

4. Aristophanes of Boiotia

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4.1. Aristophanes and His Works (TT 1-5)

T 1 (= *BNJ* 379 T 1; *FGrHist* 379 T 1; cp. F 5 [Plut. *De Hdt. mal.* 31.864D]).⁶⁸³

Ἀριστοφάνους [...] τοῦ Βοιωτοῦ

“Aristophanes [...] of Boiotia”.

T 2 (= *BNJ* 379 T 2b; *EGMI* T 1A; cp. F 6 [Plut. *De Hdt. mal.* 33.866F-867A]).

ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης ἐκ τῶν κατ’ ἄρχοντας ὑπομνημάτων ἱστορήσε

“As Aristophanes retold, from the public records organized through the yearly archons” (tr. S. Tufano)

T 3 (= *BNJ* 379 T 2a; *FGrHist* 379 T 2; cp. F 2 [Steph. Byz. α 330, *s.v.* ἀντικονδυλεῖς]).

Ἀριστοφάνης ὁ τοὺς Θηβαίους ὥρους γεγραφώς

“Aristophanes, author of *Theban Annals*”.

⁶⁸³ Since these witnesses actually belong to the fragments, I comment on the textual problems in the commentary on the single fragments.

T 4 (= EGM I F 1A; cp. F 1 [*POxy.* 2463, ll. 14-16]).

Ἀριστοφάνης δ' ἐν | τῆι α' {πρώτη} τῶν Βοι[ωτι- | κῶν

πρώτη *del.* Fowler

“Aristophanes, in the first book of his *Boiotian Histories*”.

T 5 (= EGM I F 2; cp. F 3 [*Suda* ο 275, *s.v.* Ὀμολώϊος (= Phot. *Lex.* (g, z) ο 298 (III 82 Theodoridis)]).

Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν β' Θηβαϊκῶν

ὁ Phot. ὡς *Suda* Ἀριστόδημος Reines

“Aristophanes, in the second book of his *Theban Histories*”.

4.1.1. Title

The titles of Boiotian local historiography present problems that go beyond common doubts concerning the transmitted titles of any Classical historian: as with many other authors only transmitted in fragments, we lack certain information on many of the names of the genre.⁶⁸⁴ The parallel case of Hellanikos is paradigmatic, because the debate on the possibility that he could assign the title Ἀτθίς⁶⁸⁵ to his local history of Athens demonstrates the hardships of accepting that the same title Βοιωτικά (F 2) could be the original one.⁶⁸⁶

Aristophanes certainly wrote after Herodotus, since in the fragment (5) he comments on the arrival of Herodotus in Thebes. This tradition does not explicitly allow us, however, to

684 Cp. 1.3 for a summary of the (poor) knowledge we have on the biographies of the authors, discussed in the present book.

685 Cp. e.g. Nicolai 2010, on the possibility that Hellanikos' works did not have specific titles, and Ottone 2010, according to whom the Athenian history of Hellanikos originally had the title Ἀττικὸς λόγος.

686 On the specific problem of the early development of Boiotian historiography, see *supra* 1.2.1.

claim that Aristophanes was sensibly later than the author of the *Histories*. A prudent positioning between the end of the fifth century BCE and the beginning of the later century places Aristophanes in a moment when there was an early circulation of books and an incipient habit to assign a title to a literary work.⁶⁸⁷ Consequently, it is possible that Aristophanes was responsible for assigning a title to his output.

The second problem to address is the variety of titles that are transmitted to describe the specific book where a tradition held by Aristophanes was retold. Two opposing stances have been taken, one which reduces the variety of the transmitted titles to two main works, namely the *Θηβαῖοι Ἴωροι* (T 3), and a more generic work on Boiotia, titled *Βοιωτικά* / *Θηβαϊκά* (TT 4-5).⁶⁸⁸ The other assumes that the four known titles (T 2: *Κατ' ἄρχοντας ὑπομνήματα*; T 3: *Θηβαῖοι Ἴωροι*; T 4: *Βοιωτικά*; T 5: *Θηβαϊκά*) may be the result of pure invention or confusion in our sources: no possible conclusion on this detail, as a consequence, might be reached.⁶⁸⁹ In order to reconsider which option might be more probable, we will now shortly reflect on what has been generally transmitted in the tradition of the *horoi* and of the *hypomnemata*. In other words, it is useful to ponder whether the general picture which emerges from the titles transmitted under these titles may apply to the content of the fragments of Aristophanes.

The identification of local historiography with horography was first suggested by Jacoby (1909): by assuming that local historiography could coincide with a narrative based on local annals (*horoi*), he implied that all local histories generally follow a constant annalistic framework. Such a theory, however, might be profoundly misleading, as scholars like von Fritz (1967 I: 97) have shown how the first local histories did not always depend on a political or evenemential plan: they could follow other internal criteria, relevant to their respective audiences, as is maintained in our present study. Further chronographical studies confirm the relevance of this distinction and the importance of the geographic area that was the object of the local history.⁶⁹⁰ Today, an immediate correlation between titles like *Ἴωροι* and an annalistic partition is generally refused.

687 Schmalzriedt 1970.

688 Cp. Fowler 2000: 54.

689 Despite a preference for the first scenario (two works), Fowler (2000: xxxv) refers to a “confusion of titles.”

690 Cp. Tober 2017 on the role of the local audience and *infra* 7.1 on this debate.

Local historiographical works, in fact, were often organized according to other criteria or the interests of the author.⁶⁹¹ The chronological partition is not therefore a criterion upon which we can assess the relationship between local and universal history, in general. As Jacoby (1949: 68) said, the first one should be better understood as “that species of Greek historical writing, which we call Local Chronicle or better with *a more comprehensive expression* Local History” (my italics). On these grounds, the title itself, then, might not be enough to infer anything on the content of a work, and the existence of a title (Theban) “Horoi” could be the simple assumption of ancient scholarship.

However, in the specific case of Aristophanes, the title *Horoi* finds more support in our witnesses. Our sources on his framework stress the fact that he followed the events *kat’archontas* (even when the title is surprisingly broader, as in the case of *hypomnema*). We then need to seriously consider that this memory of the title *Horoi* was more than an easy label for this specifically local historian. Whereas, in the beginning, Ὥροι mostly referred to works written in the Ionic world,⁶⁹² Diodorus Siculus (1.26.5) was also aware that a further specification might be necessary: he feels the need to clarify that only “yearly chronicles” (αἱ κατ’ἔτος ἀναγραφαί) can be called ὠρογραφαί.⁶⁹³ Despite, then, Plutarch’s generic definition of ὠρογράφοι as all the local historians of Naxos,⁶⁹⁴ the witnesses on Aristophanes, and the overall development of the title *Horoi*, concur to suggest that, in *this* specific case, Aristophanes may have followed an annalistic framework (cp. F 6, on the possibility of the mention of an eponymous archon).

This annalistic framework was denied by Chaniotis (1988: 193 n.414), who thought that the *hypomnemata* (T 2; cp. Plut. *Sol.* 11.2) were the “Akten der Beamten”, i.e. official

691 Chronographical studies: Möller 2001. See e.g. Fowler 1996: 66 and n.28, for the mandatory caution to pay, before dismissing any possibility that these local histories were used by Herodotus. On the annalistic partition of the genre, see also *supra* 1.2.3. See Thomas 2014b: 160-2 for examples of the other criteria of local historiography.

692 Cp. Laquer (1926) on the origin of Greek local historiography from oral mythical traditions reported by the *hexegetai*, and from annalistic records from Ionia. Thomas 2014b: 164-5 concentrates on the political meaning of these works, where the foundation myths point out and stress their Greek origins.

693 Following this technical interpretation, only “horographies” suggest a strictly annalistic framework (Thomas 2014b: 150). On the Σαμίων Ὥροι of Duris, see Landucci 1997: 205-6; Pownall 2009 *ad BNJ* 76 F 22; Thomas 2014b: 155-6. On local historiography and the use of the title “Ὥροι”, see Thomas 2019: 36-8.

694 Plut. *de Hdt. mal.* 36.869A. Even in this case, nothing speaks against the possibility that these Naxian writers also adopted an annalistic model (Thomas 2014b: 155).

documents, probably fictitious, in light of the partisanship of Aristophanes (*ibid.* 207). Nevertheless, the syntagm τὰ κατ' ἄρχοντας ὑπομνήματα is a good periphrasis for ὄρωι, as Schachter (2012b *ad BNJ* 379 T 2b) observed, since it reduces the vagueness of ὑπόμνημα and allows us to reject that they were simply notes or official documents. In fact, there is at least one meaningful parallel, the inscription of Sosthenes on Paros, whose first block (A 1 = *BNJ* 502 F 1) mentions the historical activity of Demeas. This figure mentioned other sources and events of the life of Archilochus, even if his work was generally open to myths and “non-political” subjects: the inscription says that Demeas “wrote archon by archon, and began from the first archon” (A1 ll. 8-9: κατ[᾽]ἀρχοντα]/ ἕκαστον καὶ ἤρκεται ἀπὸ ἀρχοντος πρώτου).⁶⁹⁵

The ὑπομνήματα can also mean, from the Hellenistic period, the “Archive von Höfen und öffentlichen Behörden”.⁶⁹⁶ The public sense and official aura coexist with the more general meaning of notes and private drafts (just like the Latin parallel *commentarius*). Plutarch’s passage on Aristophanes (T 2), as a consequence, may be more than a punctual autoschediasm of the title of the work, since it can also shed light on the potential use of sources of an archival nature, like the chronicles (*Horoï*). An interesting parallel case is offered by the use of the ὑπομνήματα of Tyre, which apparently were read by Timaeus of Tauromenium (*BNJ* 566 F 7) and by Menander of Ephesos (*BNJ* 783 T 3).⁶⁹⁷

The variety of contents in Aristophanes’ fragments might be reconcilable with a general subdivision *per annum*. We cannot exclude either an initial treatment of local myths with a specific chronological score for this section (as in Diodorus’ *Library*), or, as more plausibly, the eventual treatment happened in concomitance with other historical events or with the description of singular sites of the city and or the region (exactly as it might be posited for Armenidas). It seems therefore legitimate to assume that Aristophanes wrote *Theban Annals* and that the title preserved respects the original structure of the work.

This conclusion invites us to see, under a different light, the other titles quoted by our T 4 and T 5: it is possible that Βοιωτικά and Θηβαϊκά may be more than overall descriptions

⁶⁹⁵ On Demeas of Paros, see Clay 2004: 112; Sickinger 2013; Thomas 2014b: 158.

⁶⁹⁶ Montanari 1998: 813.

⁶⁹⁷ Timaeus contemporarily used written and oral sources on issues of local history *BNJ* 566 F 59: παρὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων; on this, cp. Ambaglio 2001: 8-10 and Boffo 2003: 6-7, for the reading of an ἀναγραφή.

of the content of one and the same book. Whether they were *titelartig* words (Schmalzriedt 1970) created for librarian purposes and then accepted by the scholars, or they prove the actual existence of an additional *Boiotian History*, we can only infer on the basis of the fragments. These insist on a Boiotian horizon and are not limited to Theban materials. With due caution, the strength of the annalistic project suggests that we accept the existence of two projects with different agendas, and, not improbably, with different organizations of the materials.⁶⁹⁸ The variation $\Theta\eta\beta\alpha\iota\kappa\acute{\alpha}$ may have resulted from the greater fame of the *Theban Annals*. It is also supported by the fact that Stephanus quotes from two different titles, which would also indicate that, at some point, the original text of the *Ethnika* or its intermediate sources were aware of a differentiation.⁶⁹⁹

4.1.2. Date

In the absence of clear indications in our sources, the only references to the lifespan of Aristophanes come from his mention of Herodotus in Thebes (FF 5–6) and from his use of official documents (F 6). In the first case, the singular problem of Aristophanes' date also concerns the wider issue of the correlation between universal and local historiography: Aristophanes lived after (if not possibly in the same years of) Herodotus, evidenced by (F 5) his mention of Herodotus' trip to Thebes (cp. Hdt. 5.59; 1.29; 1.92). The polemical tone towards Herodotus, in fact, might not be intentional, but the result of Plutarch's intentional and biased reading.⁷⁰⁰ It can be argued that Aristophanes was not directly trying to address Herodotus' representation of the Boiotian conduct during the Persian Wars.

The access to Theban archives, secondly, may “likely”⁷⁰¹ suggest that the work was written before 335 BCE, when the city, along with its archives, was destroyed. The first limit of this hypothesis is the frequency in early attestations of the *topos* of the use of written sources in extant Greek historiography: despite all this exegetical complexity, the controversial chapter of Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Thuc.* 5.2) on the early historians

698 Zecchini (1997: 190) also supports the existence of two works.

699 See Thomas 2014b: 154 for this suggestion.

700 On this reading, cp. already Schachter 2012b *ad* BNJ 379 FF 5–6.

701 Schachter 2012b.

clearly stresses that the use of the *γραφαί* was common among all the Archaic historiographers mentioned in the list, including names like Hekataios and Akousilaos.⁷⁰²

It is generally assumed that documents played a role in Greek historiography from the very beginning of the genre, even if the specific interplay of written and oral traditions is not clear.⁷⁰³ If this parallel holds true, we can posit that these local historians, just like Herodotus, were aware of the possible limits of the official documents, in light of their ideological propaganda (Corcella 2003). Another issue, however, is whether they publicly uttered this skepticism, but this hypothesis may be less true in this case. Being aware of the limits of a class of evidence did not mean that the author would censure his sources.

Since it is hard to imagine that Aristophanes only used the *hypomnemata* for the problem mentioned by Plutarch (F 6), the most convenient *terminus ante quem* will be the mention, in the same fragment, of Nikander's use (BNJ 271-272 F 35) of Aristophanes. This Nikander wrote *Θηβαϊκά* in verse, and his identification is much debated: not all scholars accept that he is the same poet from Kolophon, who wrote *Θεριακά* and *Ἀλεξιφάρμακα*, since an honorary inscription from Delphi (*Syll.*³ 452) mentions an antiquarian and historian who lived almost fifty years before the poet (middle second century BCE). It is also possible that the *Θηβαϊκά* was written by the first Nikander, possibly related to his later namesake.⁷⁰⁴

Aristophanes was probably still read at the end of the third century BCE, if we consider it safe to ascribe Nikander's *Θηβαϊκά* to the first of the two namesakes. Between the diffusion (and the presence) of Herodotus, which takes us to the twenties of the fifth century BCE, and this later *terminus ante quem*, there are almost two centuries. Inside this

702 See 7.1.

703 The conjecture ἦ, put forward by Aujac in the edition of Dionysius, was rejected overall: some scholars prefer thinking of a distinction between *μνημαί* and *γραφαί* (Porciani 2001a: 17-8), whereas others suggest that memory, in general, was instrumental in the formation of a "schriftliche lokale Überlieferung" (von Fritz 1967 I: 96-7; Gabba 2002). However, Dionysius is clearly derivative in this theory, and the passage shows the presence of more than one source; see a commentary on the passage *infra* at 7.1.

704 The two Nikanders receive separate voices on the *BNP* (Fantuzzi 2000; Fornaro 2000). The question is complicated by the fact that, as Pasquali (1913) observed, both the figures engaged in poetry and it is probable that they shared some interests. For an updated overview, cp. Jenkins 2012a *ad* BNJ 271-272.

chronological span, internal references in the fragments make the fourth century a likelier scenario.

4.2. Aristophanes F 1

Previous editions: *BNJ* 379 F 1b; *EGM I* F 1A (*POxy.* 2463v = *SH* 715, edd. Rea et Fowler, ll. 6-32).

6 Ῥιανὸς δ' ἐν [τῆι	20 περ ἢ πολλὴ δόξα· κ[αί
.· τῆς Ἡρακλείας Ποί[μαν-	Τοξέα φησὶν ὑπὸ το[ῦ πα-
δρόν φησι γῆμαι Στρ[ατο-	τρὸς Οἰνέως ἐπὶ τοῖς [αὐ-
νίκην τὴν Εὐωνύ[μου	τοῖς τελευτῆσαι· Γ .[
10 καὶ υἱοὺς μὲν γ' γεν[νῆσαι	οὔτως· τὸν γὰρ Πο[ίμαν-
Ἄ.χιππον καὶ Ἔφιππ[ον καὶ	25 δρόν φησιν, ὡς τῆ[ν τάφρον
Λεύκιππον, θυγατέ[ρας δὲ β'	τῆ πόλει περιεβά[λλετο
Ῥηξιπύλην καὶ Ἀρχ[επτο-	παῖδα αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἔφ[ιππον
λέμην. Ἀριστοφάνης [δ' ἐν	φάσκειν ῥαιδίως ὑ[περ-
15 τῆι α' πρώτη τῶν Βοιω[τι-	αλεῖσθαι τὴν τάφ[ρον· οὐ
κῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς Ποι-	30 φάσκοντος δὲ τοῦ Π[οιμάν-
μάνδρου τελευτῆσαι [ἰ φη-	δρου, τὸν μὲν Ἔφι[ππον
σιν τὸν Ἔφιππον τ[ὸν	διαπηδᾶν, τὸν δὲ [.
ὑπερ[α]λόμενον κ[αθά-	

7 “*fort. γ. potius quam [[γ]]ι*” SH 9 Εὐωνύ[μου] West “*cf. Korinna’s Εὐωνύμια*” Rea 10
 “*potissimum Ἀγχ-; sed Ἀρχιππον expectes, et fort. legi potest*” SH Ἀγχ- *potius legam* 15 πρώτη *del.*
 Fowler 18 τ[ὸν] Rea τ[ὴν] τάφρον Lloyd-Jones Livrea τ[άφρ(ον)] Lobel τ[άφρον (τινὰ)] West 20
 κ[αὶ τὸν] Maehler 23 *alterius auctoris nomen vel γί[νεται] vel γράφων* Rea γρ[άφει δὲ] Maehler
 Π[ι][ν]δαρος] De Luca γράφων Fowler γίνεται *fortasse recte* 26 περιέβα[λεν] Maehler περιεβά[λετο]
 Fowler 29 τάφ[ρον] οὐ Rea Lloyd-Jones ἀπο- Turner μή Mette

“In the (?) book of his *Herakleia*, Rhianos maintains that Poimandros married Stratonike, the daughter of Euonymos, and begat three sons (Anchippus, Ephippos, and Leukippos) and two daughters (Rhexipyle and Archeptoleme). In the first book of his *Boiotian Histories*, Aristophanes states that Ephippos was killed by his father Poimandros, because, according to the general opinion, he had leapt – Toxeus too, he affirms, was killed by his father Oineus, in the same circumstances. [It happened like this]: as far as Poimandros is concerned, he affirms that, while this man was trying to dig a ditch around the city, his son Ephippos maintained that he would easily leap over the ditch. Even if Poimandros, then, advised not to do it, Ephippos jumped, and the man [...]” (tr. S. Tufano).

4.2.1. Textual Transmission and Exegetical Problems

The text is transmitted on the *verso* of a papyrus dated between the end of the second and the beginning of the third century CE.⁷⁰⁵ Even if the first editor, J. Rea, still considered other genres plausible (like a mythology handbook or a direct example of local history), it was soon clear that this is an excerpt of an Imperial commentary. As for the identity of the commented text, it was once believed that this commentary dealt with three verses of

705 The papyrus is dated on the basis of the script and for the presence, on the *recto*, of a tax register that uses a cursive script, not dissimilar from the one on *P.Lond.* 109 and 333 (166 CE; cp. Rea 1962: 104–5). The reading is complicated by a break in the upper right side of the papyrus, which concerns 2 to 7 letters (Rea *loc. cit.*; McNamee 1977: 351).

Lykophron's *Alexandra* (326–8), which posit a link between the rather obscure substantive ποιμανδρίαν and Iphigenia and/or Polyxena's sacrifice.⁷⁰⁶ Later studies, however, indicate that this commentary better suits the meeting of Herakles with Molorchos, retold also in the *Aitia* of Callimachus (*Suppl. Hell.* 256–7).

The author of this commentary was probably Theon of Alexandria, a prolific grammarian who lived under Augustus.⁷⁰⁷ If this hypothesis is true, we have positive evidence for the circulation of the text of Aristophanes in the first century BCE. The detail goes beyond the mention of a single word and we can posit a direct reading of Aristophanes' Βοιωτικά.

The suggested hypotext would be the mention by Herakles, during his meeting with Molorchos, of his Argive origins. The papyrus actually has the name “Amphytrion” (4) in a line not reproduced in our text. One of the major problems of the fragment of Rhianos is the mention of Poimandros in an epical work on Herakles.⁷⁰⁸ Among the suggested hypotheses, there is a more simple line of argument that stresses the analogy between the myths and the lives of Poimandros and Herakles (if only because they both kill relatives); furthermore, their genealogy may indicate a close family tree, since, in the version of Poimadros' myth provided by Plutarch, the son of Poimandros, while looking to atone for his father's crime, goes to the Achaeans and calls Tlepolemos, Herakles' offspring, his relative (συγγενής).

Starting from this reconsideration of the myth and from an inscription published in 1836, but no longer preserved, Schachter (2014a) suggested that, behind this mythic kinship, there was a Theban desire to reassert, through Poimadros and Herakles, Theban links in the Tanagran region, i.e. at Aulis. Herakles then represents Theban efforts to associate the city with the ancient possession of that territory.

706 The scholia on Lykophron share this same doubt: which sacrifice did the poet allude to? It is likely, in light of Lykophron's usual style, that a reference to both the figures is intentional (Livrea 1989: 142; Hornblower 2015: 191). Hurst (2008: 147), nevertheless, remarks that in Lykophron, Iphigenia escapes sacrifice.

707 *Etym. Gen. A s.v.* ἄρμιοι. I refer here to the A version of the *Etymologicum Genuinum* (ninth century CE), transmitted by the Vat. gr. 1818 (Tosi 2015: 634). Theon as author of the *hypommema*: Livrea 1989: 147 n.22

708 *Suppl.Hell.* 715; *BNJ* 265 F 54a, from the *Herakleia*. Schachter (2012b *ad* *BNJ* 379 F 1b) notes that Rhianos' work is quoted with a different title, Ἡρακλειάς, in the lemma of the *Suda* on this poet (ρ 158, *s.v.* Πιανός = *BNJ* 265 T 1a).

If the extension of the fragment of Rhianos is not debatable, the quote from Aristophanes opens a series of issues: the lacuna at l.23 makes it unclear where Aristophanes' quote ended. The main proposals were already put forward by the first editor of the papyrus, J. Rea: on the one hand, there are forms of the verbs γράφω or γίγνομαι, which would transform the successive part of the papyrus into an extension of the fragment of Aristophanes (in fact, with the verb γράφω, we would have a direct quote). On the other hand, there may be the name of a third author, followed by the adverb οὕτως, with a syntax that is attested elsewhere in ancient scholarship.⁷⁰⁹ Along this line, De Luca (1995) read Pindar's name here: this proposal is extremely enticing, because it adapts to the content of the anecdote and, probably, to the form of the consonant, which precedes the iota.

Since, however, the papyrus is extremely unclear on this point, we cannot put an end to these doubts, from a paleographic point of view. The best option, then, is to adhere to the linguistic features of the rest of the excerpt, where a name of a source is always followed by a transitional δέ, as in the cases of Rhianos and of Aristophanes, and by a precise arrangement of the information in the original work. Consequently, a form like γίγνεται may be a good compromise since it does not contrast with the later φησί⁷¹⁰ and allows us to understand the rest of the narrative as an explanation of the short mention, in Aristophanes, of the murder of Ehippos by Poimandros.

4.2.2. Commentary

Since Aristophanes probably used the genealogy of Rhianos for Poimandros, I comment here on all the traditions attested in the *hypomnema*, even though only the description of the homicide and the parallel with Toxeus and Ainaios must be genuinely deemed as part of the Βοιωτικά.

709 Rea (1962: 109 nn.23-4) mentioned e.g. schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.185-8b: ὁ δὲ Ταρραῖος οὕτως (tr. G. Lachenaud 2010: 42: "Voici ce que dit Tarrhaïos").

710 Even if there were a third author, moreover, this verbal form would imply that this third author was quoting Aristophanes (De Luca 1995: 195).

Ποίμανδρόν [...] γῆμαι Στρατονίκην τὴν Εὐωνύμου. The main character of these two fragments is Poimandros, who was considered by Classical sources as the founder of Tanagra.⁷¹¹ The foundation is usually linked to the missing participation of the Tanagrans in the Trojan Wars, which is a recurrent motif in the variations of this myth of synoecism.⁷¹² Other recurrent motifs are the formation of a ditch and the intentional, or unintentional, murder of a son by Poimandros.

When they claim that the wife of Poimandros was Stratonike, the daughter of Euonymos, Rhianos and Aristophanes follow a genealogy that differs from that of other sources of this family tree. First of all, in Pausanias, the wife of Poimandros is Tanagra, the daughter of Aiolos, or of Asopos, according to Korinna (F 1 Page n. p. 332);⁷¹³ in the scholia b of the *Iliad* (2.498), however, and in Eustathius (*ad Il.* 2.498, p. I 406,23 van der Valk), this same Tanagra, who is also called Graia, is the daughter of Meledon and the wife of Leukippos, i.e. wife to Poimandros' son (she then becomes the daughter-in-law of Poimandros, and not his wife). Secondly, Plutarch, in his *Greek Questions* (37.299C–E), claims that Stratonike was Poimandros' mother, not his wife (this chapter generally follows a version of the myth very different from the one reported by the papyrus: see *infra*). There were therefore distinct traditions on the identity of the wife of Poimandros (Tanagra or Stratonike) and on the genealogy of this female figure (different fathers for Tanagra: Aiolos, Asopos, Meledon; Stratonike could be Poimandros' mother).

Even in the genealogy, then, the two fragments suggest that our Hellenistic or post-Classical authors (Aristophanes and Rhianos) drew on a rare tradition, which had a more limited circulation than the others. It is remarkable, for example, that Korinna argued that

711 Defining Poimandros as a “founder” is partially incorrect, as Moggi (1976: 82–4) showed that the myth concerning Poimandros, who puts a ditch around Tanagra and thus includes more sites, more closely resembles the scheme of a synoecism than a common foundation myth (cp. Schachter 2012b *ad BNJ* 379 F 1b). Cp. Schachter 2003 in general on the history and the topography of Tanagra.

712 Plutarch (*Quaest. Graec.* 37.299C) and the scholia b to *Il.* 2.498 explicitly address the absence of the Tanagrans at Troy. This was a recurrent motif in the local traditions of Tanagra (Roller 1989: 42–3); other explanations were put forward, for example, by identifying the city with the Graia at Hom. *Il.* 2.498 (schol. D/Z *ad Il.* 2.498; Paus. 9.20.2; Eust. *ad Il.* 2.498, p. I 406,20–1 van der Valk; cp. Roller 1989: 37–8).

713 Tanagra, daughter of Aiolos and wife of Poimandros: Paus. 9.20.1. Tanagra, daughter of Asopos: Korinna, F 1 Page n. p. 332. Pausanias uses λέγουσι; the tradition could then be local. See Pretzler 2005: 245–6 for the meaning of λέγουσι in Pausanias, since this verb can also imply the use of written sources.

Poimandros' wife was Tanagra, the daughter of the river Asopos, which relates to a South-Boiotian area; at the same time, this woman was Meledon's daughter, in a Tanagran history, which explains the absence of the Tanagrans from Troy (and for this reason, they argued that they were the ancient Graia mentioned in the *Catalogue of Ships*).⁷¹⁴ While the identity of the male figure Poimandros remained constant, the female figure connected with him, be she his wife, mother, or daughter-in-law, could change, but constantly absolved the “function” of explaining something about the history of Tanagra.

There can be agreement, in fact, between the genealogy of the scholia b of the *Iliad*, where Tanagra/Graia is Poimandros' daughter-in-law (she marries his son Leukippos), and that of the papyrus, where Poimandros' wife, Stratonike, is Euonymos' daughter. This Euonymos was the father of Aulis, according to some sources, and he might reinforce a link with Tanagran land.⁷¹⁵ By and large, these variations concur in providing us with a rich scenario of how local Tanagrans reworked their past and stressed a link with their local territory, going far beyond the mere inclusion of a “Tanagra” in the family tree. Not only, then, do the connections with Herakles, which indicate a possible Theban interest, invite us to consider the middle fourth century as a stage of development of this myth, but the internal politics also suggest this, for in these very same years Tanagra was expanding towards Aulis' harbour. Rhianos and Aristophanes, therefore, turned to a relatively recent evolution of the foundation myth. On the other hand, the differences in Plutarch's version may depend on the fact that he availed himself to Diokles of Peparethos (*BNJ* 820), who wrote on Tanagran myths and on *Sanctuaries of the Heroes* in the first half of the third century BCE.⁷¹⁶ This detail on Stratonike may be understood on its own, without

714 Graia: Hom. *Il.* 2.498. The center may be mentioned on some Mycenaean tablets, if its identification with *ka-ra-wi-ja* or *ka-ra-u-ja* is accepted (Aravantinos – Godart – Sacconi 2001: 355-6). The location of Dramezi, suggested by Fossey (1974), is nowadays refused, because it contrasts the context of the Homeric list (Visser 1997: 257-8) and there are no solid alternatives (Kühr 2006: 66). In the Imperial sources, variations in the spelling of the toponym seem to further show that the city was still trying to convey this tradition (Roller 1989: 12).

715 Steph. Byz. α 541, s.v. Αὐλῆς; schol. D/ Z^s ad *Il.* 2.496. For these parallels, see D'Alessio 2005: 184-5. He argues, after West 1985b: 5 and Hirschberger 2004: 450-1, that the v.10 in F 251a M. – W. of the *Catalogue of Women* mentioned Stratonike as Poimandros' mother: this hypothesis is supported by intratextual comparisons, since the woman takes her grandmother's name, according to the genealogy adopted by Hesiod (F 26 M. – W.). The poet would then come closer to the tradition followed by Plutarch.

716 Diokles as a source for Plutarch's *Greek Questions* was first suggested by Halliday (1928: 160). Since Fabius Pictor followed Diokles in his narration of the founding myth of Rome (*BNJ* 820 T 2: see Beck-Walter 2005: 89 and Beck

necessarily thinking of Theban interests in this tradition: it can be read from the point of view of a Tanagran who was trying to imagine her or his own mythical past and, as usual, attached a link with the territory (Tanagra, when she is mentioned) and with the chora (Euonymos) to the female figure close to Poimandros. These *Boiotian Histories*, even when they share details with other genres, are actually local narratives that we must understand from the point of view of the relevant populations.

καὶ υἱὸς μὲν γ[...], θυγατέρας δὲ β': This list is puzzling for two reasons: it records a third son, Anchippos, absent in Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 37.299C–E, where Poimandros is only the father to Ehippos and Leukippos, and two daughters, whose names are equally unknown (nowhere else is Poimandros the father of two maidens).⁷¹⁷ The third son, Anchippos, requires a singular commentary, later in this text. As far as the two daughters are concerned, their complete absence in Plutarch is striking. All we can infer on this is a further confirmation of the use, by Plutarch, of a different (*qua* later?) strand of the tradition, since there is no space in the later action for them. The fact that the place of Poimandros' wife (as argued in the previous section) usually serves to further pinpoint the foundation myth to the territory, might indicate that these female figures could be used to absolve a similar function.

Ἀχιππον: One of the few common points between Plutarch and Aristophanes is Poimandros' begetting of Ehippos and Leukippos. Unlike Plutarch, however, Aristophanes recognizes a third son for whose name palaeographic reasons suggest that we read Anchippos (Ἀγκιππον), rather than Archippos.⁷¹⁸ The recent editors of the text, from the *Suppl. Hell.* (for Rhianos) to Fowler (*EGM* I), however, accept the form with a *rho* because it is more attested in Greek prosopography.

Attention should be paid to three occurrences on vase paintings of the hero ANXIPPOΣ, for example, on an Athenian black-figure amphora by Exechias, dated to 540 BCE:⁷¹⁹ on both

2010), the relationship between Plutarch's rendering of the myth of Poimandros and the myth of Romulus and Remus, might be explained through Diokles (Schachter 2012b *ad BNJ* 379 F 1b; see *infra* in text).

717 Rea 1962: 109.

718 Rea 1962: 108; *SH* 715.

719 Toledo 1980.1022. *LGPN* II *s.v.*; Bell 1983: 82–5; Immerwahr 1990: 32. Another Anchippos is documented on the amphora B of Group E at the Louvre (F 53), which also displays, on side B, the warrior Anchippos coming back home (see Beazley 1951: 59, for the possible ascription to Exechias, confirmed by Bell 1983: 82). A third occurrence is on a

sides of the vase are knights, one of these knights carries a Boiotian shield, but Anchippos is isolated. On the opposite side are Kalliphoras and Pyrrhichus. Even if the Boiotian shield is not a sufficient piece of evidence, it is better to accept the positive reading of the papyrus, which is also advisable, for the general rarity of the version of the myth provided here.

The problem with Anchippos is the same as Tanagra, wife (Pausanias) or daughter-in-law (scholia to the *Iliad*) to Poimandros, according to the source: these other secondary characters are not associated to specific events in the corpus of the narrative, but the learned attention of the author of the commentary (and, of course, of his sources) preserved this third son.⁷²⁰ His role is nonetheless meaningful, because it seems to invalidate the assumption that this myth, through the twins Ephippos and Leukippos, preserved a Mycenaean cult of divine twins.⁷²¹ The importance of twins at Tanagra and, in general, along other sites of the coasts of Lake Kopais, remains noteworthy, but cannot be positively argued for this myth.

ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς Ποιμάνδρου [...] Ἐφιππον. Aristophanes differed from Plutarch not only for the identity of the son who was killed, but also for the reasons underlying the murder. The final lines of the fragment confirm that Poimandros willingly killed his son Ephippos. The attributive participle ὑπεραλόμενον, in fact, might carry a circumstantial meaning of cause, as in the translation provided by Schachter for the *BNJ* (“because he had leapt”). This absolute use of the verb, without a preverb, and the indication of the obstacle, is not rare for ἄλλομα:⁷²² the concise phraseology may be due to the fame of the myth or, more probably, to the fact that the attention of the author, here, is on the murder of a son by a father (only later does he intend to clarify the ambiguity of the participle). Such a reading

hydria at the Museo Archeologico Etrusco of Florence (70994), which cannot be connected to the same hands (Bell 1983: 86 n.51).

720 If we accept a correction by Wyttenbach in Plutarch, we would have a third son, where Achilles is mentioned for having killed τὸν υἱὸν Ἐφίππου Ἀκέστορα (*Quaest. Graec.* 37.299C). However, the tradition here is unanimous and, if it is true that “[g]randsons are not wanted in this story” (Fowler 2013: 498 n.13), the presence of the two sisters in Rhianos and in Aristophanes shows that we can never be sure of the actual status of the family tree. It is therefore better (also for the later role of Ephippos in Plutarch) to accept the transmitted text (Schachter 2014a: 323 n.43).

721 Roller 1989: 42–3.

722 Xen. *Eq.* 8.4; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.87.4.

avoids the difficulty of supplementing a direct object at l.18, because the missing space does not fit the most reasonable explanation, τάφρος (Fowler 2013: 497 n.13).

καθάπερ ἢ πολλή δόξα: The (un)voluntary act of this murder distinguishes this version from the one in the *Greek Questions* (37.299D): Poimandros, in fact, kills his son Leukippos ὑπ’ἀγνοίας, “unintentionally”, since his first target was the architect Polykritos, who mocked the work on the ditch. Plutarch starts from the consideration of the cult of Achilles at Tanagra, where the inhabitants worshipped him, despite the violence in which they had assisted. This narrative has been deemed “artificial and derivative” by Fowler (2013: 498). Indeed, it aims at bringing together some Classical motifs on the past of Tanagra (Poimadros as a killer, the ditch and its synoecistic value, the absence from Troy), with the historical relationship with Thebes: this connection is represented by the person of Tlepolemos, kin of Herakles, the Theban hero *par excellence*.

According to Aristophanes, his version was the most widespread (πολλή δόξα),⁷²³ which means that the accepted facts were the intentional character of the murder and the kinship tie between Poimandros and Ehippos. Already in the Hellenistic period, however, there were many variations on this family tree so that the unifying factor of this *communis opinio* was, most probably, the murderous act of the founder. Plutarch presented an erudite variation as a local tradition, which could not be his own creation, but possibly a later development of the same myth that was studied by Aristophanes, as the vast amount of details on the papyrus suggests.

καὶ Τοξεῖα [...] ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς Οἰνέως: The only sources on the myth of Toxeus and Oineus are this fragment and a passage of Apollodoros’ *Library* (1.64). Toxeus was the child of Oineus and Altaea, and his father killed him because Toxeus crossed the ditch (ὑπερπηδήσαντα τὸν τάφρον).⁷²⁴ The desire and its cause, expressed with the same syntax (with an attributive participle), represent points in common that Aristophanes found. The

723 Cp. Rea 1962: 109 on this expression.

724 Lactant. schol. in Stat. *Theb.* 1.282 (*Polynicen per patris incestum et Tydeum, qui fratrem suum Toxeum occiderat*) cannot be used to argue for a different tradition where Toxeus and Oineus were brothers (Fowler 2013: 499). It is clear that the short observation of Lactantius may be influenced by the more famous case of Romulus and Remus, if not by that of Polyneikes and Eteokles.

episode of Toxeus belongs to the myths concerning the Kalydonian boar hunt, as Toxeus and his family are mentioned in the *Catalogue of Women*.⁷²⁵

At first glance, one might see a parallel between the death of Ehippos in Tanagra and the story of Romulus and Remus, since both the victims cross an assumedly insurmountable border. The similarity also entails the circumstances of the event, as it might seem that this act is a central part of the foundation myth of the two cities, Tanagra and Rome.⁷²⁶ Nonetheless, this comparison may be the object of many possible criticisms, which need to be clearly reassessed: first of all, Aristophanes underlines that it was a father (Poimandros) who killed his own son and not a murder between brothers.⁷²⁷ Secondly, the digging of a ditch by Poimandros, does not equate to the walls Romulus builds with the resulting material of the excavation: the ditch represents and sanctions the synoecism of Tanagra, where there were already villages;⁷²⁸ in Rome, the walls and/or the ditch constitute the borders of the city, which Romulus is founding.⁷²⁹

The death of Remus marks the inviolable character (*sanctus*) of the new border ordered by his twin: this act precedes and justifies the sanctity of the borders of the emergent Rome,

725 See Schachter 2012b *ad BNJ* 379 F 1b. The Kalydonian boar hunt was one of the most important Aitolian myths, even if we cannot be completely certain that this context was already mentioned by Aristophanes. On this myth and on Kalydon, see *infra* (5.2.2).

726 Rea 1962: 109; Ogilvie 1965 *ad Liv.* 1.6.3; Roller 1989: 43-4, on the knowledge of Tanagran myths in Rome. The main sources on the killing of Romulus are Diod. Sic. 8.6; Liv. 1.7.1-3; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.87.4; Plut. *Rom.* 10.1-2; *Quaest. Rom.* 27.270F-271B; Just. *Epit.* 28.2.8-10 (see a complete list in the section VE in Carandini 2006a: 220-43, with the commentary by Carafa at 440-52; in a minor version, Romulus died during a fight after an augural consultation: Carafa, *ibid.* 387-409, argues that this second tradition was the original one).

727 It is generally assumed that the foundation myth which involves the twins has a genuine Latin character (contrary to the non-Latin echoes of the myth of Aeneas). There is no consensus on the traditionalist view (on this adjective, which implies a total adherence to the sources, see Ampolo 2013 *passim*), that the myth dates back to the age of the foundation of Rome, namely to the middle eighth century BCE (Ampolo in Ampolo – Manfredini 1988: 297; De Sanctis 2009: 65-6 and n.6, with previous scholarship; the motif of the twins is studied, with many comparisons, by M.T. D'Alessio in Carandini 2006a: 469-76).

728 Moggi 1976: 82-4; Jaillard 2007: 150: “En rassemblant les Tanagréens en une *polis* ceinte de remparts, Poimandros leur a assuré une maîtrise durable de leur territoire, au prix de son abandon momentané”. Villages in the Tanagran area: Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 37.299C: ἔτι τῆς Ταναγρικῆς κατὰ κώμας οἰκουμένης.

729 The variations on the nature of the obstacle are not meaningful, as has been argued by De Sanctis (2007; De Sanctis 2009: 75-6; De Sanctis 2012: 117-8), especially after Varro, *Ling.* 5.143: *terram unde exculperant, fossam vocabant et introrsum iactam murum* (“they called ‘ditch’ the earth, from which they had dug, and ‘wall’ the earth, thrown on the outside”, tr. S. Tufano). On the foundation through the definition of borders, see, for Rome, Bremmer 1987: 35; Fowler 2013: 499.

and it is hard to believe that the myth recalls and echoes a human sacrifice of foundation.⁷³⁰ Despite the research conducted in areas like the so-called “muro di Romolo”, excavated in the northern Palatine between 1985 and 1992, there are still doubts on the plausibility of human sacrifice in Classical cultures.⁷³¹ Even those who argue that the tradition of Romulus and Remus might reflect an original sacrifice, tend to postulate that the detail of the murder was added at the beginning of the third century BCE.⁷³²

Even in the longer version of the foundation myth of Tanagra (Plutarch), the reestablishment of order either happens through the death of Ehippos, or that of the architect of the walls (in itself a meaningful variation, since in Rome it is always Remus who dies). The punishment that follows the murder requires that all of the city, and not only the killer, go through an expiation: this consists of the dispatch of the Tanagran army to Troy, something that finds no parallel in the Roman myth. Furthermore, in a part of the tradition, Poimandros is directly related to the toponym Poimandria, the previous name of Tanagra.⁷³³ Moggi (1976: 82-3) rightly maintains that Poimandria was a small settlement incorporated later into the larger city. Even if Poimandros can be equated to a founder, he has a vaguer and less strict relationship to the city than Romulus and Remus, who are directly associated with the toponym of Rome.⁷³⁴ Let us also recall how it is a woman of

730 Schwegler (1853: 436-8) originally established a relationship between the punishment of Remus and the *sanctus* character of the walls, which only thus become “holy” and then pertain to the sphere of the *sacrum* (De Sanctis 2009: 83-5 on the couple *sanctum/ sacrum*). This consequential relationship between the death of Remus and the later sanctification of the borders is repeated by Fraschetti (2002: 33 and *passim*) and Ampolo (2013: 254-7), against the opposite view, held by Carandini (2006b), that it was the desanctification of the walls, through Remus’ crossing, which demanded punishment.

731 On the “muro di Romolo”, see Carandini 1992 and Ampolo 2013: 253 n.57 for later scholarship. Doubts on human sacrifice in Rome and in Greece: De Sanctis 2009: 71-4. Several important works were published to tackle both terminological and historical issues concerning human sacrifice in later years: I will only refer here to the detailed overview by Georgoudi 2015. To my knowledge, the foundation myths of Rome and Tanagra have not been reconsidered in this debate from a historical point of view (but see Gladhill 2013 on Virgil’s *Aeneid*).

