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Bodily Arts
Rhetoric and Athletics in Ancient Greece
By Debra Hawhee

The role of athletics in ancient Greece extended well beyond the realms of kinesiology, competition, and entertainment. In teaching and philosophy, athletic practices overlapped with rhetorical ones and formed a shared mode of knowledge production. *Bodily Arts* examines this intriguing intersection, offering an important context for understanding the attitudes of ancient Greeks toward themselves and their environment. In classical society, rhetoric was an activity, one that was in essence "performed." Detailing how athletics came to be rhetoric's "twin art" in the bodily aspects of learning and performance, *Bodily Arts* draws on diverse orators and philosophers such as Isocrates, Demosthenes, and Plato, as well as medical treatises and a wealth of artifacts from the time, including statues and vases.

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HISTORY: CLASSICS, MYTHOLOGY

IN ANCIENT GREECE, interstate relations, such as in the formation of alliances, calls for assistance, exchanges of citizenship, and territorial conquest, were often grounded in mythical kinship. In these cases, the common ancestor was most often a legendary figure from whom both communities claimed descent.

In this detailed study, Lee E. Patterson elevates the current state of research on kinship myth to a consideration of the role it plays in the construction of political and cultural identity. He draws examples both from the literary and epigraphical records and shows the fundamental difference between the two. He also expands his study into the question of Greek credulity—how much of these founding myths did they actually believe, and how much was just a useful fiction for diplomatic relations? Of central importance is the authority the Greeks gave to myth, whether to elaborate narratives or to a simple acknowledgment of an ancestor. Most Greeks could readily accept ties of interstate kinship even when local origin narratives could not be reconciled smoothly or when myths used to explain the link between communities were only "discovered" upon the actual occasion of diplomacy, because such claims had been given authority in the collective memory of the Greeks.

This study enriches the dialogue on how societies often use myth to construct political, social, and cultural identity—hardly unique to the ancient Greeks, it is rather a human phenomenon for a culture to embrace an identity grounded in a putative ancestry that is expressed in the traditional stories of that culture.

LEE E. PATTERSON is Assistant Professor of History at Eastern Illinois University, where he teaches Greek, Roman, Near Eastern, and world history. He has published articles on Strabo, Pausanias, Alcman, and the Roman Near East.

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PATTERSON

KINSHIP MYTH IN ANCIENT GREECE

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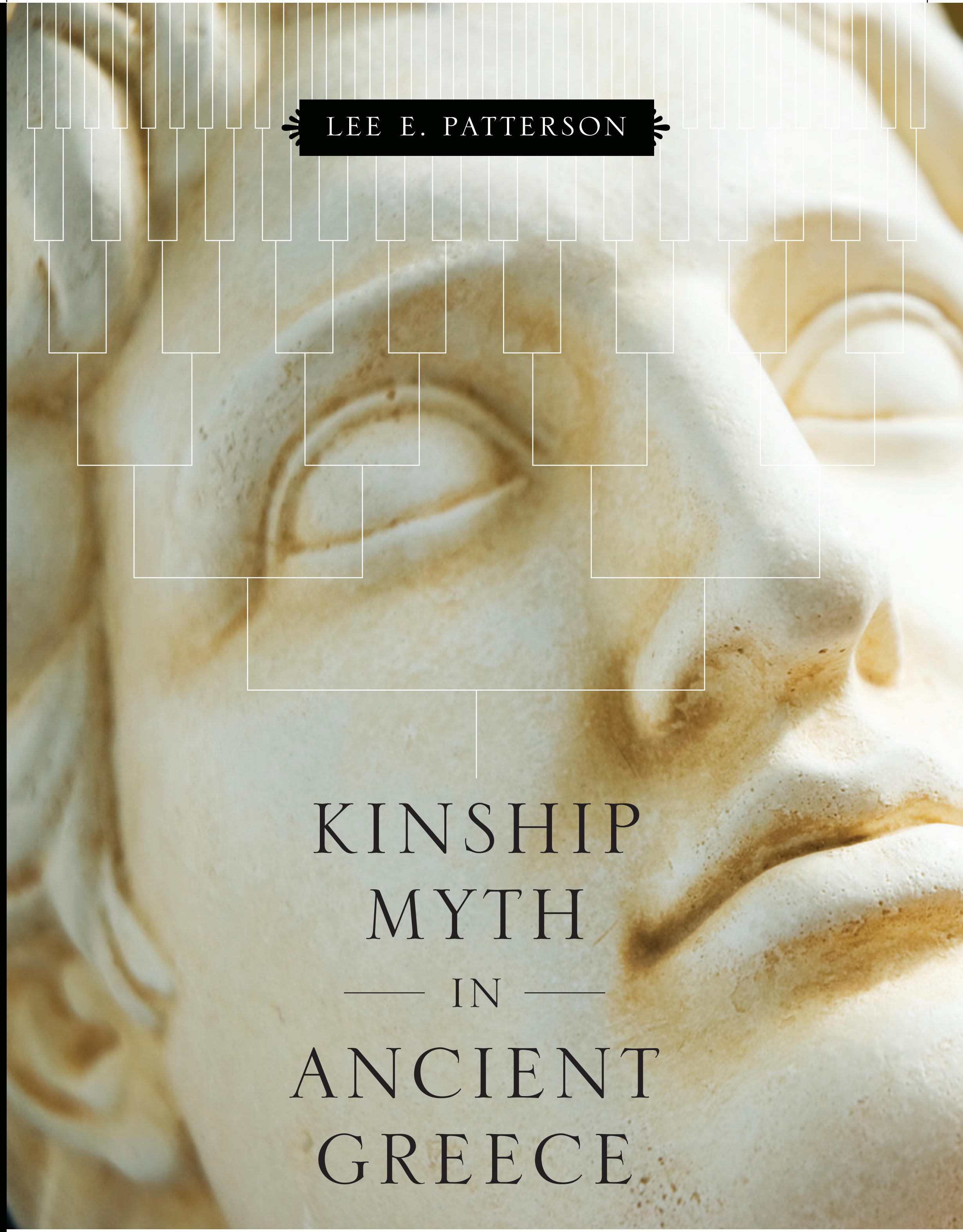

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KINSHIP MYTH IN ANCIENT GREECE

LEE E. PATTERSON

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For my father,
Stanley Mac Patterson,
and in loving memory of my mother,
Vanessa Leigh Patterson

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ABBREVIATIONS

AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
AJAH	*American Journal of Ancient History*
AJP	*American Journal of Philology*
AncW	*Ancient World*
Bernabé	*Poetarum Epicorum Graecorum,* ed. A. Bernabé
CA	*Classical Antiquity*
CJ	*Classical Journal*
CP	*Classical Philology*
CQ	*Classical Quarterly*
DK	*Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker,* eds. H. Diels and W. Kranz
Erbse	*Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem (scholia vetera),* ed. Hartmut Erbse
FGrH	*Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker,* ed. F. Jacoby
G&R	*Greece and Rome*
GHI	*Greek Historical Inscriptions,* eds. Meiggs and Lewis
GRBS	*Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies*
IC	*Inscriptiones Creticae*
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae*
I.v. Magnesia	*Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander,* ed. O. Kern
I.v. Pergamon	*Die Inschriften von Pergamon* (*Altertümer von Pergamon* Vol. 8), ed. M. Fränkel
I.v. Priene	*Die Inschriften von Priene,* ed. C. Fredrich
JCH	*Journal of Contemporary History*
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JSemStud	*Journal of Semitic Studies*
LIMC	*Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*

MDAI	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*
MH	*Museum Helveticum*
MW	*Fragmenta Hesiodea,* eds. R. Merkelbach and M. L. West
Nauck	*Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta,* ed. A. Nauck
PAPhS	*Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*
PCPhS	*Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*
P&P	*Past & Present: A Journal of Historical Studies*
POxy	*Oxyrhynchus Papyri*
RA	*Revue Archéologique*
Radt	*Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta,* ed. Stefan Radt
RE	*Pauly-Wissowa, Realencyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenshaft*
REG	*Revue des Études Grecques*
RPh	*Revue de Philologie*
Rose	*Aristotelis Fragmenta,* ed. V. Rose.
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*
SIG^3	*Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum,* ed. Guilelmus Dittenberger
StV	*Die Staatsverträge des Altertums,* ed. C. H. Beck
TAM	*Tituli Asiae Minoris*
TAPA	*Transactions of the American Philological Association*
TRHS	*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*
West	*Iambi et Elegi ante Alexandrum Cantati,* ed. M. L. West
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

NOTE ON TRANSLATIONS AND TRANSLITERATIONS

In general, Greek names have been rendered in their more familiar Latinized form to ease their recognition. Terms such as *sungeneia* are transliterated unless part of a quotation from an original source. Translations of the Greek quotations, and in one case Latin, are mine unless otherwise indicated.

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This book is both a beginning and an end. While the end of a long labor, I also hope that it will be the beginning of a new stage in the dialogue on how societies often use myth to construct political, social, and cultural identity. Of interest here is how and why a pair of Greek states (or leagues or kings) would cite a common ancestor, usually a legendary figure, as support or justification for their diplomatic activity. Of central importance is the authority they gave to myth, whether it was an elaborate narrative or a simple acknowledgment of an ancestor. These stories of foundations were taken seriously and accorded the respect demanded of traditions that expressed a community's identity. But even a study limited to putative consanguinity in ancient Greek diplomacy ultimately connects to larger issues involving ethnicity, constructions of memory, perceptions of foreigners, hero cult, and so on. I was less aware of these implications when embarking on this journey many years ago as I began investigating kinship myth for my Masters thesis at the University of Mississippi and later for my dissertation at the University of Missouri. This study has taken enormous strides since then by having a larger scope than that of kinship diplomacy itself and by showing, especially in the first chapter, that in fact kinship myth is a *human* phenomenon, hardly unique to the ancient Greeks.

Given the length of this journey, I am inadequate to the task of properly acknowledging everyone whose contributions made this final product possible, and apologies are submitted for undue omissions. But the debts are many, and they begin with Robert Moysey, who supervised that Masters thesis all those years ago and sent me on my way. The research at that early stage also made great advances thanks to the sage suggestions of David Driscoll. I owe immeasurable thanks to the members of my dissertation committee: Charles Saylor; David Schenker; Barbara Wallach; Ian Worthington; and, with gratitude beyond words, the late Eugene Lane, who was my director. At the various institutions that employed me, I was fortunate to receive advice, information, and encouragement from many friends and colleagues, including

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My thanks also to the University of Texas Press, in particular Jim Burr, Victoria Davis, and the anonymous referees, for helping to prepare the manuscript and improve its content. I am especially indebted to Nancy Moore, a copyeditor with an almost preternatural eye for detail. Also thanks to Don Larson at Mapping Specialists, Ltd., for the maps in this book. Composition and research took place in many venues, and I wish to acknowledge especially the generosity of the Center for Hellenic Studies in Washington, DC, for granting me access to its library during the final stages of revision. I took great joy in incorporating kinship myth into some of my mythology classes, and my students both put up with me and inspired me. The Classics students at UC Davis even invited me to give a talk, which I enjoyed tremendously. Indeed, while I hope for broad appeal, I especially had undergraduates in mind as a target audience.

Finally, my deepest gratitude to my wife Teresa, whose love and patience got me through all those years of living our lives, with our myriad ups and downs, while the book unhurriedly moved toward finality, and to my parents, who instilled in me a love of knowledge and a curiosity about the world that made this book possible.

Lee E. Patterson
Eastern Illinois University
July 2009

KINSHIP MYTH IN ANCIENT GREECE

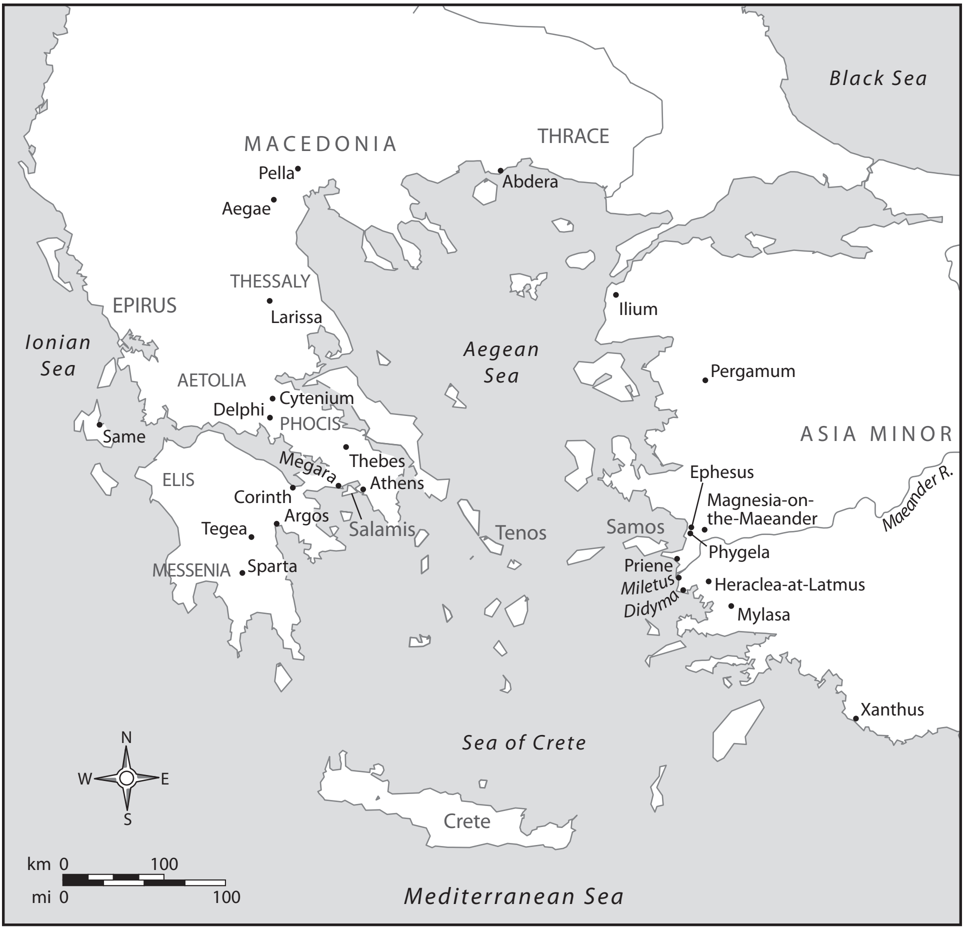
ONE

KINSHIP AND CONSTRUCTED IDENTITIES

KINSHIP MYTH AND CREDULITY

In 221 BCE, the city of Magnesia on the river Maeander in Asia Minor made its first attempt to enhance the prestige of its festival for its *archēgetis,* a sort of patron goddess and founder, Artemis Leucophryene. Earlier the Magnesians had consulted the oracle at Delphi to inquire about the meaning of a manifestation of Artemis in their city. Apollo, speaking through the oracle, required the Magnesians to honor him and Artemis and suggested that the Greeks should treat Magnesian territory as "sacred and inviolable" (ἱερὰν καὶ ἄσυλον). The Magnesians decided that they should hold games with stephanitic prizes in her honor to fulfill this obligation.[1] However, they apparently did an inadequate job advertizing the oracle and may have limited the scope of their invitations to Greek cities closer to them in Asia Minor, so that when the Magnesians sent out announcements of the games and calls for the city's consequent inviolability, the festival attracted little attention. This must have been a severe disappointment to the Magnesians, whose hope was for their games to achieve "isopythic" status, that is, equal in prestige to the Pythian Games at Delphi itself, enhancing their standing among the city-states of the hellenistic world, with special attention to nearby rivals Miletus, Ephesus, and Didyma. So, in 208, Magnesia tried again with much greater expenditure and resources, sending embassies to cities and kings across the Greek world. This time, as we know from dozens of documents originally inscribed on the walls of the agora and that now reside in the Pergamon Museum in Berlin, the embassies were much more successful. The documents are essentially the responses of those states and kings who acknowledged the sanctity of the festival and the inviolability, or *asylia,* of Magnesia.[2]

The Magnesians used a wide variety of arguments to justify the recognition of their *asylia,* including a claim of kinship with several states. The link was based on a shared ancestor who, certainly in one case, was mythical: Aeolus,


Black Sea
MACEDONIA
THRACE
Pella
Abdera
Aegae
THESSALY
EPIRUS
Ilium
Larissa
Ionian Sea
Aegean Sea
AETOLIA
Pergamum
Cytenium
Delphi
PHOCIS
Same
ASIA MINOR
Thebes
Megara
Ephesus
ELIS
Athens
Corinth
Magnesia-on-the-Maeander
Maeander R.
Argos
Salamis
Tegea
Tenos
Samos
Phygela
Priene
MESSENIA
Sparta
Miletus
Heraclea-at-Latmus
Didyma
Mylasa
Xanthus
N
W
E
S
Sea of Crete
Crete
km 0 100
mi 0 100
Mediterranean Sea

MAP 1.1.
The Greek World

from whom were descended the respective founders of Magnesia and of Same on Cephallenia. The response of the Samaeans indicates that they agreed with the Magnesians that their respective charter myths, though independent of each other, both referred to Aeolus as the father or grandfather of the city founder and that, on this basis, they could respect the inviolability of a kindred people.[3] Two of Aeolus' sons were Magnes, the eponymous founder of Magnesia-on-the-Maeander, and Deion, father of Cephalus, the eponym of Cephallenia.[4]

The inscription that records the Samaeans' response clearly spells out this genealogy and so gives us direct evidence of a belief in myth as history and of the embrace of myth as a tool for political gain. This may seem like an odd way to conduct business, but it was quite common in ancient Greece. Aeolus and his immediate family were not as famous as the more flamboyant Heracles; there is not much personality in the scant accounts of these figures. But as eponymous ancestors, they served a very useful function in some Greeks' construction and articulation of their identity and place in the modern political landscape — "modern" meaning the sixth to the second centuries BCE, the range of the evidence we shall consider. To us, these figures never existed, but the Greeks embraced them as earnestly as they did Pericles or Alexander the Great.

