they victorious they would win a profitless victory, were they to lose they would utterly destroy their fatherland."[2] The interest in this explanation is the introduction of a romantic and a rhetorical note. The romantic note is provided by the supposed intervention of Phalanthos's lover, suggesting that his advice was motivated not only by public concerns but also by sentimental interest. The style of the argument attributed to Agathiadas, with its climax and dilemma, is purely rhetorical.

On the sending out of the Partheniai from Sparta, Ephoros has two peculiarities. First of all, he states that the Lakedaimonians persuaded the Partheniai, using their fathers' influence, to found a colony. Second, he mentions a clause according to which if the colonists could not conquer land that satisfied them, they were free to return and to receive shares in Messenia equal to one fifth of the land that was available there.[3] The first statement conflicts with the view, accepted also by Ephoros, that the Partheniai were the children of unknown fathers. The second is suspect because it does not fit the circumstances. This clause, indeed, resembles the agreement between the Theraians and the colonists they sent to Libya: if the efforts of the colonists to settle in Libya were not successful within five years, they were free to return to

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[1] *Supra,* page 68.

[2] Diodoros, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Supra,* page 73

.Thera and to reclaim their properties.[1] The Theraian colonists, however, were not like the Partheniai: they were citizens of Thera; they were not involved in a plot, and they were not in the position of a defeated faction.

Total silence about the plot of the Partheniai constitutes an extreme adulteration of the narrative. This we see in the texts of Pompeius Trogus, Servius, and Acro.[2] Eustathios explains the emigration of the Partheniai in these terms: the bastards did not receive an education suitable to people of legitimate birth and good family, and did not behave as they should. So the Spartans, when they came home from Messene and found affairs of state in bad condition, drove them out.[3]

The oracles comprise a special category of secondary elements or innovations. Some of these are quoted, as also the tales of their fulfilment.[4]

Here too we may emphasize that as early as the beginning of the fifth century it was understood that both Taras, the eponymous hero of the city, and the legend of the miraculous rescue of Phalanthos by a dolphin were historical. Pausanias, describing a group of statues he saw at Delphi, gives this information: the Tarentines had offered to Delphi a tithe of the spoils they had taken from the Peucetii. This consisted of a group of statues showing horsemen and men on foot. Among the people represented were Taras and Phalanthos, with a dolphin next to him in memory of his shipwreck in the Krisaian Sea and his rescue by a dolphin. The group of statues was the work of the sculptors Onatas and Ageladas.[5]

OUR SOURCES AS VEHICLES OF THE WRITTEN TRADITION OF THE PARTHENIAI AND THEIR EMIGRATION TO ITALY

Our sources can be arranged on several levels according to various criteria taken together, namely, the abundance and quality of the main

[1] *Supra,* page 39.
[2] Pompeius Trogus, *loc. cit.*; Servius, *loc.cit.*; Acro, *loc. cit.*
[3] Eustathios, *loc. cit.*
[4] *Supra*, pages 75-76.
[5] Pausanias, *loc. cit.*

items of information they preserve, as well as the quality and extensiveness of their exposition.

For the dossier on Taras, a fragment of Antiochos and a fragment of Ephoros are at the top of the scale. From all points of view these sources are the most extensive, and most valuable. The fragment of Antiochos is one hundred and ninety words long, excluding the history of the Cretans who preceded the Partheniai by several centuries in the region of Taras. The fragment of Ephoros comprises two hundred sixty words, not counting the part about the end of the First Messenian War. Both texts surpass the other sources in amount and quality of information. Of the fourteen items we have listed from all our sources,[1] Antiochos mentions eleven; Ephoros, the same. Two of the items, however, not found in Antiochos, the alliance of the Partheniai with the helots and the miracle, are fictitious[2] and obviously of later date than Antiochos's work. It is quite otherwise with two of the items not found in Ephoros, the time and place decided for the revolt, and the behaviour of the conspirators once they were discovered. These two items appear to have preserved authentic recollections.[3] As for non-authentic items, Antiochos has two, and Ephoros two. Thus in Antiochos we find: the idea that the Partheniai were sons of Spartans who had been demoted to the rank of helots, and the oracle given to the Partheniai.[4] Ephoros mentions the alliance of the Partheniai with the helots, and the clause of the agreement concluded between the Spartans and the Partheniai in which if the Partheniai could not find a suitable place to settle they were to have the right to return and to receive shares in one fifth of Messenia.[5] Antiochos's fragment give us all the authentic items we have been able to identify, with the exception of "chronology". In addition, it outclasses the other sources of the Taras dossier in composition: it connects events in a balanced fashion and it does not appear to have serious lacunas (without pretending that it retains all details of the tradition). In other words, if we had the text of Antiochos only, none of the essential information known from other sources would be missing. It is worth adding that Antiochos appears to

[1] *Supra*, pages 67-76.
[2] *Supra*, pages 71, 75.
[3] *Supra*, pages 71, 72-73.
[4] *Supra*, pages 67, 75.
[5] *Supra*, pages 71, 73.

have drawn on a Tarentine source, a likelihood implied by the fact that
he goes on to a narrative of the wanderings of the Cretans who were
established in the vicinity of Taras. It is difficult to believe that this story
was not told at Taras itself.

Excerpts of Diodoros, Dionysios of Halikarnassos, and Pompeius
Trogus, all inferior to the sources discussed above, are close to each
other on two points. They deal with fewer items (the first eight, each of
the other four) and they do not show an equal interest in those they
retain. Pompeius Trogus, in one hundred seventy-three words, devotes
half his text to the events supposed to have determined the birth of the
Partheniai, and the other half to describing their state of mind.[1] The
excerpts from Diodoros and Dionysios of Halikarnassos have been so
much abbreviated that we cannot evaluate them. What is most
regrettable is that it is not even possible to determine whether or not
those making the selections omitted items in their entirety. Suffice it
therefore to list those mentioned in the excerpts and to note the ones that
are not authentic. With the exception of the conspiracy, the colony, and
the oracle, the excerpt from Diodoros has a few words on most of the
items. In them, we note a confusion (the Partheniai identified with the
Epeunaktoi) and a fictitious item (the oracle).[2] The excerpt from
Dionysios goes directly from the description of the Partheniai to the
decision to send them to Italy and the founding of Taras. Dionysios does
not escape the temptation of citing a so-called oracle.[3] The excerpt from
Diodoros is one hundred sixty-six words in length, that of Dionysios one
hundred fifty-nine. In each, the account of the oracle is disproportionate
in length: sixty-nine words in the first, seventy-six in the second and in
each, all the other items together take up ninety words. That is, the other
items are narrated in hasty fashion.

The sources we come to now are even more limited in their choice of
items. Rarely is this for a reason other than the author's decision. One
such is a summary drawn from the *Constitutions* of Herakleides. In
twenty-seven words the summary manages to describe the origin of the
Partheniai and to note the reason for their revolt.[4] In the other cases, the

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[1] *Supra*, pages 68, 70.
[2] *Supra*, pages 68, 73.
[3] *Supra*, pages 68, 75.
[4] *Supra*, pages 69, 70.

choice of items and the length of the narrative goes back indeed to the
author, but may depend on other, occasional factors as well. If we find
that the Pseudo-Skymnos tells us in only seven words that the Partheniai
founded Taras, which did not exist before that,[1] it is because the author is
referring throughout his work to the origins of the Greek colonies just as
briefly. In the works of Aineias the Tactician and Polyainos, treatises on
stratagems, it is natural enough to find that only relevant items are
mentioned. Thus Aineias refers in twenty-seven words to the signal for
the uprising and the Spartans' ruse.[2] Polyainos devotes forty-four words to
the time and place of the revolt, the signal, the ruse, and the behaviour of
the plotters after their failure.[3] In the same way, a scholion by its very
nature is slanted toward a special item or group of related items. Thus
Servius, Acro, Probus and Porphyrio, commenting on verses of Vergil or
Horace, bring in a reference to the Partheniai.[4] Another scholiast,
Eustathios the Metropolitan of Thessalonike, prompted by Dionysios the
Periegete's mention of Taras, refers to the same item, but in greater
detail.[5] In the lexicon of Hesychios the lemma Παρθένιοι provides yet
another example of reference to this item.[6] In the lemma ᾿Αθῆναι in
Stephanos's *Ethnika* we read unexpectedly that the Tarentines were
described as Φαλανθιάδαι. An author may also refer to an item or group
of items in the course of writing on another subject. Aristotle uses the
Partheniai to illustrate a political point. In seventeen words he manages
to say that the Partheniai were sons of Spartans and widows, that they
were proud in spirit, that they had been detected in conspiracy, and that
they were therefore sent away to colonize Taras.[7] Diodoros, relating the
start of the First Messenian War, tells us in twenty-five words that the
Spartans took an oath "not to return to Sparta unless they had captured
Messene" and that "it was then that the children called Partheniai were

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[1] *Supra*, pages 74-75.

[2] *Supra*, pages 71, 72.

[3] *Supra*, pages 71-73.

[4] *Supra*, page 68. See also Servius, *Comm. Verg. Buc.*, X 57; Probus, *Comm. Verg. Georg.*,
   II 197 a.

[5] *Supra*, page 68.

[6] *Supra*, page 69.

[7] *Supra*, pages 68, 72, 73.

born and founded the city of Taras".[1] Pausanias takes a dedication of the Tarentines at Delphi as an occasion for speaking of the foundation of Taras. The passage consists of one hundred sixty-six words, one hundred forty-four of which are devoted to the history and fulfilment of an oracle, while the rest say that Taras was a Spartan colony whose oikist was Phalanthos, and that the Spartans took it from a barbarian people.[2] On another occasion similar to the first, the periegete relates in twenty-four words a legend in which Phalanthos "before reaching Italy suffered a shipwreck in the Krisaian Sea and was brought ashore by a dolphin."[3]

A SYNOPSIS OF THE CONCLUSIONS

The dossier of Taras, unlike that of Kyrene, contains neither a primary source such as the decree dispatching the colonists, nor a narrative drawn from chronicles, nor an historical account as long and richly informative as that of Herodotos. On the other hand, it comprises more sources, and these are of several different types: historians' accounts, scholia, occasional quotations, and a lexicon lemma.

I

Taking the contributions of our sources as a whole, we have a body of evidence not to be found in any individual source. Some of this material is genuine, and some reflects confusions, speculations, or fiction. In quantity and in quality, the valid information approximates some of the major and minor items of the original tradition. Putting them all together provides a coherent and intelligible idea of events which, even if incomplete, can be summarized as follows.

Through circumstances connected with the First Messenian War, Sparta had a critical number of illegitimate births at this time. The name *Partheniai* used for these children in our sources implies that they were

[1] *Supra*, page 69.
[2] *Supra*, pages 74, 75.
[3] *Supra*, pages 75.

born of extra-nuptial affairs. Presumably, however, there were other categories of illegitimate children as well. When the shares (*klaroi)* were distributed in vanquished Messenia among the Spartans, the Partheniai were excluded. As a result they were condemned to a social and political condition inferior to that of citizens with full rights. Exasperated, they fostered a conspiracy. One of them, Phalanthos by name, took on the leadership. He was assisted by a council which did not please him. We are told the time and place chosen for the course of action decided on by the Partheniai, and the signal by which Phalanthos was to have given the go ahead. This part comes to us in different versions, thus raising a number of questions. The secret of the plot was not kept to the end. There were leaks or treason that enabled the Spartan authorities to plant spies who informed them well. Rather than resorting to force, the authorities opted for thwarting the plotters with a ruse that would let them know their plan had been discovered right through to the signal for action. The plotters, seeing they were found out, did nothing. The authorities, continuing with a moderate approach, arranged to have the Partheniai leave to found a colony.

I I

Antiochos's narrative departs very little from the synthesis we have worked out from the elements of the original tradition identified in the ensemble of our sources. This point should be borne in mind. Indeed, Antiochos, in a series with no significant lacunas, has all the authentic items of information, except for "chronology" and only two that are fictitious.

The fragment of Ephoros, besides being later by several decades than that of Antiochos, is also inferior in that it contains less valid information and is considerably corrupted by the presence of secondary elements. We may well ask if the deterioration observable between Antiochos and Ephoros is a question of subjective choices and chance, or whether it shows a general historiographical evolution.

After Ephoros, the authentic elements noted in the sources become rare; the non-authentic multiply. We may comment in quite a different fashion on each of these two tendencies. The rarity of authentic elements

is due primarily to the state of our documentation. It has lacunas, and it is made up of texts containing evidence that is for various reasons only partial. For the rest, we are dealing chiefly with texts that are not original, but simply abbreviated excerpts of a later time. All this makes it difficult to tell whether and to what extent the authentic elements in the events narrated have been diminished. None of the circumstances under which authentic elements are diminished works toward an increase of non-authentic elements. To the contrary, these very circumstances obscure an immeasurable part of that process. So we cannot complain of our inability to grasp, with few exceptions, its components or causes. Thus, when Theopompos speaks of Epeunaktoi instead of Partheniai, it is because he was the victim of confusion between different but analogous social groups. The creation of one Agathiadas, supposedly the lover of Phalanthos, and the fabrication of his intervention with the authorities for a moderate attitude, respond to a romantic-emotional taste. Manifestations of Tarentine self esteem are seen in the total silence on the revolt fomented by the Partheniai, and in the promotion of Phalanthos from the ranks of the Partheniai to being a Spartan, and, on top of that, his transformation into a Heraklid. Christian morality could not accept the idea that women of an age to beget children should publicly complain about being left without men and condemned to childlessness, so it converted them into old women.

Study of the dossier on the emigration of the Partheniai from Sparta to Taras has shown that the two earliest accounts of these events, the first datable to the end of the fifth century, the second around the middle of the fourth, have an historical core but also many secondary elements. Subsequent sources reflect later modifications down to and beyond Roman times. This shows that there was never any crystallization based solely on one narrative that had become well known. One has the impression that the theme of the founding of Taras was quite popular, and for this reason was mentioned often in the ancient texts and embellished by the ancient authors. Likewise it seems that none of the variations that appeared in the course of time took on authority enough to be unquestionable and certain of survival. The dossier of the Partheniai is instructive from the standpoint of its innovations. It makes us aware of the fact that formulation in writing of a particular story does not necessarily lend authority to the narrative related. Furthermore, it shows

us that the tendencies and aims of some wider context were not the only causes of innovation. Inspirations of a personal nature also played a part. Such are the tales with a touch of the romantic and the rhetorical.

It is the variety and chronological span of the records making up the Taras dossier that have allowed us to affirm the above. That dossier is superior by far to all the others in that it offers the most extensive evidence for finding out how freely the fictitious was attached to traditions about events later than the first general use of the alphabet. This evidence, furthermore, enables us to learn what type of item was most affected by mythologizing, in what kinds of texts and in which chronological periods.

Now the question arises: when we learn of a tradition from a single source or from two with similar content, was this tradition really complete and stable? Were we to have as many records for this hypothetical tradition as we have for the tradition of the Partheniai, might it not have reached us in just as fluid and diversified a state as the tradition about the colonization of the Partheniai at Taras?

III. CHALKIDIANS AND MESSENIANS
TO RHEGION

Our literary evidence for the settlement of Rhegion comes from numerous passages. They are, however, all very short, averaging less than ten lines of a modern edition. Some are no more than a single line in length two alone around twenty. The information supplied by each is thus limited. The passages differ from each other on three levels. First of all they differ in their content which is more or less incomplete. Secondly, in some cases the details are not the same even though the reference is to the same item of information. Thirdly, there are different versions of the same item. Compared to the dossier on Taras, the Rhegion dossier is far poorer but it forms a more complicated network. Two of our sources, an excerpt from Antiochos of Syracuse and another of Herakleides, the author of *Constitutions*, are more comprehensive than the rest. They mention colonists coming to Rhegion from both Chalkis and Messene. Moreover, though briefly, they refer to the causes and some of the circumstances of the events. Of our other authorities, Timaios, Diodoros, Dionysios of Halikarnassos, Strabo, the Pseudo-Skymnos, and Solinus connect Rhegion with Chalkis alone. Thucydides and Pausanias mention simply settlers from Messene.

A SURVEY OF THE ITEMS OF INFORMATION;
HISTORY AND FICTION

I. THE CHALKIDIANS

The authors who tell us that Rhegion was founded by Chalkidian colonists (alone or with a group of Messenians) turn out to have followed two different versions of the reasons for this move. Timaios, Herakleides, Diodoros, Dionysios of Halikarnassos, Strabo and the Pseudo-Skymnos echo the version according to which the Chalkidians, smitten by want and famine (Herakleides and Strabo), were to have dedicated a tenth of their population to the Delphic sanctuary where the god told them to

establish a colony in Italy (Diodoros, Strabo, cf.Timaios). These dedicated citizens were followed by some of their co-citizens who had not been dedicated (Strabo).[1] Antiochos, on the other hand, ignores all these events. In contrast, he tells us that the Chalkidians had been invited to Italy by the Zankleans. This same author adds that the Zankleans provided one of their own citizens, Antimnestos, as oikist of Rhegion.[2] Dionysios of Halikarnassos, though following the first version, puts a Chalkidian named Artimedes in this role.

The first version has been accepted as historical by F.Geyer, J.Bérard, H.D.Parke and D.H.W.Wormell, and L.Lacroix.[3]T.J.Dunbabin retains as historical only the famine which was the reason for the colonization. In supposing that the enterprise was planned in Chalkis and Zankle without any interference by Delphi, he has been attracted by the second version.[4] G.Vallet and J.Ducat have firmly opted for the second version, and have contested the validity of the famine and its consequences.

G.Vallet has advanced two arguments. To begin with he argues that Chalkis could not have been having difficulties in providing for her citizens since she had already sent out so many colonists. He then asks: supposing a bad harvest were to have caused difficulties at Chalkis,

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[1] Timaios, 566 *FGrH* 43 a and b = Antigonos, *Hist. Mir.*, 1 and Strabo, VI 1, 9; Herakleides, fr. 25 *FHG*, II 219; Diodoros, VIII fr. 23, 2; Strabo, VI 1, 6; Pseudo-Skymnos, 311-312. Cf. Thucydides, VI 43,3; 79,1; Solinus, II 10. According to some scholars, including J.Bérard, *La colonisation greque de l'Italie méridionale et de la Sicile dans l'antiquité*, 2nd ed. (1957) 99, and F.Kiechle, *Messenische Studien* (1959) 6 ff., Strabo will have drawn this version from Antiochos. For two reasons this hypothesis is to be censured. First, Strabo gives this version without naming Antiochos. It is afterwards that he introduces information drawn from Antiochos with ὡς ᾽Αντίοχός φησει. J.Bérard himself has rightly understood Strabo when translating this passage. Second, Antiochos's information obviously disagrees with the version accepted by Strabo. Other scholars have also assumed that this version does not go back to Antiochos: F.Jacoby, 555 *FGrH* 9; G.Vallet, *Rhégion et Zancle* (1958) 69.

[2] Antiochos, 555 *FGrH* 9 = Strabo, VI 1, 6.

[3] F.Geyer, *Topographie und Geschichte der Insel Euboea* (1908) 39-40; J.Bérard, *op. cit.*, 102; L.Lacroix, *Monnaies et colonisation dans l'Occident grec* (1965) 148, n.1; M.B.Sakellariou in *Gli Eubei in Occidente, XVIII Convegno sulla Magna Grecia 1978* (1979) 77ff.; idem in *Terra antiqua balcanica*, II, 1985 (*Studia in honorem Christo M. Danov*) 381 ff.

[4] T.G.Dunbabin, *The Western Greeks* (1948) 14.

"pourquoi n'aurait-elle pas procédé alors à une nouvelle ἀποικία vers les riches terres à blé au monde occidental?"[1]

J.Ducat has concentrated his critique on the role of Delphi. In connection with the consecration of some of the Chalkidians at Delphi by decimation, he recalls five other cases cited by our sources, all of them legendary, all supposed to have happened before the historical beginning of the Delphic sanctuary. He draws the following conclusions: (1) the object of such a consecration was to appease divine wrath that had been manifested through plague or a catastrophe of some kind (2) items related to this type of consecration, such as the reasons for it and the Delphic god's subsequent command to found a colony, are common stock in foundation legends. He goes on to express doubt about the Chalkidians' consulting of the Delphic oracle around 730 B.C., the foundation date of Rhegion, with this argument. Since the earliest significant offerings at Delphi go back to the mid-eighth century, he finds it difficult to believe that scarcely twenty years later "une cité relativement éloignée comme Chalcis soit venue y quêter l'approbation de l'oracle pour la fondation d'une colonie."[2] This last argument is not unassailable. The date of the earliest offerings at the Delphic sanctuary give a *terminus ante quem* rather than *post quem* for its fame. Its reputation would not have been slow to reach Chalkis which was not only not so very far away (130 kilometres by road), but which also already had connections with the Pylaian-Delphic Amphictyony.[3] Let us now examine the burden of J.Ducat's arguments against accepting as valid the autoconsecration of the Chalkidians at Delphi. The parallels he cites, to be sure, are legendary. Yet autoconsecration under the circumstances grasped and interpreted by J.Ducat cannot have been the fruit of imagination. It is precisely because autoconsecration really happened that it entered the world of the legendary. Moreover, this is a practice about which H.D.Parke and D.E.W.Wormell could write: "One kind of settlement, of

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[1] G.Vallet, *op. cit.*, 69-70.

[2] J.Ducat in *Mélanges Daux*, (1974) 93-114.

[3] The Pylaian Delphic Amphictyony had as members not *poleis* but *ethne*. One of them, the ethnos of the *Ionians*, covered, among other *poleis*, those in Euboia (Theopompos 115 *FGrH 63* = Harpokration, s.v. Ἀμφικτύονες; Aischines, *De falsa leg.*, 116). It seems, then, that this Amphiktyony was formed before the rise of the polis-states, and that the inhabitants of Euboia had relations with Delphi already at this time.

which traditions existed from primitive times, was associated with
Delphi in a very special way. A custom had once belonged in common
to the Indo-European races of Greece and Italy, whereby in time of crisis
they vowed a tithe to the gods, and sometimes this tenth part could be
reckoned not in property, but in persons. A state at war might vow to
give a tenth of the enemy to a god if they were victorious, or a people
stricken by plague or famine might even vow a tenth of their own
population to the god in return for relief from their general misfortune. In
Italy, Mars had been the traditional recipient of this kind of offering, in
Greece the Pythian Apollo. Few instances of the practice are recorded
among the Greeks from historic periods, but it figures frequently in folk-
traditions". The same authors consider that "the only example of the
practice which is recorded within the reach of historical evidence was
the foundation of Rhegium".[1] For the historicity of this part of the
tradition about the founding of Rhegion, we may note that Ariston of
Rhegion alleged at Delphi that he had ancestors who had been
hierodouloi (temple-slaves) in the service of Apollo at Delphi before
founding the city.[2] Such an ancestry is hardly the sort to be invented out
of complacency. Nor would it have been accepted willingly if insinuated
by others. The very fact that it was credited by Ariston of Rhegion
implies its truth. It is reasonable to suppose that Ariston accepted it not
only because it was true, but also because it was inseparable from
another part of the tradition, namely the identification of the ancient
hierodouloi as the founders of Rhegion. Because of this rank, their
descendants were considered nobles. As we know from elsewhere, the
descendants of first colonists tended in general to form an exclusive
aristocracy.[3]

 J.Ducat, however, must take credit for having understood the purpose
of self-consecration. We shall, then, follow him in accepting that the
Chalkidians sent a tenth of their population to Delphi not simply to get
rid of them, but to win Apollo's favour. Thus the positive part of
J.Ducat's reasoning avoids G.Vallet's objections to the hypothesis that
the purpose of the Chalkidians' decision was their need to reduce their

[1] H.W.Parke and D.E.M.Wormell, *The Delphic Oracle*, I (1956) 51ff.

[2] Timaios, *loc. cit.*

[3] L.Whibley, *Greek Oligarchies* (1896) 115ff.

population in a time of famine. The act of the Chalkidians, then, will not
have sought to remedy the effects of the famine, but to tackle the cause,
which will have been some calamity or other. Indeed Strabo tells us
precisely that the Chalkidians sent one tenth of their population to Delphi
because of drought.[1] Famine was the result. The Chalkidians could not
yet have known the penury resulting from strong demographic growth,
aggravated by pauperization of part of the population. Only then, as
clearly seen by G.Vallet, the remedy forced on them would have been
colonization rather than the self-consecration of a tenth of the population
to the Delphic god.

   We shall now examine the historicity of a number of other items: the
role of Zankleans in this affair, the oikists, and an oracle said to have
been given to the colonists, and its realization.

   We should remember that Antiochos alone reports the first According
to him, the Chalkidians migrated to Rhegion in response to an invitation
by the Zankleans. Yet our documentation is fragmentary, and we have
not the work of Antiochos in its entirety. We should therefore hesitate to
infer that he is reflecting a version attributing the foundation of Rhegion
exclusively to a Zanklean initiative, were we not told that Antiochos
also claimed that the oikist of Rhegion was not Chalkidian but a citizen
of Zankle. This version would have ignored the tradition recalling the
famine at Chalkis, the consecration of a tenth of the Chalkidians at
Delphi, and the sending of these Chalkidians to Italy by order of the
Pythia. It should therefore be considered a secondary fabrication even
though it has some roots in history. In fact, the Zankleans may well have
given the Chalkidians information about where to settle, and encouraged
them to take their colonists there.

   Dionysios of Halikarnassos presents the oikist Artimedes as the one
told by the oracle where to found the colony. Diodoros quotes a version
of this oracle in verse, and says that it was given to the Chalkidians in
general. Herakleides alludes more briefly to the same oracle without
specifying to which of the Chalkidians or Messenians it was given. All
three versions agree on the oracle's essential point: the god ordered the
colonists to settle at the place where they would see "the female cover-
ing the male". They also agree that the oracle was fulfilled when they

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[1] Strabo, VI 1, 6.

saw a vine twining over a wild fig tree (Diodoros and Dionysios of Halikarnassos) or oak (Herakleides). The ancient Greek words for "vine", ἡ ἄμπελος, "wild fig tree", ὁ ἐρινέος, or "oak", ὁ πρίνος, are respectively female and male. The entire tale of the oracle and its fulfilment sounds fictitious. Besides, its idea resembles that of the spurious oracle introduced in the tradition of the migration to Taras.[1]

II. THE MESSENIANS

That Rhegion was inhabited by Messenians is reported by Thucydides, Antiochos, Herakleides, and Pausanias. Herakleides and Antiochos tell us that the Messenians followed in the steps of the Chalkidians. More precisely, Herakleides says that the Chalkidians were supposed to have taken a number of Messenians with them. According to Antiochos the group of colonists included, with the Chalkidians, refugees from the Peloponnese, that is, Messenians. Both sources also agree about matters concerning the Messenians and the reasons for their departure. Herakleides's text, however, is brief in the extreme. Antiochos supplies us with somewhat more detail. These Messenians, he tells us, were refugees because they had been defeated by their compatriots. They had violated a number of Lakedaimonian maidens who had gone to Limnai for a religious rite, and they had killed those who came to help the girls. The Lakedaimonians demanded that the Messenians hand over the guilty ones so they could be punished. The Messenians accepted this demand, but they met with resistance on the part of those concerned. Finally, the culprits fled and took refuge on Mt. Makiston. From here they sent an embassy to the oracle for advice, and were told by the god to go with the Chalkidians who were just about to leave for Rhegion.[2]

Thucydides and Pausanias do not connect the Messenians with the Chalkidians. Are they following another version? An answer in the negative is suggested by the fact that Thucydides and Pausanias are not talking about the foundation of Rhegion, but about the settling of some Messenian refugees at Zankle by Anaxilas, tyrant of the city. Both

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[1] *Supra*, page.75.

[2] Antiochos, *loc. cit.*; Herakleides, *loc. cit.*

authors take this occasion to note that Anaxilas was interested in the
Messenians because he himself was descended from Messenian settlers
in Rhegion.[1]

A number of scholars have examined these texts with the hypercriti-
cal outlook in which all tradition is by definition suspect. Yet they give
no arguments in support of their position. Instead they produce unfounded
hypotheses. At first they thought that the tradition we are discussing was
a simple fabrication launched on the occasion of the alliance between
Rhegion and Taras in 473 B.C.[2] Subsequently this extreme view was
abandoned, and they confined themselves to disassociating the founda-
tion of Rhegion from the arrival of the Messenians, which was dated to
around 600 B.C.[3] The extreme thesis rests on no proof whatsoever. It is
based solely on a presumption that such a tale could have strengthened
bonds between Rhegion and Taras. This, however, is out of the question.
The Tarentines flattered themselves with the belief that they were
Spartan colonists. Spartans and Messenians had fought each other bit-
terly, the Spartans ultimately subjugating the Messenians, who hated
them. In support of the moderate hypothesis, Ciaceri uses the text of
Pausanias although, along with other scholars, he recognizes its confu-
sions.[4]

Only the kernel of the tradition preserving a tale of Messenian
participation in the founding of Rhegion, appears to be authentic. The
details handed down by Antiochos[5] most likely are entirely fictitious.

One tells of the Spartan maidens being violated by some Messenian
youths at Limnai during a festival held in common by the Spartans and
Messenians in honour of Artemis. Besides Antiochos and Herakleides,
mentioned above, Strabo and Pausanias also refer to the tale. Both these
authors note that the incident happened before the First Messenian War.
Strabo adds that war broke out because the Messenians refused to give
the Spartans satisfaction for their act. Pausanias has it that the
Messenians did not accept the story as told, but gave instead another

[1] Thucydides, VI 4, 6; Pausanias, VI 23, 6-10.
[2] E.Pais, *Storia d'Italia dai tempi più antichi sino alle guerre puniche*, I (1894) 184-185,
   266.
[3] E.Ciaceri, *Storia della Magna Grecia*, 2nd ed. (1927) 228-229.
[4] Cf. J.Bérard, *op. cit.*, 101.
[5] *Supra*, page 99.

version. They held that King Teleklos of Sparta had plotted to kill
Messenians of the highest rank who had come to the sanctuary. He had
dressed some beardless Spartan youths in girls' clothes and jewelry,
provided them with daggers, and infiltrated them among the Messenians
while they were resting. In self defence the Messenians killed the youths
and the king himself.[1] The first version was evidently a product of
Spartan inspiration designed to justify their attack against Messenia. The
second might be a Messenian attempt to counter the accusation that they
had violated the Spartan maidens in a holy place during a festival.

Even assuming such an outrage to have been perpetrated by some
Messenians in this very place, during this same festival, we should still
contest that the Messenians who sailed to Rhegion were these same
guilty Messenians. Indeed it is most unlikely that the Messenians held to
be responsible for the crime were numerous enough to resist the pressure
of their compatriots who were urging them to give the Spartans satisfac-
tion. It is equally unlikely that they could have remained inactive in
Makiston for twenty years while their nation was fighting the Spartans
for its freedom. Perhaps the Messenians who took part in the foundation
of Rhegion were a group that had retired to Makiston after defeat by the
Spartans.

As for the role of Delphi in the Messenian migration to Italy, quite
possibly the Pythia advised them to join the Chalkidians. The discussion
between the Messenian emissaries and the Pythia, related by Antiochos,
however, is clearly fictitious.[2]

III. THE SETTLING OF THE COLONISTS

Our sources suggest that the Chalkidian and Messenian colonists
acted as a group in their attempt to settle. Leaving aside a story about
the fulfilling of an oracle told by Herakleides, Diodoros, and Dionysios
of Halikarnassos, the following details are likely to go back to the origi-
nal oral tradition.

The colonists sailed to Pallantion (Dionysios of Halikarnassos) and

[1] Strabo, VIII 4, 9; Pausanias, IV 4, 2-3.
[2] H.W.Parke, D.E.M. Wormell, *op. cit.*, 54-55.

first settled near a site reputed to be the tomb of Iokastos, one of the sons of Aiolos (Herakleides). Eventually they made their abode near the mouth of the river Apsia (according to the fictitious oracle quoted by Diodoros), after driving out the barbarians then in possession of the site (Dionysios of Halikarnassos).

OUR SOURCES AS VEHICLES OF WRITTEN TRADITION

Our sources devote many more words to fictitious events than to historical fact. Thucydides, Antiochos, the Pseudo-Skymnos, and Solinus scarcely recall the geographic origin of the colonists. Dionysios of Halikarnassos alone gives the name of the oikist. Strabo, Diodoros, and Herakleides briefly dispatch the events preceding the Chalkidian emigration, in, respectively, nineteen, six, and three words. With the fictitious events in Messenia, and the oracles and their fulfilment, it is quite otherwise. These receive much fuller treatment. Antiochos's account of the Messenians takes up one hundred six words. The excerpt from Herakleides devotes nineteen words to the oracle supposedly given to the Chalkidians. This same subject is treated in thirty-four words by Diodoros, while in the text of Dionysios of Halikarnassos, which has lacunas, forty-three words are legible. Even more striking is the relative importance attached by an author to factual events as compared to anecdotes. The difference is measurable not simply by the number of words, but qualitatively as well.

There are two reasons for taking the excerpt from Antiochos first. To begin with it is the earliest of all our sources. Secondly, it is longer, and is thus some help in understanding the other texts. The following features of its contents are notable. From the original oral tradition it preserves the memory that Rhegion was jointly colonized by Chalkidians and Messenians. Conversely, three fictitious elements are incorporated: (1) the tale in which the Messenian colonists were people who before the First Messenian War began had violated some Spartan maidens, had refused to accept the demand of other Messenians that they be punished by the Spartans, took refuge in Makiston, and took no part in the war against Sparta; (2) the embassy of the guilty Messenians to Delphi and

the Pythia; (3) the role of the Zankleans. As noted above, Antiochos uses
one hundred six words for the fictitious tale of the Messenians, including
their consultation at Delphi, as against only thirty-five for historical facts,
namely the participation of Chalkidians and Messenians in the colony,
and the events preceding in Chalkis. Between the two extremes, the
maintenance of genuine historical tradition and the secondary fictitious
additions, we have a case in which genuine tradition is altered. This is
found in the attribution of the Chalkidians' decision to an invitation from
the Zankleans. In fact, Zankle would have been able to give only limited
information about the suitability of places opposite them for colonizing.

The excerpt from Herakleides is very close to the previous one,
though much shorter (sixty-two words). It mentions a first settlement of
the colonists "near the tomb of Iokastos". In addition it hints at quite a
different oracle and its fulfilment.

These same fictitious elements are related at length by Diodoros and
Dionysios of Halikarnassos. The excerpts from these authors belong to
the group of sources mentioning only the Chalkidians in the founding of
Rhegion. The excerpt from Diodoros is the earliest to say that the
Chalkidian colonists made up a tenth of the original population of
Chalkis. It says nothing about the reason for the Chalkidian dedication to
Delphi. This part of the tale we know from Herakleides. On the other
hand, it states clearly that the Chalkidians received the oracle before
they left for Italy, whereas the excerpt from Herakleides gives the
impression that the colonists received it after they had settled near the
tomb of Iokastos. Diodoros is the only source to quote the oracle in verse.
From him we learn the spot where legend placed the vine and the wild
fig. Diodoros has devoted nine words to historical events and thirty-six to
the legend of the oracle and its fulfilment. The excerpt from Dionysios of
Halikarnassos, in fifty-one legible words, relates essentially the history of
the oracle and its fulfilment. Three items, however, mentioned in
passing, may well reflect the original oral tradition: the name of
Artimedes of Chalkis as oikist of Rhegion, the name of Pallantion as the
place where the colonists landed, and the reference to barbarians in
possession of the territory before the Greeks. These three are not found
elsewhere.

A third text, that of Strabo, also mentions only the Chalkidians as
founders of Rhegion. It is short, comprising twenty-five words. It hints at

the consecration of some of the Chalkidians to Apollo, and to the reason
for this, with slight variation in the wording. This is the only source we
have preserving the memory that there were also among the colonists
some Chalkidians who had not been consecrated to Apollo.

    Two more references to the foundation of Rhegion by Chalkidians
alone have been handed down to us by the Pseudo-Skymnos and Solinus.
They give no other pertinent information.[1]

    There is also a story in which nothing is said of the Chalkidian colo-
nization of Rhegion. Yet knowledge of it is inferred in a reference to
Delphi as the place whence the colonists set out. The story is known to
us through Antigonos and Strabo, both following Timaios. It tells how
two cithara-bards, Ariston of Rhegion and Eunomos of Lokroi, about to
contend with each other at the Pythian games, fell to quarrelling over the
casting of the lots. "So," we read in Strabo, "Ariston begged the
Delphians to take his side, since his ancestors belonged to the god and
the colony had been sent forth from there." Antigonos, less explicitly,
notes: "for the colony to Rhegion set forth from Delphi as ordered by the
god".[2]

    The mention by Thucydides and Pausanias of Messenian settlers
alone at Rhegion, has been explained above.[3]

A SYNOPSIS OF THE CONCLUSIONS

I

    Authentic information from our sources about the colonization of
Rhegion is limited indeed. It can be summarized in a few lines. Rhegion
was founded by colonists some of which came from Chalkis, some from
Messenia. After a long famine, the Chalkidians consecrated a tenth of
their population at Delphi, where they were ordered to found a colony.
After consulting the Zankleans to whom they were related, the
Chalkidians decided to send their colonists to settle opposite Zankle.

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[1] *Supra,* page 95.

[2] Timaios, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Supra,* pages 99-100.

They appointed Artimedes as leader. Other Chalkidians joined them. The Messenians were the survivors of the First Messenian War who had taken refuge in Mt. Makiston. They were given an oracle by Delphi advising them to go with the Chalkidians. Arriving in Italy, the colonists disembarked at Pallantion and established themselves near a place known as "the tomb of Iokastos". With that as a base, they attacked the aboriginals who lived in Rhegion and, driving them out, settled themselves there permanently. Clearly only a minimum of the original oral tradition is reflected in this account.

II

Not one of our sources refers to all the items of the authentic tradition as we know them from all the sources taken together. Nor is a single one of these themes mentioned by every source. The situation is more readily grasped in diagram than it is in words.[1]

A comparison of the texts of Antiochos referring to Zankle and Taras is inevitable. The Taras text showed Antiochos to be an excellent source in terms of quality. Only two out of the eleven items in his account are spurious. In the Zankle text, however, the entire story about the Messenians is fictitious. The conclusion to be drawn is that this important piece of fiction was invented before the time of Antiochos, whereas the tradition of Taras was at that time only beginning to suffer minor alterations. The reasons for inventing the long tale about the Messenians are not apparent.

[1] *Infra*, table I

IV. CHALKIDIANS AND MEGARIANS TO SICILY

A SURVEY OF THE ITEMS OF INFORMATION

Two of our sources state that the Chalkidians who founded Naxos and the Megarians who founded Megara Hyblaia left Greece as a group and landed in Sicily together. Yet other sources, more numerous, make an explicit or implicit distinction between a Chalkidian migration to Naxos and the Megarian foundation of Megara after a number of intermediate stops. There are also in some later texts references to a short-lived cohabitation of Chalkidians and Megarians at Leontinoi.

A

A joint migration of Chalkidians and Megarians to Sicily is reported only in a fragment of Ephoros in Strabo and some verses of the Pseudo-Skymnos.[1] The Pseudo-Skymnos too may have drawn on Ephoros or on a source depending on him. Thus both these texts help us to reconstruct what Ephoros believed about the matter, that is, rather than with two independent sources, we have to do with only one. Seven items of information may be distinguished.

I. Naxos and Megara Hyblaia were the earliest Greek colonies in Sicily (Strabo).

II. Before that time, the Greeks had feared the Tyrrhenian pirates and the savage inhabitants of lands beyond the Aegean (Strabo).

III. An Athenian named Theokles perceived both the weakness of the barbarians and the quality of the soil, yet he could not persuade the Athenians to send colonies there (Strabo).

IV. For this reason Theokles took as partners a considerable number of Chalkidians and some Dorians, mostly Megarians (Strabo), or, the Chalkidians led by Theokles were joined by Ionian and later by Dorian colonists (Pseudo-Skymnos).

V. This movement took place in the generation after the Trojan War (Strabo, Pseudo-Skymnos).

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[1] Strabo, VI 2, 2 = Ephoros, 70 *FGrH* 137; Pseudo-Skymnos, 270-279.

VI. The Chalkidians and Megarians eventually quarrelled and entered into a state of discord (Pseudo-Skymnos).

VII. The Chalkidians founded Naxos, the Megarians Hyblaea, and the Dorians occupied Zephyrion, having joined Archias on his way to Syracuse (Pseudo-Skymnos).

B

A Chalkidian migration to Sicily, without the intervention of Megarians, is noted briefly by Hellanikos, Thucydides, Polyainos, Diodoros, Pausanias, and Appian. It is also implied by Kallimachos, and Konon, as well as in entries in Eusebios, and in the *Souda*. The pertinent information in these sources comprises five items.[1]

I. THE ORIGIN OF THE COLONISTS

Thucydides and Pausanias state that Naxos was founded by Chalkidians. A fragment of Hellanikos in Stephanos of Byzantion, alludes to cities founded by Chalkidians and Naxians in Sicily. This appears to refer to Naxos and its own colonies. It differs from the other sources in being the only one to mention the participation of Aegean Naxians. Polyainos speaks of Chalkidian colonists at Leontinoi, a colony of Sicilian Naxos. Other allusions to the Chalkidian origin of Sicilian Naxos occur in texts pertaining to the item "oikist", to which we now proceed.