732 Wiseman 1995: 107-17 and 125. See Carafa in Carandini 2006a: 447-8 and Ampolo 2013 for a detailed picture of the historical interpretations given to the myth of Romulus and Remus, from the possibility that it might be a backdating of the fight between the Patricians and the Plebeians (Mommsen 1881: 21) to a possible echo of an original double kingship (Alföldi 1974: 105-6).

733 Str. 9.2.10.404; schol. Lycoph. *Alex.* 326; Steph. Byz. τ 17, *s.v.* Τάναγρα; *Etym. Magn. s.v.* Γέφυρα, p. 228,58 Gaisford.

734 Cp. e.g. Liv. 1.7.3. The etymology of the toponym *Roma* is a vexed issue, which cannot be properly addressed here. Nowadays, it is believed that the name *Romulus* was archaic and probably widespread in Etruria between the eighth and the seventh century BCE (Petersmann 2000; De Simone in Carandini 2006a: 465). The etymological link with Rome,

his family, and never Poimandros himself or one of his male relatives, who gives a name to the new foundation.

It is ultimately hard to see how the myth of Poimandros and Ehippos, albeit through a parallel with the couple of Toxeus and Eneus, might have influenced and prompted the development of the episode of the killing of Remus (Schachter *ad BNJ* 379 F 1b). This hypothesis was suggested by Plutarch’s knowledge of Diokles of Peparethos (*BNJ* 820). This author is probably behind Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 37.299C–E, but here the murder is involuntary. Moreover, there are many doubts concerning the weight of Diokles⁷³⁵ in Fabius Pictor’s version of the foundation of Rome: it was this second author, Fabius Pictor, who influenced (molded?) the so-called *fama vulgatio* in Rome on the murder of Remus.⁷³⁶ Even if we hypothesize that the detail of the missed target discharged the father, the parallel case of Romulus and Remus (Plut. *Rom.* 10.2) shows that the responsibility always lies among Romulus’ friends or sodals, even when moved to another circle of people (e.g. Celer/Celer(i)us).⁷³⁷ In Plutarch, instead, the entire episode is an *aition* for the later purification of the city, which occurs exactly κατὰ τὸν νόμον (*Quaest. Graec.* 37.299D), and for the participation of the Tanagrans in the Trojan expedition.

The differences between Aristophanes’ version and Plutarch’s one, and the consonances between Plutarch’s narrative and the foundation myth of Rome,⁷³⁸ may be justified if we

however, does not necessarily have links with the original tradition, as it is similar to many other colonial tales of the Greek world.

735 Cp. Beck 2010.

736 Version of Fabius Pictor: *BNJ* 809 F 4a = F 5 Cornell. *Fama vulgatio*: Liv. 1.7.2. See Beck – Walter 2005: 89–91 on the possible topographical innovations of Fabius Pictor and Jenkins 2014 *ad BNJ* 809 F 4a on their connection.

737 The name Celer is variously transmitted (Κέλερος; Diod. Sic. 8.6.3; Κελέριος; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.87.4; *Celer*: Ov. *Fast.* 4.837–48 and 5.469; [Aur. Vict.] *De vir. ill.* 1.4; Festus, *Gloss. lat.* 48.2–4 Lindsay; Serv. *ad Aen.* 11.603); his job is also contentious (for Diodorus, he was a common worker; the sources of Dionysius describe him as an ἐπιστάτης τῶν ἔργων, whereas in Ovid he was a warden). On the basis of Festus and Servius, who consider Celer the one who gave the name to a group of knights, the *celerēs*, I would consider him a late paronymological invention and would not stress the form in *iota*, present in Dionysius. Only Hieronymus (*Chron.* 152) has Remus killed by Fabius, in a way that makes him an alias of Celer: *Romuli dux*.

738 Polykritos, the architect, mocks the weakness of the walls of Tanagra, exactly as Remus does in some sources: Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 37.299C–D: Πολύκριθος ὁ ἀρχιτέκτων διαφαιλίζων τὰ ἔργα καὶ καταγελῶν ὑπερήλατο τὴν τάφρον, “Polycritus, the architect, after mocking and deriding the works, crossed the ditch”; cp. Liv. I 7,1: *vulgatio fama est ludibrio fratris Remum novos transiluisse muros*, “the more widespread tradition has Remus crossing the new walls, in order to mock his brother” (both tr. S. Tufano).

posit that Plutarch originally reread the foundation myth of Tanagra *in light of that of Rome*. This is recalled in a pamphlet, the *Roman Questions*,⁷³⁹ to explain the inviolable character of the Roman walls.

τὸν γὰρ Ποίμανδρόν [...] τὸν μὲν Ἐφιππον διαπηδᾶν. A lacuna at l.29 hinders the appreciation of this passage, likely without sufficient consideration of the previous lines that clearly mark (1) the intentionality of the murder of Poimandros and (2) its connection with Ehippos' crossing of the ditch. If we understand τὸν Ποίμανδρον as the subject,⁷⁴⁰ we infer that it was the father who proclaimed (φάσκειν) to his son Ehippos that he could easily (ῥάδιως) leap over the ditch. At l.29, nonetheless, even if we accept either an adversative conjunction, or a preverb that indicates a prohibition, like ἀπο-, it is undeniable that the father is utterly denying something, *despite which* his son leaps over the Tanagran border.

It is therefore advisable to accept Turner's suggestion, that τὸν [...] Ποίμανδρον is an "anticipatory accusative (of the verb of killing)."⁷⁴¹ The resulting interpretation is more in line with the rest of the fragment and generally more linear:

“as regards Poimandros, he [Aristophanes] says that, when this man was putting a ditch around the city, his son Ehippos declared that he could cross the ditch; despite, then, Poimandros' warning not to do it, Ehippos leapt over it, and that man [...].”

This reading also helps us to better understand the attributive παῖδα for Ehippos, which must refer to kinship, and not to his “childish mischief” (Fowler 2013: 498).

739 Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 27.271A. See De Sanctis 2009: 76–9; even later Roman laws used the myth to prove the *sanctitas* of the walls (De Sanctis 2012: 118).

740 Angeli in De Luca 1995: 196 n.13.

741 Turner (*apud* Rea 1962: 109 n.24). Or, more probably, as an accusative attracted to the close φησιν and the subject of the following temporal clause.

4.2.3. Aristophanes and Tanagra

This fragment shows that in the first book of Aristophanes' *Boiotian Histories* there was a section on the original synoecism of Tanagra. The identification of this piece of information in the work suggests either that in this part, all the regional foundation myths were collected, or that there was a Tanagran section in this book. Both speculations confirm that Aristophanes chose to reproduce the original traditions of Tanagra. The suggested interpretation of the historical context behind this variation indicates the placement of the author around the middle fourth century BCE.

Aristophanes' version of this myth attains distinction because it records the intentionality of the murder, whereas Plutarch does not stress this willingness and adds details that derive from a later development of the story. Aristophanes, however, is aware of contrasting alternatives, because he apparently introduces his version as closer to the πολλή δόξα (an observation which, lastly, cannot be of the commentator, since this commentary focuses on single authorities). The commenter, at the same time, is detectable, because he quotes Aristophanes in an indirect way so that we cannot use this fragment to infer anything on the language deployed in the *Boiotian Histories*. Overall, F 1 is useful because it sheds light on the contents of the first book of Aristophanes' Βοιωτικά, and it brings awareness to the richness of the local traditions of Tanagra, as far as the synoecism was concerned. The place of the female figures in the mythical past of Tanagra results both from the note on Stratonike, the wife of Poimadros, and from the singular detail on the two daughters of the couple: this singularity probably derives from a local narrative of these events, which found its written fixation in this work of regional local historiography.

4.3. Aristophanes F 2

Previous editions: *BNJ* 379 F 1a; *EGM* I F 3A; *FGtHist* 379 F 1 (Steph. Byz. α 330 *s.v.* ἀντικονδυλεῖς).

ἀντικονδυλεῖς· οἱ ἐν Βοιωτίαι Κολοίφρυγες, ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης ὁ τοῦς
Θηβαίους ὄρους γεγραφώς.

1 Κολοίφρυγες Berkelius Κόλοι Φρύγες *codd.* 2 ὤρους Meineke ὄρους *codd.*

“Those who hit with the knuckles: the fighting cocks, in Boiotia (so Aristophanes, who wrote the *Theban Annals*)” (tr. S. Tufano).

4.3.1. A Long Tradition

In a short hint of his work, Stephanus comments on a lemma, the ἀντικονδυλεῖς, on which we lack further sources. In the past, the form was understood as referring to the inhabitants of a Boiotian centre in front of the hill Κόνδυλος (“Those who live in front of the Kondylos”).⁷⁴² More recently, however, Schachter interpreted the prefix ἀντι- as meaning “similar, analogous to” and preferred concentrating on the literal and common sense of κόνδυλος, “knuckle, joint”: the suffix -εὺς, then, which normally forms a *nomen agentis*, gives a general interpretation of the substantive as “Those who hit with the knuckles, Knuckle-hitters.”⁷⁴³

These “Knuckle-hitters” were the fighting cocks of Tanagra, according to what Hesychius says, more explicitly, in his comment on the κολοίφρυγες.⁷⁴⁴ The emphasis on their knuckles, from their very name, may depend on the probable presence of supports of wood or iron on their claws.⁷⁴⁵ We know that for fights, roosters could be made more lethal by adding bronze points or other supports to their beaks or to their claws: the assumption mostly rest on literary sources, as it seems that figurative depictions of

742 Meineke 1849 *ad loc.* The scholar based his interpretation on Hesychius’ voice (κ 3364, κολοίφρυξ), where Κόνδυλος is presented as a Boiotian mountain.

743 Schachter 2012b *ad BNJ* 379 F 1a, on the basis of Hesychius (κ 3364, *s.v.* κολοίφρυξ) and of *Etym. Magn.* (*s.v.* κολοίφρυξ, p. 526,1 Gaisford; the *Etymologicum Magnum* is a lexicon written in the twelfth century CE, which strongly draws on the main preceding lexica, especially on the *Genuinum* [ninth century] and on the *Gudianum* [eleventh century]; on the relationship among these lexica, see the general overviews by Dickey 2007: 91–2; Dickey 2015: 472, and Tosi 2015: 633–4). For the use of the prefix ἀντι- in the sense meant by the scholar, cp. e.g. the Amazons are said to be ἀντιάνειραι, “equal to men”, in Hom. *Il.* 3.189.

744 Hesych. κ 3364: κολοίφρυξ· Ταναγραῖος ἀλεκτρῶν.

745 Landsborough Thomson 1964: 138; 759–60; Dumont 1988: 36 and 42 n.30.

cockfighting did not reproduce this detail.⁷⁴⁶ The real noun used by Aristophanes, therefore, is this alternative label for cock fighting, ἀντικονδυλεῖς, and not the more common κολοίφρυγες: this other form is also not entirely persicuous in its etymology (“who carries noisy sticks”).⁷⁴⁷ Since the lexicographical tradition associates κολοίφρυγες with Tanagra, it is legitimate to assume that ἀντικονδυλεῖς may be understood as a synonym for the same variety of fighting cocks from Tanagra.

4.3.2. Cockfighting in Tanagra

Cockfighting was extremely popular in Athens and in other cities in the Classical period.⁷⁴⁸ This sport is mentioned by literary sources at the beginning of the fifth century BCE (Pind. *Ol.* 12.14), and the Panathenaic amphorae show the subject at least from the second half of the previous century:⁷⁴⁹ as a heraldic motif, in fact, it already appears *circa* 600 BCE.⁷⁵⁰ The Boiotian scenario was no exception, and single or couples of cocks were depicted on a limited group of vases from the third quarter to the end of the sixth century BCE. These are associated with a “Cockpainter”:⁷⁵¹ even if the depictions are not explicit in portraying a fight, they testify to the fame of the motif of the cock, whose violent

746 The main literary sources on this use are *Ar. Av.* 759, with its schol. *vet.*; *Nic. Alex.* 294; Columella, *Rust.* 8.2.11; *Luc. Somn.* 3 (on these passages, see Csapo 1993a: 9). For a general overview of depictions of cockfighting on vases, see Bruneau 1965 and Hoffmann 1974.

747 Lexicographical sources (*Etym. Gud. s.v. κολοστυρτός*, p.333 Sturz) explain φρύγες as a synonym of φρύγανα, “dry, pointed sticks”. This detail may refer to the dressing of the fighting cocks. The first part of the compound noun may derive from the adjective κολῳός, “brawling”, as in κολοιώδης, “daw-like”.

748 Cp. Müller 1998, in general, on this habit in Greece and in Rome. We also possess iconographic evidence for this sport for the Middle Kingdom of Egypt (Dumont 1988: 34).

749 Eckerman 2012. Comic poets often refer to cocks as particularly aggressive birds, and the metaphor seems quite popular on the stage (Caciagli 2016). On the social value of these contests, see Vespa 2019.

750 Cp. Tuplin 1992: 126-7.

751 On this Boiotian Cockpainter, see Kilinski II 1990: 24-5 and 66 (however, it must be stated that no explicit cockfighting can be detected on this selection of four items). There was another “Cockpainter” active in Athens at the end of the sixth and the beginning of the fifth century BCE: here a single cock is usually represented on the shoulders between two ivy leaves. The group consists of black-figure *lekythoi* (see on this Cock Group Haspels 1936: 68; Boardman 1974: 115; Boriskovskaya – Arsenyeva 2006: 13-6).

nature coexisted with de-militarization, as testified by the fact that cock fighting could also be understood as a metaphor for homosexual intercourse.⁷⁵²

Since the sport was particularly popular among young aristocrats, on the basis of what we can gather from Athenian representations and literary sources,⁷⁵³ its specific attestation in Tanagra gives us insight into the habits of the local nobility. The upper class succeeded in making this sport one of the prime associations of Tanagra to the outside world: not only were these young spectators and breeders of cocks fond of this habit, as many other people in Greece were, but they specialized the breeding and cultivation of the birds to the point that Tanagra was universally renowned for this hobby.⁷⁵⁴

Since Tanagra was particularly famous for this sport, and the lexicographical sources repeat an association between the κολοίφρυγες and Tanagra, it is therefore reasonable to assume that Aristophanes recorded the local label ἀντικονδυλεῖς in an excursus on Tanagran customs. This topic may have been dealt with after the narration of the original myths of the city, demonstrable by the previous F 1. I would therefore agree with Schachter (2012a *ad BNJ* 379 F 1a) that the fragment comes from the first book of the *Boiotian Histories*, explicitly quoted in our F 1. A Tanagran section did not exclusively entail the history of the city, but also the specific mention of local habits and expressions: we see here how a specific label was invented to present local fighting cocks and, if we did not have the important witness of Aristophanes, we would not be in a position to appreciate how much the local community had produced a local narrative of this specific part of its identity.

It therefore remains for us to understand why Stephanus mentions Aristophanes as “the author of the *Thebaioi Horoi*”, despite the very likely possibility that Tanagra was studied in the other book on Boiotia. The greater fame of Aristophanes probably rested on his

752 Csapo 1993a: 19–20.

753 See Csapo 1993a: 21; Csapo 1993b and Csapo 2006/7.

754 On the fame of Tanagra, see Varro, *Rust.* 3.9.6; Columella, *Rust.* 8.2.4 and 13; Pliny the Elder (*HN* 10.48). According to Pausanias (9.22.4), the fighting cocks belonged to the local glories of Tanagra. We know from Lucian (*Somm.* 4) that the simple ethnic, “Tanagran”, could describe a particularly valuable cock: the epigrammatist Antipater of Sidon, in the second century BCE (*AP* 7.424.3), defined the city εὔορνις (cp. Moggi – Osanna 2012: 342; see further sources on this fame in Roller 1989: 129–33).

Theban work, which was the only one known to Plutarch (FF 5–6).⁷⁵⁵ The expression used by Stephanus seems to imply that the information reached him through an intermediate source of a learned nature (a commentary?): Stephanus joined his own, poor knowledge of Aristophaes, to the detail of the fighting cocks. The original context, then, may be Aristophaes' *Boiotian History*, but the greater fame of the other work on Thebes influenced Stephanus in his own ascription of the material to the *Theban Annals*.⁷⁵⁶

4.4. Aristophanes F 3

Previous editions: *BNJ* 379 F 2a; *EGM* I F 2; *FGrHist* 379 F 2 (*Suda* ο 275, *s.v.* Ὀμολώϊος [= Phot. *Lex.* (g, z) ο 298 [III 82 Theodoridis]).

Ὀμολώϊος· Ζεὺς ἐν Θήβαις καὶ ἐν ἄλλαις πόλεσι Βοιωτίας καὶ ὁ ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ ἀπὸ Ὀμολωΐας προφήτιδος τῆς Ἐνυέως, ἣν προφήτιν εἰς Δελφοὺς πεμφθῆναί φησιν Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν β' Θηβαϊκῶν. Ἴστρος δ' ἐν τῇ δωδεκάτῃ τῆς Συναγωγῆς διὰ τὸ παρ' Αἰολεῦσιν τὸ ὁμονοητικὸν καὶ εἰρηνικὸν ὁμολον λέγεσθαι. ἔστι δὲ Δημήτηρ Ὀμολωΐα ἐν Θήβαις.

1 Ὀμολώϊος z Fowler *probante* –λάϊος *Suda* G Βοιωτικαῖς *Suda* (Βοιωτιακαῖς *codd.* SM) Βοιωτίας Phot. Βοιωτι(α)καῖς *Suda* SM ὁ *om.* *Suda post* Θεσσαλίᾳ *interpunxit Suda* 2 Ὀμολωΐας Fowler –λόας *Suda* A, –λῶα F, –λαΐας G, –λῶας *cett.* Εὐνέως *Suda* G; Ἐνυοῦς *dub. West* 3 φησιν Jacoby ὁ Phot. ὡς *Suda* Ἀριστόδημος Reines 5 ὁμιλον *Suda* A ἔστι δὲ καὶ *Suda*

“*Homoloios*: Zeus in Thebes, in other Boiotian cities, and in Thessaly. [The epithet comes from] Homoloia, a prophetess of Enyeus. In the second book of his *Theban Histories*, Aristophanes says that this prophetess was sent to Delphi.

755 Even those who, like Zecchini (1997: 190–1), think that Plutarch still read Aristophanes, doubt that his *Boiotian History* still circulated in the second century CE.

756 Cp. Zecchini 1997: 196 n.14 for the perplexities on the presence of this material in a work on Thebes.

However, in the twelfth book of his *Collection*, Istros says that [Zeus] is called this, because in the Aiolian dialect, something that is in harmony and at peace is called *homolos*. There is also a Demeter Homoloia in Thebes” (tr. S. Tufano).

4.4.1. A Controversial Etymology

The lexicographical voice may be understood as part of an ancient debate on the etymology of the adjective ὁμολώϊος.⁷⁵⁷ This adjective may describe a variety of realities:

1. a month in the Aiolian world and, more generally, in central and north-western Greece;⁷⁵⁸
2. an epiclesis for a deity;
3. a festival, the Ὁμολώϊα;
4. the formation of personal names, which are considered theophoric, in light of previous meanings;⁷⁵⁹
5. there was a hill, in Thessaly, the Ὁμόλη, at the foot of the mountain Ossa;⁷⁶⁰
6. one of the most important Theban Gates, the Homoloid Gates, which are mentioned in our sources from a very early period.⁷⁶¹

The etymology of the adjective is still debated, as the presence of months with similar names in other regions complicates its association with a specific dialect. The suggestion of

757 Cp., for instance, a scholium to the *Phoenician Women* (1119): here, the use of the adjective for the Theban gates (use 6) gives the opportunity to voice the opinion held by Aristodemos of Thebes (*BNJ* 383 F 5b) and two other contrasting anonymous views, which share Aristodemos' quest for an eponymous figure who gave his/her name to the site.

758 Cp. Trümpy 1997: 225–6.

759 The area of these personal names corresponds to regions where there was a month (Sittig 1911: 14–5; Robert 1960: 238–9). The available evidence confirms the existence of a woman named Homolois in Thebes in the fifth century BCE (*LGPN* III B *s.v.*).

760 This mountain was probably close to the city of Homolion (*IACP* 448): Ephoros, *BNJ* 70 F 228; Str. 9.5.22.443; Steph. Byz. ο 67 *s.v.* Ὁμόλη. Cp. Fowler 2013: 61 and nn. 228–9.

761 Pind. F 113 S. – M. On the exceptional character of the Elektran, Proitidian, and Homoloid Gates, see Schachter 2012b *ad BNJ* 379 F 2a.

Istros (F 5 Berti) mentioned in our fragment is the likeliest, because it is in agreement ὁμο- and the extension may not be meaningful from a semantic point of view.⁷⁶² Ancient scholarship was particularly interested in the Theban gates (6)⁷⁶³ and in the epiclesis linked to this root (2): this may be attached to Zeus (in many areas, from Euboea to Thebes,⁷⁶⁴ and probably also in Orchomenos⁷⁶⁵ and Tenedos),⁷⁶⁶ to Demeter (in Thebes),⁷⁶⁷ or to Athena (in Thebes).⁷⁶⁸

In particular, the passage of the Argonauts through Mount Homole in Thessaly (5)⁷⁶⁹ attracted those who linked the epiclesis to the Thessalian area and, thence, to the mountain. This is also the basis for the artificial and highly combinatory version of Pausanias. According to this author, a group of Theban refugees fled from Thebes under the reign of Kadmos and were welcomed in the surroundings of the mountain before returning to Thebes by going through the future Homoloid gates.⁷⁷⁰ Nowadays, it is often

762 The final extension of the adj. may not be meaningful from a semantic point of view; on the etymology of the adjective, whose element -ω- may not be significant, see Fowler 2013: 61 and n.233; 62.

763 On the different explanations provided for the name of the Theban gates, see Kühr 2006: 212; 213 and n.69.

764 Zeus Homoloios in Rhodes (*ILindos* 26, l.2: Διὶ Ἄμαλῶ[ι]); Euboeia (Eretria: *IG* 12.9,268 (Διὸς Ὀμο[ο]-| λῳί[ο]υ]); Thessaly (Atrax: *SEG* XXXV 493; Larissa *SEG* XXXV 608; Metropolis: *SEG* XL 482); Thebes (*IG* 7.2456, l.1: Διὶ Ὀμολοῖοι).

765 Lauffer (1976) integrated the dative of the name Zeus ([Διὶ Ὀμολ]ῳίῳ) in the first line of *SEG* XXVI 585, which continues ...]ῳίῳ ἀνέθεκαν. The support of this is a federal dedication of a tripod, dated to the end of the third century BCE; other scholars disagree on the identity of the gods, but the epiclesis seems certain. Since, at this time, the *Homoloia* are clearly attested, but the dedicatee is not certain, the concurrent integration [τῷ ἤρωει τῷ Ὀμολ]ῳίῳ is just as likely (Schachter 1994a: 121 n.4).

766 The cult could be imagined on Tenedos, if we accepted Wackernagel's correction in a lemma by Hesychius, ἀμαλόν (α 3413; Breglia 1985: 159–60).

767 The Demeter Homoloia in Thebes is confirmed by the current fragment of Aristophanes and by comparisons with similar cases (Breglia 1985: 167); we cannot rule out, however, that the deity, with this epithet, was originally Thessalian (Schachter 1981: 168).

768 Lycoph. *Alex.* 520 and *schol.* (Scheer, however, corrected the transmitted παρὰ Ἀθηναίους [on the ms. Marc. 476] in παρὰ Θεβαίους): in this verse, the epithet is followed by two other epithets, βοαρμία and λογγᾶτις, which are typically Boiotian (Hurst 2008: 175; Berman 2015: 110; Hornblower 2015: 239).

769 *Ap. Rhod.* 1.592 (cp. further sources in Breglia 1985: 160 n.19).

770 Paus. 9.8.6–7: “When the Thebans were beaten in battle by the Argives near Glisas, most of them withdrew along with Laodamas, the son of Eteocles. A portion of them shrank from the journey to Illyria, and turning aside to Thessaly they seized Homole, the most fertile and best-watered of the Thessalian mountains. When they were recalled to their homes by Thersander, the son of Polyneikes, they called the gate, through which they passed on their return, the Homoloid gate after Homole” (tr. W.H.S. Jones – H.A. Ormerod). On the direction of the Kadmeans after their defeat against the Epigoni, see the commentary on Aristophanes' F 11 and Vannicelli 1995.

assumed that this duplication of names and habits may be due to an ancient ethnic affinity, such as the Aiolian subgroups. It may also be a Boiotian reprise of Thessalian inheritances, as further cultural isoglosses confirm.⁷⁷¹

Aristophanes is quoted here with Istros as a source on the origin of the epiclesis: they are preceded and followed by notes of historical geography, which may derive from further undetectable sources of the lexicographical tradition. This tradition has already levelled different kinds of information, which must be considered before addressing what really derives from Aristophanes. The detail on the Homoloia must come from a passage in his work that does not directly discuss the epiclesis and could be unrelated to Zeus, since there are no clear signs that the discourse of Aristophanes was on Thebes. Istros, in fact, simply provides a general etymology that applies to the whole Aiolian culture (παρ'Αιολεῦσιν), whereas Thebes is only mentioned at the beginning of the lemma, among other centres (ἐν Θήβαις καὶ ἐν ἄλλαις πόλεσι Βοιωτίας). The final focus on the Theban Demeter does not depend on Istros:⁷⁷² it is a general comparison which confirms the association of these explanations only with the epiclesis of Zeus.

As far as the ascription to a “second book of *Theban Histories*” is concerned, we know that Aristophanes’ *Theban Annals* were more popular and quoted than his *Boiotian Histories* (cp. *supra* F 2).⁷⁷³ Consequently, the ascription of our fragment may be a partial misunderstanding of the tradition that must not be corrected, because it reflects both the fame of the Theban work and the probability that the detail found space in a second book on Boiotia. In fact, the quote from Istrus, with an abridged version (Συναγωγῆ) of the more common title of this author,⁷⁷⁴ sheds doubts on the reliability of the overall tradition; at the same time, the “exact” quote from a specific book could be accepted in this

771 For this approach, see Trümpy 1997: 225 and Mili 2014: 94 on Zeus Homoloios in Thessaly; cp. Armenidas’ F 1 (3.1.2) for another example of cultural isoglosses between the regions. I address the contrasting view in the Conclusions (6.1.3), held by Rose 2008 and Parker 2008, that these Aiolian traditions were inventions of the late fifth century BCE; the impact of this skeptical position on the interpretation of local historiography is not particularly strong, because the priority of this study is to understand these materials, not to prove them right or wrong.

772 Breglia 1985: 159; cp. the skepticism of Berti 2009: 69.

773 For the possibility that he wrote two works, see 4.1.1.

774 There are doubts on the exact title of Istrus’ Attidography, because in the longer version the title is *Συναγωγὴ τῶν Ἀτθιδῶν* (FF 14–5 Berti = *FGrHist* 334 FF 14–5), whereas originally it may have been Ἀττικά: see Jacoby 1954: 622–3 and Berti 2009: 7–8.

continuing shift between a level of precision for the title and another one for the number of the book.⁷⁷⁵

It may be argued that Aristophanes introduced this anecdote as a mere aetiology of the epiclesis, as the absence of Zeus confirms. There are no definite signs that Aristophanes was explicitly presenting an anecdote on the Theban gates, as in the other traditions where the adjective ὁμολώιος is explicitly associated with them: in these instances, the sources recall, for example, the hero Homoloos,⁷⁷⁶ Homoloëus (Amphion's son),⁷⁷⁷ or Niobe's daughter Ὅμολωίς.⁷⁷⁸ The hero and the heroine were already associated with this place in the fifth century BCE because of the early connection between the Niobids and this local place.⁷⁷⁹ It is not very likely that, in his presentation of Homoloia, Aristophanes was mentioning a Niobid as a prophetess. The unlucky fate of this group was not associated with a tradition of prophecy.

4.4.2. A Possible Explanation for the *Homoloia* of Orchomenos

Homoloia is introduced as προφήτις τῆς Ἐνυέως: this expression emphasizes her role of prophetess more than her potential kinship, with the apposition that separates the genitive

775 The presence of Orchomenos, then, raises doubts on the possible presence of this material in Aristophanes' horographic work on Thebes (Zecchini 1997: 196 n.11).

776 Aristodemos *BNJ* 383 F 5a: Ἀριστόδημος δὲ φησιν αὐτὰς οὕτως κληθῆναι διὰ τὸ πλησίον εἶναι τοῦ Ὅμολώου ἥρωος (“Aristodemus says that the gate was so called because it was close to the grave of the hero Homoloos”, tr. A. Kühr – C. Zgoll). Fowler (2013: 61 n.230) confirmed the validity of ἥρωος, against the previous conjecture ὄρους, defended by Rabbow and Wilamowitz (1891: 215). There was no Mount Homoloos in Thebes, and Pausanias' observation on the Thessalian Mount Homole can only be suitable to this case if we accept that Aristodemos surely referred to the Theban Homoloia in another fragment (*BNJ* 383 F 5b: for the use of Pausanias, see Breglia 1985: 161 and n.23). Moreover, the most recent approach to Pausanias has shown that his own remarks on Theban topography might depend on the literary representations of the *chora* of Thebes, and not on actual autopsy (Berman 2015: 143–4; this was already theorized for the walls: Osanna 2008: 250–5; cp. Mozhajsky 2014). Consequently, we cannot believe that he saw a Mount Homole close to Thebes (Keramopoulos 1917: 376). An association among the festival, the mountain, and the hero, however, does not seem as firm as is sometimes suggested (Fowler 2013: 61): it could be that the Thessalian mountain and the hero were analysed in relation to a single place, namely the Homoloid gates, but it might also be that Aristodemos provided two different explanations for the Homoloia (the Orchomenian ones?) and the gates.

777 Aristodemos *BNJ* 383 F 5a; Σ *MTAB Eur. Phoen.* 1119.

778 Schol. *MTAB Eur. Phoen.* 1119; schol. Aesch. *Sept.* 568–72; Tzetz. *ad Lyc. Alex.* 520.

779 Radtke 1901: 46; Breglia 1985: 161; see 3.3.2 on the number of the Niobidai.

from the name of the woman. The internal topology and the context, then, exclude that the mentioned Enyeus could be her father; if this were the case, the only plausible explanation would be to connect him to his namesake, the offspring of Dionysos and Ariadne.⁷⁸⁰ The life of this Enyeus, however, hardly places him in Boiotia, since he ruled Skyros after Rhadamanthys granted it to him. This rather obscure reference should be dismissed in favour of an interpretation of Enyeus as hypochorist for Ἐνυάλιος, an ancient warrior god, homologous with Ares, to whose service our Homoloia was dedicated.⁷⁸¹

The related epiclesis of Zeus and the etymology of the name of the girl support this relationship with this deity. “Homoloia” refers to the harmony and the resolution of something, like the case of the Demeter Homoloia who closes the lemma under investigation.⁷⁸² Another context must then be considered, which does not force the evidence to find a possible connection with Thebes and explains the possible dispatch of the girl to Delphi, as part of a local necessity.

Her travel has been associated with a purification story, with Thebes needing to go through purification and liberation.⁷⁸³ Once again, even if the reading is in line with solid narrative parallels, it seems hindered by the necessity to find a place for Thebes in the story, in contrast to the fame and the diffusion in Boiotia, of the month Homoloios and the related epiclesis of other deities. In fact, during the third century BCE the month became a canonical month of the Boiotian League, as the sixth month of the federal calendar (May/June, as in Thessaly and in the Perrhaebia).⁷⁸⁴ The success of this operation might be a later confirmation of an antiquity which, according to Breglia (1985: 160), may find its roots in the period of the second colonization (ninth and eighth centuries BCE), judging from the diffusion of related cults in the Aiolian world.

780 So Schachter 2012b *ad* BNJ 379 F 2b.

781 Enyeus and Skyros: Hom. *Il.* 9.8.6-7. Grant: Diod. Sic. 5.79.2. On Enyalos, see Breglia 1985: 163, Guarducci 1985: 11-2 and Gordon 1997 (“Göttin des blutigen Nahkampfes”).

782 For this reading, cp. Müller 1844: 229 and Jacoby 1955a: 160-1. On the “livello funzionale per l’epiclesi divina” (Breglia 1985: 167) cp. *ibid.* 1985: 164-7 and Breglia 1986: 231-2.

783 Jessen 1913.

784 On the diffusion of the month and its period, see Trümper 1997: 244-6.

It is significant that the local festival of *Homoloia* took its name from the month: maybe it also took place in Thebes, but the evidence only concerns Orchomenos.⁷⁸⁵ Two catalogues of winners from the middle first century BCE⁷⁸⁶ and the dedication of a victorious boxer from Megara (second century BCE)⁷⁸⁷ mention the *Homoloia* as a poetic and musical contest: as such, it must be distinguished from the *Charitesia*, which precede the *Homoloia* in the first century catalogues and also included dithyrambic competitions.⁷⁸⁸ The origin of the Orchomenian *Homoloia* is connected to a cult that preexists the Sullan restructuration of local competitions in Orchomenos, which was in line with analogous interventions in Boiotia after the battle of Orchomenos (86 BCE). Further support of this theory may be the association of the *Homoloia* with the *Charitesia* that had been dedicated to the *Charites* since the fifth century BCE.⁷⁸⁹

Since it is only in the first century BCE that our epigraphic texts are explicit on these festivals, Manieri suggests that the *Homoloia*, based on a preexisting cult, only developed as a festival after Sulla. The previous dedications that have been found in the theatre of Dionysos, in fact, refer to another festival, the *Agrionia*, and in her view, Sulla may not have used this previous tradition, because he also moved the local statue of Dionysos to Thespiiai (Paus. 9.30.1).⁷⁹⁰ Nonetheless, the idea of dating the *Homoloia* to the first century BCE is also based on the assumption that the festival was dedicated either to Dionysos,⁷⁹¹

785 There are many literary sources and a dedication of a title (sixth century BCE *ex.*) that confirm a cult of Zeus *Homoloios* in Thebes (Schachter 1994a: 148 and n.3). The only piece of evidence for a festival, nevertheless, is a fragment by Aristodemos of Thebes (*BNJ* 383 F 5b), which does not immediately refer to a festival in Thebes (see *infra*). Radtke (1901: 44-5) and Jacoby (1955b: 117 n.58) observed that Aristodemos is called Θηβαῖος in this fragment to specify that he is quoted as a local historian, and not for his works on Pindar.

786 *Orc.* 24 (= **IG* 7.3196) and *Orc.* 25 (= **IG* 7.3197) in Manieri 2009.

787 *IG* VII 48; “Although no place is named, there is no reason a priori not to attribute it to Orchomenos” (Schachter 1994a: 122; see Knoepfler, in *BE* 2009 n.247, who doubts the location but recognizes the attestation of the festival). Only an excessive trust in the catalogues of the first century BCE can diminish the value of this dedication and of the fragment of Aristodemos *BNJ* 383 F 5b (Manieri 2009: 182).

788 On these two competitions, see Manieri 2009: 180-3.

789 Manieri 2009: 180 and nn. 4-5 and Olivieri 2014: 26 (on Pind. *Pyth.* 12.26). Theocritus (*Id.* 16.104-5) echoes this fame (on Theocritus, and on the Hellenistic fame of these agons, cp. Barbantani 2000: 132-3).

790 Cp. Plut. *Sull.* 20-1 on the sack of Orchomenos. The statue in Thespiiai dedicated by Sulla was crafted by Myron and the existence of another Dionysos, made by Lysippus, corroborates the idea that the Thespian association of Dionysos with the Muses makes a stronger case for the decision of Sulla (on this association, see, in the fourth century BCE, Philodamos of Skarpheia, *Coll. Alex.* 165; cp. Schachter 1986: 187).

791 Amandry – Spyropoulos 1974.

or to Zeus;⁷⁹² however, the absence of proof for an epiclesis Homoloios for Dionysos, and the most likely derivation of the name of the festival from the month (and not from the epithet of Zeus), hinder the use of the anecdote to show an intervention of Sulla against, or in favour of, *Dionysos Homoloios.⁷⁹³

There are, however, possible hints of the previous existence of a cult in the general “conscious cultural revival of old ethnic ways” that Sulla triggered in Boiotia in the second decade of the first century BCE: a dedication to a Homoloios in Orchomenos (*SEG XXVI* 585) might either refer to a local deity or to a hero to whom the Boiotian League dedicated a tripod in the third century BCE.⁷⁹⁴ The renewed organization under Sulla may have been inspired by this preexisting festival and cult, connected with the month and already present in literature in the local historians Aristophanes and the later Aristodemos (*BNJ* 383 F 5b). Aristophanes narrated the institution of the agon and/or of the cult, through the dispatch of an important personality (Homoloia) to Delphi: Delphi remained first for poetic-musical contests and was a reference point in the rest of Greece for its antiquity,⁷⁹⁵ and in Boiotia, for its close geographical proximity.⁷⁹⁶ Aristodemos, on the other hand, only mentioned the festival of the Homoloia:

“Homole is a mountain of Thessaly, as Ephorus (*BNJ* 70 F 228), Aristodemos of Thebes in his remarks on the festival of the Homoloia, and Pindar in the *Hyporchemata* (F 113 Schroeder) report” (tr. A. Kühr – C. Zgoll, with slight modifications).

792 Breglia 1985: 160–1; cp. Manieri 2009: 207 and nn. 1–2, for a complete summary of the suggested identifications of this god.

793 For the role of the month, see Schachter (1994a: 121) and Manieri (2009: 181–2).

794 “Conscious cultural revival”: Schachter 1994b: 82. Hints of the preexistence: Schachter 1994a: 121 and nn. 4–5; 122. The integration Ὁμολλῶν is highly likely, however, only on *SEG XXVI* 585, since the dedicatee of a tripod in *SEG XXVI* 588 might not be the same. It is possible that the remodelling of the theatre in Orchomenos is associated with this Sullan intervention; the connection, however, would necessitate a more serious study of the structures, which have only been presented, so far, by Germani (2015: 354–5).

795 Our sources (Str. 9.3.10.421; Paus. 10.7.2) locate the institution of the first musical competitions in Delphi; only later were other kinds of agons established (Manieri 2009: 21–2). Even if the inscriptions only confirm it from 380 BCE on (*CID IV* 1), already in the sixth century the Amphiktyony might have been responsible for the organization of the games (Scott 2010: 36 n.35; Scott 2014: 79–80; 287).

796 Manieri 2009: 34.

This fragment has been read as proof of the existence of a homonymous festival in Thebes, but only the contextual presence of Pindar and another fragment of Aristodemos (5a) on the Homoloia gates, may indirectly indicate a connection to Thebes. Conversely, it is interesting to note that the festival is connected here to the Homole, whereas the other fragment links the gates to the hero: perhaps there were two different etymologies for the two realities, namely the Theban gates and the Orchomenian festival.⁷⁹⁷

Despite the absence of evidence, then, of the existence of a cult of Zeus Homoloios in Orchomenos, the celebration in this town of the Homoloia, and the existence of the cult of an obscure Homoloios, suggest that Aristophanes' fragment on Homoloios may be an aetiology of the Orchomenian festival. He may have reported the original official approval in Delphi⁷⁹⁸ and, at the same time, offered a plausible aetiology of the festival. The likely original relationship of the Homoloia with the namesake month hindered, especially in Orchomenos, the individuation of a secure connection with a god. The form of Enyeus' name might indirectly confirm the period of this tradition, which may then be considered the first literary witness to the Homoloia of Orchomenos.

4.5. Aristophanes F 4

Previous editions: *BNJ* 379 F 2b; *EGM I* F 9A; F 421 Slater (Phot. *Lex.* (g, z) λ 482 [II 526 Theodoridis], *s.v.* = *Suda* λ 867 *s.v.* Λύσιοι τελεταί).

Λύσιοι τελεταί· αἱ Διονύσου. Βοιωτοὶ γὰρ ἀλόντες ὑπὸ Θραικῶν καὶ
φυγόντες εἰς Τροφωνίου, κατ' ὄναρ ἐκείνου Διόνυσον ἔσεσθαι βουηθὸν

797 Schachter (1994a: 121-2) was open to the possibility that Aristodemos thought of the festival held in Orchomenos, because the only certain Homoloia are those of this city. On the possibility of a prehistory of the Homoloia of the first century BCE, see also Grigsby 2017: 124.

798 Emphasising the role of the festival and not that of the cult would rule out the possibility that here, in this local tradition, there could be a sign of “la pretesa delfica di esser l’origine del culto” (Breglia 1985: 161). The local genre seems enough to imagine this official authorization of the *Homoloia*.

φήσαντος, μεθύουσιν ἐπιθέμενοι τοῖς Θραιξίν, ἔλυσαν ἀλλήλους, καὶ Διονύσου
Λυσίου ἱερὸν ἰδρύσαντο, ὡς Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικός. ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης δέ,
διὰ τὸ λυτρώσασθαι Θηβαίους παρὰ Ναξίων ἄμπελον.

2 Τρωφωνείου g z^{ac} 5 Ἄ- Theodoridis

“Purification Rites: Those of Dionysos. For, when the Boiotians were caught by the Thracians and had fled to the site of Trophonios, this oracle told them in a dream that Dionysos would help them. The Boiotians attacked the drunk Thracians and thus freed each other and founded a shrine of Dionysos the Freer (*Lysios*), according to Herakleides Pontikos. Aristophanes, however, says that they are called thus because the Thebans took the grape-vine from the Naxians” (tr. S. Tufano).

4.5.1. Context

The position of Aristophanes on the origin of the λύσιοι τελεταί is clearly contrasted with that of Herakleides Pontikos (F 143 Schütrumpf). As mentioned (3.4.1) in the commentary on Armenidas’ F 4, Schachter (2012b *ad BNJ* 379 F 2a-b) considered this fragment in connection with a description of the Theban gates: more precisely, the presence of the cult of Dionysos Lysios by the Proitidian gates on the north-eastern part of the Kadmeia and close to the theatre,⁷⁹⁹ may strengthen the hypothesis that the excursus on this door included the “Liberation mysteries” associated with Dionysos (αἱ Διονύσου). Near the sanctuary of Dionysos Lysios, there were annual rites for its opening:⁸⁰⁰ the details of these rites can only be understood through a comparison with what happened in Sikyon.

We know from Pausanias (9.16.6) that there were yearly rites at the sanctuary of Dionysos Lysios, which must be differentiated from that of Dionysos Kadmeios: this connection

799 The proximity of this cult to the theatre and the celebration of yearly rites are important points in common between the Theban celebration of Dionysos Lysios and the analogous rites of Sikyon (Casadio 1999: 125). The Theban theatre might be in the current neighbourhood of *Neos Synoikismòs*: the preserved structures date from the early third century BCE, even if the date is far from being certain (Germani 2012).

800 Paus. 9.16.6. See Schachter 1981 *s.v.* “Dionysos (Thebes)” and Schachter 2014b: 330-1 on these sanctuaries.

with Ampelos, or with the grape-vine, as is argued here, confirms an association with Dionysism.⁸⁰¹

“Near the Proetidian gate is built a theater, and quite close to the theater is a temple of Dionysus surnamed Deliverer. For when some Theban prisoners in the hands of Thracians had reached Haliartia on their march, they were delivered by the god, who gave up the sleeping Thracians to be put to death. One of the two images here the Thebans say is Semele. Once in each year, they say, they open the sanctuary on stated days” (tr. W.H.S. Jones).