Alexander, larger than life and almost quasi-legendary himself, employed myth in the same way that the Magnesians and Samaeans would later. While many people found his insistence on his own divinity rather odd,[5] some of his humbler claims were easier to swallow, including descent from Heracles on his father's side and Achilles on his mother's. After all, these latter claims were based on traditions that predated him.[6] This conceptual contrivance allowed Alexander to justify his lordship over the Thessalians and, after "liberating" Asia Minor from the Persians, his replacement of the Persians as the new master of such places as Aspendus and Mallus.

The cases introduced above involve the use of myth in diplomatic contexts, especially myths of identity. This book seeks to answer the question of why the Greeks offered myths as facilitators of political action, specifically in the context of interstate relations, starting with a description of the circumstances of the diplomacy itself, the myths involved (or most likely involved), and reactions to these uses of myth. My hope is that this study will appeal to a wide audience, while at the same time offering something useful to those who specialize in ancient history or mythology and who will no doubt find much that is familiar, for the implications of this study can be applied in a context far beyond the Greek world. What the Greeks did with their myths was hardly a uniquely hellenic phenomenon; rather, it is a very human thing for a culture to embrace an identity grounded in a putative ancestry that is expressed in the traditional stories of that culture. Jonathan Hall, Anthony Smith, Patrick Geary and others have shown how "myth," if defined broadly enough, is commonly used to create ethnic, national, and other cultural identities, as we shall see presently.

Their studies have also shown in varying ways that we often embrace fictions, and thus deny them to be fictions, despite the evidence put forward by those who apply a more clinical skepticism to the traditions embraced by the majority, a problem of central importance to the study of kinship myth in the ancient Greek world. One might well complain, for example, about the political efficacy of myth when looking closely at the actual pedigree linking Alexander to Heracles through the Argead royal house in Macedonia (as we shall do in a later chapter). There are problems with some of the details, or rather lack of details. The pedigree has shadowy intermediaries, including Temenus and Caranus, and the introduction of the latter to the royal line is clearly a fabrication made by one of Alexander's predecessors. In time Caranus came to be included in the canonical king lists of the Argeads, despite his interloper status, which suggests that the Greeks were generally less concerned with such problems. The scrutiny necessary to verify the pedigree was not as important as that it had been handed down, for the evidence shows that the Argeads' putative Heraclid descent had entered the collective memory of the Greeks and had thus achieved a momentum that propelled Alexander's claims.

DEGREES OF CREDULITY

Such scrutiny is precisely what some Greeks brought to bear in their estimation of myth's historical content, suggesting a fundamental contrast with the majority, as Paul Veyne has suggested.[7] Still, we must have a care when proposing such a dichotomy, for several reasons. First, there were in truth different degrees of credulity among Greeks of differing educational backgrounds. The more analytical thinkers did not apply their skepticism to the same degree or feel incredulous about the same mythological details. Second, anyone referring to "the Greeks" must be extremely careful when making claims in one sentence about elite families of the archaic period, citizens of classical democratic *poleis,* and Greeks of the cosmopolitan realms of the hellenistic period. Third, the dichotomy does not always hold. Among the more educated Greeks were kings, statesmen, and politicians who might manipulate kinship myth, even invent it, knowing full well the myth's fictiveness but recognizing its efficacy in the deliberations of a democratic assembly or a royal court or even on a campaign. Also numbered among the more educated were mythographers like Hecataeus, who invented myths to accommodate certain realities (political, geographical, and so on), even though mythography was part of the movement of the sixth century that had begun to question the usefulness of myth to explain how the natural and political worlds were the way they were. But the mythographers retained enough respect for myth as a medium by which meaning was shaped to use it for their own intellectual ends. Fourth, the medium of transmission is important to consider. Were myths of identity embraced as readily when presented in drama as in a historical work, for instance?

While we can see the first point demonstrated by such a diverse group as Hecataeus, Herodotus, Aristotle, and Pausanias, who would not have embraced the historicity of even hero myths to the same degree nor embraced the same myths as true, the evidence for responses to kinship myth does suggest a somewhat polarizing trend. Although the Greeks generally believed in the historicity of the heroes and other legendary figures, they approached the reported claims of minotaur- and hydra-slaying with a greater degree of incredulity than the vast majority.[8] Thucydides, for example, denies the claim that the Athenian hero Tereus was originally from Thrace itself because the "canonical" version said that he had "dwelt in Daulis in the land now called Phocis but at that time inhabited by Thracians."[9] Thucydides voices this objection in the context of an Athenian treaty with the Odrysian dynasty in Thrace at the outset of the Peloponnesian War in 431 BCE. The implication is that there was a popular tradition of a Thracian Tereus, probably expressed in connection with the treaty, to which Thucydides felt compelled to apply a corrective.[10]

Nonetheless, even these—dare we say it—more "rational" Greeks did not reject these stories outright. We know, for instance, that Aristotle and Thucydides believed in a historical Minos, while Pausanias joins Aristotle in asserting that there was a real Theseus.[11] The more fantastical elements of their stories are suspect to them,[12] but clearly someone like Herodotus saw no logical reason to assume that the heroes were not real. More importantly, he recognized how much they resonated in the collective memory of the Athenians, the Corinthians, and others. For them, the way myth shaped meaning was what gave it its authority. He thus becomes the very medium by which some versions of myth that find disfavor among other intellectuals are disseminated. So even when a scholar comments on myths generated by his own society and otherwise shares in that society's cultural forms and expressions, as in the case of Thucydides in Athens, the scholar does not always appreciate the way myth operates and approaches an account in terms of veracity, as when Thucydides tried to correct Athenian misunderstandings about the real Tereus.

We finish this section by briefly noting a comment of Jonathan Hall's that the Greeks tended not to be so literal in their conception of genealogical connections between the founder and his people and of such connections between communities. Following a model of Anthony Smith of "genealogical" and "ideological" descent, Hall ascribes the latter conception to the Greeks. For example, Dorus was intended to represent metaphorically the solidarity of the Dorians.[13] There are many sectors of the Greek world where we can find this situation prevailing, as when Tyrtaeus assigns a Heraclid origin to the entire citizenry of Sparta, even if only the kings articulated actual pedigrees leading back to Heracles. As we shall discuss in detail in the next chapter, the association allowed Tyrtaeus to attribute the Spartans' outstanding fighting ability to inherited Heraclean prowess.

We noted before, in the case of the Argead royal house, that many Greeks were less concerned about connecting the dots from ancestor to modern descendant. We find ourselves facing this situation especially when dealing with the oral transmission of myth. Even in the example with which we began, we know that the connection between Magnesia and Same was worked out at the level of the ancestors, but it is unlikely that detailed stemmas had ever been expressed to connect those ancestors with the present inhabitants of the respective cities, especially as whatever charter myths they embraced were very probably oral. This will likely be the case in the other examples taken from the epigraphical evidence to be examined later. On the other hand, as Rosalind Thomas has shown, when the mythographers of the sixth and fifth centuries wrote down for the first time the family traditions of elite houses, they found themselves filling in the gaps that had persisted so comfortably in the oral traditions.[14]

It should not surprise us that our written sources strained harder to take less for granted, to insist that traditional claims be backed up with detailed evidence. Herodotus is an excellent example, for this goal is what motivated him (at least in part) to lay multiple versions of a story before the audience so that they could make their own judgments. Such an approach in our written sources largely accounts for the higher level of incredulity that we tend to find there, especially when confronting "popular" traditions, as Thucydides seemed to in the case of the Athenians' putative kinship with the Thracians, another example of a link without detailed pedigrees to back it up.[15]

THE UNIVERSALITY OF MYTH'S USES AND RECEPTION

Because of the nature of such thinking about myths, the Greek cases are really examples of a universal phenomenon, or rather two phenomena. First is the way myth is used. This book concerns primarily myths of identity, accounts, or even simply ideas (without a proper narrative) about the origins of a *polis,* an elite family, a royal dynasty, a tribe, a region, or some other kind of community. Certainly, other civilizations beyond the Greek have employed myth in this way. Second is the way reality is often ascribed to such myths, and we shall get a better sense of that presently.

One need not venture far beyond the Greek world to find political uses of myth. It was in fact a story of Greek origin that came to play so prominent a role in the making of Roman identity. As they began to extend their influence beyond the Italian peninsula and break out into the wider Mediterranean world in the third century BCE, the Romans cited the Trojans as their ancestors. One might expect that choosing an enemy of the Greeks as one's forebears signaled hostility toward the Greeks as the two sides occasionally clashed, especially in the wars against the hellenistic kings. But instead, this choice allowed the Romans to proclaim themselves the inheritors and caretakers of the hellenic legacy, which was part and parcel with their military conquest of the Mediterranean basin, while still maintaining their distinctiveness as Romans.[16] Benefits deriving from this identity accrued not only for the Romans as a people but also for individuals using myth to enhance their political status, learning their lessons from Alexander the Great and his hellenistic successors.

The Julian clan especially stands out in this regard, culminating in the propagandistic efforts of Julius Caesar and his adopted heir Octavian, whose promotion of his family's origins in Aeneas, son of Venus and survivor of the fall of Troy, was so elaborate as to employ the artists of the Ara Pacis and Prima Porta statue and writers such as Virgil and Horace, whose works, above all the former's *Aeneid,* connected Octavian with the glories of the past (mythical and otherwise) and reinforced their significance in the context of his own achievement as the ostensible restorer of the Republic, its morals, and its glory.[17]

Even so, the vaunted pragmatism of the Romans did not entirely succumb to mythopoeic fervor. One can observe this especially in their use of kinship diplomacy, or lack of it. A notable case is recorded in an inscription of Lampsacus, a Greek city in the Troad. A public decree honoring its citizen Hegesias, this inscription tells a story of attempted kinship diplomacy with the Romans. Along with its sister city Massilia, Lampsacus, in a delegation led by Hegesias, approached Rome in 196 BCE to request an alliance and (probably) protection from Antiochus III, whose imperialistic ambitions had brought him to their vicinity along the Hellespont, which he had crossed to begin his conquest of Thrace. The inscription makes copious use of the terms *sungeneia* and *oikeiotēs,* denoting kinship with the Romans based on Lampsacus' putative Trojan origins. To this request, however, the Romans showed indifference because aiding Lampsacus was not deemed to be in their interest.[18]

This pattern recurred as Greek states and others appealed to Rome on the basis of kinship, in the sense that Roman interest was the final deciding point in whether to render help. In similar fashion, personal interest motivated prominent individuals to employ kinship myth. For instance, Pompey, who was already emulating Alexander the Great by reaching for the edges of the known world as he marched toward the Caspian Sea, emulated kinship myth's greatest practitioner further in 66 BCE, when he needed to extricate his forces from a difficult situation in Transcaucasian Albania. Here, he or someone in his entourage, perhaps Varro, may have secured peace with the Albani by arguing for kinship through aboriginal Italian peoples, including the Albani of the Alban Mount who had accompanied Heracles to the East during one of his travels. This was a rare case in which Troy was not the means to connect with a foreign entity.[19]

The Trojan heritage endured as the Roman world transitioned into the medieval, and new peoples with dubious origins emerged and sought to anchor themselves in the classical past. By claiming a common origin with the Romano-Gallic populations that had come under their sway, the Franks declared themselves the rightful inheritors of Troy's legacy, a tradition that gained footing in such accounts as Fredegar's seventh-century story of Francio, leader of a branch that had split from migrating descendants of the fallen Troy.[20] In the Carolingian period, a few towns, including Paris, Reims, Tours, and Metz, which were important aristocratic centers, developed specific connections to Trojan survivors.[21]

Although the Frankish dynasties seem not to have exploited their putative Trojan origins as fully as they might, others came along later to hitch themselves to the Trojan-Roman-Frankish inheritance, especially now that the Franks themselves had achieved the pinnacle of civilization under Charlemagne. These included the Capetians, who employed historians to elaborate on the presentation of Fredegar.[22] Also notable were the Normans, whose link to Troy lifted them out of the morass of their Viking origins, a link promoted by a canon of Saint Quentin named Dudo. Dudo, commissioned toward the end of the tenth century by Duke Richard I and his son Richard II, was a late product of the Carolingian renaissance, which emphasized classical learning, and thus Dudo knew exactly what fictions he was creating in his Norman history.[23] In this case, the Trojan ancestor was not that noble epitome of *pietas* Aeneas but Antenor, who was said to have betrayed his own city to the Greeks.[24] The choice was an odd one, but Antenor may have served the Norman dukes' purposes by reminding their enemies that they shared with their founder a dangerous streak, even as their Trojan blood elevated the Normans beyond the pirates Dudo's contemporaries still accused them of being.[25] Though Dudo had no illusions about the fictiveness of this charter myth, his history gained widespread and long-enduring acceptance, the myth itself serving its purpose centuries after the Normans had passed into history.[26]

Even the twentieth century saw its share of political myth-making. As is well known, Adolf Hitler espoused the idea of kinship with the English, considering them a kindred Nordic race to be admired for the success of their global empire and thus worthy of alliance and sharing in the spoils of German hegemony. At least he expressed this in *Mein Kampf* and *Zweites Buch* in the 1920s and in speeches and other communications through to the late 1930s, until it was clear that the British would not tolerate the German conquest of Europe.[27] It is not surprising that an irrational man such as Hitler embraced such a historical fiction, even as it was belied by the reality of the multiethnic nature of the British people.

Yet, a shared Teutonic inheritance was also a common motif in British thinking. As sometimes happened in ancient Greece, the reality could be slippery. During the first world war, as the aggressions of the Kaiser's regime proved too much, the prevailing sentiment in Britain was to turn away from the idea of German kinship, leading George V, for instance, to change the dynasty's name from Hanover to Windsor. At the same time, the Celtic and Roman elements in British history were stressed more in scholarly works and propaganda pamphlets alike.[28] Nonetheless, the link to the Germans was never fully abandoned, especially by some of the more conservative elements in British society, owing in large part to the high esteem held for Germany's cultural achievements, the works of great composers such as Beethoven and of writers such as Goethe, even as new anxieties arose about Hitler in the 1930s.[29]

I mentioned above a second phenomenon that recurs in many cultures: an accommodating attitude toward myths. For someone like Patrick Geary, the fictiveness of some nationalistic claims in Europe is problematic because those claims rely on assumptions about the supposedly immutable nature of religion, language, and custom. In Europe, for instance, there have always been claims that the contemporary national, ethnic, linguistic, or cultural makeup of a given region is the direct result of the myriad migrations of the first millennium CE. But how much continuity really lies behind such claims, and how can one give priority to one migration over another? Who, for example, has the better claim to Kosovo, the Albanians, who claimed descent from the ancient Illyrians of that region, or the Serbs, whom Slobodan Milosevic in 1989 linked with the Serbs whose independence from the Ottoman Empire ended at the Battle of Kosovo in 1389? Proponents of each side will argue for the "mythical" status of the other's claim.[30]

Johannes Fried has demonstrated very effectively the way in which credulity and incredulity can clash over the same myth, in this case not a myth of identity but rather a forged document and a historical fiction derived from it that drove one of the most important political conflicts in medieval Europe—

the opposition of papal power and of royal or imperial power, pitting the secular authority of the pope against that of kings and especially the Holy Roman Emperor.

Fried's study concerns a document known as the *Constitutum Constantini,* supposedly originating with the Roman emperor Constantine but in fact forged in the medieval period.[31] By the eleventh century the idea had arisen that through this document Constantine had given Pope Sylvester I and his successors not only primacy over other ecclesiastical officials but also supreme political authority in the western Roman empire, just as Constantine ruled in the East. Known as the Donation of Constantine, this idea in fact was never to be found in the *Constitutum.* Moreover, the story was a historical fiction. Yet, it gained currency in the collective memory of Europeans, passed down through both literary and oral evidence, as attested by the poet Walter von der Vogelweide (c. 1170–1230), an itinerant performer without a formal Latin education whose knowledge of the Donation came exclusively from oral tradition. It was through written sources that doubts about the information in and attributed to the *Constitutum* were raised. Although the bishop Otto of Freising did not reject the historicity of the Donation, he noted in the mid twelfth century that other written evidence contradicted certain details about it, such as Constantine bequeathing the empire, including the West, to his sons, which would preclude the grant of secular power to the church.