II. THE OIKIST

Thucydides gives Thoukles as the leader of the Chalkidians who founded Naxos, and as oikist of the city. In the fragment of Hellanikos,

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[1] Hellanikos, 4 *FGrH* 82 = Stephanos of Byzantion, s.v. Χαλκίς; Thucydides, VI 3, 1; Polyainos, V 5; Diodoros, XIV 88, 1; Appianus, *B.C.*, V 12, 109; Pausanias, VI 13, 8. Cf. Kallimachos, R.Pfeifer, I, 44ff; Konon, 26 *FGrH* 1, xx; Eusebios in *Eusebius Werke*, V, 182 and VII, 89; Souda, s.v. ἐλεγείνειν.

Theokles is described as a Chalkidian who led Chalkidians and Naxians
to Sicily where they founded some cities. Polyainos refers to Theokles as
the leader of the Chalkidians who settled at Leontinoi. Kallimachos,
Konon, and the *Souda* mention a Theokles, but not as leader of the
Chalkidian colonists or oikist of Naxos. Konon, however, adds that he
was a Chalkidian. The *Souda* identifies him as a Naxian or Eretrian.

III. THE FIRST GREEKS TO LAND IN SICILY

Thucydides stresses that the Chalkidian settlers of Naxos were the
first Greeks to make the crossing. Diodoros tells us that the first Greeks
to land in Sicily founded Naxos.

IV. EXPELLING OF THE SIKELS

The Chalkidians founded Naxos after expelling the Sikels who
inhabited the site. Only Diodoros gives this bit of information.

V. RELIGIOUS MATTERS

Thucydides writes that the settlers of Naxos built an altar to Apollo
Archegetes. Appian adds that a small statue of Apollo Archegetes was
set up by the Naxians as soon as they settled.

VI. CHRONOLOGY

The foundation of Naxos is dated by both Thucydides and Eusebios.
The Thucydidean date corresponds to our 734 B.C. The Armenian and
Latin versions of Eusebios give dates equivalent respectively to 736/735
and 741/740 B.C.

C

Information on the Megarian migration to Sicily is given by both Thucydides and Polyainos.[1] They mention three items.

I. THE OIKIST

Both authors say the colonists were led by Lamis.

II. ATTEMPTS TO SETTLE

Thucydides summarizes an account of successive attempts by the Megarians to settle. First they occupied a place called Trotilos, beyond the river Pantakyas. Then they joined the Chalkidians at Leontinoi. Later on, the Leontinians drove them out. Then they colonized Thapsos where Lamis met his death. The followers of Lamis were driven out of Thapsos, and finally settled at a place offered them by Hyblon, a Sikel king. Polyainos, for his part, has more detail about the short cohabitation of the Megarians with the Chalkidians at Leontinoi and their expulsion. Theokles and his Chalkidians settled at Leontinoi along with the earlier inhabitants of the site. Lamis, failing to take the city by force, asked Theokles to drive out the Sikels and take in the Megarians as fellow citizens. Theokles replied that he was bound by oath to be loyal to the Sikels. Nonetheless at night he could open the gates to the Megarians so that they could attack the Sikels. The Megarians thus crept into the city, occupied the market place and the citadel, and fell upon the Sikels. They were surprised, and therefore defenceless, so they ran away from the city. In this way the Megarians took the place of the Sikels as partners of the Chalkidians. Six months later, however, Theokles expelled the Megarians by means of a ruse. He pretended to have made a vow when the Megarians were attacking the Sikels, that the Chalkidians and Megarians would sacrifice to the Twelve Gods and make a procession in full armour. After sacrificing, the Chalkidians managed to take the arms the Megarians had put down for the sacrifice. Then they went ahead with

[1] Thucydides, VI 4, 1-2; Polyainos, *loc. cit.*

the procession. On reaching the agora, Theokles ordered the herald to proclaim that the Megarians were to leave the city before sundown. The Megarians ran to the altars and asked not to be expelled, or, at least to be allowed to leave bearing their arms. Theokles and the Chalkidians, however, thought it would not be safe with so many armed enemies. Thus the Megarians were driven out from Leontinoi without their arms. They stayed for a winter only at Trotilos, for the Chalkidians refused to let them stay there any longer.

III. CHRONOLOGY

Thucydides is precise about the date of the founding of Megara. After the Megarians had lived there for two hundred and forty-five years, he says, they were driven out by Gelon, the tyrant of Syracuse. Thucydides date corresponds to our 727 B.C.

HISTORY AND FICTION

The dossier we are studying has several interesting examples showing both the transmission of authentic elements and the introduction of secondary ones. Some of the examples, in both categories, are rare or even unique of their kind. We shall test successively the introductory statements of Ephoros, the various versions of a single or of two separate migrations, the accounts of the various homelands, references to the oikists, the events that occurred between landing and ultimate settling, and, finally, the chronological notices.

Ephoros's main point is that the Greeks had not dared to sail the seas, infested as they were by Tyrrhenian pirates, to go to lands they thought were inhabited by fierce barbarians. On the basis of archaeological finds, this interpretation has already been rejected as a scholarly invention. Archaeological finds have also shown that Kyme, even though further away, was founded around a quarter of a century earlier than Naxos.

Fictitious too is the account of a joint migration of Chalkidians, Megarians, and others. This is quite evident when it is considered both as

a whole and in its details. *a*) The version is mentioned only in a fragment of Ephoros and in some verses of the Pseudo-Skymnos, presumably derived from the same source. Thucydides and Polyainos to the contrary clearly distinguish two separate migrations, one of Chalkidians, another of Megarians. Hellanikos and other authorities refer to one or the other. It should be remembered that Hellanikos and Thucydides were much earlier than Ephoros. *b*) In the joint-migration version, an Athenian named Theokles is named as the one who brought about the cooperation of the Chalkidians and the Megarians, and as the leader of their common colony. Yet Theokles is described as Chalkidian, and leader only of the Chalkidian colonists by Hellanikos, Thucydides, and Polyainos. Many other authors also call him Chalkidian, although they do not identify him as the leader of the Chalkidians who landed in Sicily. Again we must stress the chronological priority of Hellanikos and Thucydides over Ephoros. In addition, it is most unlikely that Thucydides, an Athenian himself, would call Theokles a Chalkidian if he were known to be Athenian. *c*) Another crucial point of the joint-migration version is the ending of the Chalkidian-Megarian cooperation in a quarrel. Contrary to this, Thucydides and Polyainos have the Megarians living at Leontinoi, a colony of Chalkidians from Sicilian Naxos, therefore after the time when the quarrel was supposed to have taken place. The "quarrel" probably belonged originally to the short phase when the Chalkidians and Megarians were living together at Leontinoi.

In addition to Chalkidian and Megarian colonists, our sources record Ionians, Dorians, and Naxians. Ionians and Dorians, however, appear only in the fragment of Ephoros and in the passage of the Pseudo-Skymnos, itself a reflection of Ephoros's version. Since Ionians and Dorians appear only in these texts and are thus associated with a purely fictitious version, there is no need to discuss the meaning of these names here. The Naxians are mentioned in a fragment of Hellanikos. There are two reasons, however, for suspecting its authenticity. The Naxians are ignored by Thucydides and all the other sources, and in addition the place-name *Naxos* is pre-Greek. Therefore it may well be that this was the name of the site of Sicilian Naxos before the arrival of the Greeks. Perhaps from this name came the idea that Sicilian Naxos had been colonized not only by Chalkidians but also by Aegean Naxians.

The names of both oikists as well as their respective homes, Theokles

of Chalkis, and Lamis of Megara, may be considered genuine. The
association of Theokles with Athens is, as we have seen, secondary. It
was probably invented at Athens later than Thucydides but earlier than
the time of Ephoros. It has been suggested that it was inspired by
Athenian designs on Sicily and that it was one of a number of Athenian
contrivances to make Chalkis out to be an Athenian colony.[1]

    We are on firm ground with the settlement phase. Indeed none of this
information appears to be spurious. Thucydides and Polyainos differ only
slightly from each other about the temporary settling of the Megarians at
Trotilos. For Thucydides it is their first port of call in Sicily, while
Polyainos takes them there after their expulsion from Leontinoi. There
can be no serious doubt that the information given by Thucydides is that
of the original tradition. Polyainos is more explicit about the sojourn of
the Megarians at Leontinoi from their arrival there to their expulsion, and
he is more accurate in his ordering of events. Hyblon, the Sikel king who
gave the Megarians a place to settle, may well have been an historical
person.[2] Thanks to Thucydides and to Polyainos, the dossier on the
Megarian colonization in Sicily is the best by far in valid information
about their first steps on Sicilian soil.

    For the chronology of these events, we have four indications, two
from Ephoros, the other two from Thucydides and Polyainos. Both of
Ephoros's chronological notices are unreliable. His statement that Naxos
and Megara Hyblaia were founded in the tenth generation after the
Trojan War is a piece of scholarly speculation. His claim that both cities
were founded at the same time is, as we have seen, the by-product of a
fictitious tale that the colonists, Chalkidians and Megarians, had set out
from Greece together and under a single leader. The statement is, more-
over, contradicted by one of the two chronological indications of
Thucydides and Polyainos: the dating of Megara's foundation after the
sojourn of the settlers in Thapsos, and the sojourn after their cohabitation
with the Chalkidians at Leontinoi, a colony of Naxos, itself founded by
the Chalkidians. The second of Thucydides' chronological notices is
highly accurate. He dates the foundation of Megara Hyblaia two hundred

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[1] J.Bérard, *La colonisation grecque de l'Italie méridionale et de la Sicile dans l'antiquité*,
     2nd ed. (1957) 78-79.
[2] J.Bérard, *op. cit.*, 113.

forty-five years before Gelon drove out its inhabitants, an event datable
to 483 or 482 B.C. Thus Megara Hyblaia was founded in 728 or 727
B.C., eight or nine years later than Naxos. It is good fortune indeed that
we have some indication of the date of Megara's foundation, as well as
an erroneous association of this with the settlement of Chalkidian
colonists at Naxos. As a result we may conclude the following. (1) The
Hyblaian Megarians remembered that their forefathers, before founding
Megara, had tried to settle in other places, the names and descriptions of
which they knew. This part of their tradition enabled them in two ways
to establish a chronological framework. It gave them a relative system of
chronology based on the successive temporary settlements. It also pro-
vided a number of synchronisms with historical events in other cities,
such as the association of the existence of Leontinoi with the second
attempt of the Megarians to settle. (2) The Hyblaian Megarians had
established a system for counting years going back to the foundation of
their city. Thanks to this system it could be calculated that Gelon took
Megara two hundred forty-five years after its foundation. (3) A non-
Sicilian author such as Thucydides could acquire accurate information
about the date of the city's foundation if he made the effort to look in the
right place. Thucydides showed the same interest as well in other foun-
dation dates, and he drew up a system of relative chronology.[1] Other non-
Sicilian authors, such as Ephoros, might not have had this same interest
in getting the information from original authoritative sources. They might
not even have remembered that they could consult Thucydides. Thus they
could and did make chronologies based on associations that happened to
be incorrect.

OUR SOURCES AS VEHICLES OF WRITTEN TRADITION

    Not one of our sources gives a complete historical narrative of the
migration of the Chalkidians to Naxos, or of the Megarians to Megara
Hyblaia. In one way or another all are partial accounts, each for reasons
depending on a variety of factors in different combinations. The very
character of each source is one of these factors.

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[1] Thucydides, VI 3-5.

Thucydides happens to mention the founding of Naxos and of Megara
Hyblaia in the course of a brief account of the history of Sicily before the
Athenian expedition of 415 B.C. His purpose was to enlighten his
readers about cities and peoples with which the Athenians would have
dealings. Both passages of Thucydides have therefore two special
features. To begin with they are very concise: the passage about Naxos
has only twenty words, that on Megara eighty-three. Secondly, they
mention only the origin of the respective settlers, their leaders, and some
details of the colonization. They say nothing about events prior to the
landing of the colonists in Sicily. In the case of Naxos, Thucydides found
it necessary to record the colonists' dedication of an altar to Apollo
Archegetes. He was less laconic about Megara for the simple reason that
he had something more to relate: that is, the abortive settlements of the
colonists before they established their colony, thanks to the good will of
Hyblon. Thucydides' concern with chronological connections must also
be stressed.

As did Thucydides for his own reasons, so also Strabo found it useful
to include in his geographical description of the country around Naxos
and Megara, some information about their origins. To this end he drew on
Ephoros. So we know what Ephoros wrote on the subject, but we have
no copy of his text. We do not even know whether and to what extent
Strabo summarized Ephoros's original account. A comparison, however,
of Strabo with the Pseudo-Skymnos suggests that Strabo did a bit of
cutting, for the Pseudo-Skymnos clearly reflects the same text of
Ephoros. Strabo's summary relates in eighty-nine words a story covering
the times when the Greeks dared not sail beyond the Aegean Sea down
to the foundation of both Naxos and Megara in Sicily. The core of his
story is that there was a single migration of Chalkidians, Megarians,
"Ionians", and "Dorians" together under a single leader, Thoukles, who is
identified as an Athenian. The summary of the Pseudo-Skymnos in fifty-
four words, omits the prehistory of the migration. Instead it says that the
Chalkidians and Megarians fell into conflict with each other and
therefore went their separate ways. The passage of the Pseudo-Skymnos
has the density and repertory of items characteristic of this author.

The scope of Polyainos's account is limited for quite a different
reason from that seen in Thucydides, Strabo, or the Pseudo-Skymnos. His
purpose was simply to tell a story based on a stratagem. Yet in telling

this story, he gives some quite indispensable details. Thus we have a text of around two hundred words, with some lacunae. It provides us not only with information known from other sources, but it is also our only source for the events at Leontinoi from the time when the Megarians requested admittance to their expulsion from the town.

Both Diodoros and Appian found it useful to mention some marginal details. In thirty-three words, Diodoros, along with some other information, recorded that the Greeks who settled Naxos had previously driven out a native Sikel population. Appian, in thirteen words, notes that the founders of Naxos had brought with them a small statue of Apollo Archegetes.

Pausanias devoted eleven words to the origin of Sicilian Naxos when referring to a Naxian winner in the Olympian Games. In his entry on Chalkis, Stephanos of Byzantion stated in eleven words that according to Hellanikos, Theokles of Chalkis, followed by Chalkidians and Naxians, founded some colonies in Sicily. Here is a sotto voce echo of Hellanikos adapted by Stephanos for his own purposes.

Time may sometimes be a second factor underlying divergences from one source to another. It is in this way that Ephoros diverges from Thucydides. All points on which he differs from Thucydides are spurious. These are the listing of Theokles as an Athenian rather than a Chalkidian; the statement that Chalkidians and Megarians as well as "Ionians" and "Dorians" set forth together and that their collaboration ended in a quarrel; and the chronology based on generations after the Trojan War. Likewise spurious are all the elements of the introductory part in Ephoros's account This appears to be wholesale fiction. It should be stressed that those authors in our dossier who are later than Ephoros, follow not Ephoros, but the version given by Thucydides and reflected in the bits of Hellanikos found in Stephanos of Byzantion.

A SYNOPSIS OF THE CONCLUSIONS

I

The few bits we have of the original traditions of the Naxians and the Megarians in Sicily are barely sufficient for a brief sketch of the

migration of their forefathers respectively from Chalkis and Megara. The
Chalkidians were led by one of themselves, Theokles by name. Lamis
led the Megarians. These settled first at Trotilos. Then they sojourned for
a time at Leontinoi, recently founded by the Chalkidian settlers at
Naxos. Later they went over to Thapsos, and from there to a place
offered them by a Sikel king named Hyblon. The foundation of that
settlement, Megara Hyblaia, was dated to two hundred and forty-five
years before Gelon drove out its inhabitants.

I I

Numerous indeed are the spurious elements transmitted to us by
written word. The idea that Aegean Naxians collaborated with the
Chalkidians is unknown to Thucydides and other authors. It is, however,
early enough to have been registered by Hellanikos. In Ephoros we come
across a sequence of imaginary events that form a coherent story. It
begins with the statement that before the founders of Naxos and Megara
Hyblaia migrated to Sicily, the Greeks had not dared to sail so far away.
It then associates the Chalkidians and the Megarians in a joint expedition
under a common leader. This position is given to Theokles who, at the
same time, is called an Athenian rather than a Chalkidian. Together with
the Chalkidians and Megarians, Ephoros mentions "Ionians" and
"Dorians" who appear to be duplications respectively of the Chalkidians
and Megarians. The Chalkidian and Megarian colonists, Ephoros contin-
ues, settled together at Leontinoi. It is there that their collaboration
ended in a quarrel. So also the chronology given by Ephoros for the
foundation of Naxos and Megara Hyblaia in the tenth generation after the
Trojan War, is the result of scholarly speculation.

V. THE COLONIZATION OF ZANKLE BY CAMPANIAN KYMEANS AND EUBOIAN CHALKIDIANS

There are other migrations roughly contemporary with or earlier than those studied in the two preceding chapters, yet later, in any case, than 760 B.C. All are poorly documented. Even so, some deserve our attention as useful information can be extracted from their dossiers.

A SURVEY OF THE ITEMS OF INFORMATION; HISTORY AND FICTION

The written record of the settlement of Zankle consists of texts by Thucydides, Kallimachos, Pausanias, and Eusebios.[1]

The rudiments of the genuine tradition are as follows. (i) Colonists came to Zankle from Kyme in Opica and from Chalkis (Thucydides, Kallimachos) and other parts of Euboia (Thucydides). (ii) The Kymeans arrived before the Euboians (Thucydides). (iii) The Kymeans were pirates (Thucydides, and cf. Pausanias). (iv) The Euboians were more numerous than the Kymeans (Thucydides). (v) There were two oikists: Perieres and Krataimenes (Thucydides, Kallimachos, Pausanias). According to our best authority (Thucydides), Perieres led the Kymeans, Krataimenes the Chalkidians.

In addition to these bits of genuine tradition, there are statements showing confusion about the homeland of the oikists (Pausanias), and there is a legend about the building of the city wall (Kallimachos).

The Armenian version of Eusebios has an entry stating that Silinus and Gangle were founded in the fourth year of the Vth Olympiad, i.e. in 757/756 B.C. It is accepted that these place names are corruptions of Selinus and Zankle, but the chronology cannot be emended.

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[1] Thucydides, VI 4,5; Kallimachos, *Aitia*, II 43, vv. 58-83; Pausanias, IV 23, 6-7; Eusebios in *Eusebius Werke*, VII,181.

OUR SOURCES AS VEHICLES OF WRITTEN TRADITION

All five of these authentic themes are presented by Thucydides in a typically concise passage of forty-four words as part of his account of the early history of the Greek colonies in Sicily. In his story of the vicissitudes of the Messenians who left their country after the Second Messenian War, Pausanias incorporated his brief account of forty-nine words about the origins of Zankle. Pausanias is close to Thucydides in his mention of the pioneering role of pirates in the founding of Zankle. On several points, however, he departs from him. Following a source unknown to us, he adds that the pirates used Zankle as a base. He does not tell us where the pirates came from. Finally, he calls Perieres a Chalkidian rather than a Kymean, and Krataimenes a Samian rather than a Chalkidian. Behind Pausanias's identification of Krataimenes as a Samian presumably lies a piece of information we have from Thucydides and Herodotos:[1] after the naval battle off Lade and the capture of Miletos, a number of Samians and Milesians went to Sicily where they helped Anaxilas, tyrant of Rhegion, to conquer Zankle.

In his *Aitia* Kallimachos records some legends associated with the earliest accounts of a number of the Greek colonies in Sicily. The legend about Zankle follows a version differing from the one in Thucydides in that the Kymeans and Chalkidians arrive together. The main interest of this legend lies in the fact that it reflects a later alteration of the original tradition. Clearly it was created to explain a peculiar ritual: when the Zankleans invoked the founder of the city in a sacrifice, they never referred to him by name. Perhaps to explain this someone thought that the two founders, while building the walls, quarrelled about who should have the city. This is a common pattern in myth. Accordingly Perieres and Krataimenes must have been contemporary, and thence the idea that the Kymeans and Chalkidians arrived together.

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[1] Thucydides, VI 5-6; Herodotos, VI 22-23.

VI. THE RETURN HOME OF THE ERETRIANS WHO HAD SETTLED IN KORKYRA AND THEIR MIGRATION TO METHONE

Plutarch has handed down the following story. "Men from Eretria used to inhabit the island of Korkyra. But Charikrates sailed thither from Corinth with an army and defeated them in war. So they embarked on their ships and sailed home. The citizens, however, having learned of the matter before their arrival, barred their return to their country and prevented them from disembarking by showering them with slingshot. Since the refugees from Korkyra were unable either to persuade or to overcome the Eretrians, who were numerous and determined, they sailed to Thrace and occupied a territory where, according to tradition, Methon the ancestor of Orpheus had formerly lived. So they named their city Methone, but their neighbours called them the "men repulsed by slingshot."[1]

S.C.Bakhuizen tried unconvincingly to challenge the historicity of the establishment of an Eretrian colony in Kerkyra before the Corinthian one. He argues as follows.[2] He first assumes that "the story must have been taken from an author like Archemachos" who was unreliable. The logic of an argument based on a presumption that Plutarch's source should be "like Archemachos" escapes me. Bakhuizen continues with his second argument. "Concerning the *aposphendonetoi* story of Plutarch under discussion here the question must be faced why the Eretrians are said to have come from Kerkyra of all places. However, texts that could shed light on this question do not seem to have been preserved. It is not clear whether there is any connection with the alleged settlement by the Euboeans in the Apollonia-Epidamnos district of Illyria." Bakhuizen's reasoning here begins with a faulty question and continues with the statement that there is no answer. It is a faulty question to ask "why the Eretrians are said to have come from Kerkyra of all places?". If we were asked to explain why any other group of colonists is said to have moved from one place to another, what answer could we possibly give? In all

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[1] Plutarch, *Qu. Gr.*, xi, p. 293 A - B.
[2] S.C.Bakhuizen, *Chalkis-in-Euboea* (1976) 68.

these cases, the question to ask is whether a story is genuine or not. Behind this faulty question lies Bakhuizen's persuasion that this particular story is not genuine, even before he has shown it to be spurious. Indeed his statement that "texts that could shed light on this question do not seem to have been preserved" reveals that he tried to discover in the sources a sign that the story had been fabricated for some specific purpose. Since he was unsuccessful, he followed another path. He tried to find out if the "alleged settlement" by the Euboians in the Apollonia-Epidamnos district had "any connection" with our story. Here too he is unsuccessful. His second argument is therefore useless. His third argument goes as follows. "The general character of the *aitia* literature should prevent us from drawing historical conclusions that cannot be checked." The Greek and Roman *aitia* by Plutarch, however, are full of genuine historical information about events, institutions, religious facts, beliefs, and so on. Later on in this book we shall see the value of two Greek *aitia* by Plutarch as sources of information on the stages of the Ainianians' move.[1]

Plutarch's final statement that the Methoneans were called by their neighbours the "men repulsed by sling-shot" is well worth noting. First of all it is a factual statement. Secondly, there must be some reason for this fact, this sobriquet. What other reason could there be? Thirdly, there is nothing in the entire story under discussion to make it suspect.

It would appear, then, that this story was indeed told by the Methoneans, and that it conformed to the original oral tradition about the founders of Methone before their settlement in this place.

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[1] *Infra,* pages 190-200.

VII. CORINTHIANS TO KORKYRA AND SYRACUSE

A SURVEY OF THE ITEMS OF INFORMATION; HISTORY AND FICTION

For the Corinthian migration to Syracuse we have only meagre information from Thucydides, Timaios, the *Marmor Parium*, Strabo (possibly following Ephoros), Pausanias, and Eusebios. This tells us: (i) the name of the metropolis, Corinth (Thucydides, Marmor Parium, Strabo), and of a particular village, Tenea, in Corinthia (Strabo); (ii) the name of the oikist, Archias (Thucydides, Strabo, Pausanias); (iii) some oracles (Strabo, Pausanias); (iv) the settlement in Korkyra of a detachment of Corinthians, led by Chersikrates, that was on its way to Sicily (Timaios, *Marmor Parium*, Strabo); (v) some hints about conditions encountered by the colonists in Sicily (Thucydides, Strabo) and; (vi) chronological indications (Thucydides, Timaios, *Marmor Parium*, Eusebios).[1]

As a rule an independent *polis* or a country is given as the home of the migrants. Tenea was only one of the villages in the state whose capital was Corinth. There is no other case in which a village is named instead of a *polis*. The statement may well go back to genuine tradition. The context in which Tenea is mentioned is not connected with Syracuse but with Tenea itself, where Strabo says there was a sanctuary of Apollo Teneatas at Tenea. It thus appears that Strabo reflects a tradition known at Tenea. This does not, to be sure, exclude the possibility that it was known as well at Syracuse.

Strabo's information that Corinthians settled in Korkyra when they were en route to Sicily, is generally thought to preserve a genuine tradition that was handed down in Korkyra itself. There is however a discrepancy between this text, in which the former inhabitants of Korkyra are Liburnians, and the text of Plutarch who says that a colony

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[1] Thucydides, VI 3, 2; Timaios 566 *FGrH* 80 = *Schol. Apoll. Rhod.*, I 1216; *Marmor Parium*, 239 *FGrH* 31; Eusebios, in *Eusebius Werke*, V, 182 and VII 89; Strabo, VI 2, 4; Pausanias, V 7, 3.

of Eretrians were driven out by the Corinthians who landed in Korkyra.[1]
The discrepancy between Strabo and Plutarch may actually reflect
different aspects of the situation confronting the Corinthians. They might
easily have found Eretrians in a settlement near the sea and Liburnians in
the countryside.

Strabo's mention of Zephyrion as the place where Archias landed, is
also likely to go back to the original tradition. The same holds for the
story that some Dorians (i.e. Megarians) who left the founders of Megara
Hyblaia, were on their way home when they ran into the Corinthians,
were taken on by them, and then collaborated in the founding of
Syracuse. It is quite the opposite with the tales about oracles. All these
appear to be secondary.[2]

The dates implied by Thucydides and Eusebios for the foundation of
Syracuse and by Timaios for the occupation of Korkyra are very close to
each other. The evidence is well known and has been discussed frequent-
ly. According to Thucydides, Syracuse was founded one year after
Naxos, and seven before Megara Hyblaia, that is, in 733 B.C. The
Armenian and Latin versions of Eusebios's Chronicles give dates equiva-
lent respectively to 734/733 and 738/737 B.C. Timaios has Korkyra
occupied by Chersikrates six hundred years after the Sack of Troy, which
he dates a thousand years before Alexander's crossing to Asia. By that
account the Corinthians landed in Korkyra in 734 B.C. The *Marmor
Parium* makes Archias, the founder of Syracuse, the "tenth descendant"
of Temenos, the Heraklid conqueror of Argos, and a contemporary of
King Aischylos of Athens. It has been thought that these associations
imply a foundation date for Syracuse early in the 8th century. Indeed this
date is undoubtedly based on erroneous calculation, as is also the dating
of Pheidon in the same source to the beginning of the ninth century.

OUR SOURCES AS VEHICLES OF WRITTEN TRADITION

As so often, Thucydides is more comprehensive than our other
sources. He compresses into only eighteen words items i, ii, iii, and vi.

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[1] *Supra*, pages 119-120.
[2] H.W.Parke and D.E.W.Wormell, *The Delphic Oracle*, I (1966) 68-69.

In his narrative of Sicily, Strabo devoted a relatively long passage of one hundred sixty-three words to the foundation of Syracuse. He completes the account elsewhere in two other passages. In his description of Corinthia, the geographer mentions Tenea. He takes this occasion to note that Archias had been accompanied for the most part by Teneans. On the subject of Kroton, he says that Myskellos returned to found Kroton. With him went Archias, the founder of Syracuse, who happened to sail up while on his way to found Syracuse. To find three passages in the same work all referring to the same migration, is unparalleled. It enables us to make useful observations that would otherwise be impossible. To begin with it is notable that Strabo thought it unnecessary to mention in his account of the Corinthian migration to Sicily either that most of the colonists came from Tenea, or that Archias collaborated with Myskellos. This suggests that our authors were more or less selective in drawing information from their sources, and that each selection was made with a particular purpose in mind. It is also worth noting that it is not clear if Strabo was using the same source for his main account and for his reference to the collaboration of Archias and Myskellos. He does not mention that Archias and Myskellos had simultaneously consulted Delphi, an omission that may or may not imply a different source.

Pausanias mentions Archias as founder of Syracuse in a passage stating that he subscribes to the idea that the river Alpheios flowed through the Ionian Sea to Ortygia. He notes that the Delphic god confirms the story and he quotes an oracle in verse. Both oracle and the mention of Archias founding Syracuse are likely to have been taken by Pausanias from a poem.[1]

[1] H.W.Parke, D.E.W.Wormell, *op. cit.*, 67.

VIII. THE EUBOIAN COLONIZATION OF KYME

A SURVEY OF THE ITEMS OF INFORMATION

Kyme was founded some thirty years earlier than were Syracuse, Megara Hyblaia, Zankle, and Rhegion. Our information comes from very late authors: Strabo, the Pseudo-Skymnos, Livy, and Velleius Paterculus. Putting all the information together we have the following items, some in more than one version. Kyme was the oldest of all the Greek colonies in Sicily and Italy (Strabo). It was founded by Chalkidians and Kymeans (Strabo), by Chalkidians and Aiolians (Pseudo-Skymnos), or only by Chalkidians (Livy, Velleius Paterculus). The colonists were led by the Kymean Hippokles and the Chalkidian Megasthenes (Strabo), also both identified as Chalkidians (Velleius Paterculus). Hippokles and Megasthenes agreed that the city should be a colony of Chalkis but be called Kyme (Strabo). The colonists settled first on the islands called Aenaria and Pithekoussai, then on the mainland (Livy).[1]

There is no reason to doubt that Chalkis and Kyme in Euboia were the mother-cities of Kyme in Campania. In 1976, S.Bakhuizen took up A.Meinecke's obsolete idea that there was no city called Kyme in Euboia. He did not, however, go on to refute the arguments advanced by the opponents of this idea.[2] Instead, he claimed that the connection of Kyme in Campania with Kyme in Aiolis was made by the ancient authors.[3] Now this is not so. The sources naming Kyme as metropolis are two. One of them, a passage of Strabo, implies that this Kyme was near Chalkis, since he mentions an agreement, noted above, between the Kymean and the Chalkidian oikists. It is true that the other source, a passage of the Pseudo-Skymnos, attributes the foundation of the colony in Campania to Chalkidians and Aiolians, and there are "scholars who think the name will have referred to the inhabitants of Aiolian Kyme." Indeed

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[1] Strabo, V 4,4; Pseudo-Skymnos, 238-239; Livy, VII 21,6; Velleius Paterculus, I 4,1.

[2] C.Bursian, *Quaestionum Euboicarum capita selecta* (1856) 15; F.Geyer, *Topographie und Geschichte der Insel Euboia* (1903) 79-81; von Geisau, "Kyme", *RE*, XI 2 (1922) 2474-2475; J.Bérard, *La colonisation grecque de l'Italie méridionale et de la Sicile*, 2nd ed. (1957) 48.

[3] S.C.Bakhuizen, *op. cit.*, 15.

the same scholars hold that this is not authentic evidence, "but that Ephoros of Kyme made it up in order to glorify his homeland." Besides, the possibility remains that the Pseudo-Skymnos was alluding not to Aiolian Kyme but to Kyme in Euboia,[1] formerly inhabited by Aiolians".[2] The existence in Euboia of a city named *Kyme* is implied by the present-day townlet *Kymi*. That this place name is not modern, but goes back to antiquity is proved by the fact that it is pronounced *Kumi* in the local dialect. Indeed u is the ancient pronunciation of υ, a fact noticed by F.Geyer.

OUR SOURCES AS VEHICLES OF WRITTEN TRADITION

Our longest source, Strabo's passage, devotes forty-nine words to four items: the origin of the Kymeans from Chalkis and Kyme in Euboia, the antiquity of the colony ("the oldest of all the Greek cities in Italy", founded "in most ancient times"), the names of the two oikists and the city each came from, and the agreement of the two oikists by which the colony would have the name of one of the mother cities, Kyme, but would be identified solely as a colony of Chalkis.

The relevant passage of Velleius Paterculus, thirty-five words long, also has four items, two of which contain authentic information. One is the identification of Chalkis as the mother city of Kyme. The other is the naming of Hippokles and Megasthenes as its oikists. Two are spurious. One is the relative chronology attributed to the founding of Kyme, this being dated soon after the foundation of Chalkis by the Athenians and of Magnesia-on-the-Maeander by the Lakedaimonians; in addition, mention of the Lakedaimonians in this context is erroneous. The second spurious item is that telling about the crossing of the colonists to Kyme; more precisely, it is contaminated by legend. Velleius Paterculus says, in fact, that there was a version according to which the fleet was guided by a dove which flew before it or, according to others, by the sound at night of a bronze instrument like that beaten at the rites of Ceres.

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[1] K.J.Beloch, *Campanien im Altertum* (1890) 147; E.Ciaceri, *Storia della Magna Grecia*, 2nd ed., I (1927) 319; J.Bérard, *op. cit.*, 49; T.J.Dunbabin, *The Western Greeks* (1948) 6-7.
[2] C.Bursian, *loc. cit.*

Livy has two items, both genuine, in thirty-two words. The first
mentions Chalkis as the mother city of Kyme. The second informs us that
the colonists landed at first on the islands of Aenaria and Pithekoussai.

The Pseudo-Skymnos, in seven words only, says that Kyme was
founded first by Chalkidians, then by Aiolians. The mention here of
Aiolians implies the replacement, through confusion, of Euboian Kyme
by Kyme in Aiolis.

A SYNOPSIS OF THE CONCLUSIONS

Even if we put together all the remarks made in relation to the four
dossiers studied in the chapters V, VI, VII, VIII, our conclusions about
the preservation of genuine elements and the emergence of spurious ones
would be less significant than those drawn in the previous chapters.
Various factors are responsible.

On the colonization of Zankle by Campanian Kymeans and Euboian
Chalkidians, the factors are: first, the dearth of information, even though
this is provided by four authors including Thucydides; second, the fact
that most of the items are mentioned by only one author, namely
Thucydides. It is notable that whatever information is spurious comes
from authors later than Thucydides, that is, from Kallimachos, Pausanias,
and Eusebios.

A third factor is to be found in the dossier on the Eretrians who had
settled in Korkyra, and then, having tried to return home, settled in
Macedonian Methone. In this case we have a single source only, so that
it is difficult to obtain a diachronical picture. Yet despite its late date,
this source, a text of Plutarch, seems to reflect a genuine tradition.

If we have more than one author, and they are all more or less con-
temporary we are still no better off. Such is the case with the Euboian
migration to Kyme. The information about it comes from the Pseudo-
Skymnos, Strabo, Livy, and Velleius Paterculus, and we therefore cannot
date the spurious elements found in the Pseudo-Skymnos and Velleius
Paterculus.

The dossier on the migration of the Corinthians to Korkyra and
Syracuse gives us a clearer picture. Genuine items are provided by
Thucydides as well as by Strabo and Pausanias, while some spurious
ones, notably oracles, are mentioned only by the two later authors.

A SYNTHESIS

The above study was a necessary prelude to answering a question that arose because oral traditions about migrations earlier than the alphabet have come down to us through written literary sources. We were obliged, therefore, first to understand the data relevant to the transmission of traditions solely by writing, that is, without the factors that would come into play in oral transmission. There was only one way to do this: to study the best dossiers on migrations datable to literate times.

The study yielded results that can be summarized as follows.

(1) The circumstances of transmission of ancient Greek traditions by literary means is contrary to that of oral traditions observable in pre-literate societies. These societies, as we have seen, tend to ensure that their traditions will be handed down without change of any sort, whether by omission, addition, or alteration. To this end various systems are kept functional. It is quite different in a literate society. Whenever we could compare the texts, we found that the ancient Greek authors did not necessarily feel obliged to repeat a story or elements of a story faithfully. They took liberties with their sources that show up in their texts as omissions, fictions, or misunderstandings. To omit something is the opposite of retaining it. To retain and to omit are the positive and negative sides of a choice. Throughout the literary transmission of a migration, choices were made for different reasons. We have noted subjective choices, but we have observed as well others that are linked to the character of the text. The fabrications were always intentional. In certain cases they served political aims. More often, they are tales of oracles, at times provided with fictitious oracular texts. Misunderstandings, on the other hand, were hardly intentional, engendered as they were by ignorance or inadvertence. Sometimes, however, certain secondary elements, whether inventions or misapprehensions, were taken as authentic by later writers and in this way got into the circuit of literary transmission. From then on they too could occasionally be omitted under the same circumstances as authentic elements.

It is thus reasonable to assume that when oral traditions about migrations of pre-literate times were finally channelled through literary

works, they were altered by a whole accumulation of omissions, fictions, and misunderstandings for the same reasons and under the same circumstances as were those traditions passed on solely by written word; and they will have been altered to a comparable degree.

(2) The authentic elements of a tradition transmitted solely through the written word, as well as the various changes it has undergone, may be classified according to three determining factors. These same factors have determined the changes that have occurred in all elements generally, be they authentic or spurious. The first depends on the character of the source, the second, the requirements of the author, the third, its date. For the first factor, the quantity, quality, and type of information given by a source depend on its nature, its context, and its position in this context. This has often been noted. For the second factor, we have the texts of Thucydides which give correct information, and, at the other end of the scale, some texts reflecting only secondary elements. Between these two are many intermediate degrees. Finally, for the third factor, it is notable that with the passage of time authentic elements of tradition continue to weaken, while the fictitious and the misunderstood gain ground.

(3) Table I gives a rapid view of the make-up of each dossier and shows the relationship of three coordinates: authors, items, and genuine or spurious elements (noted respectively by + and o).

Herodotos's account of the Theraian migration to Kyrene, is not only incomparably longer and more detailed than any other, but it is exceptional in the number of items to which it refers. The passages of Antiochos and Ephoros on the Partheniai come next in order, but far behind. Our other sources touch on a progressively decreasing number of items, down to only one. As a result, our evidence is very scattered and unequally distributed, showing the freedom of each author to choose according to his preference and to prevailing circumstances.

The frequency of items shows significant inequalities which can be measured as follows.

Total of Sources		70 = 100 %
References to	"origin"	53 = 75 %
"	"oikist(s)"	21 = 30 %
"	"description of the group"	20 = 28 %
"	"events prior to emigration"	19 = 26 %
"	"chronology"	17 = 24 %
"	"settling"	15 = 21 %
"	"causes"	14 = 20 %
"	"intermediate stages"	8 = 11 %
"	"resolution"	5 = 7 %
"	"investigations"	1 = 1,5%
"	"behaviour of indigenous population"	1 = 1,5%
"	"behaviour of indigenous king"	1 = 1,5%

Some figures are not solely the result of the accumulated choices and omissions of successive authors. The eight references to "intermediate stages", for example, concern only three colonies: Kyrene, Rhegion, and Naxos. Yet may we not suppose that groups which founded some other colonies also had "intermediate stages" in their search for a final place to settle? The figures on chronology are worth commenting on for other reasons. First, of the seventeen dates in our record, nine come from sources that yield no other kind of information. Second, five of these nine dates come from a single source, a source which is specifically a chronological work: Eusebios's *Chronicles*. It is evident that in non-specialized literature interest in chronology was fairly limited.

Different items in our table appear to have been sensitive to alteration in varying degrees. Thus the items "origin", "causes", and "oikists" seem to have been the least affected by alteration, whereas "description of the group" proves to be a fertile ground for imaginary tales. In the Taras dossier, nine of the eleven sources repeat an anecdote about the birth of the Partheniai and two confuse them with the Epeunaktoi. The Messenian colonists of Rhegion were arbitrarily described as a group that had violated Spartan virgins and then escaped to Mt.Makiston. The authority of Herodotos did not protect his description of the Theraians who founded Kyrene against another, quite arbitrary, description. Of the other items, "chronology" was more or less liable to inaccuracy and instability.

PART TWO

STUDY-CASES FOR OMISSIONS, ADDITIONS,
AND ALTERATIONS IN TRADITIONS EARLIER
THAN THE ALPHABET

I. MIGRATIONS TO IONIA

The waves of migration immediately preceding the great period of Greek colonization that began around 760 B.C. go back to the time between 1100 and 850 B.C., and emanate from mainland Greece. Colonists of those years reached the islands of the eastern Aegean, the western shores of Asia Minor, Crete, Pamphylia, and Cyprus. This is the latest sequence of migrations before the use of the alphabet, datable hypothetically to the ninth century. The earliest evidence for the use of the alphabet for officially recording events of general interest is provided by the list of victors in the Olympic games of 776 B.C. The lower and upper limits of the chronological span 1100 to 850 B.C. are 325 and 75 years respectively earlier than 776. Thus, were all the migrations of this chronological span recorded in the same year as the first list of Olympic victors, memories of these events will have been handed down by word of mouth for at least 75 years, at most 325. Whatever their date, from such records and from others recording later local events, annals were being written up for individual cities. These in turn became sources for historical works by city and region. All this literary output has been lost except for a few small fragments or, worse yet, the names of some authors or titles of works.