In his edition of Photius, Theodoridis printed the final ἄμπελον with a capital letter: in this way, the text speaks about Ampelos, known as the son of a satyre and a nymph in a tradition recorded by Ovid and by Nonnus.⁸⁰² Dionysos fell in love with this youth, who then died, either because he fell from an elm, and was then transformed into a star,⁸⁰³ or because he was transformed into a vine by Hera.⁸⁰⁴ As a personification of the vine, Ampelos is also mentioned by the poet Pherenikos of Herakleia, perhaps in the second century BCE (*Suppl. Hell.* 672); it is uncertain whether Ovid was inspired by this and by the figurative arts, or if the tradition of the *Catasterismi* exerted a greater influence.⁸⁰⁵ In any case, the connection of this Ampelos with Dionysos as the Freer (λύσιος)⁸⁰⁶ *par excellence*, and traditionally associated with wine, would not be particularly surprising.

801 Paus. 2.7.6. On the cult of Dionysos Lysios, see Casadio 1999: 124–43. Fowler (2013: 63) expresses doubts on this relationship with Dionysism.

802 Ov. *Fast.* 3.409–14; Nonnus, *Dion.* 11.212–4; 291. Especially on Nonnus’ representation of Ampelus, cp. Kröll 2016.

803 Ov. *Fast.* 414: *amisum Liber in astra tulit*, “Liber bore the lost youth to the stars” (tr. G.P. Goold).

804 Nonnus, *Dion.* 12.102: Ἄμπελος ἀμπελόεντι χαρίζεται οὔνομα καρπῶ, “Ampelos shall change form into a plant and give his name to the fruit of the vine” (tr. W.H.D. Rouse).

805 The date of Pherenikos is controversial (cp. Christ – Schmidt – Stählin 1920: 332. Role of the figurative arts: Bömer 1958: 171. Ampelos is a paretros of Dionysos on a white marble group, conserved at the British Museum and dated to the second century CE (but probably a copy of an original of the third century BCE). The figure has feminine traits, however, contrary to the constant masculine gender of Ampelos, and it is then more probable, as argued by Zagdoun (1981: 690 [1]), that it is Ambrosia. Role of the *Catasterismi*: Zagdoun 1981: 690.

806 The epithet is only used for Dionysos (Casadio 1987: 209; Casadio 1999: 123) and the liberation must be seen in a wider sense, not only as a cathartic experience (on this function of Dionysos, see *ibid.* 123–43 and Fowler 2013: 62–3 and 62 n.236).

The previous anecdote tells of the mythical liberation of a group of Thebans from the Thracians. This episode was a popular motif⁸⁰⁷ and the version in connection with wine may be seen as the popular etymology of the final sanctuary dedicated in Thebes.⁸⁰⁸ Our present fragment, however, only mentions the capture of some Boiotians and has a definite association with the Naxians. This switch from a focus on a Theban rite to a tradition that generally includes a group of Boiotians does not seem particularly relevant: the fact that the Thebans identify with these Boiotians does not necessarily mean that the tradition dates back to the age of Theban hegemony, when the Thebans allegedly aimed to highlight their Boiotian identity. Indeed, Theban hegemonic power over other Boiotian towns is a phenomenon that we already detect at the beginning of the fifth century BCE, and we cannot rule out an early date for the genesis of this definition of the ethnic borders between Thebans and Boiotians.⁸⁰⁹ Finally, the nature of the source allows a certain level of confusion in these details, which inhibits further reflection on the specific use of ethnics.

4.5.2. Naxos and Thebes

The main interpretative problem concerns the connection between the abduction of Ampelos and Naxos in a local work of Boiotian history. It has been suggested, for example, that Ampelos' life was treated as a deviation from the narrative on his lover, Dionysos, who spent some time on Naxos with Ariadne. Among the children of Dionysos and Ariadne, was Enyeus, the father of the Homolois mentioned in Aristophanes' F 3.⁸¹⁰ This Enyeus received the island of Skyros: “[i]t would be likely, therefore, that Enyeus and his people had migrated to Skyros from Naxos” (Schachter 2012b). The link between Ampelos, Dionysos' lover, and the migration of Enyeus is not completely clear. Moreover,

807 On these episodes, see the commentaries on Armenidas' F 1 (3.1.1) and F 4 (3.4.2).

808 Moggi – Osanna 2012: 306. The fragment is associated with the great interest of the early mythographers in etymology as a knowledge trope (Fowler 1996: 73 n.78).

809 Genesis in the age of the Theban hegemony: Schachter 2012b *ad BNJ* 379 F 2ab. For the hypothesis that, at the beginning of the fifth century there was already a series of “pre-federal” institutions, see *infra* 4.7.3.

810 Schachter 2012b Homolois, however, was more probably a priestess of Enyeus (see *supra* 4.4.1).

despite being necessarily prudent, we must remember that in all the traditions Ampelos dies a violent death.⁸¹¹

We then must reconsider the probability of an actual capital letter in the original text. It is more likely that there was a simple mention of the possession in Thebes of the grape-vine (ἀμπελος). A recurring aspect of the aetiologies, linked to the liberation from the Thracians, is the birth of the cult of Dionysos Lysios in Boiotia, since the event is, in any case, imagined as happening in this region.⁸¹² Against this almost canonical setting, Aristophanes reported a version of the myth where the grape-vine, only indirectly referring to Dionysos as a symbol and not as a personification,⁸¹³ comes from another region, i.e. from the island of Naxos.

This would be an extremely rare variation, because the cult of Dionysos Lysios, even in other centres, is linked to Thebes,⁸¹⁴ which Sikyon and Corinth acknowledged as its setting. If, however, we accept this relationship with Dionysos, we may think that Aristophanes was joining a debate on the origins of the god, to whom Pindar alludes when he recalls the birth of the dithyramb in Naxos. Not only, in fact, did Dionysos belong to the local traditions of Naxos (for his wedding to Ariadne on this island), but the Naxians also claimed to have been the cradle of the god. In this way, Naxos was the place where the dithyramb found its first expression: the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo* is one of the first witnesses to this claim, since it contrasts the Theban assertions with those of centres like Naxos.⁸¹⁵

The compromising solution offered by Aristophanes attaches the definitive possession of the grape-vine, the symbol of Dionysos, secondly to Thebes. We cannot be sure how this

811 Cp. Kröll 2016: 65 on the meaning of this violent death. The character may also be Oxylos' and Amandryas' son (*Suppl. Hell.* 672), without a connection to Dionysos.

812 Herakleides Pontikos F 143 Schütrumpf: Lebadeia; Pausanias (9.16.6): Haliartos; Zenobios (4.37): Koroneia; Polyaeus (*Strat.* 7.43): surroundings of Lake Kopais.

813 Fowler (2013: 63) recognizes the ancient link of the god with this island but does not accept this hypothesis.

814 On Phanes, a Theban who brought the cult to Sikyon according to Paus. 2.7.6, cp. Casadio 1999: 108. For the Boiotian origin of the Corinthian cult of Dionysos Lysios and Bakchios, see Will 1955: 216–21. On the Panhellenic fame of Thebes as a centre of the cult of Dionysos, see Demand 1981: 188.

815 Pind. F 115 S. – M.; *Hom. Hymn. Ap.* 5–6. Local historians of Naxos may also delve into the origins of the dithyramb, as in the proposal of Agl(a)osthenes (*BNJ* 499 F 3: possibly between the fourth and the third century BCE, according to Müller 2012; on the Naxian link, see Jacoby 1955a: 416–7; Kowalzig 2013: 57 and n.66).

happened, but the link with the epithet *λύσιος* may betray the idea of a liberation of the god from Naxos. Perhaps we have a sign of a contrasting tradition that granted to the inhabitants of Naxos an original connection of Dionysos with their island, before the Thebans obtained the symbol. If this hypothesis is true, this is a further indication of how Boiotian local historiography engaged with other traditions coming from external, local sources.

4.6. Aristophanes F 5

Previous editions: *BNJ* 379 F 5; *FGrHist* 379 F 5 (Plut. *de Hdt. mal.* 31.864D).

Ἀριστοφάνους δὲ τοῦ Βοιωτοῦ γράψαντος, ὅτι χρήματα μὲν αἰτήσας οὐκ' ἔλαβε παρὰ Θηβαίων, ἐπιχειρῶν δὲ τοῖς νέοις διαλέγεσθαι καὶ συσχολάζειν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐκωλύθη δι' ἀγροικίαν αὐτῶν καὶ μισολογίαν, ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἐστὶ τεκμήριον, ὃ δ' Ἡρόδοτος τῶι Ἀριστοφάνει μεμαρτύρηκε, δι' ὧν τὰ μὲν ψευδῶς, τὰ δὲ δι' ἀ[δικίαν], τὰ δ' ὡς μισῶν καὶ διαφερόμενος τοῖς Θηβαίοις ἐγκέκληκε.

1 χρήματα Stephanus ῥήματα EB 2 παρὰ Θηβαίων Pletho Amyot Reiske παρ' Ἀθηναίων EB 5 δι' ἀδικίαν Wyttenbach Hansen (*cfr.* 865 B διέβαλε ψευδῶς καὶ ἀδίκως τὴν πόλιν) *post* διὰ *octo litterae desunt* EB κολακείαν *vel* δι' ἔχθραν Turnèbe δι' ἄγνοιαν Amyot Meziriacus διαβόλως Madvig Cobet διαβάλλων Bernardakis δι' ἀ<μέλειαν> Pohlenz

“Aristophanes of Boiotia, indeed, writes that he [Herodotus], after asking for money, could not get any from the Thebans. Since, then, he was trying to converse with young people, and to study in groups with them, the archons inhibited him, for their boorishness and their hatred of arguments. There is no other evidence on this, but Herodotus confirms Aristophanes, through the accusations that he threw at the Thebans, partly for his lies, partly for his unfairness, and partly as one who hated them and was at variance with them” (tr. S. Tufano).

4.6.1. Plutarch's *On the Malice of Herodotus and Aristophanes*

The treatise *On the Malice of Herodotus* (854E-874C) belongs to the last period of Plutarch's production and is dedicated to an obscure Alexander.⁸¹⁶ It is the only writing where Plutarch directly addresses Herodotus, even if there are further hints of a critical reading of the *Histories* in the *Moralia*.⁸¹⁷ Moreover, internal indications suggest that the author read other sources to compare to Herodotus, even if it is uncertain whether he directly read all of these fragmentary historians. After an introductory part (1-10), the *De Herodoti malignitate* touches upon a series of episodes where Herodotus shows his κακοήθεια. These sections first concern barbarians (12-9), and then Greeks (20-43): among these, the Boiotians and Corinthians are the main victims of Herodotus' malice (1: μάλιστα πρὸς τε Βοιωτοὺς καὶ Κορινθίους).⁸¹⁸

816 On the date of the treatise, see Ziegler 1964: 234; Lachenaud 1982: 128-9; Bowen 1992: 2-3; Pelling 2007: 157 and n.41 (Plutarch promises here to write a *Life of Leonidas* [*de Hdt. mal.* 32.866B], but this is not sufficient as a hint on the date). According to some scholars (Magallon García – Ramón Palerm 1989: 21 n.1; Bowen 1992: 105), Alexander was the same Epicurean quoted in *Quaest. conv.* 2.3.635F, since, in this other work, he is considered an expert on Herodotus' *Histories*.

817 On the implicit and explicit presence of Herodotus in Plutarch, see Hershbell 1993 and Inglese 2003. On the occurrences of Herodotus in the *Lives*, cp. Pelling 2007: 150-5. Plutarch quotes Herodotus more often in his *Moralia*, but not always to mock or correct him. The references, in fact, lack the fierceness of the attacks in his *de Herodoti malignitate*: *Con. praec.* 10.139C (οὐκ ὀρθῶς Ἡρόδοτος εἶπεν, on the coterminous loss, in a woman, of dresses and dignity; however, the same story of Gyges and Candaule [*Hdt.* 1.8] has a different interpretation in *Plut. De recta ratione audiendi*, 1.37D: cp. Inglese 2003: 228-9); *De mul. virt.* 4.245F (οὐχ ὡς Ἡρόδοτος ιστορεῖ); *de Esu carniū* 2.3.998A (περὶ ᾧν Ἡρόδοτος ιστορῶν ἀπιστεῖται). Even the judgment on Herodotus' digressions and on their utility shifts between what Plutarch maintains in the *Lives* and what he claims in his *Moralia* (see Pelling 1990; Bowen 1992: 106-7; Hershbell 1993: 153-4).

818 The biographical tradition on Herodotus generally reproduces similar patterns when it focuses on the reaction of the Boiotians and of the Corinthians to the arrival of Herodotus (Lachenaud 1981: 164 n.2; Priestley 2014: 42-4). In Corinth, according to late sources (Dio Chrys. [*Or.*] 37.7; Marcellin. *Vita Thuc.* 27, which could draw on previous memories), Herodotus was recorded as particularly hated by the local population (Marcellin.: ὑπεροφθεῖς), because he tried to sell them histories of the city, after asking for a μισθός (Dio Chrys.). Since the Corinthians refused to pay him, Herodotus falsified his narrative of their committal during the Persian Wars: therefore, the locals argued, Herodotus mentioned the alleged desertion of the commander Adeimantos, in Salamis (*Hdt.* 8.94.1-3; however, Herodotus is aware of the local reaction to this story, and he reports it at 8.94.4; on the textual relationship between Marcellinus, Herodotus, and Dion, see Piccirilli 1985: 108). The pattern is similar to what happens in Thebes, but Aristophanes specifies that Herodotus also wanted to act as a “philosopher”, apart from ἀγοράζειν.

The pamphlet is generally characterized by a polemic and satirical vein,⁸¹⁹ which relates it to other essays written during the period of the so-called “Second Sophistic”.⁸²⁰ In the second century CE, a new historiographical model was being scrutinized opposite the Classical paradigm: consequently, the rhetoric texture of the *de Herodoti malignitate* and its participation in a widespread anti-Herodotean climate must always be kept in mind. Herodotus’ style was appreciated, while his genuine qualities as a historian were despised and revised.⁸²¹

In *On the Malice of Herodotus*, Plutarch confirms his appreciation for the γραφικός ἀνὴρ (43.874B), which is repeated in a passage of his *Non posse suaviter vivi* (10.1093B). Considering his Platonism, Plutarch likely shared this view. In his system, there was a dangerous contradiction between the qualities of a mimesis, reached through the quality of style, and the historical reliability of an author.⁸²²

Among the sources quoted by Plutarch in this treatise, we detect the high presence of local historiographers.⁸²³ Plutarch observes that Aristophanes of Boiotia reported exceptional

819 For this interpretation of the treatise, see Ramón Palerm 2000; Grimaldi 2004: 7-14, and Sierra 2014 (cp. already Pearson 1965: 5: “As a Platonist Plutarch was anxious that worthy characters and fit models for imitation by the young should be presented by poets and historians alike and [...] he is more seriously concerned that history shall offer edification and moral lessons than that it be written with critical accuracy”). Besides, in the historical tradition, a polemical tone towards a predecessor is a common *topos* from the beginning of Greek historiography, and it works as a starting point to mark the historian’s original stance and to define his method. On this, see Marincola 1997: 217-57.

820 Anderson (1989) defined Plutarch a “πεπαιδευμένος in action”. Plutarch’s actual participation or belonging to what literary histories define as the Second Sophistic is debated today on the grounds that he is both chronologically distant from many names who are defined in that context and that he does not share their rhetorical strategies (cp. e.g. Schmitz 2014). However, the parallels suggested for Plutarch’s commitment with Herodotus strongly place him in the contemporary debate of the second century CE, even if we accept the internal variety of the later figures and a number of differences on other areas of the respective production; recent scholarship on the Second Sophistic, moreover, tends to be aware that there are different opinions on the actual chronological extent of the movement (Whitmarsh 2005: 4).

821 Cp. Homeyer 1967: 185; Hershbell 1993: 161-2 (anti-Herodotean climate); Marincola 1994 (ethical and historiographical value of the treatise); Pelling 2007. Not only does Plutarch share Aelius Aristides’ point of view (Grimaldi 2004: 11 and n.13), but Aristides may have used Plutarch’s *De Herodoti malignitate* in his work (Milazzo 2002: 236; Berardi 2013). In particular, in his *Egyptian Discourse* (36; cp. Berardi 2013: 66-8), Aelius Aristides drew on Plutarch and repeated the harsh criticisms of Herodotus’ mendacity (cp. e.g. *Or.* 36.51 K.: εἰ τοίνυν Ἡρόδοτος εἰς Ἐλεφαντίνην ποθ’ ἦκεν, ὥσπερ εἶρηκεν).

822 Cp. Inglese 2003: 225-6, with further bibliography.

823 According to Lachenaud (1981: 114), this fact represents further proof of Plutarchean authorship. The historians mentioned are: Antenor (*BNJ* 463 F 2), Charon of Lampsakos (*BNJ* 262 FF 9-10), Diyllos (*BNJ* 73 F 3), Dionysios of Chalkis (*JC* IV 1773 F 9), Hellanikos (*BNJ* 4 F 183), Ephoros (*BNJ* 70 FF 187 and 189), Lysanias (*BNJ* 426 F 1), the

traditions, probably already notable for authors who lived before the second century CE. On the basis of this fact and, in general, of the high number of local historians recalled in this work, we should seriously consider the possibility of the use of intermediary sources that Plutarch may have read to find different traditions and information concerning Herodotus' narrative.⁸²⁴

The main textual problems of the present passage concern the final section, namely the second cause of Herodotus' stance towards the Thebans.⁸²⁵ It is unclear whether, after the preposition *διὰ*, there was a noun in the accusative case, or an adverb. From the point of view of meaning, we would expect this third explanation to differ from the first (*τὰ μὲν ψευδῶς*, “partly lying”) and third one (*τὰ δ' ὡς μισῶν καὶ διαφερόμενος*, “partly because he hated them, and was at variance with them”). In their adverbial use, *τὰ μὲν...τὰ δέ* generally introduce different aspects of an overall explanation.⁸²⁶ Consequently, the lacuna of 7 letters, signalled by Häslér (1978), can best be filled with the conjecture *δι' ἀδικίαν* (Wytténbach; see Hansen 1979 *ad loc.*).

This option is the most likely, because it draws on a later passage of the same chapter (31.865B) where Plutarch summarizes the features of Herodotus' *κακοήθεια*, demonstrated by the wrong representation of the reason for the permanence of the Thebans at Thermopylai. For Herodotus, the men were forced, but for Plutarch, they remained because they wanted to. Herodotus – so claims Plutarch – was so imbued with rage (*ὀργή*) and ill-will (*δυσμένεια*), that

Ναξίων ὄρωγράφοι (BNJ 501 F 3: see on them Thomas 2014b: 154–5), and Nikander (BNJ 271–272 F 35). Furthermore, Plutarch mentions an obscure Lakrates of Sparta (*de Hdt. mal.* 35.868F: a soldier, according to Bowen 1992: 138, or maybe the Olympionic winner from Sparta who lived in the fifth century BCE [LGPN IIIA 10712] and died in 403 BCE [Xen. *Hell.* 2.4.33]), the generic sources in the chapters on Thermopylai. Cp. on these and other fragmentary historians quoted by Plutarch Ambaglio 1980b: 124 n.2.

824 For the presence of Aristophanes, Wilamowitz (1922: 194 n.1) suggests that Plutarch may have known him through Nikander of Kolophon. Nonetheless, it is not impossible, for the single case of Aristophanes, that Plutarch could still read him directly, as Jacoby (1955a: 160) and Zecchini (1997: 190–1) have suggested (even though they accept that Plutarch should read his *Θηβαῖοι ἴωροι*, but not his *Βοιωτικά*).

825 Our text is directly handed down by the codices **E** (Paris. gr. 1672, *post* 1302) and **B** (Paris. gr. 1675, XV c.), which show a similar version, despite the common belief that **B** is independent from **E** and of equal worth. Besides, an important means for the reconstruction of the text is represented by excerpts of Gemistos Pletho (1355–1452), which allow us to correct even obscure passages where **E** and **B** converge. For the importance of these excerpts for the *constitutio textus* of Plutarch's *De Herodoti malignitate*, cp. Hansen 1974 and Häslér 1978: ix–x.

826 *LSJ s.v. τις* I 10c.

“not only did he attack the city with false and unfair accusations (διέβαλε ψευδῶς καὶ ἀδίκως), but he did not even care about the reliability of the accusations (τοῦ πιθανοῦ τῆς διαβολῆς ἐφρόντισεν); not to mention the fact that he will appear self-contradictory to many readers (αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ τὰ ἐναντία λέγων)” (tr. S. Tufano).

Accepting this version with ἀδικία has the further advantage that the motif of “unfairness” already appears at the beginning of Plutarch’s *On the Malice of Herodotus*, where Plutarch quotes a passage from Plato (*Resp.* 2.361A), according to whom ἐσχάτη γὰρ ἀδικία δοκεῖν δίκαιον εἶναι μὴ ὄντα (“the biggest injustice occurs when what is not just appears as such”).⁸²⁷

These textual parallels confirm the ascription of the final wording to Plutarch, because the narrative that derives from Aristophanes limits itself to the arrival of Herodotus in Thebes, and to the expulsion of the man from the town. It is not entirely clear how Herodotus confirms Aristophanes (μεμαρτύρηκε), since the present commentary will show how, in Aristophanes, there may be recognition of the discourse of the boorishness and hatred of the Thebans without necessarily implying a bad opinion of Herodotus’ presence in town.

4.6.2. Commentary

χρήματα μὲν αἰτήσας [...] καὶ συσχολάζειν. The characterization of Herodotus follows the model of the biography of early sophists, since he shares three features with them: first, he

827 Among the other conjectures to supply the lacuna, those concerning the area of the διαβολή, the slander (Madvig, Cobet, Bernardakis), appear too generic, in light of the precise tone of Plutarch. The κολακεία (Turnèbe), as an alleged further reason, seems to depend too strongly on chapter 9 of the treatise (856D), where Plutarch claims that another kind of mendacity is that of the people who pretend to praise a person, with minor and rare reproaches, but actually show their true intentions in the *pars destruens* of their speech. Nevertheless, Plutarch gives an interpretation of Herodotus’ representation of Theban medism, which does not leave room for any sort of praise or acknowledgement of Theban merits. Finally, we cannot accept, in the lacuna, a reference to an assumed ἄγνοια (Amyot) of Herodotus, because this ignorance does not appear as one of the reasons that led Herodotus, in Plutarch’s view, to his notorious *kakoetheia*: these reasons are explicitly mentioned in the first chapters of *On the Malice of Herodotus*, and are the use of ambiguous expressions and euphemisms (2); useless and trivial digressions on infamous episodes (3: let us only think of the branding of the Thebans); the *voluntary* omission of glorious deeds (4) and the choice to *record* only the derogatory versions of an episode (5). It is then inadmissible that, for Plutarch, Herodotus ignored the merits and the good will of the Thebans.

is asking for money, or at least trying to get some (χρήματα αἰτήσας); second, he converses with them (τοῖς νέοις διαλέγεσθαι) and creates (or tries to: the whole ἐπιχειρῶν casts doubt on his length of stay) a circle of learners (συσχολάζειν).⁸²⁸ These three moments may be read as single distinct aspects of Herodotus' actions in town, even if, from a mere syntactical point of view, his request for money is separated from the other two actions by the particles μὲν...δέ: the two *kola* are, however, analogous in the disposition of the internal syntagms, creating a chiasm that can be read distantly (χρήματα ... αἰτήσας/ ἐπιχειρῶν...διαλέγεσθαι καὶ συσχολάζειν). Another connecting structure is represented by the final remark on the audience (παρὰ Θηβαίων) and on their reasons for expelling Herodotus.

Herodotus comes to Thebes and engages in conversations with the entire population, but only the higher echelons of the city prevent him from continuing, and exile the man (ὑπὸ ἀρχόντων ἐκωλύθη: an official expulsion?). It was this awful experience that led Herodotus the sophist to nurture hostility towards Thebes (διαφερόμενος τοῖς Θηβαίοις). The greed, the encounter with young disciples, and the formation of research groups, are typical characteristics of sophists in the portrayal conveyed by Plato and by the platonic tradition.⁸²⁹ Other sources, however, often chronologically closer to the “sophists”, offer a more nuanced picture of their greed. This feature of their activity was as much a characteristic of the sophists as other philosophers and “masters of truth”, who belong to other philosophical schools.⁸³⁰

There are slight differences between the Platonic picture of the sophists and our Herodotus, since greed is a central and clearly negative trait of the sophists in Plato.⁸³¹ On

828 In the present passage, συσχολάζειν does not exactly mean “share their studies” (Bowen 1992: 130, who is, however, right, when he refers to a “practice of a sophist, in the fifth century sense of the word”); Priestley (2014: 43) claims that this is a portrait of a “travelling sophist or teacher.”

829 It was argued that Plato forged these characteristics, in terms of an explicit *detorsio* (Schiefl 2013: 104: “ein eigenes Bild von der Sophistik”, and *passim*; see Forbes 1942, for a list of the 31 passages where Plato refers to the wages of the sophists). “There is a remarkable unity of attitudes in the representations of the sophists in the Platonic tradition. As a whole, the tradition exhibits a thematic emphasis on money over wisdom, on body over mind—in stark opposition to the Platonic valorization of the intellect. [...] [T]he definition of sophist became based on a formal characteristic—teaching for pay – rather than on intellectual content” (Tell 2009: 18).

830 Seers, priests, and philosophers could also be called σοφισταί (Kerferd 1981: 24).

831 Cp. Pl. *Lach.* 186C; *Meno* 91B; *Prt.* 310D; 313C; 349A; *Grg.* 519C–D and the passages quoted by Tell 2009: 14 n.5. On the motif in Platonic representation, see Schiefl 2013: 1; 105. Socrates defended the sophists from the accusations of

the other hand, the travelling Herodotus of the fragment, even if he travels just like those philosophers,⁸³² is refused “because of the boorishness and the hatred for arguments” of the Thebans. This may actually imply that Aristophanes gave a positive evaluation of Herodotus, since he blames the population for the expulsion (which does not mean, however, that all of them disliked the new arrival, since it was the archons who prompted the decision).⁸³³ As a consequence, even if the Corinthians also claimed that Herodotus asked for a μισθός, it may not be entirely true that “the historian Herodotus was paid for public readings”: this depiction of Herodotus possibly depends on that of the sophists and, in fact, he never really receives the money demanded in these anecdotes (cp. ἐπιχειρῶν in the fragment).⁸³⁴

leading youths astray (references in Schrieffl 2013: 112-3). In the *Republic* (6.492A-493A), for instance, Socrates states that the real bribers of youths are those who accuse the sophists of ruining the youth. This topical charge was mentioned, for example, by Protagoras, among the risks that every sophist meets when he tries to sell and distribute his wisdom in a new city (Pl. *Prt.* 316C-E). On the popular hostility to the sophists, with particular focus on Athens, see Kerferd 1981: 20-2. It was Plato who deplored their request for money. The reasons for this different aptitude have been variously explained, especially because they are never explicitly mentioned by the author: in the second half of the fifth century BCE, the payment of a professional, be he a teacher or a physician, was considered socially acceptable and not necessarily despicable (Kerferd 1981: 25); the same Plato admits that sophists can be compared to other sellers of *technai* (*Prt.* 318E-319A; on this comparison between sophists and sellers, see Tell 2009: 15-6 and Schrieffl 2013: 127-8). A recent interpretation understands this closure in apologetic terms, as if Plato were contraposing his view of *arete* with an inconciliable venality of the virtues (Schrieffl 2013. See *ibid.* 14-9 for a complete overview of the interpretations given to this Platonic hostility). It is less probable that Plato shared the aristocratic perplexity towards the ecumenic stances of the sophists (if only, because not all of them would actually be speaking to a multitude of audiences who could afford their service: Kerferd 1981: 24-6. On this line, with Plato as supporter of a “selective” philosophy through initiation, cp. Hénaff 2002: 50-5).

832 Athens attracted many of these various figures, who we now label “sophists”, with due consideration that they were not a proper school and that there were immense differences among them. On the traditions of their travels, see concisely Bonazzi 2010: 15 and Kerferd 1981: 15-23 on Athens; however, we should not stress too much the extent of their stays in Athens, because a consideration of the biographical traditions shows that “Plato’s sophists traveled throughout the Mediterranean, wherever opportunities existed, and they were welcomed” (Wolfsdorf 2015: 65).

833 It would then be improper to speak, here, of an “atteggiamento antierodoteo, soprattutto in territorio beotico” (Grimaldi 2004: 155). The noun ἄρχων might have a generic meaning in this context, but it is interesting to observe that, in Boiotia, the author of the *Hellenika of Oxyrhynchos* uses it as a synonym for “boiotarch” for a context applicable to the years of Herodotus’ alleged visit (19.3 Chambers): in these years, it would seem that the term indicated the ruling elite of the federation (as later in time: cp. a series of inscriptions dating between the second and the first centuries BCE [IG 7.4127-8; 4132-3; 4148] with Orsi 1974: 44-8 and 45 n.1). We might wonder, assuming that Plutarch is directly quoting from Aristophanes, whether the local historian was not using a terminology typical of his own age, as reflected, roughly in the same period, by the *Hellenika of Oxyrhynchos*.

834 On the Corinthian tradition, see *supra* n.818. Quote from Wolfsdorf 2015: 65.

The research of the school (συσχολάζειν) is the last element that associates Herodotus to the sophists and may confirm the influence of Platonic imagery on Aristophanes' representation of Herodotus. Despite the absence of literary witnesses before Plutarch (which makes us wonder whether the use of the verb is a creation of Aristophanes),⁸³⁵ the form συσχολάζω is interesting, because it denotes one of the forms of the teaching of the sophists, namely, the private creation of circles, as contrasted with the public *epideixeis* (“lectures”).⁸³⁶

Herodotus, then, is presented as a sophist according to a biographical model that was developed by Plato in his corpus. This relationship may also imply a *terminus post quem* for Aristophanes' work, if such a description depends on Plato. Between the fifth and the fourth centuries BCE, descriptions of sophists often depended on the potentially distorting image of Plato,⁸³⁷ but there were also minor strands of tradition, such as those represented by Isocrates⁸³⁸ and some playwrights.⁸³⁹ These other traditions, in particular, share a potential ambiguity and confirm the rich semantics of σοφιστής,⁸⁴⁰ as it can already be found, for example, in Herodotus.⁸⁴¹

835 Cp. e.g. Plut. *Lyc.* 16.5 (συμπαίξειν καὶ συσχολάζειν as constitutional part of the *agoge* established by Lycurgus); *Alc.* 24.5 (Alcibiades is affable ἐν τῷ συσχολάζειν καὶ συνδιαιτᾶσθαι); Diog. Laert. 4.24; 5.53 (Theophrastos leaves the Lyceum to his pupils, so that they might be able to συσχολάζειν καὶ συμφιλοσοφεῖν).

836 On the forms of teaching of the sophists, see Kerferd 1981: 28–30 and Bonazzi 2010: 18 n.7

837 Plato defined the past history of ancient philosophy, by unifying and associating under the label of “sophists” a variety of philosophical experiences: “I sofisti stanno insieme non perché difendano identiche dottrine, ma perché hanno gli stessi centri d'interesse [...], condividono lo stesso modo di condurre le ricerche e perseguono analoghi obiettivi” (Bonazzi 2010: 21; cp. Schrieffl 2013: 105; 108; 114: “[D]enkbar wäre etwa, dass er [*scil.* Platon] damit die Sophisten zu einer homogenen Gruppe stilisieren will, um sie besser von seinem Sokrates abgrenzen zu können”). Philostratus, in fact, already detected this internal variety in the ἀρχαία σοφιστική (*VS* 481).

838 Isoc. *Antid.* 15.155. In this passage, Isocrates reacts against a common view of the sophists as rich men: “Now, generally speaking, you will find that no one of the so-called sophists has accumulated a great amount of money, but that some of them have lived in poor, others in moderate circumstances” (tr. G. Norlin).

839 On the sources other than Plato, see the comments by Tell 2009: 18–26 and Schrieffl 2013: 105–8.

840 At the end of the fifth century BCE, σοφιστής means an intellectual who possess a σοφία meant as a vague form of knowledge and can share it; on this vague meaning, see Kerferd 1981: 37–59 and Bonazzi 2010: 14–5.

841 Hdt. 1.29; 2.49; 4.95, on Pythagoras. It is interesting to note how Philostratus (second-third century CE) traced a history of the sophistic, in his *Lives of the Sophists*, which is modelled on Classical representations of these figures, as started by Plato. On the relationship between the first and the second sophistic in Philostratus, see, with further scholarship, Whitmarsh 2005: 4–5; Tell 2009: 24; Kemezis 2014: 203–18.

Aristophanes might have offered a view of Herodotus as a sophist, profoundly indebted with Plato’s (contemporary?) reading of the activity of the sophists. This conclusion is further supported by the remarks on the μισολογία of the Thebans that signal a “hatred of the arguments” and occurs for the first time, in a general sense,⁸⁴² in the *Phaedo*.⁸⁴³ Secondly, μισολογία normally causes “rusticity” (ἀγροικία). The two aspects are often associated, as the same Plato makes clear in another interesting passage from his *Republic* (3.411D-E): Glaukon is speaking about a type of man not accustomed to philosophy:

“Such a person indeed gets to hate argument (μισόλογος), I think, and lacks refinement (ἄμουσος). In discussion he no longer uses any kind of persuasion, but carries out all his business with brute force like a wild animal (ὥσπερ θηρίον) and lives in ignorance and is clumsy without elegance or grace.”⁸⁴⁴

Even if, in Aristophanes, hostility to reason and boorishness are the cause, and not the output, of the refusal of a philosophical engagement, these terms always form the polarity of boorishness/love for wisdom, which fits the features of the sophist Herodotus in the fragment. Moreover, μισολογία was particularly associated, at a regional level, with the

842 In Plato, in fact, the term assumes two meanings: in the *Laches*, which was written before the *Phaedo*, the μισολογία is a contextual criticism by Laches against those who cannot be trusted, because their words do not correspond to their actions (188C-E: the dichotomy *ergon-logos*, in fact, is the fulcrum of this early dialogue). Along with the development of Platonic thought, and its growing hostility for the ἀντιλογικοί and the awareness that there can be truthfulness in a speech (assuming it refers to an unchangeable form), the μισολογία assumes a more general meaning, as a prejudicial close-mindedness, which inhibits a proper philosophical education. On such difference, see Dorion 1993: 608–16.

843 Pl. *Phd.* 89D–90D. *Phaedo* is recalling here a conversation with Socrates, when the second claimed that there could be no worse evil than a hatred for logic and argumentation (ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν [...] ὅτι ἂν τις μείζον τούτου κακὸν πάθει ἢ λόγους μισήσας): the μισόλογοι are also, implicitly, μισάνθρωποι, as they are so close-minded that the later Plutarchean occurrences of the noun confirm the impression of mental stupidity (cp. *de gen.* 1.575E). Dorion (1993: 607 and n.1; 613; cp, however, the partial retraction at 616 n.16: “probablement forgé par Platon”) argued that the word μισολογία was a Platonic neologism. However, apart from our ignorance of so many direct sources on the first sophistic, the paucity of the later occurrences and the obvious reuse in the commentaries on Plato are not sufficient arguments to claim that he deliberately introduced this word in the Greek language.

844 Tr. E.-Jones – W. Preddy. On the similarities between this conception of μισολογία and the previous definition in the *Phaedo*, see Dorion 1993: 615–6.

Boiotians: it has been considered, “une forme de béotisme”,⁸⁴⁵ on the basis of our current fragment and of a relevant passage from Plutarch’s *De genio Socratis*.⁸⁴⁶

It may even be noted that there are Platonic precedents for this assumed Boiotian reluctance to engage in philosophical enquiries. In the *Symposium* (182B), Pausanias asserts that in Elis, in Boiotia, καὶ οὐ μὴ σοφοὶ λέγειν, paederotic relationships are made easier for elderly people, since they are not forced to engage in long verbal courtship. In the *Phaedo* (64B), Simias confesses to Socrates that in his own Theban fatherland his compatriots are willing to condemn philosophers to death.⁸⁴⁷

Despite the absence of an exact verbal imitation, these passages and another passing mention of a Herakles who, though young, despises dialectics *qua* Boiotian, draw on a common, general climate of anti-Boiotian and anti-Theban prejudices.⁸⁴⁸ Along with the implicit defence of Herodotus’ merits, since the historian was expelled from Thebes, these traits indicate that our historian, Aristophanes, was not always benevolent towards his fellow citizens.

The tradition also assumes an interesting insight into the local reception of the presence of Herodotus in Thebes: this fact has long been suspected on the grounds of internal passages in the *Histories* where Herodotus claims to have been in Thebes.⁸⁴⁹ Since 2014, we are now able to add to the dossier the actual copy of an inscription,⁸⁵⁰ first written at the end of the sixth century BCE, and then recopied in the fourth century BCE, that Herodotus may have seen in Thebes in his first book (52). Croesus dedicated to Amphiaraios a shield and a

845 Dorion 1993: 617.

846 Plut. *De gen.* 1.575E. In this passage, Kaphisias replies to Archedamos and overcomes his natural shyness, going beyond that ἀρχαῖον ... ὄνειδος against the Boiotians, i.e. the accusation of *misologia*. Plutarch, here, might simply refer to a Boiotian reticence to talk about their own history, but the adjective used (ἀρχαῖον) suggests an almost solid association between the inhabitants of Boiotia and a certain hostility to engage in long talks and arguments.

847 For these possible Platonic echoes, see Russell – Parker – Nesselrath in Nesselrath 2010: 82.

848 Plut. *De E apud Delph.* 6.387D: νέος ὢν καὶ κοιμῶν Βοιωτίας. Ephoros, too, mentioned the Boiotian fame for τὸ λόγων καὶ ὁμιλίας τῆς πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ὀλιγωρήσαι (*BNJ* 70 F 119).

849 Hdt. 1.52 and 92.1; 5.59.

850 *Ed. pr.* Papazarkadas 2014b. See on this text Porciani 2016; Thonemann 2016; Tentori Montalto 2017. This discovery may shed new light on the alleged Theban informants mentioned by Herodotus at 8.135.1 (λέγεται ὑπὸ Θεβαίων): even if we know that the mention of local sources in Herodotus must be understood along with the internal issue of authorship (Luraghi 2001b), there are cases when we cannot completely dismiss such references at face value.

golden spear, present in Thebes when Herodotus saw them (Hdt. 1.52: κείμενα). The inscription refers to the same context:

<p>Hdt. 1.52 (tr. R. Waterfield)</p>	<p>MΘ 40993 (Greek text as printed by Papazarkadas 2014b : 240; tr. P. Thonemann 2016)</p>
<p>τῷ δὲ Ἀμφιάρεω, πυθόμενος αὐτοῦ τὴν τε ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν πάθην, ἀνέθηκε σάκος τε χρύσειον πᾶν ὁμοίως καὶ αἰχμὴν στερεὴν πᾶσαν χρυσέην, τὸ ξυστὸν τῆσι λόγχῃσι ἐὼν ὁμοίως χρύσειον· τὰ ἔτι καὶ ἀμφοτέρω ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν κείμενα ἐν Θήβῃσι, καὶ Θηβέων ἐν τῷ νηῶ τοῦ Ἴσμηνίου Ἀπόλλωνος</p> <p>As for Amphiaraus, once Croesus had found out about his courage and his misfortune, he dedicated to him a shield made entirely of gold, and a spear which was made of solid gold from its shaft to its head. Both these items were still lying in Thebes in my day—in the temple of Ismenian Apollo, to be precise.</p>	<p>[σοῖ] χάριν ἐνθάδ', Ἄπολλο[ν, υ - ω - ω - ω] [κέ]πιστὰς ἰαρῶστᾶσε κατ[ευχσά]μενος [μα]ντοσύναις εὐρὸν ἠυπό ΤΑ[....]ΟΙΟ φαενὰν [ἀσπ]ίδα τὰγ Φροῖσος κα[λφ]ὸν ἄγαλ[μα θέτο?] [Ἀμ]φιάρειοι μνᾶμ' ρετ[ᾶς τε πάθας τε υ - ω] [.]μεν ἄ ἐκλέφθε ΦΟ[ω - ω ω] [Θε]βαίοισι δὲ θάμβος Ε[- ω - ω - ω] 8 [.]πιδά δαιμονίος ΔΕ[ω - ω ω]</p> <p>As a thank-offering [to you, (?) lord] Apoll[o], the [pro]phet of the sanctuary set up [(?) this most beautiful ornament] here in ful[filment of a v]ow, having found through oracular consultation [of the god] the shining shield which Croesus [dedicated] as a beautiful ornament to [...] Amphiaraus, a memorial of his virt[ue and suffering;] ... was stolen (?) ... a</p>

	marvel to the Thebans ... [the sh]ield, wondrously
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Despite doubts concerning the original place where these gifts were dedicated, it remains true that the similarities between the text of Herodotus and that of the inscription are so striking that it is hard not to believe that Herodotus saw the text in Thebes. In fact, Herodotus seems to distinguish between “proper” gifts for Apollo Ismenios, recorded at the end of his excursus on Croesus (1.92.1), and other ones that were in a Theban sanctuary that was unusual for that kind of gift (1.52). Already, for Pindar (*Pyth.* 11.4–7), the temple of Apollo Ismenios was mostly characterized by golden tripods, not by other gifts.⁸⁵¹ It could be that the original Croesus of the text was another man, only later identified in Thebes with the Lydian king (so Thonemann 2016); what matters more to us, however, is that Herodotus accepted a narrative that may have a Theban origin.

The anecdote reproduced by Aristophanes represents how, from a local point of view, the presence of Herodotus was recorded. In Thebes, he was viewed as a travelling intellectual who was not completely successful in town: any speculation on the moment of Herodotus’ arrival would be naive, but it is not impossible to think that Aristophanes was among the young people who tried to hear Herodotus’ public lectures. Another inference from this local tradition is that Herodotus could not spend a long time in town: this fact would also explain why all the internal references in the text of Herodotus seem to refer to his frequenting of the temple of Apollo Ismenios,⁸⁵² without other details on the topography of the city or the real reception of a Theban *logos* in the *Histories*.

851 I agree with Porciani (2016: 103 n.6) on the fact that the original location of these gifts was not Thebes, as the same 1.3 of the inscription would indicate. It was more likely the sanctuary in Oropos than the oracular cult of Amphiaraos in Thebes, on which we have less sources (Thonemann 2016: 159). In theory, both Thebes and Oropos may be the original setting of the dedication of the shield and the spear, but Herodotus seems to “forget” about these other gifts mentioned at 1.52 when he recollects the other *anathemata* left by Croesus in Greece (1.92.1). It would seem that the more common gifts in the temple of Apollo Ismenios were golden tripods and not other objects: perhaps this very originality prompted Herodotus’ interest in the first place.