Others likewise were reluctant to reject the Donation outright but were concerned to qualify its interpretation, as when Otto's contemporary Gerhoch of Reichersberg, an Augustinian provost, argued that Constantine could not have disposed of public property and had made a fine distinction about the limits of the church's authority in the West.[32] In the centuries that followed, the Donation became even more divorced from the actual text of the *Constitutum,* which almost no one saw, and underwent further changes, producing additional versions to the ones that were already circulating and were generally accepted. In short, this tradition had too much momentum in the minds of most Europeans for it to be rejected, and later popes certainly applied its basic principles with zeal.

Even such intellectuals as named above, though needled by doubts about certain details, could not reject the Donation's overall historicity, no doubt because they were largely cleric and drawn to the interests of the church. But their case reminds us of the Greek scholars who likewise embraced a reality of myth at a certain level, whatever their quibblings and doubts, for the responses to myth of both, despite widely different contexts, were motivated by a common purpose. This purpose was recognized especially by Herodotus, as I noted above: that myth gives shape to the ideas that bind a society, whether they involve a community's origins and sense of its identity, the justification of an elite family to be paramount in a *polis* or a royal dynasty in a particular territory, or the sanctioning of the authority of a religious body (e.g., the medieval church) to give meaning to those who believe its doctrines. As for the general milieu of medieval thinking about the *Constitutum* and the Donation, Fried's conclusion is worthy of quotation: The audience of Walter von der Vogelweide

> accepted the distortion of memory that was part of the oral tradition simply because they didn't realise that there was any distortion. They had no way of countering it, in spite of the fact that the literary sources contained the knowledge required to correct it, and scholars could actually have done so. The culture of oral memory and the literary tradition were in fact not two separate lines, but were intertwined, influencing each other and reshaping themselves, before emerging in distorted forms as a new element in the cultural memory of the West.[33]

This summation also encapsulates very nicely the issues we face in studying kinship myth in the ancient Greek world and provides my main justification for undertaking this study, with goals that differ from those of the last book written in English on kinship diplomacy: Christopher Jones' *Kinship Diplomacy in the Ancient World.* Because its importance cannot be underestimated, we will stop for a moment to lay out some points of contrast. In that study, Jones said, "This book is not about myth,"[34] by which he seems to have meant that he is less concerned with the mythopoeic concepts and processes that informed the creation of kinship links, opting instead to survey the phenomenon of kinship diplomacy throughout antiquity, with consideration not only of mythical kinship but of links based on, from our perspective, historical explanations, such as hellenistic colonization. While Jones' study serves as a very effective introduction to kinship diplomacy, my intention is to go further with the Greeks' conception and use of kinship myth and, thus, to limit my examples to mythical kinship.[35]

Jones is quite right that the Greeks themselves saw no practical difference between what we would think of as mythical and what would be historical, except in that the former had "the sanction of antiquity."[36] But it is the myths that have drawn me to this study and the goal of assessing Greek credulity. Again, I am applying the term "myth" in a very broad sense. Technical definitions need not encumber the discussion here,[37] but suffice it to say that I am concerned with the construction and articulation of identity by means of a putative ancestor, to whom a community might turn for an account of its origins, its relationship with other communities, and its place in the panhellenic world (or some region within it). Jonathan Hall has shown that this approach accounts for the creation of specifically *ethnic* identity, noting that "it is proof of descent that will act as a defining criterion of ethnicity. This recognition, however, does not vindicate a genetic approach to ethnic identity, because the *myth* of descent is precisely that—a recognition of a *putative* shared ancestry. The genealogical reality of such claims is irrelevant."[38]

Such a genealogy might be recognized from an outside perspective as lacking veracity, as we would certainly say about a community's descent from Dorus, by which it would claim a Dorian identity.[39] Moreover, an outside perspective, what anthropologists used to call "etic," might see other characteristics, such as language, clothing, burial customs, political affiliations, and so on, as criteria for determining ethnicity. Any of those features might come into play, but in the end, as many anthropological investigations have shown, the choice will be limited to those "which the actors themselves regard as significant."[40] Another way to put this is that the proper "boundaries of the group" are determined by only that group.[41] And when myth is employed in the manner examined in the following chapters, we might think of this perspective as the collective memory of the group, within which the myth has its true significance as an expression of identity.

It should be immediately clear that "the group" in ancient Greece will range enormously in scope and that we are talking about not only ethnic identity but other kinds as well. The significance of a myth of identity will be recognized within the collective memory of the citizens of a single *polis,* especially through its charter myth or myths; of associated parties of a particular region or within a so-called ethnic group such as the Dorian or Ionian; of the subjects of elite families or royal dynasties with aetiological myths to explain why they deserve their paramount status; of the audiences of particular oral works such as the *Iliad* or literary works such as Herodotus' history, which circulate traditions in much the same way as Walter von der Vogelweide did the Donation of Constantine; or most broadly of Greeks across the wide spectrum of the hellenic world, where, for example, some common Greekness is recognized through collective descent from Hellen, the eponym of all the Hellenes.

If there is a difference between perceptions of myth at the panhellenic level and the most local (e.g., the *polis*), it is that the stemma of Hellen and his sons, deriving from early sources, is largely stable. Ways to connect to it through local heroes and city founders, however, will result in narratives so localized—that is, charter myths and other stories that respond to the individual conditions and needs of that community, its citizens, its leaders, and so on—as to produce not only epichoric myths but variants of popular heroic accounts.[42] As we shall see, kinship diplomacy, especially as attested in the epigraphical record of the hellenistic period, often involved the reconciliation of variant, sometimes even contradictory, accounts of shared heroes or, alternatively, ostensibly unrelated narratives that were connected through Hellen and his sons.

FROM NATIONAL TO INTERNATIONAL

As we have seen, communities relied heavily on myth for the development of an identity within their walls, but its uses beyond also were myriad. Their relations with other Greek and with non-Greek communities were, in a sense, "international." *Sungeneia,* the usual (but not universal) term the Greeks used to designate kinship, was a bond that opened doors, especially important as the Greek world was filled with enclaves of exclusivity known as *poleis.* In much of ancient Greece, the *polis* was the basis of one's political identity, which was expressed through the concept of citizenship. This was something most Greek communities guarded like gold, for with citizenship came the benefits of political participation (usually) and the protections of law. It was also an effective way of raising barriers between states. So when a link extending beyond the community was established, it was a remarkable event indeed.

Homer illustrates this with a story about another important bond called *xenia,* or "guest-friendship." During the Trojan War, two enemies, Diomedes and Glaucus, meet on the battlefield outside Troy. They fall into the typical Homeric habit of making speeches before hacking at each other, and along the way they come to realize that they have a bond of *xenia.* This relationship was established generations earlier when Diomedes' grandfather Oeneus received as a guest the hero Bellerophon, from whom Glaucus is descended. The usual rituals of *xenia* involve providing food, shelter, and entertainment and exchanging gifts, but more importantly a close relationship is established between host and guest. Not only can the roles be reversed and the guest become host in his own home at some future date, but the descendants of the two can extend the same courtesy, respect, and familiar affection to each other. And so Glaucus and Diomedes decide to put their immediate obligations aside and, in stark contrast to the heroic code of claiming the enemy's armor as a war prize to denote one's honor, actually exchange their armor, which have become gifts of *xenia* (*Il.* 119–236). In other words, they have put this personal bond ahead of the exigencies of war, acknowledging that in a context more important than the immediate one they are not enemies at all. The scene demonstrates how it could be possible for there to be personal bonds between distant parties in the most unlikely circumstances.

Because almost every case of kinship diplomacy involves one community that needs something from another, it is tempting to say merely that Greek states saw a link of *sungeneia* as a way to persuade the other community to agree to their proposals.[43] But there is more to it than that. Kinship was meant to be seen as more than a means to an end, a device for immediate purposes. It was essentially an articulation of the same sort of bond between states that existed between members of a family or between citizens of the same *polis.* And as with *xenia,* it was not just for the moment but enduring, potentially over generations.[44] Most importantly, as we have said, it opened doors. It provided the context for one "brother" to help out another "brother," an especially useful facility if no other diplomatic device was available for this purpose.[45] The endurance of such bonds is attested in inscriptions that speak of "renewing" kinship that was previously claimed, as in the case of *IG* IX 1 97 and *I.v. Magnesia* 34, in which the Phocians "renewed" (ἀνανεόομαι) their ties to the peoples of Tenos and Magnesia-on-the-Maeander, respectively. The use of some form of *ananeoomai* was not merely formulaic for the occasion of the diplomacy. In some cases, there may actually have been previous diplomacy between the states to which the inscription makes an oblique reference and for which we can find no extant evidence. But in any case, while we can detect a "formulaic" aspect to the diplomatic idiom in which the inscriptions were written, the "formulas" would have no meaning if there was not some genuine belief of continuous kinship behind them.

The term *sungeneia* finds much usage in inscriptions, mainly from the hellenistic period, that record kinship diplomacy, along with *oikeiotēs* and their variants. Much of the previous debate about kinship diplomacy centered on the meaning of these terms in the inscriptions.[46] The more specialized and comprehensive works published between 1991 and 2000 built on work done in more piecemeal fashion by scholars such as Domenico Musti and Louis Robert who examined individual passages and inscriptions, noting here and there instances of kinship diplomacy.

Robert's work on inscriptions, especially from Asia Minor, is copious.[47] From his research it is clear that many instances of kinship diplomacy were initiated in Asia Minor in the hellenistic period, not surprising given that most of the cities in question were colonies of other Greek states.[48] Even when those colonizations were historical in nature, occurring, for example, in the great Ionian movements of the eleventh century BCE, the accounts we have of them (many of them derived from native informants and local traditions by Pausanias and others) involved mythical personages. One conclusion to be drawn from Robert's work is that the attempt to account for the origin of a city and especially of its connection with another city often required turning to myth, which could provide information and even a narrative where history could not.[49]

As noted above, the question that seems to have preoccupied scholars of kinship diplomacy most is the meaning and use of the terms *sungenēs/sungeneia* and *oikeios/oikeiotēs.* From his analysis of numerous inscriptions, Robert concluded that the terms had distinct senses in general but often meant the same thing, depending on the situation.[50] Other studies have sought to ascertain what sorts of situations called for which terms. As Domenico Musti saw it, c. 240 BCE was a turning point in the Greeks' understanding of *sungeneia.* Before then, it was used for relationships with a "historical" (from the Greek point of view) basis, supported by a well-established tradition. In the later hellenistic and the Roman periods, artifice came into greater play. Links between cities often were more overt fabrications or were based on more tenuous or remote associations.[51] Among the reasons for this increase of artifice was the fact that newly hellenized cities, for example, old Anatolian cities refounded by the Seleucids, were now invoking newly conceived links with the Greeks.[52]

More recent efforts have not gone much further than Musti and Robert in establishing the applicability of the terms or, to put it another way, the attitudes of the Greeks who used them. What does seem certain enough is that the concept of *sungeneia* was regarded as a subcategory of *oikeiotēs*—that is, *sungeneia* denoted consanguinity only, while *oikeiotēs* could denote consanguinity but also a variety of other kinds of relationship.[53] Stephan Lücke, however, has criticized the methodologies and premises of his predecessors, especially Elwyn and Curty, asserting that the issue is not the precise meanings of these Greek words but the extent to which the Greeks, in their assertions of linkage or commonality, embraced the concept of consanguinity ("Blutsverwandtschaft") in the first place.

That *sungeneia* must denote consanguinity begs the question: why must we assume that the Greeks overwhelmingly embraced a genealogical link based on a legendary personage as they undertook interstate diplomatic ventures when our literary sources show that the word has a number of other meanings? Lücke instead prefers to avoid any universal axioms on the subject, arguing that individual uses of kinship terminology must be examined on a case-by-case basis.[54] The controversy over these terms arises because almost none of the inscriptions studied explicitly relate the basis for the interstate connection. We must turn to literary sources to reconstruct possible routes of kinship and have a care when asserting that the cities in question had those particular routes in mind.

When we look for examples of kinship diplomacy in literary sources, however, where we do not encounter the aforementioned problems that plague the epigraphers, we find that the Greeks often resorted to myth to explain their ties of interstate kinship and by and large believed in the *reality* (or *a* reality) of the myths. This evidence also provides support for both the ideological and genealogical notions of kinship discussed earlier. Either way, they make clear that, however much care Lücke may wish to take when trying to discern the meaning of *sungeneia* in inscriptions, his aversion to the mythological interpretation does not accord with the predominant state of affairs as related by the literary evidence.

I do not mean to suggest that myth was the *only* avenue to success in kinship diplomacy. Other more pragmatic factors were clearly at work in some cases and may also lurk unspoken in our sources of others. For instance, when Alexander cowed the Thessalians into submission following their abortive attempt to throw off the Macedonian yoke, he need not have resorted to myth. His overwhelming forces were certainly enough to convince them to behave. But he cited links through one or possibly both sides of his family, connecting the ruling Aleuadae to his father through Heracles and to his mother through Achilles.[55] Myth often served a useful purpose even in situations in which it was not called for. Whatever the final means of persuasion, kinship myth allowed two states to transform the nature of their relationship, to make the transaction more agreeable. As Andrew Erskine explains, kinship "incorporated the other as part of the family and thus legitimated the request that was being made. It may have been more acceptable to seek favours from relatives than from strangers. To approach strangers for help could be considered as too close to begging."[56] Erskine is primarily talking about cities, but even Alexander would have seen the wisdom in arguing that the Thessalians were family rather than a conquered foreigner.

REDEFINING THE PROBLEM OF KINSHIP MYTH

Although it is important to know what the Greeks mean when they use *oikeiotēs* and *sungeneia,* the controversy has become so wrapped up in terminology that the myths themselves and the ways they were used have gone out of focus. I am less concerned with whether these terms are interchangeable, whether particular circumstances call for particular terms, and so on. These questions will be relevant, but the main task at hand is to understand better how kinship myth worked in the political activities of the Greeks. For this reason, literary accounts of kinship diplomacy will be of as much importance as the epigraphical evidence.

Because the focus has mainly been on inscriptions, the previous debate about credulity came with a built-in problem: where mythical *sungeneia* is concerned, all but two inscriptions out of many dozens that refer to kinship reveal nothing of the basis of the kinship. We may know that the two communities are kindred and that the basis of the kinship is mythical in nature, but the inscription does not fill in an important blank for us: does the kinship originate in this account or in that one, with this personage or with that one? That is, while the inscription records that Polis A and Polis B share a common ancestor and we might posit who that ancestor is, we have to turn to an outside source on which to base such a conjecture because the mythological explanation is missing from the inscribed text. This state of affairs also makes it very difficult to answer another important question: did the Greeks believe in the mythical ancestry that their communities claimed to share in the inscriptions?

As noted before, Musti believed that *sungeneia* and *oikeiotēs* had no real meaning in most inscriptions issued after c. 240 (at least in cases of *mythical* kinship) because there were rarely traditions to support the claims made from that time on. The language became the stuff of artifice. Before 240, the terms were genuine expressions of putative consanguinity and other close bonds because such claims were generally made when support was at hand in the established traditions of Greek myth. This concept of "artifice," however, is ultimately based on the traditional view that hellenistic thinkers took an antiquarian interest in the culture of their forebears. But there is a difference between antiquarian interest in the "relics" of the past (e.g., plays, poems) and a public interest in myth itself, which remained a living force in Greek culture even in the changed political circumstances of the hellenistic age. This era was one of cosmopolitanism, to be sure, but the *polis* was still there and still important for local identity, if no longer a unit of international significance. Myth continued to be important as an expression of local identity. Reactions in Alexandria to a fifth-century play by Sophocles would not be the same as reactions in Phygela to a story that explained the Phygelans' origins among members of Agamemnon's army fighting at Troy. Even the manipulations of myth by the Ptolemies and their ilk are reflections of genuine belief, not necessarily in the palace but in their outward purposes. After all, such claims would have been pointless if the kings expected no one to buy into them.

My hope in this study, especially as we tackle the epigraphical evidence, is to show that the capacity of the Greeks, or at least most of them, to distinguish artifice from older, more "genuine" traditions was not as pronounced as we might think. The collective memory of the Greeks, whether within a single *polis* such as Phygela in the third century BCE or among the audiences of Homer from Spain to India, yielded authority to traditions old and new by processes similar to those at work in medieval Europe when the Donation of Constantine circulated or even in modern times when claims to certain patches of European territory, varied in their viability (however one might judge that viability), are put forth. The contrast with more analytical thinkers helps to put this conception of myth in relief, for which the literary sources again will be instrumental.