Our direct sources belong, however, not to this category of historiography, but to others. Indeed, our direct sources have only infrequently drawn on works of local or regional historiography. At any rate their writings presuppose repeated choices, abridgements, misunderstandings, and additions by successive earlier writers, unknown to us. With very few exceptions, we cannot appraise either the impetus or the date of their modification of a text. In general, the literary references we have to the migratory movements of the Greeks between 1100 and 850 B.C. are but the remnants of an abundant production no longer accessible to us.

Just as the references to colonizing movements later than 760 B.C., so also references to colonizing movements of the eleventh and tenth centuries name not only the colony, which could hardly be omitted, but also at least either the home-land(s) or the oikist(s). A few texts only give the names of both together. Rare indeed are chronological notices, or information about the reasons for colonizing, the course of action taken

by the settlers, or the conditions under which the new colony was estab-
lished.

So far, we have seen no difference in the type of information
available about migrations from 760 on and those between 1100 and 850
B.C. Yet in quality the differences are considerable. In the literature
relating events of 760 B.C. and later, references to mother-cities, oikists
and dates are generally authentic. A number of references to the causes
of migrations also conserve genuine elements of the original tradition.
Moreover traces of misunderstanding, additions, comments or other
evidence of tampering with the text are limited. The literature about
events between 1100 and 850 B.C. on the other hand, evidences a
significant number of errors, cases of confusion and abridgement,
fictitious elements and mythicizing.

The reports or references to migratory movements between 1100 and
850 B.C. call for a somewhat different approach to the evidence than
that we have applied up to now. Here we can refer systematically to
particular cases of alteration and omission before going on to study
authentic recollections in the framework of accounts of specific
migrations.

ALTERATIONS

It is possible to date some alterations to the years (i) before traditional
material began to be transmitted in writing or (ii) after that. No
alteration, to be sure, is marked in any way so as to connect it directly
with either oral or written transmission. This connection can only be
made indirectly, through one or more chronological points of reference
which in turn are datable to before or after the widespread use of the
alphabet around 700 B.C.

I. The traditions that have come down to us about the founding of
cities in Ionia present as historical, personages that belong to the sphere
of the mythical. Neleus, said to be the oikist of Miletos and leader of the
common "Ionian colony", and Pelops and Theseus, presented as oikists of

Smyrna, were all three originally divinities.[1] Aipytos, oikist of Priene, was a divinity akin to Hermes.[2] Athamas, oikist of Teos, was the eponymous hero of the Athamanians.[3] Manto, thought to have been the founder of the oracle in Klaros and connected with the settlement of the Kadmeians in Kolophon, was a mythical figure.[4] Neleus, Pelops, and Theseus have become men in the Homeric epics, as have other figures that were once divinities, such as Agamemnon,[5] Achilles,[6] Aias,[7] Odysseus, Hector,[8] and Helen. It follows that the transfer of figures from the world of religion and myth to that of history happened before the mid-eighth century when the Homeric epics were composed.

II. Securely datable to after 700 are the narratives or those elements of narratives that (1) speak of some act of the Delphic oracle, (2) show some degree of erudition, or (3) serve some political purpose.

1. The influence of the Delphic oracle first made itself felt in the eastern Aegean some time around 700 B.C.[9] Before then, it is unlikely that anyone would have thought of attributing the foundation of an Ionian city to a Delphic command. That Delphic involvement in the establishment of the Ionian cities is fictitious is evident also from the fact that the information is imbedded in totally spurious narratives. Here are some examples.

We are told that Medon and Neleus, the elder sons of Kodros, king of Athens, fought over the succession. The Delphic oracle was consulted and pronounced in favour of Medon. Neleus and the other sons of Kodros made for Asia Minor.[10] Yet both Kodros and Neleus were legendary characters.

In another story, when the Epigonoi had taken Thebes, they took their

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[1] M.B.Sakellariou, *La migration grecque en Ionie* (1958) 49-54, 205-207, 227-230.

[2] M.B.Sakellariou, *op. cit.*, 89-90.

[3] M.B.Sakellariou, *op. cit.*, 176-179 and *passim*.

[4] M.B.Sakellariou, *op. cit.*, 164-166.

[5] M.B.Sakellariou, *op. cit.*, 116-122.

[6] M.B.Sakellariou, *op. cit.*, 265-266.

[7] M.B.Sakellariou, *op. cit.*, 58-62.

[8] M.B.Sakellariou, *op. cit.*, 192-197.

[9] M.B.Sakellariou, *op. cit.*, 153, n. 4.

[10] M.B.Sakellariou, *op. cit.*, 40-41 (evidence and discussion).

prisoners to Delphi. One of them, Manto the daughter of Teiresias, was ordered by Apollo to cross over to Asia Minor. Pausanias is the only author to say that Manto was followed there by her people. Other versions given by our sources are of no interest here since they seem to have developed in some environment or other that had no genuine recollections. Besides, neither Manto nor Mopsos, said to be her son, were historical figures. Rhakios, the husband of Manto and father of Mopsos, in addition to not being historical, gets confused with one Lakios, an historical figure of the 7th century B.C. In those narratives, Manto appears as the founder and first priestess of the oracle of Klaros, near Kolophon, Mopsos, as a famous seer and her successor. Clearly this is fiction invented for, or at least accepted by, the priests of the oracle at Klaros.[1]

Four of the sources we have on the foundation of Magnesia-on-the-Maeander connect it with Delphi. In two of the four, the "Comments on the Magnesians", attributed to Aristotle or Theophrastos and Strabo, the Maeander Magnesians were Delphic colonists. The other two sources, a 2nd century B.C. chronicle of Magnesia, evidently official, and a passage of Konon, have the Delphic oracle guiding the Magnesians in their move from Delphi to Crete and thence to Asia Minor.[2] Other examples of Delphic oracles may be omitted here.

2. Traditions showing some degree of erudition imply the dissemination of the information they give by means of writing. Here is an example. According to Nikandros of Kolophon, it was from Ortygia Titanis in Aitolia that the colonists left who settled in Ephesos, in Delos, and in a tiny island off the Sicilian coast. For this reason, he says, all three places were known as Ortygia. The connection between Ephesos, Delos, and the islet off Sicily hardly stems from local traditions. For one thing, it is unlikely that the Ephesians, the Delians, and the Syracusans had the least idea about colonizing expeditions sent out by one of their home-lands to other countries. For another, there is every reason to believe that this information is scholarly in origin, based on the fact that the name Ortygia was applied to a place in Aitolia, to a place in Rheneia or Syros, to the island off Syracuse, and to the sacred woods near Ephesos

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[1] M.B.Sakellariou, *op. cit.*, 148-160 (evidence and discussion).
[2] M.B.Sakellariou, *op. cit.*, 106-113 (evidence and discussion).

where Artemis was supposed to have been born.[1]

3. Political aims lie behind both versions of the idea that the Ionians of Asia Minor shared a single home-land, Achaia or Attica. Since I have dealt elsewhere with the entire subject of the geographical origin of the Greeks who settled in Ionia, and have no reason to reconsider my conclusions, I confine myself here to a few points pertinent to the present study.

The idea that the people who settled Ionia from mainland Greece came from Athens is later than the Ionian revolt at the beginning of the fifth century. It was invented by the Athenians who were eager to base claims of sovereignty over the Ionian cities by means of kinship, all the more so as they had probably run into difficulties in persuading some of the Ionian cities to join their alliance. At this same time, Athenian propaganda was busy creating genealogical ties between Athens and Troy, and crediting Athenian oikists with the foundation of cities in the Troad, Thrace, and Cyprus. The Athenian claim to the title of mother-city of the Asia Minor Ionians had much to support it, especially in the existence of the four tribes, common festivals and cults, such as the Apatouria, the Anthesteria, the Thargylia, the Eleusinia, the cult of Artemis Mounychia, and also a memory of Attic origin in a number of cities.

The idea that the Ionians of the eastern Aegean came from Achaia was an Ionian invention made to serve Ionian purposes. To be exact, it will have been formed out of a need to give themselves a common origin after they had acquired a sense of ethnic identity within the framework of the Panionion or Ionian amphictyony, perhaps around 700 B.C. Why Achaia? First of all, the Panionion had as its centre the sanctuary of Helikonian Poseidon, whose epithet was connected with Helike. All the Ionian cities had adopted this cult. In addition, the Ionian cities who shared in the Panionion were twelve in number, exactly the same number as the "parts" (μέρη) of the Achaian Confederacy.

Athenian fiction was in constant competition with the local traditions of the Ionian cities, who, for their part, continued to refer to non-Attic home-lands. A *modus vivendi* had to be found with those who made Achaia the common origin of the Ionians. From the end of the fifth

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[1] M.B.Sakellariou, *op. cit.*, 126, 131, 141, 143 (evidence and discussion).

century on this led to a variety of fictions in a number of versions. Some
of these versions, while accepting that the colonists were not, indeed,
Athenians, claimed that they came through Athens where they were
joined by Athenians. In the same vein, the two theories about a single
"Ionian migration" were coupled: the Ionians of Achaia, expelled by the
Achaians, went first to Attica, and thence to Ionia. Another solution to
the problem was to omit from the "Ionian migration" settlers reported to
have come from other regions of Greece.

Other cases of politically inspired fiction may be recognized in the
traditions naming Athens as the mother-city of some of the Cypriote
cities: Aipeia, Chytroi, and Soloi.[1]

OMISSIONS

We sometimes chance upon some piece of evidence showing that one
or another of our sources is not recording a specific element of a
tradition. All instances of this have to do with the origin of the Ionian
cities, and refer to the mother-city or region from which their founders
came. For example, a home-land may not be mentioned but may instead
be indicated by some other kind of evidence. That some success is
possible is suggested by a number of control-cases in which a home-land
is both mentioned by a source and identified through other items such as
cults, heroes, legends, or names attested in a particular colony and in a
definite district of Greece.

I. To begin with, let us test these control-cases.

For the origin of Teos we have two brief accounts, one of Strabo, one
of Pausanias, also a number of passages naming Athamas as oikist of the
city. According to Strabo, Teos was originally founded by Athamas.
Then came a detachment of "Ionians" led by Nauklos, the illegitimate
son of Kodros, king of Athens. Eventually there followed the Athenians,
led by Poikes and Damasos, and Boiotians under the leadership of Geres
or Geren.[2] Pausanias gives the same sequence of arrival: first the
colonists following Athamas, then the "Ionians", and finally the

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[1] E.Gjerstad in *OA*, III (1944) 107-123.
[2] Strabo, XIV 1, 3.

Athenians and the Boiotians. Unlike Strabo, Pausanias specifies that the companions of Athamas were from Orchomenos, and he makes a few minor modifications to points of no significance here.[1] Now at Teos itself we find confirmation of Boiotia and Attica as home-lands of the colonists who settled in Teos: the legendary figures Athamas, Kopreus, and Geren connect Teos with the region bordering lake Copaïs. The name Damasos could be a shortened form of Damasichthon or Damasistratos. The first is reminiscent of a mythical king of Thebes the second, a mythical king of Plataia. There was a *pyrgos* in Teos known as "the pyrgos of Philaios", and a *symmoria* in the same city was called the Philaïdes. Still another *symmoria* had an eponymous hero named Datyl(l)os. Philaios, Philaïdes, and Datyl(l)os lead us to Attica.[2]

According to Strabo, the founders of Erythrai came from the Boeotian city of the same name.[3] Two things cast doubt on the validity of this statement. The fact that the two cities have the same name might well encourage anyone to associate them as mother-city and colony. Even more, the fact that Strabo cites the association in a Boiotian context arouses suspicion that it was the idea of Boiotian scholars.[4] Yet there is some evidence pointing to a Boiotian origin. The name of Knopos, the legendary founder of this city, reappears in Boiotia as the name of a river from which came the name of Knopia, a town near Thebes. The proper name *Kephision* points toward western Boiotia. A number of other facts that more or less imply a Boiotian origin, we shall not add here.[5]

The texts connected with the foundation of Smyrna are datable to Hellenistic and Roman times, and in addition, are riddled with fictitious elements. Among these, Theseus is mentioned as founder of the city,[6] and Athens as its mother-city.[7] All this suggests the known tendency of the Athenians to take on cities as their own colonies. Yet this interpretation is weakened by the appearance of the cult of Nemesis at

[1] Pausanias, VII 3, 6.
[2] M.B.Sakellariou, *op. cit.*,180-181.
[3] Strabo, IX 2, 12.
[4] M.B.Sakellariou, *op. cit.*, 209-210.
[5] M.B.Sakellariou, *op. cit.*, 211ff.
[6] Tacitus, *Ann.*, IV 56; Aelius Aristides, XVII 3-5, XVIII 2, XIX 3-4, XXIII 26, XXIX 27, cf. XX 5; *Anthologia Palatina*, IX 670; Isidorus of Seville, *Etym.*, XV 1, 39.
[7] *Anthologia Palatina*, XI 442.

Smyrna,[1] and the recovery of Attic protogeometric sherds from Bayrakli,
the site of Old Smyrna.[2]

Examples of memories of the origin of some of the founders of a city
based on independent evidence is to be found also in the dossiers on
Samos, Klazomenai, and Phokaia. In addition to memories of origin,
these dossiers are noteworthy for the abundance and quality of material
they contain, and we shall study them below.

II. Encouraged by the control-cases just tested, we shall now review
those cases for which we have no written evidence, but simply facts
involving a land of origin. These have to do with the lands that sent out
settlers to Miletos, Priene, Samos, Ephesos, Chios, Erythrai, and
Klazomenai.

Miletos, we can conclude, was probably colonized by people from
(a)Thessaly, perhaps also (b)Thebes. (a)A number of scholars have al-
ready expressed the opinion that the tribe *Boreis* at Miletos was made up
of people of Thessalian stock, this because a passage in the *Iliad*
mentions one Boros, son of Perieres and husband of Polydora, daughter of
Peleus. We should add that Perieres was thought to be the brother of
Kretheus, a figure located in Thessaly, that both were styled the sons of
Aiolos, and that a second Boros, cited in the genealogy of the Neleïdai
of Miletos, had a wife named Lysidike, bringing to mind the daughter of
Koronos, king of the Lapiths and mother, by Aias, of Philaios. It is
likewise notable that a Milesian inscription, dating to 450/449 B.C.,
names one Kretheus, of the tribe *Boreis*. These coincidences suggest a
Thessalian origin for those citizens of Miletos who belonged to the tribe
Boreis. (b) On the other hand, there is the month known as Taureon both
at Miletos and in her colonies Kyzikos, Sinope, and Olbia, a
concurrence implying the existence of a cult of Poseidon Taureos in all
those cities. Hesiod and his scholiast attest the existence of this same
cult in Boiotia. A connection of Poseidon with the bull, however, is
hardly confined to Thebes and Miletos.[3]

Several points argue in favour of an Arkadian origin, particularly
Parrhasian, for part of the population of Priene. Aipytos, the mythical

[1] M.B.Sakellariou, *op. cit.*, 231-233 (evidence and discussion).
[2] M.B.Sakellariou, *op. cit.*, 233 (the archaeological record has grown since then).
[3] M.B.Sakellariou, *op. cit.*, 71-74 (evidence and discussion).

oikist of Priene, is also an epithet of Hermes at Tegea. The name
appears too in Arkadian mythology: as the son of Elatos or Arkas,
localized in Kyllene; as son of Hippothoös and king of Trapezous in
Parrhasia; as father of Kypselos, the mythical founder of the city Basilis
and of the sanctuary of the Eleusinian Demeter in the same city. Priene
had a cult of Eleusinia. This same cult, to be sure, is found in many parts
of Greece. Yet the coincidence of this cult in the same region of
Arkadia, at Basilis, the personage Aipytos at Trapezous, and the
association of a temple of Eleusinia at Basilis with Kypselos, son of
Aipytos and grandfather of another Aipytos, are eloquent indeed. Both
cult and hero were brought to Priene by people from Parrhasia. Given
these facts and the conclusion to which they point, the finding of the
name Parrhasios on a Priene document of the second century B.C.,
despite its date, makes it likely that the name came down through
generations in families having leaders reputed to be of Parrhasian origin.
Another section of Priene's population is linked to a Boiotian origin. This
is indicated by the concurrence in Priene territory of the cults of the
Potniai and Poseidon Taureos. The epithet Potnia was applied to
Demeter and Kore, just as at Eleusis and at the town of Potniai, near
Thebes.[1]

For Ephesos we are led in the direction of (a) Arkadia, (b) the
northwest Peloponnese, and (c) Boiotia. (a) The name Styx given to a
spring at Ephesos, is evocative of the famous falls near Nonakris. It is
well known that the ancients attributed funereal qualities to its icy
waters, and they believed that its course continued underground to end in
Hades. It was from this waterfall that popular imagination concocted the
infernal river of the same name: the Styx, by which the gods were said to
swear and to use for ordeal by water. The Ephesian spring was likewise
associated with the taking of oaths, and with ordeal by water. It is
possible that the Prienean names, *Mantineus* (4th century B.C.),
Parrhasios (4th and 3rd centuries B.C.), and *Arkas* (2nd century B.C.),
were traditional in certain families from the very beginning of Ephesos.
(b) The river Kenchr(e)ios has a place in the local legend of the birth of
Artemis. It is a name that recalls Kenchreios or Kenchrias, a mythical
figure in the legends of Corinth, likewise associated with Artemis. He

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[1] M.B.Sakellariou, *op. cit.*, 76-91 (evidence and discussion).

was reputed to have been the son of Poseidon and the spring Peirene. Near Kenchreai, whose eponymous hero he was, there was an abundant spring of salt water. These same items, the toponym Kenchreai, thermal springs, and a cult of Artemis Thermia occur together also at Lesbos. Kenchreios was, in addition, an epithet of Poseidon. All this conspires to show the basically aquatic character of the Corinthian Kenchreios or Kenchrias. It is further confirmed by the fact that a kind of serpent was known as *kenchros, kenchris,* or *kenchrias*. It is well known that the ancient Greeks often represented water spirits, river deities, guardians of springs, and so forth, in the form of snakes or dragons. It is not only the similarity of their names, but a fundamental affinity obliges us to see a relation between the sacred spring of Ephesos and the Corinthian hero, and to take these facts as proof that the Ephesians were in part of Corinthian origin. (c) A local legend tells of a hill known as Kerykion, in the area of Ephesos, from which Hermes was supposed to have announced the birth of Artemis. The name recalls Mt.Kerykeion near Tanagra, said to have been the birth place of Hermes.[1]

Although our written sources do not refer to Thessaly and Boiotia as the original home of the population of Samos, there is some indication that a number of groups in Samos may possibly have come originally from those areas. Thus the existence of the tribe *Boreis* at Perinthos, a Samian colony, implies a tribe of the same name at Samos itself. As at Miletos, the tribe will have been made up of people of Thessalian origin. The Samian cult of Poseidon Taureos points in the direction of Boiotia.[2]

More or less cogent evidence connects Chios with Boiotia, Phokis, Thessaly, and a number of other colonizing areas not mentioned as such in our written sources. The hero Orion is common to Chios and to Hyria in eastern Boiotia. Hector, a legendary character in Chios, evokes Hector the hero-protector of Thebes. The cult of Athena Alalkomenis suggests an origin at Alalkomenai, a city north of Mt. Helikon and well known precisely for its ancient sanctuary of Athena Alalkomene. To this same region we are led by the names of the Chian magistrates, *Kephisides* and *Kephisokritos*. True, they are found in documents of the second century B.C., but the names are rare and characteristic. Another

[1] M.B.Sakellariou, *op. cit.*, 141-145 (evidence and discussion).
[2] · M.B. Sakellariou, *op. cit.*, 93-106 (evidence and discussion).

Another name, Damasistratos, brings to mind an ancient king of Plataia. The genos Thrakidai at Chios is reminiscent of a genos of the same name at Delphi. The name of Mt. Pelinnaion in Chios comes from Pelinna, the name of a city in Histiaiotis. Yet another Chian toponym, Dotion, is related to the plain of Dotion in southern Thessaly.[1]

The Nephelid genos at Erythrai, whose existence is attested by a fourth century inscription, puts us on the trail of Greeks originating in southeast Thessaly. The toponym Kenchreus, as we have seen, is related to toponyms elsewhere, one near Corinth, the other in the vicinity of Argos. As for the names Aigialeus, a fourth century Erythraian magistrate, and Patreus, known from two Erythraian inscriptions of the third century, their attested dates are not early enough to conclude definitely that they go back to a time close to the foundation of that city. Yet the possibility is reinforced by the coincidence of these two names at Erythrai. We thus assume that certain Erythraian families preserved traditions that named among their ancestors people originally from Aigialeia and Patras.[2]

Finally, a toponym, Lampsos, connects a township in the territory of Klazomenai with a locality in Thessaly.[3]

AUTHENTIC RECOLLECTIONS

A number of comments made up to this point should be borne in mind in order to evaluate what follows. Here we give a synopsis. First of all, from the time of the various events to their recording by logographers, an interval of some 300 (850-550 B.C.) to 550 years (1100-550 B.C.) elapsed. During that time recollections were passed on by word of mouth as traditions, or, more than likely, in epics. Second, during the fifth century and later, material for local histories was drawn from the earliest written records, epic, and from as yet untranscribed oral traditions. Third, the local histories have been lost. Fourth, the written sources we have about migrations between 1100 and 850 B.C. consist of sporadic and

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[1] M.B.Sakellariou, *op. cit.*, 189-209 (evidence and discussion).

[2] M.B.Sakellariou, *op. cit.*, 211, 213 (evidence and discussion).

[3] M.B.Sakellariou, *op. cit.*, 223.

chance references. With few exceptions, these are limited to the mention
of mother-cities or oikists, at most both together. Even these notices are
not always authentic. Similarly, information going beyond these notices
is for the most part fictitious. In general, the sources at our disposal have
incorporated earlier choices, abridgements, miscomprehensions, and
fictions.

Given these circumstances, the preservation of authentic recollec-
tions, apart from those about mother-cities and oikists mentioned above,
is of great importance for the subject under discussion. In the actual state
of our documentation the best dossiers, in amount and validity of informa-
tion, are those referring to events that led to the foundation of
Klazomenai and Phokaia. After these come the sources referring to the
origin of certain groups of colonists in Samos.

1. KLAZOMENAI

All we know about the foundation of Klazomenai (11th century B.C.)
comes from Pausanias. Here is the chronological sequence of events.
Some people from Kleonai and Phlious, driven out by the Dorians, went
to Asia Minor in the tracks of the Ionians. Lacking leaders, they repaired
to the Kolophonians who sent them Parphoros. He led them to a place
near Mt. Ida where they established a town. They did not stay there long,
however, but returned to the area of Kolophon where they founded
Skyppeion. After a while, they left Skyppeion and settled finally in their
ultimate home. Note that Pausanias vacillates somewhat over the ethnic
make-up of the Kleonaians and the Phliasians. At the beginning of his
narrative he presents them as Ionians. At the end he distinguishes them
from the Ionians, but implies that the population of Klazomenai
descended in part from Ionians.[1]

The mention of Kleonai and Phlious as the mother-cities of
Klazomenai does not evoke doubt. Besides, the proper name *Kleonaios*,
attested in Samos in the fifth century and later, suggests that there were
those in Samos who remembered their Kleonaian forebears.[2] Nor is there

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[1] Pausanias, VII 3, 8-9.
[2] M.B.Sakellariou, *op. cit.*, 100 (evidence and discussion).

room for doubt on the subject of the Dorians' expulsion of the Kleonaians and the Phliasians, the events which follow, the toponyms *Ida* and *Skyppeion*, or the name *Parphoros*. Pausanias's vacillation on the subject of the ethnic composition of the Kleonaians and Phliasians is explainable as a reflection of clashing opinions about the ethnic make-up of the Greeks who settled in Ionia and the definition of the Ionian race. That the festival of the Apatouria was celebrated at Klazomenai, however, implies that the population was largely of Ionian origin, and, consequently, that the Kleonaians and Phliasians, who accounted for most of the population, could only have been Ionians. Pausania.'s narrative contains also two chronological notices. One is derived from the attribution to the Dorians of the expulsion of the Kleonaians and Phliasians. The other is to be found in the information that the migrants established two towns before they founded Klazomenai. Archaeological exploration has shown that Phlious was inhabited from protogeometric times.[1] Klazomenai was occupied between LH IIB and LH IIIC times and, after an interruption, from protogeometric times on.[2] Thus it will have been during the course of the protogeometric period (1050-900 B.C.) that the events described by Pausanias took place. The wanderings of the Kleonaians and Phliasians in Asia Minor will have occupied several decades.

Pausanias's account of the migration that led to the founding of Klazomenai in many ways surpasses all his accounts of other Greek migrations to Asia Minor. It provides us with information about a sequence of events from the beginning to the end of the movement. Moreover all these events seem to be authentic. They cover no less than six kinds of items: (i) "geographical origin"; (ii) "causes of the migration"; (iii) "intermediate stages with mention of place-names"; (iv) "leader";

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[1] R.Hope Simpson, O.T.P.K.Dickinson, *A Gazeteer of Aegean Civilisation in the Bronze Age* (1975) 68.

[2] M.B.Sakellariou, *op. cit.*, 506; B.G.Kallipolitis, *Mikrasiatika Chronika*, 15 (1972) 9ff. (in Greek); S.Mitchell, *AR 1984-1985*, 82. Klazomenai, where J. de la Genière has been excavating since 1979, has produced the following: 2nd millenium B.C. polished ware, Gray Minyan ware, material of the Troy I period, and Mycenaean, Protogeometric, Geometric, and Archaic pottery. Cf. C. Anlagan, *CRAI* (1980) 354-359; *Revue des archéologues et historiens d'art de Louvain*, 15 (1982) 82-96; *II Kazi Toplantisi* (1981) 87-90; *IV Kazi Toplantisi* (1983) 63-68.

(v) dealings of the migrants with previous settlers identified by name";
(vi) "settlement". For all this information Pausanias has used seventy-two
words in two groups of fifty-four and eighteen words respectively. This
account is in the end the best we have from all our sources together on
the subject of the Greek migrations to Asia Minor. Next to it is the
account of the foundation of Phokaia, to which we now turn.

2. PHOKAIA

   For the foundation of Phokaia (c.900 B.C.) and its prelude, we have
an abridged passage from the *Histories* of Nikolaos of Damaskos. As in
the preceding case, we give the essential points in chronological order.
The Phokidians fathered some illegitimate children by women from
Orchomenos whom they had taken prisoner. The children, expelled from
Phokis, went to Thorikos in Attica. Later on, having joined a sizeable
band of Peloponnesians, they followed the Ionians to Asia Minor. Here
they occupied an islet near the mouth of the river Hermos, where they
were subject to attacks by the indigenous population. They then
established themselves on a hill on the mainland, and began to fill in the
pass and construct a wall. Mennes, the king of Kyme, tried to prevent
them. His brother Ouatias, however, invited them to help him seize the
power from Mennes. Mennes having been beaten and stoned to death,
Ouatias kept his promises: he gave the Greeks land, and the right to
marry local women.[1] The connection of the Phokaians with Phokis is
noted likewise by Pausanias on two different occasions.[2] Herodotos, for
his part, mentions the participation of Phokidian dissidents in the Greek
colonization of Ionia, without localizing them at Phokaia.[3] There is,
however, no doubt at all that he too had this town in mind.
   The Phokidian origin of the Phokaians, not elsewhere confirmed,
could well have been made up because of the obvious similarity of the
names. Yet there are links implied between Phokaia and Orchomenos,
including the region around that Boiotian city. The epic *Minyas*

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[1] Nikolaos of Damaskos, 90 *FGrH* 51 = *Exc. de Ins.*, 17.

[2] Pausanias, VII 2,4 and 3,10.

[3] Herodotos, I 146.

composed by Prodikos of Phokaia, shows that there was in the city a
certain amount of interest in the Minyans, whose connections with
Orchomenos are known. That the name *Chaironeis* was given to one of
the Phokaian tribes shows the presence there of people originally from
Chaironeia, a city near Orchomenos. The name *Boiotios*, attested at
Phokaia, fits in a wider radius. One of the Phokaian tribes has the name
Perikleides. This same tribe is to be found at Lampsakos, a Phokaian
colony founded around 650 B.C. The name of the eponymous hero,
Periklos, appears to be a shortened form of *Periklymenos*, a variant of
Klymenos, the name of a chthonic divinity. The form *Periklymenos* leads
us back to Thebes, that of *Klymenos* to Orchomenos and eastern Lokris.[1]

The participation of Peloponnesians in the foundation of Phokaia is
not otherwise confirmed. Yet their presence is not surprising, even more
so since we find them elsewhere in Ionia.[2] The mention of Thorikos by
Nikolaos of Damaskos as a stopping place for the colonists before
crossing the Aegean corresponds to Pausanias's information that the
founders-to-be of Phokaia came to Asia Minor on ships supplied by the
Athenians Philogenes and Damon, sons of Euktaimon, and were led by
them as well.[3] Strabo mentions Philogenes only, calling him the leader
of the Athenians.[4] That the Phokaians-to-be came by way of Thorikos
does not give the impression of being fictitious. In fact it would be well
nigh unexplainable were it not an authentic element of the tradition. The
same applies to the first installation of the newly arrived on an islet, their
occupation of the hill on the mainland, the attacks by the indigenous
population, and the names Mennes and Ouatias. The site of Phokaia
itself has produced Mycenaean and protogeometric sherds.[5] The
protogeometric sherds bear witness to the foundation of the historical
city.

Our sole source for the migration ending with the foundation of
Phokaia is not an original text, but an abstract. Despite that, it is one of
the longer and more comprehensive of the accounts we have on the

[1] M.B.Sakellariou, *op. cit.*, 236-237.
[2] M.B.Sakellariou, *op. cit.*, 239-243.
[3] Pausanias, VII 2,4 and 3, 10.
[4] Strabo, XIV 1, 3.
[5] F.Sartiaux, *CRAI* (1921) 122; M.J.Mellink, *AJA*, 63 (1959) 85; J.M.Cook in *AR 1960*
    (1941); E.Akurgal, *AJA*, 72 (1962) 369; G.Huxley, *The Early Ionians* (1966) 25.

subject of migrations. It is one hundred eighty-two words long and refers to six kinds of items: (i) "geographical origin"; (ii) "causes of the migration"; (iii) "intermediate stages with mention of place names and allied groups"; (iv) "dealings of the migrants with indigenous people identified by name"; (v) "leading indigenes identified by name"; (vi) "settlement with significant details". The items under headings iii to vi reflect genuine recollections.

3. SAMOS

For Samos, settled around 1000 B.C., two passages of Pausanias provide information of interest. The narrative about Samos before and during the Ionian colonization reads as follows. "On the occasion to which I refer, the inhabitants of the island received the Ionians as settlers more of necessity than through good will. The leader of the Ionians was Prokles, the son of Pityreus, himself Epidaurian like most of his followers who had been expelled from Epidauros by Deïphontes and the Argives. This Prokles was descended from Ion, son of Xouthos."[1] Pausanias in another context refers to an intermediary stage between their expulsion by the Dorians and their crossing of the Aegean. "The last king before the Dorians arrived in the Peloponnese was, they say, Pityreus, a descendant of Ion, son of Xouthos, and they relate that he handed over the land to Deïphontes and the Argives without a struggle. He went to Athens with his people and dwelt there, while Deïphontes and the Argives took possession of Epidauria."[2] In the last text we find the idea, dear to the Athenians, that they had first welcomed the refugees who had fled before the Dorians and had then introduced them into the colony which they described as "Ionian".[3] Nothing is said about this idea nor is it even implied in the first text of Pausanias. For this reason we suppose that it does not goes back to local Samian tradition. Nevertheless, the two texts agree on the following information. (1) The pre-Dorian population of Epidauros gave up its city to the Dorians and withdrew. (2)

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[1] Pausanias, VII 4, 2.
[2] Pausanias, II 26, 1-2.
[3] *Supra*, pages 137-138.

The pre-Dorian royal family claimed Ion, son of Xouthos, as ancestor. The first text expressly qualifies the Epidaurians in question as Ionians. Finally, the two texts both mention Pityreus, but differ as to his role.

Our documentation includes some signs in Samos itself which if not pointing directly to Epidauros, are none the less linked to Argolis. The cult of the Samian Hera is one of these, the name *Kleonaios* another. By itself the cult of Hera is not conclusive, since it was to be found throughout Greece, and its diffusion hardly corresponds to the ethnic movements known from other sources. There are, however, peculiarities in the cult that occur only in Argos and Samos: the peacock as sacred bird, and the armed procession that took place in the annual ceremonies in honour of Hera. This last is connected with the idea of Hera as a warrior-goddess, a conception likewise limited to Samos and Argos. Among her epithets at Argos is that of Akraia, referring to her function as goddess of the acropolis. In Samos she is known as Archagetes. It is noteworthy that nowhere else did the cult of Hera have the importance it had in these two cities. The name *Kleonaios* appears on Samian inscriptions datable in the fifth century,[1] so it is evident that a certain Samian family included among its ancestors people who came from Kleonai.

The other details of the story, recounted briefly by Pausanias, seem likewise to be authentic. There is nothing suspect in the names Prokles and Pityreus, their reputation as descendants of Ion (though he was not an historical personage), or the mention of the Dorians as the agents of the migration in Pausanias's narrative. This last implies a chronology contemporary with or somewhat later than the Dorian expansion in the Epidauria and the region of Kleonai.

The relevant text of Pausanias has four kinds of items of information, given in forty-eight words: (i) "geographical origin"; (ii) "causes of the migration"; (iii) "leader"; (iv) "dealings with the indigenous population".

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[1] M.B.Sakellariou, *op. cit.,* 100 (evidence and discussion).

II. THE DESCENT OF THE DORIANS
INTO THE PELOPONNESE

Going back in time, we leave the age of the Greek migrations to regions later known as Aiolis, Ionia and Doris, and to Crete, Pamphylia and Cyprus, and we come to the time of the twelfth century ethnic displacements in the interior of the Helladic peninsula itself.

Our sources report many migrations, with chronological indications that they took place during the twelfth century B.C. These are the migrations of the Dorians, the Eleians, the Boiotians, the Ainianians, and of non-Greeks characterized as Pelasgians and Thracians.

The migrations of the twelfth century differ in many respects from those of the periods 1100-850 and 760-630 B.C. First of all, the migrants of both 1100-850 and 760-630 B.C. came from permanently settled communities. Those of the twelfth century, to the contrary, were nomadic or semi-nomadic groups. Secondly, the communities which produced the migrants of 1100-850 and 760-630 B.C. were engaged not only in farming and animal husbandry, but also in manufacturing. Those of the twelfth century were primarily stock farmers. Thirdly, the mother communities of the migrants of 760-630 were organized as states; the migrants of the time around 1100 B.C. came from communities with some idea of state organization, formed as they were out of the splitting up of the Mycenaean societies. The twelfth century migrants were organized instead in tribes and clans. Fourth, the migrants of 760-630 B.C. were colonists, those of the period 1100-850 refugees, while those of the twelfth century were invaders. Fifth, the migrants of 1100-850 and 760-630 B.C. were organized from the start as autonomous communities that developed into city-states. Some of the twelfth century migrants later on formed city-states, others, confederations of city states.

Between the events of the twelfth century B.C. and their first recording was a period of oral transmission longer in time than that between the events of 1100-850 B.C. and their recording in alphabetical script. In addition, the length of time of oral transmission for the twelfth century events differs significantly from place to place, as the Dorian cities were ahead in the use of the alphabet, and Achaia, Lokris, Ainis, and Thessaly lagged behind. The communities formed by the twelfth

century migrants, moreover, developed historiography later than did those established by migrants from 1100-850 and 760-630 B.C. Besides, in some cases the first writers of history were not local men, but foreigners. Finally, references to historical works as well as historiographical evidence for migrations of the twelfth century that have come down to us, form a considerably smaller body of material than do the sources on migrations of 1100-850 B.C.

Items of significance for our problem are to be found especially in the traditions attached to the migrations of the Dorians, Boiotians, Ainianians, and, earlier, to some Pelasgians and Thracians in Boiotia.

The best dossier by far on the movements of the twelfth century is that on the Descent of the Dorians into the Peloponnese and, connected with this, the "Return of the Herakleidai". The episodes mentioned in this dossier are the most numerous and famous of all. The narratives or allusions to these events are by far the most copious.

The dossier comprises four categories of evidence: (A) formation of the Dorian ethnos; (B) the country from which they left to go to the Peloponnese; (C) chronology of the movement; (D) the sequence of events to their first establishment in each of the regions, Argolis, Lakonia, Messenia, Corinthia, and the Megarid.

A. FORMATION OF THE DORIAN ETHNOS

The sources clearly distinguish the Dorians from the Herakleidai, not only before but after their common descent. The Dorians are said to be a group that moved from the Pindos to Doris. The Herakleidai were described as the descendants of Herakles, a hero connected with Argolis, Boiotia, and Malis, but active outside these regions as well. Unlike the Dorians, the Herakleidai claimed to have rights in Argolis as the inheritors of Herakles, himself descended from Perseus, king of Mycenae. It is the great-great grandsons of Herakles who were supposed to have led the Dorians into the Peloponnese. The House of Herakles would have acquired the rights of royalty over the Dorians in return for a service rendered by Herakles to Aigimios, king of the Dorians, when he helped him drive off his enemies. Aigimios, therefore, gave Herakles one third of his kingdom. Herakles himself never took possession of this gift, but

his rights would have passed on to his son Hyllos, while Aigimios's sons, Dymas and Pamphylos, were Aigimios's successors. This, then, would have been the origin of the division of the Dorians into three *phylai*, the Hylleis, the Dymanes, and the Pamphyloi.

Everything related about Herakles and Hyllos, however, is strongly affected by legend. Herakles himself is a mythical figure. When he is found in combat with historical people, whether alone or with allies, he appears to represent another historical people who lived in Malis or its vicinity.[1] Hyllos, for his part, is simply a character created to serve as ancestor of the Hylleis. Dymas and Pamphylos will have originated as eponymous heroes for the other Dorian *phylai*. What the Dorians were before the migration of most of them into the Peloponnese, will be discussed below.[2]

B. GEOGRAPHICAL ORIGIN OF THE MIGRANTS

Our sources cite two areas as the place of departure for the Dorians of the Peloponnese: (1) Doris and (2) Attica.

(1) Doris is cited or implied in various texts, sometimes being called Dryopis. (i) Certain authors mention it as the origin of the Lakedaimonians. Tyrtaios wrote, "For the son of Kronos, Zeus himself, the husband of fair-crowned Hera, hath given this city to the children of Herakles, with whom we came into the wide isle of Pelops from windy Erineos."[3] Erineos was the name of a town in the Doris of historical times.[4] Thucydides, Diodoros, Strabo, and the scholiasts on Pindar and Aristophanes, all speak of Doris, Herodotos alone, of Dryopis.[5] We read

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[1] M.B.Sakellariou, *Peuples préhelléniques d'origine indo-européenne* (1977) 268-271. *Infra*, page 233.

[2] Pages 223 - 235.

[3] Tyrtaios, fr. 2 Diehl = Strabo, VIII 4, 10.

[4] Thucydides, I 107; Ptolemy, III 15, 15; Diodoros, IV 67, 1 and XI 79, 4; Konon, 26 *FGrH* 1, xxvii; Strabo, IX 4, 10 and X 4, 16; Pseudo-Skylax, 62; Pseudo-Skymnos, 591; Pliny, *N.H.*, IV 28; Stephanos of Byzantion, s.v. Ἐρινεός; Tzetzes, *Comm. Lycophr. Alex.*, 471; *Schol. Pind. Pyth.*, I 121.

[5] Herodotos, VIII 43; Thucydides, I 107; Diodoros, XI 79, 4; Strabo, IX 4, 10; *Schol. Pind. Pyth.*, I, 121; *Schol. Aristoph. Plut.*, 385.

in a text of Pindar that Hieron built Aetna according to the laws of Hyllos, and that the descendants of Pamphylos and the Herakleidai who dwellt beneath the cliffs of Taygetos were willing to remain forever under the ordinances of Aigimios. The text goes on to say that they captured Amyklai, sallying forth Πινδόθεν.[1] At first glance the text appears to be confusing the Pindos with Doris, in connection with which the subject of Aigimios, Pamphylos, Hyllos and the Herakleidai is mentioned. Yet the apparent confusion disappears with the realisation that the name Pindos applies also to a town in historical Doris.[2] Pindar's scholiast is not mistaken in interpreting the poet's mention of Pindos as if he had used the name Doris. (ii) Dryopis is mentioned by Herodotos as the origin of the Dorians established at Corinth and Sikyon.[3] (iii) Pindar, on the other hand, says that the island of Aigina was founded with the arrival of the Dorian host of Hyllos and Aigimios,[4] characters, as we have seen, that point toward the region of Doris. (iv) Finally, it is all the Dorians of the Peloponnese that are connected with Doris, Dryopis, or Mt. Oeta.[5]

(2) The only one to say that the Herakleidai passed through Attica en route to the Peloponnese is the scholiast on Aristophanes.[6]

The texts representing the first version (Doris as the place of departure), seem to imply that this was the version current among the Spartans, Argives, Corinthians, Aiginetans, and also among the Deinomenidai (through Gela?). Be that as it may, nothing suggests that this is a case of mere speculation.