852 Hdt. 1.52 (ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν κείμενα ἐν Θήβησι καὶ Θηβέων ἐν τῷ νηῶ τοῦ Ἰσμηνίου Ἀπόλλωνος) and 92.1 (ἐν μὲν γὰρ Θήβησι τῆσι Βοιωτῶν τρίπους χρύσεος, τὸν [Κροῖσος] ἀνέθηκέ τῳ Ἀπόλλωνι τῳ Ἰσμηνίῳ [...] ταῦτα μὲν καὶ ἔτι ἐς ἐμὲ

ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἔστι τεκμήριον. We have seen how there are no compelling reasons to doubt Herodotus' visit to Thebes, since we have external evidence of this experience. In fact, it is possible that it was this historical event that elicited the diffusion of traditions concerning the arrival of the “foreigner” in town.⁸⁵³ The choice of a specific sophistic reading of Herodotus' travel suits the preceding observation by Plutarch (*de Hdt. mal.* 5.855E) that sophists (τοῖς σοφισταῖς)⁸⁵⁴ “can, from time to time, embellish the worst speech, even if they use it to argue for an action or an opinion, because they do not claim the utmost faith in the uttered action.” (tr. S. Tufano).

Claiming that “there is no other evidence” of an event is a rhetorical strategy, frequently used in legal language,⁸⁵⁵ and serves Plutarch's argument, since the author further states that Herodotus' very *Histories* testify (μεμαρτύρηκε) in favour of Aristophanes.⁸⁵⁶ This is a subtle example of *occupatio*, with Plutarch immediately forestalling any possible objection by confirming the solid nature of the only favourable argument he advanced (in our case, the likelihood of the information). A similar example of a parallel *occupatio* occurs in Xenophon's *Symposium* (5.7), when Socrates tells Kreitoboulos that he does not need any further proof (ἐκεῖνο οὐδὲν τεκμήριον) of the fact that the latter is more handsome than the birth of the Silenoi from the Naiads (ὅτι καὶ Ναΐδες [...] τίκτουσιν).⁸⁵⁷ The expression in

ἦν περιέοντα); 5.59 (ἴδον δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς Καδμήια γράμματα ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Ἰσημνίου ἐν Θήβῃσι). The focus on the Ismenion may depend on the great importance of the site in the Archaic period, and on the strong locale conveyed by this epithet of the god: as McInerney (2015: 113-4) noticed, the temple identified *per antonomasiam* the city of Thebes in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*.

853 Possible arrival of Herodotus: Bowen 1992: 130. Before the second century CE, there are no uncontroversial witnesses on Herodotus' own performance of his work (Momigliano 1978=1982: 111-2; Blösel 2004: 37). The hypothesis that he may have performed parts of his work in different cities is mostly based on a parallel with later, better known historians and erudites of the Hellenistic period (on these travelling historians, see Guarducci 1929, Chaniotis 1988 and Chaniotis 2013; for the role of this parallel and a careful study of single situations, cp. Priestley 2014: 19-50).

854 Bowen (1992: 107) reads this noun, here, as “professors of rhetoric”, in line with the most common meaning of σοφιστής in the second century. This alternative might be partially true, but the specific “historical” meaning may be kept, because the noun is “a loaded word in Plutarch's writings” (Schmitz 2013: 36) and it can also refer to the specific itinerant philosophers of ancient times.

855 For this and the later (6) fragment of Aristophanes, Bowen (1992: 4) has correctly affirmed: “There is a semiforensic air to the whole work.” The treatise deploys a judicial rhetoric, also in other sections (Hershbell 1993: 158-9).

856 For another example of the same use of μαρτυρέω cp. Daimachos' F 7.

857 Cp. also Arist. [Pr.] 951a26 and Julian. *Ep.* 41. Demosthenes offers a partial exception, because he uses the expression to introduce a second proof, but this is actually a variation of the Classical contrast between *logoi* and *erga*: “For in this again the defendant himself will be my strongest witness [τουτὶ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν τεκμήριόν ἐστιν]—not by words, heaven

Plutarch seems to communicate the idea that some people refused the historicity of Herodotus' presence in Thebes: for this reason, and in light of the general paucity of details on Thebes in the *Histories*, Plutarch felt the need, as if he were a lawyer, to use Aristophanes as an eye-witness in favour of the presence of Herodotus in Thebes.

4.6.3. Herodotus between Aristophanes and Plutarch

Plutarch witnesses an almost unique representation of Herodotus as a travelling sophist, which had strong literary texture that was possibly drawn from Plato, and a high degree of reliability through concurring evidence on Herodotus' travel to Thebes. While the episode can be easily imagined in Aristophanes' *Boiotian Histories* in a section on more recent years, it is not necessary to assume that the local historian was specifically talking about the hostility of Herodotus towards the Boiotians.⁸⁵⁸ We must repeat here that Plutarch, not Herodotus, suggests that the perspective of Herodotus was influenced by his experience in Thebes.

Aristophanes, in fact, focused on the reasons that lay behind the decision to expel Herodotus, namely, boorishness and *misologia*. This fact strongly contradicts an alleged *Lokapatriotismus* in Aristophanes as a local historian,⁸⁵⁹ and inhibits the complete appreciation of the quote by Plutarch, who may be partially misleading, on the original context of the anecdote.

The arrival of Herodotus in Thebes must then have left a strong mark on the local community. We unfortunately lack positive evidence on the exact date of Text B of *MΘ* 40993, the copy of the fourth century BCE, in Ionic-alphabet, of the text on the dedication of Croesus. It has been tentatively suggested that the text might date to the years of the reconstruction of Thebes after 316 BCE, even if, on the basis of the script, it is

knows, such as he utters now in opposing my suit—words are a criterion of no worth—but by manifest act" (41.20; tr. A.T. Murray).

858 Schachter 2012b *ad BNJ* 379 F 5: "Looking for a reason to explain Herodotus' antipathy to the Thebans."

859 The scholarship on the Persian Wars (Hauvette 1894: 103-9; Hignett 1963: 22-4) sometimes understands this fragment as proof of Aristophanes' factiousness (Hignett *ibid.* 22-3: "His tendency is sufficiently indicated by his assertion that Herodotus hated the Thebans because they had refused to give him money"). Nonetheless, it is Plutarch who links the description of Herodotus and the episode, and not Aristophanes, as is correctly signalled by Priestley 2014: 43.

possible to date it as early as the seventies. The rationale is particularly interesting: why rewrite a text, and make it available to the public again, when the previous text in epichoric script (Text A) is still in generally good condition? I would suggest that the circulation and the impact of the text of Herodotus were behind this choice, which can be understood in this climate, even if we ignore the precise decade of this copy.

This knowledge and appraisal of Herodotus did not equate, however, with a total agreement with his version of the Persian Wars, as we will see in the commentary on Aristophanes' F 6. The Thebans listened to his *logoi* but refused to allow Herodotus a long stay in the city. The same Aristophanes, albeit unwillingly, gave evidence in that other fragment that other sources existed concerning the same period. The internal discourse in Thebes engaged with Herodotus but did not need an external impulse to proceed: Theban historiography does not react to Herodotus, as Plutarch would want us to believe, but exists, *despite* and *independently* of Herodotus.⁸⁶⁰

4.7. Aristophanes F 6

Previous editions: *BNJ* 379 F 6; *FGrHist* 379 F 6 (Plut. *de Hdt. mal.* 33.866F–867A).

“τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπέκτειναν οἱ βάρβαροι προσιόντας” ὡς αὐτὸς εἶρηκε, “τοὺς δὲ {τι} πλεῦνας, κελεύσαντος Ζέρξεω, ἔστιξαν στίγματα βασιλῆια, ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Λεοντιάδεω”. οὔτε δὲ Λεοντιάδης ἐν Θερμοπύλαις ἦν στρατηγὸς ἀλλ’ Ἀνάξανδρος, ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης ἐκ τῶν κατ’ ἀρχοντας ὑπομνημάτων ἰστόρησε καὶ Νίκανδρος ὁ Κολοφώνιος, οὔτε γινώσκει τις ἀνθρώπων πρὸ Ἡροδότου στιχθέντας ὑπὸ Ζέρξου Θηβαίου.

3 <δὲ> *dub.* Hubert 6 ἀνθρώπων Leonicus ἀνθρώπους EB

⁸⁶⁰ I therefore disagree with Priestley (2014: 44), when she claims that “[e]ven the existence of hostile claims attests to the perceived importance of Herodotus’ work.”

““The barbarians killed some of the men who went towards them”, as he himself states, “but branded most of them with royal brands, following Xerxes’ orders, starting with the commander Leontiades.” Now, at Thermopylai, the commander was not Leontiades, but Anaxandros, as Aristophanes recorded, on the basis of the memories of the archons. So Nikander of Kolophon, nor any source before Herodotus, are aware of Thebans branded by Xerxes” (tr. S. Tufano).

4.7.1. Context

After the first mention of Aristophanes (31,864C-D), Plutarch recalls the unfair way in which, according to him, Herodotus depicted Theban participation in the Second Persian War. Herodotus omitted the participation of the Thebans in the Tempe expedition, and, subsequently, in the battle of Thermopylai. On the contrary, the author of the *De Herodoti malignitate* underlines that the Thebans willingly joined these two manoeuvres and that Herodotus maliciously chose to omit their efforts. According to this historian, in fact, the Thebans were first forced to back up the Greeks, before being able to voluntarily join the Persian cause (7.233). The whole of chapter 32 (*De Hdt. mal.* 866A-D) aims at defending Leonidas, who was not praised enough by Herodotus, in Plutarch’s opinion.⁸⁶¹ Such an unjust treatment would only confirm malevolence and mistakes in Herodotus’ *Histories*.

These chapters were probably written with the use of local sources,⁸⁶² especially in the case of Leonidas’ dream recalled at the end of chapter 31 (865F: the disappearance of a ship preludes to the unfortunate fate of Thebes, in the interpretation given to the dream). It is likely that this dream was reported by a Boiotian source, but it is not mandatory to assume that such a source was Aristophanes: Plutarch seems particularly keen, in fact, to acknowledge and signal the instances where he refers to Aristophanes.

861 The chapter is well-known, for Plutarch declares that he will write a *Life of Leonidas* (32.866B: ἐν τῷ Λεωνίδου βίῳ γραφήσεται), which he never actually composed. This promise is one of the few pieces of information on the date of the treatise (cp. *supra* n.821).

862 In general, we should also be aware of the existence of a variety of local traditions on the battle of Thermopylai (Bowen 1992: 132).

Chapter 33 (866D–867B) summarizes the main allegations against the Thebans, before addressing a passage in detail, in the seventh book of Herodotus' *Histories* (233.2), which allows Plutarch to contrast Herodotus with Aristophanes, Nikander, and unnamed Classical sources. Plutarch mentions them as sources that contradict Herodotus' version of the events. Here, Plutarch does not mean to be particularly specific, especially for the very general (and obscure) reference to authors who lived before Herodotus (τις πρὸ Ἡροδότου):⁸⁶³ these witnesses are convenient references to show the untrustworthiness of Herodotus. The syntax and the wording do not grant that Aristophanes and Nikander directly aimed at refuting Herodotus, nor that they wished to repeat his version in order to show his weakness.⁸⁶⁴ Nikander of Kolophon wrote on various subjects and he is variously placed in the second century BCE:⁸⁶⁵ he is the typical Hellenistic erudite man (*BNJ* 271–272 F 35), in whose rich production it is hard to recognize where he might have addressed this material. In general, it is safe to assume that he was speaking about the Second Persian War in a book of local interests.

4.7.2. Boiotian Medism: A Historiographical Legacy

Plutarch quotes, almost without mistake, the final chapter of Herodotus' narrative of the battle of Thermopylai (*Hdt.* 7.233.2).⁸⁶⁶ Here, Herodotus lingered on the reasons and on

863 This last reference is particularly ambiguous, especially in light of the poor knowledge of fifth century historians. Flower (1998: 372) temptingly thinks of Simonides and that Plutarch is merely isolating Herodotus on the detail of the brands: in other words, these unnamed, Classical sources share the version of the Theban presence at Thermopylai, but not this shameful detail.

864 *Contra* Grimaldi 2004: 158.

865 There are two Nikanders, who were probably relatives (the second being nephew to the first one) and lived between the mid third century BCE and the end of the later century (cp. Fantuzzi 2000; Fornaro 2000; on the poetical fragments of the second Nikander, see Lloyd-Jones – Parsons 1983: 274–7). The detail on the Thebans probably appeared in the *Thebaika*, an historical epic in three books (Jenkins 2012a *ad BNJ* 271–272 F 35). Nikander may have quoted Aristophanes as his source on this subject (Schachter 2012b *ad BNJ* 379 F6; we can remember, for example, how Callimachus used local history in his poetry). On the chronological relationship between Nikander and Aristophanes of Boiotia, see *supra* 4.1.2.

866 The only difference is in the verbal aspect of the verb concerning the branding: Herodotus' manuscripts have ἐστιζων. corrected by Hude as ἐστιζον, whereas Plutarch has ἔστιζαν. It would normally be unfair to correct Herodotus with Plutarch, but both Rosén and Wilson *ad loc.* print the aorist form; Plutarch mentions Herodotus more often in his *Moralia* than in his *Lives*, and the quotes of the *De Hdt. mal.* are generally more trustworthy. If in the other cases it is

the ways in which some Thebans survived this historical defeat. Even if Herodotus and Plutarch have different views (but not explicitly contrasting ones) on the presence of the Thebans in the expedition to Tempe,⁸⁶⁷ they both agree on the presence of Thebans, Thespians, and Spartans at Thermopylai.⁸⁶⁸ However, Herodotus' representation of the event is particularly equivocal to the treatment of the outcome for the Thebans: the author underlines that the Thebans, instead of retreating to the top of a hill (225.2), ran towards the Persians (233.1: an absurd representation, according to Plut. *de Hdt.* 33.866D-E). Among the fallen soldiers, only the Spartans and the Thespians, in Herodotus' view, died with honour (7.226.1).⁸⁶⁹ The chapters on the survivors mention some of the most notable cases:⁸⁷⁰ first, the Spartan Aristodemos (229-31), who unheroically survived, but later redeemed himself in the battle of Plataia (231; 9.71); then, Pantites, “the allhonourable man” (Macan), who hanged himself because he did not die on the spot (7.232).

The Thebans come in last place on this list: they finally found the chance to retire from the Greek alliance into which they had been forced to enter (233.1: ὑπὸ ἀναγκαίης ἐχόμενοι). Subsequently, they hurried, during the fight, to tell Xerxes of their past goodwill towards Persia. Despite the perplexities around this reconstruction, it is striking how Herodotus defines this appeal τὸν ἀληθέστατον τῶν λόγων, “the truest talk”; besides, they had witnesses to this (μάρτυρας), namely, those Thessalians whose recurrent enmity with Boiotia indirectly confirms the reliability of the narrative. The defection was not enough to save all the Thebans (233.2: οὐ μέντοι [...] εὐτύχησαν), since, after accepting them

likely that Plutarch was referring to the ὑπομνήματα of Herodotus' *Histories*, for this treatise Plutarch might have had a copy of the text, in most of the cases (Hirshbell 1993: 146-51).

867 See *infra* in text, on the Tempe expedition. It should be premised, however, that Herodotus is not explicit on the composition of the land army that marched to Tempe (7.173.1), but only recalls the two most notable lieutenants, Euenetus for Sparta, and Themistocles for Athens (173.2: on the judgment given to the military virtues of these men, which is not necessarily negative, see Blösel 2004: 108-31).

868 The participation of the Thebans and of the Thespians, nonetheless, was not recorded by many other Athenian sources between the fifth and the fourth centuries; Plataia was generally assumed to be the only Boiotian town that joined the Greek cause at Thermopylai. The cause of this treatment may be the diverse character of the single traditions conveyed in our sources: the particularly strong connection between Athens and Plataia, against the typical hostility between Thebes and Athens, and Thebes and Plataia, impacted the tradition of this battle (together, of course, with Theban behaviour at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War: for this perspective, see the analysis by Steinbock 2013: 106-12).

869 Herodotus, in fact, places more stress on the merits of the Spartans (Vannicelli 2007: 97-9).

870 It is common in Herodotus that, following a battle narrative, there is mention of the best and worst fighters (Vannicelli 2007: 95).

(ἔλαβον), the Persians killed some of them and marked others with “royal brandings” (στίγματα βασιλῆια), including their *strategos* Leontiades.

This chapter of Herodotus must be clearly understood, before investigating how and whether it was considered by Aristophanes, Nikander, and other obscure predecessors of Herodotus. On the one hand, Herodotus wants to underline the historicity of the Theban defection, and he emphasizes both their misbehaviour towards the Greek allies and their speech to Xerxes. Herodotus is particularly keen to remind his audience that the Thebans focused on their past goodwill (καλὰ ἔργα) towards the Persians. On the other hand, the text is unambiguous in recognizing that, despite this treatment, not all the Thebans were spared so that they were not completely lucky (οὐ εὐτύχησαν).

The Thebans and all the Boiotians, apart from the Thespians and the Plataians, sided with the Persians in two phases: first, as a precaution, they medised and sent earth and water to Xerxes (Hdt. 7.233.1)⁸⁷¹ before he reached Pieria.⁸⁷² This surrender happened before the battle of the Thermopylai and shortly after the Congress at the Isthmus, where they granted their help to the Greeks.⁸⁷³ This ambiguity was considered a form of political realism by Buck (1979: 129–33),⁸⁷⁴ who stated that, while substantially (and convincingly) adhering to the Greek cause, the Thebans were also cautious enough to send surrendering signals to the Persians. This interpretation can be substantiated, moreover, by the Greek decision to stop the Persians at Thermopylai, since this stronghold would not be strategically valid if Boiotia was considered lost. At the same time, Plutarch remarks that the Boiotians joined the other Greeks in their expedition to Tempe (*de Hdt. mal.* 31.864E): this information is almost surely derived from a local source and cannot be discredited since Herodotus says nothing about it.⁸⁷⁵ Herodotus is clearly influenced by anti-Boiotian

871 In fact, medising and giving earth and water are not exactly the same political action: cp. Corcella 2003: 131, Cawkwell 2005: 52, and Vannicelli 2008: 86 n.19.

872 Hdt. 7.131; 132.1: τῶν δὲ δόντων ταῦτα ἐγένοντο οἶδε [...] καὶ Θηβαῖοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Βοιωτοὶ πλὴν Θεσπιέων τε καὶ Πλαταιέων, “among those who gave these things [earth and water], there were these people [...], the Thebans and the other Boiotians, apart from the Thespians and the Plataians” (tr. S. Tufano).

873 Hammond (1996: 19): November 481 BCE.

874 Buck 1979: 132: “The Boeotian League, notwithstanding its insurance policy with Xerxes, played its part loyally on the Allied side until Thermopylae.”

875 Robertson (1976: 101 and n.3; cp. Steinbock 2013: 117 and n.70) believed in the plausibility of the presence of Mnamias and 500 Thebans, because Plutarch could hardly make up such a fact in his confutation of Herodotus. I disagree

sources, which show their impact, for example, when Herodotus deliberately lingers on Leontiades' genealogy (cp. *infra*).⁸⁷⁶ Besides, his description of the Tempe expedition (7.172–4) only mentions Spartans and Athenians (173) among those who followed the sea route to Halos. Mnamias and the five hundred Thebans mentioned by Plutarch may have reached the rest of the Greek army by land.⁸⁷⁷

The second phase of Theban medism consists in the fast acceptance of the Persian cause after the defeat at Thermopylai. This readiness has been deemed as evidence for a prolonged intention to back up the Persians. However, even on this occasion, the Thebans were moved by *Realpolitik*, by their own survival, and, on a regional plan, by the survival of the Boiotian cities under them. Even if the anecdote of Hdt. 7.233 is shown as biased,⁸⁷⁸ it still reflects the idea of necessity that lays behind this Boiotian move to the Persians immediately after the battle.

If we accept this reconstruction of events, Herodotus' bitterness towards the Boiotians can be understood as a form of irony, when he describes their luck as not benevolent, since they were forced to have “the royal marks”. Furthermore, in Herodotus' *Histories*, it is not uncommon that contrasting traditions undergo a personal revision, which causes the aforementioned stratification.⁸⁷⁹ The Thebans were treated as deserting slaves, according to a habit not uncommon both in the Greek world and in Persia:⁸⁸⁰ this treatment is

with the ascription of this detail to Aristophanes, for Aristophanes is a likely name but not the only local historian of Boiotia whom Plutarch will have known. In any case, in the light of the high number of the members of the League, and of Herodotus' narrative, this expedition will hardly have been “un episodio di portata più limitata” (Cozzoli 1958: 275).

876 Herodotus' sources on the Boiotians were probably Athenian (Moggi 2011: 265–6; Steinbock 2013: 105 and 114–117; the complex character of the *Histories*, which show the coexistence of more strands, however, hinder in this episode the appreciation of a “spirito di parte di uno storico filooteniese”, as Cozzoli 1958: 278 claimed).

877 See on this hypothesis Larsen 1968: 115 and Robertson 1980: 111; still skeptical on the Boiotian participation in the Tempe expedition Mackil 2013: 30 n.38. The position of Tempe, in general, justifies the dispatch of such a considerable land army (Blösel 2004: 114–5; the apparent contradiction of Herakleion for Tempe in the version of Damastes, *FGrHist* 5 F 4, could be a “*lectio difficilior* von vornherein gegenüber der Herodoteischen *lectio facilior* mit dem allbekanntem Tempe-Paß” [119]).

878 The Thebans, however, approach the Persians ἀποσχισθέντες τούτων χεῖρας τε προέτεινον (7.233.1), as typical suppliants (Moggi 2011: 264), which is puzzling, since they appear to draw on a previous friendship with the enemy.

879 Cp. e.g. Vannicelli 2007: 96; according to Schachter (2004: 348), “[w]hile the facts he reports are probably accurate enough, the spin he puts on them is all his own.”

880 Bowen 1992: 134.

actually in line with Herodotus’ representation of Persian uses, since, after their initial medism, the Thebans and the Boiotians may be considered δοῦλοι of the king (7.96.2).

The στίγματα were not tattoos, as has been argued by some scholars.⁸⁸¹ We must see them as a form of branding, whereby the forehead of the people were burnt, in the majority of known cases.⁸⁸² Interestingly for our case, in the Achaemenid Empire they were also used on the foreheads of common slaves who had not deserted, probably following a Sumerian habit.⁸⁸³ Greek prisoners marked with these brands were seen, for instance, by Alexander in his expedition in the Persian empire (Curt. 5.5.6, where Alexander meets Greeks *inustus [...] barbararum litterarum notis*). The comparison with contemporary, or near-contemporary,⁸⁸⁴ sources confirm Herodotus’ understanding that they were mainly used as a punishment: “è impossibile separare i termini che fanno perno su στίζειν da fatti e situazioni inerenti alla condizione servile.”⁸⁸⁵

Therefore, despite the semiofficial medism of Thebes, the Theban soldiers at Thermopylai were treated like other enslaved populations. This also implied that they were deported, and apparently, still in 324 BCE, there was a group of Boiotians in Celenae.⁸⁸⁶ A possible, further hint at the use of branding war prisoners is found in a funerary inscription from Megara (SEG XL 404; XLI 413): here, a hoplite claims to have suffered a not un noble death (l.2: οὐ κακὸς ἀπέθνασκον), which may have occurred in a battle against the Persians

881 Jones 1987.

882 Cp. Plut. *Per.* 26.4 and the passages quoted by Fantasia 1976: 1170.

883 Briant 2002: 458; some branded slaves are also mentioned in the Arshama archive (AD 5; see Tuplin 1987: 116 n.29). Greek miners, too, could be branded to identify them with their owner (Xen. *Vect.* 4.21): this use is also attested for a later period, in the Sicilian estates, and in Spanish and Egyptian mines during the Republican and Imperial periods (see sources and commentary by Paradiso 1991: 107 and n.8).

884 Ar. *PCG* F 67 K. – A. (*Babylonians*); *Av.* 760; Diphylus *PCG* F 67.7 K. – A.; cp. still Herod. 5.65 (a στίκτης brands a slave) and Men. *Samia* 654 (a menace). Cp. Fantasia 1976: 1168-74 on the servile use of this semantic sphere.

885 Fantasia 1976: 1169.

886 Diod. Sic. 17.110.4: εἰς τοὺς Κέλωνας. Alexander met a group of Boiotians on his journey from Susa to Ecbatana, and they are described as κατὰ μὲν τὴν Ζέρξου στρατείαν ἀνάστατον γεγονός. On this episode, see Cozzoli 1958, who argues that these people were Theban prisoners, and Buck 1979: 133-4, more skeptical on this identification. In fact, it is likelier that this group originally included not only the Thebans caught at Thermopylai, but also other prisoners of war. The exact location of Celenae is debated; the real toponym might be Colonus (see Diod. Sic. 19.19.2 and the sources mentioned by Prandi 2013a: 190).

or against the Thebans, because, in the last line, l.3, he claims to be ὑπὸ στίκταισι, “in the hands of the tattooers”.⁸⁸⁷

In the meantime, during the fourth century BCE, the Thebans variously exploit their past alignment with the Persians, thus proving how important a reflection on one’s own past could be: this was a process occurring at an earlier stage in Thebes, as Aristophanes seems to show.⁸⁸⁸ Since Aristophanes certainly wrote after Herodotus, he may have reproduced the narrative on the στίγματα, because Plutarch only allows us to say that *before* Herodotus not a single source referred to this detail. Moreover, given the fact that it was not necessary to be a slave who deserted to be branded in the Achaemenid world, a tradition which demonstrates the harsh Persian reaction to, and the prompt identification of, the Thebans as Persian slaves *for the first time*, perfectly fits a narrative that tries to deny any previous contact with the Persians. In other words, the ambiguity of this gesture may serve different local traditions and purposes, depending on the final audience and characteristics of the work.

4.7.3. Commentary

Λεοντιάδης: Herodotus (7.205.2: Λεοντιάδης ὁ Εὐρυμάχου) introduces this character by immediately recording his father’s name, Eurymachus: from the common Boiotian use of naming a son after his grandfather, we can identify Leontiades’ son, Eurymachus, with the namesake who participated in the siege of Plataia in 431 BCE.⁸⁸⁹ This is one of the main

⁸⁸⁷ Corcella 1995; see the opposite position, however, held by Ebert (1996a and Ebert 1996b).

⁸⁸⁸ Pelopidas focuses on Theban medism for the years 480/79 BCE during his speech at Susa, where he went as part of an embassy in 367 BCE (Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.34; Plut. *Pel.* 30.2–4; on the episode, cp. Buckler 1982: 200–1 and Steinbock 2013: 151 on the echo in Athens, especially in light of the “Plataian debate” in Thucydides’ third book. See further *infra* in text).

⁸⁸⁹ Hdt. 7.233,2; Thuc. 2.2.3 (it is generally assumed, from Feyel 1942: 23 on, that in Boiotia it was common, at least in the fourth century, to call a child after his grandfather). Hornblower (1991: 240–1) and Stadter (2012: 48–9) argue that Thucydides deliberately engaged in a textual dialogue with Herodotus, when he decided to begin his narrative with the Plataian siege: “Thucydides’ starting point makes explicit the irony implicit in Herodotus’ forward reference, that the new war ‘for Greek freedom’ begins on the very site of the heroic battle which had won Greek freedom from Persia.” It has been argued that Thucydides corrects Herodotus by adding some details (Hornblower 1992: 152–3; Hornblower 2010: 123–4 and 278–9), but the contraposition is not explicit, and does not concern the dynamics of the siege: for example, Herodotus says that Eurymachos led the Theban contingent who entered and defeated Plataia (Hdt. 7.233,2:

points of contact between Herodotus and Thucydides. Besides, Herodotus' meticulous attention to detail seems to betray an anti-Theban malice, because, after repeating the kinship of the infamous son, Herodotus observes that Leontiades led the 400 Thebans to Thermopylai and

“[he] made a particular point (σπουδὴν ἐποίησατο) of recruiting them, because they were strongly suspected of medising. [...] [H]e [Leontiades] wanted to find out whether they would supply men for him to take or whether they would shy away from such open support of the Greek alliance. They did send troops, but in fact their sympathies lay elsewhere” (οἱ δὲ ἀλλοφρονέοντες ἔπεμπον)” (Hdt. 7.205,2; tr. Waterfield, with modifications)

It can even be posited that Leontiades was associated through *xenia* to the royal Spartan family and that Timagenidas and Attaginus' rise to power coincided with the affirmation of another family that more strongly (and convincingly) sided with the Persians.⁸⁹⁰ Since Herodotus' presentation assumes that his audience was aware of the family history of Leontiades, this is very likely of contemporary interest in Thebes. Aristophanes, therefore, did not completely ignore the historical figure of Leontiades, but must have presented him

στρατηγήσαντα ἀνδρῶν Θηβαίων τετρακοσίων καὶ σχόντα τὸ ἄστυ τὸ Πλαταιέων), whereas Thucydides claims that the Theban force was led by two Boiotarchs (Thuc. 2.2.1: Pythangelos and Diemporos: both might be right, as the siege might be an act of foreign policy where the presence of two federal offices was demanded, while the coexistence of local subunits in the Boiotian army would not be surprising). At the same time, Thucydides acknowledges the pivotal role of Eurymachus (2.3: δι' Εὐρυμάχου τοῦ Λεοντιάδου, ἀνδρὸς Θηβαίων δυνατωτάτου), who arranged the opening of the gate of Plataia, in communication with the traitor Naukleides (2.2-3). Even if the Herodotean use of στρατηγέω might be exaggerated, it remains true that Thucydides does not explicitly deny the central role played by “a most important man of Thebes” (see Rubincam 1981, more cautious on this possible agreement of Herodotus with Thucydides). The actual difference, as far as this event is concerned, concerns the number of Thebans, who were little more than three hundred for Thucydides (2.2.1), and four hundred for Herodotus (7.233.2), but it could be maintained that, on this event, Thucydides had better sources (for example, he can give a number for the 180 Thebans who were put to death by the Plataians: 2.5.7); furthermore, the contemporary approach to these numbers is different from the ancient historiographical use of these pieces of information. In fact, it has been argued that we should not apply to ancient historians “anachronistic expectations about numeric practice” (Rubincam 2012: 108).

⁸⁹⁰ On Leontiades' possible *xenia* with Sparta, see Schachter 2004: 349 (more prudent, but possibly with reason, Munn 1998: 75, on the connections of his family and the long story of cooperation with Sparta). On Timagenidas and Attaginos, see Ruberto 2002.

with another title (which would explain why Plutarch read, in Aristophanes' text, that the Theban *strategos* was Anaxander: see *infra*).

When he was writing, Aristophanes must have been aware of the consequences of an allegation against Leontiades, since the same family had another famous politician in Thebes in the first two decades of the fourth century BCE. This was the Leontiades known for fighting Ismenias before 395 BCE (*H. Oxy.* 20.1 Chambers), and who was held responsible for the Spartan occupation of the Kadmeia in 382 BCE (*Xen. Hell.* 5.2.29–31).⁸⁹¹ If Aristophanes, as it seems, was active in the early fourth century BCE, restoring this detail of the Persian Wars may also have had a significant echo in the contemporary agenda of Theban politics, where links with the Persians were delegated and assigned to the group opposite that of Leontiades, namely to the family of Ismenias.⁸⁹²

στρατηγός: In this case, the word deployed by Herodotus might have misled Plutarch: this second author, in fact, is generally keen to reproach Herodotus and to quote sources who might be interested in other aspects of the events. In Herodotus there are two *στρατηγοί* for the Boiotian forces present at Thermopylai: Leontiades (7.205.2; 233.2), who led the Thebans, and Demophilus (222: ἐστρατήγεε), who led the Thespians. According to Buck (1974), then, Aristophanes, with his mention of an Anaxandros at Thermopylai, did not mean to refer to the Boiotarchs who were at Thermopylai, but only to the Theban *polemarch* Anaxandros, a local subcommander. Aristophanes had good sources on these local figures, for he allegedly referred to archives of archons (the κατ'ἀρχοντας ὑπομνήματα). In Buck's view, therefore, at Thermopylai there were two boiotarchs, Demophilus and Leontiades (thence, Herodotus' description of these men as general *strategoί*), and two polemarchs, one for Thespias and one for Thebes, namely Dithyrambos (*Hdt.* 7.227) and the Anaxandros mentioned by Aristophanes. Plutarch probably

891 Cp. Cook 1988: 59 n.8; on this Leontiades, and on the internal conflicts in Boiotia in the first twenty years of the fourth century BCE, see Landucci Gattinoni 2000 and Tufano i.p.i. (on Leontiades' family and on his career in the early fourth century); on his role in the Spartan occupation of the Kadmeia, see Tuci 2013 (on the trial of Hismenias, with a good overview of the sources).

892 On the choice of the Theban ambassadors and on the association of Hismenias with the Persians, see Lenfant 2011.

misunderstood this specific local position and deliberately considered Anaxandros a Boiotarch, only to prove Herodotus wrong.⁸⁹³

This picture, nevertheless, does not take into account the military and political lexicon of Herodotus, who knew the office of the Boiotarchs (9.15.2) and, consequently, their institutional role. Modern scholarship, indeed, has long downplayed Herodotus' and Thucydides' uses of the word “Boiotarch” (βοιωτάρχος) as an inappropriate anachronism:⁸⁹⁴ in short, it was believed that this office, which is explicitly attested in our documentary sources of the fourth century BCE, could not have existed in 480 BCE before the confederation born after 447 BCE. However, a more recent trend in scholarship on the history of Archaic and Classical Boiotia provides us with a different reconstruction of the political scenario of the region: these developments may shed new light on Herodotus' witness, and, at the same time, better explain why Aristophanes offered a different version of the events (or, better, of the offices).

The richest description of the complex architecture of the Classical Boiotian League is offered by a chapter of the *Hellenika of Oxyrhynchos* (19.2–4 Chambers): however, this form of government, with its complex balance between federal and local powers,⁸⁹⁵ was only effective, and slowly implemented, after 447 BCE. Our evidence suggests that a different “Boiotian union” was in place between the end of the sixth century BCE and the first quarter of the fifth century BCE. This picture emerges from important epigraphic texts, as well as from a reconsideration of our literary and documentary sources.⁸⁹⁶ This embryonal expression of the Boiotian *koinon* did not have a firm structure in terms of permanent institutions and government; nonetheless, on more than one occasion, the

893 Herodotus only confirms that Dithyrambus εὐδοκίμει: Macan *ad loc.* excluded that he was, in proper terms, the Thespian commander.

894 Jacoby 1955a: 162; Demand 1982: 18 and 141 n.30.

895 On this balance, see Beck 2001.

896 “Boiotian union”: Schachter 2016b: 62 (cp. Prandi 2011). Epigraphic sources: see Larson 2007: 145–9; Beck 2014; Schachter 2016b: 56–60. On the literary sources, see Kühn 2006: 262–9; Larson 2007: 129–63; Prandi 2011. As far as documentary sources are concerned, we should consider the spread of common monetary types, which share the shield and dimensions (Kraay 1976: 109–10; Schachter 1994b: 76 and 76–7 n.21, on the coins implying a common economic policy; Mackil – van Alfen 2006: 226–31; Larson 2007: 67–109; Parise 2011, with previous scholarship); archaeological findings also attest to the attending of the sanctuaries of Poseidon in Onchestos, and of Athena Itonia in Koroneia (on the role of the rites and of the cults, see Kowalzig 2007: 328–91 and Larson 2007 *passim, spec.* 134–6; on their relevance in Pindar, see briefly Olivieri 2014: 36).

Boiotians proved able to act jointly. Some scholars go so far as to assume that there were official elections for these “federal” offices (Schachter 2016). Even if such a rigid political infrastructure is likelier for the end of the fifth century BCE, the existence of common Boiotian policies can hardly be denied for the period between the end of the sixth century BCE and the Persian Wars.

Two episodes emerge with greater momentum: in 519 BCE, the Thebans fought against Plataia to force the city to join the rest of the Boiotians, but Plataia, supported by Athens, resisted. The subsequent Corinthian arbitration, as retold by Herodotus, forced the Thebans ἔαν [...] Βοιωτῶν τοὺς μὴ βουλομένους ἐς Βοιωτοὺς τελέειν.⁸⁹⁷ Thirteen years later, in 506 BCE, an unfortunate attack on Athens by the Chalcidians and the Boiotians, which is documented both at Athens⁸⁹⁸ and on the losers’ side,⁸⁹⁹ confirms a regional cohesion that we cannot reduce to a generic understanding of the ethnicity of the parties, or to their common acknowledgement as ethnic groups.⁹⁰⁰ Indeed, the Plataian affair

897 Hdt. 6.108.2-6 (cp. Thuc. 3.61-5). Not only does this episode confirm the hegemonic aims of Thebes, but it also attests to a common policy (Prandi 2011: 238), from a financial point of view. This reading of συντελέειν has been suggested by Mackil (2014: 47-50; Matthaïou [2014: 220] links this Corinthian arbitration to the sale of lands, reported by MΘ 35909). The general overview argues against a generic meaning of the verb (so Hornblower 1991: 454-5; Kowalzig 2007: 356 n.63): the verb, in fact, has a frequent “connotation financière” in federal contexts (Knoepfler 2006: 18-9 n.50). Thucydides clearly implies that the Thebans were trying to force the Plataians to enter a common institution in 431 BCE, in the same way that they had tried to in 519 BCE (Prandi 2011: 239 and n.15; *contra* Hornblower 1991: 454-5). Cp. on the event Larson 2007: 168-71, with criticisms by Prandi 2011: 239 n.15. On this episode and on the battle of Keressos, useful observations in Beck – Ganter 2015: 136-7 and in van Wijk 2017, who also offers a new reading of the relationship between Thebes and the Peisistratids.

898 In Athens, there was a famous celebratory inscription on the acropolis (*IG* 1³.501; Hdt. 5.77), which defines Boiotians and Chalcidians as ἔθνεα (l.3): this word signals not only that they are seen as unitarian ethnic groups, but must acknowledge an internal, if not clear, political conduct. On this text, and on its meaning for the external perception of the Boiotians in the sixth century BCE, see Larson 2007: 150-2 and Berti 2010; Chaniotis 2013: 139-40 compares it with the Theban situation.

899 Cp. the inscribed *kioniskos* from Thebes, published by Aravantinos 2006, where the Thebans, after having been defeated, mention their raids and the victories at Phylai and Oinoe (Beck 2014: 25-7).

900 For this reading, see Beck 2014: 34 (with previous scholarship) and Mackil 2014 (45: “The formal institutions of the Boeotian *koinon* emerged and developed gradually from the interactions of individuals and communities within the region in specific historical contexts.”). Some of their arguments slightly reproduce, with greater prudence, the previous reconstruction by Buck (1979: 123-5), who anticipated the existence of a ‘hard’ structure, as the one in action at the time of the *Hellenika of Oxyrhynchos*. The skepticism of scholars like Hansen (1995), result from opposition to this extreme thesis.

testifies to that growing contrast between centripetal and centrifugal forces, which may be considered a recurrent motif in the behaviour of a federal state.⁹⁰¹

There probably was, in Boiotia, a permanent *symmachia*⁹⁰² that was broken in the months before the Persian Wars, as a result of the different, individual choices of Boiotian towns. This is in line with Herodotus' mention of a Theban ἀλία (5.79): this political organism, on whose function we are not informed, may be the place where common, regional decisions were made, such as the dispatch of an embassy to Mardonius (9.15.1). It is therefore hard to believe that this organization had solid federal institutions, but it is reasonable to suggest that there were Boiotarchs, in the Boiotia of this period, who acted in a way similar to the Thessalian *tagoi*, with temporary, limited tasks and functions.⁹⁰³

From a linguistic point of view, moreover, a bronze tablet found in Thebes at the Altar of Herakles (MΘ 41063) and dated to the first half of the fifth century BCE, recently offered the first, absolute mention of the present participle of the verb βιωταρχέω (l. 8: βιωταρχίω-ἴντος).⁹⁰⁴ Its editor, Aravantinos (2014: 202 and n.93), studied this occurrence in a document that grants some honours to a series of Thebans (l. 7: θ[ε]βαῖος): Herodotus' reliability on the use of the office is thus confirmed. We can add that, since the text displays an interaction between the Boiotarch and some Thebans, it confirms, at an early

901 Cp. Bearzot 2014: 83. According to the scholar, Thespiiai also resisted Theban will and might have exerted a local influence in the years between the end of the sixth and the beginning of the fifth centuries BCE.

902 Military tasks limited in time: Ducat 1973: 59–73; Tausend 1992: 26–34; Mafodda 1999: 29–43 (Thebans exploiting these figures); Larson 2007: 191. Actual magistrates: Schachter 2016b. According to Beck – Ganter 2015: 137–8, an inclusive approach is the most convenient solution, for the different plans were probably present in the same type. In their understanding of the phenomenon, there was a prototype of a Boiotian League (Beck 1997: 87), if not a real federal state in its early stage, as a compromise between the Theban hegemonic stance and the other communities (Kühr 2006: 309–13); any attempt at redeeming this early evidence, however, concludes that it was a “fragile structure” (Schachter 2016b: 63). In any case, it would be unfair towards the Herodotean text to dismiss the role of the Boiotarchs on the battlefield: “the ruling elites at Thebes and elsewhere strove to coordinate their military actions on the battlefield, but the Boiotians were still far away from a league that united the entire tribe” (Beck – Ganter 2015: 139).

903 Cp. Hansen 1995: 31 on the possible comparison. Larson 2007: 173: “It is [...] possible to categorize them [i.e. the boiotarchs] as *ad hoc* military leaders, chosen from prominent families of various *poleis* to lead an impromptu army on a certain pressing occasion of regional significance.” Nonetheless, Herodotus seems to be aware of their administrative functions, so that, together with Thucydides, he provides us with a picture of an “organismo strutturato e non [...] un generico insieme regionale, culturale o culturale beotico” (Prandi 2011: 239).

904 This text also invalidates the assumption of Roesch (1982b: 79), that “jamais on ne cite dans un décret un béotarque isolé.”

stage, internal dialectics between collective and local identities in Boiotia.⁹⁰⁵ The bronze tablet can therefore be studied on par with another interesting, if obscure, case: that of Epiddalos, “the Boiotian from Orchomenos” (*FD* III 1, 574, l. 2: Βοιότιος ἐχς Ἐρχ[ομενῶ]).⁹⁰⁶ Local and federal identities coexist in an ethnic “vertical diversion of power” (Beck 2001), where the different plans contribute to the slow formation of the *koinon*.

If Herodotus, therefore, can be trusted in his political lexicon, it becomes harder to imagine that there were Boiotarchs at Thermopylai and that Herodotus did not mention them with the proper name of their military office. His accurate terminology is punctual, and the very sequence of events supports it. In fact, we know that the Boiotians did not have a unanimous reaction to the Persian threat:⁹⁰⁷ it would then be improper to imagine a federal officer, such as a Boiotarch, on the field, if there were two sides in Boiotia, as documented by Herodotus.⁹⁰⁸ Plataia, and maybe Thespiiai (see n.907), were possibly outstanding centers of a more widespread resistance to medism.