I come back now to this contrast for a further point about the methodological problems this study must face. Though we should have a care not to fall into too simplistic a model of "dichotomy," as there were many degrees of credulity and many different kinds of mythological detail that were accepted or rejected, there does seem to have been a fundamental dissimilarity between the more analytical Greeks, including many historians, philosophers, and geographers, and the general populace, who were less incredulous even about the fantastical achievements of the heroes of old. This state of affairs will be explored in more detail in the second chapter of this book, which will consider in general terms the Greeks' understanding of how myth worked politically. In that chapter I will begin to address the problems a researcher in kinship diplomacy faces with the sources, both literary and epigraphical, which are closely tied to the imprecise thinking of most Greeks on the one hand and the rational attempts by such intellectuals as Diodorus and other historians to come to terms with heroic myth as early history on the other. A principle running through the chapter will be that whatever the degree of credulity, the ancient Greeks conceived of heroic myth as tantamount to their early history. The implications of this principle will be explored in terms of identity and politics.

As happens time and again in kinship diplomacy, communities, their leaders, or both routinely tried to take advantage of Greek mythopoeic credulity by grounding their political claims on myth sanctioned by collective memory. For example, the myth of the Return of the Heracleidae gave legitimacy to the hegemony of Argos and later Sparta, both Dorian communities, as they tried to moderate the common perception of Dorians as foreign interlopers in the Peloponnesus. These efforts were aimed at shaping particular identities. More immediate goals lay behind the efforts of Sparta and Athens to secure the bones of Orestes and Theseus respectively. Just as communities turned to hero cult to cultivate their prosperity in the long term, they imagined immediate material benefits accruing from the possession of these heroic relics.

Having established the general outlines of the Greeks' attitudes toward myth as a political tool, I begin my analysis of the use of kinship myth in the following chapter. Chapters Three through Five cover kinship myth as recorded in literary sources. Chapter Three examines myths used to justify alliances and requests for assistance, while Chapter Four investigates conquests and territorial possession. Inscriptions pose the problem adumbrated above, that the basis of the kinship is rarely given, but literary evidence usually presents a different set of problems.

When our source alleges that kinship was invoked on a particular occasion, he usually explains the basis of the kinship clearly enough. However, we often face difficulties in demonstrating the historicity of the diplomacy or certain particulars of it. An incident recounted by Herodotus at 7.150 is certainly suspect. He claims that Xerxes sent an embassy to the people of Argos just before his invasion of Greece, bidding them to remain neutral in the war on the basis of shared ancestry through Perses, son of Perseus. But would Xerxes really have made such a claim? We are also left wondering about the actual circumstances under which Athens and Megara put forth rival claims to Salamis in the sixth century BCE. Reliance largely on later sources such as Plutarch (*Sol.* 8.1–10) makes the task of answering this question difficult because the sources are so far removed from the events they describe. The same difficulty attends the reconstruction of the Spartan Dorieus' adventures in Sicily in the early sixth century BCE, by which he allegedly sought to be a latter-day Heracles reclaiming his ancestral lands.[57]

This historiographical problem has always complicated assessments of Alexander the Great, who is the focus of Chapter Five. With very little contemporary evidence to go by, we are hard pressed to understand fully many aspects of Alexander and his reign. Within his own lifetime, he presented an enigma to those looking to understand him because of his erratic personality and his tailoring of his image to suit different parties (Greeks, Macedonians, Persians, and other Asians). That he employed kinship myth is not in doubt, especially in Greek cities in Thessaly and Asia Minor. But Arrian, looking back some five centuries from his own time, expresses doubt about whether Alexander could have claimed kinship with the people of Nysa in India.[58]

The sixth and seventh chapters move to epigraphical evidence, in which we can at least be confident of the historicity of the diplomacy and the fact that kinship was invoked. The inscriptions themselves are the proof. But the problem of identifying the myths remains. Here I suggest a solution through the use of *local* myths, taking *I.v. Magnesia* 35 and *SEG* XXXVIII.1476 as paradigmatic inscriptions. Local myths can provide a glimpse into a given community's sense of its own identity, which is far more likely to be the identity it projects internationally. Our best sources for this type of myth will be those who have had direct contact with the community in question during their extensive travels. Pausanias thus will loom large in Chapter Seven because he wrote much about the communities whose inscriptions (mainly from the hellenistic period) have survived.

The surprising result of this part of the study will be the extent to which communities found ways to bridge their local myths through some panhellenic stemma (usually one of the sons of Hellen) and even reconciled these accounts despite variations in the respective local traditions. Local myth known from Pausanias enables us to assert that Phocis and Tenos based the kinship claimed in *IG* IX 1 97 on common descent from Hellen,[59] that the same was true of Miletus and Phygela in *StV* III 453,[60] that the Aetolian League and Heraclea-at-Latmus looked to a shared local hero Endymion in *IG* IX 1^2 173,[61] and that Pergamum and Tegea likewise looked to Telephus in *I.v. Pergamon* 156.[62] What is less clear in these cases is whether the impetus for using these myths came from the community at large, perhaps in the deliberations of the popular assembly, or from prominent individuals who might have a better understanding of the diplomatic issues at hand as well as the political (and mytho-political) situation in the other city. On this point, unfortunately, we have very little to go on.

With far more examples of kinship diplomacy than this study can accommodate, given space limitations, the selections made were informed by a number of considerations. The authors themselves are one focus of the study, and cases in which they are more vocal about their views of a mythological claim of kinship, as we get in Herodotus, Thucydides, and Arrian, are of prime interest. Other authors betray their views through their biases and methods, as we shall see in Plutarch's deference to the tradition that ascribed more deeds to Solon than was in fact his due. Some cases involve the efforts of prominent and ambitious individuals, as opposed to communities, to use kinship myth to advance their personal interests, as with Dorieus and Alexander, while others seem to do so for the good of their community, including Jonathan, the Spartan prince Archidamus, and possibly Pericles (during the Tereus affair), as well as myriad anonymous statesmen who may have lain behind some of the inscriptions produced in the hellenistic period. Jonathan, a High Priest in Jerusalem, is especially instructive for showing us how a non-Greek could understand and employ the tenets of hellenic culture when advancing the interests of the Jewish state in the second century. Finally, the choice of inscriptions, after consideration of the two that do reveal the mythological context and one that gives a tantalizing clue to the process of kinship diplomacy, was based on the feasibility of reconstructing local myths using Pausanias as a source.

Finally, it will be useful to remember three questions that will frame the arguments of what kinship myth involved, how it worked, and how the Greeks conceived of it. (1) How was the myth in question relevant to the participants in the diplomacy? In other words, why, for example, did Alexander the Great refer to Heracles? With what mythological tradition did they associate their present political activities, military activities, or both, and what meaning did such ancestors and their traditional achievements and qualities hold for them? (2) To what extent did the participants actually invoke the supposed mythical links between the two parties engaging in the diplomatic venture? We will note how pragmatism or egotism often caused a king or state to deemphasize or ignore a link recognized by tradition, while other occasions enabled the opposite approach, the fabrication of a link in the absence of a deeply ingrained tradition. (3) The most important question of all and touching on each of the previous: did the participants and anyone interested in the treaty, alliance, or conquest actually believe in the reality of the ancestral hero or race?

To answer this question, I will include in my discussion (as much as the evidence will allow) (a) the immediate participants—that is, those who made and acknowledged claims of kinship, the leaders and citizens of cities such as Aspendus and Argos, the members of tribes like the Sibi in India,[63] and others immediately involved in the treaty, alliance, or conquest, (b) the greater communities of the Greek world, such as everyone who believed that Cimon had retrieved the bones of Theseus or those Greeks who knew of a tradition referred to by Herodotus and Aeschylus of Persian kinship with the Argives through Perses, son of Perseus, and (c) our sources, which were primarily produced by such analytical writers as I have mentioned above. It will be especially important to consider their biases. Why does Herodotus include an account of Xerxes' unlikely embassy to Argos alleging kinship between them? What does Arrian think of Alexander's claims of Dionysian descent in India? From all of this, perhaps we will be closer to an answer to the primary question, why did the Greeks put so much stock in kinship myth for the execution of political action?

CREDULITY AND HISTORICAL CAUSATION

WHERE DOES HISTORY BEGIN?

To restate a fundamentally important principle: the Greeks regarded stories about their heroes as tantamount to early history. This principle has found general acceptance in modern scholarship.[1] But an important implication of this premise warrants further investigation in the context of this study: the *use* of "history." Its manipulation is recognizable to us today; in every election season, history seems to get rewritten. This state of affairs is even more pronounced when early history arises from myth, and myth for the Greeks was largely handed down in the form of tradition. Only a minority of Greeks subjected it to any sort of rational scrutiny. As a consequence, it was possible to make political use of myth not merely in terms of attaining prestige but in real, practical, and strategic terms. For example, a state like Phygela in Asia Minor might enhance its reputation by giving its local charter myth a Homeric context; thus, the Phygelans claimed to be descended from Achaeans left behind by Agamemnon. From this accrued the more practical benefit of exchanging polity with Miletus around 300 BCE, a venture probably justified by a putative affiliation through Hellen, ancestor of Miletus' founder and of Achaeus.[2]

Some measure of belief in the reality of mythological claims was required for diplomacy involving kinship myth to work. Given that necessity, for us there arises a difficulty in gauging (1) whether we are talking about the belief of analytical writers chronicling the diplomatic episode, the belief of the leadership of the states employing such diplomacy, or the belief of the general citizenry of those states and (2) the scope of the material deemed authentic: putting aside any more practical or material causes that may have been in play, did the diplomacy succeed because an entire tradition was accepted, or some local variation, or only certain elements, such as the less fantastical elements of the story of a famous founder like Heracles?

Let us begin by hazarding a general premise, which we will qualify accordingly in the course of this chapter. Carlo Brillante summarizes the situation that prevailed in the Greek world:

> [The Greeks] imagined their heroes as men who had actually lived, inhabiting the same cities and regions in which they themselves, several centuries later, continued to reside. Thus it is possible to affirm that the heroic world corresponded approximately in its geographical limits to the world of men.
>
> Nor was the temporal dimension in which the heroes acted very different from that of humans. . . . According to the Greeks this was the most ancient "historical" period of the various *ethne* and of the single *poleis*.[3]

Such is the general impression we get from our written sources, especially the historians, philosophers, geographers, and biographers. Throughout the ancient corpus, we get a sense of a perceived continuity from the world of heroes to that of later (and lesser) humans, especially in such chronographical accounts as that of Eratosthenes (*FGrH* 241 F. 1a), who unabashedly linked the legendary with the historical:

> From the fall of Troy [c. 1180 BCE] to the return of the Heraclids, 80 years; from here to the colonization of the Ionians, 60 years; afterwards until the guardianship of Lycurgus, 159 years; to the first year of the Olympiads, 108 years; from this first Olympiad to the coming of Xerxes, 297 years; from here to the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, 48 years; and to the end of the war and the Athenian defeat, 27 years; and to the battle of Leuctra, 34 years; from this time to the death of Philip, 35 years; and after this until the passing of Alexander, 12 years.[4]

Also significant is the Marmor Parium (*FGrH* 239), an inscription set up on Paros after 264 BCE, which begins with the ascension of Cecrops in Athens in 1581 BCE, gives the date of the capture of Troy as 1208, and continues on to 264. Even Hesiod's "Five Ages of Man" maintains this continuity as the Heroic Age, the fourth in the list, leads directly to the Iron Age, the unhappy period of Hesiod and his contemporaries.[5]

Finally, there is the use of mythical deeds as a precedent for actions in the present. One notable example involved the arguments made by two contingents on the eve of the battle of Plataea in 479, who were asserting their right to be placed at one of the wings of the coalition army, the Spartans having claim to the other by default. The Tegeans cited the victory in single combat of their king Echemus over Hyllus, leader of the Heracleidae. By Hyllus' defeat the Heracleidae were forbidden to try to reconquer the Peloponnesus for a hundred years. While somewhat odd to acknowledge the defeat of the Spartans' ancestors (not though so much for a former rival of Sparta, as Tegea was), the Tegeans probably hoped the other Peloponnesians would rally for them because the current strength of the Spartans reflected the ancient strength of the Heracleidae and thus made Echemus' achievement all the more noteworthy.

The accomplishments the Athenians cited included sheltering the Heracleidae and helping them remove the tyrannical Eurystheus; Theseus' war (or diplomacy), which ended Creon's impiety after the failure of the expedition of the Seven against Thebes; the defeat of the barbarous and unnatural Amazons; the victory over the wicked Eumolpus of Eleusis; and the Athenian participation in the Trojan War. To this they added their central role in the Greek victory at Marathon in 490. Though Herodotus distinguished the mythical events as "ancient history" (παλαιῶν ἔργων), Marathon was no less historical than the others. Indeed, all these deeds combined persuaded the Spartans to grant the other wing to the Athenians (Hdt. 9.26–27).

There is understandably some controversy about the historicity of this debate just before the great battle. We may well be dealing with a Herodotean invention that gives him the opportunity to explore some of Athens' past glories, as Hignett has suggested.[6] But this assertion is to me insufficient to argue against the historicity of the event, which might still have happened and was selected by Herodotus for the purpose Hignett proposes. Either way, it illustrates Herodotus' method of packaging his material in a way that makes meaning for his audience, who certainly could have understood the Spartans' lack of distinction between mythological arguments and historical ones. Moreover, Herodotus was not shy about presenting material whose veracity he had his suspicions about but felt was needed to frame the issue, as he makes explicit in the case of the Argives' putative Persian kinship and consequent medism (7.152).

Great care must taken, however, as we gauge these ancient attitudes. On the one hand, there was the vast majority of Greeks who "had no interest in separating truth from falsehood and were not shaken by fictions that contradicted no known science. Thus, they listened to true myths and inventions in the same frame of mind."[7] This majority readily accepted stories that had always circulated in living memory, while any variations, with inconsistent renditions of more established versions, were hardly cause for disturbance. One reason was that some variations were created at the local level, where details might change to suit the local customs and history.

Moreover, variations in myth are a consequence of the predominance of orality in the Greek world, whereby stories of the past, especially accounts of heroic ancestors, were passed along generation by generation through oral transmission. This medium, whether preserving the history of an individual aristocratic family or serving the collective memory of a *polis* that needed to articulate its origins and early history, allowed for greater diversity in the way stories were told and stands at the beginning of those written accounts that record multiple versions of a myth.[8]

But for a minority of Greeks, beginning with the innovative thinkers of sixth-century Ionia, new questions arose about these traditions. Fewer explanations were taken for granted or assumed. Rather than accept the whole tradition at face value, these thinkers began to look at the details, tugging here and there — as Otto of Freising and Gerhoch of Reichersberg were to do with the Donation of Constantine centuries later — realizing that, if one holds the traditional stories to more rigorous criteria, not everything the myth entails makes sense.[9] Most of our prose sources and a few poets like Xenophanes fall into this latter category.[10] I describe them as "intellectuals" not in the sense that they were disconnected from the everyday realities of the world that they describe, taking on abstract notions about, for example, love and war that corresponded little to what everyone else actually experienced, but rather on the basis of the way a number of them handled mythological material. They differed from the general populace in the extent to which they accepted mythological tradition as historical reality, having the acumen to recognize a fundamental problem of historical writing: how does one who wishes to provide an account of the earliest period of human history come to terms with the chaos of numerous variants and the ubiquitous workings of the supernatural in human affairs?

The task for writers such as Herodotus, Ephorus, and Diodorus then was formidable, as Diodorus makes clear. He acknowledges that other historians are beset by tremendous difficulties (and indeed criticisms) because of the great antiquity of the material in their opening chapters, the problems of verification, the complexity of details, and the disagreements among these writers (4.1.1). Diodorus' answer was to include this material because of the continuing importance of the heroes to contemporary Greeks, because of the influence they had had on the development of Greek civilization, and because of the prevalence of hero cult.[11] On the other hand, the solution of Herodotus and Ephorus was to begin their accounts with clearly historical events, more recent human experience selected on the basic criterion that it be verifiable.

Though these historians draw a similar line, where they place it is different. Herodotus gives a brief account of rapes and mutual recriminations that are said to contribute to the antagonism of East and West that culminates in the Persian Wars. But these are mythological in nature; Herodotus passes over them quickly to the real beginning of his narrative: “I myself will not speak to whether these events happened in this manner or that, but I will indicate the one that I myself know first committed wrongs against the Greeks and then proceed onward with my history,”[12] namely, the Lydian king Croesus. Ephorus begins some six hundred years earlier, with the Return of the Heracleidae (Diod. 4.1.3). In Diodorus’ view, this starting point is purely historical, although we would judge it to be mythical, or rather, legendary, even if the account has some historical basis in the supposed arrival of the Dorians.[13] From our point of view, Ephorus might as well have started with the generation of the Trojan War or the one before it, which saw the campaign of the Seven against Thebes and the Argonautic expedition. If Ephorus recognized a difference between the accounts of the period leading to the Trojan War and those of the period that followed, it was perhaps that the former were thoroughly recounted in epic and lyric and other nonhistorical material, mostly oral in nature, while the Return of the Heracleidae marked a new phase in the history of human endeavor, chronicled not by epic but in poetry and prose going no farther back, as we shall see, than the eighth or seventh century, far later than the origins of the various oral traditions about Troy and Thebes.[14] The Return is a tale of remarkable deeds, to be sure, and famous throughout the Greek world by the time of Ephorus, but ultimately limited in scope and purpose. Whether Ephorus realized it or not, the Return was essentially the culmination of propagandistic storytelling among Dorians in the Peloponnesus. More importantly, it was, for him, the beginning of history.