It has been objected that as the place of departure Doris was too small an area to have fed the Dorians who brought about the fall of the powerful Achaian states. The objection rests on two premises: (a) the first is that the Dorians who invaded the Peloponnese left from an area no larger than the Doris of classical times (b) the second is that the Dorians defeated the Achaians around 1200 B.C. Yet these premises cannot be supported.

[1] Pindar, *Pyth.*, I 62-66.
[2] *Infra*, page 154.
[3] Herodotos, VIII 43.
[4] Pindar, *Isthm.*, IX 3-4.
[5] Herodotos, I 56; VIII 31; Pausanias, V 1,2.
[6] *Schol. Aristoph. Plut.*, 305.

(a) There are indications that the Dorians left from an area far larger than classical Doris. To begin with, we should note that the Ainianians remembered that their ancestors had conquered in lands taken from the Dorians.[1] Ainis, indeed, took in the Spercheios valley, except for the territory that belonged to the Malians. It should be added that the "Catalogue of Ships" omits an area that lies on one side between the states of Peleus, the Lokrians, and the Phokidians, and on the other the state of the Aitolians, who inhabited Pleuron, Olenos, Pylene, Chalkis, and Kalydon.[2] This same region, moreover, together with an indeterminate area to the north, has not yet produced Mycenaean finds.[3] The place name *Dymanes* in western Lokris, that lies within the blank area of Homeric geography, as well as the region with no signs of Mycenaean civilization, has quite sensibly been connected with the name *Dymanes* given to one of the three Dorian tribes.[4] There is also evidence, not to be overlooked, that even in historical times Doris suffered territorial losses. We are told that before the Persian wars Doris extended to the littoral of the Gulf of Malis.[5] It is useful also to compare the number of cities located in Doris by the various authors. According to Thucydides, Andron, Konon, and the Pseudo-Skylax, there were three: Boion, Erineos, and Kytinion.[6] Theopompos, the Pseudo-Skymnos, Ptolemy, and Strabo add a fourth. Theopompos identifies it as Akyphas. The Pseudo-Skymnos and Strabo call it Pindos. In another passage, Strabo informs us that the two names apply to the same city, and that Pindos was likewise the name of a river that flowed nearby.[7] Doris had six cities, say the scholiasts on Pindar and Aristophanes. Besides the first three, they were Lilaion, Karphaia or Karpheia, and Dryope.[8] Aeschines cites Kytinion

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[1] Strabo, IX 5, 22.

[2] *Iliad*, II 638 - 640.

[3] M.B.Sakellariou in Ἱστορία τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἔθνους, I (1970) 375 = English translation, *A History of the Hellenic World*, I (1970) 387.

[4] L.Lerat, *Les Locriens de l'Ouest*, I, 1 (1952) 28-29.

[5] Herodotos, VIII 31, cf. Pseudo-Skylax, 62.

[6] Thucydides, I 107, 2; Andron, 10 *FGrH* 16a = Strabo, IX 4,6; Konon, 26 *FGrH*, 1, xxvii; Diodoros, IV 67, 1 and XI 79, 4; Pseudo-Skylax, 62.

[7] Theopompos, 115 *FGrH* 364 = Stephanos of Byzantion, s.v. Ἀκύφας; Pseudo-Skymnos, 592-594; Ptolemy, III 15, 15; Strabo, IX 4, 10.

[8] *Schol. Pind. Pyth.*, I 121; *Schol. Aristoph. Plut.*, 385.

and Dorion.[1] Finally, Stephanos of Byzantion tells us that Hekataios and
Theopompos speak of a Dorian city named Amphanai.[2] Some scholars
have questioned the existence of the city Pindos because Thucydides
makes no mention of it.[3] The omission, however, may be explained in
another way. Perhaps in Thucydides's time Pindos or Akyphas was a
village rather than a city or it may have been located outside Doris. This
second explanation is the most likely if we take into account the fact
that Strabo places Akyphas in Mt. Oeta.[4] The same explanation may
apply to Dryope, whose existence is, in any case, confirmed by the
ethnic name *Dryopaioi*.[5] What is hypothesis for Pindos or Akyphas and
Dryope is certainty in the case of Lilaia, in historical times a city in
Phokis, and of Karpheia, identified as Skarpheia, a city in eastern
Lokris.[6] Thus, if the cities Pindos or Akyphas, Dryope, Lilaia, and
Karpheia are located by the scholiasts in Doris, it is because they were
dependent on sources earlier than Thucydides. In the case of Amphanai,
the fact that Stephanos of Byzantion characterizes it as a Dorian city
without specifying that it is located in Doris, has given rise to the idea
that he is referring instead to a locality of this name near Pagasai, and
that the area will have been a Dorian colony.[7] Yet Stephanos of
Byzantion makes a clear distinction between a "Dorian city" called
Amphanai by Hekataios and Amphanaia by Theopompos, and a village
of this name located in Thessaly. Thus the term "Dorian" was applied by
Stephanos to the city, not to the village in Thessaly, and this on the
authority of Hekataios. Furthermore, we know that two Dorian estab-
lishments were, at the end of the Mycenaean period, outside the borders
of the region called Doris. These were north of the Isthmos of Corinth:
one was Boulis, at the border of Phokis and Boiotia,[8] the other was

[1] Aeschines, *De falsa leg.*, 286, 2.
[2] Hekataios, 1 *FGrH* 3 and Theopompos, 115 *FGrH* 54 = Stephanos of Byzantion, s.v.
'Αμφαναί.
[3] H.T.Wade-Gery, *CAH*, II (1926) 527; T.C.Skeat, *The Dorians in Archaeology* (1934) 53.
Strabo, IX 5, 10.
[4] This ethnic name is attested in inscriptions of the second century B.C. (see *RE* V 2 [1905])
[5] 1748.
K.O.Müller, *Die Dorier*, 2nd ed., I (1844) 41.
[6] Hirschfeld, *RE*, I 2 (1894) 1884.
[7] Pausanias, X 32, 2.

located in the mount Homole or Homoloion in Boiotia, near Thebes.[1]

(b) The strength of the Dorians who forced themselves on the Peloponnese cannot be measured by considering that of the Mycenaean states of around 1200 B.C. Since the time when this argument first took shape, it has seemed more likely that the Dorians were not responsible for the attacks suffered by the Mycenaeans at the end of LH IIIB times. Instead, the arrival of the Dorians has been dated to the end of LH IIIC.[2] Even then there will not have been enough Dorians to take over at one fell swoop all the regions they inhabited in historical times. Isokrates preserves a Spartan memory that the Dorians who came down into Lakonia numbered only around two thousand.[3] Information fitting in with this recollection enables us to reconstruct the gradual spread of the Dorians within Lakonia. Leaving aside details of information, we note the following. Up to the second or third decade of the eighth century, the Spartans were confined to the villages of Pitane, Limnai, Mesoa, and Kynosoura.[4] Later on they spread, subjugating the cities of Pharis and Geranthrai, and appending Amyklai as the fifth village of the Spartan cluster. The Spartans were unable to quell the resistance of the Amyklaians, so they had to make an arrangement with them.[5] The Dorians who came to Argolis were gathered first of all at Argos. From there they gradually spread out into the rest of the environs of Argos, and sent out colonies to other areas of the greater Argolid.[6] The Dorians who went into the Corinthia were concentrated in the beginning at Corinth. That the Dorians were limited in numbers is evident, furthermore, from the many references we have showing that they collaborated with allies. The Dorians who settled in Sparta had been accompanied by a non-Dorian group, the Kadmeian Aigeidai.[7] Those who went to the Corinthia

[1] *Infra*, pages 213-214.

[2] *Infra*, pages 158-159.

[3] *Infra*, page 172.

[4] M.B.Sakellariou in Ἀρχαιογνωσία, 2 (1981) 83ff.

[5] Pausanias, III 2,6. G.Huxley, *Early Sparta* (1962) 24; F.Kiechle, *Lakonien und Sparta* (1963) 49-67; G.Forrest, *A History of Sparta 950-192 B.C.* (1968) 31-32; P.Cartledge, *Sparta and Lakonia* (1979) 71ff., 101.

[6] R.A.Tomlinson, *Argos and the Argolid* (1972) 51-63; T.Kelly, *A History of Argos to 500 B.C.* (1976) 19-50.

[7] *Infra*, pages 173-177.

found allies there in a community of Lapiths that later joined with the Corinthian community.[1]

C. CHRONOLOGY OF THE MIGRATION

Our sources provide us with the following dates for the Dorian migration and the "Return of the Herakleidai".

a) Hellanikos makes correlations between the floruits of various mythical kings and events[2] from which may be drawn the following scheme:

1st generation	Trojan War
2nd generation	
3rd generation	Descent of the Herakleidai and Aiolian migration
4th generation	Dorian incursion into Attica
5th generation	Ionian migration[3]

b) In Thucydides the chronological correlations are expressed in numbers of years:

Year 0	The Sack of Troy
Year 60	Boiotian migration
Year 80	Descent of the Herakleidai and Dorian migration[4]

Here the calculation is in generations. The span from the Sack of Troy to the Boiotian migration has been calculated as two generations of thirty years, whereas the time between the Sack of Troy and the Dorian migration has been worked out as two generations of forty years.[5]

[1] *Infra*, page 178.
[2] Hellanikos, 3 *FGrH* 155 = Strabo, XIV 1, 3.
[3] M.B.Sakellariou, *La migration grecque en Ionie* (1958) 308.
[4] Thucydides, I 12, 2-4.
[5] M.B.Sakellariou, *op. cit.*, 308-310.

c) From Hellenistic times on, we have a series of chronological lists
in which the events are dated in absolute numbers, reckoning from the
year in which the first Olympic games were celebrated. Despite this, the
absolute dates given to events, including the Dorian migration, differ
from source to source. Translating the dates reckoned by Olympiads into
years before Christ, we have: 1335/4 according to Douris; 1155/4
according to Timaios and Kleitarchos; 1104/3 according to Eratosthenes,
Apollodoros, Kastor, and an entry in the Latin version of Eusebios; 1149
or 1148, respectively, according to another entry in the Latin version and
in the Armenian version of Eusebios; 1098 and 1094 according to other
entries in the Latin version of the same work; 1070/59 according to
Ephoros; 1050/49 according to Phanias.

Interpretation of the archaeological evidence for the date of the
Dorian migration into the Peloponnese has in recent years been
reconsidered. Earlier it was thought that the Dorians were responsible for
the catastrophes that destroyed the Mycenaean palaces at the end of LH
IIIB times, around 1200 B.C. Now we ask whether the Dorians were
connected with the destruction of a large number of settlements late in
LH IIIC times, around 1125 B.C., or with events datable even later.
Dorian responsibility for the events of around 1200 B.C. has been
questioned because these events are not followed by developments that
lead in an unbroken line to historical times. The years between 1200
B.C. and the dawn of historical times see not only the destructions of
1125 B.C., but the continuation of a number of Mycenaean traditions in
the interval from 1200 to 1125 B.C. The idea that the arrival of the
Dorians was later than 1125 B.C. is based on the view that desertion
followed the catastrophes of 1125. This interpretation has been
persuasively presented in a study of Lakonia. The following points are
noted. The number of settlements in Lakonia fell from a maximum of
thirty-nine during LH IIIB to seven or eight in LH IIIC, and after that to
even fewer. Amyklai was abandoned after the twelfth century. In
Lakonia no signs of human occupation have been observed between
ca.1050 and 950 B.C., when the Lakonian protogeometric style begins.
The number of settlements in Messenia fell from a maximum of sixty-
seven during LH IIIB to between thirteen and sixteen in LH IIIC times.[1]

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[1]   P. Cartledge, *op. cit.*, 68-93.

Argolis shows no archaeological gap; there the LH IIIC style is followed by submycenaean (1125-1050 B.C.), and the submycenaean by protogeometric (1050 B.C. on).[1] In the case of Lakonia, however, the archaeological testimony is deceptive. In fact other evidence refutes it. The survival of many pre-Dorian toponyms in Lakonia shows that the Dorians found there an earlier population. Moreover, the survival of many pre-Dorian divinities and cults shows that the Dorians assimilated a significant proportion of the pre-Dorian population. The Dorians therefore entered Lakonia not in 950 B.C., but earlier, *ca.* 1125 B.C. Yet to be found are the Dorian and non-Dorian settlements of the time between 1125 and 950 B.C.

The date 1125 B.C. falls about midway between the moderate dates for the Dorian descent derived from the calculations of the Hellenistic scholars and it is only about a quarter of a century off from each one: 1148 or 1149-1125 = 24 years, 1125-1104 = 21 years, 1125-1098 = 27 years, 1125-1094 = 31 years. It thus appears that the date given by the Hellenistic scholars for the Dorian migration was based on good information. This will have come from the king list of some Dorian city, recording all the names of the successive kings though not how long each ruled. Other students likewise have suggested that the Hellenistic scholars were working from the king-list of a Dorian city, namely Sparta. This is based on Diodoros's statement that Apollodoros of Athens had set the interval from the Trojan War to the Return of the Herakleidai as eighty years, and from then to the first Olympiad as three hundred twenty-eight years, reckoning the dates by the reigns of the Lakedaimonian kings.[2] Closer examination, however, of the statements in the ancient sources on the earliest kings of Sparta raises doubts about their authenticity.

Apollodoros[3] and Diodoros[4] are the only sources to have handed down to us lists of kings of both royal families with the chronologies of their respective reigns in absolute figures. Here is the series of kings of the Agiad and Eurypontid families as given by these two authors.

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[1] R.A.Tomlinson, *op. cit.*, 51-65; T. Kelly, *op. cit.*,19-26.

[2] Diodoros, I 5, 1.

[3] Apollodoros, 244 *FGrH* 62 = Eusebios in *Eusebius Werke*, V, 105.

[4] Diodoros, VII fr.8.

AGIADS		EURYPONTIDS	
Eurysthenes	1103-1062	Prokles	1103-1063
Agis	1061	Soös	1062-1031
Echestratos	1060-1026	Eyrypon	1030-980
Labotas	1025-989	Prytanis	979-931
Dorysthos	988-960	Eunomios	930-886
Agesilaos	959-930	Chariklos	885-826
Menelaos	929-886	Nikandros	825-786
Archelaos	885-826	Theopompos	785-739
Teleklos	825-786		
Alkamenes	785-754		

In addition, Herodotos gives us the following list of successors in continuous generations from Herakles down to the kings of the time of the Persian wars.[1]

(1)		Herakles	
(2)		Hyllos	
(3)		Kleodaios	
(4)		Aristomachos	
(5)		Aristodemos	
(6)	·	Eurysthenes	Prokles
(7)		Agis	Eurypon
(8)		Echestratos	Prytanis
(9)		Leobotas	Polydektes
(10)		Doryssos	Eunomos
(11)		Agesilaos	Charilaos
(12)		Archelaos	Nikandros
(13)		Teleklos	Theopompos
(14)		Alkamenes	Anaxandridas
(15)		Polydoros	Archidamos

[1] Herodotos, VII 204, VII 131. Cf. D.W.Prakken, *TAPhA*, 71 (1940) 460-472, P.Cartledge, *op. cit.*, 341-342. A number of real kings were not listed by Herodotos. They are the Agiad, Kleomenes, and the Eurypontids, Agasikles, Ariston, and Damaratos. They may have been omitted because they do not represent specific generations. Herodotos has included in his lists two Eurypontids, Agesilaos (No. 19) and Menares (No.20), who did not actually reign but *do* represent specific generations. See P.Cartledge, *loc. cit.*

(16)	Eurykrates	Anaxilaos
(17)	Anaxandros	Leotychidas
(18)	Eurykratidas	Hippokratidas
(19)	Leon	Agesilaos
(20)	Anaxandridas	Menares
(21)	Leonidas	Leotychidas

All the generations given here are calculated not as three per century, a system preferred by Herodotos himself, but as forty years per generation, a calculation that leads at least to Hekataios. For this reason and for a number of others, it has been suggested that it was from Hekataios that Herodotos took the catalogues. Aristodemos therefore is attributed to the generation of 1170-1130, Eurysthenes and Prokles to that of 1130-1090, Agis and Eurypon to that of 1090-1050.[1] The chronology presumed for the generation of Eurysthenes and Prokles not only approaches (as do those referred to above, 1149 or 1148 and 1104/1103), but it actually agrees with the chronology derived from archaeological evidence for the Descent of the Dorians into the Peloponnese (ca.1125 B.C.)

Pausanias, relating first the history of the Agiad and then of the Eurypontid kings, gives the following succession.

AGIADS[2]	EURYPONTIDS[3]
Eurysthenes	Prokles
Agis	Soos
Echestratos	Eurypon
Labotas	Prytanis
Doryssos	Eunomos
Agesilaos	Polydektes
Archelaos	Charillos
Teleklos	Nikandros
Alkamenes	Theopompos
Polydoros	Zeuxidamos
Eurykrates (I)	Anaxidamos

[1] D.W.Prakken, *loc. cit.*
[2] Pausanias, III 2, 1ff.
[3] Pausanias, III 7, 1ff.

Anaxandros	Archidamos (I)
Eurykrates (II)	Agasikles
Leon	Ariston
Anaxandridas	Demaratos
etc.	etc.

The above catalogues do not stand up to a number of critical observations, as well as to some other data.

(1) The catalogue of Spartan kings as presented by Apollodoros and Diodoros gives some kings an unnaturally long reign: sixty years for Archelaos and Chariklos, fifty-one for Eurypon and Prytanis, forty-seven for Theopompos, forty-five for Eunomios, forty-four for Menelaos, forty-two for Eurysthenes, forty-one for Prokles, and forty for Teleklos.

(2) Herodotos's catalogue does not give specific dates, but an underlying measurement for calculating the length of each generation is understood. This length of forty years is, furthermore, very long.

(3) There are differences in the two catalogues of Herodotos and Apollodoros. Where Herodotos lists Agesilaos and Archelaos under the heading of the Agiads, Apollodoros and Diodoros have Agesilaos, Menelaos, and Archelaos. Under the heading of the Eurypontids, Apollodoros and Diodoros have both an additional name and one name less than does Herodotos: they list Soös between Prokles and Eurypon, and omit Polydektes between Prytanis and Eunomos.

(4) Although Pausanias lists the same kings as those in the catalogue of Apollodoros and Diodoros, his chronology is lower for some of them. Alkamenes and Polydoros of the Agiads, and Nikandros and Theopompos of the Eurypontids, he lists as contemporary with the First Messenian War.[1] He says also that while Theopompos was still living the war was fought between the Lakedaimonians and the Argives for Thyreatis.[2] It is widely accepted that Pausanias speaks here of the battle of Hysiai. The sources mentioning the First Messenian War all agree that it lasted twenty years. They differ, however, in their dating of the beginning and end of the war, thus: 770-750, 757-737, 746-726, 744-724, and 735-715. The Battle of Hysiai took place in 669 B.C. Because of this date, and for

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[1] Pausanias, III 1, 6ff and 7, 1ff.
[2] Pausanias, III 7, 5.

other reasons as well, the authentic date of the First Messenian War appears to be 735-715 B.C. The chronological notices in Pausanias were evidently drawn from Spartan sources. To the contrary, the dates given in the catalogue of Apollodoros and Diodoros imply a series of speculations quite removed from valid tradition.

(5) Pausanias tells of a campaign of the Spartans against the Kynoureans during the kingship of Echestratos the son of Agis.[1] Elsewhere I have argued against the identification by Pausanias of the Kynoureans with the inhabitants of Kynouria, and in favour of their identification as Kyno(s)oureis, the inhabitants of Kyno(s)oura, one of the Spartan villages of historical times. In the same article I suggested that prior to its annexation Kynosoura belonged to the state of a Dorian community located in Pitana, under the leadership of Agis, while another community led by Eurypon held the village of Limnai.[2] Archaeological evidence shows that the Dorians settled in the area of Sparta no earlier than the local protogeometric phase, datable at the earliest from 950 B.C. on, at the latest from 850 on.[3] Consequently, neither Agis nor Eurypon can have lived before 950 B.C.

(6) Modern scholars conjecture that the list of Eurypontids was altered to bring it into line with that of the Agiads[4] and that Eurypon was earlier than Agis.[5] It has also been suggested that Sosibios of Lakonia (3rd century B.C.) played an important part in calculating the reigns of kings of both families, and that it was Eratosthenes (likewise 3rd century B.C.) who "brought the lists into an acceptable relationship with the First Olympiad."[6]

The above observations coincide in showing that our sources reflect calculations making kingships before the end of the eighth century appear

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[1] Pausanias, II 2, 2, cf . III 7, 2.

[2] M.B.Sakellariou, 'Αρχαιογνωσία, 2 (1981) 83-93.

[3] W.G.Forrest, *A History of Sparta 950-192 B.C.* (1968) 27; A.M.Snodgrass, *The Dark Age of Greece* (1971) 130-131; V.R.d'A.Desborough, *The Greek Dark Ages* (1973) 243; P.Cartledge, *op. cit.*, 83-90.

[4] F.Kiechle, *Messenische Studien* (1959) 90ff; idem, *Lakonien und Sparta* (1963) 171-173; G.L.Huxley, *Early Sparta* (1962) 117-118; G.Forrest, *op. cit.*, 22-27; P.Cartledge, *op. cit.*, 344ff.

[5] W.G.Forrest, *op. cit.*, 21

[6] P.Cartledge, *op. cit.*, 346.

longer than they actually were. These calculations could have been necessary if there was some need to fill a chronological gap between the founding of the Spartan state (950 B.C. at the earliest, 850 B.C. at the latest) and the Descent of the Dorians into the Peloponnese (around 1125 B.C.). How was it, however, that some of the compilers of the Spartan king-lists filled the gap with such remarkable precision that their dates for the Dorian descent (1148 or 1149, 1104, 1098 and 1094)) are so close to the archaeological dating of this event?[1] No explanation other than the following is possible. Spartan tradition preserved the names of successive kings from the coming of the Dorians into Lakonia to the settling of Sparta and later. With the name of each king the length of his reign was also preserved. The total of all the reigns gave the correct length of time back to the Dorian arrival in Sparta. Yet some Ionian logographer took *separately* from a Lakonian source the names of the *Spartan* rulers, and the relative chronology of the Dorian arrival in *Lakonia*. The same, or some other of his colleagues using him as a source, was confronted by the problem of filling the chronological gap between the *arrival of the Dorians in Lakonia* and the *beginning of the lists of the Agiad and Eurypontid kings at Sparta*. Consequently he lengthened the reigns of the earlier kings of Sparta, numbering ten at least.[2] The lists preserved to us were derived from that adjustment. Despite this, local Spartan tradition was not influenced by the speculations of non-Spartan writers. One item of the original Spartan tradition is reflected by Pausanias who has Theopompos still alive, though indeed very old, in 669 B.C. According to Apollodoros and Diodoros, he died in 739 B.C., and for Herodotos he belonged to the generation of 850-810 B.C.[3]

For Messene we have simply a number of kings connected with some historical events. These kings appear to synchronize with the Lakedaimonian kings in Pausanias's work where he describes the entanglements of the two peoples.[4]

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[1] *Supra*, pages 158-159.

[2] It is possible that Aristodemos and his sons Eurysthenes and Prokles are historical figures who reigned before the settlement of the two Dorian communities near the banks of the Eurotas, ca. 900 B.C.

[3] D.W.Prakken, *op. cit.*, 471.

[4] Pausanias, IV 4, 1ff and 16, 3.

SPARTA		MESSENE
	Aristodemos	Kresphontes
Eurysthenes	Prokles	
	Aipytos	
Agis	Eurypon	
	Glaukos	
Echekrates	Prytanis	Isthmios
Labotas	Polydektes	
	Dotadas	
Archelaos	Charillos	Sybotas
Teleklos	Nikandros	Phintas
Alkamenes	Theopompos	Antiochos
		Androkles
Polydoros	Anaxandridas	Euphaes

These data are of no use for our purpose which is to see whether any Dorian communities in the Peloponnese retained genuine recollections about the chronological span of their existence.

For Argos we have the following data: *1* A fragment of Diodoros reports that Argos had had a monarchy for five hundred and forty-nine years.[1] *2* Both Strabo and Pausanias refer to the same Argive king-list, though neither gives all the names. Thus Strabo, following Ephoros, says that Pheidon was a tenth descendant of Temenos,[2] Pausanias mentions the first three kings of the sequence, namely Temenos, Keisos, and Medon, and ends with Lakedes and Meltas, identifying the latter as the tenth descendant of Medon.[3] That Strabo and Pausanias refer to the same list is implied by the compatibility of Strabo's description of Pheidon as the tenth descendant of Temenos with Pausanias's identification of Meltas as the tenth descendant of Medon, a grandson of Temenos. The following datum also points to their use of the same list. *3* Herodotos presents Pheidon and Lakedes (Leokedes) as father and son.[4] This connects Strabo's list, which ends with Pheidon, with that of Pausanias,

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[1] Diodoros, VII fr.14.
[2] Strabo, VIII 3, 33, according to Ephoros, 70 *FGrH* 115.
[3] Pausanias, II 18, 1.
[4] Herodotos, VI 127.

which mentions Lakedes and Meltas. *4* Plutarch also mentions Lakedes.[1]
5 Pausanias refers to a king of Argos, named Eratos, in this context: as
soon as Nikandros, king of Sparta, withdrew from Argos with his army,
Eratos marched against Asine and took it.[2] Thus Eratos is synchronized
with Nikandros, and at the same time with the capture of Asine, datable
on archaeological grounds to ca. 700 B.C.[3] *6* In a fragment of Diodoros
we find two versions listing the early Temenid kings of Argos. In the
first, attributed by Diodoros to Theopompos and other unnamed authors,
Temenos had as successors Kissios, Thestios, Merops, Aristodamidas,
and Pheidon. The second version, attributed to unspecified authors, lists
Temenos's successors as Lachares, Deballos, Eurybiades, Kleodaios,
Kroisos, Poias. Both versions end with Karanos, who reigned not in
Argos but in Macedonia. Karanos is thus identified by the first version as
a son of Pheidon, by the second as a son of Poias.[4]

First let us compare the data on the royal names and the succession.

1	2	3	4	5
Strabo	Pausanias	Herodotos	Diodoros(a)	Diodoros(b)
Temenos	Temenos		Temenos	Temenos
1. ---	Keisos		Kissios	Lachares
2. ---	Medon		Thestios	Deballos
3. ---	1. ---		Merops	Eurybiades
4. ---	2. ---		Aristodamidas	Kleodaios
5. ---	3. ---		Pheidon	Kroisos
6. ---	4. ---			Poias
7. ---	5. ---			
8. ---	6. ---			
9. ---	7. ---			
10.Pheidon	8. ---	Pheidon		
	9.Lakedes	Leokedes		
	10.Meltas			

As we have said, the data in columns 1, 2, and 3 point to the same

[1] Plutarch, *De cap. ex. inim. utilitate*, 6, p. 89E.
[2] Pausanias, II 36,4.
[3] G.L.Huxley, *op. cit.*, 21.
[4] Diodoros, VII fr.17.

list of kings. The data in columns 4, and 5 are given as part of the genealogy of the Makedonian Temenids. The list reflected by Strabo,
Pausanias, and Herodotos gives rise to several problems. The most difficult concern Pheidon and Meltas. Was there one Pheidon or two kings of
this name? Was Meltas the last Temenid king of Argos or not? And
when did he reign? The lists in columns 4 and 5 are connected with an
effort of the Makedonian Temenids to show that Karanos was an offshoot
of the Temenids of Argos. This claim is unfounded.[1] To be sure, it would
not be surprising were the Makedonian Temenids to provide the founder
of their dynasty with ancestors said in Argos to be successors of
Temenos. Yet since the two versions recorded by Diodoros are quite
different, they cannot both go back to Argive sources. Even so, there is
no way of proving that this is the case with one or the other. To conclude, not one of the lists of the Temenid kings is likely to provide anything going back to recollections about the date of the Dorian invasion of
Argolis.

Such recollection, however, *does* lie behind the figure of five hundred
forty-nine years handed down by Diodoros as the length of time during
which Argos had kings. For some time the following argument seemed
reasonable: Diodoros had drawn this information from Ephoros, according
to whom the Herakleidai had led the Dorians into the Peloponnese in
1069 B.C. Accordingly, the monarchy was abolished in Argos in 520
B.C.[2] This argument can no longer be upheld. Three inscriptions from
Argos, datable in the second quarter of the sixth century, show that at
this time the city was headed not by a king but by magistrates called
damiorgoi.[3] It appears then that the monarchy was overthrown not in 520
but between 575 and 550 B.C. If five hundred forty-nine be added to 575-
550, we have a date earlier than Ephoros's 1069 for the Dorian invasion
of the Peloponnese, precisely 1124-1099 B.C. This date is quite
significant for our problem. In fact, archaeological evidence has shown
that Argos was occupied by Dorians between LH IIIC and submycenaean times,[4] that is ca. 1125 B.C. It thus appears that around 575-550

[1] M.B.Sakellariou in M.B.Sakellariou (ed), *Macedonia* (1983) 52-53.

[2] T.Kelly, *op. cit.*, 107-108.

[3] T.Kelly, *op. cit.*, 131-133; Chr. Veligianni-Terzi, *Damiurgen, zur Entwicklung einer
Magistratur* (1977) 4-10.

[4] R.Hope Simpson, O.T.P.K.Dickinson, *A Gazeteer of Aegean Civilisation in the Bronze Age*

B.C. the Argives were able to date with accuracy the birth of their state
to five hundred forty-nine years before that. This implies that they had
access to pertinent data and that they had a system enabling them to
work out valid chronologies based on these data. It is worth remembering
that recollections of events before 750 B.C. could only have been
transmitted by word of mouth.

Our source for the recording of events in Corinth from the Dorian
settlement there to Kypselos's seizure of power is a fragment of Diodor-
os,[1] after the chronicle of Apollodoros.The main relevant points are the
following. First, four hundred forty-seven years passed between the
Descent of the Herakleidai and the beginning of the tyranny of Kypselos.
Since Apollodoros places the Descent of the Herakleidai three hundred
twenty-eight years before the first Olympic games, that is in 1104,
Kypselos's rise to power is datable through this chronicle to 657 B.C.
Second, twelve kings reigned from the time of the Descent of the
Herakleidai. With the name of each king, given also is the length of his
reign in years: Aletes thirty-eight, Ixion thirty-eight, Agelas I thirty-
seven, Prymnis thirty-five, Bakchis thirty-five, Agelas II thirty, Eudemos
twenty-five, Aristomedes thirty-five, Agemon sixteen, Alexandros
twenty-five, Telestas twelve, Automenes one. Agemon and Alexandros
ruled, having usurped the throne of the legal king Telestas. Thus the
twelve kings represent ten generations. Third, the last king was murdered
by relatives. From then on, members of the royal family ruled the state as
a group, choosing annually as archon one of themselves, who was called
the prytanis. Thus, after the kings came ninety prytanies, chosen
annually.

It would serve no purpose for me to take a stand on the problem of
Corinthian chronology from the arrival of the Dorians to the time of
Kypselos, and from Kypselos to the end of the tyranny. Suffice it to note
that those who have studied the problem fall into two groups. Some
accept that Kypselos actually seized power in 657 B.C. Others date this
event to ca. 620. The date of 657 comes only from Diodoros's statement
(mentioned above) that four hundred forty-seven years passed from the
arrival of the Dorians to the tyranny of Kypselos. The number four

(1979) 43-44.
Diodoros, VII fr. 9.

hundred forty-seven quite obviously is not an independent figure but the sum of the reigns of the kings and the archonships of the annual prytaneis as given by Diodoros, and before him Apollodoros. The first question, therefore, is not the validity of the date 657 B.C., but the validity of (a) the number of kings and prytaneis, (b) the length of each reign, and (c) the dating to 1104 B.C. of the Dorian Descent to the Peloponnese. The problem has no direct solution. The dating of the seizing of power by Kypselos to ca. 620 B.C. is based on evidence connecting his son and successor, Periander, with events and people later than 583 B.C., the traditional date for the end of the Kypselid dynasty. Now let us examine the results of the hypothesis that Kypselos took over the power in 620 rather than 657 B.C. If we retain the rest of Diodoros's (Apollodoros's) information, the date of the descent of the Dorians moves from 1104 to 1071 B.C. This second date could reflect actual fact if the history of the Dorians in Corinth began later than their presence elsewhere in the Peloponnese. Otherwise it would be the result of calculations based on lists from which the names of some of the kings were missing. Be that as it may, the Corinthian list includes the names of kings from an epoch that is in fact not covered in the Spartan king-lists.[1] It is, moreover, worth noting that the longest reigns given in the Corinthian lists are in the range of thirty-eight and thirty-seven years, whereas in the Spartan lists the range is sixty, fifty-nine, forty-six and forty-one.

Our study of the data relevant to the chronology of the Dorian descent into the Peloponnese, and the lines of its transmission has shown the following. First, the lines of transmission were the royal annals which were handed down by word of mouth over several centuries. Second, the sample we have from the Spartan lists shows that if a date was drawn from data without significant gaps, it could be passed on independently of the royal lists. Such a date could even have obliged the compilers of written catalogues to make corrections, such as lengthening the duration of some reigns.

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[1] *Supra*, page 164.

D. SPECIFIC EVENTS

Memories of the geographical origin of the Dorians who settled in the Peloponnese lived on, then, by word of mouth in the traditions of the various Dorian cities down to the time when they were recorded. Likewise oral tradition preserved memories of the length of the successive reigns, thus placing the Dorian migration on a correct chronological footing. Yet the information given by our sources about specific events has been altered extensively. Whole categories of recorded events bear no relationship to actual fact. The following are examples: all the prophecies, all intervention on the part of the gods, the murder of Karnos by Hippotes and its consequences, the assertions of the Argives on the size of the region that fell by lot to Temenos and, directly related to this, the presentation of the Dorian cities in the northwest Peloponnese as Argive colonies and the idea that the Dorians of Sparta captured all of Lakonia at one go.

Still, a considerable number of specific traditional recollections do appear to be authentic.

I. CROSSING FROM ANTIRRHION TO RHION.

The total agreement of the sources on.the crossing of the Dorians from Antirrhion to Rhion[1] arouses no suspicion. The semi-nomadic pastoral Dorian tribes would, to be sure, have come down into the Pelponnese more naturally by way of the isthmos of Corinth. Yet just as with a *lectio difficilior* in a manuscript tradition, sometimes the least natural in an historical tradition is the least suspect. Besides, the route of the Dorians through the middle of the Peloponnese by way of Rhion is confirmed by the report that they took Megara after Corinth, and by the following element of the tradition.

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[1] Polybios, XII 12 a; Strabo, IX 4, 7; Pseudo-Skymnos, 478-479; Pseudo-Apollodoros, II 3, 2; Pausanias, V 3, 5-6 and VIII 6, 1; Stephanos of Byzantion, s.v. Ναύπακτος.

II. OXYLOS

Pausanias writes: "the following story is also told of Oxylos. He suspected that, when the sons of Aristomachos saw the land of Elis was a goodly one and cultivated throughout, they would no longer be willing to give it to him. He accordingly led the Dorians through Arkadia and not through Elis."[1] The story is certainly a fabrication. It is a fabrication, however, that served a purpose: to explain an actual event, the crossing of the Dorians by way of Arkadia. That the Dorians did in fact go through Arkadia is evident, as we shall see, from the memory that Temenion was the place from which they entered Argolis.[2]

III. THE CONQUERING OF LAKONIA

The passages referring to the arrival of Dorian elements in Lakonia have to do with three particular subjects: a) the strength of the Dorian elements, b) heir conquest of Lakonia, and c) the cooperation with the Dorians of some non-Dorian elements.

a. In his *Panathenaicus*, Isokrates says that the Dorian warriors who

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[1] Pausanias, V 4, 1.

[2] The same view has been upheld with other arguments by Gelzer, *RhM*, 32 (1877) 254; Volquardsen, *BJ* (1879) III 1, 41; G.Busolt, *Die Lakedaimonier* (1878) 37 and *Grie-chische Geschichte*, 2nd ed., I (1893) 206; V.Ehrenberg, *RE*, 2nd ser., III A 2 (1929) 1374; E.Kirsten cited by F.Kiechle, *Lakonien und Sparta* (1963) 55 n.3. The arguments are not relevant, however. F.Kiechle, *op. cit.*, 55ff., has suggested that Lakonia was occupied by Dorians who came from Argos. All his arguments are inconclusive: *a*) The pottery of Sparta is related to the Protogeometric pottery of Argos and Corinth. *b*) Hera was honoured at Sparta under two telling epithets, Argeia and Hyperakria; moreover, at Sparta as well as at Argos she was considered a divinity who protected people against the flooding of the rivers Eurotas and Inachos. All this, however, may well go back to pre-Dorian times. *c*) The legend in which Echemos of Tegea fought against the Dorians may echo a battle between Arkadians and Dorians en route from Argos to Lakonia. Yet the tradition not only locates the fight in Isthmos; it also reports that Echemos headed an army comprising, in addition to Arkadians, allies such as Achaians and Ionians (whose presence is likely in Isthmos, but not within Arkadia); and, not least, the fight is said to end not in victory for the Dorians, but in their withdrawal. G.L.Huxley, *Early Sparta* (1963)16, accepts that the Dorians reached Lakonia through Arkadia *and* Thyrea.

took over Lakedaimon numbered two thousand.[1] A passage from the
Archidamos says that the founders of Sparta entered the Peloponnese
with a small army.[2]

b. There are two versions of the taking of Lakonia by the Dorians. (i)
In one, Lakonia was seized by the Herakleidai and the Dorians, who
organized it as part of their state within a very short time. (ii) In the other
version Lakonia was taken over by the Dorians in stages. Here we are
concerned only with the preservation of memories having to do with the
phase of the Dorian entrance into Lakonia.

(i) The first view is represented by Ephoros, and it is reflected also in
the Pseudo-Skymnos, Polybios, and Strabo. A more detailed bit of
information says that the earlier inhabitants of Lakonia, the Achaians,
left unhindered.[3] Ephoros, and Konon after him, report as an exception
that the Dorians did not take Amyklai at that time. Instead, they left it
for the Achaian Philonomos as a reward for his not having resisted them,
and because he persuaded his king to leave Lakonia with the Achaians.[4]
The same author, followed again by Konon, says that the Spartans gave
Philonomos and the other kings they had established throughout Lakonia
permission to take in foreign colonists because the area was short of
men. Thus Philonomos settled people from Imbros and Lemnos in
Amyklai.[5] Other sources characterize these Imbrians and Lemnians as
Minyans. Before Ephoros, Pindar expressed the view that the Dorians
had conquered Amyklai right from the beginning.[6] In another ode, he
alludes to a tradition in which the Dorians took Amyklai with the help of
the Aigeidai in an unspecified length of time.[7] This tradition refers to
item c, discussed below.

(ii) Pausanias, noting the stages of the Dorian expansion in Lakonia,
echoes the view that they settled first in Sparta and, attacking from
there, took over Lakonia gradually. Archelaos and Charilaos subdued

[1] Isokrates, XII 255.

[2] Isokrates, VI 82.

[3] Ephoros, 70 *FGrH* 117 = Strabo, VIII 5, 4; Ephoros, 70 *FGrH* 118 = Strabo, VIII 5, 5;
Pseudo-Skymnos, 529-530; Polybios, II 41, 4; Strabo, VIII 7, 1.

[4] Ephoros, *ll. cc.*; Konon, 26 *FGrH*, 1, xxxvi.

[5] Ephoros, *ll. cc.*; Konon, *loc. cit.*

[6] Pindar, *Pyth.*, I 64-65.

[7] Pindar, *Isthm.*, VII 14-15.

Aigys. In the reign of Teleklos, the Lakedaimonians reduced Pharis and Geranthrai and annexed Amyklai. Finally, under Alkamenes, they laid waste to Helos on the Lakonian gulf.[1] Other ancient texts as well reflect the information that the Amyklaians were annexed by the Lakedaimonians after a war ending in an agreement between the two adversaries. In some of these texts the main topic is the part played by the Aigeidai in the war. This we shall discuss later in connection with the Aigeidai themselves.[2] Here is the place to mention a fragment of Sosibios and a text by Christodoros. The first of these states that the Lakedaimonians made a statue of Apollo with four hands and four ears because in this form he appeared to them when they were fighting the Amyklaians.[3] Christodoros writes of the poet Terpander: "as once by the eddying Eurotas, singing to his consecrated lyre, he soothed the evil spite of Sparta's neighbour-foes of Amyklai."[4] Were it not for the previous sources, we should have concluded from Christodoros that Amyklai had not been annexed to Sparta by the time of Terpander, whose floruit is datable to the middle decades of the seventh century B.C.

Of the two views (i) and (ii), the first appears to be unreliable. To begin with, Sparta itself was settled one and a half to two and a half centuries after the incursion of Dorian tribes into Lakonia.[5] Secondly, we are told that the Dorian fighting men who came into Lakonia numbered only two thousand.[6] Thirdly, in the more extensive formulation of the first view by Ephoros, exceptions are noted: Philonomos in Amyklai, and other kings in un-named Lakonian cities. It therefore follows that the first view, although we know it from earlier sources than the second, does not reflect the true tradition, but is, rather, a secondary creation. It is the narrative of Pausanias that reflects the authentic version.

c. In a number of sources, a group known as the Aigeidai and described as non-Dorian, are said to have come into Lakonia at the same time or later than the Dorians.[7] All but one imply that the Aigeidai were

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[1] Pausanias, III 2, 5-7.