We can therefore suggest two different hypotheses: (1) Herodotus deliberately mentioned Leontiades, instead of Anaxandros, maybe under the influence of a biased source, because he wanted to emphasize, with the presence of “a long-lived and mischievous family”, the history of a city hostile to the Greek world (i.e. to Athens) during the fifth century BCE.⁹⁰⁹ (2) Alternatively, we can posit that Plutarch incongruously compared the texts (as Buck suggests), but not because he misunderstood Herodotus and did not know the difference

905 I therefore disagree with the interpretation that this office has a Theban origin, at least on the basis of the bronze tablet (Mackil 2013: 30; Mackil 2014: 50–1). These Boiotarchs might not have had fixed duties, but their action during the Persian Wars confirms a regional identity.

906 On this text, see Larson 2007: 147–9 and Beck 2014: 38–9.

907 Herodotus is particularly careful in the description of the behaviour of single Boiotian centres: not only, in fact, does he distinguish between those Boiotians who medised and those who did not (7.132.1), but he also signals, during the description of the events of 504 BCE, which cities were considered “the closest” to Thebes, during a debate in the ἀλία (5.79.1, with Hornblower 2013 *ad loc.*, on the meaningful omission of Plataia; I doubt that Tanagra, Koroneia, and Thespiiai, as Virgilio 1975: 104 suggests, were chosen “in quanto appartenenti al κοινόν dei Beoti, e quindi, come tali, necessariamente coinvolt[e] nelle guerre dei Tebani”).

908 Hdt. 7.132.1: τῶν δὲ δόντων ταῦτα ἐγένοντο [...] καὶ Θηβαῖοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Βοιωτοὶ πλὴν Θεσπιέων τε καὶ Πλαταιέων.

909 Quote from Gomme 1956 *ad* Thuc. 2.2.3. Cp. Demand 1982: 22 on the tattoo as an interpretation *in malam partem* of a possible scar on Leontiades’ skin.

between the tasks of the Boiotarchs and those of the polemarchs (or of the local officers). Plutarch may have given different tasks to the same figure (Anaxandros) because Aristophanes mentioned Anaxandros as the eponymous archon of Thebes for 480–79 BCE, and Plutarch inferred from this, in the light of other calendars of archons, that this archon also led the 400 Thebans at Thermopylai. In other words, Plutarch thought that this Anaxandros was a polemarch, and that Herodotus reported a wrong identity for the polemarch. If it is likely that Aristophanes wrote *Horoi*, this second explanation is in line with the other titles that belong to the genre known with this title.⁹¹⁰

We have some direct indications that there could be eponymous archons in Thebes at this stage. What might seem controversial, however, is the fact that Aristophanes would mention the eponymous archon of Thebes in such a great moment of the narrative rather than, as one would expect, the *strategos* or the polemarch of the Theban force (assuming, since nothing strongly advises against it, that Herodotus is right on the other names).⁹¹¹ We either have (1) an example of Hellenistic chronography, i.e. a work mainly of a chronological scope, where the fixation of exact dates may have been followed by a cursory summary of yearly events (which is consistent with our F 5 and the mention of a visit by Herodotus, but less so with the mythological content of other fragments);⁹¹² or (2)

910 Cp., for example, Apollodoros' Ἀρχόντων ἀναγραφή (*FGrHist* 244 F 31), which also dealt with narrative subjects, like Thucydides' death (F 3).

911 There are two epigraphic documents that may confirm the practice of eponymous archons in Thebes for the Archaic period: the first one is a dedication on a *phiale*, between the seventh and the beginning of the sixth centuries BCE (Effenterre – Ruzé 1994 n.70: $\text{ἱεραὸν τὸ Καρυκείου Φλόρακος ἀπάρχοντος λεφτοῖς} \{ \varsigma \} | \text{Θεβαῖοι} \{ \varsigma \} \text{ ἀνέθεαν}$; cp. SHERK 1990: 287). Here, Phloax may be the eponymous archon, in whose office the *λεφτοὶ Θεβαῖοι* dedicated the object, even if the text is not entirely clear (Jeffery 1962: 92 and n.2, for instance, suggested that we erase the two final sigmas; see Ma 2008: 83 for the possibility that these “chosen Thebans” were the ancestors of the later Sacred Band and Schachter 2016: 203–5 for another reading of the text). Secondly, Matthaiou (2014: 216) added a further piece of evidence, an inscription from the end of the sixth century BCE. It is an official document, where “certain landed properties or parts of them that were leased or sold by the Theban officers have been recorded” (*ibid.*). The inscription records a figure, who may be identified with an eponymous archon (MΘ 35909 l.3: ἐπὶ Ἀγέλα): it is also of the utmost interest, for it mentions other institutions, like the *βολά*, and officers like the *πρόαρχοι*, otherwise unknown: together with the previous document, it makes it harder to accept that there is no evidence for eponymous archons before the fourth century BCE, as maintained by Rhodes (2016: 184 n.20). By and large, federal and local eponymous archons are attested in Boiotia from 379 BCE (Barratt 1932; Buck 1979: 158; Roesch 1982b: 282–6). On the identification of the years with eponymous archons, a common use in Classical Greece and in Athens, see Camassa 2004: 48–51 and Clarke 2008: 20–1.

912 Clarke 2008: 54: “Study by ancient scholars of the calendar essentially means study of the festival, or archon’s, calendar.” The style of these chronographical works was concise and essential (*ibid.* 63). It is likely that, despite the greater prestige of Aristophanes’ annalistic work, his local work had a different internal organization (cp. *supra* 4.1.1).

a possible misunderstanding by Plutarch, who certainly referred to many local sources, but here might have speciously understood the original text, by lingering on the evident discrepancy of the names (the more striking, since it could free the Thebans from the embarrassing Leontiades). The strong affinity in the Hellenistic period between a form of local historiography and chronography, together with our witnesses on Aristophanes, may invite us to accept the second possibility as being the one of greater probability.⁹¹³

Ἀνάξανδρος: The Boiotian reuse of personal names in noble families is the reason why Schachter suggests that this Anaxandros was an ancient relative of the Theban commander who was in Lesbos in 411 BCE: κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενές, i.e. for that Aiolian kinship between the Lesbians and the Boiotians.⁹¹⁴ The Boiotians were constantly allied with Sparta during the Peloponnesian War, with the notable exception of Plataia:⁹¹⁵ they urged the Mytilenaeans into their second revolt in 411 BCE, similar to when a group of Thebans came to Mytilene in 428 BCE, led by a Spartan and the Theban Hermaiondas.⁹¹⁶

This kinship is further attested by the general proneness, in Thucydides, to signal moments when the Aiolian kinship diplomacy worked during the Peloponnesian War (for example, between Boiotians and Lesbians).⁹¹⁷ Anaxandros' family must then have held

913 Jacoby 1949: 68: “The *Atthis* as a literary form is not a specifically Attic product [...] but can easily be grouped together with that species of Greek historical writing which the ancients called ὠρογραφίαι, κατὰ ἔθνη καὶ πόλεις ιστορίαι or the like, and which we call Local Chronicle, or better with a more comprehensive expression (because the form of the chronicle is not present in all cases) Local History.” Cp. Clarke 2008: 50-1 and the overview by Camassa 2010.

914 Schachter 2012b *ad loc.* (Anaxandros in Lesbos: Thuc. 8.100.3). The former Anaxandros may be the second's grandfather, if the grandfather died before the birth of the nephew (Schachter 2007: 98 and n.16). A comparative study on the eponymous archons of the fourth century allowed Barratt (1932: 73-4; 111) to infer that the minimum age for the archonship, in Boiotia, was thirty; this may agree with a kinship between the aforementioned Anaxandros, if the grandfather died in his sixties in the fifties of the fifth century. The Aiolian affinity between the Boiotians and Aiolians was known to Istros (F 5 Berti), who drew from it various etymologies, on common uses in the Aiolian world; see *supra* the commentary on Aristophanes' F 3.

915 On these relationships, see Buck 1994: 9-26; Fragoulaki 2013: 109-10; Steinbock 2013: 114. There was a historic rivalry between these regions, but we should also take into account Athenian interests for expansion into this area (Fantasia 2012: 82-3). The flip side of the coin is the political interest of the oligarchic Boiotian families to align with Sparta: Munn 1997: 68.

916 Cp. Thuc. 3.5.4; 13, on what the Boiotians promised the Mytilenaeans.

917 Thuc. 3.2.3; 8.5.2; 7.57.5; 8.22.3. On this specific kinship diplomacy, see Hornblower 1996: 74; Hornblower 2008: 1042; Hornblower 2010: 131-2; Fragoulaki 2013: 110-1.

important offices in Classical Thebes. The name, however, was more common in the later period, such as a *φανάξανδρος* attested only in the Hellenistic period at Hyettos and Thespiiai shows (*LGPN III B s.v.*).⁹¹⁸ Both Leontiades and Anaxandros confirm this trend in Classical Thebes to continue a sort of a political tradition in distinguished families.

4.7.4. Plutarch and the Necessary Medism

Plutarch refutes Theban medism and the representation of Herodotus in two ways: first of all, he emphasizes the sincerity of the previous Theban and Boiotian efforts to stay loyal to the Greek cause, before admitting the undeniable, but later and forced, medism of the Thebans. In order to achieve this first goal, he quotes further evidence from local sources, but not every piece of information must necessarily derive from Aristophanes: it is extremely likely that local traditions, as well as the reading of further authors, played a significant role in the writing of this man from Chaironeia.

Secondly, Plutarch undermines the meaning of the branding episode, a harsh treatment that is shameful for the Thebans. In this case, Plutarch prefers to explain the complex and nuanced reality of the relationships between the Boiotians and the Persians. If a source such as Herodotus can be proved wrong, in Plutarch's view, on details like the name of the Theban commander, can that source still be deemed reliable?

Plutarch's use of Aristophanes must be understood with regard to this agenda: matching him with Herodotus is a forced parallel that highlights every difference at the cost of factual honesty (if such an expression makes sense, in the literary genre of the *De Herodoti malignitate*). The Anaxandros mentioned by Aristophanes was probably not a *strategos*, as Plutarch represents him: he may just be the chronological pointer of events in a local perspective of history. Aristophanes, after all, reportedly used *hypomnemata* and Anaxander will hardly have been a Boiotarch or a generic local officer, in the same office of Leontiades. Herodotus was aware of this complex political reality, and it may be observed

⁹¹⁸ Also, for these later occurrences, Hornblower (2008: 1043) accepted this variation in the textual tradition of Thucydides, instead of the alternative *Ἀνάξαρχος*.

that it would be doubly infamous to say that a Boiotarch represented the entire treachery of his ethnos.

Aristophanes, therefore, did not mean to directly rebut Herodotus' arguments on the Theban participation in Thermopylai: his perspective was different because the original context in which Aristophanes operated was different. In fact, much more than the clear rhetorical context of Plutarch's *De Herodoti malignitate*, we should consider the way in which, between the fifth and the fourth centuries BCE, the Thebans represented and remembered their medism, at home and abroad. Thucydides⁹¹⁹ and Diodorus⁹²⁰ distinguish the responsibilities of the Theban elites, a definite pro-Persian ruling class, from the greater group of Theban citizens who were forced to accept the will of the powerful oligarchs.⁹²¹

This partially redeeming perspective was not allegedly assumed or defended by Aristophanes, or any other Boiotian source used by Plutarch to refute Herodotus. Herodotus was conscious of congenerous dynamics, if we focus on the distinction he records between the subterfuges of the Aleuads from Laryssa and the rest of the Thessalians (Hdt. 7.172). However, Herodotus is aware of a distinct reaction at Thebes, since, in a speech ascribed to Timagenidas, who speaks for the other Theban aristocrats, the man

919 Thuc. 3.62.4: “This act was done without the whole city having control of its own affairs (αὐτοκράτωρ οὔσα ἑαυτῆς)” (tr. M. Hammond). From the Theban perspective, as it is reproduced by Thucydides, the Theban alignment was an ἀκούσιον μῆδιμον (Thuc. 3.64.5). Thucydides, however, reproduces a debate that was probably held by the Thebans (Steinbock 2013: 120–2, on the possibility that there were witnesses to the debate); consequently, he does not lay any claim to a historiographic stance, even if we must take into account the rhetoric *mimesis* (see, for instance, on the kinship motif in this part of Thucydides' work, Fragoulaki 2013: 125). A revealing sign may be a series of discrepancies between the Theban speech (3.61.2) and the Thucydidean *archaiologia* (1.12; cp. Larson 2007: 177–8).

920 Diod. Sic. 11.4.7: διεφέροντο γὰρ οἱ τὰς Θήβας κατοικοῦντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους περὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας συμμαχίας (“as far as the alliance with the Persians was concerned, the Theban inhabitants were at variance amongst each other”, tr. S. Tufano). Hammond (1996: 19–20) argued that this version may depend, via Ephoros, on a tradition opposite to Herodotus, probably philo-Spartan (maybe, the same Aristophanes, but this is only a hypothesis).

921 Herodotus cannot be set against Thucydides, as if the two authors presented “two diametrically opposed versions” (Cartledge 2006: 137). Thucydides, in fact, explicitly says that he is reporting a local version of the episode. A similar line of argument is reflected in a speech delivered by the Theban delegates in Athens in 395 (Xen. *Hell.* 3.5.8–15, *spec.* 8): in the aftermath of 404, not Thebes as an entire political community (οὐ [...] ἡ πόλις ἐκεῖνα ἐψηφίσατο), but a sole delegate (εἷς ἀνὴρ) in the Peloponnesian League, spoke in favour of the destruction of Athens (Krentz 1995: 198–9; on the possible anti-Theban malice in this case, and a parallel with Thuc. 3.62.3–4, cp. Bearzot 2004: 29–30).

claims: “Let us give them (to the Persians) money from our common treasury, for we decided collectively, not among us alone.”⁹²²

Assigning the responsibilities of a common political action to an oligarchic minority is not uncommon in Thebes,⁹²³ and Thucydides, therefore, is a meaningful witness to this intentional rewriting of the Theban past. Even if we posit a change of policy in the ruling class,⁹²⁴ which expressed and implemented the decision of a federal organization that was still somewhat strong, Herodotus and Aristophanes concur in the depiction of a convinced, and widely internally accepted, decision to medise. A distant descendant of Anaxandros was still active in Thebes during the Peloponnesian War: despite the change of government, Theban politics still identified itself, regardless of the actual process of decision making, with a restricted group of families who were truly responsible for forcing the foreign policy in one direction or another during the fifth century.

Even if they disagree on issues, which may derive from their different perspectives, Plutarch and Herodotus offer a similar picture of Theban politics during the second Persian War. In short, it was an evolution from an ambivalent diplomacy to a necessarily

922 Hdt. 9.87.2: χρήματά σφι δῶμεν ἐκ τοῦ κοινού (σὺν γὰρ τῷ κοινῷ καὶ ἐμηδίσασμεν οὐδὲ μοῦνοι ἡμεῖς). The use of a common treasury may be a further sign of federal unity or policy, which generally goes unnoticed. On this justification, cp. Hignett 1963: 24; Buck 1979: 135.

923 See Hignett 1963: 23–4 and Flower – Marincola 2008 *ad loc.* We can compare, for instance, Plut. *Arist.* 18.7 (προθυμότητα τῶν πρώτων καὶ δυνατάτων τότε παρ’αὐτοῖς μηδίζοντων καὶ τὸ πλῆθος οὐ κατὰ γνώμην, ἀλλ’ὀλιγαρχούμενον ἀγόντων, “whereas then, among them [the Thebans], the most eminent citizens medised, with great effort, and led the people not with reasons, but forcing it to an oligarchy”), with Paus. 9.6.2 (τῆς δὲ αἰτίας ταύτης δημοσίᾳ σφίσι οὐ μέτεστιν, ὅτι ἐν ταῖς Θήβαις ὀλιγαρχία καὶ οὐχὶ ἡ πάτριος πολιτεία τηρικαῦτα ἴσχυεν, “the public sphere is not responsible for this choice, because at that time there was an oligarchy, and not the ancient constitution, in force”, both tr. S. Tufano). These passages formally assimilate the Theban past to an oligarchy, like Thucydides, and show how a democratic reconstruction of the past may depict such an experience (medism) as being in contrast with the collective will. However, Herodotus (9.87.2: σὺν γὰρ τῷ κοινῷ) recognizes that these oligarchic institutions may express and enact decisions with strong popular support; in fact, since there seems to have been widespread consensus concerning these oligarchic alignments, Asheri (2006: 296 *ad* Hdt. 9.87.2) observed that: “[q]uesti passi sollevano il problema generale della responsabilità o irresponsabilità (‘acefalia’) politica nella polis greca, tema ripreso in senso antidemocratico da [Xen.] *Resp. Ath.* II 7, e, in senso encomiastico per la democrazia ateniese restaurata nel 403 a.C., da Aristotele, *Resp. Ath.* 40,3.” Finally, Herodotus and Thucydides’ representations of this dynamics must be read in light of Athenian polar political thought, since, from the second quarter of the fifth century, all political experiences were generally identified either with oligarchic or with democratic nuances (Ostwald 2000: 21–6): therefore, Thucydides’ distinction between a δυναστεία ὀλίγων ἀνδρῶν, which supported medism, and the possibility of a city κατ’ὀλιγαρχίαν ἰσόνομον πολιτεύουσα (3.62.3), Theban apologetics might concur with contemporary Athenian political thought.

924 Schachter 2004; Steinbock 2013: 104.

straightforward medism –as necessary as the Thessalians had found it apt to medize (172.1: ὑπὸ ἀναγκαίης) after the failure of the expedition to Tempe.

4.8. Aristophanes F 7

Previous editions: *BNJ* 379 F 3; *EGM* I F 3; *FGrHist* 379 F 3 (Steph. Byz. χ 6, *s.v.* Χαιρώνεια).

Χαιρώνεια, πόλις πρὸς τοῖς ὄροις Φωκίδος· Ἑκαταῖος Εὐρώπῃ· “ἐν δὲ Χαιρώνεια πόλις τὰ πρῶτα”. κέκληται ἀπὸ Χαίρωνος. Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Βοιωτικῶν β'· λέγεται δ' οἰκιστὴν γενέσθαι τοῦ πολισματος Χαίρωνα. τοῦτον δὲ μυθολογοῦσιν Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Θηροῦς, ὡς Ἑλλάνικος ἐν β' Ἱερείων Ἦρας < > “Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ <οἱ> μετ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ὀρχομενίχοντας τῶν Βοιωτῶν ἐπερχόμενοι καὶ Χαιρώνειαν πόλιν Ὀρχομενίων εἶλον”. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ ἡ πόλις καὶ Ἄρνη τὸ ἀρχαῖον.

1 Χαιρώνεια *ed.* Aldina (1502) Κορ- *codd.* 2 τὰ α' *codd.*, “quae cum sequentibus coniungunt; ita ut hic legis primus” (Meineke) 4 Θουροῦς Wesseling *coll.* Plut. *Sull.* 17-8 <...> *lacunam designavit* Meineke, *quam explet* Wilamowitz, *Aristoteles und Athen* (1893) 1.281-2 n.33 *e.g.* <ἦν δὲ Ὀρχομενίων, ὡς ὁ δεῖνα>; *quae sequuntur Theopompo iam dederat* K. O. Müller, *Orchomenos und die Minyer* (= *Geschichte hellenischer Stämme und Städte* 1, ²1844 *ed.* F.W. Schneidewin) 410 n.6 5 <οἱ> Müller 6 ἐπερχόμενοι Preller *p.63 n. 83* Meinke ἐπὶ Ὀρχομένοις/ -ενοῖς *codd.* ἐφορμώμενοι Müller Ὀρχομενίων Meineke Ὀρχομενῶν *codd.*

“Chaironeia, a city at the Phokian boundaries. Hekataios, in his *Europa*, says: ‘Right after, the city of Chaironeia comes first’. It is named after Chairon. In the Second Book of his *Boiotian Histories*, Aristophanes says: ‘It is claimed that the founder of this small city was Chairon’. They say that he was Apollo and Thero’s offspring (so Hellanikos, in the Second Book of the *Priestesses of Hera*). <...> The Athenians and their allies also conquered Chaironeia, in the hands of the Orchomenians, after having attacked, in Boiotia, the Orchomenizers. Once upon a time, the city was also called Arne” (tr. S. Tufano).

4.8.1. Textual Transmission and Context

This lemma defines Chaironeia as a πόλις, following a tradition apparently already attested in Hekataios' *Periegesis*.⁹²⁵ Aristophanes is the second source quoted on the mythical traditions of Chaironeia, as a witness to the name of its founder. Finally, the generic indication of the sources who specified the parents (μυθολογοῦσιν) may include the same Aristophanes, as well as Hellanikos. The alleged lacuna after the mention of the second book of the *Priestesses* of Hellanikos may be an unnecessary assumption: the mention of the occupation of Chaironeia, during the narrative concerning the events of 446 BCE, may also be Stephanus' personal integration, as can be posited from the appendix on the original name being Arne.⁹²⁶

The final mention of Arne surely depends on Stephanus' own intervention, since it does not derive from Hekataios, Aristophanes, or Hellanikos. Many Boiotian centres of the Classical period, as presented in the *Catalogue of Ships* of the *Iliad*, were not represented in the list of Boiotian cities that contributed to the Greek army at Troy. Chaironeia, in particular, was a flashy absence because of its dimensions and its political relevance in the Classical period.⁹²⁷ Chaironeians reacted, then, in the same way as the Tanagrans, who

925 Hekataios, *BNJ* 1 F 116. Hansen 1997: 20. Hekataios, however, considered the centre, the *polis*, as a human settlement, and not as a political community. According to Hansen, the noun πόλις can describe a settlement, a political community, or both. The political status of Chaironeia is explicitly stated in Thucydides (4.76.3; 89.2) and in the *Hellenica of Oxyrynchus* (19.3 Chambers).

926 Hellanikos, *BNJ* 4 F 81. According to the editors (Müller 1844: 410 n.6; Billerbeck – Neumann-Hartmann 2017: 71 n.11), Stephanus mentioned another author, i.e. Theopompos (*BNJ* 115 F 407); it is hardly believable that Theopompos dealt so deeply with the campaign of the Athenian Tolmides in Boiotia, mentioned by Thucydides (1.113.1; see also Morison 2014 *ad loc.*). This does not mean that it is impossible, for we know that Theopompos wrote about Cimon and talked about the battle of Tanagra (458 BCE): cp. *BNJ* 115 F 88, and, on Theopompos and the history of the fifth century, Connor 1968. The hypothesis of a third name may derive from the perplexities surrounding the mention of Hellanikos in this context, as recent scholarship has repeated: Bearzot 2011: 275–6, for example, has argued that Athens was trying to use Orchomenos as an opposing hegemony to Thebes, in Boiotia. This reading has been contrasted, in the past, by Moretti (1962: 131), but it is hard to escape a political interpretation of the label ὀρχομενίζοντας (Dull 1977), which forces us to think of political factions. Moreover, the sudden switch from mythical times to the fifth century BCE could also be an alternative explanation of a lacuna (Schachter 2012b *ad BNJ* 379 F 3; Pownall 2016 *ad BNJ* 4 F 81). In sum, we are faced with a conundrum of theories, none of which seems entirely convincing: these lemmata of Stephanus, in themselves a shortened version of the original lexicon, do not always provide a clear and linear storyline of the mentioned cities. According to the present author, there are no strong arguments to assume a lacuna and the mention of a third source.

927 On the absence of many Boiotian centres from the *Catalogue of Ships*, and on the possible explanations, see Vannicelli 1996 and Kühr 2006: 61–70.

alleged, according to the Aristophanes (F 1) and to other sources, to have been listed by Homer with the name of “Graia”.⁹²⁸ Chaironeia was identified with the Arne listed in the *Catalogue*,⁹²⁹ and, through this ruse, Chaironeia became one of the Greek cities that fought the Trojans.

Pausanias further recalls how the Chaironeians saw their town renamed, in the same way that can be inferred from the current fragment:

“once upon a time, this city, too, claimed to be Arne [...]; they say that the current name Chaironeia came from Chairon, who is alleged to be Apollo’s son.”⁹³⁰

Chaironeia was the most western city of Boiotia and was confined by Phokis to the west, and by the city of Orchomenos to the north.⁹³¹ The first border might explain why Hekataios described it as πρῶτη, in his *Periegesis*, from the point of view of a traveller who comes from the west. The position of Chaironeia in the north of Boiotia made it a natural access to the region and elucidates the strategic place of Chaironeia as a military stronghold.⁹³² During the fifth century BCE, Chaironeia strongly depended on Orchomenos, as is made clear by a passage in Thucydides’ *Histories* (4.76.3). In 446 BCE Chaironeia was occupied by an Athenian garrison,⁹³³ because it gave hospitality to exiles

928 Cp. *supra* 4.2.2-3.

929 Hom. *Il.* 2.507. See the list of identifications in Kühn 2006: 66. Chaironeia was not the only city that identified itself with Arne: Strabo (9.2.34-5.413), for instance, remembers how Akraiphia, too, claimed to have been the old Arne (he then quotes Zenodotus on the verse of the *Iliad* (2.504) where Arne appears; philologists, in fact, suggest that we correct the toponym to Ἄσκη; on the opposition of Aristarchos, and on Strabo’s position towards this Homeric scholarship, see briefly Radt 2008: 62-3).

930 Paus. 9.40.5-6, tr. S. Tufano. On Chaironeia/Arne, and on the possibility that the city was a more likely candidate for adopting this Homeric toponym because of its position, see also schol. Thuc. 1.12.3; for the local origin of the tradition, cp. Hope Simpson – Lazenby 1970: 31; Kirk 1985: 194 e 197; Larson 2007: 40; Pownall 2016 *ad BNJ* 4 F 81. The translation of W.H.S Jones, for the LCL (“its name of old was Arne”), omits an interesting detail of the original text: ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ ἡ πόλις καὶ τούτοις Ἄρνη.

931 *IACP* n.201. Thuc. 4.76.3: ἔσχατον τῆς Βοιωτίας πρὸς τῇ Φανοτίδι τῆς Φωκίδος. See a careful description of the topography in Ma 2008: 72-3.

932 On Chaironeia as a stronghold, cp. Buckler 1980: 4-5 and 229 n.2.

933 After a first victory in 447/6 BCE, the Chaironeians were enslaved; then, the Orchomenizers (i.e. the Boiotians who rebelled after ten years of democratic and philo-Athenian governments in Boiotia) defeated the Athenians in the ensuing battle at Koroneia (cp. Buck 1979: 150-3 on the local echoes of this battle).

from Orchomenos (the Ὀρχομενίζοντες mentioned in Stephanos' lemma, i.e. oligarchic exiles who plotted against the philo-Athenian democracies of the region). In the political constitution of the later Boiotian League (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.2–3 Chambers), Chaironeia formed a district with Akraiphia and Kopai, which implies a medium dimension and a not sensibly high geopolitical importance of the settlement. Nevertheless, compared with other Boiotian centres of the same scale, the city attracted great attention in our sources for the two important battles of 338 BCE and 86 BCE that were fought there.⁹³⁴

4.8.2. Chairon and the Archaeology of Chaironeia

We have seen how the traditions on Chairon, the eponymous founder of Chaironeia, originated to justify local aspirations to join the Greek army who fought in Troy, despite the absence of Chaironeia in the *Catalogue of Ships*. This city alleged to be the ancient Arne, which was mentioned in this list of expeditionary members: the eponymous Chairon, subject of the present fragment, explained the new toponym of the city.⁹³⁵ This figure was already mentioned in the pseudo-Hesiodic *Megalai Ehoiai*, which means that Chairon was known at a relatively early date in local traditions: here, he was labelled as a strong tamer of horses.⁹³⁶

Chairon was Apollo and Thero's son:⁹³⁷ through his mother, he was related to Herakles, because Thero's parents were Phylas and Lipephyle, and Lipephyle was the daughter of

934 Plutarch, in fact, does not systematically describe cities of his region, but makes an exception for his hometown, especially in relation to these battles (Buckler 1992: 4801–5). I would like to thank here Ms. C. Giroux (McGill University), for her useful advice on the regional and transregional importance of Chaironeia, and on its presence in Plutarch's works, a fact which should never be overlooked.

935 For this hypothesis, see already Schachter 2012b *ad BNJ* 379 F 3.

936 Hes. F 252,6 M. – W.: [...] Χαίρωνος κρατερόν μένος ιπποδάμοιο. There are doubts on the relationship between the *Megalai Ehoiai* and the *Gynaikon katalogos*; the present author, in light of the open debate, prefers quoting the fragments of the first title with the second title, despite the strong reservations on their unity and the possibility that they actually had a different genesis (D'Alessio 2005). Among a few certain points, we know that the *Megalai Ehoiai* were known by Pindar and those, like D'Alessio, who argue for a specific genesis, suggest a development of the collection at the end of the sixth century BCE.

937 Hes. F 252,5 M. – W. Chairon's mother is Θουρώ in Plut. *Sull.* 17.7, as an aetiology for the temple of Apollo Thourios (θεούριος). Since Lykophron (*Alex.* 352) knows an epithet θοραῖος (referring, however, to Demeter, and not to Apollo: Schachter 1981: 151), Schachter (*ibid.* 44) thought that the original form would be θήριος, also on the basis of the name of the nymph, in the pseudo-Hesiodic fragment (Θηρώ: on the characteristics of this cult, see Schachter 1967: 6

Iolaos, a nephew of Herakles. This kinship between Chairon and Herakles is particularly meaningful from the perspective of the city of Thebes: in fact, it can not be coincidental that many fragments assigned to the *Megalai Ehoiai* underline the kinship between the descendants of Herakles and many other Boiotian centres.⁹³⁸ Focusing on the parentage of Chairon, therefore, may be more than an expected presentation of the character: Aristophanes was probably working at a time, the first fourth century BCE, when Thebes and Koroneia were on uneven grounds in terms of political activity. Reminding the audience of the Theban background of the eponymous hero of Chaironeia counterbalances the positive side of the tradition surrounding the participation of the city in the Trojan wars under the name of Arne. It is not irremarkably impossible that, in the picture of the new, “Theban” Boiotian League founded after 379 BCE, stressing the unity of the region under the shield of Herakles served Theban interests. This does not mean, for it cannot be proved, that Aristophanes willingly accepted a Theban clientele, or reflected a Theban reading of the Boiotian past. Attention should be given to the secondary meanings of these myths, productive and connective, which underlie local identities from a regional perspective.

Moreover, Aristophanes may have been the first author, in prose, to work and narrate the foundation myth of Chaironeia, even if the generic μυθολογοῦσιν between the mention of Aristophanes and that of Hellanikos may include a number of mythographers (without mentioning Armenidas). Indirect proof of this might be that the first two authors, for us, who explicitly focus on Chairon, are Plutarch⁹³⁹ and Pausanias (9.40.5): Plutarch certainly knew, and might have read, Aristophanes (FF 5–6), whereas Pausanias uses local traditions in his Boiotian book that may have a historiographical background, in more than one case.

and 8–9). The epithet has an unexpected Boiotian origin, just like, remarkably, the other epithet of Apollo mentioned in the same verse of Lykophron, Πτῶον (Hornblower 2015: 196). Plutarch is the only literary source on the sanctuary of Apollo Thourios, which has been identified thanks to the discovery of the battle trophy installed by Sulla (Camp *et al.* 1992: 454–5).

938 D’Alessio 2005: 200–1.

939 Plut. *Sull.* 17.8 (τῆς Χαίρωνος μητρός, ὃν οἰκιστὴν γεγονέναι τῆς Χαίρωνείας ἱστοροῦσιν, “of the mother to Chairon, namely to those who they claim to have been the founder of Chaironeia”, tr. S. Tufano); *De curiositate* 1.515 C; one of Plutarch’s children, too, who prematurely died, was called Chairon (*Consolatio ad uxorem* 5.609D, if we accept Xylander’s correction Χαίρωνος, against the transmitted Χάρωνος). For Plutarch, of course, we must take into account his provenance from the city, which could mean that he was aware of these traditions on Chaironeia from oral/local sources, without necessarily perusing a literary witness.

A further interesting local tradition, also in Plutarch (*Cim.* 1), had Chaironeia founded by a group of Boiotians, who were guided by the Thessalian seer Peripoltas. This origin story may be compared with the Thessalian origins of Phylas, Thero's father in F 252 from the *Megalai Ehoiai*,⁹⁴⁰ but it is also possible that this alternative version had no relationship to the one on Chairon: there were many local Boiotian traditions, which recognized and accepted ties with Thessaly, and in some cases we can posit that the Thessalians were trying to become part of the historical background of these cultural hotspots of Boiotia.⁹⁴¹ Whereas the foundation by Chairon, who gives a new name to Arne, is very likely a local myth, the memory of the arrival of the Boiotians and of Peripoltas ἐκ Θεσσαλίας (Plut. *Cim.* 1), even if Arne was also notoriously a place in Thessaly, looks more like a matching or an adaptation of the Thessalian material, which may also have another local origin.

Aristophanes was therefore recording a profoundly locally embedded tradition for Chaironeia, which highlighted, through Chairon, two potentially interesting features of the history of the city: an autochthonous origin, through Chairon, who, through his ties with Herakles might associate the city with Thebes; and, secondly, the participation of the city in the *Troika*. The genealogy served this agenda and showed how local traditions of single cities in Boiotia may be externally received and find contrasting uses according to the author's perspective.

4.8.3. Chaironeia as a *polisma*

Only Aristophanes, among our sources on Chaironeia, defines the center as a πόλισμα: this noun is used with a series of different meanings in our sources, which vary from a small barbarian site to a poetic use for a great city.⁹⁴² Nonetheless, the dependent status of Chaeronea for most of the fifth century BCE, and its feeble political weight, shown by the fact that Chaeronea formed a federal district with two other cities after 447 BCE, are not

940 Schachter 1967: 6.

941 For the possible meaning of this special affinity between Boiotia and Thessaly, see the commentary on Armenidas' F 1 (3.1.1) and 6.1.3.

942 Sources on Chaironeia: Funke 1997a and *IACP* n.201. On the literary use of πόλισμα, see Flensted-Jensen 1995: 129-31.

sufficient motives to argue that the city was defined *polisma* by Aristophanes, like the other “Hellenic towns in the middle of Greece, [...] often [...] dependent *poleis*.”⁹⁴³

Since the oecist Chairon is associated with a foundation myth, which is pivotal to prove the diverse relevance of Chaironeia in antiquity (namely, its actual refoundation, despite its preexistence as Arne), it might be worth considering other occurrences and uses of πόλισμα. In some cases, in fact, this noun can describe a centre that used to be powerful in ancient times, but later lost some, if not all, of its power. For example, other *polismata* were ancient cities coterminous with ancient Athens in Herodotus (1.143.2), and with Mycene in Thucydides (1.10.1). In both these cases, the context is a remote past, namely, the first Ionic colonization, which started from Athens, in Herodotus, who claims that Athens was the only noteworthy centre at that time (ἦν οὐδὲν ἄλλο πόλισμα λόγιμον, “no other small centre was notable”). Thucydides, instead, compares Mycene to the other Greek centres which sent armies to Troy. He claims that, according to his contemporaries, none of these small places would look significant (τι τῶν τότε πόλισμα νῦν μὴ ἀξιόχρεων δοκεῖ εἶναι, “none of those small places, now, would look noteworthy”).

From the previous examples, it appears that Herodotus and Thucydides both use πόλισμα in a contrasting way: the substantive marks the small dimensions of a center in a time that is remote to the present of the writer and of his audience. In itself, πόλισμα does not convey an evaluation of inferiority or political dependency, it just establishes a comparison in time and in space (as a relative judgment).

For this reason, despite the extreme conciseness of this fragment, it is fair to admit that Aristophanes was clearly using this peculiar occurrence of *polisma*. Arne was a great city, but as a “relatively small” centre, Chairon founded it. The most proper translation would thus be “townlet”, or, as suggested by Billerbeck – Neumann-Hartmann in the edition of Stephanus, “Städtchen”.

943 Flensted-Jensen 1995: 130. The scholar recalls the parallel cases of Doris (Thuc. 1.107.2), Prasie (in Laconia! Thuc. 2.56.6), and Skandia (*ibid.* 54.4).

4.8.4. The *Boiotiaka* as a Network of Local Traditions

This fragment is the only piece of evidence we have, together with the explicit mention of F 1 on Tanagra, for the mention of a Boiotian centre in Aristophanes' *Boiotian Histories*. In the other fragments, it may be that the relatively major fame of his *Thebaioi Horoi* either suggested to the witness the existence of *Theban Histories* (F 3, on the Orchomenian Homoloia), or that the absence of the title of the work could be deceiving: this is also the case, for instance, with F 2, which deals with the fighting cocks of Tanagra, even if the source does not explicitly mention the city.

Moreover, F 7 is relevant for a direct quote from the work, but, just as in F 9, the citation is too short to show any peculiarity in Aristophanes' language. We can only gather that Aristophanes mentioned Chairon in an indirect way (λέγεται), but this use is so common, in historiography, that it does not communicate anything specific about Aristophanes' method.

Our attention is then mostly drawn to Chairon as a founder of Chaironeia, and to the definition of the city as a *polisma*. On the one hand, the family of Herakles must have played a pivotal role in Aristophanes' *Boiotian Histories*, even in those sections not directly linked to the city of Thebes. On the other hand, the use of *polisma* puts Aristophanes on the same plan as Herodotus and Thucydides with a definition of the centre *à rebours*, i.e. as a city that already enjoyed its greater fortune and was not important at the moment of its refoundation.

By and large, Aristophanes' F 3 (on Orchomenos) and 1-2 (on Tanagra) confirm a vast spectre of centres that were studied in these Boiotian histories. The structure may imply *excursus* on the different centres, maybe around their foundation myths (the *Homoloia*, Chairon) and most common habits (the fighting cocks of Tanagra). The affinity with Pausanias' book 9 is all the more surprising, because, following Musti's (1988b) reading, the region may be described in a radial direction, taking Thebes as the central focus, whence the other centres of the region were touched, starting from the Theban walls.⁹⁴⁴ In

944 Frazer (1913: xxiii-iv) was the first to recognize, in the description of the single centres of the region, a tendency to start from the most important one, and speaks of a *radial plan* for these cases. The Boiotian book is particularly relevant, from this point of view, because Thebes recurs more often than other important cities in the other books, as is clearly

the case of Aristophanes, the prevalence of details on the mythical characters of the region may be due to the erudite features of the sources; it is not unlikely, if the work consisted of at least two books, that Aristophanes had to deal with the topography of single cities, as Pausanias was to do in his *Periegesis*. As a local historian, Aristophanes is then probably closer to the model of the Hellenistic *Periegesis* than to the linear description followed by Herakleides Kritikós in his *Περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι πόλεων*.

4.9. Aristophanes F 8

Previous editions: *BNJ* 379 F 7; *EGM I* F 9B; *FGrHist* 379 F 7; F 439 Slater [*sp.*] (Schol. [R2WLZTAB] Hes. *Theog.* 126 [28.3–10 Di Gregorio]).

“Γαῖα δέ τοι πρῶτον μὲν ἐγείνατο ἴσον ἑαυτῇ / Οὐρανὸν ἀστερόενθ’ ἵνα μιν
περὶ πάντα καλύπτει”· κέντρον ἢ γῆ· αἴτιον δὲ σφαίρας τὸ κέντρον· διὸ γεννᾷ
ἢ Γῆ τὸν Οὐρανόν. ἀλλ’ ὁ Κράτης ἀπορεῖ· εἰ γὰρ “ἴσον,” πῶς δύναται
καλύπτειν; λέγει οὖν ἴσον ὅμοιον τῷ σχήματι, σφαιροειδῆ, τῷ μεγέθει δὲ
ἀπειροπλάσιον. Δίδυμος δὲ ὅτι ἐγεννήθη, οὗ καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν τῷ β’ λέγει
“Ἀμφιτρύων δὲ γενναίωτερον αὐτοῦ παῖδα γεννᾷ,” ἀντὶ τοῦ ὅτι ἐπηυξήθη [ὁ
Οὐρανὸς ἀστερόεις].

2 κέντρον Di Gregorio μέτρον Z ἢ γῆ Di Gregorio τῇ γῆ R2 γεννᾶν R2 3 λέγων *post* ἀπορεῖ
add. T τὸ *ante* ἴσον *add.* R2 πῶς [.....] καλ [.....] γει W λέγεται Λ 4 σφαιροειδῆς Λ τῷ
σχήματι ... ἀπειροπλάσιον *om.* Λ Δίδυμον Λ 5 ὅτι <...> ἐγεννήθη *Fowler posuit. pro* ὅτι ἐγεννήθη
haec T: τὸ ἴσον ἑαυτῇ κατὰ τὸν τῆς γεννήσεως λόγον, ἤγουν ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ὡσπερ αὐτὴ ἐγεννήθη
οὕτως Λ *om.* T οὗ *cett. post* οὕτως *distinxit Slater* †βίω† *Fowler* βιβλίω R2 βίβλω LZ
Ἀριστοφάνης *tantum* T Ἀριστοφ[.....]ιβλίω W βίω <ἔχειν> Di Gregorio β’ Gaisford 6

outlined by Pretzler 2005: 88–9; Kühr 2006: 79 and n.112; Gartland 2017b. For the hypothesis that Armenidas’ *Theban Histories* had the same structure, cp. *supra* 2.1.1.

Ἀμφιτρύων δὲ LZ αὐτοῦ γενναιότερον LZ γενναιότερον αὐτοῦ T ὅτε R2WLTB ὅτι *fort. Rectius* ηὐξήθη B ὁ ... ἀστερόεις *secl. Gaisford cum ad scholium proximum pertinere videantur ὁ om.* TAB

“And then Gaia begat, equal to herself, the starry Ouranos, so that he would cover her everywhere’. The Earth is the centre, because the principle of the sphere is the centre. For this reason, Gaia, the Earth, bore Ouranos, the Sky. However, Crates retorts: ‘If it is “equal”, how can he cover her? He must say *equal* because they are identical in form, a spherical form, but in dimension it is infinitely larger’. Didymos, on the other hand, claims that he ‘was begotten’, whence Aristophanes too, in his second book, says: ‘Amphitryon, then, begat a son, nobler than himself’ (instead of saying that [starry Ouranos] ‘was increased’)” (tr. S. Tufano).

4.9.1. Textual Transmission and Context

The scholium derives from the first complete commentary on Hesiod’s *Theogony*,⁹⁴⁵ which comments on two verses of Hesiod’s *Theogony* that concern the genesis of Ouranos from Gea and the similar shape of the two gods, “so that he could cover her completely” (*Theog.* 127). This overlapping can only be understood if we assume, with the scholiasts (αἴτιον [...] σφαίρας τὸ κέντρον), and, more specifically, with Krates of Mallos (F 79 Broggiato), that in Hesiod, the Earth had a circular shape: the Sky, with a round shape, can thus completely surround the Earth.⁹⁴⁶ Krates solved the conundrum by giving a different interpretation of the adjective ἴσον, which he only used to refer to the shape of the globe;⁹⁴⁷ it is not clear how Didymos solved this issue, because his position is not immediately perspicuous.⁹⁴⁸

945 See Dickey 2007: 40-2 on the scholia on Hesiod and on their origin.

946 On the cosmology and the astronomy of Krates, see Mette 1936 and Broggiato 2001: li-lv.

947 The interpretation of Krates is probably quoted in his literal wording, even if we do not accept the integration λέγων of the codex T (=Marc. gr. 464, a. 1316-1319), a manuscript written by Demetrios Triklinios (1280-1340).