I will justify my comments about the Return shortly. But first it would profit us to summarize and add further support to the foregoing about attitudes and credulity. Most of our “intellectual” sources did not credulously embrace the totality of Greek myth. On the one hand, they could not throw out the whole lot, because nothing would be left of their history prior to c. 800 BCE.[15] And so with impressive acumen, these writers instead sought out the less fantastical elements of these stories, not for the sake of rationalization (or at least not always) but rather to get at the realities that lay behind the deeds of Heracles, Theseus, and the others. For example, as Plutarch relates, Aristotle in the *Constitution of the Botteaeans* denies the myth of the Minotaur by saying that the Athenian youths who were sent as sacrifices to the Minotaur were simply slaves condemned to spend the rest of their lives in Crete (*Thes.* 16.2). On the other hand, Aristotle does not doubt the historicity of Minos himself. Like Thucydides, Aristotle regards Minos as the first person known to possess a powerful navy.[16]

Aristotle draws a line in the sand, as Herodotus often does, but in the case of Minos, not in the same place. For Herodotus, Minos’ historicity is not so secure. He is of an era that precedes "ordinary human history," in which Polycrates is cited as the first Greek thalassocrat (3.122). And yet Herodotus does not doubt the existence of Helen of Troy. He even offers a proof that Helen had never gone to Troy but was in fact in Egypt throughout the ten years of the war, for the Trojans would never have allowed their suffering to go on that long (and certainly not for Paris' sake!) if Helen had actually been there. The Egyptian priests who told him of Helen, then, must have been right.[17]

Likewise, Aristotle does not doubt the historicity of Theseus, the supposed slayer of the Minotaur. For it was under Theseus, king of Athens, Aristotle says, that the city's constitution underwent one of its many changes.[18] When, as part of the First Embassy to Philip of Macedon in 346, Aeschines affirmed Athens' claims to Amphipolis, he presented as one of his "proofs" the story that the area comprised the dowry of the wife of Theseus' son Acamas.[19] Pausanias likewise acknowledges Theseus as a real person and further warns that stories about him have led to misconceptions about what this man actually accomplished, whether the stories were fantastic (the slaying of a human-bull hybrid) or merely inaccurate (the nature of the change to the Athenian constitution; 1.3.3).

Pausanias' critique is based on what Veyne calls "the doctrine of present things."[20] Because the marvelous did not exist in their own day, people like Pausanias, Aristotle, Herodotus, and Thucydides believed the myths in terms to which they could relate, even though they might draw the line at different points. Since bull-headed men did not exist in their own world but kings did, some Greeks had no trouble accepting that Theseus was a real person as long as it was understood that he was just an early king of Athens. They recognized that, though he was still perhaps greater than those who followed him, stories of monsters and gods now misrepresented his greatness: what was extraordinary heroism in a world not so different from the Greece of their own time became in myth an almost supernatural heroism in a supernatural world.[21]

MYTH AS PROPAGANDA: THE RETURN OF THE HERACLEIDAE

The Return of the Heracleidae is one of the most thoroughly studied political myths from ancient Greece and hardly needs further discussion here. However, there are three reasons for revisiting it in the context of the present study. First, it remains a prime example of the sort of charter myth that is often found to underlie claims of kinship. Second, its value as a propagandistic tool has been long recognized. For this reason, it sheds light on a way of thinking by which myth, including kinship myth, could be employed for political gain. Third, it provides an example of how one party might challenge a political claim not by refuting the myth on which it is based *qua* mythology (as opposed to history) but by adjusting the details of the myth itself as if a revision of history had been wrought. This last point speaks to the importance of credulity as a factor in this study. To be clear, my concern is not with the historical reality that may lie behind the myth of the Return, a matter thoroughly debated elsewhere,[22] but rather with Greek belief in it, "a historical fact which played its own role."[23]

Not surprisingly, a number of our ancient sources speak of the Return of the Heracleidae as if it were a real event (or rather a series of events). In that sense, Ephorus was far from alone in judging it as historical. The story's propagandistic value that derived from its perceived historicity especially benefited the Dorians of the Argolid, Laconia, and (possibly early and certainly in the fourth century) Messenia. Let us take as a starting point the following comment by Pausanias on the Dorian claim to Argos, originally a pre-Dorian Mycenaean state:

> At the death of Orestes Tisamenus, son of Orestes and Hermione, Menelaus' daughter, became king [of Argos]. . . . In the time of this Tisamenus, the Heracleidae returned to the Peloponnesus—that is, Temenus and Cresphontes, sons of Aristomachus, accompanied by the sons of their dead brother Aristodemus. They laid claim to Argos and its kingdom, most properly, I feel, because Tisamenus was descended from Pelops, but they in origin were Perseids.[24]

The idea is that Temenus, descended from Perseus, a son of Zeus (Figure 2.1), restored the Dorian regime in Argos after it had been under the usurping Pelopids. The Dorians can now claim to be *returning,* as the sons of Heracles, rather than *invading,* as a tribe foreign to the Peloponnesus.[25] They were thought to originate in the city of Pindus (part of the Tetrapolis) in the Doric homeland of the North. Thucydides places the Return "in the eightieth year after the [Trojan] war," while Pausanias places it "two generations" after the Trojan War.[26]

The story has been told in full elsewhere,[27] and we need only recount certain relevant details here. The Heracleidae, so the story goes, were not immediately successful in restoring their kingdom, but Temenus, leader of the Heraclids in his generation, achieved the victory that had eluded his great-grandfather Hyllus son of Heracles. With his brother Cresphontes, according to Pausanias (2.18.6), Temenus prepared an army and fleet and defeated

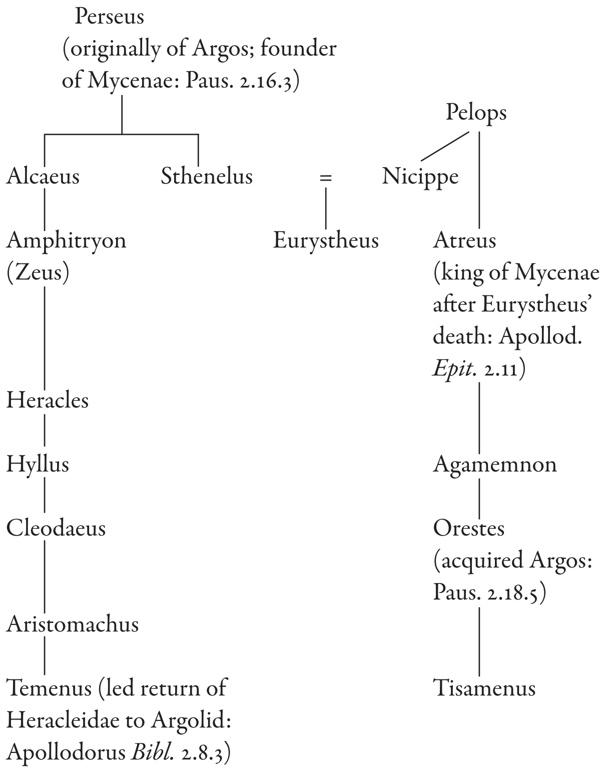

Perseus
(originally of Argos; founder of Mycenae: Paus. 2.16.3)
Pelops
Alcaeus
Sthenelus
=
Nicippe
Amphitryon
(Zeus)
Eurystheus
Atreus
(king of Mycenae after Eurystheus' death: Apollod. *Epit.* 2.11)
Heracles
Hyllus
Agamemnon
Cleodaeus
Orestes
(acquired Argos: Paus. 2.18.5)
Aristomachus
Temenus (led return of Heracleidae to Argolid: Apollodorus *Bibl.* 2.8.3)
Tisamenus

FIGURE 2.1.
The Claim to Argos [This construction, especially on the Perseid side, follows Apollodorus (esp. Bibl. *2.8.2), Herodotus (6.52), and Pausanias (1.35.6; 2.7.6; 2.18.6; and 3.15.10).]*

Tisamenus, either killing him or expelling him.[28] The Heracleidae afterwards divided their kingdom into three parts, assigning sections by lot. Temenus received Argos. The two sons of Aristodemus, the brother of Temenus and Cresphontes, received Laconia and became the ancestors of the two royal houses of Sparta. Cresphontes received Messenia, only to lose it later, along with his life, in a coup (see Figure 2.2).[29]

We have not yet stressed the distinction between the Dorians and the Heracleidae, but in fact, despite their association, a number of our sources do draw that line, including Thucydides and Pausanias, who each mention both groups as separate but working together.[30] Herodotus describes the *kings* of Sparta as descendants of Perseus and, further, details the genealogical link from Heracles to Leonidas of the Agiad house and to the general Leotychides, a relative of the Eurypontid house. As noted above, both royal families were descended

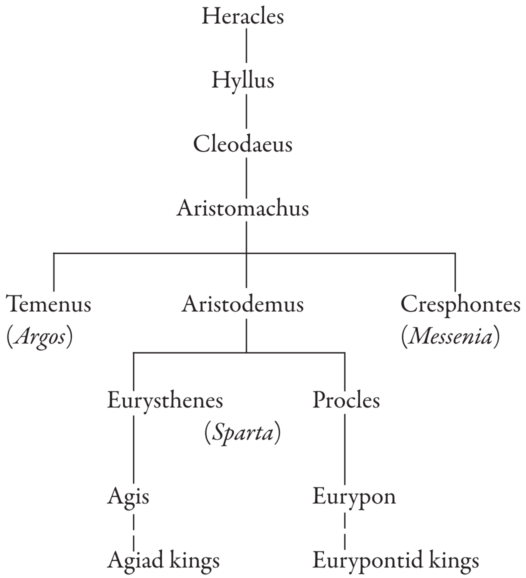

Heracles
Hyllus
Cleodaeus
Aristomachus
Temenus
(Argos)
Aristodemus
Cresphontes
(Messenia)
Eurysthenes
Procles
(Sparta)
Agis
Eurypon
Agiad kings
Eurypontid kings

FIGURE 2.2.
The Division of the Heraclid Domain

from the sons of Aristodemus: the Agiads from Eurysthenes and the Eurypontids from Procles.[31] Of the *people* of Sparta Herodotus says that they were of Doric stock and that their ancestors had migrated extensively: Phthia to Histiaea to Pindus to Dryopia to the Peloponnesus, "where they were called Dorian." He does not cross-reference, as it were, the Dorians and the Heracleidae, which leads one to conclude that Herodotus saw them as separate races.[32] Strabo says that Heracles restored a certain King Aegimius to the throne of the Dorians of the Tetrapolis in Doris. In gratitude, Aegimius adopted Hyllus, who succeeded him after his death. Thus, Strabo has the Heracleidae become the leaders of the Dorians even though they were of a different race. It was in Doris (Pindus) that the "Return to the Peloponnesus" (ἡ εἰς Πελοπόννησον κάθοδος) of the Heracleidae originated. By that Strabo suggests the invasion of Temenus, whereas the earlier invasions of Hyllus and Temenus' father had originated in Attica (9.4.10).

Long before Strabo, Pindar had identified the Heracleidae as inheritors of Aegimius' kingdom. From Pindus they invaded the Peloponnesus. Though conducting their affairs like Dorians, they were not Dorians, unlike the "sons of Pamphylus," who was a son of Aegimius.[33] A still earlier source, the Spartan elegiac poet Tyrtaeus (mid seventh century) distinguishes his Doric ancestors from the Heracleidae: “For Zeus himself, son of Cronus and husband of lovely-crowned Hera, gave to the sons of Heracles this city [Sparta]. Together with (the Heracleidae) we [the Spartans] left windy Erineus and came to the broad island of Pelops.”[34] With Tyrtaeus we have the earliest extant reference to the Return.

Tyrtaeus also provides the names of the three Dorian tribes, the Pamphyloi, the Hylleis, and the Dymanes (F. 19). Ephorus later identified two of them as descended from Aegimius’ sons, Pamphylus and Dymas (*FGrH* 70 F.15). That the Hylleis were the sons of Hyllus can be explained by Aegimius’ adoption of Hyllus after Heracles had restored him. Thus, in Ephorus’ mind, the Hylleis are both descended from a Heraclid and regarded as a Doric tribe by Hyllus’ adoption into a Doric royal house. We should also note, keeping Strabo’s account in mind, that Diodorus (drawing on Ephorus perhaps) has Aegimius promising Heracles a third of the Dorian kingdom for his help, a debt on which the sons of Heracles later collected.[35] Thus the kingdom was divided into thirds after Aegimius’ death, with Hyllus inheriting one portion and Aegimius’ sons, Dymas and Pamphylus, the others. It seems that by the time of Ephorus, the association of the Dorian Hylleis with the Heraclid Hyllus was established, even given the acknowledged distinction between the two races.[36] Even if they were not related by blood, the association was deemed valid by virtue of the strong family connection established by adoption. The Dorians could successfully claim an antiquity going back to the age of the heroes. The sources provide overwhelming evidence of the Greek world’s acceptance of that antiquity, at least as a tradition.

The argument has long been made that the Return myth was “propagandist.”[37] There is also general (if not universal) agreement that the propaganda originated in Argos. The Return almost certainly has a legitimizing function, which would be useful to a state that was particularly strong, especially the strongest in the Peloponnesus, as Argos was in the eighth century. The argument Tigerstedt makes in support of Argos is that it was the only state whose ruling house bore the name of its eponymous ancestor.[38] The Argive royal house, the Temenids, created a “Temenus” (or, more precisely, probably employed the talents of itinerate poets in the creation of this myth), designated him as their ancestor, and claimed to have been named after him. One Argive who got some mileage, as it were, out of this state of affairs was the tyrant Pheidon, who took over the management of the Olympic Games, pushing aside the previous directors the Eleans (Hdt. 6.127). He justified this action, as well as some apparent consolidation of “Heraclid” territory in the Peloponnesus under his rule, through his descent from Heracles.[39]

The argument is solid: the Temenids’ ancestor was the leader of the victorious Heraclids and the only one of that generation to be an eponym. We have other eponyms in Laconia and Messenia, but they occur in generations subsequent to that of the victors.[40] In addition, Heracles himself was more firmly associated with the Argolid than with Laconia or Messenia. Though born in Thebes, Heracles was meant to inherit the Argolid kingdom, which the trickery of Hera denied him.[41] The author of the Pseudo-Hesiodic *Shield of Heracles* specifies that it was from Tiryns that Heracles' father Amphitryon was driven before embarking to Thebes. At the same time, his rights to Laconia and Messenia were by conquest, not birth. Both were essentially gifts given by kings whom Heracles had restored, gifts now to be guarded by the kings for his descendants, Laconia by Tyndareus and Messenia by Nestor.[42] Heracles and his descendants (as well as his ancestor Perseus) had a stronger cultic presence in the Argolid than in the other regions.[43] Finally, in arguing against a Spartan invention, Nino Luraghi has pointed out that the Spartans would hardly have invented a myth of tripartition because they claimed Messenia as their own territory. Otherwise, we would expect an account of how the Peloponnesus was a Heraclid inheritance in two parts. Also, the Spartans would hardly have invented the story of the lots cast and of Cresphontes' deception because it implied that Laconia was the least desirable portion of the inheritance.[44]

The story as we have it, however, has features that the Argives did not invent. In fact, there are details definitively traceable to the Spartans and possibly to the Messenians, and political motives lie behind these innovations. While the above argument is cogent, it leaves unanswered a question that does not seem to have drawn much attention from scholars. Let me formulate the question by recalling what the story says of Aristodemus. This brother of Temenus was already dead by the time the Heraclids conquered the Peloponnesus. He had been killed at Delphi either by Apollo or by the sons of Pylades and Electra, cousins of Tisamenus, or, according to another account, he had been struck by lightning at Naupactus, where Temenus was preparing the invasion force.[45] These versions, recorded in Pausanias and Apollodorus, would seem to be the "poetic" renderings that Herodotus says were different from the homegrown Lacedaemonian account, which has Aristodemus himself leading his contingent in the war and acquiring Laconia, an account also known to Xenophon.[46] Aristodemus lived long enough to see his twin sons born, and then he died shortly afterwards, at which point the twins inherited his portion of the Heraclid kingdom and became the ancestors of the two royal houses.