[2] *Infra*, pages 173 - 177.

[3] Sosibios of Lakonia, 545 *FGrH* 22 = Zenobios, I 54.

[4] Christodoros, Ἔκφρασις τῶν ἀγαλμάτων, 111-116, in *AP*, II.

[5] *Supra*, page 164.

[6] *Supra*, page 142.

[7] Pindar, *Isthm.*, VII 12-15; *Pyth.*, V 74-75; Herodotos, IV 149; Ephoros, 70 *FGrH* 16 =

so named already while still in their place of origin. The exception, a
text of Herodotos, says they were called Aigeidai after Aigeus the son of
Oiolykos, the only one of this family not to move to Thera. The fact,
however, that there were Aigeidai in Thera,[1] shows Herodotos's infor-
mation to be wrong. For a description of this group we have only the
statement of Herodotos that they were "a large family group (phyle) in
Sparta." The Aigeidai are said to have been connected with two histori-
cal events: the taking of Amyklai by the Spartans[2] and the sending of a
colony from Sparta to Thera.[3] Three people in Sparta are picked out
specifically as being Aigeidai: Theras, his son Oiolykos, and Timo-
machos. Herodotos tells us that Theras was the son of Autesion and
brother of Argeia who married King Aristomachos, leader of the Dorians
who came down into Lakonia. After the premature death of Aristo-
machos, Theras became the guardian of his minor sons, Eurysthenes and
Prokles. When his nephews became of age, Theras established a colony
in Thera. His son, Oiolykos, did not follow him, but remained in Sparta.[4]
Timomachos is referred to in connection with the war of the Spartans
against Amyklai.[5]

The Aigeidai of Sparta are connected with two specific sanctuaries.
According to Herodotos "the island of Thera took its name from Theras
who settled there. His son refused to sail with the settlers, and Theras
said it was like abandoning a sheep to the wolves. The word got around,
and the young man became known as Oiolykos, and the name stuck.
Oiolykos begat Aigeus, from whom came the name of a powerful clan in
Sparta, the Aigeidai. The children of this clan never survived, and they
were therefore advised by an oracle to establish a sanctuary to the
avenging spirits of Laios and Oidipous. After that the children lived, but
in Thera the same thing happened."[6] This means that the sanctuary was
earlier than the colonization of Thera. Pausanias reports that "there is

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Schol. Pind. Pyth., V 101 b; Aristotle, fr. 532 Rose = Schol. Pind. Isthm., VI, 18; Schol.
Pind. Pyth., V 101 b.

[1] Pindar, Pyth., V, 75.

[2] Pindar, Isthm., VII, 12-15.

[3] Pindar, Pyth., V 72-76.

[4] Herodotos, IV 109. The story of the colonization is repeated by Pausanias, III 1, 7.

[5] Aristotle, loc. cit.; Schol. Pind. Pyth., V 101 b; Schol. Pind. Isthm., VII 18.

[6] Herodotos, IV 149.

another sanctuary of Athena on another road from the Course (δϱόμος). It was dedicated, they say, by Theras when he was leading a colony to the island now called Thera after him."[1]

All the sources mentioning the origin of the Aigeidai of Sparta connect them with Thebes, the more specific, with pre-Boiotian Thebes.[2] The scholiast on Pindar, describing the Aigeidai as "a clan (φυλή) in Thebes", a *"phratry "* (group of clans) of the Thebans", "a *phratry* in Thebes,"[3] is convinced that in Thebes there were Aigeidai in historical times. This is, of course, an anachronism.

We have seen above that Herodotos refers to the Aigeid Theras as guardian of the minor kings of Sparta, Eurysthenes and Prokles, after the death of their father who had led the Dorians into Lakonia.[4] Pindar believes the Aigeidai to have been in Lakonia before the taking of Amyklai, an event in which they played a part, effectively aiding the Spartans.[5] As we have seen, he subscribed to the view that Amyklai fell to the Dorians on their arrival in Lakonia.[6] Later sources say that the Aigeidai arrived in Lakonia at two separate times: the first with the Dorians, the second, later on when the Spartans called upon them to help take Amyklai.[7] These sources have incorporated various later elements such as prophecies, geographical errors, and genealogies, none of which concern us here.

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[1] Pausanias, III 15,6.

[2] Pindar begins his VIIth *Isthmionikos* by asking, "O happy Thebe, tell me over which of the olden glories of thy land chiefly gladdened thy heart." He asks successively different questions, all related to mythical events. Then he asks, "Or again, because thou madest the Dorian colony of the men of Lakedaimon to stand upright on its feet, when thy descendants, the Aigeidai, captured Amyklai according to the Pythian oracle?" Herodotos, as we have noted, reports that the Aigeidai had a sanctuary of the Erinyes of Laïos and Oidipous. Other relevant information is genealogical in character: (i) the Aigeidai were believed to have descended from Kadmos (Pausanias, III 1,7); (ii) or from Aigeus, one of the Spartoi (Androtion 324, *FGrH* 60 a and b = *Schol. Eurip. Phoen.* 670; *Schol. Pind. Isthm.*, V 13 [Tzetzes, *Comm. Lyc. Alex.*, 1206]; *Schol. Pind. Pyth.*, V 101 b); (iii) or they are taken back no further than Polyneikes (Pausanias, IV 3, 4, cf. III 15, 6). All these genealogical connections are manifestly secondary.

[3] *Schol. Pind. Isthm.*, VII 18.

[4] *Supra*, page 174.

[5] Pindar, *Isthm.*, VII 13-15.

[6] *Supra*, page 172.

[7] *Schol. Pind. Pyth.*, V 1-1 b, where Ephoros, 70 *FGrH* 16 is quoted; *Schol. Pind. Isthm.*,

Our interest in the Aigeidai lies only in so far as genuine historical tradition may be reflected in references to them as migrants contemporary with the Dorians, and as their allies. All this is quite within the realm of belief, for the sources say the Aigeidai came from pre-Boiotian Thebes. Furthermore, as we shall see below, a group of Dorians indeed met up with such people near Thebes. According to the sources, after the sack of Thebes by the Epigonoi, refugees from the city drove out a group of Dorians established in Homole, a mountain near Thebes.[1] Accordingly we can presume that sooner or later the two groups joined each other and that the Dorians who came into Lakonia included among them a number of descendants of the Kadmeian Thebans, who remembered their origin. This knowledge was preserved through oral tradition by the Spartans, finally to enter the written records where it was distorted in the fashion shown by the sources preserved to us. Above we have pointed out the more obvious of these distortions. Now we note the most serious. 1) Theras could not have belonged to the generation of the Dorian invasion of Lakonia and been the oikist of Thera as well. Thera was colonized from Sparta after the middle of the eighth century B.C. This chronology is suggested by the fact that the Theraians had ephors, an institution no doubt brought in by the Spartan colonists. The ephorate in Sparta itself, however, was no earlier than the middle of the eighth century.[2] So there are two possibilities. Theras could be a fictitious character, a mythical eponymous hero of Thera, connected first with the Aigeidai of Thera and subsequently with the Aigeidai of Sparta, or he could be one of the historical Aigeidai of Sparta who because of synonymity was credited with founding the colony of Thera. There is no way of finding out about his connection with the Spartan kings. 2) Of the two versions of the taking of Amyklai, by the Dorians in the course of their migration into Lakonia, or by Sparta at a later date, the second is the one that may be authentic.[3] It is entirely plausible that the Aigeidai played an important part in the event, and that the Aigeid Timomachos was the most valiant of the warriors. When, for reasons unknown, the date of the taking of

VII 18, where Aristotle fr. 532 Rose is quoted.
[1] *Infra*, pages 210 - 214.
[2] The *Great Rhetra* says nothing about the ephors, and the ephor list begins in 734 B.C.
[3] *Supra*, page 173.

Amyklai was pushed back, this change did not entail the loss of authentic tradition. That is why the Spartans were believed to have fought two wars over Amyklai, and the Aigeidai were thought to have fought in both. In the first they would have been the Aigeidai who came into Lakonia with the Dorians, in the second, other Aigeidai who were invited by the Spartans for that purpose.

IV. THE CONQUERING OF MESSENIA

Our written sources have provided us with some information about the Dorian occupation of Messenia. Among the many elements that are mythical, or at least suspect, are some that seem valid. These are: the information that the Dorians met with no serious resistance because the royal family of Pylos was foreign, and the old Messenians therefore accepted the Dorians without a struggle; that "Kresphontes" (who may stand for one of the earliest Dorian kings of Messenia or a number of early kings) took to wife the daughter of the king of the Arkadians.[1] The likelihood that these are fragments of valid tradition, is not, however, evidence enough to accept them as authentic. Caution is dictated since we know that after the liberation of Messenia, an extensive effort was made to enrich her history from the Dorian occupation down to the end of the Second Messenian War.

V. THE CONQUERING OF ARGOLIS

Pausanias tells us that Temenos, leader of the Dorians who went into Argeia, seized and fortified a place later called Temenion.[2] It lies between the mouths of the rivers Erasinos and Inachos. Modern investigators, accepting the information as genuine, have supposed that the Dorians came there by sea. Not far from there, however, in 1825, Greek forces covering the plain of Argos intercepted at Myloi (Lerna) the Egyptian troops of Ibrahim Pasha who had come down from the Arkadian

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[1] Pausanias, IV 3, 6-7 (Ephoros?).
[2] Pausanias, II 38, 1.

mountains. It would be natural for Temenos to have come into Argolis from the same place if after landing at Rhion he had traversed Arkadia.

VI. THE CONQUERING OF CORINTHIA

Three items of the tradition about the taking of Corinth by the Dorians have come down to us. Herodotos, in his account of the ancestors of Periander, tells us that they were descended from a clan of Lapiths. These lived in Sikyonian Gonnousa before the arrival of the Dorians, whom they helped to conquer Corinth. After this, they settled in Corinthian Petra.[1] Thucydides, in referring to the Solygeion Hill, took the opportunity to add that this is where the Dorians made their fortifications when they were fighting the old Corinthians who were Aiolians.[2] Finally, Konon, in contrast to Thucydides, characterizes the pre-Dorian Corinthians as Ionians.[3] The problem arising from this discrepancy between Thucydides and Konon is not relevant to the present study.

VII. THE CONQUERING OF MEGARIS

From Megara too we have echoes of traditions about the migration there of Dorian elements. We learn that Megara was subjugated by Dorians who came from Argos and Corinth after taking over the northwest Peloponnese. A local tradition of the village known as Tripodiskos identifies an Argive as its oikist. An Argive origin for at least part of the population of Megara is shown by a number of her cults. Hera, pre-eminent as an Argive divinity, was revered in the city of Megara, and especially in her sanctuary, the Heraion, which belonged to the Megarians until around 570 B.C. Archaeological investigations at the Heraion, moreover, have shown that Argos too had relations with the sanctuary. The Argives and the Megarians coincided also in their worship of Apollo Lykeios. Last but not least, the Megarian cult of Zeus

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[1] Herodotos, V 92.
[2] Thucydides, IV 42, 2.
[3] Konon, 26 *FGrH* 1, xxvi.

Aphesios at the Skironian rocks may go back to the cult of Zeus in Mt. Apesas, near Nemea.[1]

[1] U.v.Wilamowitz-Moellendoerff, *SPAW* (1925) 230 ff.; E.Meyer, *RE*, XV 1 (1931) 181-182; K.Hanell, *Megarische Studien* (1934) 75-91; E. Kirsten, in A. Philippson, *Die griechischen Landschaften*, I 3 (1952) 1034; T.Dunbabin, *JHS*, 68 (1948) 15.

III. THE MIGRATION OF THE BOIOTIANS

The information from existing sources on the migration of the Boiotians into Boiotia has to do with the origin of the Boiotians and the date of their arrival in Boiotia their conquest of Boiotia and their settling in that land.

A SURVEY OF THE ITEMS OF INFORMATION; HISTORY AND FICTION

A. THE ORIGIN OF THE BOIOTIANS AND THE DATE OF THEIR ARRIVAL IN BOIOTIA

The existing written documentation reflects three different versions of the origin of the Boiotians and the time of their arrival in Boiotia.

In the first version, which we have from Thucydides, most of the Boiotians reached Boiotia sixty years after the Sack of Troy. They had been driven out of Arne in Thessaly by the Thessalians. There were, however, some Boiotians who came to Boiotia before the Trojan War, in which they took part.[1] This information Thucydides may well have taken from Hellanikos, since Hellanikos counted a "generation", a unit for measuring historical time, as thirty years.[2] The expulsion of the Boiotians from Arne by the Thessalians is cited also by Charax, Archemachos, Polyainos, and Proklos.[3]

The second version is reflected in a number of texts, the earliest and most detailed being a fragment of Ephoros in Strabo. We are told that the epithet Boiotian was first used for the inhabitants of that country in the days when the descendants of Kadmos ruled there. These Boiotians, driven out by bands of Thracian and Pelasgian invaders, had returned to

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[1] Thucydides, I 12, 3.
[2] U.Köhler, *Commentationes Philologicae in honorem Th.Mommseni* (1877) 376-377; T.W.Allen, *The Homeric Catalogue of Ships* (1921) 42-43; D.W.Prakken, *AJPh,* 64 (1943) 417.
[3] Charax, 103 *FGrH* 6 = Stephanos of Byzantion, s.v. Δώριον; Archemachos, 424 *FGrH* 1 = Athenaios, VI 85 p. 264 A - B; Polyainos, I 12; VII 44.

Thessaly and settled in Arne amongst the earlier inhabitants of that site. The Boiotians and the Arneans got along so well with each other that they wound up as a unified people retaining the epithet Boiotian. This new people followed the route of the early Boiotians, but in reverse, for they occupied Boiotia and drove out the Thracians, Pelasgians, and Hyantes, just at the time when the "Aiolian colony" was finishing its preparations at Aulis.[1] The crucial points of this version, the expulsion of the early Boiotians from Boiotia by the Thracians and their return to Boiotia from Arne after the Trojan War, turn up likewise in other passages of Strabo where we find also the following items not given in the fragment of Ephoros. "The Boiotians took possession of Koroneia and Orchomenos on their return from Arne in Thessaly; thereafter they built in the plain before Koroneia a temple of the Itonian Athena, bearing the same name as a Thessalian one, and they called the river which flows past it Kouarios, giving it the name of a Thessalian river."[2] The presence of Boiotians in Boiotia before the Thracian and Pelasgian invasions is alluded to also in the texts reporting battles between the Boiotians and these invaders. We shall discuss these further on.[3] Stephanos of Byzantion writes of Arne that it was supposed to have been a Boiotian colony.[4] Finally, a passage of Proklos in Photios refers to the return of the Boiotians from Arne and to an encounter with the Pelasgians.[5]

The third version is known from Diodoros. He maintains that the name of the Boiotians goes back to Thessaly where it meant the subjects of a king named Boiotos. Boiotos was said to have been a son of Poseidon and Arne, and to have led his people into Boiotia. The four Boiotian chieftains in the *Iliad* would have been his grandsons.[6] The relation of Boiotos to Arne is attested likewise by Nikokrates and Euphorion.[7]

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[1] Ephoros 70 *FGrH* 119 = Strabo, IX 2, 3-5.

[2] Strabo, IX 2, 25. 2, 29. 2, 33.

[3] *Infra*, pages 190ff.

[4] Stephanos of Byzantion, s.v. ᾿Αρνη.

[5] *Infra*, page 185.

[6] Diodoros, IV 67,7.

[7] Nikokrates, 376 *FGrH* 5 = Stephanos of Byzantion, s.v. Βοιωτία; Euphorion fr. 113 Scheideweiler = Stephanos of Byzantion, *loc. cit.*

All three versions are in agreement on two points. *1* They connect the
Boiotians in one way or another with Arne in Thessaly. *2* They agree
with Homer that the Boiotians were in Boiotia at the time of the Trojan
War. The first version, however, differs from the second and third when
compared to the Homeric account. According to Homer, the Boiotians
inhabited twenty-nine cities throughout Boiotia. Two only, in the
westernmost part that came under the domain of the Minyan kingdom,
did not belong to them. The Boiotian contingent at Troy was six thousand
strong with fifty ships.[1] The first version of the early history of the
Boiotians, therefore, does not conform with Homer's ethnic and political
description of Boiotia, since it has only a small group of Boiotians living
at that time in Boiotia, with most of them still in Thessaly. The other
two versions agree with the poet's description. It looks as if the first
version were an attempt to reconcile the Homeric description with a
tradition retaining the memory that the Boiotians came to Boiotia after
the Trojan War. Yet this version was still in conflict with the authority of
Homer. As a remedy, the authors of the other two versions went so far as
to drop all mention of the Boiotian migration after the Trojan War.[2] The
second version itself had equally to take into account memories about the
Pelasgians and Thracians who won mastery over Boiotia, and their
conflicts with the Boiotians while forcing their way into that land.

The memory that the Boiotians had previously lived in Thessaly also
gave rise to an idea, repeated by a number of authors, that the Boiotians
at that time were known as Aiolians.[3]

Pausanias, moreover, retains an item of information telling us that
Chaironeia had once been known as Arne.[4] Tzetzes' mention of a
Boiotian city called Arne seems to correspond to this.[5]

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[1] *Iliad*, II 494-510.

[2] K.O.Müller, *Orchomenos und die Minyer*, 2nd ed. (1844) 387; G.Busolt, *Griechische
     Geschichte,* 2nd ed., I (1893) 249; T.W.Allen, *loc. cit.*; N.G.L.Hammond, *BSA*, 32
     (1931/1932) 173.

[3] Thucydides, VII 57, 5, cf. III 2, 3; Pausanias, IX 22, 3 and X 8, 4; Plutarch, *Ou.Conv.*, VI
     7, p. 694 A; Photios, *Bibl.*, 239; *Schol. Pind. Ol.*, I, 102; *Schol. Pind. Pyth.*, 127; Stephanos
     of Byzantion, s.v.v. Ἰωνία, Χαλκίς.

[4] Pausanias, IX 40, 5

[5] Tzetzes, *Comm. Lyc. Alex.*, 644.

B. THE CONQUEST OF BOIOTIA BY THE BOIOTIANS

Numerous texts have preserved authentic recollections of the conquest of Boiotia by the Boiotians, and their fights against the Pelasgians, Thracians, and "other barbarians" along the way. These events can be placed in chronological order.

1. The Boiotians were led from Thessaly to Boiotia by King Opheltas. This was still remembered at Chaironeia in Plutarch's time.[1]

2. The Chaironeians of Plutarch's time still remembered in addition that Peripoltas was Opheltas's soothsayer. A descendant of Peripoltas was living at Chaironeia at that time; his name was Damon, his surname Peripoltas.[2] Presumably the passing of specific memories from generation to generation by the descendants of Peripoltas will have contributed to the saving of tradition by the whole Chaironeian community.

3. Plutarch also tells us that the Boiotians took Chaironeia from the barbarians before seizing the other cities of Boiotia.[3] Here too we may suppose that the source of this information lies in the traditions of Chaironeia and the descendants of Peripoltas. It is likely that Chaironeian traditions will have provided the information that the city was once called Arne,[4] a name the Boiotians who settled there would have given in memory of Thessalian Arne whence they came.

4. Continuing, the Boiotians defeated the Thracians near Lake Copaïs. This we have from a passage of Polyainos in which we also learn that the Thracians then retreated to Mt.Helikon. The account then turns to legend: the Thracians made a truce with the Boiotians for a certain number of days. Relying on their victory and faith in the truce, the Boiotians celebrated a sacrifice in honour of Athena Itonia. While they were intent on the ceremony and engaged in the entertainment, the Thracians attacked them at night, cut many of them to pieces, and took a great many prisoners. The Boiotians charged the Thracians with breach of the truce. This the Thracians denied, saying that the terms of the truce were expressed in numbers of days, not numbers of nights.[5] Strabo relates

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[1] Plutarch, *Kimon*, I 1.

[2] Plutarch, *ibid.*, cf. *De ser. num. vind.*, 13, p. 558 A-B.

[3] Plutarch, *Kimon, ibid.*

[4] *Supra*, page 182.

[5] Polyainos, VII 43.

the same episode, giving Ephoros as his source: "Ephoros says that the
Thracians, after making a treaty with the Boiotians, attacked them by
night when they, thinking that peace had been made, were camping
rather carelessly; and when the Boiotians frustrated the Thracians, at the
same time making the charge that they were breaking the treaty, the
Thracians asserted that they had not broken it, for the treaty said 'by
day', whereas they had made the attack by night; whence arose the
proverb 'Thracian pretence'."[1] The Boiotian victory over the Thracians
near Lake Copaïs, together with the taking of Chaironeia or Koroneia,
turns up in various collections of proverbs as well.[2] We cannot rule out
the possibility that the Thracian perfidy was fiction. We can even doubt
the historicity of a Thracian defeat of the Boiotians after an initial
Boiotian victory. We enter the realm of the hypercritical, however, if we
go so far as to deny that the battle near Lake Copaïs took place.

5. Strabo mentioned the occupation of Koroneia and Orchomenos by
Boiotians coming from Thessaly.[3]

6. Proklos's account, abridged by Photios, gives an aetiological
explanation of a procession known as the *Daphnephorika* that took place
in Boiotia in historical times. The account runs as follows. Every eighth
year the priests of Apollo took laurel to the sanctuary of the god, who
was honoured also with a dance of maidens. The origin is this: after a
prophecy, those of the Aiolians who lived in Arne and its environs set
out from there and, arriving at Thebes, they laid siege to the city, which
at that time was in the hands of the Pelasgians. When it came time for
both groups to celebrate the festival of Apollo, they made a truce and
having cut laurels, those from Mt. Helikon and the others from near the
river Melas took the laurels to Apollo. Now Polematas, the Boiotian
leader, dreamed that a youth offered a panoply and asked him to honour
Apollo with laurels every eighth year. After the third day of the truce,
they attacked their adversaries and won. And Polematas carried out the
business of the laurels, and from that time the custom is still held.[4] The
tale preserves a memory of the Boiotian siege of Thebes, still in the

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[1] Ephoros, 70 *FGrH* 119 = Strabo, IX 2, 4.

[2] Zenobios, IV 37; *Prov. e cod. Bodl.* 561 Gaisford, *PG* (1839) 59; *Prov. e cod. Goisl.* 261,
     262 Gaisford, *op. cit.*, 143-144.

[3] Strabo, IX 2, 29.

[4] Proklos in Photios, *Bibl.*, 239, 988-990.

hands of the Pelasgians. It also gives the name of the Boiotian leader. Regular celebration of the procession ensured that this was not forgotten.

7. The Boiotians remembered likewise that their ancestors took possession of Plataia and other nearby sites after they had settled the rest of Boiotia, and that they ousted a mixed population.[1]

8. A propos of the fate of the Thracians and Pelasgians driven out of Boiotia by the Boiotians, Ephoros says that the Pelasgians retired to the heights of Mt.Hymettos in Attica, and that the Parnassos range provided refuge for the Thracians. The Hyantes, likewise ousted from Boiotia by the Boiotians, settled at Hya in Phokis.[2]

9. In addition to the aetiological account of the *Daphnephorika*, Proklos thought it well to record another aetiological tale about the origin of a tune known as the *Tripodopherikon melos*, with which the Boiotians accompanied a procession following a tripod. According to this tale, when certain Pelasgians had attacked Panakton, the Thebans resisted and sought an oracle at Dodona in order to win.[3] Strabo recounts at some length the legend about the beginning of this procession, which he took from Ephoros. "And the Pelasgians, when the war was still going on, went to consult the oracle, as did the Boiotians. Now Ephoros is unable, he says, to tell the oracular response that was given to the Pelasgians, but the prophetess replied to the Boiotians that they would prosper if they committed sacrilege; and the messengers who were sent to consult the oracle, suspecting that the prophetess responded thus out of favour to the Pelasgians, because of her kinship with them (indeed the temple also was from the beginning Pelasgian), seized the woman and threw her upon a burning pile, for they considered that, whether she had acted falsely or not, they were right in either case, since, if she uttered a false oracle, she had her punishment, whereas if she did not act falsely, they had only obeyed the order of the oracle. Now those in charge of the temple, he says, did not approve of putting to death without trial – and that too in the temple – the men who did this, and therefore they brought them to trial, and summoned them before the priestesses, who were also the prophetesses, being the two survivors of the three; but when the

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[1] Thucydides, III 61, 2.

[2] Ephoros, 70 FGrH 119 = Strabo IX 2, 3.

[3] Proklos, *loc. cit.*

Boiotians said that it was nowhere lawful for women to act as judges, they chose an equal number of men in addition to the women. Now the men, he says, voted for acquittal, but the women for conviction, and since the votes cast were equal, those for acquittal prevailed; and in consequence of this, prophecies are uttered at Dodona by men to Boiotians only; the prophetesses, however, explain the oracle to mean that the god ordered the Boiotians to steal the tripods and take one of them to Dodona every year; and they actually do this, for they always take down one of the dedicated tripods by night and cover it up with garments, and secretly, as it were, carry it to Dodona."[1] If the Dodona events are simply legend, the mention of a Pelasgian attack on Panakton, held by the Thebans, plausibly records the memory of an historical event. Considering that the procession mentioned by our sources was being performed in historical times, it cannot go back to the pre-Boiotian phase. However, quite unlike the historical episodes we have commented on above, the affair of Panakton is not presented as one of a series of Boiotian attacks against the Thracians and Pelasgians, but the Pelasgians are described as the attackers, with the Thebans on the defensive. What can be made of this? Panakton lies on the border of Boiotia and Attica, which makes the presence of Pelasgians in Boiotia itself improbable. The only interpretation possible is that these are the Pelasgians who had withdrawn into Attica when fleeing from the Boiotians.

10. After noting that there was at Thebes a temple of Dionysos the Deliverer, Pausanias comments: "For when some Theban prisoners in the hands of the Thracians had reached Haliartia on their march, they were delivered by the god, who gave up the sleeping Thracians to be put to death."[2] Two details suggest that this episode is assumed to have happened after the occupation of Boiotia by the Boiotians. One of these details is the liberation of the captives themselves. If Boiotia were not yet inhabited by Boiotians but by Pelasgians, the captives, on being freed from the band that carried them off from Thebes, would have found themselves in the midst of enemies. The other detail is the statement that the temple of Dionysos the Deliverer existed in Thebes at the time of Pausanias. It is out of the question that this cult went back to before the

[1] Ephoros, *loc. cit.* = Strabo, IX 2, 4.
[2] *Schol. Ven. (A) Il*, II 233.

Pelasgian domination. If the Kadmeians had built a temple to a divinity, would this temple have continued to function during the Pelasgian domination of Thebes? Would the Boiotians who installed themselves at Thebes after the expulsion of the Pelasgians have had reason to give thanks to Dionysos for an event that had nothing to do with them? Two possibilities, therefore, seem plausible. Either we have to do with the recollection of some episode that occurred after Thebes was taken by the Boiotians, but Pelasgian bands were still able to make raids, or the aetiological tale referred originally not to the Pelasgians, but to some other enemy of the Thebans.

The information that follows does not give the impression of reflecting historical memory at all. In a scholion on the *Iliad* the Pelasgians driven out of Boiotia by the "Aiolians" (it means Boiotians) took refuge at Dodona.[1] This will have been erudite speculation based on the fact that *Iliad* Book XVI locates the Pelasgians at Dodona.

We have cited Strabo's passage about the temple of Athena Itonia near Koroneia where the author notes that the Boiotians had brought this cult with them from Thessaly, and that they had named a stream flowing near the sanctuary after a river in Thessaly.[2] The toponyms Itonos, Koroneia, and Kouarios reappear, not in the region of Kierion, the original home of the Boiotians, but in the region of Halos.[3] It is worth adding that the cult of Itonia and the hydronym Kouarios or Kouralios occur again in association with each other in the region of Pharkadon in Histiaiotis.[4]

A SURVEY OF THE CONCLUSIONS

Our sources have handed down scraps of the authentic tradition about the Boiotians which can be summarized as follows.

The Boiotians entered Boiotia under the command of King Opheltas. He had with him the soothsayer Peripoltas. Using the Kephissos valley, they seized Chaironeia, then overpowered the Thracians near Lake

[1] Pausanias, IX 16, 6.
[2] *Supra*, page 81.
[3] F.Kiechle, *Lakonien und Sparta* (1963) 260.
[4] Strabo, IX 5, 17.

Copaïs. The latter retreated to Mt. Helikon, and the Boiotians then
occupied Koroneia and Orchomenos. Pushing on further, a group of
Boiotians led by Polematas took Thebes from the Pelasgians. Plataia and
other east Boiotian sites were finally taken from "barbarians" who are not
identified in our sources. Some Pelasgians who had withdrawn to Attica
attacked the Thebans who were holding Panakton, but they were beaten
off.

       This elementary account relies on sporadic bits of information drawn
from various sources. No single author refers to more than three different
items. Thus Plutarch devotes sixteen words to King Opheltas, leader of
the migrating Boiotians, and the seer Peripoltas who was advising him.
He notes in seven words that Chaironeia was conquered by the Boiotians
before they took any other place. The extract from Proklos cites the tak-
ing of Thebes, which was still occupied by Pelasgians, the name of the
Boiotian leader in this campaign, and the Pelasgian attack on Panakton.
Thucydides and Polyainos are each credited with two items. Thucydides,
in seventeen words, presents the Plataians' claim that their ancestors set-
tled there at the end of the Boiotian expansion, and that they conquered
it from the barbarians. Polyainos's information is as usual determined by
the kind of stories he is relating, that is, tales of stratagems. His entire
account takes up eighty-one words, but only twelve are devoted to the
battle near Lake Copaïs and the retreat of the defeated Thracians to Mt.
Helikon. Quoting Ephoros, Strabo states in fourteen words that following
the Boiotian conquest the Pelasgians retired to Attica, and the Thracians
to Mt. Parnassos.In another text, Strabo devotes eighteen words to the
occupation of Orchomenos and Koroneia by the invading Boiotians.
Thirteen words sufficed for Pausanias's note that some Thebans were
captured by a band of Pelasgians, but escaped to freedom near Haliartos.
Some paroemiographers in explaining a proverb touch on the occupation
of Chaironeia and Koroneia by the Boiotians.

       The dossier of the Boiotian immigration contains many historical
events, and only two spurious elements. These are the statements that
the Boiotians brought with them from Thessaly the cult of Athena Itonia
and the hydronym Kouarios. Since both appear to be products of
scholarly speculation, they are attributable to the time when relevant
Boiotian traditions were being transmitted in written form. The genuine
elements retained by our sources represent the minimum of the

recollections that were still alive when they began to be written down.

IV. THE MIGRATION OF THE AINIANIANS

A REVIEW OF THE SOURCES

The movements of the Ainianians are known through two texts of Plutarch and one of Strabo.

One of Plutarch's texts is fairly detailed. It gives us a sequence of the Ainianian's movements from one country to another and, in addition, a number of details. Initially they inhabited the region around the Dotian plain. Thence they moved to another country, their expulsion by the Lapiths being given as the reason for their departure. As for their new settlement, it is described in terms suggesting that they were received by the Aithikes. From there the Ainianians migrated to Molossis where they took possession of an area on the river Aouas, from which they were called Paraouai. Following that they moved to Kirrha. Here, on the god's command, they stoned their king, Oinoklos, to death. Soon after this event, they went to the land around Inachos, which was inhabited by Inachians and Achaians. Then an oracle declared to both the Inachians and the Ainianians that if the Inachians were to give away any part of their country, they would lose it all, and if the Ainianians received any part of the land from willing givers, they would gain possession of it. Temon, a man of repute among the Ainianians, devised a ruse. He donned rags and taking his sack came to the Inachians in the guise of a beggar. With scorn and mockery, the Inachian king gave Temon a lump of earth which he accepted. He put it in his sack and, clearly satisfied with the gift, straightway withdrew without asking for anything more. The Inachian elders noticed this with astonishment and, recalling the oracle, advised the king to take the fellow seriously and not let him get away. Temon, however, fled in a hurry and escaped, after vowing a hecatomb to Apollo. Since matters took this turn, the two kings engaged in a duel. Hyperochos, the Inachian, advanced accompanied by a dog. Phemios, the Ainianian, observed to his adversary that he was acting unfairly in bringing in a second combatant. While Hyperochos had his back turned and was driving the dog away, Phemios hit him with a stone and killed him. Thus the Ainianians gained possession of the country, driving out both the Inachians and the Achaians. The stone they

continued to regard as sacred, sacrificing to it and covering it round about with the fat of the sacrificial victim. Whenever they pay the hecatomb to Apollo, they sacrifice a bull to Zeus, and they set aside a select portion of the flesh for the descendants of Temon which they call the "beggar's meat".[1]

Plutarch's second text is briefer, but it mentions all the stages of the Ainianian migration. It refers to some only of the details given in the first text, but in compensation adds others. In a single passage it notes the expulsion of the Ainianians from Thessaly by the Lapiths, their migration to Aithikia and thence to Molossis, and, in addition, a movement from Molossis to Kass(i)opaia that is not mentioned in the first text. The second text also explains why the Ainianians left that land: because they derived no benefit from it and had to deal as well with hostile peoples on their borders. Moreover it notes that they came to the Kirrhaian plain under the leadership of Oinoklos, this among the details not to be found in the first text. The second text then coincides with the first in mentioning the lapidation of Oinoklos in accordance with an oracle, but adds the reason for this act: it was done because of severe drought. On the events connected with the prevailing of the Ainianians over the Achaians, the second text is silent. In compensation we learn that the Ainianians prayed to the gods that they not return again to Kass(i)opaia, that they used to send there a group with a bull for sacrifice, and that this group was escorted to the borders by maidens chanting, "may ye never return to the well-loved soil of your homeland."[2]

Strabo joins the two texts of Plutarch in noting that the Ainianians were driven out of Thessaly by the Lapiths. In his text, however, the Ainianians move directly to Ainis.[3]

It has been supposed that Plutarch and Strabo knew each of two complementary stories, both genuine. Accordingly it has been held that one part of the Ainianians moved directly from Thessaly to Ainis, whereas another group went from Thessaly to Molossis, thence successively to Kass(i)opaia, Kirrha, and finally to Ainis.[4] This hypothesis was later reduced to the rank of limited probability. Instead, it

[1] Plutarch, *Qu. Gr.*, 13, p. 293 F - 294 C.
[2] Plutarch, *Qu. Gr.*, 26, p. 297 B-C.
[3] Strabo, IX 5, 22.
[4] Hirschfeld, *RE*, I 1 (1893) 1027.

was thought that authentic tradition was more likely reflected in Strabo's
than in Plutarch's story.[1] Neither of these views really holds. Elsewhere I
have shown that the story Plutarch knew preserved elements, most of
them going back to the original tradition, but some spurious ones as
well.[2] I repeat here my examination of the events recorded in our
sources.

HISTORY AND FICTION

I. DEPARTURE FROM PERRHAIBIA

Plutarch and Strabo agree that the Ainianians were driven out of their
original home by the Lapiths. The first author expressly places the
Ainianians around the Dotian plain in Thessaly. Strabo is less precise
about this, but in mentioning the Lapiths he leads us to the same region.
In the Homeric "Catalogue of Ships" the Ainianians are located, together
with the Perrhaibians, in a region the Ancients identified as the historical
Perrhaibia. This identification is accepted by most modern scholars yet
some argue that the Homeric home of the Ainianians and the
Perrhaibians should be sought in Epiros. I am not convinced that the
latter view is right, but here is not the place to expand the argument. As
for the agency of the Lapiths in this affair, it is hard to tell whether this is
an authentic element of the tradition, or speculation inspired by the
overlapping of the Lapith and Ainianian kingdoms in Homeric
geography.

II. REFUGE WITH THE AITHIKES

Plutarch and Strabo continue to agree in saying that the Ainianians
ejected from Thessaly by the Lapiths, took refuge with the Aithikes. This
second point seems to have been copied from the tale of the Centaurs,

[1] W.R.Halliday, *The Greek Questions of Plutarch* (1928) 74-75.
[2] M.B.Sakellariou, "La migration des Aenianes", in *Aux origines de l'Hellénisme, la Crète
      et la Grèce, Hommage à Henri van Effenterre* (1984) 173-180.

likewise driven out of Thessaly by the Lapiths and, according to Homer, taking refuge with the Aithikes.

III. SOJOURN IN MOLOSSIS

It has been argued that the sojourn of the Ainianians in the vicinity of the river Aouas after their expulsion from Thessaly actually reflects their localisation in Epiros in the "Catalogue of Ships". Yet this localisation is in itself quite improbable. Even if this were accepted, it is hardly believable that the famous name of Dodona could have been replaced by that of a less known river and, moreover, by its variant ᾿Αούας. In fact, nowhere else is this variant attested. It is closer to another variant, Αἴας, than to the variant ᾿Αῷος which prevailed in literature. Because it is unique, ᾿Αούας is the equivalent of a *lectio difficilior* so the possibility that the name was invented can be ruled out. Consequently the name was authentic, so much so that it survived in the tradition of the Ainianians, whereas the variants ᾿Αῷος and Αἴας prevailed only after their departure from the area. The temporary settling of the Ainianians in this canton of Epiros is confirmed by Heliodoros who says that the Ainianians of historical times, established for centuries in the Spercheios valley, continued to honour Neoptolemos at Delphi.[1] Now Neoptolemos appears to belong to an early stage of the Molossian legends and his connection with the region around the Aoos river is well known. It is then likely that the Ainianian cult of Neoptolemos goes back to some Molossian group that united with them during their sojourn in Molossis.[2] The same group is to be credited with the personal name Πολύξενος[3], used by the historical Ainianians. The name was used as well by the Epirotes.[4] It appears, then, that the introduction of Neoptolemos in Delphi goes back to the time when the Ainianians sojourned near Delphi, in the region of Kirrha. Just as it is probable that the Ainianians

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[1] Heliodoros, *Aith.*, II 34.

[2] L.R.Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, 315ff.; W.R.Halliday, *op. cit.*, 75.

[3] Sittig, *Hermes,* 50 (1915) 158-159 = M.N.Tod, *JHS,* 25 (1915) 269 (Inscription of Amathous, 3rd century A.C.).

[4] *SGDI*, nos 1352, 1356 (in the second inscription the name Polyxenos refers to a slave).

lived in Molossis after leaving Thessaly, so it is quite unlikely that they
were known then only as Paraouai. In fact, had they given up their old
name, they would hardly have taken it back again later on. Here there is
likely to have been some confusion arising from one or another of the
following circumstances. Either the name *Paraouai* belonged to those
who lived there before the arrival of the Ainianians, or it was an epithet
assumed by those of the Ainianians who settled near the Aouas in order
to distinguish themselves from other Ainianians living elsewhere.

IV. SOJOURN IN KASS(I)OPAIA

   Later on the Ainianians were displaced further to the south, and
stopped for some time in Kass(i)opaia. This stop is confirmed by the fact
that, according to Plutarch, the Ainianians sent *theoroi* from their country
in historical times to sacrifice to the gods of Kass(i)opaia.

V. SOJOURN IN THE REGION OF KIRRHA

   The Ainianians then went to Kirrha, according to Plutarch's long text,
or to the region of Kirrha, according to his short text. It has been sug-
gested that they migrated directly from Kass(i)opaia to Ainis, that is, that
they never inhabited Kirrha. This hypothesis is connected with another
according to which the river Inachos cited in Plutarch's long text is to be
located not in Ainis but in Amphilochia. This second hypothesis will be
discussed in due course when dealing with the Inachos. Here we must
note that the arguments advanced for it are not conclusive. Quite apart
from this question, however, much is made of Plutarch's description of
the Ainianian displacement from Kirrha to Ainis. It runs as follows:
"having stoned their king, Oinoklos, in Kirrha, they descended
(κατέβησαν) on command of the god to the land around the Inachos."
Certainly the original meaning of κατέβησαν is "they descended", and
this is the meaning generally given to it. It is equally true that the alti-
tude of Ainis is not lower but much higher than that of Kirrha. A move-
ment from Kirrha to Ainis could hardly be described as a "descent". Yet

the word καταβαίνειν, we should remember, had as well a secondary meaning, "to attain, come to, arrive at". If κατέβησαν is understood in this way, the wording of Plutarch does not run counter to geography. While in Kirrha, the Ainianians were afflicted with drought, because of which they stoned their king, Oinoklos. These episodes give the impression of being true. It is well known that primitive societies resorted to killing their rulers as expiatory victims to put an end to plague and pestilence.[1] The name of the king that was stoned may well be authentic.

VI. THE CONQUERING OF AINIS.

The Ainianians finally reached the Ainis of historical times. On this score Plutarch has provided us with detailed information on which we comment here.

(i) Plutarch's long text reports that the Ainianians first occupied a country around the river Inachos which was inhabited by Inachians and Achaians. This country is thought to have been within the boundaries of historical Ainis. I share this opinion since Plutarch continues his account by telling how the Ainianians successfully appropriated also that part of the country which was being held by the Inachians. The river Inachos has been identified with the Vistritsa, a tributary of the upper Spercheios.[2] Against this identification, a river of the same name in Amphilochia has been equated with the Inachos of Plutarch's account. Yet all four arguments supporting this second identification can be dismissed. The first emphasizes that we have no proof that the Ainianians went from Kass(i)opaia to Kirrha and thence to Ainis, and points out that they might have followed quite a different itinerary. This argument is untenable. It is dangerous to contest by *argumentum ex silentio* an itinerary that is attested by a source and objectively is possible. Equally unsafe is the defence of an itinerary that is not attested and, moreover, lacks objective proof. The argument in fact stems from the idea that the Ainianians would necessarily have followed the shortest possible route

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[1] J.G.Frazer, *The Magic Art and Evolution of Kings*, I (1926) 353ff.; A.B.Cook, *Zeus*, II (1925) 1259 and III (1940) 733; Y.Béquignon, *La vallée du Spercheios* (1937) 173ff.