948 Textual tradition is particularly complex here, but it is not necessary to think of a *lacuna* after the mention of Didymos, as Fowler recently suggested, or that the final part on Ouranos belongs to the following scholium (Gaisford), since this second scholium actually concerns the sole v.127.

This Didymos was an erudite who worked on Hesiod under Augustus, and it is likely that all this subsequent section derives from him. It ends with a further comment on the genesis of Ouranos, because the subject of ἐγεννήθη (l. 5) is Οὐρανὸς ἀστερόεις (l. 6), which must refer to the same excerpt and not to the following scholium. The subsequent scholium, in fact, can hardly explain a diplology, since it starts with an accusative form of this syntagm, and it deals with a problem completely unrelated to the reciprocal dimensions of the Earth and Sky.

Didymos understood the Hesiodic verses at face value and suggested that Ouranos was begotten by his mother, Earth, but did not expand his dimensions, becoming larger than her (ἐπιυξήθη: “it was enlarged/increased”).⁹⁴⁹ The mention of Aristophanes therefore originates in Didymos, who was looking for a source that could support him on the interpretation that the Earth gave life to a more important/nobler (γενναιότερον) offspring than its mother.

Further textual problems concern the extent of the quote of Aristophanes⁹⁵⁰ and the section around the name of this author and the title.⁹⁵¹ The reconstructed text allows us to confirm

949 Demetrios Triklinios, the hand of manuscript **T**, probably inferred this line of argument when he added a personal comment, in which he highlighted that the assumed “equality” of the Sky and the Earth is such κατὰ τὸν τῆς γεννήσεως λόγον, “because of the genesis”.

950 Both Di Gregorio (1975) and Fowler (2000) edit the adverb οὐτως before the name of the author; this word is actually recovered only for its presence in the codex **Λ** (=Laur. gr. Conv. Sup. 158, XIV): this witness is generally worse than the other codices, because it belongs to a branch of the tradition already contaminated through the peruse of codex **T** (on the tradition of the *scholia vetera* on the *Theogony*, see Di Gregorio 1975). The ms. omits, then, the word before καί and is therefore isolated from the rest of the tradition, which has here the necessary οὐ. The genitive of the relative pronoun is required here, so that the logical relationship between the mention of Didymos and the quote of Aristophanes becomes clear: the pronoun οὗ results from the use, by Aristophanes, of the same verb γεννάω (“he uses [a form] of this when he says...”). Only in this way can we understand the prosecution of the scholium (ὅτι ἐπιυξήθη), generally unnoticed by scholarship, because of the unanimously transmitted ὅτε for ὅτι: Didymos was claiming that Hesiod used the verb γεννάω “instead of ὅτι ἐπιυξήθη”, employing a form whose use in this sense was already in Aristophanes. Triclinios must have understood the reason why Didymos mentioned Aristophanes, because codex **T** omits both the *verbum dicendi* for Aristophanes and the adverb or the pronoun before the conjunction καί.

951 It is not improbable that there was an early corruption in the indication of the title of Aristophanes’ work, because codices **L** (=Leid. Vulc. gr. 23, XV c.) and **Z** (=Pal. gr. 425, XVI c.) also transmit ἐν τῷ βίβλω, which lies behind the βίβλω in **W** (=Vat. gr. 1332, XIV c., another codex which belongs to a parallel branch of the tradition, contrasted with that of **L** and **Z**, but depending on the same subarchetypes). In order to understand this syntagm, we must know that Aristophanes of Byzantium is quoted elsewhere in the *scholia vetera* (schol. Hes. *Theog.* 68a [=F 405 Slater, who classifies the fragment among the *studia epica* of Aristophanes of Byzantium]). However, external witnesses on the activity of Aristophanes of Byzantium confirm that he was never associated with a unique work on the *Theogony*: among his many

that Aristophanes was quoted for the lexical meaning of the verb deployed in his work and that it is safe to claim that this material appeared in a second book of his works.

4.9.2. Amphitryon and a Debated Fatherhood

The mention of Amphitryon directly refers, here, to the birth of Herakles. Aristophanes certainly dealt with this hero, as is shown by the FF 9A–B on the education of Herakles.⁹⁵² A not minor issue at stake here is the birth of Herakles, which must be briefly tackled to fully understand the meaning of the verb γεννᾶ in the fragment: the verb γεννάω implies that Amphitryon was his father (we must certainly exclude, here, an allusion to the human twin of Herakles, Iphikles).⁹⁵³

In our sources, Herakles' cradle is always Thebes.⁹⁵⁴ The earliest attestations are the *Iliad* and the pseudo-Hesiodic *Shield of Herakles*: already in these texts his fatherhood is presented with a degree of ambiguity, because in the *Iliad* Herakles is, on the one hand, the son of Zeus and Alceman, whereas he is also known as the son of Amphitryon.⁹⁵⁵

other commentaries, it would be hard to suggest one title over the other. Nonetheless, there is a parallel case, as Gaisford (1823: 480–1 h) noticed, where Stephanus of Byzantium identifies a tradition from Aristophanes of Boiotia ἐν Βοιωτικῶν β' (F 7). Since there are other quotes from Aristophanes which include both the number of the book and a title (F 4: ἐν β' Θηβαϊκῶν and F 1: ἐν τῇ α' τῶν Βοιωτικῶν), it is likely that the original text of the scholium included a reference to a second book of Aristophanes, in one of these options: ἐν τῷ β' τῶν [Θηβαϊκῶν / Βοιωτικῶν]. From a textual point of view, besides, Gaisford signalled other instances, where an abbreviation β^{os} became either βίος or βίβλος. As in the case of the F 4, Aristophanes may also be credited with Θηβαϊκά, which might be an alternative title for his “horographic work” of Θηβαῖοι ὄροι. Despite the extreme conciseness of the scholium, in any case, no evidence argues against the other work *Boiotika*. Only a discussion of the content might shed some light on the original context, even if, from a general point of view, both the historical works may include material on Herakles.

952 Since this second fragment includes a reference to Rhadamanthys, Schachter (2012b *ad BNJ* 379 FF 7–8) suggested that Aristophanes was also drawing on Armenidas' F 5 (assuming that Armenidas reported the wedding of Rhadamanthys and Alkmene, Herakles' mother, which is far from certain).

953 Iphikles is a shady character, without great momentum in all the available sources; cp. Sforza 2007: 137–9 and Ward 1970 on the couples of twins, born of different fathers. As a brother of Herakles, Iphikles is already quoted in the pseudo-Hesiodic poems, at the end of the sixth century BCE (Hes. [Sc.] 49–56, on which see *infra* in text), and later by Pindar: cp. e.g. Pind. *Pyth.* 9.79–88, *spec.* 86–8. On Herakles in Pindar, see Olivieri 2011: 89–118 (98–102 on the representation of his birth).

954 See e.g. Hom. *Il.* 14.323–4; 19.98–9; *Od.* 11.266–7; Hes. *Theog.* 943–4; Hes. [Sc.] 48–56, with the comments of Kühr 2006: 173–4 and Olivieri 2011: 89 n.2.

955 Hom. *Il.* 5.392; 14.323–4. Cp. Sammons 2010: 80 and Fowler 2013: 260 on Herakles in the Homeric *epos*.

However, the first fatherhood definitely seems to be the prevailing option, because the conception is explicitly assigned to Zeus, with Hera extending Alkmene’s pain as revenge (Hom. *Il.* 19.98–119): consequently, Amphitryon is a putative father and can have literally generated (γεννάω) Herakles.

The situation is slightly different in the first section of the *Shield of Herakles* (1–56), which derives from the reuse of a pseudo-Hesiodic *Ehoia* on Alkmene. This text offers a version of the myth where Alkmene has two sexual encounters in the same night, first with Zeus, who profits from Amphitryon’s absence (35–6), and then with her mundane husband, Amphitryon, who comes back home immediately after the first intercourse (37–45).⁹⁵⁶ Out of these intertwinings, twins were born (49: διδυμάονε παῖδε): Herakles, half-divine and better (51–2), and Iphikles, the lesser twin (51: τὸν μὲν χειρότερον), as a result of being born of Amphitryon’s seed instead of Zeus’ (53–56).⁹⁵⁷

Despite the focus on the revenge of Hera in our biographical tradition of Herakles, there was frequent contrast between a putative fatherhood (Amphitryon) and a biological one (Zeus). Euripides explicitly reflects on this conundrum in a passage of the *Herakles* (1258–65), where the hero, speaking with Amphitryon, utters these words:

“First my origins (ἐκ τοῦδ’ ἐγενόμην): my father had killed the old father of my mother, Alkmene, and was guilty of bloodshed at the time he married her. When the foundation of a family is not laid straight, the descendants are fated to suffer ill fortune. Then Zeus – whoever Zeus is – begot me as an object

956 Pseudo-Hesiodic *Ehoia* on Alkmene: F 195 M. – W.; cp. F 139 Most. On the *Shield of Herakles*, see Cingano 2009: 109–11 for a short introduction to this text, which was probably recited during the Theban *Herakleia* (Janko 1986: 42–8; on the importance of Herakles in the pseudo-Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* and in the *Megalai Ehoiai*, cp. Haubold 2005). The language of the *Shield of Herakles* confirms that it was not written by Hesiod; it is interesting to note that this text has been read as an indirect indication of Theban efforts to gain hegemony in Boiotia in the sixth century BCE (Mackil 2013: 22–3).

957 There was once a suspicion of inauthenticity (Wilamowitz) on verses 55–6, but Russo (1950: 85–6) and later scholars defended them. On the ancient theories on the birth of twins in the Greek and Roman world, see Mencacci 1996. This version of the *Shield of Herakles* was followed by Pherekydes (*BNJ* 3 FF 13b–c) and by Herodorus (*BNJ* 31 F 17), with the only difference being that the author of the *Shield* imagines the wedding of Amphitryon and Alkmene before the departure of the man, whereas Pherekydes sees the event as an award for this mission. For Pherekydes’ portrayal of Herakles, see Dolcetti 2004: 120–3.

(πολέμιόν μ' ἐγείνατο) of Hera's hatred (no, old sir, do not take offense: I regard you (ἡγοῦμαι σ' ἐγώ), not Zeus, as my father)" (tr. D. Kovacs).

Euripides is bringing forth the double fatherhood and its extreme consequences, without being able to explicitly deny the direct birth from Zeus' seed. Herakles himself accepts that he can *regard* Amphitryon as his father, but the verb that directly communicates the procreation of the hero is mostly attached to Zeus: this, whoever he is, beget (ἐγείνατο) Herakles.⁹⁵⁸ In the absence of further relevant comparisons, the fragment of Aristophanes must then be seen as an excerpt from a narrative of the birth of Herakles, described in the moment when Zeus, after assuming the earthly appearance of Amphitryon,⁹⁵⁹ lays with Alkmene: only in this way can we understand how a man, Amphitryon, could beget a nobler (γενναιότερον) son than his own father, because the Ἀμφιτρύων of the fragment is, in reality, Zeus.

Another possible interpretation may be based on a different reconstruction of the text, as far as the order of the words is concerned. These can almost form, in fact, a hexameter, which would make the fragment a possible hint at an original oracular expression: Ἀμφιτρύων αὐτοῦ γενναιότερόν ποτε παῖδα/ γεννᾶ.⁹⁶⁰ This arrangement of words is the one found on the codices **LZ**, which, however, have the determinative pronoun (αὐ-) and not the reflexive one; the reflexive form αὐτοῦ is on **T** (the codex of Triclinus), but after the genitive noun. Fowler, then, uses the word arrangement of **LZ** and the morphological innovation of **T**: this last manuscript, however, should be followed in this case, because it is harder to imagine that Demetrios Triclinius, a clever and even too invasive philologist,

958 It must be emphasized, however, that Euripides might operate a *damnatio memoriae* of the human twin, Iphikles, and present Herakles as the result of the combination of divine and human seed: Herakles is properly a hybrid (thence his heroic status, also from the side of the father). For a review of this double fatherhood in Euripides' *Herakles*, cp. Mirto 2006: 15-27.

959 This ruse of the disguise is mentioned by other sources: Pherekydes (*BNJ* 3 FF 13b-c: εἰκῶς/ εἰκασθεῖς Ἀμφιτρύωνι); Plaut. (*Amph.* 107-8: *uirum/ usuramque eius corporis cepit sibi*); Diod. Sic. 4.9.3 (Ἀμφιτρύωνι κατὰ πᾶν ὁμοιωθέντα); Hyg. *Fab.* 29.1 (*Alcimena aestimans Iouem coniugem suum esse*); Paus. 5.18.3 (Ἀμφιτρύωνι εἰκασθεῖς); Apollod. 2.61 (ὅμοιος Ἀμφιτρύωνι γενόμενος); see other references in Fowler 2013: 264-5. The same scholar (260) claims that it is not certain whether Zeus already used this trick in the Homeric *epos*. The first occurrence in Pherekydes may either confirm the influence, in general, of the Pherekydean representation of this myth on later authors (Angeli Bernardini 2010: 401) or, more probably, depend on the particular receptivity of this genre, towards these details which rationalize the myth.

960 Cp. Fowler 2013: 266.

would have ignored or changed such an elegant word order (where he intervenes, as in the other instances of this scholium, he changes the text for a clearer readability).

Changing the disposition to a more prosaic word order (γενναιότερον αὐτοῦ), therefore, hinders the possibility that Armenidas was quoting an oracle, in front of an astonished Amphitryon, who had just come back home and was surprised at the cold reception of Alkmene (as in Apollod. 2.61, because Fowler argues that Teiresias pronounced these verses to prove to Amphitryon that the woman is innocent). A more direct and less convoluted understanding of the fragment is the simple use of a disguise, by Zeus, which was already suggested by Pherekydes and was possibly alluded to in the *Shield of Herakles*. In any case, it is a traditional motif and, according to some historians of ancient religions, it could reverberate an actual rite, where men took on divine semblances.⁹⁶¹

4.9.3. Which Herakles in Aristophanes?

Aristophanes accepted the more common version of Herakles' parentage, in which the hero was a direct offspring of Zeus. It is interesting to note that another local voice from Boiotia, the poet Pindar, adopted a rarer version of the event, by assuming that Herakles was generated by a golden shower.⁹⁶² Since, however, this other conception of the hero is modelled on the birth of Perseus from Danae (a connection made even easier by the kinship between Perseus and Herakles), we can assume that Aristophanes was simply accepting, in his narrative, a common version that may be more popular than the idiosyncratic one recorded by Pindar.⁹⁶³

961 Pherekydes, *BNJ* 3 F 13b; Hes. [*Sc.*] 30: δόλον. Fowler 2013: 264-5. Hirschberger (2004: 369) recalls other episodes where a god assumes human semblances to be able to have sex with a mortal girl: this phenomenon is attested in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (1.47.14-48, 22) and in a series of texts connected with the genealogy of some pharaohs from Amun during the New Kingdom of Egypt. Other characters in the Greek world were suspected of being the result of a union between a woman and both a god and man, as in the case of Demaratos (*Hdt.* 6.63-9), where the Egyptian royal tradition was already suggested, as a parallel, by Burkert (1965).

962 Pind. *Nem.* 10.13-8. On this version, see Olivieri 2011: 90; 98-100.

963 Apart from this debate, we should remember here, in passing, the peculiar scission between a divine and a heroic Herakles in *Hdt.* 2.43-5.

The current fragment confirms, together with F 9, that Aristophanes dealt with the life of Herakles in his *Boiotian Histories*, maybe in connection with the history of a centre like Thebes, or Oechalea (cp. F 9A). These meagre excerpts, however, are not detailed enough to assume that he was offering a biographical sketch of the hero. Despite the presence of Herakles in other epical works of the Archaic period (let us remember, in passing, Pisander’s production, and Panyassis),⁹⁶⁴ and a *History of Herakles* written by Herodorus at the end of the fifth century BCE,⁹⁶⁵ Aristotle (*Poet.* 8.1451a16–22) still regretted the absence of a compact and long narrative on Herakles. Contemporary scholarship confirms this judgment, because, despite the series of Archaic *Herakleidai*, for myths like that of Herakles, the focus on single events mattered more than the linear consecution of events.⁹⁶⁶

4.10. Aristophanes F 9A and F 9 B

Previous editions: F 9A: *BNJ* 379 F 8; *EGM I* F 8; *FGrHist* 379 F 8 (Schol. Theoc. *Id.* 13.7–9b [p. 259,15 Wendel]); F 9 B: Schol. Tzetz. in Lycoph. *Alex.* 50 (p. 38,17–26 Scheer).

9A

“καὶ νιν πάντ’ἐδίδασκε, πατὴρ
ὡσεὶ φίλον υἰόν,/ ὅσσα μαθῶν
ἀγαθὸς καὶ ἀοίδιμος αὐτὸς
ἔγεντο”. Ἀριστοφάνης φησὶν

9B

τὰ δὲ τόξα ταῦτα, ὡς ὁ
Λυκόφρων οὔτως φησι, παρὰ
Τευτάρου Σκύθου βουκόλου τοῦ
Ἀμφιτρύωνος ἐσχηκεν Ἡρακλῆς,

⁹⁶⁴ There is now a tremendous amount of scholarship on Herakles, which is summarized and mastered by Stafford 2012. On the presence of Herakles in the so-called “minor *epos*”, and on the Panhellenic character of the *Herakleidai*, see Angeli Bernardini 2010: 392–400.

⁹⁶⁵ See 4.10.1 on this work.

⁹⁶⁶ Cp. e.g. Haubold 2005: 87–8 and Angeli Bernardini 2010: 391.

ὑπὸ Ῥαδαμάνθους
 παιδευθῆναι τὸν Ἡρακλέα.
 Ἡρόδωρος δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν
 βουκόλων Ἀμφιτρύωνος, τινὲς
 δὲ ὑπὸ Χείρωνος καὶ Θεστίου.

7 Ἡρόδωρος Hemsterhuys (*ob.* 1766) *apud*
 Gaisford (*ed.* 1820) -δοτος *codd.* 9 Θεστίου
 Fowler Θεσπίου Wendel Θεστιάδος K
 Θεστιάδους Aragr. Barb. Θεστιάδου
 Hemsterhuys

“And just like a father to his dear son, he taught him everything/ from whose possession, he himself had become good and famous.’ Aristophanes claims that Herakles had been educated by Rhadamanthys. Herodorus says that it was by Amphitryon’s cowherds, others, by Cheiron and Thesties” (tr. S. Tufano).

ὅστις Τεύταρος καὶ τοξεύειν
 τοῦτον ἐδίδαξεν. ἄλλοι δὲ
 Εὐρυτόν φασι διδάξαι τοῦτον
 τὴν τοξικὴν, οἱ δὲ Ῥαδάμανθου
 τὸν Κρήτα πατρῶον τούτου
 γενόμενον. μετὰ γὰρ θάνατον
 Ἀμφιτρύωνος Ῥαδάμανθους
 ἀνελὼν τὸν ἴδιον ἀδελφὸν καὶ
 φυγὼν ἐκ Κρήτης ἐν Ὠκαλέᾳ
 τῆς Βαιωτίας ἀνελθὼν γαμεῖ
 τὴν Ἀλκμήνην καὶ Ἡρακλέα
 διδάσχει τὴν τοξικὴν.

“According to what Lykophron says, Herakles received these bows from Teutarus, a Scythian cowherd belonging to Amphitryon, and at the same time Teutaros also taught Herakles to shoot with the bow. Others, however, say that Eurytos taught archery to Herakles; others, that it had been his stepfather Rhadamanthys. After the death of Amphitryon, in fact, Rhadamanthys, who had killed his own brother and fled from Crete, established himself in Boiotian Ocalia and married Alkmene. He taught archery to Herakles” (tr. S. Tufano).

4.10.1. Textual Transmission and Context (F 9 A)

The versions of Aristophanes and Herodorus (*BNJ* 31 F 17) are transmitted by a scholium to two verses (7–8) of Theocritus’ thirteenth *Idyll*, where the poet mentions how Herakles taught Hylas, as if the young man was his child (ὡσεὶ φίλον υἱόν). The commentary focuses on the teacher, from whom Herakles received (μαθών) the same lesson that he now gives to Hylas. This kind of material is not a mere paraphrasis of the text of Theocritus, as in those scholia to this poet, which probably derive from Munatius of Tralles (a second century CE scholar). It is thus reasonable to infer that the present commentary derives from Theon, the Augustan grammarian, who worked on the comedian Aristophanes (cp. F 1). Theon’s commentary was later included in another work of the second century CE, which is the model of the so-called “ancient scholia” to Theocritus (the corpus of the present text).⁹⁶⁷

This *Idyll* is dedicated to Hylas, the young boy loved by Herakles. The subject was also mentioned by Apollonius Rhodius,⁹⁶⁸ and Theocritus uses it to defend the paederotic virtue of this paederotic love.⁹⁶⁹ Through the very act of loving Hylas, Herakles taught him (7: ἐδίδασκε) what made him ἀγαθὸς καὶ αἰσιδίμος (8): the hero is seen here, therefore, both as an *erastes* and as a “father surrogate” for Hylas.⁹⁷⁰ In an implicit way, Herakles is presented as having already gone through such a relationship, since he was just repeating what he had learned (8).

The scholium offers a selection of the countless figures who were considered as Herakles’ teachers. His training follows the main lines of the usual canonical life of a hero, which

967 See Dickey 2007: 63–4 for an introduction to the first scholarship on Theocritus. The main edition is still Wendel (1914), which is followed by Fowler (*EGM* I), except for the form Θεοπίου, corrected by Fowler to Θεοπίου (see *infra*).

968 Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.1172–279. There are no sources on the assumption of such a relationship between Herakles and Hylas before the fourth century BCE (Dover 2016: 199). On the possibility that Apollonius Rhodius predated Theocritus’ treatment of this myth, see Gow 1952: 231–2; Köhnken 1965; Di Marco 1995.

969 For this appreciation of the paederotic connection as a formative moment, Theocritus was mostly drawing, but not exclusively so, on Platonic reflections, as is summarized e.g. in Pl. *Symp* 185C (“This is the Love that belongs to the Heavenly Goddess, heavenly itself and precious to both public and private life: for this compels lover and beloved alike to feel a zealous concern for their own virtue”, tr. W.R.M. Lamb); on this topic, see e.g. Sargent 1985: 142–3; Di Marco 1995; Hunter 1996: 169. Theocritus’ *Idyll* is both an epyllion and a love letter to his friend Nikias (Theoc. *Id.* 13.2; cp. Rossi 1972 for a reading of the poem, as an example of a Hellenistic mixture of genres).

970 Gow 1952: 233; Sargent 1985: 143; Payne 2006: 83–4.

includes a separation from their family or the exposition motif.⁹⁷¹ The first epical poems on Herakles dealt with this moment of his life;⁹⁷² in particular, Herodorus' version in his *History of Herakles*, where Herakles is tutored by Amphitryon's shepherds, may be seen as a sign of the expulsion of the hero from Thebes after his murder of the previous teacher, Linos.⁹⁷³ This sequence of events, however, is inferred from the reconstruction of Apollodoros (2.63–4), in whose *Library* the encounter of Herakles with these shepherds is mostly an occasion to show the semi-divine nature of the child.⁹⁷⁴ It is not impossible that, in Herodorus, these βουκόλοι had been teaching Herakles since his very early childhood. Apollodoros recalls other teachers, for different arts, in a short list that can be read as a “formative catalogue”.⁹⁷⁵

This scholium on Theocritus is similar, because it also aims to provide a paradigmatic list, if a short one, of the potential teachers of Herakles: among these are two further names, Cheiron and Thestios, mentioned at the end of the excerpt.⁹⁷⁶ The version on Thestios as a teacher is as isolated as the tradition on Rhadamanthys' place in the formation of Herakles. This idea was probably connected to another tradition on Herakles, who was credited with a child, Stephanephoros, from one of Thestios' fifty daughters.⁹⁷⁷ In other words, in the same work on Herakles, there could be more than a teaching figure, namely Amphitryon's shepherds and this Thestios. Aristophanes is isolated in his variety, because it

971 On the presence of these motifs in the heroic biography of Herakles, see Brillante 1992 (*spec.* 202–7).

972 Cp. a first selection of artistic representations in the voice on the *LIMC* (Boardman *et al.* 1998: nos. 2665–73) and Brillante 1992: 208 n.29.

973 Brillante 1992: 206; on Linos as a teacher of Herakles, see shortly Blakely 2011b *ad BNJ* 31 F 17. The main sources are Alexis *PCG* F 140 K. – A; Anaxandridas *PCG* F 16 K. – A.; Achaeus *TrGF* 20 F 26; Theoc. 24.105 and Apollod. 2.64.

974 Apollod. 2.64: “Fearing he might do the like again [as the murder of Linos], Amphitryon sent him to the cattle farm; and there he was nurtured and outdid all in stature and strength. Even by the look of him it was plain that he was a son of Zeus” (tr. J. Frazer). On this manifestation, see Brillante 1992: 206–7.

975 Early education: Fowler 2013: 267. The most detailed list, in the available sources, is offered by the second section of Theocritus' *Herakleiskos* (*Id.* 24.103–40). The *Herakleiskos* has a literary status between that of an epyllion and a proper hymn to Herakles. The poem is mutilated in its final part, as the traces of 30 more verses on a Papyrus of Antinoe have shown (*P. Ant.* s.n.; MP³ 1487).

976 On Cheiron, cp. Brillante 1992: 208. The form of the second proper noun, Θεστῖος, has been suggested because the consonant -τ- is closer to the transmitted forms Θεστῖάδος and Θεστῖάδου; in general, the eponym of Thespiai can also be spelled with a -π-, but here it would be better to accept Fowler's consonance to the tradition (Fowler 2013: 307–9).

977 Cp. Hellanikos, *BNJ* 4 F 3; Herodorus, *BNJ* 31 F 20 Diod. Sic. 4.29.3; Paus. 9.27.6; Apollod. 2.66.

seems that he was the only source to record the curious name of Rhadamanthys as Herakles' teacher.

4.10.2. Textual Transmission and Context of F 9B

It is here assumed that this scholium on Tzetzes can be a further witness to Aristophanes' materials on Herakles. The commentary generally deals with Herakles' bow, despite the explicit mention of the verb ἐξηνάριζε (Lycoph. *Alex.* 50) that refers not to his weapon, but rather, to the death of the hero by Nexus. Starting from this story, Iohannes Tzetzes goes over a few episodes of Herakles' life and includes a section on his learning of the bowing technique, directly inspired by Lykophron's mention of Teutarus' arrows (*Alex.* 56: Τευταρείοις [...] πτερώμασι).

This inspiration is explained by the fact that the sources on Herakles' education almost always attribute Teutaros, a Scythian bower, with the teaching of the τοξικὴ τέχνη. The Scythian origin of Herakles' bow is further repeated by Lykophron later in the *Alexandra* (458), and even on that occasion Tzetzes recalls alternatives concerning the identity of the instructor.⁹⁷⁸ Other sources, like Theocritus in the *Herakleiskos* (24.106-7) and Apollodoros (2.63), assigned this process to Eurytos. Teutaros was probably considered Scythian, for the Classical association of this population with that ability, but he was also a Boiotian figure, known as a cowherd who obeyed Amphitryon. As a consequence, he was sufficiently both internal and external to the family, so that a permanence and a contact with him could be seen as a “necessary” detachment.⁹⁷⁹

Conversely, Eurytos was traditionally considered the king of Oichalia, the same Boiotian city mentioned in the section of the scholium that was reproduced as the fragment of Aristophanes and in the *Conquest of Oechalia*, ascribed to Kreophylos. In this Archaic epic

978 The usual names associated with this moment are Teutaros, Eurytos, and Rhadamanthys. Diodorus adds that “Apollo gave him the bow and taught him to shoot with it” (4.14.3): he was probably drawing on a pseudo-Hesiodic tradition (FF 29 and 33a M. – W.) also followed by Apollodoros (2.71), who simply says that the gods gave weapons to Herakles.

979 On Teutaros as a teacher, see Brillante 1992: 208-9.

work, Eurytos was killed by Herakles with a bow.⁹⁸⁰ This death finds interesting parallels in other cases, for Herakles' killing of a teacher is a recurrent motif: he allegedly also killed Linos, his teacher of arts,⁹⁸¹ and Cheiron.⁹⁸²

Tzetzes is one of the other two sources, apart from Aristophanes, who explicitly mentions Rhadamanthys as an alternative teacher for Herakles, even though he limits this mastership to the teaching of the *toxike*. This same tradition is recalled by Apollodoros (2.71), whose *Library* was probably used by Tzetzes,⁹⁸³ because the two texts also share the arrival in the city of Oichalia:

“And Rhadamanthys, son of Zeus, married Alcmena after the death of Amphitryon, and dwelt as an exile at Oechalia in Boeotia. Having first learned from him the art of archery, Herakles received a sword from Hermes, a bow and arrows from Apollo, a golden breastplate from Hephaestus, and a robe from Athena; for he had himself cut a club at Nemea” (tr. J. Frazer, adapted).

There is, however, a difference, insofar as Tzetzes dates the moment of the teaching to *after* the arrival of Rhadamanthys, whereas, in Apollodoros, there is a certain ambiguity. Here Herakles has already learned the bowing technique (προσμαθών δὲ παρ' αὐτοῦ τὴν τοξικήν),⁹⁸⁴ before receiving further divine gifts.

For this reason, it is highly likely that Aristophanes of Boiotia was one of those who already offered the identification of this teacher as Rhadamanthys. Tzetzes might have known Aristophanes through the *scholia vetera* on Lykophron, which were used and reworked by Tzetzes for his own commentary.⁹⁸⁵ The information is presented differently

980 FF 2-3 West, *GEF* The kingdom of Eurytos in Oichalia is a common assumption, in the epical tradition (Hom. *Il.* 2.596 and 730; *Od.* 8.224; Hes. FF 26 and 28-33 M. – W.).

981 Cp. Brillante 1992: 206-7 and 215.

982 On this murder as a possible interpretation of Chiron as a hero of the Underworld, see Aston 2006: 250.

983 Scarpi 2010: 506.

984 Frazer (1921: 183 n.2) accepted the correction Εὐρύτου to the transmitted αὐτοῦ, because of a potential contradiction with Apollo. However, the indication of the gift can hardly be part of the same narrative as the name of a teacher.

985 Dickey 2007: 65.

in Apollodoros and in Tzetzes, but only this second name is aware of the tradition that emphasizes the role of Rhadamanthys.

4.10.3. Rhadamanthys and Herakles in Boiotia

Since Theocritus' poem deals with Herakles' affair with Hylas, we might infer, from our F 9A, a similar paederotic relationship between Herakles and Rhadamanthys. Apart from Hylas, Herakles reportedly had other lovers, like Iolaos and Eurystheus:⁹⁸⁶ here Herakles should be Rhadamanthys' *eromenos*, because these affairs can develop from a didactic connection. In point of fact, Radamantus was credited with a similar paederotic relationship in Crete, where he was associated with Talos and was both his teacher and his lover (*erastes*).⁹⁸⁷ This scenario might be supported by the generic use of the verb παιδεύω, but the other names recalled by the scholium on Theocritus give a more general impression of a simple list of teachers, which follows, as we have seen, a literary tradition in the presentation of Herakles. Moreover, in the extant sources, when Herakles is depicted as a member of a homosexual relationship, he is always the *erastes* and never the *eromenos*, as Plutarch noticed in the *Amatorius*:⁹⁸⁸ it would be extremely rare and difficult to imagine him as a boy loved by Rhadamanthys.

The scholium of Tzetzes simplifies a series of details on Rhadamanthys and on his continental ventures, because these details are subject to a series of variations in the other

986 Iolaos: Arist. F 97 R.; Plut. *Amat.* 17.761D-E; Ath. 9.47.392E. On this myth and on that of Hylas as examples of the "homosexualisation" of an event (i.e. a reading in homoerotic terms of an originally different relationship), see Dover 2016: 198-9 (*contra* Sergent 1985: 129-38). Eurystheus: only the obscure Hellenistic poet Diotimos (*Suppl. Hell.* 393) and Athenaeus, who quotes Diotimos (13.80.603D), record that Eurystheus was younger than Herakles. This sounds particularly exceptional, because all the other sources claim that Eurystheus and Herakles were coetaneous (Sergent 1985: 139-40; Brillante 1992: 210).

987 Ibyc. F 300 D. = 309 Wilkinson. From a lemma on the *Suda* (θ 41, *s.v.* Θάμυρις ἢ Θαμύρας), we learn that Rhadamanthys and Talos were the first couple to be in such a relationship; previous or alternative traditions, however, linked Rhadamanthys with the youth, only because Talos had also been the *nomophylax* of Minos (Pl. [*Minos*] 320C; Davidson 1999: 247 n.4).

988 Plut. *Amat.* 17.754 D-E: "The nurse rules the infant, the teacher the boy, the gymnasiarch the youth, his admirer the young man who, when he comes of age, is ruled by law and his commanding general. No one is his own master, no one is unrestricted [...]. "To sum up," my father said, "we are Boeotians and so should reverence Herakles and not be squeamish about a marriage of disproportionate ages. We know that he married his own wife, Megara, aged thirty-three, to Iolaüs, who was then only sixteen" (Tr. W.C. Helmbold). On these traditions, see Sergent 1985: 125-62.

sources. According to the earliest available sources, Rhadamanthys was the son of Europa and Zeus, and therefore Minos' brother.⁹⁸⁹ In another tradition, however, which is not necessarily later or derivative, he was the grandnephew of the eponymous hero of Crete, Cres, and the son of Hephaistos.⁹⁹⁰ In both cases, Rhadamanthys was strictly connected with the Aegean world:⁹⁹¹ a judge and a token of earthly justice, this figure mastered the islands and all those lands that did not fall under the jurisdiction of Minos.

According to a widespread tradition, then, which found its way in a recurrent saying, Rhadamanthys became a symbol of justice and of the respect of oaths, not dissimilar, in this respect, from his brother Minos.⁹⁹² When Rhadamanthys died, he continued practicing his functions in the Underworld, in conjunction with Minos:⁹⁹³ he was imagined either in the Elysian Fields or on the Isles of the Blessed.⁹⁹⁴ In particular, the alleged location of these Isles in Thebes (Armenidas F 5) suggested to Schachter that the current F 9 A of Aristophanes belongs to the same section of Armenidas' work.⁹⁹⁵ The connection of Rhadamanthys with the Underworld is actually quite intriguing, if we consider that he is

989 Hom. *Il.* 14.322; *Od.* 11.568. Judging from other sources (Hes. FF 140-1 M. – W.; Apollod. 3.3; Diod. Sic. 4.60.2), Rhadamanthys was also Sarpedon's brother.

990 Paus. 8.53.5; Cynaethon F 1 West, *GEF*. West (2003a: 253 n.30) prefers correcting the text of the fragment to Φαίστου, following here Malten (1913), because in Homer (*Il.* 14.338-9) Hephaistos is the son of Zeus and Phaestos, as Rhadamanthys' father seems more fitting for his Cretan connections. The transmitted Ἡφαίστου is indirectly confirmed by the fact that the source of the fragment, Pausanias, warns the reader, immediately after, of the frequent disagreement among the mythical genealogies (cp. Moggi – Osanna 2003: 527). For a complete list of the sources on Rhadamanthys' family, see shortly Davidson 1999: 247.

991 Pl. [*Minos*] 320B-C; Diod. Sic. 4.60.3; 5.79.1-2; Apollod. 3.6.

992 Cp. the saying Ῥαδαμάνθυος ὄρκος (Zen. 5.81). The saying refers to those foresworn oaths, which are not sworn in the name of a specific deity. It was already employed by Cratinus in his *Cheirones* (PCG F 249 K. – A.; on the possible connection with Socrates, cp. Lelli 2006: 460-1 n.535). Paradigmatic role of Rhadamanthys: cp. Thgn. 701; Eur. *Cyc.* 243; Pl. *Grg.* 523E-524A and *Leg.* I 624B.

993 Pl. *Ap.* 41A and *Grg.* 523E; Diod. Sic. 5.79.2.

994 Elysian Fields: Hom. *Od.* 4.564. Isles of the Blessed: Pind. *Ol.* 2.75-6. Rhadamanthys may be on the Isles of the Blessed already in the *Small Iliad* (F 32 Bernabè), according to Bravo 2001.

995 Schachter 2011a *ad BNJ* 378 F 5.

usually set in this area in Homer:⁹⁹⁶ in a prophecy (*Od.* 4.563–4), Proteus says to Menelaus that he will soon reach Rhadamanthys in the Elysian Fields.⁹⁹⁷

The fact that different settings in the Underworld were imagined for Rhadamanthys makes the connection with the Isles of the Blessed less certain. Despite the previous association by Pindar, another story that links Rhadamanthys with the region of Boiotia may better fit the context of Aristophanes (moreover, Armenidas may have recorded the Theban identification of the Isles of the Blessed only to refer to Alkmene). Once again, a leading passage comes from the *Odyssey* (7.321–6), where we read of Rhadamanthys' trip with the Phoeacians to Tityos, the son of Gaia who lived in Phokis (11.576–81).⁹⁹⁸ In other traditions, Rhadamanthys reached Boiotia after a quarrel with Minos,⁹⁹⁹ interpreted by Tzetzes as the murder of Minos, or as the second husband of Alkmene, Herakles' mother.

The union of Rhadamanthys and Alkmene either happened after the death of the woman, because of the association of Rhadamanthys with the Underworld, or after the death of Amphitryon: especially in this second case, Rhadamanthys is then presented as Herakles' stepfather.¹⁰⁰⁰ On the basis of the very early coexistence of a “Cretan” Rhadamanthys, as we have seen, and of a Rhadamanthys as judge of the Underworld, we can assume that the first arrangement of the event after the death of Alkmene is probably earlier than the second version. Moreover, Pherekydes (*BNJ* 3 F 84) may be a relatively early witness to this version (assuming that we accept Antoninus Liberalis' ascription of the material in *Met.* 33).

In an isolated tradition,¹⁰⁰¹ the tombs of Alkmene and Rhadamanthys were placed in Haliartos, but it cannot be determined whether this identification preexisted the

996 Hom. *Od.* 4.561–5, *spec.* 563–4: ἐς Ἠλύσιον πεδῖον καὶ πείρατα γαίης/ ἀθάνατοι πέμπουσιν, ὅθι ξανθὸς Ῥαδάμανθος (“to the Elysian plain and the ends of the earth will the immortals convey you, where dwells fair-haired Rhadamanthus”, tr. A.T. Murray – G.E. Dimock, with slight modifications).

997 Cp. Davidson 1999: 250.

998 The presence of Tityos in Phokis, however, according to the poet(s) of the *Odyssey*, is not enough to prove that these continental traditions on Rhadamanthys were earlier than the ones that put him in the Aegean world, as maintained by Davidson (1999: 250).

999 Apollod. 3.6, on the violence of Minos.

1000 On Rhadamanthys as Herakles' stepfather, see Davidson 1999: 248–9 and Schachter 2011a *ad BNJ* 378 F 5.

1001 Plut. *Lys.* 28. Schachter (2011a *ad BNJ* 378 F 5) recalls, for example, the discussions on the exact fate of the corpse of Alkmene, in Plut. *Rom.* 28.7 and *De gen.* 3–5.577E–578B.

assumption of their marriage on Earth. Even without going so far as to doubt any link of Rhadamanthys with the region,¹⁰⁰² the association of the graveyard with this couple reminds us of other cases where such mundane collocations of mythical spoils are the immediate and contextual result of specific events. We have seen, for example, in the commentary on Armenidas' F 5, that the location of Alkmene's tomb was debated by the Boiotians and the Spartans in the early fourth century BCE, as if there had been no previous interest in looking for its exact place on Earth.

Despite, then, the likely possibility of a recent character of the Boiotian associations of Rhadamanthys, Aristophanes is sometimes considered a witness to the antiquity of the tradition of Alkmene's wedding to Rhadamanthys in Boiotia, because the historiographer mentions the stepfather Rhadamanthys as Herakles' teacher.¹⁰⁰³ Such a modern interpretation only repeats the rationalization of Tzetzes, who put together the traditions on the arrival of Rhadamanthys to Boiotia with those on his wedding with Alkmene and the teaching of Herakles. The common ground of the two traditions on the second wedding of Alkmene (Underworld/Boiotia) is the fact that Herakles is already an adult when the couple marries: in fact, in an epigram, he brings his mother to the altar, implicitly authorizing her second marriage; he also accompanies his father Amphytrion in a battle against the Minyans, which immediately precedes the death of the character and the second marriage.¹⁰⁰⁴

It is therefore logically impossible to imagine an adult Herakles who might have fought in a war with his father, as the object of further teachings: how could Rhadamanthys be a teacher, a figure normally associated with childhood, when Herakles was already a man at Alkmene's second marriage? Since there were different (and potentially unreconcilable) traditions on the arrival of the Cretan Rhadamanthys in Boiotia, it seems rational to attach this formative action to the moment when Rhadamanthys was his stepfather. The real ancient piece of information, in Lykophron's narrative, is the *nature of the subject* taught by Rhadamanthys to Herakles, the τοξικὴ τέχνη (a detail unknown, or probably irrelevant, to the commenters on Theocritus, who only mention Aristophanes as a source on

1002 So Schachter 1981: 9.

1003 Davidson 1999.

1004 Herakles with his mother: *A.P.* 3.13, with Davidson 1999: 248; Herakles with Amphytrion against the Minyans: *Apollod.* 2.69.

Rhadamanthys). The tradition on the connection between Alkmene and Rhadamanthys, with all its variations (when they met; where they were buried) cannot therefore be rationally put in the same context of a narrative that has Rhadamanthys as the teacher of Herakles. This also explains why it does not follow that this story was connected with the Isles of the Blessed, which would be linked solely to Rhadamanthys.

If a paederotic relationship between Rhadamanthys and Herakles is hardly tenable, it is just as unlikely that Rhadamanthys, as his stepfather, taught Herakles after the second marriage of Alkmene. Aristophanes must have simply recorded a tradition on the presence of Rhadamanthys among the many teachers of Herakles, in a subtradition of the biography of the hero, as it also results from the rationalistic version of Tzetzes (and, probably, from echoes in Apollodoros, who focuses on the respect of the *young* Herakles for the ethics of Rhadamanthys).¹⁰⁰⁵ As far as the *Boiotian Histories* are concerned, we can only maintain that on a few points, probably close to the definition of Herakles as Amphitryon's son (F 8), Aristophanes introduced a version, which remained original and secondary (because it was local?) on the instruction of Herakles. This is another chapter of the rich world of Boiotian connections to Rhadamanthys, a chapter which is not directly interested in Alkmene.

4.11. Aristophanes F 10

Previous editions: *BNJ* 379 F 9; *EGM* I F 9; *FGrHist* 379 F 9 (Steph. Byz. α 402, *s.v.* <Ἀργύρριον>).