The question becomes, if the Argives can employ eponyms in fabricating the original Return myth, why do the Spartans not employ eponyms to the same effect when they put a new spin on the myth, presumably at some point after they begin to capitalize on their gains from the Second Messenian War, and especially given their reputed love for genealogy?[47] Indeed, the eponyms they employ, Agis the forefather of the Agiads and Eurypon the forefather of the Eurypontids, are not even in the generation following that of the conquerors but rather are their grandsons.

Because we are dealing with the formation of myths so far back in time, the following can at best be a conjecture. First, it should not be surprising that the Argives, who invented their own ancestor Temenus, also invented the figures Cresphontes and Aristodemus to account for the Dorian divisions that currently existed in the Peloponnesus, that is, in the eighth century. This process was similar to the ways that Herodotus and other Greeks found to account for a hellenocentric view of the world by tracing foreign peoples to Greek heroes or gods, as we shall discuss in Chapter Three.[48] Temenus is clearly the senior partner among the brothers, leader of the entire expedition, and, in time, ancestor of the strongest of the Dorian states that followed the conquest. As noted above, he is also the only one of the generation of the conquerors who gives his name to the dynasty he founds. The evidence in Herodotus and Xenophon is not fatal to this scenario. There is a difference between saying that Aristodemus led his people and inventing the figure in the first place.

What happened next were efforts to reflect changing realities in the Peloponnesus. The Spartans added new details to the Return story as they moved toward the status of a hegemonic power, or at least aspired to such power. Eurypon and Agis may originally have been local figures or perhaps even real kings. They had been part of Spartan epichoric tradition before they became part of the Return story, figures remembered or invented by the houses bearing their names.[49] The difficulty, of course, is the previous generation, Procles and Eurysthenes. It seems unlikely that the Argives invented these figures; their need to account for the origins of the royal houses of their rivals would be surprising. Aristodemus himself was merely an aetiological figure to account for part of the Dorian division, as Cresphontes likely was as well, but an aetiology for the specific political situation in Lacedaemonia most likely points to a Spartan innovation.

What need, however, was there to invent Procles and Eurysthenes when Eurypon and Agis could have simply been plugged into the Heraclid genealogy? There is little help to be found in our ancient sources. The only relevant comment comes from Ephorus, who explains why the Spartan royal houses were given their names by briefly noting that Eurypon and Agis were deemed honorable rulers, while their fathers had ruled using foreign intermediaries,[50] an idea especially anathema to Spartan sensibility. There is no way to know how old this story is by the time it reaches Ephorus in the fourth century BCE, assuming he is not editorializing here,[51] and thus it is difficult to assess how much it reflects Spartan attitudes toward Aristodemus' sons in the archaic period. If the brothers had been Argive inventions, we can at least account for the attitude. In such a circumstance the Spartans would not rewrite "history" but instead would find a way to accommodate what tradition had already handed down. Procles and Eurysthenes served as the link to the Heraclids, giving the Spartans the right to claim supremacy in the Dorian world, while the identity of the royal houses continued to reside with local figures, men of better moral fiber than their fathers (the ones invented by the Argives), thus distancing the Spartans from their fellow Dorians. This assumes the attitude in Ephorus goes back to the seventh century or so.[52]

But let us return to the question of why the Spartans would invent them. The answer may be as simple as patronymics. Eurypon and Agis were not brothers. Greek myth is fluid, and certainly relationships change all the time from account to account, but perhaps in the Spartans' local tradition it was simpler to make one change instead of two: better to invent new fathers, especially if there had been no prior information on their fathers, than to change both their relationship to each other *and* their patronymics. In this way, the two traditional king lists were brought together in the person of Aristodemus, a pan-Doric personage.

To the reader who thinks this explanation too economical, I say that perhaps it would be so in the context of oral tradition in archaic Sparta but not in the chronographical writings that begin toward the end of the archaic age. Cartledge has demonstrated some manipulation of the early generations of the two Spartan royal houses, which are reflected in the written records of Herodotus and Pausanias. The origin of these king lists is uncertain: Herodotus may have gotten his from Hecataeus; Pausanias, from Charon of Lampsacus.[53] These early chronographers presumably produced the first written lists of kings. Rosalind Thomas' thesis about genealogy and orality suggests that the oral transmission of royal and aristocratic genealogies tends to focus on the earliest and the most recent (within three generations) past of the family. Intermediate generations are not addressed, and only a vague relationship is established between current and distant relatives, with emphasis on the qualities of those ancestors that ennobled the current family members.[54] If this holds, then we can postulate that these details were worked out long after the Spartans of the seventh century initially hitched a ride on the Heraclid bandwagon. The specific links between their local eponymous ancestors and the Heraclids may not yet have been worked out, only that there was a connection that justified the Spartans' hegemony in the Peloponnesus.

A similar issue involving chronology attends the reconstruction of the Heraclid identity of Messenia, the third division of the Dorian realm, a fertile area that was claimed by Cresphontes. Any investigation of this region and people is instantly problematic because Messenia is a special case. The Spartans dominated it from the late eighth century to the early fourth, ostensibly suppressing indigenous expressions of identity. The resulting lack of solid evidence greatly obscures any continuity that might have taken place in Messenian tradition, leading to the understandable assertion that the Messenians lacked a historical narrative prior to their liberation from Sparta by Epaminondas around 370. According to this view, what we have in our sources, of which the most important is Pausanias Book 4, is a postliberation fabrication.[55] As the counter-argument runs, the Messenians did indeed hang on to traditions dating back to the pre-Spartan period, even as a means of resistance.[56]

Susan Alcock has recently argued that such "either/or" thinking is now outmoded: "Recent work on the creation of social memory points in a new direction, towards accepting an incessantly dynamic process of remembrance and oblivion, commemoration and rejection. This more fluid modeling of 'how societies remember,' current today across several academic disciplines concerned with the potential use and abuse of memory, renders both previous schools of thought untenable."[57] She goes on to explain that Pausanias' treatment of Messenian history, essentially covering the pre- and post-Spartan periods but relating little from the four centuries of occupation, mirrors the landscape of Messenia itself, as suggested by archaeology. There are statues of Aristomenes, the great hero of the seventh century, and statues of Epaminondas, Messenia's liberator, but an omission of anything commemorating the period separating their generations. The omission arises not from Spartan suppression but from a Messenian choice to forget the Spartan era.[58]

This proposition has suggestive implications not only for an attempt to recover a Messenian identity but also for the study of kinship myth. What Alcock describes as a "shifting, unstable quality" in Messenian memory is also observable in the construction of identity and memory in many cases of kinship diplomacy, which repeatedly reveal a capacity to accept different versions of myths, even alternate versions of a community's own local myths, allowing the community to accept the proposed claim of kinship by one of the parties engaging in a diplomatic venture.

For Messenia, this line of reasoning opens the possibility, albeit slim, that we are in fact dealing with, in Pausanias and in the archaeological record, a remembrance of a Heraclid identity going back to the archaic period. For if the Argives invented the figures of Temenus, Aristodemus, and Cresphontes during the time of their hegemony, and the Spartans found a way to link their own local myths to what by then had become a pan-Doric legend, is it possible that the Messenians did something similar with the figure known in Pausanias' account as Aepytus, the son of Cresphontes? The answer depends on what we mean by "Messenians." Pausanias says that the rulers of pre-Spartan Messenia called themselves Aepytids, naming themselves for Aepytus, an especially heroic and beneficent king (4.3.8). Is there evidence for the use of this name and, indeed, for the existence of the Aepytids themselves in the eighth century?

Unfortunately, we cannot point to any attestation of this Aepytus in the archaic period. The earliest known version of his story is Euripides' lost play *Cresphontes,* and even here the name Aepytus is not used. Rather Cresphontes' son shares his father's name. Much in parallel to the tradition of Orestes, the younger Cresphontes returns to Messenia after his father has been betrayed and murdered and the son has been exiled. He gains his throne after dealing with the usurper Polyphontes.[59] It was only in the fourth century that the name of Cresphontes' son was changed to Aepytus, and it is not difficult to account for it. Aepytus was originally the name of an archaic Arcadian hero. The change probably reflects the political ties that developed between Arcadia and Messenia in the aftermath of Epaminondas' Peloponnesian victories.[60]

Pausanias' principle sources for Aepytid history, especially the wars with the Spartans, or the First and Second Messenian Wars, as we call them, were writers of the third century, Rhianus of Bene (on Crete) and Myron of Priene. Much of the content of their accounts was probably of their own devising or a sensationalist embellishment of earlier material.[61] As for the Aepytids themselves, again the evidence is not encouraging. Not only is it lacking for a ruling family known as the Aepytids in the archaic period, but even the idea of Messenia as a coherent entity before the Spartan conquest has been challenged, especially by Luraghi, whose analysis of archaeological and literary evidence belies the notion of an indigenous identity separate from Laconian, at least in the eighth century.[62]

None of this allows us to have confidence that the same sort of political mythmaking that took place in Argos and Sparta did so as well in Messenia, the third Dorian bastion in the eighth century. However, even Euripides, for all his innovative spirit, often worked with some preexisting tradition. We cannot discount the possibility that some Messenian epichoric myths had a continuity going back to the pre-Spartan period, especially if they were passed on by way of an oral tradition. But the details of such traditions, including a putative eponymous ancestor, cannot be dated with any certainty.

To return to the archaic period, it is remarkable to think that the Spartans would embrace as historical a legend invented by their inveterate adversaries, the Argives. Yet it would be atypical of them to reject what had entered the consciousness of enough Greeks to become tradition. In the collective memory of the Greeks, tradition commanded great authority, however much nitpicking historians and philosophers sought to reevaluate it. Of course, it is the Spartans, in the person of Tyrtaeus, who give us our earliest extant reference to the Return. Tyrtaeus takes advantage of it by citing the Heracleidae not only as ancestors of the Spartans but as exemplars of Spartan *aretē,* or "excellence."

We cannot know how innovative he was when, writing in the mid seventh century, he urged his fellow Spartans to fight and die well, as here at the beginning of Fragment 11: "for you are of the race of unconquered Heracles!"[63] The basic connection of the Heracleidae with the Spartans may have predated him. We have no evidence from the remaining fragments that Tyrtaeus was the first to articulate the descent of the two royal houses from the two sons of Aristodemus, the earliest reference to which is in Herodotus. We should be surprised if Herodotus had gotten his rather dry list of ancestors at 7.204 and 8.131 from the elegiac verse of Tyrtaeus, especially as Herodotus implies that the Spartan kings alone had claim to a Heraclid lineage. On the other hand, Tyrtaeus' differentiation of the Heracleidae and the Dorians in Fragment 2, which we noted above, is not so pronounced.

Let me explain by first relating what Tyrtaeus' basic goals were in referring to the Heracleidae: (1) to ennoble the Spartans as a race, possibly legitimizing Spartan supremacy in the Peloponnesus, as Argos had done earlier, (2) to ennoble the individual soldier whose bravery and sacrifice reflected Heraclid greatness and did honor to the state, and (3) to acknowledge and extol the hero upon whose goodwill the state depended—that is, the hero as an object of cultic worship. The beginning of Fragment 11 is an exhortation to the common soldier to draw strength from his glorious ancestry in facing the horrors of hoplite battle. For Tyrtaeus, then, the Heraclids are ancestors not merely of the kings but of all Spartans, the collective citizenry for whose glory even the common hoplite (as long as he is a citizen) fights and dies.[64] Further, the poet himself serves the common good as much as the hoplite, promoting the Heraclid greatness of the state with poetic skill.[65]

Our citizen-soldier is reminded again of this heritage when Tyrtaeus mentions the three tribes in Fragment 19. The association of Dorian and Heraclid that finds ready acceptance in the centuries to come is particularly significant for Tyrtaeus because of the unity of the Spartan citizens, all three tribes of them. Finally, besides inspiring the citizen-soldier, Tyrtaeus serves the state by praising Heracles himself, to show appreciation for the benefit he confers on his descendants. This is no mere literary convention or poetic *topos.* As Charles Fuqua has shown, this manifestation of hero cult is vital: "Although the propaganda and political value of heroes was recognized early on, these cults were not just expressions of local pride or the desire to glorify conspicuous examples of human accomplishment; it was firmly believed that *continuance of the state itself rested on the goodwill of these figures, and success or failure of civic enterprises was often correlated with proper observance of their rites*" (my emphasis).[66] In other words, Tyrtaeus encourages self-sacrifice, both military and religious, in honor of the deified Heracles, which will lead to prosperity and victory for the community.[67]

Tyrtaeus, then, demonstrates how a heroic myth that began as an attempt at political legitimization in Argos can be transformed into a partial basis for a peculiar moral prerogative that subordinates the needs of the individual to that of the state. Even if Tyrtaeus had not invented the Spartan connection in his version of the Return (for it is highly likely that the king lists Herodotus provides derive from sources either independent of or subsequent to Tyrtaeus),[68] he certainly transformed it profoundly, inspiring further Spartan victories for centuries and providing opportunities for Spartan kings to get some political "mileage" out of their Heraclid ancestry, much as Pheidon had done in Argos.

TAKING BONES AND SHARING HEROES

Much has been said about the importance of heroes, particularly as founders of cities, for the identity of those cities. Indeed, legendary figures were conceived as ancestors at many levels of political unity. For example, some of the demes of Attica took their names from local ancestors, and indeed at the level of the ten tribes, Cleisthenes selected ancestors, whose names were provided by the Delphic Oracle (*Ath. Pol.* 21.5–6); these ancestors then became the "referent for one's social identity," as Malkin has described them. The reason is that at these various levels—*polis,* tribe, and deme—we are dealing with unities bonded by common institutions, cults, and a sense of kinship, collectively referring back to a putative common ancestor.[69] As we have noted in a different context above, these heroes were thought to have protective powers over their *poleis,* accessible to those who practiced their cults as part of the civic rituals of the *polis.*

The hero's would-be remains (whatever their actual origin) sometimes became the focus of cult, and thus their acquisition sometimes became the objective of an enemy that wished to remove the hero's protective shield from that *polis,* weakening it on the eve of a conflict, and to transfer it and that protective power to its own *polis.*[70] This is essentially what lies behind some transfers of heroes' bones, whose political repercussions are of central importance to kinship diplomacy. First, they speak to the Greeks' capacity for entrusting mythological figures with immediate political influence. Second, they give us a glimpse of what J. M. Hall has called "the Multilocality of Heroes," the idea that heroes, for all their local significance (both cultic and political) in a particular community, can have the same such significance for a different one.[71]

The two most famous examples of the transfer of bones involve the alleged remains of Theseus and Orestes.[72] These stories have drawn copious analysis elsewhere and need but brief treatment here. The transfer of Theseus' bones to Athens occurred in 476/5, or soon thereafter, when Cimon son of Miltiades led an Athenian expedition to the island of Scyros, where he knew Theseus had died.[73] In his *Theseus,* Plutarch says that the Athenians were consulting the Delphic oracle in this year, but for what purpose he does not reveal. On that occasion, the Pythia bid them to restore the bones of Theseus to Athens for "honorable" burial. There was much political gain in Athens for this act of piety, to be sure, but what needs further emphasis is that this benefit accrued for both the community of the Athenians and for an individual, Cimon.

Pausanias suggests that removing the bones from Scyros was a prerequisite for taking the island.[74] In fact, one wonders what the need would be because Cimon's force overwhelmed the opposition and was able to secure the island. The removal of the bones would in fact have been in the aftermath of the conquest.[75] Nonetheless, long-term benefits were to be had for the return of the bones to the Athenians, who celebrated with processions and sacrifices and built a new Theseion to house the bones (Plut. *Thes.* 36.2). Obviously, there was much to celebrate now that Athens' national hero was back home, for it was he, they believed, who had founded Athens by uniting the villages of Attica into one *polis* (synoecism), who had established the democracy, and who appeared at Marathon to help deliver victory to the Athenians.[76] His association with these ideas led Theseus to become a focus of Athenian identity in the nascent years of its golden age when men like Cimon were laying the foundations of the Athenian empire.

In this context, scholars have also made the argument that Theseus had imperial uses and that, for example, he was to be seen as a hero for all the Ionians who constituted the Delian League.[77] Whether a particularly Ionian hero or not, certainly from the Athenians' point of view, the possession of these bones legitimized their empire, for it enabled them to claim that their ability to protect the pan-Aegean basin from further Persian threats emanated from a home-grown greatness that Theseus exemplified. Thus, if the transfer of his bones was effectively a transfer of Theseus' protection from Scyros to Athens, as McCauley has argued,[78] it was also a foundation for more ambitious aims, not merely Attic protection but pan-Aegean protection, eventually, later in the fifth century, to be tainted by the *hubris* that imperialism always engenders.