[2] References in Y.Béquignon, *op. cit.*,151,157.

from Kass(i)opaia to Ainis. Yet who can prove that the Ainianians,
when leaving Kass(i)opaia, intended to go to Ainis? The second
argument for locating our Inachos in Amphilochia rather than in Ainis
reasons in this way: the Pseudo-Plutarch devotes a chapter to the Inachos
(*De Fluv*. 18) in which he neither mentions the Ainianians nor notes that
there were several rivers called Inachos. He speaks only of the Inachos
in Argolis. It is not clear to me how a text in which both the Inachos in
Ainis and the Inachos in Amphilochia are overlooked, can prove that the
Ainianians moved from Kass(i)opaia to Amphilochia and not to Ainis.
The third argument in favour of identifying Plutarch's Inachos with the
river in Amphilochia tries to throw doubt on the accuracy of Plutarch's
description of the land occupied by the Ainianans after they left
Kass(i)opaia. The phrase περὶ τὸν Ἴναχον is said to be so vague that it
could just as well refer to Amphilochia, especially since Plutarch was
here concerned with religious matters rather than geography. Here again
the meaning of the argument is not entirely clear. The fourth and last
argument is directed against the identification of the Inachos with the
Vistritsa. It reasons that this identification presupposes an *apax*. What
apax means in this context is not clear. Be that as it may, suffice it to
note that identifications of ancient place names with actual places are
nearly all made under conditions no better than this one, and many are
fairly acceptable.

(ii) Plutarch says that the valley of the Inachos belonged to the
Inachians and the Achaians. Yet the valley is so small that two different
tribes are unlikely to have shared it. More in the realm of possibility is
that the name, Inachians, referred not to a group distinct from the
Achaians, but to the Achaians themselves who lived along the Inachos.
Plutarch or some earlier author will have mistakenly thought that the
local designation of these Achaians was the name of some other people.

(iii) In a number of legends a clod of earth taken or received gives
with it the right to possess the country.[1] The oracle and the tale of Temon
have obviously been formed around this legendary theme. Nevertheless,
Temon himself is likely to have been an historical personage who played
a part in settling the Inachos valley.

(iv) Just as with the oracle and the Temon episode, the tale of the

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[1] W.R.Halliday, *op. cit.*, 76.

kings' duel is fictional,[1] whereas the names of both kings may belong to authentic Ainianian tradition. The tale might have originated in the cult of the stone, attested by Plutarch. As for the stone, it belongs to the category of fetish stones worshipped in other parts of Greece as well.[2]

To sum up, Plutarch's two texts about the Ainianian migration provide some elements of original tradition, some obviously secondary. Still others may be either genuine or spurious. The original elements reflect crucial events: the successive stages of the migration with geographical references, the reasons for the Ainianians leaving Kass(i)opaia and Kirrha (including the king's lapidation), the identification of the pre-Ainianian population of the Inachos valley as Achaian, and the personal names. The secondary elements, unlike the original ones, are for the most part not essential, but simply picturesque. Such is the case with the tale beginning with the oracles given to the Ainianians and the Inachian Achaians and continuing with Temon's visit to the Achaians. So also the tale of the kings' duel. Another secondary element is the statement that the Ainianians took refuge with the Aithikes. As for the information that the Ainianians were driven out of their home near the Lapiths by the Lapiths themselves, it may or may not reflect an historical event.

The historical events preserved in Plutarch's accounts of the Ainianian migration form a story of unusual coherence and clarity. It takes the Ainianians from Thessaly to their historical country, with sojourns in Molossis on the Aoos river, in Kass(i)opaia, and later in Kirrha or the region of Kirrha. They left Kass(i)opaia because of that territory's poor resources and their own inability to defend themselves against the border tribes. While in Kirrha or its environs, they suffered from starvation brought on by drought, and stoned their king as an expiatory victim. From there they moved to the Inachos valley which they managed to conquer under the leadership of their king, Phemios. The former inhabitants of the valley were of Achaian stock and their king was called Hyperochos. The name of an Ainianian noble has also been preserved.

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[1] W.R.Halliday, *op. cit.,* 77

[2] J.G.Frazer, *Pausanias*, V (1898) 318ff.; M.W.Visser, *Die nichtmenschengestältigen Götter der Griechen*, 92ff.; M.P.Nilsson, *Griechische Feste* (1906) 187; R.W.Halliday, *op. cit.,* 77-78.

   The depth of time going back to its origin is not the same for all categories of genuine elements of the tradition. All personal names go back no further than the horizon of the last move of the Ainianians, from Kirrha to Ainis. Events that caused the Ainianians to move are reported from this same horizon, but also from the previous one, that is, their departure from Kass(i)opaia. Geographical accuracy is to be found from both these times and from still earlier stages of the migration.

   Of all the stages in the journey of the Ainianians, we can date only the stop preceding their arrival in the Inachos valley. Three sites in the Kirrha region, Kirrha itself, Krisa, and Itea, were abandoned toward the end of LH IIIB times.[1] This cannot be associated with the departure of the Ainianians for the Inachos valley, for these sites were occupied without interruption for a long time (Kirrha and Krisa from LH IIIA1), and the Ainianians cannot have arrived as early as MH or LH IIIA1 times. Itea, however, was probably reoccupied for a short while during LH IIIC times, and this indeed would seem to correspond with the sojourn of the Ainianians in this region. The entire Ainianian migration from Epiros to Ainis could have lasted long enough to be inscribed in collective memory, yet a short enough time for their more recent memories not to have replaced the older recollections. It is reasonable to suppose that their successive moves from Thessaly on covered the three quarters of a century that corresponds to the LH IIIC pottery phase (1200-1125 B.C.). The last stage of this movement coincides with the abandonment of Itea.

   Thus the migration of the Ainianians took place two centuries before the vicissitudes of the founders of Klazomenai and Phokaia. This chronological difference may have been the main reason why the account of the migration, unlike the preceding histories, contains, along with authentic recollections, a good many errors and additions, to say nothing of items that are simply suspect.

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[1] R.Hope Simpson, H.O.T.P.K.Dickinson, *A Gazeteer of Aegean Civilisation in the Bronze Age* (1979) 257-258.

A SUMMARY OF THE CONCLUSIONS

Of the spurious elements of the dossier on the migration of the Ainianians, one appears to be later than the beginning of literacy. There is no way to date the others. The statement that the Ainianians when expelled by the Lapiths took refuge with the Aithikes, since it presupposes knowledge of the Homeric tale about the Centaurs, Lapiths, and Aithikes, cannot be earlier than ca. 700 B.C. The description of the pre-Ainianian inhabitants of the Inachos valley as Inachians and Achaians, rather than Inachian Achaians, would not have happened at a time close to the historical events. Yet it could have happened either before or after the spread of literacy. Likewise the two tales of the account, the duel of the two kings and Temon's ruse, including the oracles which are inseparable from it, could have been fashioned either when traditions were still being transmitted solely by word of mouth, or after literacy began to play its part.

In accordance with a principle that is applicable to all our study-cases of traditions about migrations of pre-literate times, the genuine elements of the Ainianian dossier will represent the minimum of whatever part of the original tradition was still being related just before its transcription. This minimum reflected many specific items: the sojourn in Molossis and the name of a river in this land; the sojourn in Kass(i)opaia; the reasons why the Ainianians left this country; the sojourn in the region of Kirrha; a drought and, as a result, the stoning of a king; the name of this king; the moving from this land to the Inachos valley; the name of its earlier inhabitants; the names of the kings leading the Ainianians and the Inachians at that time; the name of another Ainianian.

For all this information we are indebted to a single author, Plutarch. Yet had we not both his texts, the information would not have been so full. This good fortune is most instructive. It shows that an author could very well know more than he himself was writing on one occasion or another. Plutarch's longer text has two hundred words, only twenty-five of which refer to the genuine items of the tradition. His shorter text is made up of sixty-one words, most of them devoted to the genuine items.

These two texts of Plutarch enable us to realize that Strabo's text condenses the Ainianian migration, noting only the place whence they set out in connection with the cause of their departure, and, without any

transition, the end of their move. This is one more case showing the distortions in our actual image of a tradition simply through a choice of some author or the accumulated choices of a number of authors.

V. MIGRATION OF THRACIANS AND PELASGIANS TO BOIOTIA

We have discussed above Boiotian traditions preserving the memory that the Boiotians came into conflict with Thracians and Pelasgians when they first arrived in Boiotia. There were in addition other traditions having to do with the arrival of Thracians and Pelasgians in Boiotia some time before the Boiotians.

The event is mentioned in a passage of Strabo and in another of Diodoros.[1] Diodoros states expressly that the Thraco-Pelasgians infiltrated into Boiotia, taking advantage of the absence of Theban military forces that had gone off to fight in the War of Troy. Yet the "War of Troy", as described in the *Iliad* and consequently with the meaning given it by Diodoros, is beyond the realm of History. As a result, Diodoros's explanation of the occupation of Boiotia by Thracians and Pelasgians, is no more than scholarly speculation. Even so, we cannot disregard the date implied. In itself it seems valid, even if not supported by the traditions. Indeed an earlier date for the migration of these ethnic groups is unlikely. For the Pelasgians and Thracians were driven out of Boiotia by the Boiotians, and archaeological exploration has yielded no evidence for large and disastrous migrations into the Mycenaean area before the decline of the Mycenaean states around 1200 B.C. Diodoros adds that Boiotia was overrun not only by Thracians and Pelasgians, but also by other barbarians whom he does not identify. Strabo and Diodoros agree that the early inhabitants of Boiotia had to seek refuge elsewhere.

Other texts refer to specific episodes, notably to the taking of Orchomenos and Thebes by the invaders.

We learn that the Orchomenians, driven out by the Thracians, withdrew to Attica, to Mounichia. Our direct source is a scholion to Demosthenes' *On the Crown*, which the author says he took from Diodoros the Periegete, who drew in turn on Hellanikos.[2] Mention of the Thracians in

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[1] Strabo, IX 2, 25; Diodoros, X 59. Cf. M.B.Sakellariou, *Peuples préhelléniques d'origine indo-européenne* (1977) 180.

[2] Hellanikos, 4 *FGrH* 42 b = Diodoros the Periegete, 372. *FGrH* 39 = *Schol. Demosth.*, XVIII 107 b.

this context accords with the information that they were in control of Orchomenos and Koroneia when the Boiotians arrived.[1] Our source says that Mounichia was given to the refugees by Mounichos, king of Athens. This, of course, is fictitious for, first of all, Mounichos was a legendary figure, and second, he was connected with the Molossian immigrants who settled, some in Mounichia, Phaleron, and Xypete, and some at Brauron and Philaïdai.[2] We may therefore identify these Molossians with the people the Thracians drove out of Orchomenos. The same Molossians or their fathers had previously supplanted the Minyans in this same city.[3]

The taking of Thebes by the Thracians is cited by Aelius Aristides who refers to "those who suffered misfortune at Thebes and were expelled from Boiotia",[4] meaning the inhabitants of Boiotia before the "War of Troy".[5]

Memory of the Thracians in Boiotia, with or without precise localisation, is reflected indirectly: in the designation "Thracian" given by Lykophron of Chalkis to the Boiotian city of Anthedon[6] and in the designation "Thracian" given to Tegyrios,[7] eponym of Tegyros, another Boiotian city. Strabo attributes the cults of the Muses and of the Leibethridian Nymphs in Mt. Helikon to the Thracians. His mode of expression, however, suggests that rather than echoing a tradition, he is repeating scholarly speculation based on the existence of the Muses and Leibethridian Nymphs in Pieria.[8]

Aristotle, followed by Arrian, calls the Abantes Thracians. These were the ancient inhabitants of Abai, a city in Phokis.[9] Some scholars have taken this as valid evidence and have tried to corroborate it with arguments of their own. Homer, however, the only real evidence we have for the ethnic character of the Abantes, characterizes them as

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[1] *Supra*, pages 183-184.

[2] M.B.Sakellariou, *La migration grecque en Ionie* (1958) 55-63, 206-207, 263, 265, 294.

[3] M.B.Sakellariou, *op. cit.*, 185, 490.

[4] Aelius Aristides, *Panath.*, I 54.

[5] *Supra*, pages 180-181.

[6] Lykophron of Chalkis in Stephanos of Byzantion, s.v. Ἀνθηδών.

[7] Pseudo-Apollodoros, III 15, 4.

[8] Strabo, IX 9, 25.

[9] Aristotle fr. 601 Rose = Strabo, X 1,2; Arrian, 156 *FGrH* 68 bis = Eustathios, *Comm. Dion. Per.*, 520.

Greek.[1] Besides, recent arguments are not conclusive.[2] Even if the Abantes were not originally Greek, they had become thoroughly Hellenized before the time reflected in the Homeric poems. So Aristotle was wrong, no doubt led astray by some ancient bit of information placing the Thracians at Abai after the Abantes.

Another Thracian group is linked with Daulis. The earliest mention of this is in Thucydides who calls the king of these Thracians Tereus. He is followed by a number of later authors.[3] The name *Tereus* does indeed recall the name Teres, which is Thracian. The Tereus of Daulis, however, appears in a purely mythical context: he ends up by being turned into a hoopoe, his wife Prokne into a nightingale, and her sister into a swallow. Added to that, the myth is not Phokidian, but Attic.[4] Finally, the same items are encountered in another myth, found earlier in the *Odyssey*. Here Tereus is replaced by Amphion, Prokne by Aëdon, daughter of Pandareos, and Itys by Ityllos. The characters in this myth belong to Boiotian legend.[5] Tereus's name, therefore, is presumably not Thracian but Greek, derived from the word τηϱεῖν, "to look at" thus a synonym of *epops*, "hoopoe", made up of the preposition *epi* and the root *op-* "see, look at".[6] The identification of Tereus as a king of Daulis, after having equated his name with Teres, implies the existence of traditions about Thracians in Daulis.

Some ancient sources have the Athenians in conflict with the Thracians; in others the Pelasgians are the enemy.

According to one version, the Thracians occupied Athens;[7] according to another they threatened the city.[8] The tale is suspect for a number of

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[1] *Iliad*, II 536, 541ff, IV 464.

[2] These arguments are discussed by me in *Ethnè grecs à l'âge du Bronze* (forthcoming).

[3] Thucydides, II 29; Konon, 26 *FGrH* 1, xxxi; Strabo, VII fr.7, 1 and IX 3, 13; Pausanias, I 41, 8 and X 4, 6; Ovid, *Met.*, V 274-276; Nonnos, IV 320ff.; Stephanos of Byzantion and *Etym.Magn.*, s.v. Δαυλίς; Zenobios, III 14. In the Pseudo-Apollodoros, III 14, 8 and Tzetzes, *Chil.* VII 462, Tereus is called a Thracian, but the context implies that he was located not far from Boiotia.

[4] See *RE*, s.v.v. "Itys", "Philomela", "Prokne", "Tereus".

[5] See *RE*, s.v.v. "Aëdon", "Amphion", "Itylos".

[6] A.Lesky, "Tereus", *loc. cit.*

[7] Hekataios, 1 *FGrH* 119 = Strabo, VII fr.7,1.

[8] Euripides, *TGF²*, 361, 1.48; Isokrates, *Paneg.*, 67; Lykourgos, *Leokr.*, 98; Philochoros, 326 *FGrH* 105 = Schol. Dem., XIX 303; Photios, s.v. Εὐμολπίδαι.

reasons. *a*) Eumolpos, leader of the Thracians in question,[1] is simply the ancestor of the Attic clan of Eumolpids, localised in Eleusis. Moreover his name is Greek. *b*) The connection of Eumolpos with the Thracians does not go back beyond the fifth century, although he himself is attested from the seventh.[2] *c*)This connection has, in addition, created difficulties and given rise to speculation.[3] *d*) Even after the fifth century Eumolpos continued to be identified, not as a warrior, but as a bard and founder of the Eleusinian mysteries, without referring to him as Thracian.[4] *e*) The war between Eumolpos and the Athenians appears to reflect the early conflicts between Eleusis and Athens. There are indeed texts referring to Eumolpos as head of the Eleusinians, without calling him a Thracian.[5] *f*) In an earlier version the Eleusinians are helped in their struggle with the Athenians by one Ismaros, a Theban. This Ismaros, whose name is also the name of a place in Thrace, was subsequently affiliated with Eumolpos.[6] Thus the tale of conflict between the Thracians and the Athenians clearly is not based on authentic memories.

The Pelasgian presence in Attica toward the end of the Bronze Age appears, on the other hand, to be historical fact. There is some talk of it in Herodotos (in several places), Ephoros, Philochoros, Myrsilos, Strabo, Aelius Aristides, Velleius Paterculus, and in various lexicographers. Herodotos and Ephoros place them on the slopes of Hymettos. The chronology of their presence there can be deduced from the statements of Ephoros, Aristides, and Velleius Paterculus. Ephoros identifies them with the Pelasgians of Boiotia who withdrew to Attica under Boiotian pressure (see above). Aristides refers to them in a passage praising the hospitality of the Athenians toward those who are being pursued. All this can be connected with events datable through other evidence to the

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[1] Hekataios, *loc. cit.*; Euripides, *loc. cit.*; Lykourgos, *loc. cit.*; Philochoros, *loc. cit.*; Photios, *loc. cit.* Cf. Plutarch, *De exil.*, 17, 607 B; Lucian, *Demon.*, 34; Pseudo-Apollodoros, III 15, 4; *Schol. Soph. Oed. Col.*, 1053.

[2] Kern, "Eumolpos" *RE*, VI 1 (1907) 1117-1120.

[3] Kern, *op. cit.*

[4] Skyphos painted by Makron, 440-420 B.C., Br.Mus. E 140, J.D.Beazley, ARV^2, p.459, 3 (latest references in *LIMC*, IV (1988) 57, s.v. "Eumolpos" (3) by L.Weidauer, and. 873, s.v. "Demeter" (344*), by L.Beschi; *Marmor Parium*, 239 *FGrH* 15; *Schol. Eurip. Phoen.*, 854. For other deeds of Eumolpos, see Kern, *op. cit.*

[5] Kern, *op. cit.*

[6] Kern, *op. cit.*

troubled period of migrations marking the end of the Mycenaean world. Velleius Paterculus gives a date for the Pelasgian migration into Attica very close to that of the Dorian entry into Lakonia and the Thessalian arrival in Thessaly.[1]

What were the lines of transmission by which these memories of the Thracians and Pelasgians were handed down?

The genos of Thrakidai at Delphi comes first of all to mind.[2] This clan probably perpetuated a Thracian element already established at Delphi. Here will have been the origin of characteristic Delphian names such as Θρᾷξ (4th century B.C.), Δαντώ, Ἕβρος, Κόσιμος, Κόσις, Κότυς, Σεύθης (Hellenistic and Roman times), and the name Βῖθυς at Steiris (2nd century B.C.).[3] The traditions handed down among the members of this genos might well preserve memories referring not only to the Thracian withdrawal from Boiotia, but also to earlier events having to do with the conquest of Boiotia by bands of Thracians.

The localizing at Thebes of two heroic figures, one with a Thracian name, *Astakos*, the other with a Ciconian name, *Ismaros*, suggests that the Boiotians who settled here allowed some of the previous population to remain with them. The same situation pertains in Tanagrà, where we find the name Θρᾳκία (Classical period). So also in other Boiotian cities Thracian personal names are known in Hellenistic times and later.[4] The people who created the legends about Astakos and Ismaros, and who themselves had Thracian personal names were the bearers of traditions about the Thracians who were in Boiotia before the arrival of the Boiotians.

Other memories of the Thracians and Pelasgians active in the twelfth

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[1] Herodotos, VI 137-138, cf. II 51 and 57, IV 145; Ephoros, 70 *FGrH* 119 = Strabo, IX 2, 3; Philochoros, 328 *FGrH* 99 = Servius, *Comm. Verg. Aen.*, VIII 600; Myrsilos, 477 *FGrH* 9 = Dionysios of Halikarnassos, I 28, 4; Strabo, V 2, 2 and IX 1, 18; Aelius Aristides, *Panath.*, 177 ; Velleius Paterculus, I, 3, 1; Photios, *Etym. Magn.*, and *Lex. Seg.*, s.v. πελαργικόν, etc. I have discussed these sources in *Peuples préhelléniques d'origine indo-européenne* (1977) 182-200.

[2] Diodoros, XVI 24, 3.

[3] Evidence and discussion: M.B.Sakellariou, "Infiltrations balkaniques dans la péninsule Helladique à l'HR III C", *Ποικίλα* (ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ 10, 1990) 125.

[4] M.B.Sakellariou, *op. cit.*, 120 and 126.

century were kept alive through traditions handed down in certain circles of Attica. This was so with the memory of the Thracian occupation of Orchomenos and the retreat of the "Orchomenians" (actually of Molossian stock) to Mounichia.[1] These memories could have been passed on in Attica through recitations, especially recitals in the Molossian villages, Mounichia, Phaleron, Xypete, and Brauron,[2] before the stories were absorbed into atthidography. The Pelasgians established on the slopes of Hymettos were, for their part, the ultimate source of information about the flight into Attica of Pelasgians driven out of Thebes.

A SUMMARY OF THE CONCLUSIONS

The bits of information at hand about the migration of some Pelasgian and Thracian groups to Boiotia do not go back to the traditions transmitted in communities that originated in these groups. They come from recollections preserved in Attica, originally within communities of refugees from Orchomenos and Thebes who fled before the invaders. Later on these memories were incorporated in the atthidography, and thanks to this have come down to us. Their interest lies in that they provide a case in which evidence comes from an outside tradition.

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[1] M.B.Sakellariou, *La migration grecque en Ionie* (1958) 55-62, 185, 234-236.
[2] M.B.Sakellariou, *op. cit.*, 61.

VI. THE EXODUS OF THE KADMEIANS
AFTER THEIR DEFEAT BY THE EPIGONOI

There is no archaeological evidence of any migration into or within the territory of the Mycenaean civilisation before 1200 B.C. We are therefore obliged to test more attentively than ever, even sceptically, all traditions about the movements of people into or within Mycenaean Greece before that time. And if no such traditions are found, we need not be surprised.

To begin with we shall test the historicity of a number of references. Some have to do with the displacement of the Kadmeians after their city was taken by the Epigonoi, others with the migration of a band of Makednoi from the Pindos to central Greece where they joined with other tribes to become all together the Dorians.

The historicity of certain events and people in the preserved accounts of the expedition of the Epigonoi against Thebes is rightly suspect. This is not so, however, with all the relevant events. The taking of Thebes by a hostile force and the exodus of the Thebans or Kadmeians can be approached without prejudice. Our sources for this subject are Herodotos, Diodoros, the Pseudo-Apollodoros, Strabo, and Pausanias. Herodotos refers to it in two passages, Pausanias in three.[1]

A SURVEY OF THE ITEMS OF INFORMATION

The following items are reported: (i) leader of the Kadmeians; (ii) arrival of the Epigonoi with their army; (iii) the battle; (iv) withdrawal of the Kadmeians; (v) advice given by Teiresias; (vi) movement of the Kadmeians to Alalkomenai and Mt. Tilphossion; (vii) location of the Dorians, and the Encheleis met by the Kadmeians; (viii) return of the Kadmeians to Thebes; (ix) capture and fate of Teiresias's daughter; (x) death of Teiresias.

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[1] Herodotos, I 56. V 61; Diodoros, IV 66, 4-67, 1; Pseudo-Apollodoros, III 7, 3-4; Strabo, IX 2, 36; Pausanias, IX 5, 13. 8, 6-7. 9, 4-5.

I. THE LEADER OF THE KADMEIANS

All the sources mentioning the Kadmeian leader, that is, Herodotos in his second passage, the Pseudo-Apollodoros, and Pausanias in all three passages, identify him as Laodamas, son of Eteokles. There is no evidence to prove or disprove the historicity of this.

II. ARRIVAL OF THE EPIGONOI

The Pseudo-Apollodoros is alone in saying that the Epigonoi on their arrival first laid waste to the surrounding villages. This is such a probable act that it could easily be true.

III. THE BATTLE

The Pseudo-Apollodoros notes that the Kadmeians then advanced against the Epigonoi. He reports briefly a battle fought between them. This battle is mentioned also by Diodoros and Pausanias, who brings it up in all three passages. Likewise in all these passages, Pausanias says the battle was fought at Glisas. Glisas, known from other sources too, was about ten kilometres northwest of Thebes. Naming the place of the battle is what we might expect in the original tradition and it lends credibility to the battle itself. According to the Pseudo-Apollodoros, Laodamas, the Kadmeian leader, killed Aigialeus in the course of the battle, but was himself finally felled by Alkmaion. Pausanias, however, in all three passages has Laodamas surviving. It is quite impossible to tell which version is correct. It is notable, however, that the three passages of Pausanias, the Pseudo-Apollodoros, and Diodoros all agree that the Kadmeians lost the battle.

IV. THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE KADMEIANS

The Pseudo-Apollodoros says that after this the Kadmeians withdrew within the walls of Thebes. Pausanias appears to have knowledge of this

same movement as well as of another one. In his third text we read: "Some of the Thebans escaped with Laodamas immediately after the defeat; those who remained behind were besieged and taken prisoner." In the first and second texts of this author, there is question only of a retreat by the Kadmeians from the battle-field. These Kadmeians, however, are described as *part* of the army or population. Indeed the first text reads: "Laodamas with any Theban willing to accompany him withdrew" to Illyria. The second says: "Most of them withdrew along with Laodamas." Then it continues with the march of these Kadmeians to Illyria and Homole. It is notable that this last text has a limited purpose, the explanation of the name given the Homoloid Gates. There was no reason, then, for a reference to any other group of Thebans. Generally speaking, both these texts of Pausanias leave open the possibility that those Thebans who did not follow Laodamas took refuge in Thebes.

V. ADVICE GIVEN BY TEIRESIAS

The Pseudo-Apollodoros and Diodoros agree that the Kadmeians at that point sought the advice of the seer Teiresias. Diodoros says: "Since they were not strong enough to offer further resistance, they consulted the seer Teiresias, who advised them to flee the city." The Pseudo-Apollodoros notes: "But as Teiresias told them to send a herald to treat with the Argives, and themselves to take flight, they sent a herald to the enemy, and mounting their children and women on the wagons, them-selves fled from the city". Teiresias was not an historical person, but a mythical or legendary figure, and the episode is consequently fictitious.

VI. MOVEMENT OF THE KADMEIANS TO ALALKOMENAI AND
MT. TILPHOSS(A)ION

The Pseudo-Apollodoros and Diodoros report that the Kadmeians then went to another place in Boiotia. On this point they coincide with Strabo whose statement reads: "When the Thebans, at the time of the expedition of the Epigonoi, left their city, they are said to have fled for refuge to Alalkomenai and to Mt. Tilphossion, a natural stronghold that lies above

it. At the base of the mountain is a spring called Tilphoussa." Neither
Diodoros nor the Pseudo-Apollodoros mention Alalkomenai, but
Diodoros knows about the mountain, and the Pseudo-Apollodoros the
spring. In Diodoros we read: "The Kadmeians left the city and gathered
for refuge by night in a place called Tilphossaion." The Pseudo-
Apollodoros, after mentioning that the Kadmeians fled the city, goes on
to say that they came by night to the spring called Tilphoussa. It may
well be that the original tradition had the names Alalkomenai,
Tilphossion or Tilphossaion, and Tilphoussa in the description of the
place where the Kadmeians took refuge, as well as the information that
they came here by night.

VII. THE DORIANS AND THE ENCHELEIS MET BY THE KADMEIANS

    Diodoros says that on leaving Tilphossaion, the Kadmeians headed
for another place where they established themselves after driving out
some Dorians who lived there. The Pseudo-Apollodoros, always close to
Diodoros, likewise knows about this move, noting that they travelled far
and eventually built a city called Hestiaia. Before these authors,
Herodotos provides us with an account of the Dorians being expelled
from their abode by the Kadmeians but he says not a word about the
events following the flight of the Kadmeians from the Epigonoi. Else-
where he says that when the Kadmeians were driven out by the
Epigonoi, they took refuge with the Encheleis. Pausanias connects the
Kadmeian flight to the land of the Encheleis with their march to the land
of the Dorians. Yet he speaks as if all this had happened after the defeat
of the Kadmeians in the battle of Glisas. Cross-checking the information
drawn from our various texts, we see that they complement each other.
The least clear can be understood in the light of better sources, wherever
possible.
    Herodotos connects the Kadmeians and the Dorians, saying "the
Dorians were ousted by the Kadmeians at the time when they were
living on the slopes of Ossa and Olympos, in a land called Histiaiotis."
The passage is in Herodotos's sketch of the history of the Dorians before
their descent into the Peloponnese. That explains why the history of the
Kadmeians receives no further mention. Herodotos's passage about the

Kadmeians' refuge with the Encheleis goes as follows: "In the reign of this Laodamas son of Eteokles, the Kadmeians were expelled by the Argives and betook themselves to the Encheleis." This passage too is simply a brief, occasional note in a series of digressions that have led from the visit to Athens by Aristagoras of Miletos to the Tyrannicides, from the Tyrannicides to the Gephyraians, and from the Gephyraians to the Kadmeians. This being so, Herodotos could hardly echo a version which rather than referring to events mentioned by Diodoros and the Pseudo-Apollodoros, has the Kadmeians after their defeat taking refuge with the Encheleis in a land occupied by the Dorians.

All three of Pausanias's passages about the Kadmeian emigration from Thebes are in his ninth book, the *Boiotika*. In the first passage we are told that after the battle of Glisas, Laodamas, with any Theban willing to accompany him, withdrew when night came to Illyria. The second passage is more explicit: "When the Thebans were beaten in battle by the Argives near Glisas, most of them withdrew along with Laodamas, the son of Eteokles. A portion of them shrank from the journey to Illyria and, turning aside to Thessaly, they seized Homole, the most fertile and best-watered of the Thessalian mountains. When they were recalled to their homes by Thersandros, the son of Polyneikes, they called the gate through which they passed on their return, the Homoloid Gate, after Homole." The third passage states only that after the battle at Glisas, some of the Thebans escaped with Laodamas.

Diodoros and the Pseudo-Apollodoros know only of the Kadmeians that migrated to Thessaly. Both authors, as we have stressed above, take them there from Tilphossaion. Diodoros says: "They left the country[1] and marched against the Dorians and having conquered them in battle they drove out of their native lands the inhabitants and they themselves settled

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[1] Frequently, αὐτοὶ δὲ μεταναστάντες ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ Δωριεῖς ἐστράτευσαν is translated as "they left the city". This translation would have Diodoros presenting the Kadmeians as leaving their city at one time and going to Tilphossaion, then moving again from their city against the Dorians. This is a most improbable succession of events. The phrase makes sense if we realize that, among its other meanings, the word "polis" may mean "territory of a state", "country" (M.B.Sakellariou, *The Polis-state* [ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ 4,1989] 205-207). Thus the Kadmeians moved first from their city to Tilphossaion, which was within their own country, and then crossed their territorial limits.

there for some time, some of them remaining there permanently and
others returning to Thebes. But those who had been expelled from their
native lands returned at some later period to Doris and made their native
homes in Erineos, Kytinion, and Boion." The final statement of this text
implies that the Dorians were living in Doris when they were attacked
by the Kadmeians and, consequently, that the Kadmeians made their
move in the direction of Doris. Yet we have seen already Herodotos's
statement that the Kadmeians had driven the Dorians out of a land
known as Histiaiotis, located below Ossa and Olympos. We shall see, in
addition, that other authors likewise place the Dorians in Histiaiotis,
and that according to some this land was already known as Doris.[1] Clearly it
is this last piece of information, inconsistent moreover, that caused
Diodoros to take "Doris"-Histiaiotis for Doris itself. The corresponding
passage of the Pseudo-Apollodoros reads: "After travelling far, the
Thebans built the city of Histiaia and took up their abode there." We
notice, then, that the Pseudo-Apollodoros, on so many points so close to
Diodoros, unlike him makes no mention of the expulsion of the Dorians,
and does not confuse "Doris"-Histiaiotis with Doris. He reflects,
however, the confusion attested in Herodotos between Histiaiotis and the
region near Mts. Olympos and Ossa, as a result of the fact that the name
Homole designated both a mountain and a town to the north of Mt.Ossa
near the mouth of the river Peneios.[2]

   All these passages that we have cited and commented on agree, then,
that the Kadmeians ended up by settling, some in Illyria (Herodotos's
second passage, Pausanias's first and second passages), and some on the
slopes of Ossa and Olympos, meaning Histiaiotis (second passage of
Herodotos), in Histiaiotis (the Pseudo-Apollodoros), or at Homole
(second passage of Pausanias). Even behind the confusion shown in
Diodoros's text, lies the idea that the Kadmeians established themselves
in the northern part of Thessaly.

   Yet it is unlikely that the Kadmeians ventured so far as either
Thessaly or Illyria. A look at the map suffices. In order to go from Thebes
to the Encheleis in Illyria, they would have had to travel between five
and six hundred kilometres on this supposed journey. Because of this

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[1] *Infra*, pages 224 - 225, 229 - 230.
[2] Ephoros, 70 *FGrH* 228 and Aristodemos, 383 *FGrH* 5 b = *Schol. Theocr.*, VII 103a.

distance and because the Encheleis were far from the sea, it is most unlikely that the Thebans even knew of their existence. Even had they acquired some idea of these places, they would hardly have thought of taking refuge so far from home. Assuming they had undertaken a march this long, and supposing that some of them had indeed taken fright at the prospect of marching as far as the land of the Encheleis, why did they not stop, instead of going off in another direction toward the mouth of the Peneios?

The story becomes credible, however, if the following facts are taken into account. First, Aristodemos of Thebes, in explaining that the Homoloid Gate was named after Homole in Thessaly, mentions another derivation from a Mt. Homoloion not far away. Stephanos of Byzantion gives this same explanation, a minor difference being the name *Homole* for the mountain instead of *Homoloion*.[1] Second, the Encheleis have rightly been identified as river people of Lake Copaïs, which was famous for its eels (*encheleis*). Third, as noted above, Diodoros and the Pseudo-Apollodoros have the Kadmeians fleeing to Tilphossaion in the course of one night. Diodoros says that they "gathered for refuge by night in a place in Boiotia called Tilphossaion." The Pseudo-Apollodoros has: "they had come by night to the spring called Tilphoussa." Now Mt. Tilphossaion lies to the south of Lake Copaïs, lake of the *encheleis*, a bit over thirty kilometres from Thebes. Thirty kilometres could easily be covered by the fugitives, including children and the elderly, in ten hours time. Fourth, Pausanias, as also noted, says in his first text that the defeated Thebans "withdrew when night came to Illyria". In this phrase we have both the time of departure and the place they went to. It suggests that the movement started at nightfall and was carried out immediately, that is, that the place described as "Illyria" was not far away from Thebes. This idea quite agrees with Diodoros's and the Pseudo-Apollodoros's statements that the Kadmeians arrived in one night's time at Tilphossaion. Fifth, since Mt. Homoloion or Homole gave

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[1] Aristodemos, 383 *FGrH* 5a = *Schol. Eurip. Phoen.*, 1119: Ἀριστόδημος δέ φησιν αὐτὰς οὕτω κληθῆναι διὰ τὸ πλησίον εἶναι τοῦ Ὁμολῴου ἥρωος (to read ὄρους following an emendation by P.Rabbow, based on Stephanos of Byzantion, s.v. Ὁμόλη. καὶ Θηβῶν αἱ πρὸς τῷ ὄρει πύλαι Ὁμολωίδες. This emendation has been accepted by U.von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Hermes*, 26 (1891) 315; Bölte, *RE*, VIII 1 (1913) 226ff; Jessen, *RE*, VIII 1 (1913) 2263.

its name to the Homoloid Gates, it should not be too far from Thebes. It would lie, then, not beyond Mt. Tilphossaion, but between this mountain and Thebes.

In view of all these data, we can conclude that in the original account the Thebans who fled the Epigonoi headed towards Tilphossaion, south of Lake Copaïs, but some of them cut off to Mt. Homole, midway between Thebes and Mt.Tilphossaion, to shorten their march. Because an Illyrian people were known by the Greeks as Encheleis, and because the name Homole near Thebes was also the name of a mountain near the mouth of the Peneios, the Thebans defeated by the Epigonoi were eventually thought to have ventured as far as Illyria and to a place between Olympos and Ossa. Of our sources, Strabo alone reproduces the original account. Herodotos and Pausanias both reflect a distorted version with Mt. Homole being identified as the Mt. Homole near Mt. Ossa, and the dwellers around Lake Copaïs, lake of the *encheleis*, thought to be a people in Illyria known as the Encheleis. Finally, Diodoros and the Pseudo-Apollodoros have mixed both the original story and the other version, since they present the Thebans as arriving first at Mt. Tilphossaion and thence going to Thessalian Homole or to the Illyrian Encheleis.

VIII. RETURN OF THE KADMEIANS

Diodoros and Pausanias are the only ones to report that all or some of the Kadmeians returned to Thebes. Diodoros ends his exposition saying that some of them remained permanently in the land they occupied after driving out the Dorians, whereas others returned to Thebes during the reign of Kreon the son of Menoikeus. In his second passage, Pausanias refers to this event, echoing a version in which all the Kadmeians returned because they had been recalled to their homes by king Thersandros, son of Polyneikes.

IX. CAPTURE AND FATE OF TEIRESIAS'S DAUGHTER

Diodoros and the Pseudo-Apollodoros coincide in reporting that the

Epigonoi captured the daughter of Teiresias in Thebes and dedicated her to Apollo at Delphi. According to Diodoros, after the Kadmeians fled from the city, the Epigonoi sacked it, and when they had captured Teiresias's daughter Daphne, to honour a vow, they dedicated her to the service of the temple at Delphi as an offering to the god from the first-fruits of the booty. The Pseudo-Apollodoros departs from Diodoros on three points. First, he says that the Epigonoi not only collected booty, they threw down the city walls as well. Second, he calls the daughter of Teiresias Manto rather than Daphne. Third, he is more explicit about the vow of the Epigonoi, saying that they had promised to dedicate the fairest of the spoils to Apollo if they took Thebes. The report by Diodoros and the Pseudo-Apollodoros that the Epigonoi captured the daughter of Teiresias in Thebes conflicts with their earlier statement that all the Thebans fled from the city, and this on the advice of Teiresias. It seems that both these authors followed two different versions of this particular detail. In any case, the tale of the dedication of Daphne or Manto to the temple of Apollo at Delphi is obviously fictitious. Be she Daphne or Manto, she is an imaginary character, and the temple at Delphi in such a context is anachronistic.

X. DEATH OF TEIRESIAS

Strabo, Diodoros, and the Pseudo-Apollodoros all agree that Teiresias died en route. Strabo notes a monument to the seer near the spring Tilphoussa. Diodoros says that the Kadmeians buried him there and accorded him honours befitting the gods. According to the Pseudo-Apollodoros, Teiresias died because he drank from the spring Tilphoussa. Why was Teiresias thou ~ht to have really been buried near this spring, and why was he honoured as a god? Possibly he was an ancient, local mythical or legendary figure, probably a divinity with powers of divination whose original nature had been forgotten. Perhaps Teiresias was introduced into this account of the events following the defeat of the Kadmeians by the Epigonoi, simply because he was honoured near the spring Tilphoussa, and tradition had it that the Kadmeians had taken refuge in Alalkomenai and in the stronghold of Tilphossaion.

HISTORY AND FICTION

The texts we have commented on have transmitted a number of authentic memories, some fictitious elements, and some information that cannot with any degree of probability be classified in either category.

The authentic recollections can be listed in the following sequence. The land of the Kadmeians was invaded by enemies led by princes of the northwestern Peloponnese. The invaders devastated the countryside and inflicted a heavy defeat on the Kadmeians. So serious was the blow that they felt unable to withstand a siege. Abandoning their city, they headed by way of Alalkomenai to a natural stronghold in Mt. Tilphossaion. En route, some of them stopped in Mt. Homole. These settled nearby after driving out from there some Dorians, presumably an isolated community of a semi-nomadic pastoral nature. The Kadmeians who reached Mt. Tilphossaion settled near the "lake of the eels" or Copaïs. Some time later, the refugees, or some of them, returned to Thebes. This displacement of the population was a mini-migration that did not lead to a durable situation. The lack of archaeological evidence for this migration may well be explained by two facts: first, that the Kadmeians who left their city were few in number and, second, that they went only a few kilometres away.