1005 Apollod. 2.64. Herakles defends his right to self-defence after the murder of Linos, in what is, according to Scarpi (2010: 505), a “forma embrionale di processo.” In the Pythagorean ethics, the “justice of Rhadamanthys” is similar to a retaliation, which aims at restoring a broken equilibrium (Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 1132b: “The view is also held by some that simple Reciprocity is Justice. This was the doctrine of the Pythagoreans, who defined the just simply as ‘suffering reciprocally with another.’ Reciprocity however does not coincide either with Distributive or with Corrective Justice (although people mean to identify it with the latter when they quote the rule of Rhadamanthys – When a man suffer even that which he did/ Right justice will be done)”, tr. H. Raghav, with modifications).

<Ἀργύννιον· ***> Ἄργυννος, υἱὸς Πεισιδίκης τῆς Λεύκωνος τοῦ Ἀθάμαντος τοῦ Σισύφου τοῦ Αἰόλου, ἐρώμενος Ἀγαμέμνονος, Βοιωτὸς, ὃς ἀνιών εἰς τὸν Κηφισὸν τελευτᾷ· ἀφ’ οὗ Ἄργυννίδα τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ἐτίμησε. λέγεται καὶ Ἄργουνης. Ἀριστοφάνης δὲ Ἀργύνει<ον> διὰ διφθόγγου. ὁ οἰκῆτωρ Ἀργύννιος

1 lemma add. et lac. indic. Meineke, *quam ita fere explendam esse cens.* ἱερὸν Ἀφροδίτης ἐν Βοιωτίᾳ coll. Clem. Al. *Protr.* 38,2 et Ath. XIII 80,603D Ἄργεννος N Πεισιδίκης Leopardus Πισι- QR om. PN 2 ἀγαμέμνος R ἀνιών RQPN νέων *dub.* Meineke 3 Κηφισὸν et κί- R^p c -ισὸν QPN 3 ἀργυννίδα P ἀγυ- RQ ἀργε- N ἐτίμησαν Leopardus ἀργουνης V Meineke *tamquam formam Boeotiam* ἀργυννίς R^{ac} QPN ἀργυνίς R^{pc} ἀργεννίς Xylander †Ἀργυννίς Fowler 4 Ἀργύνειον Meineke Ἀργύννειον Fowler ἀργύνει RQPN Ἀργειννίς Leopardus Ἀργεῖνος Schneidewin ἀργύννειος R

“<Argynnion: ***. Argynnos (begotten by Peisidike, the daughter of Leukon, son of Athamas, son of Sisyphos, son of Aiolos) was the lover of Agamemnon. He was Boiotian and died when he fell in the Kephisos. After this episode, Agamemnon worshipped Aphrodite Argynnīs, who is also called Argounīs. Aristophanes says ‘Argyneion’, with a diphthong. The ethnic is Argynnios” (tr. S. Tufano).

4.11.1. Textual Transmission and Context

This lemma of Stephanus’ *Ethnika* is particularly troublesome, as a first glance at the apparatus criticus shows. The integration of the initial lemma Ἀργύννιον is confirmed by the parallel sources on this story, because both Clement of Alexandria and Athenaeus recall this sanctuary and the myth of Argynnos when they quote the previous sources that dealt with this myth.¹⁰⁰⁶ The integration of a reference to the ἱερὸν Ἀργύννιον founded by

1006 Clement (*Protr.* 38,2) quotes Phanokles (F 5 Powell, *Coll. Alex.*), author of *Loves, or Beautiful Boys*, who probably lived before Apollonius Rhodius (Di Marco 2000; see *infra* in text). In a section of his work on pederastic relationships, Athenaeus (13.80.603D) first tells the best-known version of the story, and then comments on Likymnios of Chios (F 1

Agamemnon, therefore, is highly likely, after the mention of the name of the young Ἄργυννος. Since, however, this can only be inferred by the *loci paralleli*, it seems too risky to print it, as is also avoided by the latest editor of Stephanus (Billerbeck 2006 *ad loc.*).

Another textual problem concerns the central vocalism of the word Ἄργουνίς (3) in the fragment of Aristophanes. This form of the epithet of Aphrodite, the dedicatee of a cult from Agamemnon, must be somehow different (λέγεται καί) from the previous Ἄργυννίς (cp. the previous accusative ἄργυννίδα).¹⁰⁰⁷ The digraph <ου> instead of <υ>, in the epithet ἄργουνίς, agrees with the Boiotian epigraphic habit, attested from the beginning of the fourth century BCE, but continuing into the late third century BCE.¹⁰⁰⁸ This was, in Boiotia, the conventional spelling to reproduce the original sound /u:/. In the field of anthroponymy, we have other examples in the same region¹⁰⁰⁹ that follow this trend, felt

Sutton). This dithyrambographer, who lived at the end of the fifth century BCE (Robbins 1999), assigned another lover to Argynnus, namely Hymenaios. In poetry, the myth was also touched on by Propertius (3.7.21-4) and by Martial (7.15.5-6): here, the poet addresses an *Argynnus*, who has been variously identified either with a statue on the fountain of Violentilla's house, or with a real *puer* (in fact, it may be that Martial is generally referring to a slave: Merli 2013: 12-3). Between the first and the second century CE, the name Argynnus was common among slaves (Galán Vioque 2002: 133). For a commentary on the early stages of the myth, see *infra* 4.11.2.

1007 The restitution of Ἄργουνίς is of immediate interest to our understanding of Aristophanes, because this author is mentioned for the form he used for the name of the sanctuary, namely Ἀργύνειον (same vowel of the alternative epithet Ἀργυννίς, but one nu as in Ἄργουνίς). As far as the epithet Ἄργουνίς is concerned, the diphthong <ου> is only attested in manuscript V (Voss. gr. F 20 *ante* 1522: ἄργουνίς), which depends on Q (Vat. Pal. gr. 253 *ante* 1485), but often innovates with conjectures that are not necessarily wrong (cp. Billerbeck 2006: 17*-18*). The vowel of this second epithet of Aphrodite, then, must be rendered either with <υ> or with <ου>, for the quality of the alternative lection ἄργυννίς is transmitted by N (Neap. III.AA.18., *ca.* 1490), and by R (Rehd. 47, fifteenth/sixteenth century), which belong to different branches of the tradition (on this branch, see Billerbeck 2006: 18*-23*. N, moreover, has a completely divergent and isolated beginning ἄργε- before, which makes this second option all the more trustworthy). Between ἄργουνίς and ἄργυννίς, Meineke and Billerbeck prefer the first form for its closeness to the features of Boiotian dialect. Moreover, the single consonant is also characteristic of the form of the name of the sanctuary, for which Aristophanes is quoted. As a consequence, in contrast to the initial name of the sanctuary *Ἀργύννιον, the variation ἄργύνειον of Aristophanes only distinguishes itself for the final diphthong -ει-, διὰ διφθόγγου (the use of διὰ διφθόγγου, “with, through a diphthong”, is common in Stephanus, to indicate the variation in form of a toponym or, more often, of an ethnic; see, e.g., the lemma Ὑγασσός: [...] λέγεται καὶ Ὑγασσειὸν πεδίων διὰ διφθόγγου, ἀφ’ οὗ καὶ Ὑγασσεύς [υ 11]). The peculiarity is recognized as such by all the manuscripts, here, because they present ΑΡΓΥΝΕΙ. Finally, the ethnic of the inhabitants is misspelled by R with an improper <ει> (ἀργύννειος, probably after the form of Aristophanes) which should be removed.

1008 Buck 1955: 28. The spelling shows that the Boiotian dialect could keep the original sound, contrary to the Ionic-Attic phonetic evolution in /y/ (Janda 2006: 18).

1009 Meaningful personal names are an Ἀργουνίων from Kopai (IG 7.2781, 34; third century BCE) and an Ἄργουνίς in Skaphai (Eteon, Boiotian centre not clearly identified), mentioned on a stele with a *dexiōtis* at Eleusis (SEG XV 161:

by the editors as typically Boiotian: it must be remembered, however, that the Thessalian dialect, among the Aiolian continental dialects, also shows this habit.¹⁰¹⁰ In the case of the text of Stephanus, the presence of the form ἄργουῖς on V allows us to print it, even if it is possible that Stephanus was only registering the variation for the diphthong in the second part (-νεῖον).

Indeed, internal and external reasons also prevent us from imposing the vowel <ου> in the form ἄργυ^ννεῖον of Aristophanes, because he is only quoted for the diphthong <ει>.¹⁰¹¹ We should not automatically credit Aristophanes with a remarkably local form, because we lack strong evidence of his approach to this variation in spelling (in itself incoherent in the fourth century BCE).¹⁰¹² There is nothing specifically Boiotian in the retention of the single consonant in Ἄργουῖς, as Stephanus' Ἄργυ^{νν}ῖς would make us believe. From the Indoeuropean root **h₂arǵunih₂*, there can be different renderings of the nasal consonants, with the gemination of the consonant possibly marking an emphatic function (“expressive gemination”).¹⁰¹³ Stephanus had good lexicographical sources on this form, which also transmitted local forms for the epithet of the goddess worshipped in Argyneion; Aristophanes of Boiotia had to opt for a form not explicitly marked as local.

middle fourth century BCE); cp. Schachter 2012b *ad BNJ* 379 F 9 and D’Alfonso 2014: 92. According to Janda (2006: 17), these names are theophoric, from Aphrodite’s epiclesis.

1010 Cp. Ἄργου^ν in Krannon (*SEG* LI 711.25-7) and Ἀργού^ννεις in Pharsalos (*I.Thess.* I 50.25 and 146: both inscriptions date to the third century BCE). On the relationship between dialect and ethnicity see shortly *infra* 6.1.3.

1011 As claimed by Fowler in his edition of Aristophanes for the *EGM*, we need to be careful when using Herodianus to support Stephanus: the editor of Herodianus, Lentz, often used the text of Stephanus in his edition of Herodianus and this gives misleading confirmation of the variety of the epiclesis in Herodianus (*Pros. Cath.* 1.364.5; *Orth.* 2.478.2). If we eliminate the integration of Herodianus with Stephanus, we eliminate the impression that Herodianus quoted Aristophanes (as stated by D’Alfonso 2014: 85). That Stephanus might depend on Herodianus, and that this might be true also in the current case, is a fact which cannot be proven.

1012 For a similar example in the case of the toponym of Haliartos, see Armenidas’ F 6 (*supra* 3.6.2).

1013 Janda (2006: 18) therefore suggested that the form with the double nasal consonant developed first from the epiclesis: this epiclesis, in fact, assimilates the Aphrodite of this myth, etymologically the “splendid, bright” (Stoll 1886: “Weißling, mit Bezug auf seine jugendliche Schönheit”; Jessen 1895), to the vedic goddess *Uṣas-*, a goddess of the aurora, one whose epithets is *árjuni-* (“shiny”: *Rig-Veda* 1.40,3 Aufrecht; cp. on her Janda 2006: 16-20 and Kölligan 2007: 120). Nonetheless, the cult of the young Argynnos was likely very old in the region and probably coterminous with that of the goddess (D’Alfonso 2014: 100), if he can be recognized as the hero to whom a dedication was found in Strowiki and dates from the sixth century BCE (*SEG* XXIX 442; see *infra* in text).

4.11.2. Argynnos and the Sanctuary of Aphrodite

The myth of Argynnos is a typical example of *Knabenliebe*, “love for youths”, because Agamemnon falls in love with Argynnos after seeing the youth swimming in the river Kephisos, not far from Lake Kopais.¹⁰¹⁴ Agamemnon then chased the boy, who died falling in the same waters where he was glimpsed. In order to expiate this crime, Agamemnon dedicated a temple to Aphrodite Argynnis, or, according to another version, underwent a ritual bath. The way in which some sources (Euphorion, Martial, and Plutarch) associate this myth to that of Herakles and Hylas suggests that the story was considered a common *exemplum* of an unhappy paederotic love story.¹⁰¹⁵ The aetiology of the cult and its location on the shores of the lake firmly resonate with two cultic models of Boiotia, that of the “Dying Boy” (like Narcissus, who died in Thespiai),¹⁰¹⁶ and that of the couple of lovers, whose fate is linked to the establishment of a cult.¹⁰¹⁷

Aristophanes of Boiotia and Phanokles, a Hellenistic poet who wrote *Loves, or Beautiful Boys*, are the first authors who clearly document this myth of Argynnos, in the form that became the most popular one.¹⁰¹⁸ The story is better understood, however, only thanks to the later rewritings of Propertius and Plutarch.¹⁰¹⁹ This last author is the only one who bears witness to the ritual bath of purification,¹⁰²⁰ which Agamemnon took after the youth’s death.¹⁰²¹ If the *Catalogue of Women* (F 70.32 M. – W.) mentioned Argynnos as

1014 Ath. 13.80.603D.

1015 See briefly, on this, 4.10.1.

1016 Schachter 1972: 23–4.

1017 Schachter 1967; cp. D’Alfonso 2014: 95 on the same pattern.

1018 Phanokles, F 5 Powell, *Coll. Alex.* Magnelli (1999) recognized an allusion to this purification bath in two verses of a fragmentary text on *POxy* 3723,1–2, a catalogue of unhappy loves. The authorship and the date are, however, extremely debated, and Livrea considers it improper to force the evidence in the reconstruction of the myth.

1019 Prop. 3.7.21–4; Plut. *Gryllus* 7.990D–E. Despite the unanimous tradition of these verses of Propertius, they have been athetized by modern editors (e.g. Heyworth – Morwood 2011: 173; Fedeli 1985: 250–5 keeps them), for the alleged contradiction with the general development of the elegy, an epicedium for Petus, where Propertius invites his friend to consider the potential dangers of the navigation. Despite a few ambiguities, as the nature of the *Argynni poena* at 22 (cp. Gallé Cejudo 2006: 186–7 on this collocation), the group of verses can be understood as “necessary” once we compare them with the parallel passage of Plutarch on the same myth (*Gryll.* 7.909D; for a detailed comparison of the two sources, see Gallé Cejudo 2006 and D’Alfonso 2014: 101–2). Propertius was probably inspired not by Phanokles, but by Euphorion of Chalkis (*Suppl. Hell.* 428 = F 68 van Groningen; on this fragment, see Livrea 2002).

1020 Alfonsi 1953; Magnelli 1999: 88 n.10.

1021 Before Clement of Alexandria (*Protr.* 38,2), witness of Phanokles, and Plutarch, an epigram of Martial (77.15.5–6, cp. *supra* n.1006) confirms the popularity of the myth in Rome in the first century CE. Plutarch probably knew

Kopreus' child and Leukon's nephew,¹⁰²² Phanokles and Aristophanes *may* have drawn on Hesiod for the Boiotian setting of the myth and the plot.¹⁰²³ However, even if Argynnos was not mentioned in the *Catalogue*, we should still consider the possibility that he may have been mentioned as Kopreus' son in the *Thebaid*,¹⁰²⁴ which mentioned Kopreus as king of Haliartos. In short, before the fourth century BCE, in a Boiotian context, Argynnos may already have been the subject of a poem that specifically alluded to his fate as the unlucky lover of Agamemnon,¹⁰²⁵ even if the relevant sources are not explicit on this.

4.11.3. Argynnos' Family Tree

In contrast to the other versions of the myth, Aristophanes may have been more detailed than the other sources. Not only, did he consider the paederotic relationship between Argynnos and Agamemnon to explain the delay in Boiotia and the following sacrifice of Iphigenia,¹⁰²⁶ but he also mentioned the sanctuary, Ἀργύνειον, and focused on the family of the unhappy boy. It might not be coincidental that Argynnos' genealogy is only

Phanokles (Magnelli 1999: 89-90), but we cannot rule out that he might have also been aware of Aristophanes in his account of the story. On the basis of the current FF 5 and 6 by Aristophanes, quoted in Plutarch's *De Herodoti malignitate*, it would seem that Plutarch did not have poor knowledge of Aristophanes' books.

1022 Hes. *Cat.* F 70, 9-10 M. – W. (Λεύκωνος κοῦρ[αι] Ἀθαμαντιάδαο ἄν[ακτος/ Πεισιδίκη τε καὶ] Εὐίππη δῆθ' Ὑπερ[.]). This genealogy depends on an integration by Bartoletti 1951: 266, accepted by West 1985: 66-7. The second part of the second name is extremely hypothetical (D'Alfonso 2014: 88). Indeed, prudence is demanded by the fact that the *Catalogue* only explicitly mentions two daughters of Leukon, Euippe and Hyper(ippe) (F 70,10 M. – W.), whereas Stephanus connects Argynnos with a third daughter of Leukon, Peisidike (Ἀργυννος, υἱὸς Πεισιδίκης τῆς Λεύκωνος; see Oppermann 1937 on this difficulty).

1023 As a catalogical poet, Phanokles was probably inspired by Hesiod (Asquith 2005; Hunter 2005b).

1024 *Thebaid*, F 11 West, *GEF*. The fragment properly deals with the intercourse between Poseidon and an Erinys and mentions Kopreus just as Κοπρεύς Αλιάρτου βασιλεύων πόλεως Βοιωτίας. However, this ascription is doubtful, because the scholium generally claims that the tradition was attested παρὰ τοῖς κυκλικοῖς (Torres-Guerra 2015: 235-6); moreover, given the pertinence of the source of the D scholia to the *Iliad*, it could be that the detail on Kopreus was not part of the original material reproduced by the cyclical poets.

1025 Argynnos was also the subject of a composition by the dithyrambographer Likynnios (F 1 Sutton), who lived at the end of the fifth century BCE. Likynnios assigned another lover, Imenaeus, to Argynnos, confirming the association of the figure to the north-eastern area of Boiotia (D'Alfonso 2014: 99 and n.77); the different identity of this lover seems to derive from another strand in the tradition and cannot therefore confirm the use, by Aristophanes, of a poetic source.

1026 Prop. 3.7.23-4: *hoc iuvene amisso classem non soluit Atrides, / pro qua mactata est Iphigenia mora* ("after having lost this young man, Atreus' son did not weigh the anchor: because of this delay, Iphigenia was sacrificed", tr. S. Tufano). See on this passage Magnelli 1999 and D'Alfonso 2014: 99-102.

explicited in the present lemma of Stephanus of Byzantium, among the extant sources (with due prudence, a result of our poor knowledge of the pseudo-Hesiodic *Catalogue*).

We lack further explicit indications on the family of this boy, who includes, through his father Kopreus, connections with the Haliartos¹⁰²⁷ and Akraiphia, and the Athamantian plain (in its Boiotian extension).¹⁰²⁸ This second geographic association derives from the possible hypotext of Aristophanes, i.e. the F 70 M. – W. of the *Catalogue of Women*, where two daughters of Leukon cross the river Kephisos.¹⁰²⁹ More generally, the myth can be understood according to a widespread cult type in Boiotia (especially for its association with a spring and a river). The cult of Aphrodite Argynnis may predate the traditions on Argynnos, and it is likely that it was set on the same spot that the sources place the myth of the youth.¹⁰³⁰

If Aristophanes, then, is not quoted simply for the variation on the name of the sanctuary, but also for the genealogy of the character, he might be the only source for the genealogy that leads to Athamas, the most distinctive piece of information in this lemma. The other sources on Athamas and Sisyphos claim that they were brothers, since they are both generated by Aiolos.¹⁰³¹ Stephanus, instead, possibly after Aristophanes, asserts that Sisyphos was the father of Athamas. Since Aristophanes likely dealt with the origin of the cult,¹⁰³² he may also have explained the reasons underlying the new toponym, which are linked to an association with a new character (and, in fact, Stephanus also knows a specific

1027 Kopreus was considered the son of Haliartos and the nephew of Orchomenos (schol. D Hom. *Il.* 15.639; 23.346; D’Alfonso 2014: 88). For this reason, Schachter (2012b *ad BNJ* 379 F 9) attaches the fragment to a local tradition of Haliartos. The son of Kopreus, Argynnos, may thus be linked to this centre, but, in general, this hypothesis does not fully take into account the weight of the maternal figure of Argynnos. This woman is associated with an area to the east of the town, if the proposal of a location at (H)olmon is valid.

1028 Paus. 9.24.1-3; D’Alfonso 2014: 90. An alternative tradition, reported by Herodotus (7.197) and Apollonius Rhodius (2.514), placed the Athamantian plain not far from Halos, in the Phthiotid Achaia, and, therefore in Thessaly (on this tradition and on Mount Laphystios, cp. Gagné 2013; on Athamas as an Orchomenian hero – he is the father of Minyas – and a liminal figure between Boiotian and Thessalian/Argive traditions, cp. Kühr 2006: 278-85 and Bearzot 2011: 273; on the fortune of the myth in the fifth century BCE, cp. Vannicelli 2017: 541-2).

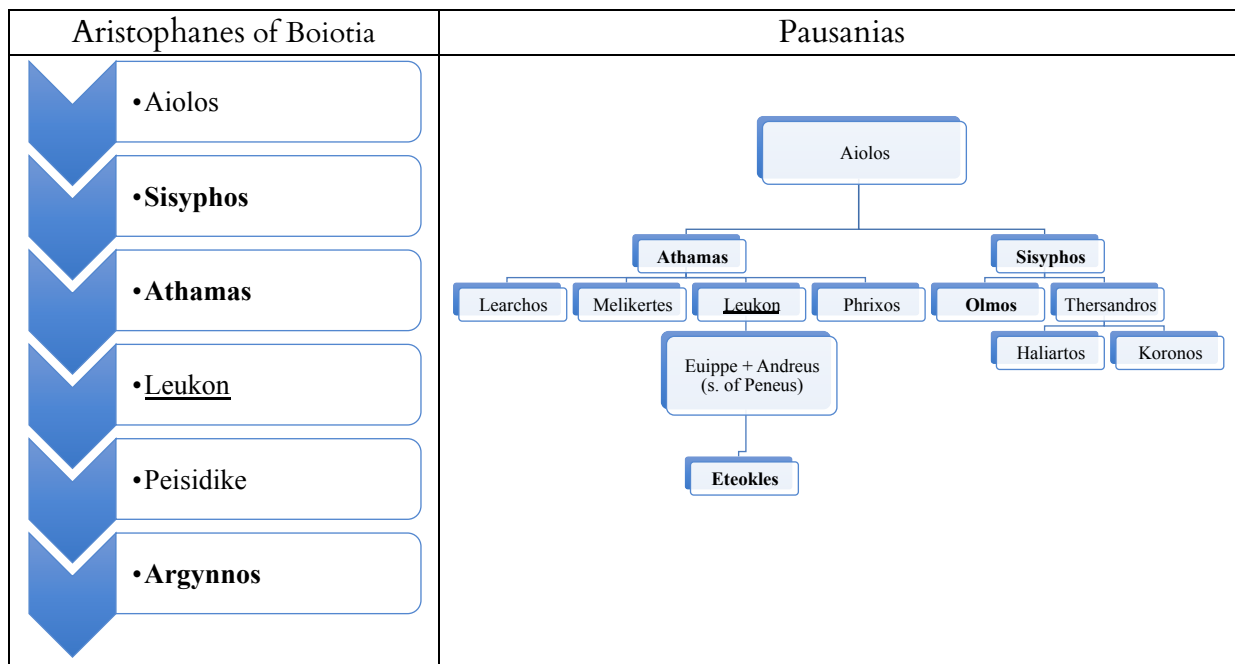
1029 Hirschberger 2004: 262; on this fragment, see West 1985: 65-7 and D’Alfonso 2014: 87-90.

1030 See D’Alfonso 2014: 95-100 on its antiquity and *supra* (4.11.2) on the underlying cultic types.

1031 Paus. 9.34.7 (“Athamas [...] adopted Haliartos and Coronus, the sons of Thersander, the son of Sisyphos, his brother”; tr. W.H.S. Jones – H.A. Ormerod). Cp. Gostoli 2012 on the Aiolian kinship ties of Sisyphus.

1032 Jacoby 1955a: 160: “Sicher scheint nur, dass A[ristophanes] vom Zeus Homoloios sprach und ihn [...] aus Thessalien ableitete.”

adjective for the inhabitants: ὁ οἰκίτωρ Ἀργύννιος).¹⁰³³ Aristophanes was interested in these figures who explain the name change, as the fragment on Chaironeia and its founder (F 7) confirms. We know that Sisyphos was considered the father of Olmos;¹⁰³⁴ in a narrative by Pausanias, Olmos received from Eteocles, Athamas' great-grandson, territory that would later be renamed Olmos after its new owner.¹⁰³⁵ Let us clearly summarize, in parallel trees, the two genealogies, one found in Aristophanes and one followed by Pausanias:



1033 Even if the sanctuary was at Olmones, it would not be a properly poleic cult, but it is interesting that such an adjective could develop around a sanctuary (West 1985: 67 n.85).

1034 Paus. 9.24.3; on this figure, see D’Alfonso 2014: 91 and n.30; 92. Pausanias calls him ‘Almos’ at 9.34.10, but the relationship with the village confirms that it must be the same character. Hellanikos (*BNJ* 4 FF 16a-b) mentions a Salmos in Boiotia, even if the same witness credits him with a Halmos, which may be a variation of the same toponym (Fowler 2013: 191; Pownall 2016 *ad BNJ* 4 F 16b).

1035 Paus. 9.34.7-10 and 24.3: Olmones is a village here, but the ethnic on *IG* 7.2808,13 could prove a dependent status in the third century CE (cp. Fell 2006).

If we accept the placement of Olmones at Stroviki,¹⁰³⁶ we might suggest a possible link to this interesting dedication to a hero, found on a black-figure vase of the sixth century BCE (*SEG XXIX 442*):

- a -- ἄ]νέθ[ἔκε --
 b -- μ' ἀνέθἔκε
 c -- ἡέρο[ι --
 d -- τῶι ἡέροι vac .

The association of Argynnos and this Almos/Olmos is indirectly confirmed, moreover, if we consider the aforementioned F 70 M. – W. (36-7), where the youth may be mentioned by Hesiod. A recent proposal, in fact, identifies the cult place of Argynnos in the connected sanctuary in the roundabouts of Olmones, adding new arguments to the mention of Sisyphos in the genealogy of Argynnos reported by Stephanus, which probably owes much to an aetiology of the cult already proposed by Aristophanes.¹⁰³⁷

Since Sisyphos, in Pausanias, is the father of Olmos, the Minyan center of Olmos must already exist before Agamemnon founds the sanctuary on the spot to commemorate Argynnus. But considering Sisyphos and Athamas as brothers would make Olmos almost contemporary with Argynnos: how could Olmos, eponymous (founder, perhaps?) of Olmones, be contemporary with the new eponymous youth? In Pausanias (where Athamas and Sisyphos, Olmos' father, are brothers), Olmos receives his land from Eteocles, Athamas' great-nephew (9.34.9-10; see the genealogical tree *supra*), but there is no mention of the new cult founded by Agamemnon after Argynnos' name. A possible explanation for the different kinship tree followed by Aristophanes, then, could be the necessity to anticipate the position of Athamas and Sisyphos in the family tree of Sisyphos,

1036 The village of Olmones is identified by archaeologists as either Pavlon (Fossey 1988 I: 296-300) or Stroviki; in fact, it may be the imagined setting of the meeting between Agamemnon and Argynnos. The identification with Stroviki was suggested by Étienne – Knoepfler (1976: 24-9) and further confirmed by later studies (cp. Moggi – Osanna 2012: 353 and D'Alfonso 2014: 91-2), because of the presence of a Mycenaean settlement and an Archaic sanctuary for a hero.

1037 Cp. Hirschberger 2004: 263. Argynnos in Olmones: D'Alfonso 2014: 93-5.

and to make sure that the transition from Olmones to Argynnum is consistent (whence, probably, the curious and isolated ethnic “Argynnian”, at the end of the lemma).

This interpretation does not imply that Aristophanes invented or artificially modified the genealogy, for he may simply have reproduced another local variation on this network of figures. The local dimension of this family tree takes us to two areas, starting with Aiolos: the north-east of Boiotia, which implicitly means a connection with Euboia¹⁰³⁸ and Thessaly. Among the many cultural connections, Thessaly is tied to this myth, since Herodotus (7.197) places the Athamantian field in this other region, and there is a tradition of a Thessalian (H/S)almos.¹⁰³⁹

The fragment, consequently, shows the peculiar characteristics of the aetiologies in Aristophanes’ *Boiotian Histories*: from a single cult place, the Argyneion, the historian offered the foundation myth and extended the genealogy of the connected characters. The mention of Sisyphos as Athamas’ father, despite the complexity of Aiolos’ family tree, deserves attention, because the features of the historical work are rooted on a different agenda than that of Pausanias. While Pausanias records a tradition that centers on the foundation of Olmones (9.34.10), the focus on the close Argyneion demanded a slightly different genealogy for some of the characters. This was not seen as proof of inconsistency, however. For this same region, we know from Pausanias (34.9) that the citizens (κατὰ τῶν πολιτῶν τὴν φήμην) had two different genealogies for Eteokles. It is therefore particularly interesting to retrieve this local tradition, in Aristophanes, which developed around a myth of unhappy love, to fit the connected sanctuary with other mythical characters of the area.

1038 See Marchand 2011 on the relationship between Euboia and Boiotia from an onomastic point of view.

1039 A city with a name similar to Holmones is located in Thessaly by later sources (Hyg. *Poet. astr.* 2.20.2; Plin. *HN* 4.29; Steph. Byz. μ 192, *s.v.* Μινύα); however, even if later scholars considered it proof of a Thessalian connection (Kirsten 1937; Buck 1968: 278 n.80), it may also be a local tradition not exploited in Boiotia, because “Hellanikos [BNJ 4 F 16a] might [...] have drawn a link with Salmoneus, rather than with Sisyphus” (Fowler 2013: 191). On the Thessalian links of Athamas, cp. Schachter 1994b: 75.

4.12. Aristophanes F 11

Previous editions: *BNJ* 379 F 4; *EGMI* F 4; *FGrHist* 379 F 4 (Ath. 2.15.41E).

καὶ Πίνδαρος· “μελιγαθὲς ἀμβρόσιον ὕδωρ/ Τιλφώσσας ἀπὸ καλλικράνου”.
κρήνη δ’ ἐν Βοιωτίᾳ ἢ Τιλφώσσα, ἀφ’ ἧς Ἀριστοφάνης φησὶ Τειρεσίαν
πιόντα διὰ γῆρας οὐχ ὑπομείναντα τὴν ψυχρότητα ἀποθανεῖν.

1 μελιγηθὲς E καλλικράνου Snell-Maehler –κρήνου *codd.* 3 γῆρα B

“And Pindar: ‘Honeysweet, ambrosial water/ from Tilphossa, the beautiful spring.’ Tilphossa, in fact, is a Boiotian spring, whence, according to Aristophanes, Teiresias drank. Since he could not bear the coldness of the waters, he died” (tr. S. Tufano).

4.12.1. Tilphossa and Boiotian Myths

The fragment is transmitted by Athenaeus in the second book of *The Learned Banqueters*.¹⁰⁴⁰ Since this is the only fragment by Aristophanes quoted by Athenaeus, it is probable that this author knew the historian through intermediate sources.¹⁰⁴¹ In the absence of further indications, we depend on the supposition that the verses from Pindar (F 198b S. – M.) belonged to a narration or to a reference to the death of Teiresias, because this event is indissolubly linked to the characteristics of the spring.¹⁰⁴² In particular,

1040 For this section of the work, we lack the important codex **A** (= Ven. Marc. 447), whose complete text starts at III 2,74A, and so, we must rely on the manuscripts of the abridged version. The reference edition for the first two books of Athenaeus is still the one provided by Kaibel (1887a and 1887b; 1890); for the subsequent books, see Peppink (1937; 1939); cp. Arnott 2000 and Lenfant 2007: 383–4 on the textual tradition of Athenaeus. As far as our fragment is concerned, the text does not show meaningful variations, apart from three minor details: the first two concern Pindar, since the vocalism of the forms μελιγηθὲς and καλλικρήνου is likely a textual trivialization of the original Doric forms, whereas γῆρα instead of the expected γῆρας is a minor mistake in the tradition.

1041 See Zecchini 1989 and Zecchini 2007a on the historical culture of Athenaeus.

1042 Cp. Kowalzig 2007: 378 for a suggestion on the context of the execution and Olivieri 2011: 64–5 and Olivieri 2014: 36–7.

Athenaeus seems to adopt the original form of the toponym, which has strong Boiotian characterizations.¹⁰⁴³

The death of Teiresias is traditionally placed after the defeat of the Kadmeans, who were expelled from Thebes by the Epigonoι (“the Afterborn”), the descendants of the Seven Argives. The Epigonoι defeated the Kadmeans at Glisas in a battle that marks a turning point in the mythical history of Thebes, since it was the end of the so-called “Kadmean” phase.¹⁰⁴⁴ Teiresias advised his fellow citizens to flee and he followed them to Tilphossa: here he died and the Thebans built a cenotaph to commemorate him.¹⁰⁴⁵ Meanwhile, his daughter¹⁰⁴⁶ was captured in Thebes and sent to Delphi, as a thanks offering to the gods.¹⁰⁴⁷ In another tradition, followed by Pausanias, Teiresias was brought to Tilphossa as

1043 The name of the source Tilphossa is variously transmitted by Classical sources, just like the name of the related mountain (Brisson 1976: 64 n.75: Τίλφουσα, Θέλφουσα, Θέλπουσα, Τέλφουσα, Τίλφῶσα, and Θάλπουσα). The original Boiotian form must have been Τίλφωσσα/ Τίλφῶσσα, which etymologically draws to the PIE **dhelbh-*. “to dig, to carve” (cp. Old English *delfan*, “to delve”, and Russian *dolbit’*, “to engrave”; see Neumann 1979: 85-9; Neumann 1986: 45 n.3 and Schachter 1990c: 333-4 n.1; Schachter 1994: 61 n.2). This fragment and Eust. *ad Od.* 10.515, p.1668,3-8 Stallbaum (on which, see *infra* in text) do not support the opposite interpretation, held, for example, by Allen – Halliday – Sikes 1936: 239, that the toponym has a relationship with the root *θαλπ-, as if it were a “hot spring”; further suggestions, mentioned by Schachter (1990c: 333-4 n.1), seem to diminish the importance of the Boiotian association of the toponym. From a grammatical point of view, τίλφῶσσα is a participle form (Blümel 1982: 221 §236), like the variation Τίλφουσα in Paus. 9.33.1 confirms (cp. ἔχωσα against ἔχουσα). The Boiotian characterization invites us to translate the toponym as “Tilphossa”, starting from Τίλφωσσα/ Τίλφῶσσα (Olivieri 2011: 262 n.80; cp. Callim. F 652 Pfeiffer, where Callimachus, despite touching upon an Arcadian myth, uses the Boiotian form Τίλφωσσαῖη, with Wilamowitz 1931: 398-400; Pfeiffer 1985 *ad loc.*; Schachter 1990c: 336 n.4).

1044 The expedition of the Epigonoι is already mentioned in the *Iliad* (4.403-10), but for a reconstruction of the event we must turn to later sources: Hdt. 5.61.1-2; Diod. Sic. 4.66.1-5; Paus. 9.5.13; 8.6; 9.4-5; 33.1-2; Apollod. 3.80-5. Among these sources, Diodorus and Apollodoros predate attempts at chronological rationalizations, made by some modern scholars (Clinton 1834: 70; Sakellariou 1990: 207-22): in fact, there is probably no need to conciliate the narrative on the escape of the Kadmeans to Illyria, mentioned by Hdt. 5.61, with the expulsion of the Dorians from the Istiaëotis after the arrival of the Kadmeans (Hdt. 1.56: on this aporia, see Vannicelli 1995a: 20-1). Cp. Schachter 1967b: 4 and 9-10, for a skeptical position on a second destruction of Thebes in the years of the Trojan Wars. For the battle of Glisas as the end of the Kadmean story of Thebes, see Vannicelli 1995a.

1045 Advice: Diod. Sic. 4.66.5; Zen. 1.30; Apollod. 3.84. Cenotaph and death on the spot: Str. 9.2.27.411 and 36.413; Paus. 3.33.1; *PSI* 1398 I 10-1 (on the monument).

1046 The name of the girl differs in our sources (cp. Diod. Sic. 4.6605). The variation Daphne may be “un tentativo di ricondurre ogni tradizione mantica al ruolo centrale di Delfi” (Magnelli in Mariotta – Magnelli 2012: 237; Parke 1988: 113).

1047 From Delphi, the girl went to Claros, where she founded an oracular cult: [Hes.] F 214 Most = 277 M. – W. (from the *Melampody*); *Epigoni* F 4 West, *GEF* (cp. Davies 2015: 187 on the place of this fragment in this work, despite the indication of the sources which assign it to οἱ τὴν Θηβαΐδα γεγραφότες); Theopompus *BNJ* 115 F 346 (foundation of

a prisoner by the Argives.¹⁰⁴⁸ It is interesting to observe how the final destination of this man does not change, despite the variations.

The spring Tilphossa was between Haliartos and Alalkomenai: the exact site is convincingly located at the modern spring Petra, at the base of the homonymous mountain, the ancient Mount Tilphossion.¹⁰⁴⁹ The location at Petra is confirmed by an important Archaic source on the spring, the *Hymn to Apollo*, whose pythic section (179–546) was conceived in the first quarter of the sixth century BCE.¹⁰⁵⁰ A passage on the encounter between Apollo and the local nymph Telphusa/Tilphousa, indicates that this happens in the surroundings of a very busy road: the hotspot was a strategically relevant

the Claros oracle); Paus. 7.3.1–2 (Mantho in Kolophon); 9.33.2 (Mantho marries Rhakios in Kolophon); Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.85 (Mantho in Delphi); Apollod. *Ep.* 6.3 (Mopsus, Apollo’s son, and Mantho in Kolophon). On Mantho and on the Claros oracle, see Sakellariou 1958: 146–72; Prinz 1979: 16–34; MacSweeney 2013: 104–13. Other traditions place the wedding with Rhakios, a Cretan man, in continental Greece (schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.308b = *Epigoni* F 4 West, *GEF.*); in the *Alcmaeon in Corinth*, Euripides has Mantho marry Alcmaeon, the new king of Thebes (Apollod. 3.94 and *TrGF* 73a). The couple have two children, Amphilochos and Tisiphon (see on this version Moggi – Osanna 2007: 203 and Olivieri 2013: 161–2). Sakellariou (1990: 148–50; 160) doubts the historicity of the presence of Thebans in Kolophon, but there are other sources who claim that the Kadmeans joined the Ionic colonization (Hdt. 1.146.1; Hellanikos, *BNJ* 4 F 101); furthermore, the detail can also be seen as a sign that the colonists were trying to find some links with their related “continental” people (Vian 1963: 87 n.6; Schachter 1967b: 4), and we should not dismiss the strong possibility that there were groups from other Greek areas who arrived in Ionia in later periods (Asheri 1997: 350; Niemeier 2007; Greaves 2010: 222–30).

1048 Paus. 7.3.1; 9.33.1–2. Diodorus (4.66.5) seems to compromise between the two versions, since he maintains that the Kadmeans were surprised, at Tilphossa, by the arrival of the Epigoni. The Epigoni then captured only Mantho, and Teiresias died on the spot, during his stay close to the spring (67.1: no details on the circumstances of the death).

1049 Between Haliartos and Alalkomenai: Ephoros *BNJ* 70 F 153 (ἐν Ἀλαλκομενίᾳ); Str. 9.2.27.411 (πλησίον Ἀλιάρτου καὶ Ἀλαλκομενῶν); Paus. 9.33.1 (τὸ δὲ ὄρος τὸ Τίλφουσιον καὶ ἡ Τίλφουσα καλουμένη πηγὴ σταδίου μάλιστα Ἀλιάρτου πεντήκοντα ἀπέχουσι, “Mount Tilphossion and the so-called Tilphossa spring lie circa 50 stades away from Haliartos”). On these and other sources, see Schachter 1990c: 334–5 and 335 n.3; Schachter 1994: 60–1. The location of Petra was suggested by Wallace 1979: 145, Buck 1979: 9, and Schachter 1990c; Schachter 1994: 60–2, after Fossey (1972) argued that Mount Tilphossion included both the top of Petra and that of Paleothivai. The recent GIS surveys in the area of Haliartos (Farinetti 2011: 145) refute the alternative location of Hagios Nikolaos (Guillon 1943: 105 n.2 and 196; Fontenrose 1969; Breglia 1986b: 107–8 Magnelli in Mariotta – Magnelli 2012: 236; further scholarship on this in Schachter 1990c: 334 n.1).

1050 On the development of this myth and its date, see Cassola 1975: 97–102; West 2003b: 9–12; Sbardella 2012: 67–84.

stronghold,¹⁰⁵¹ valuable for the control of the Helikon (and the mountain Tilphossion is actually a spur of the Helikon).¹⁰⁵²

Apollo passes through all of Boiotia and initially wishes a temple and a grove for himself, not far from the spring of the nymph Tilphossa (*Hom. Hymn Ap.* 245: νηόν τε καὶ ἄλσεα δενδρήεντα): the nymph, however, opposes this project, and deviates the god to Delphi, because she claims that the area of Tilphossion is too rife with men and trade (261-5).¹⁰⁵³ After founding his temple in Crisa, nevertheless, Apollo realizes that he has been deceived by Tilphossa (375-6) and, as revenge, he covers her with rocks and stones before establishing his own cult as Apollo Tilphossios (375-87).¹⁰⁵⁴

The oracle of Tilphossa is analogous to other sites around ancient Lake Kopais that were characterized by the cult of a nymph associated to a spring (here, Tilphossa), and of a masculine prophet (Teiresias).¹⁰⁵⁵ After an original deification of the nymph, the arrival of new inhabitants on the spot brought about the institution of an oracular cult associated with Apollo, to whom a sanctuary (ἱερόν) was consecrated. The nucleus of traditions on the relationship of the spring with Teiresias, judging from the antiquity of this figure as a seer, must date back to this phase.¹⁰⁵⁶ Finally, a further building was erected in this place, probably not for Apollo, as Spyropoulos (1973) suggests, but for a feminine triad: Pausanias (9.33.3), in fact, mentions a ἱερόν for the Praxidikai, three mythical daughters to Ogygos, in the area of Haliartos and the Tilphossion.¹⁰⁵⁷ The strong Boiotian connotations of this

1051 The Phokian Phalekos occupied the Tilphossian stronghold in 349 BCE after defeating the Thebans at Koroneia (Theopompos *BNJ* 115 F 228; cp. Dem. 19.148: τὸ Τιλφωσσαῖον; Diod. Sic. 16.58.1). This place must be identified with the sanctuary.

1052 Brisson 1976: 64 and n.75.

1053 The nymph suggests to Apollo that he move to Krisa, where the disorder of the horses and the carts will not disturb the cult of the god (*Hom. Hymn Ap.* 270-1); cp. Aloni 1989: 24, on the relationship with the introduction of horse races in the Pythian games, in 582 BCE.

1054 Apollo's victory over Tilphossa has been read as an echo of Delphic propaganda against the Boiotian cult (Defradas 1954: 67; Breglia 1986b: 108), but the situation is probably more complex (Prandi 2011: 242-4).