As for Cimon, Plutarch suggests that his prestige at home was greatly enhanced after he brought back the bones (*Cim.* 8.6). There is little doubt that Cimon worked hard to gain political profit for himself and his family from the campaign on Scyros. He did so with great care, however. Never one to liken himself to Theseus, which would have been frowned upon in a democracy, Cimon instead took on the traditional role of a well-to-do citizen contributing to the health of his city, which was his way of rehabilitating the fortunes of his family after his father Miltiades had fallen into ill favor.[79] He may also have pursued this plan to get the better of his rival Themistocles, the hero of Salamis (that other great battle in the Persian Wars), who by this time had fallen even further out of public favor.[80] In addition to the Theseion, other monuments celebrated the association of Cimon's family with Theseus. One of them, at Delphi, depicted Miltiades alongside Apollo and Athena, while, in Athens, the Stoa Poecile, built by Cimon's relative Peisianax, featured paintings of mythological and historical battles of great significance to the Athenians, including Marathon.

Thus, although Cimon was no fan of democracy nor indeed of imperialistic aims that would seek to suppress other states where aristocrats such as himself suffered the consequences, he demonstrated great service to the democracy for the sake of his own status. Nor was he the only individual in the Greek world to try to profit politically from myth. As we shall see, Dorieus of Sparta had attempted to do so in Sicily by trying to create a new kingdom for himself using the Spartan national myth. It was to be the restoration of a Heraclid domain. Likewise, Alexander attempted to use his descent from Heracles and Achilles not only to consolidate the conquests of Macedonia but to enhance his own personal achievement, which amounted to the same thing.

The transfer of the bones of Orestes from Tegea to Sparta around 560 is probably the most famous such event from ancient times. It came at a time when Sparta was still in the process of establishing its hegemonic position in the greater Peloponnesus, having thoroughly secured Laconia and Messenia. In the early sixth century the Spartans turned next to Arcadia, but the road to hegemony proved rough indeed as the Spartans suffered continuous defeats at the hands of the Tegeans. Once again, the Spartans had recourse to myth, but this time not to the Return. Instead, they employed Sparta's traditional Pelopid associations.

Around the same time that Homer first described Menelaus as king of Lacedaemon,[81] the Spartans established a cult centered on the Menelaion at

Therapne.[82] By the sixth century, they embraced Menelaus' nephew Orestes as a significant cult figure,[83] giving rise to the story told by Herodotus and Pausanias of how they ultimately prevailed over Tegea.[84] As the defeats mounted, the Spartans sent to Delphi to find out which god they needed to propitiate for the sake of victory. The oracle told them to find the bones of Orestes and bring them back to Sparta. Although they could not at first find them, even after the oracle provided clues of their whereabouts (somewhere in Arcadia), a Spartan named Lichas serendipitously discovered the location and eventually secured the bones. Afterwards, the Spartans were undefeated, removing the Tegeans as obstacles to their dominance of Arcadia. So the power of the hero was again transferred from one location to the other.

Scholars have tried to account for the Spartan policy that lies behind this ancient narrative and have specifically wondered why Orestes should be the hero that the Delphic oracle told the Spartans to find. The traditional view is that the Spartans were emphasizing their pre-Dorian, that is, Achaean, identity as they reached out to their Arcadian neighbors. Their relations with more distant peoples in the Peloponnesus were to be conducted on a stronger basis of mutual interest, as fellow Achaeans, than had been the case in Messenia. Though still dominant, the Spartans were to be seen as legitimate hegemons rather than as usurping conquerors in the regions beyond Laconia and Messenia. The process would begin with Tegea, whose final defeat was not by conquest but by treaty.[85] As a diplomatic method, this embrace of a dual identity was not uncommon in the Greek world. Duality also characterized the identity of the Athenians, who conceived themselves as a people of both autochthonous and Ionian origins. Likewise, Miletus, though a member of the Ionian League, probably used its Aeolid associations, by way of its putative founder, Neleus, a descendant of Aeolus, in kinship diplomacy. For Sparta to employ myth in its dealings with Tegea, it had to turn to a local Arcadian hero, one whom it could also claim as a native son.[86]

The challenge to this traditional interpretation has come from two directions. First, Deborah Boedeker has rejected the significance of Orestes as an element in a Spartan foreign policy by arguing that his significance was internal, a hero with no familial connections to the elite families who could thus represent the new unity of "equals" that the Lycurgan constitutional reforms brought about.[87] Moreover, she makes an important distinction that has not been considered in the foregoing discussion, that having the *means* to overcome Tegea does not automatically translate into Tegea's acknowledgement of Sparta's *right* to do so in the first place.[88] This is true enough, given that the Tegeans had not previously had a cult of Orestes. Indeed, Herodotus tells us that they had not even realized that they possessed Orestes' bones before Lichas stole them. However, this state of affairs need not preclude a role for Orestes in Sparta's foreign policy.

The second challenge explains why. David Phillips sees the evidence as amounting not to a change of policy but only to a change in strategy. He makes the sensible point that removing the bones was not a sign of some sort of reconciliation with pre-Dorians en route to legitimacy. The Spartans' policy of expansion and conquest was in full operation throughout the sixth century.[89] Indeed, the pre-Dorians of Arcadia and elsewhere would have taken a hostile view to the appropriation of the hero, but that would not have entered the calculations of the Spartans. If Tegea eventually became Sparta's staunch ally in later periods, it was the result of the full force of Spartan policy, which entailed the appropriation of the bones of several heroes and the continued conquest and interference in regions in which the Spartans were allegedly already legitimate. Tegea's alignment was also the result of the curious way in which the authority granted a tradition by collective memory transforms the political potential of a propagandizing myth, on which more below.

Aside from Orestes, also useful were his son Tisamenus and father Agamemnon. Through Orestes the Spartans could claim legitimacy in Arcadia and the Argolid, while Agamemnon reinforced their link to the latter. Orestes' son Tisamenus gave them Achaea in the north of the Peloponnesus.[90] Phillips has characterized this expedition against Achaea as a conquest, not an attempt at alliance.[91] The argument is convincing and very much in keeping with the way the Spartans had used the Return in the formative periods of their hegemony.

The transfers of both Theseus' and Orestes' bones demonstrate how the employment of a hero's special protective powers for an immediate objective — though I have argued above that Scyros was in fact already taken by the time Cimon found the bones of Theseus — could later become the foundation for more wide-ranging endeavors: the consolidation of an Athenian naval empire in the fifth century, the consolidation of a Spartan hegemonic imperium across the Peloponnesus in the sixth.

There is an important point to be made about the way Agamemnon came into play in the Spartan expansion. It was not through an appropriation of his bones but by a manipulation of myth, especially by Stesichorus, whose *Oresteia* may have helped to create a "Spartan" Agamemnon. So firmly entrenched had the "Spartan" Agamemnon become by the fifth century that Pindar not only accepted this association with Lacedaemonia but narrowed it down to Amyclae, the latest of the five constituent villages to synoecize into Sparta, and he did so for no other reason than that it had become accepted tradition by this point.[92] The cult of Agamemnon that developed at Amyclae may have reflected that village's desire to promote an antiquity that belied its newcomer status in the Spartan synoecism. This very tactic was used by Phygela in Asia Minor to promote the same sort of antiquity.[93] What allows for such acceptance by Pindar's time would have also allowed for the other claims that the Spartans had made, and for this reason as well, Tegea would eventually have followed suit and acknowledged the basis of Sparta's claims to hegemony in the Peloponnesus. The same phenomenon will be observed time and again, as when we ask why Alexander I had to fight for his hellenic identity through Heracles at the Olympic Games around 500, given that Alexander III rolled through Thessaly and Asia Minor fully acknowledged as the descendant and heir of Heracles. Tradition hallows even the most barefaced fabrications, given time.

This sharing of heroes that allowed for Sparta's success is quite common in the Greek world. In addition to Agamemnon, Jonathan Hall has noted the examples of Hippolytus, a subject of cultic devotion in both Troezen and Athens (as was Theseus), and the Seven against Thebes, likewise honored in both Argos and Sicyon and elsewhere. In the case of Hippolytus, the sharing led to cooperation rather than legitimized conquest. When Troezen accepted Athenian evacuees during the Persian threat of 480, they were putting into practice a bond that had been articulated mythologically by the sharing of Theseus and Hippolytus.[94] Meanwhile, in similar fashion to the Spartans' use of Agamemnon, Orestes, and Tisamenus, the Argives embraced heroes whose origins were thought to be elsewhere — acknowledging, for instance, the Arcadian Parthenopaeus and the Aetolian Diomedes — where they also were objects of hero cult. Through this embrace, the Argives both expressed a connection to those places, as if they, too, were in a sense Argive, and also claimed a primacy among them, because after all, the Argive Adrastus had led the Seven against Thebes. In the context of the Persian threat in 480, the Argives demanded from the Spartans a share of the leadership of the Greeks on the basis of this ancient hegemony.[95]

To sum up, in addition to the hero's importance to a community's internal identity, he sometimes also fulfilled the need of the *polis* to establish its relationship with other states, often for promoting a hegemonic or hierarchical relationship. The Return of the Heracleidae provided the Spartans with such an opportunity in the archaic period. This state of affairs would lead to other opportunities in the hellenistic period, particularly in the context of kinship diplomacy. For this reason, states could occasionally cite a hero they shared as the basis for a diplomatic venture, somewhat in the vein of Troezen and Athens, except that in the former cases, there was a more explicit declaration of *sungeneia*. On this basis, as we shall see in a later chapter, the Aetolians and

Heraclea-at-Latmus could do business, citing Endymion as their common ancestor, likewise Tegea and Pergamum citing Telephus.

Before we move onward to examine how kinship diplomacy worked, let us recap some key ideas that help us understand why kinship diplomacy was possible. Several factors explain why myth could be cited as a basis for conducting political action: (1) myth's authority was granted by the collective memory of the communities that gave rise to it and shared it, (2) Greek thinking about myth was often fluid, in terms of both the credulity of the believers and the multilocality of the heroes, (3) heroic myth was made equal to early history, though to different degrees, and (4) as a result of the other factors, the deeds and associations of heroes were precedents to be cited for present action. While it would be reckless to say that communities did not prefer certain versions of myths, especially if they reflected current political realities, as we shall see in the case of Athens and Salamis, there was often a tolerance for variant details, whether involving a familial tradition of a noble house in the archaic period or foundation narratives of hellenistic *poleis* sharing the same founding hero.

Such tolerance was less pronounced among analytical thinkers such as historians, but they were not consistent about what was authoritative and what was not. Although their debates often turned on issues of canon and authenticity as we understand them in our own approach to scientific history, for most Greeks such debates were pointless. These are the Greeks who made up the assemblies that issued the decrees mentioning *sungeneia* or *oikeiotēs* in the classical and hellenistic periods, who in the archaic period and earlier followed the traditions about the Trojan War that had been handed down orally (Homer) and local familial traditions of the elite houses who demanded obedience, who encountered (through recitation or reading) mythological material serving myriad purposes in historical accounts, and who did the best they could to grapple with the arguments that leaders like Solon or Pericles made when they promoted certain policies involving foreign kinship. Such political leaders tended to be more aware of the possibilities of political manipulation of myth, though some may themselves have been of like mind to the populace when it came to accepting what had been handed down. I firmly believe Alexander the Great falls into this category. But they might also take advantage of this state of affairs and manipulate myth so that the manipulation, too, might in time become the stuff of tradition. It most likely happened in Magnesia-on-the-Maeander in the early third century, when their eponymous founder suddenly acquired a new patronymic. The paradox of kinship diplomacy in ancient Greece is that firm belief in tradition can be born of fluid thinking.

THREE

KINSHIP MYTH IN THE LITERARY SOURCES

Alliances and Assistance

The dialogue between historians *of* the ancient world and authors *in* the ancient world has always been precious, more so than applies to those who study the recent past, where a cornucopia of evidence makes the goal of getting at real historical events and processes easier. Nevertheless, ancient historians, ever with one foot in the interdisciplinary field of classics, are increasingly recognizing that the traditional approach of compiling, collating, comparing, and contrasting our sources (e.g., literary, archaeological), to see what picture emerges from them, has limitations that are no longer acceptable. Now, more and more effort is being made to evaluate our sources in their original context and with reference not only to the historical events ancient authors presented but also to what the authors' own opinions were on those events.[1]

In a similar fashion, greater attention is now being paid to the circumstances of composition. For example, Tarn's face-value reading of Arrian suggested an Alexander the Great who embraced a brotherhood of mankind because, among other things, he offered a prayer of equality and harmony between Macedonians and Persians at a banquet after a mutiny at Opis.[2] Bosworth has argued that this scene and other suggestions of a policy of racial fusion are products of the typical rhetorical training of authors like Arrian and Plutarch in the early Roman Empire and are inadequate as evidence for Alexander's dream of racial harmony.[3] It follows then that a study of the uses of kinship myth, as recorded by Herodotus, Thucydides, and others, necessarily requires an evaluation of the perspective and agenda of that author. It also requires an assessment of the audience not only for how they responded to the author's narrative but for how the narrative responded to the common beliefs that had been held about the myths and their uses.

One of the patterns that emerges from the literary accounts of kinship myth, as opposed to the epigraphical, is that the type of diplomacy tends to involve the formation or proposition of an alliance, requests for assistance, and justification of conquests and territorial possession. The type that one finds more of in inscriptions—exchanges of polity and requests for *asylia* and for recognition of religious festivals—is less prominent in the literary sources, perhaps because they provide less drama and draw less attention from writers who seek to engage their audience. Also useful for the presentation of these ventures are the roles played by charismatic individuals, such as Xerxes, Dorieus, and of course Alexander. As is well known, the romance that builds around such individuals engenders the fabulous as much as the historical. Sure enough, if we were to limit ourselves to studying kinship myth in literature and left aside the inscriptions, we might question just how real and how common the phenomenon was in ancient Greece. Admittedly, the inscriptions attest mainly (though not entirely) to kinship diplomacy in the hellenistic period, while our literary sources primarily record instances that allegedly took place in the archaic and classical eras. The argument to be made here, however, is not that the conception of *sungeneia* in a diplomatic context developed only in the fifth century (beginning with Herodotus), which later writers ascribed to early would-be practitioners such as Solon and Dorieus. There was indeed an environment for kinship myth to be efficacious, but the details of the kinship diplomacy as a historical event must for the most part remain uncertain.

XERXES AND ARGOS

Indeed, the historicity of our first recorded example, at Herodotus 7.150, is highly doubtful. Xerxes was preparing his invasion of Greece in the late 480s, when he sent an envoy to the Argives to request their neutrality. Herodotus says that the Great King claimed kinship with the Argives through Perses, who the Persians believed was their eponymous ancestor. They also believed that this Perses was the son of Perseus, an Argive hero, and they concluded that the Argives were the forefathers of the Persians. This passage and others like it have been the subject of intense debates about Herodotus' methods, goals, and reliability. Another example would be the famous "Persian" accounts at the very beginning of Herodotus' *History* (1.1–5) of the abductions of Io, Europa, Medea, and Helen, whose stories we know from Greek mythology. One might argue that in such accounts Herodotus depicts Persians as having knowledge of Greek myth. At 7.150, the author's purpose for this depiction is to explain and perhaps justify current views held among his contemporaries and possibly by the author himself on how the Argives stood in relation to their fellow Greeks and also to the Persians.

Given Herodotus' practice of hellenizing the Persians in his narrative, Detlev Fehling posed the important and legitimate question of where Herodotus got his information. Fehling's answer was that Herodotus fabricated the accounts and made up his sources.[4] The responses to Fehling have been many and at times vigorous. In the more productive of these he has been criticized for (1) applying twentieth-century standards to Herodotus' work and (2) failing to give due consideration to the "cultural milieu" in which Herodotus wrote.[5] For my purposes, this milieu is the key to understanding the nature and true extent of his fabrications (I, for one, am perfectly willing to agree with Fehling that there may be *some* fabrication in the work). In short, Herodotus did not work in a vacuum: the world in which he lived (the Greek world of the fifth century) influenced how he shaped and presented his material.[6] It is well to keep in mind the true significance of this accomplishment.

When Herodotus first approached the task of writing his *History,* he was doing something no one else had done before. With no precedents to guide him, he had to decide what material and what kinds of material to include (not just the facts but also events and deeds that may or may not have been factual but were *meaningful* to his sources and his audience), how to organize it, and what it all meant to him and to his audience (e.g., lessons about the dangers of *hubris* or the vicissitudes of fortune).

One example of this influence is the hellenocentric point of view of Herodotus' contemporaries that worked its way into his *History.* By that I mean that the Greeks tended to view the wide world around them in Greek terms; they ordered or structured the world by putting themselves in the center and relating everybody else to *them.* Not surprisingly, these relationships were primarily expressed in mythological terms. A prime example would be assigning heroes from *Greek* mythology as eponymous ancestors of non-Greek peoples, such as Perses, ancestor of the Persians.[7] More than that, however, this was not some abstract construct but a world that was very real to the Greeks. The evidence for this reality is twofold. First, as we have seen, heroic legend was considered an earlier part of history, and thus it had a direct effect on the present. Second, there was a common (but not universal) belief in the hellenic world that non-Greeks worshiped Greek gods, for example, Heracles in Tyre, Dionysus among the Arabs, and so on.[8]

The foregoing suggests that Herodotus' sources were primarily Greek, rather than Persian. The cosmopolitan nature of Herodotus' hometown of Halicarnassus in Anatolian Caria exposed him to foreign influences, perhaps even to foreign languages. This point remains one of the more controversial in Herodotean studies.[9] D. M. Lewis has suggested that much of Herodotus' information about the Persians came from Greek secretaries working within the Persian Empire, who are attested in clay tablets found at Persepolis and dated to the reign of Darius I.[10] If accurate, such a state of affairs not only can explain some of the errors Herodotus makes about Persian history, language, and so on but also account for the hellenocentric perspective that Herodotus has given to Xerxes at 7.150.