The non-authentic elements we have identified are of three kinds: mythical figures, fictitious events, and confusions. Teiresias and Manto will have been mythical figures. Neither replaced real personages in the tale of the Kadmeian adventures after the taking of Thebes by the Epigonoi. That is, Teiresias did not take from any historical person the act of advising the Kadmeians to abandon their city. Nor was Manto substituted for some captive Kadmeian dedicated by the Epigonoi at Delphi. Manto's consecration at Delphi comes instead, as we shall see, from quite another context: the legend of the oracle of Klaros, a legend somewhat later than the beginning of Delphi's fame.[1] Teiresias's advice to the Kadmeians is stereotype. The fictitious events in our story, therefore, are those concerning Teiresias and Manto. As for confusions, we note the one between Mt. Homole in Boiotia and Mt. Homole in Thessaly, and another between the lake of the eels (*encheleis*) or Copaïs

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[1] *Infra*, pages 218-219.

and the people known as the Encheleis in Illyria. These very confusions imply a sort of erudition that cannot have existed before the first writing of geographical works in the sixth century B.C.

There remain a couple of elements whose authenticity we cannot determine. One is the name Laodamas given to the king and military leader of the Kadmeians. This could well have been his true name. Yet it also appears elsewhere in contexts that hover between history and legend. Despite the unanimity of our sources, here some caution is in order. The version in which the Kadmeian leader is killed on the field of battle, and that in which he survives, confronts us with another uncertainty. We are in no position to choose between these versions.

WAYS OF TRANSMISSION

It was some decades after the displacement of the Kadmeians to Mt. Homole and Lake Copaïs that Pelasgian and Thracian invaders seized the lands and productive capacity of those former inhabitants who had not fled or had not perished before the attackers.[1] Three quarters of a century later, the Pelasgians and Thracians in their turn were driven out or capitulated to the Boiotians.[2] As a result, at a time when people who had lived these events or had heard of them from their parents were still alive, the Kadmeians ceased to exist as separate communities at Thebes and in Homole.[3] From that time on, there was never again a separate Kadmeian community. There were, however, communities of which the Kadmeians formed a part. These Kadmeians evidently told their children their recollections about the history of their former country, and through intermarriages these memories were retained in an ever-widening circle.

A community having Kadmeians among it can be identified at Kolophon.[4] There may also have been other communities with Kadmeian elements in the eastern Aegean. Likewise it is possible that elements of Kadmeian origin were incorporated into one or more of the Boiotian

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[1] *Supra*, pages 201-206.
[2] *Supra*, pages 180-189.
[3] *Supra*, pages 210-214.
[4] M.B.Sakellariou, *La migration grecque en Ionie* (1958) 146-172

communities.[1] Memories of the taking of Thebes by the Epigonoi and the subsequent adventures of the Kadmeians will have been handed down in the beginning by word of mouth, then through literature.

Kolophon is well attested as a place where they preserved particularly those recollections we have described above. They were perpetuated within the compass of sacred legend about the founding of the oracular sanctuary at Klaros. According to this legend, the oracle was connected with Teiresias's daughter Manto in the following way: having been taken prisoner by the Epigonoi, she was said to have been consecrated to the Delphic god who ordered her to go to Asia. This is what we know from the two passages of Pausanias and a scholion on Apollonios of Rhodes.[2] All these texts, in contrast to those we have studied above, say nothing about any Kadmeians retreating after their defeat, but report simply that they were all captured by the Epigonoi and dedicated to Apollo at Delphi. The first group of texts, on the other hand, makes no mention of the Delphic god sending Manto into Asia. This omission by each group of the version reported by the other is all the more striking when it appears in a single author, as is the case with Pausanias. We should bear in mind that the three passages of Pausanias belonging to the first group are in his Book IX where he is discussing Boiotian matters, whereas his mention of Manto is in the framework of an account of Greek colonisation in Ionia. The other passage of Pausanias from the second group is, like the passages of the first, in Book IX. It follows a reference to Mt. Tilphous and the spring Tilphoussa near Haliartos. Yet here Pausanias does not draw on the source he employs for the other passages of the book IX, but on the one he uses in book VII for the oracle of Klaros.

The origin of the consecration of Manto at Delphi and her dispatching by divine order to Klaros is evident. It seems to be a fabrication of the priests of Klaros, eager to connect their temple with the Delphic sanctuary. Perhaps it was felt necessary to face down the existence of other oracular establishments in Ionia, notably of the Branchidai, but also perhaps Delphi itself. None of these elements can be earlier than the

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[1] According to Herodotos, V 61, the Attic genos of the Gephyraioi was also of Kadmeian stock. Yet the same author says that they themselves thought they came from Eretria.

[2] Pausanias, VII 3, 1- 4 and IX 33, 1-2; *Schol.Apoll.Rhod*., I 308; Pomponius Mela, I 12.

chronological limit provided by the rise of Delphi, and especially by the beginning of Delphi's fame in Asia Minor, from 700 B.C. on.[1]

The Kolophonians showed an interest not only in Manto and the circumstances of her arrival at Klaros. They were equally acquainted with the history of Kadmeian Thebes. Indeed a Kolophonian poet, Antimachos, toward the end of the fifth or beginning of the fourth century B.C. wrote an epic entitled *Thebais*. The sacred legend of Klaros is likely to have formed a part of this epic. In fact, it would have been most unusual for an epic written at Kolophon to say nothing at all about the foundation of the oracle of which they were all so proud. Moreover, one of our sources for the legend of Manto at Klaros, the scholiast on Apollonios of Rhodes, says he is following the "authors of the *Thebaïs*". This *Thebaïs* is likely to have been a Kolophonian epic. The question of whether it is the same with the *Thebaïs* of Antimachos has been much discussed, but the problem remains.

Other ancient authors refer to an epic entitled *Thebaïs* which they sometimes qualify as "cyclical", evidently to distinguish it from other poems of the same name. This *Thebaïs* may have been in existence well before the *Iliad*. There existed also an epic, entitled *Epigonoi*, later than the *Iliad*.

Just as we must attribute to Kolophon the story bringing Manto to Klaros, and telling how the Epigonoi captured and consecrated at Delphi all the Kadmeians, so we cannot take for granted a Kolophonian origin for the story that relates the adventures of the Kadmeians who escaped from the Epigonoi, but says nothing about Manto's crossing to Klaros. A search for the origin of this story leads in two directions. The cities of Ionia other than Kolophon, that is, Samos, Chios, Priene, and Erythrai, are likely candidates for Boiotians participated in their founding.[2] Even so, the story might have originated in Thebes where even in historical times there still existed myths, legends, and cults of pre-Boiotian times, especially those of the Kadmeians. In view of this, the balance lies perhaps with Thebes. We have seen above that it was later on that Teiresias was introduced into the tradition of the Kadmeians' adventures.[3] How

[1] M.B.Sakellariou, *op. cit.*, 153.
[2] *Supra*, pages 138ff., 146ff.
[3] M.B.Sakellariou, *op. cit.*, 91, 105, 209, 220-221.

could this have happened? If the legend of Teiresias and the tradition
about the Kadmeians' adventures following the fall of Thebes to the
Epigonoi were to agree on one point, we would have a possible explana-
tion. Indeed, such a point there is. On one hand, the legend of Teiresias
connects him with the Tilphoussa spring: he was said to have perished
there from drinking the water, and nearby was his tomb. On this same
spot a monument had been raised to him and he was tendered honours
equal to those given the gods.[1] On the other hand, the tradition about the
Kadmeians fleeing from the Epigonoi says they took refuge in Mt.
Tilphossaion. Tilphoussa and Mt. Tilphossaion provide the connecting
point of the two stories.

So much for the possible conveyors by word of mouth of memories
about the mini-migration of the Kadmeians following their defeat by the
Epigonoi. We turn now to the role of our written evidence. For our
longer, more comprehensive and coherent sources, we are indebted to
Diodoros, the Pseudo-Apollodoros, and Pausanias.

Diodoros's account is part of a history of the Seven and the Epigonoi.
In this account he mentions first in ninety-five words: (i) the defeat of the
Kadmeians by the Argives; (ii) the advice given by Teiresias; (iii) the re-
treat of the Kadmeians by night to Mt.Tilphossaion; (iv) the conquest of
Thebes by the Epigonoi; and (v) the capture of Teiresias's daughter. Some
lines further on, Diodoros refers in sixty words to three additional items:
(vi) the death of Teiresias; (vii) the march of the Kadmeians from Mt.
Tilphossaion to a place occupied by Dorians; and (viii) the Kadmeians'
return home.

The Pseudo-Apollodoros too relates the defeat and subsequent fate of
the Kadmeians within a history of the Seven and the Epigonoi. In one
hundred thirty-seven words he relates that: (i) the Kadmeians hastened to
check the Epigonoi outside Thebes; (ii) their leader Laodamas was
fatally wounded in the battle; (iii) they then took refuge within the city;
(iv) Teiresias advised them as to what they should do; (v) accordingly,
they retired to the spring, Tilphoussa; (vi) Teiresias met there his death;
(vii) afterwards the Kadmeians moved far away and founded a city,
Histiaia; (viii) the Epigonoi laid waste to Thebes; (ix) they took the
daughter of Teiresias prisoner.

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[1] *Supra*, page 215. Pausanias VII 3, 1 and IX 33, 1.

The first text of Pausanias is part of a history of Laïos, Oidipous, and his sons. There he mentions in forty-five words: (i) the battle at Glisas; (ii) the name of the Kadmeian leader, Laodamas; (iii) the defeat of the Kadmeians; (iv) the retreat of a part of them with Laodamas to Illyria. The third text of Pausanias is to be found, like those of Diodoros and the Pseudo-Apollodoros in an account of the story of the Seven and the Epigonoi. Here, in thirty-four words, the author takes the opportunity to mention: (i) the battle at Glisas; (ii) King Laodamas; (iii) the retreat of Laodamas with a part of the Kadmeians to a place not identified by name; (iv) the capture of Thebes. The second text of Pausanias explains simply the name of the Homoloid Gates. Even so, and although it does not exceed ten words, it mentions (i) the battle at Glisas; (ii) King Laodamas; (iii) the defeat; (iv) the march of the defeated, some to Illyria, some to Homole.

Compared to Diodoros, the Pseudo-Apollodoros, and Pausanias, Herodotos and Strabo give us meagre information. It is à propos of Alalkomenai and the cult of Athena, and after stating that all the neighbouring people held off from any violence toward the Alalkomenians, that Strabo says as an example that the Kadmeians sought refuge there. He goes on to mention Mt. Tilphossaion, the spring Tilphoussa, and the death of Teiresias. Herodotos too incorporates such relevant matters in his digressions. In his Book I, where he relates the movements of the Dorians, he notes in eight words that they were expelled from Histiaiotis by the Kadmeians. In Book V, he is led by the subject of the Gephyraians and their Kadmeian origin to a seventeen word note about (i) the expulsion of the Kadmeians by the Argives, (ii) King Laodamas, and (iii) the journey of the Kadmeians to the land of the Encheleis.

In summary, the text of Diodoros, that of the Pseudo-Apollodoros, and the two relatively comprehensive texts of Pausanias have been conceived by these authors as narratives of the story of the Kadmeians from their defeat by the Epigonoi to their return to Thebes. To the contrary, the passages of Herodotos, Strabo, and the second of the three texts of Pausanias, are occasional notices.

The texts of Diodoros and the Pseudo-Apollodoros certainly reflect less than would have been found in the cyclic *Thebaïs* or the *Epigonoi*. Yet it is likely that they mention the essential points of the story and give, in addition, quite a few of the names. The other sources refer to

some of the same events in terms showing that they too were more or less faithful to the story related by the cyclic *Thebaïs* and the *Epigonoi*. It does not follow, however, that all relevant items in our sources were necessarily drawn from this same epic. Above all, we cannot credit the cyclic *Thebaïs* or the Epigonoi with the confusion between Mt. Homole near Thebes and Mt. Homole near the mouth of the river Peneios, or the confusion between the riverains of Lake Copaïs and the Encheleis in Illyria. Both would be impossible before the circulation of geographical works in the sixth century B.C. Yet some of our sources imply that the Kadmeians moved to places that were not far away from Thebes. The descriptions of events and places in the *Thebaïs* and the *Epigonoi* are very likely to be the origin here.

The *Thebaïs*, and the *Epigonoi* on the other hand, will have incorporated many elements of the tradition as it was being related in the eighth century B.C. A number of these will have been to some extent genuine, the rest secondary. It is possible also that a certain amount of poetic license will have been taken with the material.

In sum, our sources reflect primarily an indeterminate part of the authentic elements of the tradition as told in poetic form in the cyclic *Thebaïs* and the *Epigonoi,* and to a lesser extent, part of those elements of the authentic tradition that were still being told, somewhat before the composing of the cyclic *Thebaïs*.

VII. THE FICTITIOUS MOVEMENTS OF THE DORIANS THROUGH THESSALY AND THE REAL MIGRATION OF THE MAKEDNOI FROM PINDOS TO CENTRAL GREECE

Herodotos says that the Dorians, after leaving Phthiotis, settled successively first in northern Thessaly, then in the Pindos, and finally in Doris.[1] In another version, known from Konon, the Pseudo-Skymnos, the Pseudo-Apollodoros, and Strabo, Doros leads a group of men from Phthiotis to Doris.[2] Other texts, however, simply place the Dorians either in northern Thessaly, the Pindos, or in Doris; or mention migrations of the Dorians from one of these regions to another.[3] The question is whether these texts presuppose the account of Herodotos, or whether they go back to other versions of which no complete account has survived. At present, scholars are inclined to credit Herodotos. Here we shall first make a literary examination of our sources subjecting them also to internal criticism. Then we shall test the validity of each piece of evidence.

A SURVEY OF THE INFORMATION

1. According to Herodotos, the Dorians at first lived in Phthiotis. This was during the reign of Deucalion. Since Doros, generally regarded in antiquity as the ancestor of the Dorians, was supposed to be the grandson of Deucalion (Herodotos himself, as we shall see, placed Doros's reign over the Dorians later), the use of the term *Dorians* in this context was an anachronism even for the Ancients. It is not found in Konon, Strabo, the Pseudo-Skymnos or the Pseudo-Apollodoros. They describe Doros as leading a party of his father Hellen's subjects directly from Phthiotis to the Parnassos area, and they ascribe to Doros the ethnic name of the Dorians.

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[1] Herodotos, I 56.
[2] Konon, 26 *FGrH* 1, xxviii; Pseudo-Skymnos, 592-595; Strabo, VIII 7, 1.
[3] *Infra*, pages 224 - 228.

2. Under Doros the son of Hellen, Herodotos continues, the Dorians lived "beneath Ossa and Olympos in the region called Histiaiotis." Yet Ossa and Olympos are not in Histiaiotis in the northwest, but in the northeastern part of Thessaly. Some scholars thought the name Histiaiotis once also comprised the region adjoining Olympos and Ossa.[1] As we shall see, however, Herodotos was the victim of misunderstanding.

3. Further on Herodotos says that the Dorians withdrew from Histiaiotis in the face of the Kadmeians. Elsewhere he tells us that the Kadmeians, defeated by the Epigonoi, took refuge with the Encheleis in Illyria.[2] Some other authors are more explicit. Thus Diodoros says that after their defeat by the Epigonoi, the Kadmeians drove the Dorians out of their land, and that later on the Dorians repaired to Doris.[3] Pausanias, who describes in two places the retreat of the defeated into Illyria, says in addition that some of them were separated en route and, going in another direction, they settled on Mt.Homole.[4] As noted above, this was the name of a mountain to the north of Ossa, but a city between that mountain and the Peneios had also the same name.[5] Clearly Herodotos's mention of Olympos and Ossa comes ultimately from the same source as Pausanias's and Diodoros's accounts of the vicissitudes of the Kadmeians after their defeat by the Epigonoi.[6] Herodotos, however, tells us in addition that the Pelasgians of Kreston in Macedonia had once occupied Thessaliotis, where they were neighbours of the Dorians.[7] This makes sense if the Dorians were in Histiaiotis rather than in the region of Ossa and Olympos. It follows that Herodotos had also at his disposal one or more sources that placed the Dorians in Histiaiotis, apart from their being situated at Homole near Ossa. In addition there are a number of ancient texts some of which link the Dorians with Histiaiotis only, while

[1] K.O.Müller, *Die Dorier*, 2nd ed.,I (1844) 28.

[2] Herodotos, V 61.

[3] Diodoros, IV 67,1. C.Robert, *Die griechische Heldensage*, III (1921-1926) 956, and T.C.Skeat, *The Dorians in Archaeology* (1934) 56 (with no reference to C.Robert) have expressed the opinion that for Diodoros the Dorians were already settled in Central Greece when they were attacked by the Kadmeians. The context does not allow this view. It appears instead to be a summary of the story told by Pausanias (see following note).

[4] Pausanias, IX 5,13 and 8,6.

[5] *Supra*, page 212.

[6] *Supra*, pages 210 - 214.

[7]   Herodotos, I 157.

others have them living near Ossa and Olympos. In his account of the
occupation of Thessaly by the Thessalians, Charax says that the Dorians
lived in Histiaiotis (the context shows clearly that the author meant this
country), then known as Doris. This last point occurs again in a passage
of Strabo. Andron too, in his account of a colony of Dorians in Crete led
by Tektaphos the son of Doros, mentions that Histiaiotis, then known as
Doris, shared in the colony. Unlike these authors, Dikaiarchos and
Diodoros (who name the leader of the colony Tektamos) place the origin
of these same colonists in Pelasgiotis and the environs of Olympos.[1]
Diodoros, however, locates the Dorians in Histiaiotis as well, and says
that it was known as Doris in the days when the Dorians were attacked
by Lapiths against whom their king, Aigimios, sought the help of
Herakles.[2] Still other authors, notably Ephoros, Strabo, and the Pseudo-
Apollodoros, place these events in Central Greece.[3] Yet Charax,
Andron, Dikaiarchos, and Diodoros, are none of them totally dependent
on Herodotos for they speak of events not mentioned by the Father of
History, and their statement that Histiaiotis was at that time known as
Doris is an additional point not found in Herodotos. Behind these authors
we glimpse four different sources. Let us begin with Charax's source who
will have told about the occupation of Thessaly by Thessalos. The se-
cond, Andron's source, will have mentioned a colony of Dorians in Crete
from Histiaiotis. The third, the source used by Dikaiarchos and Diodoros,
reflects another version of the same tale in which the Dorians leave a re-
gion near Olympos. The fourth is Diodoros's source, where the subject is
the wars of the Dorians and Lapiths and the intervention of Herakles on
behalf of the Dorians. The first, second and fourth sources thus locate the
Dorians in Histiaiotis, the third in the area of Olympos. That is, unlike

[1] Charax, 103 *FGrH* 6 = Stephanos of Byzantion, s.v. Δώριον (who places Histiaiotis πρὸς
δυσμῶν τῆς Πίνδου, instead of πρὸς ἀνατολῶν; K.O.Müller, *op. cit.*, 28 n.1, accepted
this localization; but the context refers to the conquest of Thessaly); Strabo, IX 5, 17;
Andron, 10 *FGrH* 16 a and b = Strabo, X 4, 6 and Stephanos of Byzantion, s.v. Δώριον;
Dikaiarchos *apud* Stephanos of Byzantion,*ibidem*; Diodoros, V 60, 2 and 80, 2.
K.O.Müller, *op. cit.*, 32 (n.2) believed Diodoros to have drawn on Andron; but these
authors do not agree on the provenance of the Dorians, a crucial point.
[2] Diodoros, IV 37, 3-4.
[3] Ephoros, 70 *FGrH*15 = Stephanos of Byzantion, s.v. Δυμᾶνες; Strabo, IX 4, 10; Pseudo-
Apollodoros, II 7, 7.

Herodotos, not one of these presumed sources seem to have confused Histiaiotis with the area between Olympos and Ossa.

4. Herodotos goes on to say that after the Dorians were driven out of Histiaiotis by the Kadmeians, they withdrew to the Pindos massif where they became known as *Makednoi*. In another passage the same author characterizes the Lakedaimonians, Corinthians, and Sikyonians as "Dorians and Makednoi originally from the Erineos and the Pindos."[1] Lykophron, and a number of scholiasts, also locate the Dorians in the Pindos, connecting them particularly with the part of the range known as Lakmon.[2] Since, however, it is on this point alone that all these texts coincide, we do not know if their direct or indirect sources brought the Dorians to the Pindos by way of Thessaly, as does Herodotos, or whether the Pindos is for them the cradle of the Dorians. Pindar, for his part, states that the Dorians established at Amyklai had come from the direction of Pindos.[3] This raises another question: did the poet mean Mt. Pindos, or a locality of this same name in Doris, learned through other authors?[4] That tradition is unanimous in believing Doris to be the immediate origin of the Peloponnesian Dorians, argues in support of Pindos as a locality.[5] Yet in favour of the Pindos mountain range, accepted also by one of the scholiasts on Pindar, is the fact that Herodotos, Lykophron, and the scholiasts all place the Dorians in the Pindos range.

5. Having left Pindos, the narrative of Herodotos goes on, the Dorians descended into Dryopis. Elsewhere Herodotos says that the Peloponnesian Dorians came initially from Erineos and the Pindos, and finally from Dryopis.[6] In two other passages he identifies Dryopis with Doris.[7] The migration of the Dorians from the Pindos in the direction of Doris is mentioned likewise by Lykophron and by the scholiasts mentioned above.[8] Andron, Diodoros, and perhaps Dikaiarchos, on the other

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[1] Herodotos, VIII 43.

[2] Lykophron, 1388-1390; *Schol. Vet. Lyc. Alex.*, 1388ff; *Schol. Pind. Pyth.*, I 121 and 125-126; *Schol. Aristoph. Plut.*, 385.

[3] Pindar, *Pyth.*, I. 65-66.

[4] *Supra*, page 154.

[5] *Supra*, pages 152ff.

[6] Herodotos, VIII 43.

[7] Herodotos, I 56. VIII 31 and 43.

[8] See references n. 2.

hand, echo a version in which the Dorians come to Doris directly from
Thessaly (from Histiaiotis according to Andron and Diodoros, from
Pelasgiotis according to Dikaiarchos) without passing by way of the
Pindos.[1] Another passage of Diodoros is ambiguous, for it says that the
Dorians driven out of Thessaly by the Kadmeians, went to Doris "after
some years."[2] From the context it is not clear whether Histiaiotis is
meant or the region near Ossa to which, as we have seen, we are led by
a parallel text of Pausanias. Indeed we may well wonder what the
unabridged form of this version had to say about the wanderings of the
Dorians between their expulsion from Thessaly and their arrival in Doris.
Did it say that they stayed in the Pindos during this time? In this context
we may recall the version preserved by Konon, Strabo, the Pseudo-
Skymnos and the Pseudo-Apollodoros, which on two points departs from
all the others. *1* Instead of Dorians, it speaks of a group led by Doros.
2 Doros and his companions are said to have come from Phthiotis.[3] Now
let us see what our sources say about the circumstances of the Dorians
succeeding the Dryopes. (i) The Pseudo-Apollodoros tells us that
Aigimios, king of the Dorians, solicited the help of Herakles against the
Lapiths, offering him part of his kingdom in recompense. Herakles, he
continues, after defeating and repulsing the Lapiths, killed Laogoras, king
of the Dryopes, because of his impious acts and because he was an ally
of the Lapiths, and his son as well.[4] (ii) In Diodoros, Herakles drives out
the Dryopes before Aigimios asks for his help against the Lapiths.
Diodoros also tells us that the Dorians were at that time living in
Histiaiotis, that they were being attacked by the Lapiths who lived near
Mt. Olympos, that Aigimios had asked for Herakles's help and promised
him a third of his kingdom, that Herakles had led a battalion of
Arkadians, and that after his victory, the hero entrusted to Aigimios the
third part of the land which had become his share with an order that he
hold it in trust for his own descendants.[5] It is apparent that in Diodoros's
mind it was not in Doris, but in Thessaly that Herakles acquired posses-
sion of Dorian land. (iii) A fragment of Ephoros in Stephanos of

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[1] Andron, 10 *FGrH* 16 a = Strabo, X 4, 6; Diodoros, IV 37, 1; Dikaiarchos, *loc. cit.*

[2] Diodoros, IV 67, 1

[3] *Supra*, page 223.

[4] Pseudo-Apollodoros, II 7, 7.

[5] Diodoros, IV 37, 3-4.

Byzantion and a passage of Strabo's, drawn probably from Ephoros, say that Aigimios, king of the Dorians, had been driven out of his country near Mt. Oeta, that he was reinstated there by Herakles, and that because of this he adopted Herakles's son, Hyllos. Thus these texts locate the Dorians in Doris before they were attacked by the Lapiths.[1] This presupposes a version in which Herakles had chased the Dryopes at an even more distant time. (iv) Finally, according to a version preserved by Diodoros, Herakles had given the land of the Dryopes not to the Dorians, but to the Malieis.[2]

HISTORY AND FICTION

I

For a number of reasons it is highly unlikely that the Dorians lived first in Phthiotis and then in Thessaly before going into the Pindos.[3]

First, the use of the ethnic *Dorieis* by Herodotos and other ancient authors for a tribe not yet established in Doris is an anachronistic error. Indeed the ethnic *Dorieis* is derived from the toponym *Doris,* thus no Dorians earlier than the place known as Doris. Besides, in Herodotos's summary of the history of the "Dorians" before they went to Doris is the idea that the "Dorians", known as Dorians from the beginning after Doros, son of Hellen, were called Makednoi in the Pindos, and took back their original name when they went to Doris. Thus at the time when our sources say "Dorians" were in various regions of Thessaly or in the Pindos, the original tradition could not have spoken of "Dorians". The original tradition told of Makednoi who lived in the Pindos, and were the ancestors of the Dorians of historical times.

Second, had the Dorians lived at first in Phthiotis and Thessaly, their dialect would be close to Aeolic.

Third, the idea that Phthiotis was the cradle of the Dorians comes from the location there of Hellen and his sons and grandsons, the

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[1] Ephoros, 70 *FGrH* 15 = Stephanos of Byzantion, s.v. Δυμᾶνες; Strabo, IX 4, 10.

[2] Diodoros, IV 37, 1

[3] The story reported by Herodotos is considered reliable by a number of scholars.

eponyms of the Dorians, Aiolians, Achaians, and Ionians.[1] For this same reason it is not only Doros or the Dorians that are supposed to have come from Phthiotis, but also Aiolos,[2] Achaios,[3] and Ion.[4]

Fourth, the information that a group of Kadmeians fleeing from the Epigonoi drove out the Dorians who were living near Tempe has been shown to be spurious.[5] Even so, the two arguments used to confirm this cannot be upheld. *a*) It has been maintained that the toponyms *Kyphos* in Perrhaibia, and *Akyphas* in Doris, were Dorian or, at least, that Akyphas was a name given by the Dorians in memory of their earlier stay in Perrhaibia.[6] No proof has been offered. Strabo connects *Kyphos* with the Ainianian who had earlier on lived in Perrhaibia.[7] If then, by chance, *Akyphas* was a toponym introduced into Doris by a group from Perrhaibia, is there not a possibility that these migrants were Ainianians? *b*) The cult of Apollo Pythios at Tempe (an altar) and in Perrhaibia (the city Pythion) has also been invoked in favour of the Dorians having once settled near Tempe. Yet this cult was not specifically Dorian. Furthermore, at the time of the "Dorians" migration, it was not wide-spread from north to south but from the Delphic sanctuary to Pieria, and that only after this sanctuary became famous.

Fifth, the migration to Crete of "Dorians", whether from the region of Ossa and Olympos, or from Histiaiotis, is all pure fiction of a later date. The name *Tektamos* or *Tektaphos* given by the sources to the leader of this colony, is simply a slightly altered version of *Teutamos*, the hero of

[1] Thucydides, I 3, 2; *Marmor Parium*, 239 *FGrH* 6; Konon, 27 *FGrH* 1, xxvii; Pseudo-Apollodoros, I. 7, 2; Strabo, IX 5, 5.

[2] Strabo, VII 7, 1; Konon 26 *FGrH* 1, xxvii.

[3] Eustathios, *Comm. Il.* B 684, p.28.

[4] Herodotos, V 66. VII 94. VIII 44, cf. I 146; Euripides, *Ion, passim*; Aristotle, *Const. Ath.*, III 2, XLI 2, *Metaph.*, IV 28, 1, p.1204 a; Philochoros 328 *FGrH* 15 = Harpokration, s.v. Βοηδρομία; Herakleides, *Epit.*, I 1, *FHG*, II, 208; Palaiphatos, *De Incred.*, 35; Konon, 26 *FGrH*, 1, xxvii; Pseudo-Apollodoros, I 7, 3; Strabo, VIII 7, 1-2; Pausanias, I 31, 3. II 14, 2 and 26, 1. VIII 1, 2-5 and 4, 2; Aelius Aristides, *Eleus.*, 12; *Schol. Ven. (A) Il.*, A 2; *Schol. Aristoph. Av.*, 1527; *Schol. Aristoph. Ach.*, 104; Eusebios in *Eusebius Werke,* VII, 52; Isidorus, *Orig.*, IX 2.72; *Etym. Magn.*, s.v. Βοηδρομιών.

[5] *Supra*, pages 210 - 214.

[6] This has been argued by K.O.Müller, *Die Dorier*, 2nd ed., I (1844) 29.

[7] Strabo, IX 5, 22.

the Thessalian Pelasgians.[1] Our sources tell us that the Cretan colonists comprised not only Dorians but also Pelasgians, Achaians, and Aiolians. In view of this we may suppose that initially the colony consisted of Pelasgians only, led from Thessaly to Crete by Teutamos. Dorians, Achaians, and Aiolians will have been added by later authors the first two because they are listed in the *Odyssey* among the peoples of Crete, the Aiolians because Thessaly was thought to have been an old Aiolian country. In the end, because Crete was Dorian in historical times, the Dorians were made into the main element of the colony, and Teutamos became a son of Doros. The arguments advanced to show that there really was a migration to Crete of "Dorians" from Thessaly and Pieria are in no way conclusive. *a*) The constitutions of the Cretan cities show very little connection with Thessaly.[2] *b*) The toponyms *Dion* and *Pydna* in Pieria and *Hierapytna* in Crete provide only "slight evidence",[3] for *Pydna* and *Hierapytna* both go back to a Mediterranean substratum and the names *Dion* and *Dia* are not specifically Dorian in character. *c*) The appearance in central Crete of swords of northern type cannot be attributed to a Dorian colony originating in Thessaly or Pieria[4] because (i) the type is not found in Pieria, and (ii) it appears in Crete before the arrival of the Dorians.

I I

Unlike the localizations of the "Dorians" examined above, those we shall investigate now are in all likelihood valid.

1. There is nothing to arouse scepticism in correlating the historical Dorians with a people known as Makednoi who came down from the Pindos. It is an association that could hardly have been imagined and it is the equivalent of a *lectio difficilior*. It is significant, moreover, that the toponyms of Doris include place-names that point to the Pindos: the name *Pindos* itself was given to a river and an area in Doris. The name *Boïon*, applied both to part of the Pindos and to the entire range, was

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[1] M.B.Sakellariou, *Peuples préhelléniques d'origine indo-européenne* (1977) 213.

[2] This has been argued by K.O.Müller, *loc. cit.*

[3] H.T.Wade-Gery in *CAH*, II (1926) 526.

[4] H.T.Wade-Gery, *loc. cit.*

likewise the name of a town in Doris. *Erineos*, the name of another city in Doris, is likewise derived from the Pindos. To the Pindos, then, we can trace the origin of some people who became eventually a component of the future Dorian ethnos. We must call them Makednoi, as in their own tradition.[1]

2. According to Andron and Diodoros, the Dorians went to Doris after Histiaiotis. If we substitute Makednoi for Dorians, how could we say that the Makednoi went through Histiaiotis en route to Doris from the Pindos? Rather, we should put it that the Makednoi had a semi-nomadic pastoral economy, that they lived in the Pindos from April to October, and in the plain of Histiaiotis during the rest of the year.

3. The sojourn of the Dorians in Doris before they embarked on the conquest of the Peloponnese, is attested by several authors. They preserve a unanimous and coherent tradition. Moreover this tradition is confirmed by the fact that the ethnic term *Dorieis* must first have been used in the only land in Greece that bears this name. Yet a number of scholars have insisted that the Dorians who came down into the Peloponnese did not come from Doris, where, they believe, only a stray group of Dorians had settled down. Their arguments have been refuted above.[2]

The Lapith attack on the "Dorians" (read: Makednoi), the defeat of the "Dorians" and the intervention of Herakles on their behalf with the resulting eviction of the invaders and restitution of Aigimios, give the impression of having been translated from an historical sequence into epic form. The hypothesis that this story was invented to explain the three Dorian tribes[3] is easy enough to refute. To show the ancestry of their tribes, after all, the Ancients had only to present the eponyms as the sons of Doros, just as the eponyms of the Ionian tribes were called the sons of Ion; no need to fabricate a complicated tale with Herakles and Aigimios for central characters, and with episodes that appear to be of little use.

The version given by Ephoros and Strabo in which the Dorians were in Doris when these events occurred, is earlier and closer to historical reality than the one followed by Diodoros with the Dorians in Histiaiotis.

[1] Cf. T.C.Skeat, *op. cit.*, 53; N.G.L.Hammond, *Epirus* (1967) 374.

[2] *Supra*, pages 153 - 157.

[3] P.Friedländer, *Herakles* (Philologische Untersuchungen 19,1907) 104.

Some scholars give preference to Diodoros, on the basis of two arguments that do not stand up. The first holds that in the continuation of his narrative Diodoros brings Herakles home by way of Pelasgiotis.[1] Yet (i) Diodoros brings him home in the meantime: "He now returned to Trachis, and upon being challenged to combat by Kyknos, the son of Ares, he slew the man and as he was leaving the territory of Itonos and was making his way through Pelasgiotis," and so on;[2] (ii) the reference to Pelasgiotis is erroneous, for Ormenios, said to be king of that country, is the eponym of Ormenion which lies between Iolkos and Itonos. The second argument goes as follows: Since Homer places the Lapiths in Pelasgiotis, the Dorians would have been their neighbours had they lived in Histiaiotis rather than in central Greece.[3] Yet Herakles himself is localized in central Greece and so just as far away from Pelasgiotis as he is from Histiaiotis. The localization of Herakles himself carries with it the localization of the element which honoured him and which he in turn represented as their hero. The Arkadian allies of Herakles are found in the same vicinity.[4] As for the Lapiths, they have left their traces outside Pelasgiotis, notably in Thessaliotis, Phthiotis, Achaia Phthiotis, the Spercheios valley, and in Phokis, lands all adjacent or close to Doris. The arguments propounded in support of Diodoros's version are not only invalid, but the version itself has an element that disqualifies it. It presents Herakles as entrusting to Aigimios the share of land he had received for his help against the Lapiths. This element, in fact, makes sense in Doris, but not in Histiaia. Diodoros and the Pseudo-Apollodoros name Koronos as king of the Lapiths who were enemies of the Dorians. Here perhaps Koronos is the eponym of Koroneia in Achaia Phthiotis.

All these elements of the story we have been discussing most likely figured in the epic *Aigimios*, composed around 700 B.C. What the *Aigimios* related in epic form seems to have come from a tradition of an historical nature recalling clashes between the Lapiths, living in Achaia

[1] T.C.Skeat, *op. cit.*, 56

[2] Diodoros, IV 37,4.

[3] K.O.Müller, *op. cit.*,30; W.T.Wade-Gery, *CAH*, II (1926) 527-528; T.C.Skeat, *op. cit.*, 56; Y.Béquignon, *La vallée du Spercheios* (1937) 161.

[4] M.B.Sakellariou, in *The History of the Greek Language in Cyprus, Proceedings of an International Symposium Sponcored by the Pierides Foundation, Larnaca, 8-13 September 1986* (1988) 15.

Phthiotis, and the Makednoi, living in the south of this land, and also the help given to the Makednoi in their struggle with the Lapiths by a people who honoured Herakles. The alliance of these people with the Makednoi initiated a relationship which, with the participation of other ethnic elements, will have led to the formation of the Dorians. These other ethnic elements would have been united in the tribe known as the *Pamphyloi*. The people who revered Herakles would originally have belonged to the tribe *Hylleis* whose eponymous hero passed for a son of Herakles. The Makednoi, for their part, will have completed the remaining tribe, the *Dymanes*. This new people, the Dorians, made up of Makednoi (Dymanes), Herakleidai (Hylleis), and various other ethnic elements (Pamphyloi) took quite naturally the name of the land known as Doris, which served as the crucible in their formation. The ethnic name, *Dorieis*, sealed the fusion of Makednoi, Herakleidai, and other ethnic elements into a unified people.

4. We have seen that a group known as Dorians was living near Thebes when that city fell to the Epigonoi by the middle of the thirteenth century B.C. This date provides a *terminus ante quem* for the existence of this ethnic name and therefore for this new people. We may presume that the road leading from the alliance between the Makednoi and the Herakleidai to the formation of a new people was of some length. The whole process is likely to have taken more than a generation. Let us suppose, conservatively, that it took two generations or, more likely, three. The migration of the Makednoi into the land that served as a crucible in the formation of the Dorian people will have taken place in the second half of the 14th century B.C.

A SUMMARY OF THE CONCLUSIONS

The items mentioned in our various sources may be arranged under four headings: "origin", "intermediate stages', "cause", and "settlement". In his Book I, Herodotos describes the origin and wanderings of his "Dorians" from Phthiotis to Thessaly, thence to Pindos and on to Doris, this in forty-six words. Elsewhere he hints, in ten words, at the last stage of this itinerary. Only "origin" is referred to by Lykophron, Andron, and Dikaiarchos. Each gives some other origin: respectively, Mt.Pindos,

Histiaiotis, and Pelasgiotis. Andron's description, with thirty-two words, is longer than the others. Diodoros locates the "Dorians" in Histiaiotis without bringing them there from Doris. In another text of Diodoros, the item "cause" is found where he says that the Dorians driven out from their home by the Kadmeians reached Doris somewhat later on. As for "settlement", we note the version in which Herakles had driven out the Dryopes from the land they occupied before he gave it to the "Dorians" to settle. This version is represented by Diodoros. Yet Ephoros, followed by Strabo and the Pseudo-Apollodoros, has the Dorians already settled in Doris when they asked the help of Herakles against the Lapiths. This version, evidently older than that in Diodoros, has nothing to do with the item "settlement".

There is no reason to doubt that the Makednoi came to Doris from Mt. Pindos, and possibly also from Histiaiotis, if we understand it as the region of their winter dwelling. No other region mentioned as the home of the "Dorians" goes back to the original tradition. The same is true for all else we find in our sources about the wanderings of the "Dorians", the cause of their departure from Thessaly, and the role attributed to Herakles in their settlement in Doris.

The text of the Pseudo-Apollodoros and the long text of Diodoros, in forty-three and one hundred fifteen words respectively, are parts of narratives about Herakles. The dealings of Herakles with the Dorians referred to in these texts, as well as in those of Ephoros and his followers, seem to have been mentioned in the epic *Aigimios*, an epic which contained Dorian traditions. The version we have restituted, thanks to Ephoros and the Pseudo-Apollodoros, seems to reflect historical events, but these events, an attack of the Lapiths against the Dorians then led by King Aigimios, and the intervention on behalf of the Dorians by a people personified in "Herakles", will have been somewhat later than the settlement of the Makednoi in Doris.

The associations of the Dorians with places in Thessaly, found in Herodotos, Diodoros, and Dikaiarchos, go back ultimately to the confusion between Mt. Homole in Boiotia and Mt. Homole in Thessaly, a confusion probably not earlier than the mid-sixth century B.C. The original tradition mentioned the Mt. Homole of Boiotia in connection with the Kadmeians flight from the Epigonoi. In this tradition, the Kadmeians drove out some Dorians from Mt. Homole. Thus the identification of the

Mt. Homole mentioned in this context with the Mt.Homole in Thessaly caused some scholars to locate the Dorians in Thessaly.

VIII. THE PERIOD BEFORE ca. 1350 B.C.

I have already suggested that for two reasons migrations are unlikely to have occurred in continental Greece prior to 1200 B.C. First, our archaeological record shows an unbroken cultural sequence from 1900 to 1200 B.C. Secondly, the powerful states of Mycenaean times would surely have resisted migratory movements, separately where their own borders were threatened, and collectively in defense of a wider area. Thus, if there were any migratory movements within or into this area during the floruit of the powerful Mycenaean states, that is between 1500 and 1200 B.C., it will have been with the tolerance of these states and on a small scale[1]. A third reason completely rules out the possibility that our literary sources reflect migrations prior to 1500 B.C. Two facts are of significance here: (*a*) the ancient Greek traditions were first written down during the time between 700 and 500 B.C.[2] and (*b*) studies of oral traditions that have lasted to today show that some of these traditions have preserved recollections of migrations that took place up to eight centuries earlier.[3] The Greek traditions, therefore, that were written down around 500, 600 or 700 B.C. in all probability will have reflected at the time of their writing events of a chronological horizon no earlier than 1300, 1400 or 1500 B.C. respectively.

This being so, we may reason as follows. If we find no references to migrations earlier than 1350, we may assume this to reflect reality rather than lack of evidence. If, on the other hand, such references do exist, we must still be sceptical. Only if our suspicions prove to be unjustified may we then ask if we are dealing with real events. Such references there are in plenty. For the most part they are limited to the localization of Greek ethnic groups in this or that country, or to their migration from one land to another. Often they are crystallized in a personage who may sometimes be a fictitious hero, sometimes a former god.

We shall examine references having to do with three categories of migration: 1) migration of some tribe or other; 2) migration of the

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[1] *Supra*, page 207.