1055 Cp. Schachter 1967a on this cult type in Boiotia, and Larson 2001: 138-43 on the Boiotian cult of nymphs.

1056 Sanctuary: Str. 9.2.27.411. See Schachter 1990; Schachter 1994: 61-2 on the development of the site and its three main phases. Cp. Brisson 1976 and Ugolini 1995 for two diverse, though complementary, analyses of the traditions on Teiresias.

1057 For this interpretation of the building, see Schachter 1990c: 338; Schachter 1994: 62. The Praxidikai were born of Ogygos and Praxidike: their names were Alkomenia, Thelchinoia, and Aulis (see Schachter 1990c: 338; Schachter 1994: 5-7 and 61-2). Their mother was worshipped in Laconia (Paus. 3.22.2; cp. Dionysios of Chalkis, *JC* IV 1773 F 4).

later cult, which is not associated with the Kadmean (Theban) myths, may have prompted a reaction from Thebes to the addition of figures and characters originally absent in the myths of Tilphossa, who served as arguments to characterize a Theban association to the site of the Tilphossion.¹⁰⁵⁸

According to an anonymous tradition, in fact, Tilphossa (under another name, Erinys) begat, in union with Ares, the dragon who guarded the Theban source and was later defeated by Kadmos.¹⁰⁵⁹ A rational approach to Theban myths detects a contradiction between this genealogy and the concurrent version, where Teiresias is a descendant of one of the Spartoi born of the teeth of the dragon.¹⁰⁶⁰ It may be wiser to read this variety of traditions on Teiresias as an example of how, in the fifth century BCE (namely in a period where the Kadmos myth was particularly popular in Thebes), Thebes was trying to appropriate figures who were indirectly representative of other centres and areas that were reluctant to accept the regional hegemony of Thebes. We might read, using the same perspective, the existence, on the Kadmeia, of an *oinoskopeion* associated to Teiresias, even if the structure dates to an earlier period.¹⁰⁶¹

Finally, in a tradition that might predate the previous one, Tilphossa was birth place of the horse Arion, offspring of Erinys (not necessarily the same nymph)¹⁰⁶² and Poseidon: its first owner was Kopreus, king of Haliartos and Argynnos' father (cp. F 10 of Aristophanes). This pedigree was mentioned in the *Thebaid* (F 11 West, *GEF*), which touched on a series of events before those in the *Epigoni*, for the principle of “non interferenza” in the epical subject.¹⁰⁶³ In the same *Epigoni*, there was the first probable mention of the curious circumstances of the death of Teiresias at the Tilphossion, if we follow this pattern.

1058 For this interpretation, see Breglia 1986b, *spec.* 120-1; Olivieri (65 n.94), suspects, furthermore, the role of Orchomenos, judging from Paus. 9.34.6-7, whose description places the centre immediately after that of the Tilphossion.

1059 Schol. Soph. *Ant.* 126. On this tradition, see Fontenrose 1959: 366-74.

1060 Apollod. 3.69 (ἀπὸ γένους Οὐδαίου τοῦ Σπαρτοῦ); on the relationship between Teiresias and Thebes, where there was a cenotaph (Paus. 9.18.4), cp. Olivieri 2011: 66-7.

1061 For the Theban popularity of the Kadmos myth, see Vannicelli 1995a: 25 n.18; cp. 2.2.2 for a possible date of the spreading of this set of traditions. On the Theban *oinoskopeion*, cp. Bonnechere 1990: 59.

1062 Breglia 1986b: 108.

1063 Sbardella 1994; West 2013: 17-20.

4.12.2. Traditions on the Death of Teiresias

The first literary sources on the death of Teiresias do not directly address the place and the circumstances of the event: in the *Odyssey* (10.492–5), Teiresias is only mentioned for the positive treatment granted by Persephone, who allowed him to keep his φρένες ἔμπεδοι (493: “healthy mind”), whereas the pseudo-Hesiod *Melampody* (FF 211–2 Most = 275–6 M. – W.) describes Teiresias as a long-lived man, who lived for seven generations.¹⁰⁶⁴ There are no relevant variations on the place where Teiresias died. Other options concern not Tilphossa, but the spot where a cenotaph was built for the seer, such as in Thebes and Macedonia.¹⁰⁶⁵

Aristophanes of Boiotia might have been the first prose author to record the death of Teiresias: according to a recent reading of the fragment, he might have provided a rationalizing version of the story,¹⁰⁶⁶ as if Teiresias died from congestion from the coldness of the waters. Only Pausanias (9.33.1) and Apollodoros (3.84), among the other sources on the event, specify that Teiresias drank from Tilphossa spring, and Pausanias adds that Teiresias was simply thirsty (εἶχετο γὰρ δίψη). This last explanation sounds redundant in this context, but it might also be an addition of the author, because the detail of Teiresias’ drinking must have been considered an inescapable part of the story.¹⁰⁶⁷ This basic version, of Teiresias dying after drinking from the spring, is the basis from which Aristophanes

¹⁰⁶⁴ The *Melampody* was falsely assigned to Hesiod and did not only deal with the seer Melampus; for an introduction, see Most 2006: lx; Cingano 2009: 121–3 and the scholarship in Vergados 2013: 8 n.9. Even if it is possible that the *Epigoni* already alluded to his death, the only figure directly mentioned in a fragment from this poem is Teiresias’ daughter, Mantho (F 4 West, *GEF*). Mantho was considered the founder of the mantic cult in Claros, not far from Kolophon, whose Apollonian character, and consequent association with Delphi, may be the starting point of a tradition according to which there were also Thebans among the colonizers of Kolophon after the arrival of the Ionians (Paus. 7.3.1–2). The tradition probably depends on the Apollinean claims concerning the oracle of Claros, but we should also consider the possible presence of actual Theban migrants in Ionia: see *supra* n.363.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Thebes: Paus. 9.18.4. Macedonia: Plin. *HN* 37.180. The exceptional detail of the *Nostoi* (*arg.* 2), where Teiresias dies in Kolophon, may be the result of a mistake by Proclus, the abridger of the poem, who must have referred to another character, Calchas. The presence of Teiresias here does not seem reasonable: see Fowler 2013: 546 and West 2013: 254–5.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Fowler 2013: 402.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Olivieri (2011: 65) also acknowledges that the divine virtues of the water (on which, see Schachter 1990c: 337) and the mention of the death of Teiresias are always associated in the same context. This scholar believes that this depends on the peculiar characteristics of the spring, whence a divine water would flow, according to the adjectives used by Pindar to describe it (*ibid.* 66).

provided an allegedly “rationalistic” version. He could not remove this common ground, and, therefore, he tried to clarify why old age was the cause of his death.

4.12.3. A Death Investigation

If we carefully focus on the previous reading, however, we do not understand what version was rationalized by Aristophanes. The association of old age with congestion, in itself, does not seem to be a strong innovation. Useful help comes from a papyrus of the middle first century CE, concerning a version of the death of Teiresias mentioned by an anonymous mythological narration.¹⁰⁶⁸ The first column of the papyrus recalls the death of Teiresias, in a style that closely resembles that of Apollodoros in the *Library* (3.84): for this reason, Lloyd-Jones (1959: 113-4) used Apollodoros to correct and edit the papyrus. This is the section that directly interests us, in the last edition provided by Vergados (2013: 6-7):

[οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ]ς ἀμά[ξας τὰ τέκνα]

[καὶ τὰς γυ]ναῖκας ἀναβι[βάσαντες]

[φεύγουσι ἐ]κ τῆς πόλεως. ὁ δ[ὲ] [ἄο]κνως

[παραγενό]μενος ἀναγγέλλει τ[ῶ] Διῖ]

5 [τοὺς ῥηθέν]τας λόγους, Ζεὺς δὲ δ[ι] [ὄρ-]

[γῆς γενόμ]ενος ἐμβάλλει λήθην

[τῶ μάντει. οἱ δὲ] φεύγοντες ἀφικνοῦν-

[ται ἐπὶ τὴν] κρήνην Τελφοῦσσαν,

[ἧ ὁ μάντις κα]τὰ[σ]τρέφει τὸν βίον, θά-

1068 *Ed. pr.* Bartoletti 1957.

10 [πτουσι δὲ τὸν Τειρε]σίαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι

[παρὰ τῆ κρήνη---] καὶ τοῦ σή-

[ματος -----] δ[.]ον αὐτοῖς

1 οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ] Lloyd-Jones [-ξας τὰ τέκνα Salvadori 2 καὶ τὰς γυ-] Bartoletti [-βάσαντες Lloyd-Jones 3 φεύγουσι ἐ-]κ... δ[']άό-]κνωσ Vergados 4 παραγενό-] Salvadori 4-5 [-ῶ Διὶ] | [τοὺς ῥηθέν-] Vergados 5-6 [-ι'όρ-] | [γῆς γενόμ-] Vergados cf. δ[ιὰ τούτους] | [ὀργιζό]μενος Bartoletti *exempli gratia* 7 τῶ μάντει. οἱ δὲ] Vergados 8 ται ἐπὶ τῆ]ν Salvadori 9 [--- κα]τ[σ]τρέφει Maas [[ῆ ὁ μάντις...]] *suppl.* Vergados 10 [πτουσι δὲ τὸν Τειρε-] *fortasse* Vergados 11 [παρὰ τῆ κρήνη---] *fortasse* Vergados 12 [ματος ---] Bartoletti

“And they (*sc. the Thebans*) flee from the city, having led their children and wives onto the carriages. And he (*sc. Apollo*), without delay goes to Zeus and announces to him the words uttered (*sc. by Teiresias*); and Zeus, having been angered, inflicts on him (*sc. Teiresias*) forgetfulness. And they flee and arrive at the spring Telphousa, where Teiresias ends his life, and having died (*or: they bury him?*) [...] (*Teiresias*)’ grave?” (tr. A. Vergados).¹⁰⁶⁹

As far as his death is concerned, the available text does not allude to the act of drinking (which was hardly mentioned in the non-transmitted section); nevertheless, the papyrus (ll.

1069 The last reproduction of the papyrus (see a picture at Vergados 2013: 15) allows, from a palaeographic point of view, the reading suggested by Schachter (1994a: 39 n.3): if we accept that the first letter on l. 10 is an E, we might read θά- | [νοντος δ'αὐτοῦ μαντ]είαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι | [ἴδρυσαν ἐκεῖ ---] (ll. 9-11: “after his death, the Thebans founded an oracle there”, tr. S. Tufano). This integration, however, is not completely convincing: on the one hand, it is necessary to assume that, after a few lines, the name Teiresias is repeated for clarity (Vergados, l.10: Τειρε]σίαν); on the other hand, the aorist indicative ἴδρυσαν is admissible, but the rest of the text adopts a narrative in the present tense (l.4: ἀναγγέλλει; l.6: ἐμβάλλει; ll.7-8: ἀφικνοῦν[ται]; l.9: [κα]τ[σ]τρέφει). Vergados’ edition, moreover, is confirmed by Diodorus 4.67.1: Τειρεσίας μὲν ἐτελεύτησεν, ὃν θάψαντες λαμπρῶς οἱ Καδμεῖοι τιμαῖς ἰσοθέοις ἐτίμησαν, “Teiresias died and the Kadmeans, after splendidly burying him, worshipped him with godlike honours”, tr. S. Tufano.

5-6) adds the cause of Zeus' wrath. Zeus caused Teiresias' forgetfulness after Apollo brought his attention to the impious words uttered by the seer.

The loss of prophetic power is a common punishment of Zeus.¹⁰⁷⁰ The reason for this punishment was the disruptive action of Teiresias, according to Lloyd-Jones (1959: 113-4), who based his reconstruction on the narrative of Apollodoros (3.84). By advising his compatriots to flee, while working on a truce, the prophet hampered Zeus' plans of destruction:

“But as Tiresias told them to send a herald to treat with the Argives, and themselves to take to flight, they did send a herald to the enemy, and, mounting their children and women on the wagons, themselves fled from the city. When they had come by night to the spring called Tilphussa, Tiresias drank of it and expired” (tr. J. Frazer).¹⁰⁷¹

An alternative to this reconstruction was put forward on the basis of the aforementioned F 212 Most (=276 M. – W.) of the *Melampody*, where Teiresias disapproves of his longevity and speaks angrily to Zeus. According to Vergados (2013),¹⁰⁷² in the papyrus previously mentioned, Zeus was angered by the same thing depicted in the pseudo-Hesiodic *Melampody*, because Teiresias regretted the gift of prophecy, once granted to him to compensate for the blindness inflicted by Hera (*Melampody* F 212 Most = F 276 M. – W):

1070 Vergados 2013: 8.

1071 Apollod. 3.84: Τειρεσίου δὲ εἰπόντος αὐτοῖς πρὸς μὲν Ἀργείους κήρυκα περὶ διαλύσεως ἀποστέλλειν, αὐτοὺς δὲ φεύγειν, πρὸς μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους κήρυκα πέμπουσιν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀναβιβάσαντες ἐπὶ τὰς ἀπήνας τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἔφευγον. νύκτωρ δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν λεγομένην Τιλφοῦσαν κρήνην παραγενομένων αὐτῶν, Τειρεσίας ἀπὸ ταύτης πίων αὐτοῦ τὸν βίον κατέστρεψε.

1072 This scholar also investigates the nature of the text of the papyrus: this might come either from a literary commentary (Vergados 2013: 12-3) or from Philochoros' *Περὶ μαντικῆς*. We possess four fragments of this text (BNJ 328 FF 76-9): Philochoros touched on traditions from several different cities. Athenaeus, the source of Aristophanes' fragment on Teiresias, knew Philochoros' *Ἄτθις* quite well and also quotes from the *Περὶ μαντικῆς*. Since Costa (2007: 274-5) suggested that, rather than from lexicographical and erudite treatises, Athenaeus directly read a summary of the *Ἄτθις* (that by Asinius Pollio, dating to the end of the first century BCE), it is possible that Athenaeus knew both Pindar and Aristophanes through the *On divination* of Philochoros.

“Father Zeus, if only, if only a shorter period of life you had given to me, and to know in my spirit counsels similar to mortal human beings! But as it is you have not honored me even a little, you who established that I would have a long period of life and live as long as seven generations of speech-endowed human beings” (tr. G.W. Most).

Consequently, the *Melampody* may already have dealt with the death of Teiresias, since we have seen that this character was present in the poem, which not only spoke about Melampus. Forgetfulness was, in itself, a punishment given to Teiresias, but one that cost him his life in the end. If Apollodoros, as the author of the papyrus, follows the same tradition of the *Melampody*, we might think that Zeus chose to remove his special power in a moment when it would have been most helpful, i.e. to remind the seer to avoid drinking from the water of the Tilphossa spring.¹⁰⁷³ Despite the absence, therefore, of the final moments in the papyrus, this text helps us understand the causes of the event: Zeus is punishing Teiresias for his insolence and the real purpose of the forgetfulness is to prevent the prophet from foreseeing the lethal effect of the waters which Teiresias could not help but drink, being moved by thirst like any other traveller (so Pausanias 9.33.1: εἶχετο γὰρ δίψῃ).

Nothing explicitly confirms, therefore, that Aristophanes’ version reveals “a hint of rationalization” (Fowler 2013: 402), because the historian simply claims that Teiresias could not stand the frigid temperature of the spring, seeing as he was old (διὰ γῆρας). This does not explicitly exclude that Aristophanes accepted the version of a lethal forgetfulness. His peculiar stance on this tradition may have been the *further* addition of the mortal reason behind the death of Teiresias, which was properly caused by the obnubilation. Eustathius, finally, suggests a telling parallel with information from Ptolemy VIII’s *Memories* (BNJ 234 F 6 = Eust. *ad Il.* 22.156, p. 4.596,9-11), according to whom, in Corinth, there was a spring of water as cold as snow (cp. Athen. 2.18.43E). Despite the suggestion of many advisors, the king drank from it and survived –this was not the case for Teiresias at Tilphossa, who died because he forgot about the risks of drinking such cold water. The alleged rationalism of Aristophanes, therefore, might only be a detail in the

¹⁰⁷³ Fowler (2013: 402) also thinks that Zeus had Teiresias forget not to drink from the spring, but he does not explain why.

final section of a murder planned by Zeus. The tradition represents the vivacity of this local tradition in a moment quite distant from the circulation of the *Melampody*: local historiography could also refer to these mythical narratives and adapt them to its own standards, for instance, by explaining to the audience, in concrete terms, what a “mythical” forgetfulness might imply.

4.13. [Aristophanes] F 12

Previous editions: *BNJ* 737 F 1; *EGM* I F 9C; *FGrHist* 737 F 1 (Joseph. *Ap.* 1.215-7 [5.38.20 Niese] unde Euseb. *Praep. evang.* 9.42.2 p.458b [I 553,16 Mras]).

ἀρκοῦσι δὲ ὅμως εἰς τὴν ἀπόδειξιν τῆς ἀρχαιότητος αἱ τε Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Χαλδαίων καὶ Φοινίκων ἀναγραφαί, (216) πρὸς ἐκείναις τε τοσοῦτοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων συγγραφεῖς ἔτι δὲ πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις Θεόφιλος καὶ Θεόδοτος καὶ Μνασέας καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης καὶ Ἑρμογένης Εὐήμερός τε καὶ Κόνων καὶ Ζωπυρίων καὶ πολλοὶ τινες ἄλλοι τάχα, οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγε πᾶσιν ἐντετύχηκα τοῖς βιβλίοις, οὐ παρέργως ἡμῶν ἐμνημονέυκασιν. (217) οἱ πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων ἀνδρῶν τῆς μὲν ἀληθείας τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς πραγμάτων διήμαρτον, ὅτι μὴ ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἡμῶν βίβλοις ἐνέτυχον, κοινῶς μέντοι περὶ τῆς ἀρχαιότητος ἅπαντες μεμαρτυρήκασιν

1 Αἰγυπτίων] Σύρων Euseb. 3 ἔτι δὲ Euseb. ἔτι δὲ καὶ L *Theodorus* Joseph. interpr. Latina 4 Κόμων Euseb. *Cinun* Joseph. interpr. Latina 6 μεμνη- *fere* Euseb. *codd.*

“The Egyptian, Chaldaean, and Phoenician Chronicles are sufficient to prove the antiquity of the Jews. Besides, there are these Greek writers; apart from the aforementioned names, consider Theophilus, Theodotos, Mnaseas, Aristophanes, Hermogenes and Euhemerus; and Conon, Zopyrion, and many others, probably, mentioned us not incidentally, because I did not look through all the literature. Many of the aforementioned figures went quite astray from

the truth on our origins, for they did not read the Sacred Scripture: however, overall, they testify to our antiquity” (tr. S. Tufano).

4.13.1. Textual Transmission and Context

The *Against Apion* of Josephus Flavius is his last work and was written between 93/4 CE and the first years of Trajan (98-117).¹⁰⁷⁴ The first book aims at proving the antiquity of the Jews: after an introduction on the differences between Greek and Jewish historiography (6-56), Josephus demonstrates the antiquity of his nation by mentioning non-Jewish sources, i.e. Egyptian (73-105), Phoenicians (106-27), Chaldaeans (128-60), and Greek authors (161-214). These four groups confirm the long existence of the Jews independently from Jewish sacred scripts. The second book of the *Against Apion* is the apologetical part of the essay, which generally addresses a non-Jewish audience. This part assumes a reader interested in, and prone to, accepting the confutation of all the alleged offences and fake news, which, according to Josephus, were still so popular in ancient Jewish history.¹⁰⁷⁵

1074 For this date, see Barclay 2007: xxvi-iii, which I also follow for the present introduction to the *Contra Apionem*. His commentary completes, for the historical part, the previous works of Troiani (1977) on the entire essay and of Labow (2005) on the first book. The critical edition provided by Siegert (2008) has short notes on selected passages. In the absence of explicit hints from the author, we have doubts on the actual title of the essay. The commonly accepted *Contra Apionem* derives from the way in which the work is quoted by Hieronymus (*Ep.* 70.3; *De uir. ill.* 13) and by the Latin tradition, where the title is *De Iudaeorum vetustate sive contra Apionem*.

1075 On the original traits of this apology, which is actually a comparison of Jewish culture with the Classical one, see Momigliano 1931. The main issue with an inclusion of the *Contra Apionem* in apologetic literature is the ample section of the second book (145-286), where Josephus simply praises the Jewish laws and has an enthusiastic tone towards his own religion. This strong and almost prevailing *pars construens* might be due to the fact that this was the first unprecedented apology in this genre: as maintained by Barclay (2007: xxxiii-vi), Josephus' aim at an apology is all the more convincing insofar as his speech does not always keep a defensive strategy. The stress on the longevity of the Jews may actually depend on the much-appreciated correlation between the antiquity of a culture and the validity of its tradition, especially if we consider the importance of this motif in Imperial Stoicism (Boys-Stones 2001 *passim*; Barclay 2007: xliii; Aubert 2015 *ad BNJ* 737 F 1). Josephus' work draws on this atmosphere but combines this philosophical thought with proto-Imperial Judaism, because it rereads the Platonic tradition in a religious/Jewish way, as in the production of Philo of Alexandria: cp. Barclay 2007: lviii-lix, also on the important difference between Jewish philosophy and Classical authors on this topic.

For this passage of the *Contra Apionem* (1.215–7), we can avail ourselves of the direct tradition and of the indirect sources, i.e. of Eusebius' paraphrase in his *Praeparatio evangelica* (9.42.2),¹⁰⁷⁶ and of the Latin translation commissioned by Cassiodorus, known as the *interpretatio Latina*.¹⁰⁷⁷ This indirect source offers a variation for the name of one of the sources (*Theodorus*), which cannot be accepted, seeing as it is isolated, so that the unanimous Greek tradition cannot be doubted here.¹⁰⁷⁸

The fragment belongs to a transitional section, where Josephus is listing a series of Gentile witnesses on the antiquity of the Jews. On the one hand, there are the ἀναγραφαί of Egyptians, Chaldaeans, and Phoenicians. The Chronicles of these other Eastern populations confirm the solid written tradition of the Eastern sources against the later interest of the Greeks in the birth of a written historical reflection.¹⁰⁷⁹ On the other hand, there are Greek authors (τῶν Ἑλλήνων συγγραφεῖς),¹⁰⁸⁰ who should be reliable sources on the subject.

Since many of the listed names are extremely obscure, it is hard to accept that Josephus actually read all these names, despite the rich Roman libraries he had access to in the last couple decades of his life. In fact, his use of the verb ἐντυγχάνω, in this context, might be misleading, because it should not mean “to read”, as it does in Polybius (1.3.10), but more probably designates the action of “looking something up” in a series of texts, i.e. research

1076 The ninth book of the *Praeparatio* is devoted to the ancient history of the Jews and shows a good knowledge, if second-hand, of Jewish-Hellenistic literature; on the sources and the features of this book, see e.g. Zamagni 2010.

1077 The *interpretatio Latina* is fundamental for a section of the second book (52–113), which is not transmitted in Greek. Here all the manuscripts share a lacuna, which does not depend on the tradition (Siegert 2008 II: 72; *ibid.* 71–2 on the limits of the edition of the *interpretatio Latina* by Boysen 1898, which is still the only one available).

1078 The name Θεόδοτος is rarer, whereas there were many more Theodoruses, who probably influenced the translation (on this figure, see *infra*). The main critical edition of the Greek text is provided by Siegert (2008) and overcame the previous one of Niese (1889ab) because it reconsidered two direct witnesses of the text, manuscripts E (=Eliensis Cant. LI IV 12, XV c.) and S (=Schleusingensis gr. 1, XV–XVI cc.), that belong to a different branch from the one used by Niese, L (=Laur. 69,22). Another reason for profiting from a renewed attention to the text is the fact that we now have a better edition of Eusebius, the main secondary source on the text (Mras 1954), even if, in general, the current fragment does not present relevant textual problems.

1079 Cp. Barclay 2007: xxix on the transitional character of *Ap.* 1.215–7. See Magnetto 2007: 44 for this use of ἀναγραφή in Josephus and Porciani 2001a: 23–5 on the polemical tone of Josephus towards Greek historiography.

1080 Josephus' use of συγγραφεύς is quite generic, because the noun can also be applied to poets (1.172; cp. Barclay 2007: 95 n.529).

for a specific reference. A more drastic view¹⁰⁸¹ has Josephus derive the entire list from two authors, whom he certainly read, Alexander Polyhistor (110/5–40 BCE), a polygrapher who lived in the first century BCE, and Nicolaus of Damascus (64 – *post* 4 BCE), a versatile learned Jew, who engaged in history and philosophy.¹⁰⁸²

This interpretation, however, might be excessive, because the lithotes οὐ παρέργως, “not cursorily”, may simply indicate the tendency to overinterpret texts and may not immediately refer to the Jews.¹⁰⁸³ We need not assume that all the names of this list were as obscure to a reader or a scholar of the early second century CE as they are to a contemporary one. The majority of them seem to have lived in the Hellenistic period, generally later than Theophrastos, who is the first Greek writer, of whom we know, to mention the Jews in his work.¹⁰⁸⁴ After him, it is completely possible that other scholars followed him on this or in mentioning other Semitic populations, which were considered assimilable or close to the Jews. The *Zitatennest*, in itself “a familiar feature of the scholiastic genre”, has both the function of impressing the reader with a meaningful number of sources, and confirming the authorial persona of a learned scholar, Josephus, obsessed with the necessity to support his argument.¹⁰⁸⁵

4.13.2. The Other Authors

The inclusion of this fragment in the *corpus* of Aristophanes of Boiotia represents a debated issue. The current approach is almost unanimous on its refusal: Fowler (2000, *EGM* I) places it among the *dubia* of Aristophanes, but the more common view is that the Aristophanes mentioned here by Josephus is the grammarian of Byzantium, who lived in

1081 Barclay 2007: 122 n.730.

1082 On Alexander’s rich production see Blakely 2015 *ad BNJ* 273. The Greek fragments of Nicolaus of Damascus (*FGrHist* 90) are now edited and commented on by Parmentier – Barone 2011, who discuss his *Histories*, the *Life of Augustus*, the *Collection of Costumes* and the *Autobiography*; see *ibid.* xx–xxi on his philosophical production (*On Plants*, *On the Gods*, *On Beauty in Practical Life*, a *Comment on Aristotle*, and other titles), which is mostly transmitted in Syriac. We do not possess anything of the tragedies and the comedies, which a witness assigns to him (*FGrHist* 90 F 132).

1083 Cp. Barclay (2007: 123 n.741).

1084 Cp. Stern 1976: 8–17; Bar-Kochva 2010: 15–39.

1085 Quote from Fowler 2017: 160. Cp. Labow 2005: 217; Barclay 2007: 122 n.731.

the third century BCE.¹⁰⁸⁶ It is definitely excluded, but not completely unreasonable as is sometimes repeated, that, through intermediate sources, Josephus might be referring to the comic poet of the fifth century BCE.¹⁰⁸⁷ However, since Josephus does not mention any other Aristophanes in his work, Fowler’s inclusion of the fragment among the *dubia* must be considered in order to see how plausible it is and whether the almost certain mention of the Phoenician Kadmos in the *Boiotian Histories* of Aristophanes – and, then, of his homeland? – may represent evidence supporting the assignment of the fragment to the local historian.

Θεόφιλος: Theophilus is mentioned among the sources of the *Περὶ Ἰουδαίων* of Alexander Polyhistor, who lived in the first century BCE.¹⁰⁸⁸ According to Eusebius, Alexander quoted Eupolemos (*BNJ* 723 F 2b), a Jewish historian of the middle second century BCE: it was this Eupolemos who used Theophilus (*BNJ* 733 F 1) in the first place, in an excursus on a gift of the king Salomon to the Tyrian king Hiram.

We then have a complex system of secondary sources (Theophilus > Eupolemos > Alexander Polyhistor > Eusebius): on this basis Mendels (1987) inferred that Theophilus lived in the early second century BCE, now generally accepted. The Theophilus read by Eupolemos may be the same historian of our fragment, even if we lack further evidence on his works or identity.¹⁰⁸⁹ Any possible hypothesis on his origin is limited by the extremely weak evidence.

1086 Müller 1877: 181; Stern 1976: 91; Troiani 1977: 122; Schreckenberg 1996: 56; Barclay 2007: 123 n.735; Siegert 2008 II: 90-1; Aubert 2015 *ad BNJ* 737 F 1.

1087 For a recent reconsideration of this hypothesis, see Siegert 2008 II: 90-1 and n.1. The idea is quite strained and derives from the association, once put forward by Latzarus (1920: 171 and n.1), of the obscure βερέσχεθοι of *Eq.* 635 and the Hebrew *incipit* of the *Genesis* (בראשית, *bʾr šīt*, “in the beginning”). A scholiast to Aristophanes, in fact, connected the demons of the *Knights* to an errant population that walks in the desert (cp. *Suda* β 244, *s.v.* βερέσχεθοι, and Austin, *CGFP* 343,45: it is probably a neologism by Aristophanes, according to Kanavou 2011: 64). Nonetheless, a simpler link with the poet may let us consider it as a mockery, uttered by Aristophanes in the *Birds* (465-9), of Egyptian and Phoenician circumcision. The most important argument against this is that Josephus does not quote the poet Aristophanes elsewhere.

1088 Alexander Polyhistor, *BNJ* 273 F 19a = Euseb. *Praep. evang.* 9.17.1-40.1.

1089 Stern 1976: 126-7; Aubert 2015 *ad BNJ* 733 T 1.

Θεόδοτος: We do not know whether the Phoenician historian Theodotos can be identified with the epical poet Theodotos of Jewish origins (maybe a Samaritan),¹⁰⁹⁰ who was read by Alexander Polyhistor (*BNJ* 273 F 19a). This poet wrote a poem, *Περί Ιουδαίων*, of which we can read relatively long excerpts. The identification of the historian with the poet should not surprise us, if we think of the examples of local poets and historians like Nikander of Kolophon (*BNJ* 271–2) and Theolytos of Methymna (*BNJ* 478). In the present context, however, we can only be sure that the poet Theodotos lived before Alexander Polyhistor. Furthermore, it was argued that Theodotos treated the fortification walls of Schechem in a way that might date him to any moment from the beginning of the second century BCE to a century and a half later.¹⁰⁹¹

Μνασέας: Mnaseas of Patara is probably the best-known figure in this list, before the mention of Euehemerus. In the voice of the *Suda* on Eratosthenes, we learn that Mnaseas was Eratosthenes' pupil, but not his most distinguished one (at least, not as distinguished as Aristophanes of Byzantium).¹⁰⁹² On the basis of the alleged date of the death of Eratosthenes, we can infer that Mnaseas was active in the Lycian city of Patara around 200 BCE.¹⁰⁹³ He wrote a *Collection of Oracles* and a geographical work, probably organized around settlements, in three sections (Asia, Europa, Libya), transmitted with the general title *Periplus*. This work certainly dealt with the Jews, as is confirmed by the story of an alleged golden head of an ass in the Temple in Jerusalem, quoted by Josephus (*Ap.* 2.112–4). When Josephus quotes Mnaseas, however, it is likely that he either knew him through Nicolaus of Damascus, who was used by Josephus for a series of parallel episodes on the universal deluge in non-Jewish writings (*AJ* 1.93–5; F 72 Parmentier – Barone), or through Apion, as in the aforementioned story of the golden head (*Ap.* 2.112–4).

1090 Phoenician historian (date unknown): *BNJ* 732 T 2 = Tatianus, *Ad Gr.* 37. As a matter of fact, the position of the poet Theodotos towards the Jews is a controversial topic (Holladay 1989: 58–68); his belonging to “Jewish-Hellenistic” literature must be understood for the features of his work.

1091 Excerpts of the *Περί Ιουδαίων*: *BNJ* 732 F 1; *Suppl. Hell.* 757–64. Observations on the treatment of the walls of Schechem: Schroeder 2010. Barclay (2007: 122–3 n.733) can only base his preference for the poet on the derivation that Alexander Polyhistor, deemed a source for Theodotos, is also used in this case. Siegert (2008 II: 90) claims that “nach einem griechischen Autor dieses Namens zu suchen, wäre vergebliche Mühe.”

1092 *Suda* ε 2898, s.v. Ἐρατοσθένης.

1093 Cappelletto 2003: 13–6.

The loss of the work of Mnaseas seems to have been quite early,¹⁰⁹⁴ and it is likely that Apion, in the first century CE, only knew it through the intermediate sources that he was reading that had an anti-Jewish agenda. It would be circular reasoning if we considered Nicolaus as the source on Mnaseas, because, among the sources mentioned after Josephus, another two names may have talked about the deluge.¹⁰⁹⁵ Besides, we infer from the whole *Contra Apionem* that Josephus knew quite well the production of the grammarian Apion and the name of Mnaseas, especially for the infamous tone of his narrative, which must have been a reassuring and safe witness on the antiquity of the Jews.

Ερμολογένης: Müller (1877: 181) first suggested that this Hermogenes, on whom we do not know anything, was the same author of a *Phrygian History* (BNJ 795 F 2). Since this other Hermogenes mentioned a Phrygian version of the deluge, such identification may be accepted.¹⁰⁹⁶ This suggestion is actually more likely than the eventual alternative that the Hermogenes mentioned by Josephus was the same Hermogenes of Tarsos, the Elder mentioned by Suetonius. In the *Life of Domitian* (10), we learn of a Hermogenes who was executed *propter quasdam in historia figuras*. It would be hard to imagine that a recently deceased person could attain such a relevant place in a list that was likely of a derivative nature, when Josephus was writing his *Against Apion*.¹⁰⁹⁷

Εὐήμερος: Doubts on the identification of this figure with Euhemerus of Messene (BNJ 63) seem unfounded. We can accept the identification with the author of the *Sacred Scripture*,

1094 See Douglas Olson 2005.

1095 Barclay 2007: 123 n.734.

1096 Cp. Labow 2005: 218 n.6; Jenkins 2009a; Aubert 2015 *ad* BNJ 737 F 1. I agree with Aubert on the slim possibility that this Hermogenes may be identified with other namesakes, because one (BNJ 481) wrote on architecture and is basically only known through Vitruvius (Stronk 2007); another Hermogenes, more famous as a rhetor, wrote an interesting *Περὶ Κοίλης Συρίας* (BNJ 851 T 1, the ascription has been doubted), but he lived between the second and the third century CE (Jenkins 2009b); Hermogenes of Smyrna (BNJ 579) wrote extensively on local history and on numerous subjects, despite his greater fame as a physician, but is slightly later than Josephus (Budiga 2010).

1097 Hermogenes of Tarsos the Elder: *PIR*² H 147. It seems that the execution of Hermogenes occurred after Domitian's reign, in Syme's words, "began to take an evil turn" (Syme 1980: 107): this was after 89 CE and, together with the general place of Hermogenes in this list, makes the identification with the Greek scholar of the first century extremely unlikely.

who presented a rationalizing, humanized vision of the Greek gods.¹⁰⁹⁸ The great popularity of Euhemerus, confirmed in Rome by Ennius' *Euhemerus*, signals and isolates him among this group of authors: this may also be the reason for its place at the beginning of the second subset of names, among which he is the best known. We have 30 fragments and it is certain that Euhemerus was known by Callimachus and operated for Kassandros.¹⁰⁹⁹ The date would put Euhemerus among the earliest Greek sources to confirm the antiquity of the Jews. However, we must consider the possibility that this author may also be mentioned because his Panchoans are very close to the Panchaia of Hekataios of Abdera (late fourth century BCE).¹¹⁰⁰

Κόνων: Conon (*BNJ* 26) lived under Augustus and wrote *Narrations*. It has been suggested that this Conon, quoted by Josephus, is another Conon, who wrote on Italy (*BNJ* 26 F 3) and, probably, on Herakles (*BNJ* 26 F 2). However, it is not impossible (and actually, in line with the varied production of these learned figures) that it was one and the same author who wrote the *Narrations* and these other works.¹¹⁰¹ In any case, the contemporaneity with Nicolaus of Damascus hinders the possibility that Nicolaus quoted Conon in a list accurately copied by Josephus (if it is possible that the link with Jewish history came via the narration of the deluge [*BNJ* 26 F 1 *narr.* 27],¹¹⁰² also attested for Hermogenes [*BNJ* 795 F 2]). Alternatively, we can ponder that there was a reference to a tradition, also recalled by Tacitus (*Hist.* 5.1.2), whereby the Jews came from Aethiopia and descended from Andromeda, a prisoner in Joppa (Tel Aviv); the mythical memory around

1098 Doubts: Troiani 1977: 122; Barclay 2007: 123 n.737. Identification: Aubert 2015 *ad BNJ* 737 F 1. On Euhemerus' fragments, see the commentary by Christesen (2014) and the work by Winiarczyk (2013; the same author edited the text (Winiarczyk 1991), currently followed by the *BNJ*).

1099 *BNJ* 63 T4a; Callim. *Ia.* 1.9-11; *BNJ* 63 T 1.

1100 Euhemerus, *BNJ* 63 T 4e. Hekataios, *BNJ* 264 FF 7a and 21. Cp. Lang 2012 *ad BNJ* 264 F 8 on the difficult issue of whether Hekataios was inspired by Euhemerus, or vice versa.

1101 Two Conons: Stern 1976: 350; Troiani 1977: 122-3. Same author: Blakely 2011a. Jacoby (1923a: 499) had a more varied opinion: in his view, the author of the *Narrations* was the same rhetor mentioned by Dio Chrysostomus (*Or.* 18.12); on the other hand, Jacoby thought that there could be more than two authors for the ἱταλικά "und die in verschiedener weise zweifelhaften bücher über Herakles und die Juden."

1102 See Barclay 2007: 123 n.738, for the possibility that Josephus quotes from the mythographer and not from the historiographer.

the site of Joppa might then suffice as evidence for seeing Conon as a witness to the antiquity of the Jewish people.¹¹⁰³

Zωπυρίων: Despite unjustified skepticism, this name is not completely obscure to us:¹¹⁰⁴ Müller (*FHG* IV 531), and Stern (1976: 450,) in fact, point to a lemma of the *Suda* on the grammarian Pamphilos (π 142, *s.v.* Πάμφιλος), a scholar who lived in the first century CE and wrote a lexicographical work *Περὶ γλωσσῶν ἤτοι λέξεων*. The first part of this accomplishment was allegedly written, from alpha to delta, by Zopyrion, who may be the same grammarian mentioned by Plutarch.¹¹⁰⁵

There may be a relationship between this Zopyrion and a Zopyros who wrote on Cilicia and is quoted by Alexander Polyhistor (*BNJ* 273 F 29), but this suggestion is not endorsed by the vague knowledge we have of Zopyros (*BNJ* 336; 494). These two Zopyros wrote on Theseus as well as geographical works; besides, we know that the name was extremely popular, and it would thus be improper to reduce all the witnesses to a single historian.¹¹⁰⁶ It is therefore better to accept general ignorance on this character, on whom we know only of a possible connection with Pamphilos, which makes him one of the most recent names of the list.

1103 Conon, *BNJ* 26 F 1 *narr.* 40. For this link with the setting of the myth of Andromedas at Joppa/Jaffa (contemporary Tel Aviv), see Stern (1976: 353), who considers Conon the mythographer a figure distinct from the historian Conon, the one implied by Joseph. *Ap.* 1.216. The setting in Judaea of Andromedas' exposition, when the woman is the daughter of Cepheus, king of the Aethiops, was a Hellenistic innovation (Heubner – Fauth 1982: 25); more commonly, the myth takes place in Aethiopia, and it is subsumed in this traditional way, probably through Conon, by Tacitus, when he reports the theory of the Aethiopian origin of the Jews (*Hist.* 5.1.2).

1104 Labow 2005: 218 n.9; Barclay 2007: 123 n.739.

1105 Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 9.3.3, 738F; 4.1.739B. For this identification, cp. also Aubert 2015 *ad BNJ* 737 F 1. Diogenianus later abridged the glossary, under Hadrian: *Suda* δ 1140, *s.v.* Διογενειανός. The *Lexicon* of Pamphilos and Zopyrion was the first volume with an alphabetical organization. Unfortunately, we only have some information on Pamphilos, whereas scholars generally see Zopyrion as a “a shadowy character” (Matthaios 2015: 288).

1106 Relationship: Fowler 2013: 605. Cp. the skepticism of Jacoby 1955a: 82-3.

4.13.3. Aristophanes of Byzantium

Josephus' list has two sections: the first one includes Theophilos, Theodotos, Mnaseas, Aristophanes, and Hermogenes (Θεόφιλος καὶ Θεόδοτος καὶ Μνασέας καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης καὶ Ἑρμογένης); the second one goes from Euhemeros to Zopyrion (Εὐήμερός τε καὶ Κόνων καὶ Ζωπυρίων). Even if the discrepancy between these two sublists may only be a subtle example of *variatio* to relieve the reading of eight names, Josephus' knowledge of the Greek, at the end of his career,¹¹⁰⁷ invites us to use some prudence and consider whether the conjunctions may not betray a different origin for the two lists.

On the one hand, there are two Hellenized Jews (Theophilos and Theodotos), followed by a pupil of Eratosthenes, Manseas, and another possible pupil of the same figure, Aristophanes of Byzantium (if we accept the identification with the grammarian): finally, we have Hermogenes, on whom we know almost nothing, but who is probably of the third century BCE, if we exclude the later namesakes. Consequently, we are faced with four figures, whom Alexander Polyhistor may possibly know and mention in the first century BCE, and already configure into a coherent ensemble, as there are two distinct and parallel subgroups: Hellenized Jews and Eratosthenes' pupils, characterized by a vehement anti-Jewish stance.

On the other hand, there are authors who lived from the end of the fourth century BCE (Euehemeros) to the first half of the first century CE (the most likely chronological span for Zopyrion, probably known to Josephus for his observations on the Jews quoted by Apion). This second list matches names that are profoundly different, among themselves, and we cannot exclude that he either knew them directly or, if we think of Zopyrion, through Apion. We must take into serious consideration the option that, after having used Alexander Polyhistor for the first names, Josephus might have added other names from his own background while looking for a high number of *auctoritates* to impress his reader.¹¹⁰⁸ With these three names, the superficial link between Jewish history and their original

1107 Van der Horst 1996.

1108 Our ignorance of the direct text of all the eight mentioned names, in fact, should not mean that Josephus was already not in a position to read longer parts of their works. In his *Against Apion*, Josephus shows an awareness of previous scholarship, which cannot all be derivative (Barclay 2007: xxiv).

writings, such as the case of Euhemeros, may confirm a certain insouciance by Josephus in his quest for “objective” witnesses for his main argument.

The presence of the first Aristophanes immediately after Mnaseas in the first sublist, and the provenance of this section from Alexander, make an ascription to the historian not very likely. If ever, moreover, Josephus could find a mention of Kadmos or of the Gephyreans as proof of the antiquity of the Jews, the evidence of a minor local historian would probably be superseded by plenty of other sources. Since Josephus tends to force the evidence, in some instances, to refer to the Jewish sources which were meant to describe other nations, it would be specious to infer in which work Aristophanes of Byzantium, a prolific grammarian, was possibly mentioning that piece of information. Therefore, the context seems to confirm the position of the fragment in the production of the grammarian, where it should have a higher status than *dubia*.