[2] *Supra*, page 35.

[3] *Supra*, page 24.

ancestors (real or semi-legendary) of clans; and 3) migration of legendary figures (former gods) alone or at the head of a group.

I

In a passage of Strabo we read: "They say that the Achaians of Phthiotis came down with Pelops into the Peloponnese and took up their abode in Lakonia." Another passage of Strabo's expresses the same information in a different way: "Now the Achaians were Phthiotians in race but they lived in Lakedaimon."[1] The context of the first passage suggests that Strabo drew this piece of information from Ephoros.[2] The information given is twofold: a reference to Pelops as leader of the Achaians, and the migration of the Achaians. Pelops was legendary rather than historical, and he may well once have been a god. He is found in a number of lands inhabited formerly by branches of the Achaian ethnos, such as Lakonia. As for the Achaians, much ancient evidence places them, among other places, in Phthiotis and Lakonia. This hardly reassures us that Strabo, and before him, Ephoros preserved a recollection going back to authentic oral tradition. Instead, it raises the question as to whether some ancient scholar could have drawn this conclusion from the Ancients' placing in Phthiotis Hellen and his sons and grandsons, eponymous heroes of the Achaians as well as the Aiolians, Ionians, and Dorians. Here, in any case, is the origin in Greek antiquity of the legends in which the Achaians, Aiolians, Ionians, and Dorians (or Achaios, Aiolos, Ion, Doros) migrate from Phthiotis to other lands.

II

Pausanias has recorded that: "Archandros and Architeles, sons of Achaios, came to Argos, and after their arrival became sons-in-law of Danaos, Architeles marrying Automate, and Archandros Skaia. A very clear proof that they settled in Argos is the fact that Archandros named

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[1] Strabo, VIII 5, 5 and 7, 1.
[2] Ephoros, 70 *FGrH* 118 = Strabo, VIII 5, 5.

his son Metanastes [meaning "settler"]. When the sons of Achaios came into power in Argos and Lakedaimon, the inhabitants of these towns came to be called Achaioi."[1] In another passage, Pausanias refers to a war fought between them and Lamedon, king of Sikyon.[2] Herodotos, before Pausanias, cited Archandros as a son of Phthios, himself a son of Achaios as well as a son-in-law of Danaos, and attributed to him the foundation of a town called *Archandrou polis*.[3]

Judging by what Herodotos and Pausanias have to say, Archandros and Architeles turn out to be localized in Argolis. That they were also localized in Lakonia is problematical. Indeed the idea that they had Argos and Lakedaimon simultaneously under their domain, could have been copied from the legend in which Pelops, and later the Atreids, held sway over both countries. Archandros and Architeles are mentioned again in a Thessalian genealogy, as the sons of Akastos, son and successor of Pelias at Iolkos.[4] The same two are connected with another region of Thessaly, Phthiotis, either, as Herodotos has it, through their relationship to Phthios son of Achaios, or through their relationship to Achaios, according to Pausanias.

The first text of Pausanias, in which he asserts that the inhabitants of Argos and Lakedaimon called themselves Achaians from the time when these sons of Achaios ruled over them as kings, implies that there were no people known as Achaians accompanying them. This statement of Pausanias is stock-in-trade of the Ancients to explain the origin of an ethnic name in a country. Another was to portray a group of migrants as having brought an ethnic name with them. The other passage of Pausanias, and Herodotos as well, say nothing on the subject. However, as far as we can understand the nature of Archandros and Architeles, these princes were either historical figures, or semi-legendary ancestors of Achaian clans that came down from Thessaly into Argolis and Lakonia. The daughters of Danaos whom they married, are not real figures, however, for they are nymphs of springs.[5] The legend about these

[1] Pausanias, VII 1, 6.

[2] Pausanias, II 6, 5.

[3] Herodotos, II 98.

[4] *Schol.Il. Townl.*, XXIV, 488; *Schol. Eurip. Troad.*, 428. For Akastos, see J.Toepffer, *RE*, I 1 (1894) 1158-1159.

[5] M.B.Sakellariou, *Les Proto-Grecs* (1980) 195-207.

marriages could have been derived from the settling of the clans, one near the spring of Skaia, the other near the spring Automate.

Taking into account the third of the general considerations noted at the beginning of this chapter, the Achaian clans descended from Archandros and Architeles, or, if they are semi-legendary figures, the clans claiming kinship with them, cannot have entered Argolis earlier than 1500 B.C. Yet, in accordance with our second consideration, the migration can hardly have been carried out later than this chronological limit unless, rather than beating a trail through the powerful Mycenaean states, these clans were invited by some Achaian ruler in Argolis as a means of increasing his army. Recollections of these events could have been passed on through traditions either in Argolis or Lakonia or beyond the Aegean in a milieu of Achaian origin.

III

In certain texts Neleus alone or with Bias and Melampous is said to have emigrated from Iolkos to Messenia. In some of these he (they) was (were) accompanied by a group identified by an ethnic name. Let us look at these texts in chronological order. A passage of the *Odyssey* says of the two sons of Poseidon and Tyro, that Pelias stayed in Iolkos and Neleus went to Pylos.[1] In another passage of the *Odyssey*, Melampous settled in Pylos before going to Argos,[2] which presupposes the version echoed in Hellanikos and Diodoros. Indeed from a papyrus we learn that according to Hellanikos, Neleus's companions at Pylos were "the sons of Amythaon", meaning Melampous and Bias, and that together they founded Pylos.[3] In Diodoros we note the following points. Pelias and Neleus disputed the right to the kingdom when Pelias took over the power, Neleus, Melampous and Bias, accompanied by other "Phthiotid Achaians" and Aiolians, went down into the Peloponnese; Melampous and Bias became kings in Argolis, Neleus took Messenia together with those who followed him, and founded Pylos.[4] The circumstances

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[1] *Odyssey*, XI 256-257.
[2] *Odyssey*, XV 225ff.
[3] Hellanikos, 4 *FGrH* add. 124 b = *PSI*. X 1173, 1ff.
[4] Diodoros, IV 68, 3-5.

surrounding the departure of Neleus from Iolkos may have been cited also
at the beginning of the abridged papyrus text of Hellanikos. The name of
Peleus is preserved there together with traces of words including a
δόντων which could have had as complement a word, no longer legible,
designating the "power". The circumstances under which Neleus founded
Pylos are likewise reported by the Pseudo-Apollodoros.[1] Finally, three
texts of Pausanias refer to the same events. Yet a number of items in
these texts differ from those in the texts we have just discussed. Indeed
Pausanias calls the companions of Neleus Pelasgians, he attributes the
founding of Pylos to a legendary figure, Pylos son of Kleson, king of the
Leleges of Messenia, and he says that Neleus had been welcomed in
Messenia by his uncle Aphareus.[2]

We note also that in the group of texts giving the earliest form of the
story of Melampous's recovery of the Argive women, two versions are
related about the provenance of Melampous and his brother, and the
circumstances of their arrival in Argolis. In one version, recorded by
Herodotos, they came from Pylos on the invitation of the Argives.[3] In the
other, known from Diodoros, they were already at Argos, having left
Iolkos with Neleus after the coming of Pelias.[4] The first version agrees
with the Homeric text in which Melampous goes from Pylos to Argos,[5]
and with the abridged papyrus text of Hellanikos where Melampous and
Bias accompanied Neleus to Pylos.[6] The second version occurs nowhere
else in the surviving literature.

Following are our comments on the texts above. *1* Neleus, Bias, and
Melampous were old divinities rather than historical figures.[7] Therefore
they never migrated, either alone, or at the head of a group of Achaians,
Aiolians or Pelasgians, from Thessaly to Messenia or anywhere else in
the Peloponnese. The idea of their migration from one district to another
will have been inspired by the fact that some local legends linked them
with more than one place. These local legends were later incorporated

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[1] Pseudo-Apollodoros, I 9, 9, 1.

[2] Pausanias, IV 2, 5.

[3] Herodotos, IX 34, cf. Strabo, VIII 6, 10.

[4] Diodoros, *loc. cit.*

[5] *Odyssey*, XV 225ff.

[6] Hellanikos, *loc. cit.*

[7] M.B.Sakellariou, *La migration grecque en Ionie* (1958) 49-54, 81, 203-204.

into epic poems with a far wider diffusion, and in genealogies and other works of early historiography. Sooner or later some author was bound to argue from the connection of these figures with more than one area, that they had actually moved from one country to another. 2 Nor do the so-called "Phthiotid Achaians", "Aiolians", and "Pelasgians" correspond to historical reality in the context in which they are cited. The term "Pelasgians" has no ethnic significance in the context where it is used because it refers loosely and in a confused way to the inhabitants of Thessaly before the arrival of the Thessalians.[1] The designations "Aiolians", and "Phthiotid Achaians" are anachronistic. Thus not one of these names seems to go back to Mycenaean traditions about migrations. Quite otherwise, they appear to be late additions to the stories, fabrications in themselves, in which Neleus, Bias, and Melampous leave Thessaly for other lands.

A SUMMARY OF THE CONCLUSIONS

The least disappointing study-case we have examined in this chapter was that of the tradition about the migration of Archandros and Architeles from Thessaly to Argolis. For there is some likelihood that lodged within it is the memory of a migration by groups who revered the two figures as their ancestors. For the rest, the evidence being what it is, we cannot decide whether silence on the subject of migratory movements earlier than 1350 B.C. implies that there were no such movements, or means the loss of recollection. At any rate, considering that collective memory is unable to preserve traditions for longer than eight centuries, oral tradition written down as early as ca. 700 B.C. can hardly echo events of a time before ca. 1500 B.C.

I gave some consideration to whether I should include in this book results of the study that were disappointing. In the end I have included them, for I consider them valuable. Indeed they are valuable, for by their negativeness they reveal the very boundaries of memory of the ancient Greek traditions.

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[1] M.B.Sakellariou, *Peuples préhelléniques d'origine indo-européenne* (1977) 165ff.

A SYNTHESIS

I have made this study with the idea of measuring, as it were, the effects of conflict between Memory and Oblivion on the Greek traditions transmitted by word of mouth before the alphabet was used. At stake in this struggle was the strength of historical memory to endure the attacks of various erosive influences that operated jointly and accumulatively for centuries. From the start the inquiry has been limited to a single topic of necessity in order to follow the stages in which this topic could be altered. As for our choice of traditions about migrations, this was dictated by the fact that these traditions are many, and the relevant events are spread out over the centuries. As a result they offer better material than some other traditions for a diachronical study.

I. THE DOCUMENTATION

STUDY- CASES

I have withdrawn from our dossier those traditions which, in the present state of our documentation, have been reduced to commonplace items of information. Nevertheless, it has become evident that the criteria as to whether or not these items are commonplace are not the same for all chronological horizons. If we have access to traditions from the same chronological horizon giving the geographical origin of a group of migrants, the name of their leader, the reasons for their departure, and the circumstances of their resettling, it is superfluous to consider in addition those traditions preserving simply the name of the country of origin and the oikist. But if references within the same horizon have been reduced to those items alone, they can no longer be termed commonplace. They are worth noting.

By limiting ourselves within each chronological period to traditions with less lacunary information, we are apt to find the best cases for study, cases providing the *maxima* of possibilities offered by our documentation. Considering that the traditions have been ravaged throughout the entire course of transmission, both by word of mouth and in writing, it is evident that these same cases provide the *minima* of

changes that could have been made from the time of the events
themselves to the documentation that has reached us. With these *minima*
we have struggled in order to learn whether they have quantitative and
qualitative differences that might have stemmed from the passage of time
between the event and the first recording of the relevant tradition.

THE KINDS OF ITEMS RETAINED BY OUR SOURCES

The information picked out in the dossiers we have examined in the
second part of this study may be classified according to three criteria.
The first is the kind or category to which each item of information
belongs. Each bit of information having to do with any one kind can be
either authentic or spurious. This distinction constitutes the second
criterion by which we may classify the kinds of items. A third is to be
found in the fact that the various sources can provide information about
the same item that differs greatly in the amount of detail.

Table II gives briefly (1) the dossiers we have studied arranged in
appropriate chronological zones, (2) the sources constituting each of
these dossiers, (3) the items that occur in each of them, (4) the
identifiable authentic (+) and non-authentic (o) elements. No reference is
made here to the differences in amount of detail.

In this table we find again most of the categories of items that appear
in accounts about migrations that took place in literate times. They are
"description of the group", "origin", "causes", "intermediate stages",
"settling", "chronology", "leaders", "behaviour of local populations",
"behaviour of indigenous kings", "oracles", "fulfilment of oracles". Three
categories of items registered in Table I are absent in this one:
"preliminary events", "investigations", "resolution". Conversely, this
second table alone has an item we describe as "people other than
leaders". Yet when considered closely, these differences are of less
significance. For the items "investigations" and "resolution" in the first
table we are indebted solely to the account of Herodotos about the
Theraian migration to Kyrene. They are not represented in any other
dossier. The item "people other than leaders" in the chart at hand covers
memories about Temon and Peripoltas retained in the dossiers of the
Ainianians and the Boiotians respectively.

The frequency of the various kinds of items is also roughly comparable. At the top we find again the item "origin", then "leaders", "settling", "causes", and further down "intermediate stages", "behaviour of local populations", and "chronology".

The state depicted in both charts is based upon evidence supplied by our sources. Most of the names of authors appear here as well as there. The presence of a few authors exclusively in one chart or the other is of no significance, for their writings belong to similar categories of texts from the standpoint of content as well as of stereotypes.

In connection with this, two things are worth remembering. As we have seen repeatedly, the written word was not a stabilizing agent for genuine tradition. Quite the opposite, the study of living oral tradition has made it apparent that transmission by word of mouth is better equipped for preserving memories and preventing alterations. The damage we observe in our sources referring to pre-literate traditions will, then, have occurred during the time of written transmission. In sum, the present state of items retained, of the frequency of each, and of the genuine and spurious elements by no means reflect conditions at the time when the traditions were first being recorded. All the more reason why the *maxima* of the details preserved are lower than the *maxima* of the details dear to reciter and listener still at the dawn of literacy.

THE CAUSES OF LOSS AND ALTERATION

The problem of conflict, in pre-alphabet times, between the forces that preserve memories and those which break them down is much complicated by the fact that we cannot study the oral traditions themselves. The only documentation we have consists of texts giving an image of a tradition that has been distorted somewhat in various ways. The reasons are many. Most of our direct sources are considerably later than the first writing down of memories earlier transmitted by word of mouth. What is more, the written tradition between its first commitment to writing and our direct sources has not left this first version intact. From author to author through the course of centuries alterations, confusions, misunderstandings, idealizations, standardizations, and fictions have accumulated. Various factors have contributed to this state of affairs. The

Poleis and, within them social groups and even aristocratic families, were in the habit of remodelling traditions for political ends. Some traditions were treated as poetic material and yielded to the needs of poetry. The ancient scholars, for their part, drew from their sources only some of the information preserved, and went on to make abridgements, ill comprehending some specific point, adding details of their own invention.

Considering all this, I have tried whenever possible to circumscribe the cases of such alterations as arise in the course of written transmission. Where this was not possible I have at least constantly been cognizant of the fact that our sources are far from being faithful to their own sources either in quality or in quantity, and ultimately, to the form each tradition studied might have had from the time of its first transcription.

Yet these precautions serve only to guard us against false conclusions, an easy trap for the unwary. They tell us nothing about the state of traditions on the threshold of first being committed to writing. To learn this, we would have to be able to gauge all the alterations, losses, and additions each tradition suffered from the time of its first transcription down to the texts we have. As it is, even in the best of circumstances so many are the lacunas in our documentation that this is quite impossible. Still, at least we can discern the effects of specific political or scholarly interference.

At the start of the first alliance formed under their leadership, the imperialistic visions of the Athenians inspired the creation of a fiction connecting all the Ionians with Attica. This fiction did not succeed in eclipsing the traditions circulating in certain cities. Yet it made its way into works that reached readers with non-local interests. In these works, the fiction sometimes has the stage to itself, at times it shares it with what remains of local traditions, more or less altered, to be sure, in the interest of a cause.

The ancient savant could alter a tradition in various circumstances and for various reasons. Homonymity was at the bottom of a number of errors. Thus the geographical diffusion of the toponym Ortygia inspired a history of migratory movements from Aitolia to Ephesos, Delos, and Syracusan Ortygia. Since the name Phokaia brings to mind Phokis, the Phokaians were believed to have originated in that country. There are signs, however, that Phokaia had been colonized by people of

Orchomenian stock, and local tradition will surely have referred to
Orchomenos as mother-city. Thus some ancient scholar ultimately was
inspired to say that Phokaia was founded by illegitimate sons of
Phokaians and Orchomenian women. The fact that Homole is the name
of two mountains, one in Boiotia and another near the mouth of the
Peneios, together with the confusion between *encheleis* (eels) and
Encheleis, gave rise to a story in which the Kadmeians, defeated by the
Epigonoi, sought refuge at quite improbable distances. Another example
of the erudite altering of an authentic tradition presupposes knowledge of
a Homeric text: inspired by such a text, the Ainianians were said to have
been driven from the Dotian plain by the Lapiths and to have taken
refuge with the Aithikes.

So far for the extent to which an author was free to retain only part of
the information given by a source at hand, and for the circumstances
applying to his choice, we have only to remember our best examples.
These are: the two texts of Plutarch about the migration of the
Ainianians; the three texts of Pausanias on the exodus of the Kadmeians
following their defeat by the Epigonoi; and the two texts of the same
author about the legend according to which Manto was sent to Klaros by
the Delphic god. In all these cases not one text provides all the items of
information and details of items given by all of them together. Obviously,
the sum of items and details of items goes back to the source, whereas
the choices are of occasional character. Each of Plutarch's texts about
the Ainianians is occasioned by a different *aition*. Of the three passages
in which Pausanias refers to the Kadmeians, one is part of a history of
Laios, Oidipous and the sons of Oidipous; another belongs to a history of
the Seven and the Epigonoi; the remaining simply explains the name of
the Homoloid Gates. Finally Pausanias in book VII mentions Manto's
mission to Klaros; in book IX he speaks of her in connection with the
death of her father, Teiresias.

SOME FACTORS FAVOURABLE TO THE PRESERVATION
OF THE AUTHENTIC MEMORIES IN OUR SOURCES

The transmission of traditional elements through literature, however,
did not automatically imply that the oral current ran dry. What is more,

while written transmission was accumulating omissions, confusions, fictions, and other alterations, transmission along the oral path within individual societies was proving more faithful to the information received by word of mouth. We can identify those factors that were favourable, even after the alphabet came into use, to the preserving of authentic memories well down in time.

Thus events of critical importance might persist in oral tradition for many centuries. Two episodes provide illustration. The first is a drought suffered by the Ainianians during their sojourn in the region of Kirrha. The second, the stoning of King Oinoklos, who was held responsible for the disaster. Memories of natural disasters, especially drought and famine, are rooted deeply in collective memory and, what is more, they serve as reference points for dating other events. As for the stoning of a king, it was not simply a rare occurrence. It was a sensational and outstanding act.

On the other hand, an event that gave birth to an act of cult, performed at intervals, is likely to be evoked when the cult act is performed, and on other occasions as well. The role of this factor may be seen in three instances in the account of the Ainianians, and in two about the Boiotians. The Ainianians, we are told, vowed a cult to Neoptolemos, which they established during their stay in Molossis. They offered an annual sacrifice to the gods of Kass(i)opaia where they had likewise stopped for a time. Finally, they made annual sacrifices to Apollo for having saved Temon, reserving the best portion for his descendants, and they vowed a cult to a stone they believed to have been the murder weapon used by their king, Phemios, against the Achaian king, Hyperochos. Repetition of these sacrifices and other cult acts continuously revived Ainianian memories of their ancestors stay in Molossis, Kass(i)opaia, the region of Kirrha and, finally their conquest of the land that became Ainis. In historical times, the Boiotians celebrated every eight years a procession known as the *Daphnephorika,* which kept alive the memory of the capture of Thebes while it was held by the Pelasgians. The Thebans sang the *Tripodephorikon*, in commemoration of their victory over a band of Pelasgians in Panakton.

As long as there were still families descended from people who had had a role in a group's migration or in its final settling, through these families were preserved specific historical memories, and the traditions

of the entire community as well. In Plutarch's time, still living at Chaironeia were the descendants of Peripoltas, who had been the seer of Opheltas, king of the Boiotians in the days when they first came to Boiotia. Among the Ainianians, the house of Temon, who was involved in the conquest of Ainis, had a lineage comparable to that of Opheltas. The Aigeidai of Sparta, too, are a good example of a clan that helped preserve historical memories of a migration.

II. THE CHRONOLOGICAL HORIZONS

As study of living oral traditions has shown, transmission by word of mouth is subject to slow changes only. It may then be presumed that Greek oral traditions of pre-literate times would conform to this model before writing began to interfere with its conspicuous and irregular alterations. According to the same model, a retrospect of our evidence would show a regular decline of authentic memories. To be certain that this is so, we shall consider the *maxima* of the authentic elements in each chronological horizon, always bearing in mind that these *maxima* represent the *minima* of elements of oral tradition that have best withstood the force of oblivion down to the time of literacy.

The *minima* of the traditions about migrations between 1100 and 850 B.C. show that communities could remember a series of events from the causes of a migration through to the final settling of the migrants. The account of the dealings of the founders of Phokaia with the natives is remarkable for its preciseness. Recollections of the migrants' wanderings from their landing on the coast of Asia Minor to their establishment at Klazomenai are as vivid as those of the Phokaians. In addition, both accounts mention people and places by name. Thanks to other surviving relics of the Klazomenian tradition, we can see that traditions about migrations datable between 1100 and 850 B.C. can preserve equally memories of the geographical origin of migrants and the reasons for their departure. A comparison of all the surviving authentic elements of traditions from the chronological horizon between 1100 and around 850 B.C., with authentic elements preserved from the time when the alphabet was first in use, that is between 760 and 700 B.C., shows that

the earlier period is not inferior to the later excepting in one thing: it provides no direct chronology.

For the immediately preceding period, the chronological horizon of the twelfth century B.C., we chose to study four dossiers: the traditions about the Descent of the Dorians into the Peloponnese, the Boiotian migration from Arne in Thessaly to Boiotia, the migration of the Ainianians from Perrhaibia to Ainis, and the invasion of Boiotia by bands of Pelasgians and Thracians.

The dossier on the Ainianian migration surpasses the others both in quantity and clarity of authentic memories preserved. These memories can be classified according to the categories of items: "origin", "causes", "route travelled", "conquest and settling", "people". The details given about the routes they travelled are remarkable. We learn of three successive settlements by the Ainianians from their departure to their final establishment: in Molossis near the Aouas or Aoos, in Kass(i)opaia, and in the region of Kirrha. As for the people, it is notable that tradition retains at least King Oinoklos who was lapidated during the time the Ainianians were living near Kirrha, King Phemios with whom they seized the future Ainis, and Temon who played a part in that event. Phemios and Temon thus come equally well under the heading of "conquest"; so also the memory that the Ainianians waged war against Achaians. No personal name goes further back than the time of the sojourn in the Kirrhaia. The heading "causes" includes the memory of the reason for the Ainianian departure from the region of Kirrha, and, still earlier, from Kass(i)opaia. Although earlier than the Klazomenian and Phokaian traditions, the authentic memories of the Ainianian dossier are more numerous and more vivid. This fact may be connected with the hypothesis that literacy in Ainis arose much later and slower than in Ionia, and that Ainianian history was treated neither widely nor frequently. Only the part of the account that tells of the Ainianian departure from Thessaly has some non-genuine details. This alteration of the story, however, can hardly be attributed to the Ainianians having left Thessaly at a time earlier than their subsequent vicissitudes. Indeed, these non-authentic details were borrowed for Homeric contexts that had nothing to do with the Ainianian tradition. No doubt this is the work of ancient scholarship.

In the dossier on the Descent of the Dorians into the Peloponnese, there are authentic memories related to the kinds of items: "origin", "route travelled", "conquest", and "chronology". The most remarkable of these memories are those referring to the route travelled and the conquest. They echo the following events. The Dorians crossed from cape Antirrhion to Rhion and then traversed Arkadia. Those who went to Lakonia were accompanied by a foreign clan known as the Aigeidai and originating in Kadmeian Thebes. Those who went to Argolis defeated the Achaians in a battle that took place at Temenion. Those who occupied Corinth were helped by a community of Lapiths. Under the heading of "chronology" we have information that is unique not only in all the dossiers relevant to the chronological horizon of the twelfth century B.C., but likewise the dossiers on all the migrations of pre-literate times. This information, rather than on direct memory, appears to rest on the memory of a line of successive Dorian kings datable before and after the foundation of the Spartan villages. Authentic memories, however, of the Dorian communities established in the Peloponnese were submerged by fictions of all sorts that accumulated probably from the sixth century B.C. on.

Authentic information about the Boiotian migration falls into only three thematic groups: "origin", "conquest", and "people". The information is unusually precise. Concerning "origin" we are told that the Boiotians came from Arne in Thessaly. Information about "conquest" is of three sorts: (1) the inhabitants found by the migrants in Boiotia are described as "barbarians" and referred to as Pelasgians and Thracians. (2) Several military events are mentioned: a Boiotian victory near Lake Copaïs, the occupation of Koroneia, Orchomenos, and Chaironeia, the siege of Thebes, the occupation of Plataia and neighbouring sites, and a battle for Panakton. (3) The fate of the Pelasgians and Thracians driven out by the Boiotians is reported: they moved respectively to Attica and to Phokis. For the heading "people", we are given the name of the king and leader of the Boiotians, Opheltas, of his seer, Peripoltas, and of another leader, Polematas, at the head of the Boiotians who occupied Thebes. As all the dossiers, that on the Boiotian migration contains a number of spurious elements, all datable to literate times.

From the last dossier of this chronological horizon, that on the invasion of Boiotia by bands of Pelasgians and Thracians around 1200

B.C., comes authentic information relevant solely to the theme of
"conquest". Here is an account of the taking by the Thracians of
Orchomenos, the flight of its inhabitants to Attica, and the taking of
Thebes by the Pelasgians. The paucity in authentic material of this
dossier in comparison to the others on the twelfth century B.C., is
attributable to the fact that the information comes by way of an
intermediary, that is, not through descendants of the migrants, but through
Orchomenian refugees in Attica and thence, Ionia. The non-authentic
elements in this dossier, as in the others, were added in historical times.

The movement of the Kadmeians belongs to the horizon of around
1250 B.C. This is the time of the generation celebrated in epic poetry of
which the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are the only ones preserved in entirety.
The epic poems that have come down to us, and most of the surviving
epic fragments, show a sophisticated mythicizing of historical events,
and a well-developed tendency to make history out of legend. Yet what
is left of the story of the Kadmeians' adventures after the Epigonoi took
Thebes shows neither of these alterations. It is therefore remarkable that,
despite the brevity and occasional character of the texts in the dossier on
this subject, and despite the fact that the community that suffered these
events was dissolved and dispersed some decades later, there are refer-
ences: to a battle fought by the Epigonoi and the Kadmeians near a pre-
cise spot, Glisas; to the defeat of the Kadmeians in this battle, to their
retreat to Mt. Tilphossaion; then to their march toward Lake Copaïs; to
the separation of some of them who went to Mt. Homole; finally, to the
dislodging of a colony of Dorians by those who went to Homole. It is no
less astonishing to observe that the alterations to the tradition are limited
to introduction of the mythical figures of Teiresias and Manto; to fictional
episodes attached to these characters; to the substitution, through confu-
sion, of Mt. Homole in Thessaly for Mt. Homole in Boiotia, and the peo-
ple known as Encheleis in Illyria, for the lake of the eels (*encheleis*).
Echoes of the Kadmeian movements following their exodus are circum-
scribed. The explanation is twofold. The Kadmeians did not go far; they
withdrew to only a few kilometres from Thebes, and afterwards they re-
turned to their city. Their displacement therefore is not remembered as
having occurred in different stages. Unlike the other traditions, this one
(1) did not reach its stabilized form in writing simply through those who

were concerned, but through other people, and (2) it enriched the stock of panhellenic mythology and poetry. Thus it was beyond the control of its very human milieu and fell instead under influences that encouraged mythical and poetic expression. Considering all these unfavourable circumstances, the survival of the memory that the Kadmeians withdrew to clearly specified places, Alalkomenai, Tilphossaion, and Homole, is of singular importance.

Two or three generations before the displacement of the Kadmeians, a group of Makednoi came down from the Pindos into central Greece. This event took place earlier than the time reflected in the epic poems we have. The Dorians perpetuated the memory of this migration, since they themselves came from the fusion of these Makednoi with ethnic elements that were earlier established in Doris and the vicinity. The débris of this tradition in the texts we have prove that some Dorian communities could indeed preserve the memory of three or four authentic items: the name of the people, Makednoi; whence they came; their Lapith enemies; and, probably, the name of their king, Aigimios. From other texts, however, we see that an historic event of the same period winds up by being attributed not to another people or to some historical figure, but to Herakles as the personification of that people. The story of the descent of the Makednoi from the Pindos into central Greece is, in our documentation, lengthened backwards in time with the addition of a fictitious tale in which the Dorians had earlier been displaced from Phthiotis, and crossed Thessaly to the Pindos.

As with the Kadmeians, so also with the Makednoi the alterations to their respective stories point up the errors, confusions or scholarly speculation of literate times, and even back to the narrators of the pre-literate period. Likewise, to the present state of our documentation and earlier, to the vicissitudes of transmission from one author to another, we may attribute the lacunas we assume are there, although we are unable to discern them. The authentic elements that have come down to us, and the quality of these elements, are simply the minimal possibilities there were in the course of transmission by word of mouth.

For times earlier than 1350 B.C., only one account is perhaps likely to reflect some historical migration. That is the story about the move of Archandros and Architeles from Thessaly to Argos.

The study of living oral traditions has shown that they can last over several centuries. Traditions about migrations and the founding of states may last even up to eight. It is unfortunate that we do not know when the traditions we are studying were first written down. It is, however, very likely that the migration of the Makednoi from the Pindos to the confines of Doris was described in the epic *Aigimios* which has been attributed to Hesiod, and that the other movements were not far behind. If this is so, the date of the first written versions will have been at most two centuries after the cessation of the movements that led to the founding of Klazomenai (c.1000 B.C.), Samos (c.1000/950 B.C.), and Phokaia (c.900 B.C.), and six and one half centuries later than the displacement of the Makednoi. Thus even this last event is far from the upper chronological limit for collective memory handed on by word of mouth. As a result, the lack of memories about contemporary migrations other than those we have studied in Chapter VIII, perhaps is not fortuitous, but a reflection of the actual historical situation during the thirteenth and twelfth centuries B.C. Archaeological evidence points in the same direction: the powerful Mycenaean states of those times prevented unsettled ethnic groups from migrating within their sphere.

I find nothing in ancient Greek literature that can be interpreted as the memory of an event earlier than the chronological horizon of 1500 B.C. Quite to the contrary, we see that the Ionians and Arkadians, established respectively in Attica and the middle of the Peloponnese around 2000 B.C., and still there in historical times, had retained not a single memory of their migration. Furthermore, because of this they thought they were aboriginal or else descended from the Pelasgians. None of this is surprising if we consider two things. Studies of living traditions have shown that memories of migrations go back no further than eight centuries. Now no Greek tradition about events of the second millenium B.C. can have been recorded earlier than the second half of the eighth century. So we have no hope of identifying authentic memories of migrations to or within Greece earlier than 1500 B.C.

Connected with this conclusion is the question as to how it was that the Greeks who reached Greece around 2000 B.C. specified as their predecessors peoples whose ethnic names they knew as Aithikes, Aones,

Dryopes, Ektenes, Haimones, Hyantes, Karians, Kaukones, Kydones, Leleges, Pelasgians, Phoinikes, Temmikes, and Tyrrhenians. The answer lies in the eminently reasonable hypothesis that the prehellenic populations were not wiped out by the Greeks when they arrived. Larger or smaller groups of the older population will gradually have been assimilated by the newcomers. Data of two kinds amply support this hypothesis. To begin with we must consider that the Greeks borrowed from the prehellenic groups hundreds of words, place names, personal names, and names of divinities, accompanied by cult elements. Secondly, we have information about at least one prehellenic group of people, the Dryopes. In Mycenaean times, they were located in central Greece; by early in the first millenium, both in Euboia and Argolis. We may presume that other prehellenic peoples too, though diminished in numbers, will have remained on through the centuries either in a state of submission or else living independently beside the Greeks.

So it is that ancient Greek memories of the various prehellenic peoples bespeak their own true experiences, repeated and reaffirmed through the course of centuries from the beginning of the second millenium on down to later times.

N.B. See also tables III and IV. Table III sumarizes the different kinds of genuine elements found in those of our dossiers that refer to traditions going back to pre-alphabetic times. Table IV outlines the kinds of genuine recollections retained in all our evidence.

INDICES

1. SUBJECT-INDEX

2. INDEX OF SOURCES

3. INDEX OF SCHOLARS

TABLE I

A SURVEY OF THE DOSSIERS ON TRADITIONS OF ALPHABETIC TIMES

	Description of the group	Origin of the group	Causes of emigrating	Preliminaries and related events	Investigations	Resolution for emigrating	Stages of the migration	Final settling	Chronology	Leader(s) or oikist(s)	Behaviour of foreign communities	Behaviour of foreign people	Oracles	Fulfilment of oracles	Miracles
Kyrene (638-630 B.C.)															
Herodotos	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+		
Pindar		+								+					
Menekles of Barka	o	+	o												
Diodoros		+													
Pompeius Trogus		+	o										o	o	
Theophrastos									o						
Solinus									+	o					
Eusebios									+	o					
Schol. Pind.									o						
Taras (c. 706 B.C.)															
Antiochos	o	+	+	+		o	+	+		+				o	
Ephoros	o	+	+	+		+		+		+					
Aineias	o	+		+				+		+					
Aristotle		+	+	+											
Herakleides	o	+													
Polybios		+													
Diodoros		+	+												
Dionysios of Halikarnassos	o	+	+	o		o		+					o	o	
Polyainos		+	+	+											
Pseudo-Skymnos		+		+											
Pausanias		+						+							
Dionysios the Periegete															o
Pompeius Trogus	o	+		o				+							
Acro	o	+								+					
Servius	o	+						+		+					
Porphyrio	o									+					
Probus										+					
Eusebios									+						
Hesychios	o	+													
Schol. Dion. Per.				o											
Eustathios	o	+		o											
Rhegion (c. 730 B.C.)															
Antiochos	o	+	o	+	o					o					
Thucydides		+													
Timaios		+													
Herakleides	o	+	+	+			+							o	o
Diodoros		+												o	o
Dionysios of Halikarnassos		+					+	+		+				o	o
Strabo	+	o	+	+											
Pseudo-Skymnos		+													
Pausanias	o	+	+												
Solinus		+													
Zankle (c. 730 B.C.)															
Thucydides	+	+								+					
Kallimachos		+								+					
Pausanias	+		o							+					
Eusebios									+						
Methone (c. 733 B.C.)															
Plutarch		+	+	+											
Syracuse (c. 733 B.C.)															
Thucydides		+						+	+	+	+				
Strabo		+						+	+	+	+		o		
Pausanias		+								+			o		
Naxos (c. 734 B.C.)															
Hellanikos			o				+								
Thucydides		+						+							
Ephoros		+				o	+		o						
Kallimachos		+					+								
Appian															
Pseudo-Skymnos									o						
Diodoros		+					+								
Konon		+													
Polyainos		+													
Strabo															
Pausanias		+					+								
Souda		+													
Etym. Magnum		+													
Eusebios									+						
Megara Hyblaia (c. 734-727 B.C.)															
Thucydides		+						+	+	+	+				
Ephoros		+						+	o						
Pseudo-Skymnos			o					+	o						
Polyainos		+						+		+					
Strabo		+							o						
Kyme (c. 760 B.C.)															
Pseudo-Skymnos		+	o												
Strabo		+	+					+		+					
Livy		+					+								
Velleius Paterculus		+								+					
Eusebios									o						

TABLE II

A SURVEY OF THE DOSSIERS ON TRADITIONS GOING BACK TO PRE-ALPHABETIC TIMES

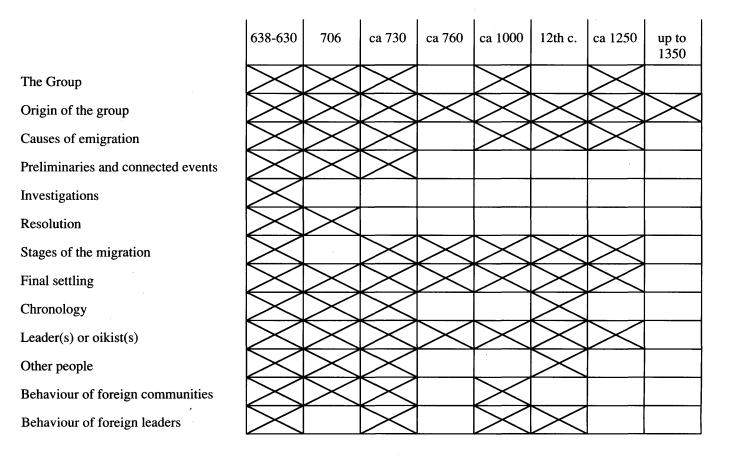|	Description of the group	Origin of the group	Causes of migration	Stages of the migration	Final setting	Chronology	Leader(s)	Other people	Behaviour of foreign communities	Behaviour of foreign people	Oracles
Phokaia (c. 900 B.C.)											
Herodotos		[o]									
Nikolaos of Damaskos	o	o	o	+	+					+	
Pausanias (A)		o									
Pausanias (B)		o									
Samos (c. 1000 B.C.)											
Herodotos		[+]									
Pausanias (A)	+	+	+				+				
Pausanias (B)					o		+				
Klazomenai (11th century B.C.)											
Pausanias	+ o	+	+	+	+		+		+		
Dorian migration (late 12th century B.C.)											
All authors	o	+		+ o	o	+	o	o			o
Boiotian migration (late 12th century B.C.)											
Thucydides		+	+		+						
Charax		+	+		+						
Archemachos		+									
Ephoros	o	+ o									
Diodoros	o	+									
Strabo		+			+ o						
Pausanias					+						
Plutarch		+			+		+	+			
Polyainos		+									
Stephanos of Byzantion											
Proklos		+			+ o						
Tzetzes		+									
Aininian migration (early 12th - late 12th century B.C.)											
Strabo		+	o								
Plutarch (A)		+	+ o	+ o	+ o		+	+	+	+	o
Plutarch (B)		+	+ o				+				
Thracians and Pelasgians to Boiotia (c. 1200 B.C.)					+						
Hellanikos											
Diodoros						o					
Aelius Aristides					+						
Exodus of the Kadmeians (c. 1250 B.C.)											
Herodotos (A)		+	+		+	o					
Herodotos (B)		+	+			o	+				
Diodoros					+	o					
Pseudo-Apollodoros		+	+		+		+				
Strabo		+	+								
Pausanias (A)		+	+			o	+				
Pausanias (B)		+	+			o	+				
Pausanias (C)		+	+			o	+				
The migration of the Makednoi (late 13th century B.C.)											
Herodotos (A)		+									
Herodotos (B)		+									
Lykophron		+									

TABLE III

GENUINE ELEMENTS IN DOSSIERS ON TRADITIONS GOING BACK TO PRE-ALPHABETIC TIMES

	Description of the group	Origin of the group	Causes of migration	Stages of the migration	Final settling	Chronology	Leader(s)	Other people	Behaviour of foreign communities	Behaviour of foreign people	Oracles	
Horizon 1100 - 850 B.C.												
Klazomenai	+	+ o	+	+	+		+					
Phokaia	o	o	o	+	+				+	+		
Samos	+	+	+	o			+					
Smyrna	+											
Teos	+ o						+					
Other Ionian Cities	o	o	o	o	o		o					
Horizon of the 12th century												
Dorians		+		+	+	+	o	o			o	
Boiotians	o	+			+	o	+	+			o	
Ainianians		+	+ o	+	+		+	+	+	+	o	
Pelesgians and Thracians in Boiotia					+							
Before 1200 but after 1350												
Kadmeians	+	+	+			o	+		+			
Makednoi	+	+										
Around 1500 (?)												
Some Achaian clans (?)	o	+										

TABLE IV

KINDS OF GENUINE RECOLLECTIONS RETAINED IN OUR EVIDENCE

	638-630	706	ca 730	ca 760	ca 1000	12th c.	ca 1250	up to 1350
The Group	X	X	X		X		X	
Origin of the group	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Causes of emigration	X	X	X		X	X	X	
Preliminaries and connected events	X	X	X					
Investigations	X							
Resolution	X	X						
Stages of the migration	X		X	X	X	X	X	
Final settling	X		X	X	X	X	X	
Chronology	X		X	X	X	X		
Leader(s) or oikist(s)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Other people	X	X	X		X			
Behaviour of foreign communities	X	X	X		X	X		
Behaviour of foreign leaders	X		X		X	X	X	

Notes

1. Kyrene

2. Taras

3. Rhegion; Zankle; Syracuse; Megara Hyblaia

4. Kyme

5. Klazomenai; Phokaia; Samos; Smyrna; Teos

6. Dorians; Boiotians; Ainianians; Pelasgians and Thracians in Boiotia

7. Kadmeians

8. Makednoi