So, keeping in mind Herodotus' craft and the influence on the development of that craft, let us now look at the passage in question:

> Another story is told in Greece that Xerxes sent a herald to Argos before he set out on his campaign against Greece. Upon arriving, the herald is said to have delivered this message: "Men of Argos, King Xerxes says the following to you: 'We believe that it is from Perses, son of Perseus, whose mother was Danaë, and Andromeda daughter of Cepheus, that we are descended, and so from you also we are descended. Thus it is neither reasonable for us to make war on our ancestors nor should you be ranged against us assisting others, but rather you should remain quiescent. Should the matter be resolved according to my will, I will honor no one more than you.'"[11]

We can quickly dispense with the question of the historicity of this account. First, although the possibility exists that the Persians might have had some familiarity with Greek mythology, given their considerable interaction,[12] the fact remains that no Persian source material exists as evidence for such knowledge or its political potential. Second, at Sepeia near Tiryns, Argos suffered a devastating defeat by the Spartans in 494, with apparently thousands of her adult male citizens wiped out.[13] I find it difficult to accept that Argos had recovered sufficiently in fourteen years to be worthy of Xerxes' attention as a great military power whose neutrality made a difference to the Persian war effort. Let us now turn back to Herodotus himself and his reasons for including so unlikely an alleged instance of kinship diplomacy in his narrative.

As Herodotus himself says at the beginning of 7.150, this account is a Greek one, one of three in fact related to him by others, all to explain why Argos did not join the Greek coalition in the war (7.148–152). We will consider these variations and their implications presently. For now, it bears noting that the story of Perses has a rich hellenic tradition. Hellanicus of Lesbos, one of Herodotus' sources, not only mentions Perses but says that he led his people, the Cephenes, to Persia, where they became Persians. Though none of the extant fragments explicitly state that Perses was the ancestor of the Persians, Hellanicus seems to imply this and may well have expressed such a belief in a passage of his *Persica,* which is now lost.[14] The idea that Perses is the ancestor of the Persians is certainly not older than the mid sixth century. At this time, the Persians under Cyrus the Great, having overcome the Medes and supplanted them as the great power in the East, first came to the notice of the Greek world.[15] The Greeks perceived a great menace as the Persians defeated Lydia and conquered the Ionians and later Egypt and Samos.[16]

Besides his Ionian predecessors, Herodotus also had as evidence an oracle that supposedly predated the Battle of Thermopylae. Leonidas remained behind at the Pass of Thermopylae, Herodotus believes, because he was convinced that he should give his life for his people for the following reason: the oracle deemed that if the king did not fall, then Lacedaemon itself would be destroyed "by the Perseid men" (ὑπ᾽ ἀνδράσι Περσεΐδῃσι), that is, the descendants of Perseus (7.220.4).

Most importantly, we have oblique references to this kinship in Aeschylus' *Persians,* wherein Xerxes is described by the Chorus (a group of Persian Elders) as "a godlike man of a race born from gold" (χρυσογόνου γενεᾶς ἰσόθεος φώς, lines 79–80), meaning from Perseus, whose mother Danaë was visited by Zeus as a shower of gold. Drews cites line 146 of the play as evidence of the playwright's assumption of the audience's long-standing familiarity with the Perses link, given the "allusive nature of the references."[17] The Chorus asks, "How does King Xerxes fare, born of Danaë's race that is named for our forefather?" (πῶς ἄρα πράσσει Ξέρξης βασιλεὺς / Δανάης τε γόνου, / τὸ πατρωνύμιον γένος ἡμέτερον; lines 144–146). Aeschylus does not mention Perses by name; the references to him are "allusive" in that the audience understands to whom the bits of information refer without needing direct identification. To these we might add lines 185–187, cited by Pericles Georges as an indication of Graeco-Persian kinship, for here Atossa dreams of two maidens who are sisters, one dressed as a Persian and the other as a Greek (Dorian).[18] Thus, we see even in only one play of Aeschylus some indication of how well established the Perses myth was in the repertory of Greek culture.

The story itself was developed somewhat by Hellanicus, as preserved by the lexicographer Stephanus of Byzantium: "The Chaldaeans were formerly the Cephenes, named after Cepheus, father of Andromeda, whose son was Perses, son of Perseus son of Danaë and Zeus. . . . Hellanicus says in Book 1 of his *Persica* the following: 'After Cepheus had died, [Perses and the Cephenes] marched from Babylon [where Cepheus had been king] and occupied Artaea.'"[19] In Fragment 60: "Artaea is the land of the Persians, which Perses colonized. According to Hellanicus in Book 1 of his *Persica,* the Persians, and likewise the Greeks, call the ancients Artaeans."[20] There is no specific mention of Perses as the eponymous ancestor of the Persians, who in Hellanicus' version might be the Cephenes or perhaps the Artaeans, though the implication is clear. However, an anonymous scholiast in later centuries makes Perses' eponymous role explicit: "He left [Babylon], bringing with him many Cephenes to the land of the Artaeans. Finding them at odds with each other, he became master of the

Artaeans and joined them to the other people [the Cephenes] and then named them all Persians after himself. And he had a son Achaemenes, from whom the Persians were called Achaemenides."[21] The clear implication is that an assimilation of peoples took place,[22] and it seems very likely that Hellanicus also believed (and perhaps asserted in a no longer extant passage) that the Persians derived their name from Perses, whether by his decree or in some other way.[23]

As for Xerxes' request itself, we can better understand its implications by examining all three accounts Herodotus gives at 7.148–152. In the first variation, given by the Argives themselves, the Delphic oracle advised Argos to decline any Greek proposals for alliance against the Persians. The Argives ostensibly rejected this advice but set conditions that would prove unrealistic to the Spartans, with whom the former proposed to share command of the Greek armies, despite having traditionally only one royal house (the Temenids) to the Spartans' two (7.148–149). The second version (7.150), which includes Xerxes' embassy, does not have a specific referent but is simply a story "told in Greece" (*λεγόμενος ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα*).[24] According to this account, the Argives rejected Greek overtures only after the embassy to Xerxes, presumably at a later date from when the Argives themselves said they had done this. In fact, as Herodotus points out (7.150.3), when the Spartans rejected the demand for sharing the leadership, the Argives could cite Spartan intransigence and remain neutral, thus adhering to the oracle (and helping the Persians) with no guilt. The third version is given after Herodotus' gnomic statement that his knowledge of which account to believe is limited but guided by the principle of recording variations and realizing that culpability in certain actions should be measured by the adverse circumstances that might have prompted, and thus mitigated, those actions. So that, to take the Argive example, even if they had actually invited the Persians to Greece, which constitutes the third account Herodotus has heard, there is still a way to explain it and both of the other versions, that the Argives were at a low ebb, having lost many men at Sepeia and now vulnerable to Spartan domination. For this reason, we should resist accusing Argos of acting "most shamefully" (*αἴσχιστα*) (7.152).

Gregory Nagy has noted that presenting the third account in this way, following a statement of Herodotus' general principle of historical inquiry, softens the blow, as it were. That general statement contains an aphorism of sorts.[25] Herodotus says that if all men could come together to a place where they could see each other's *kaka,* or "evils," each would choose to go home with his own rather than with someone else's. The implications are that (1) the Argives' *kaka* should be seen in relation to those of others and (2) the reliability of different versions of a story will not be the same. Therefore, Herodotus' policy is not to accept necessarily every story he hears (7.152.2).

But we need to have a better understanding of what *kaka* means to appreciate the value of Herodotus' inclusion of Xerxes' embassy. *Kaka* can refer to misfortunes, such as what the Argives had suffered at Sepeia and now potentially faced at Spartan hands. *Kaka* can also refer to wrongdoings, such as medizing. As we have noted above, the implication of 7.152.2 is that others who are guilty of their own "wrongdoings" should not be so quick to judge the Argives. Rosaria Munson has noted that this gnomic statement says as much about Herodotus' view of humanity in general as about his historiographical methodology. In other words, it serves the same function as that of another famous maxim that speaks of Herodotus' cosmopolitan attitude at 3.38.4, where Herodotus says, "I think Pindar had it right when he said that *nomos* is the king of all" (ὀρθῶς μοι δοκέει Πίνδαρος ποιῆσαι νόμον πάντων βασιλέα φήσας εἶναι).[26] Herodotus' history pursues the paradoxical goals of revealing a common human nature that transcends culture, a loose translation of *nomos,* and of recording individual manifestations of human nature *in* culture. The aphorism at 3.38 acknowledges that one society will cultivate a practice or ritual that is abhorrent to another and that it is human nature to judge other cultures by the criteria of one's own. In this same vein, the maxim at 7.152.2 is intended to exculpate Argos in the context of condemnation levied in stories circulating in the Greek world during and after the Persian Wars by reminding us that those stories are not always reliable or the condemnation always justifiable. Especially if we take into account the very human reaction of Argos to its circumstances, we should remember that another state might behave in the same way under similar conditions. This leads Herodotus to his conclusion that the Argives had not acted "most shamefully."

If this conclusion holds, the account of Xerxes' attempt at kinship diplomacy would serve to remind Herodotus' readers of Argos' traditional Perseid associations and to bring that association into a discussion of Argos' role in the prelude to the Persian War of 480. The Perseid kinship was obviously well known, as attested by Aeschylus and Hellanicus, and could not be overlooked in Herodotus' use of Argos as an example of the hazards of presenting historical information. It likely loomed in the minds of readers of 9.12–13, where another act of Argive medism was recorded. Before the Battle of Plataea in 479, while Mardonius was still in Attica, the Argives reported that they could no longer hinder the Spartan army under Pausanias from advancing over the Isthmus against the Persians. The Argives wished good luck to Mardonius, who then devastated Attica and withdrew to Boeotia. This time there is no assessment of the Argives' motivations, just a presentation of the "facts," if genuine. This passage also seems condemnatory on the surface, because here we are not dealing with competing versions and the issues raised above are not brought to the fore. Again, the context of the Argive-Laconian enmity helps to explain Argos' medism, if not justify it as convincingly as before. The enmity at least makes the medism at 9.12 intelligible, and the tradition of Argive-Persian kinship accomplishes the same purpose.

A significant comment on Herodotus' methodology, and of Fehling's criticism of it, is that the historian in this case uses a tradition already well established. He may be reluctant to take a stand on the veracity of Xerxes' embassy, but that he includes it at all suggests that it would not raise eyebrows, even if Herodotus' account was the first in which his audience heard of the event, at least given the context in which it was presented. In short, at 7.150 Herodotus was not working in a vacuum.

If we consider his comments on Thebes by comparison, which drew the hostility of the Boeotian Plutarch,[27] an interesting difference arises. Herodotus makes no secret of his disdain for the way the Thebans behaved in the course of Xerxes' invasion. The Thebans readily surrendered to the Persians and supported them at length, even providing their city as a base of operations.[28] The Thebans, too, had a connection with the barbarian East, specifically the Phoenicians, who served in the fleets of the Persians. Herodotus notes that Phoenicians led by Cadmus came to Boeotia and introduced the alphabet in Greece (5.57–58). Yet, interestingly, he makes no attempt to associate the Thebans' medism with their Phoenician origins. The opportunity does not seem to have been there; that is, stories do not seem to have circulated of diplomatic interaction between Thebes and the Phoenicians, nor do Thebes' Phoenician origins have the same significance for Greeks as the Persians' Argive origins. For this reason, Herodotus has nothing on Thebes comparable to Xerxes' embassy at 7.150.

In any case, the idea of kinship diplomacy was not likely to have been a novel concept to Herodotus' audience. Thucydides gives plenty of indication that such methods of diplomacy were common in that period, including a possible use of kinship myth in Thrace, as we shall see. Peisistratus seems to have used kinship myth in the 560s. Moreover, Herodotus' account depends on a hellenocentric world view that establishes a *real* relationship between Persia and Argos, based on a putative ancestor shared by both. What How and Wells called a "Greek fiction" when referring to the Perses link is a fiction only from *our* point of view.[29] A more appropriate word would be "tradition." Herodotus is not only interested in recording the facts; he also seeks to preserve the traditional, as Oswyn Murray has shown,[30] because by its very nature, the traditional is important and meaningful and should be preserved. Just as this hellenocentric mode of thinking enabled the Greeks to give order to the wide world around them, thus informing the development of Herodotus' craft as a recorder of the past, it also enabled a fuller understanding of Herodotus' purpose by his audience, as he intended when he presented, if not also invented, Xerxes' remarkable embassy to Argos.

ATHENS AND THRACE

Thucydides makes abundantly clear the extent to which the concept of *sungeneia,* or kinship, in a diplomatic context was known to the Greeks of the late fifth century, who would constitute the initial audiences of the first two historians. Out of thirty-three passages in which he refers to *sungeneia,* twenty-six examples are between separate and sovereign *poleis.*[31] An example would be the relationship between colony and mother city, such as that of Corinth and Syracuse: the latter sought help from its mother city in the face of Athenian aggression on the basis of their kinship (6.88.7). There were also indications of ethnic affiliation: a common Dorian identity was felt among Corinth, Sparta, and Potidaea, on which basis the Corinthians pleaded for help from Sparta on behalf of Potidaea (1.71.4). The Athenians justified their subjugation of Ionian states, denying that they held them in enslavement but rather likening the relationship to that of a parent and children (6.82.3). We have seen this same sort of justification of hegemony in the use of the Return of the Heracleidae by Argos and later Sparta. Alexander the Great would employ kinship myth in the same vein.

While Thucydides would seem to embrace *some* sort of reality of the ancient heroes,[32] he does express doubt about the motives of political actions when grounded in myth. For example, he argued that some of the myriad states involved in the Athenian/Syracusan conflict of 415–413 made ethnic affiliations a pretext for more pragmatic concerns. That is, money, power, and necessity, rather than considerations of *sungeneia,* often determined which side a *polis* would take (7.57–58). However, a number of scholars have felt that Thucydides underestimated the earnestness with which Greek states did embrace an ethnic identity grounded in putative, and usually eponymous, ancestors, that to be Dorian meant to be descended from Dorus and Ionian from Ion.[33] Thucydides may have seen the invocation of such identity as rhetorical or a pretext and presented it as such in his narrative,[34] but we can account for his attitude by remembering his historiographical objectives, which were "to reach down to the *real* causes of events, and not to be satisfied with the superficial. This often manifests itself as a reaction against popular beliefs and explanations."[35] If Thucydides feels that a tradition, no matter how widely held, contradicts observable data, he will intercede in his narrative and apply a corrective. Such is the case of the Athenian claim of kinship with the ruling dynasty of Thrace, to which we now turn.

At the outset of the Peloponnesian War, in the summer of 431, Athens formed an alliance with Sitalces, king of the Odrysian Thracians. The Thracians were a nonhellenic people who were considered primitive by Greek writers, especially the Thracians who lived in the mountainous areas, as opposed to the ones in the coastal plains who interacted more with the Greeks. The Athenians had considerable interests in the Thraceward region, which was an important source of wheat, timber, and gold and an area adjoining Athens' mercantile links to the Black Sea. There were also concerns about the Athenians' erstwhile ally Perdiccas in Macedon, whose proximity to Amphipolis, Potidaea (currently under siege by the Athenians), and other Athenian interests was a cause for anxiety. As Thucydides relates (2.29), to procure the alliance, the Athenians enlisted the aid of one Nymphodorus of Abdera as their *proxenos,* a sort of ambassador who looked out for Athenian interests in Thrace. His sister was married to Sitalces, and so he had the king's ear. The alliance was arranged in Athens, where, as part of the agreement, Sitalces' son Sadocus became an Athenian citizen.[36] Nymphodorus also managed to turn Perdiccas back to Athens' side in exchange for the city of Therme, to be restored to the Macedonian king.

In the middle of his account, Thucydides makes a curious remark: "This Teres [father of Sitalces and founder of the Odrysian state] has nothing to do with the Tereus whose wife was Procne, the daughter of Pandion, from Athens. They are not even from the same Thrace. Rather Tereus dwelt in Daulis, in the land now called Phocis but at that time inhabited by Thracians."[37] There is no evidence that the Athenians ever asserted a mythical link with the Odrysians in the treaty. However, the fact that Thucydides should take the time to mention Tereus in this connection suggests that there was at least popular talk of such a connection. Thracian Tereus, son of Ares, loomed large in Athenian tradition. He was, for example, the subject of a play by Sophocles.[38] According to the tale as preserved by later sources, Pandion king of Athens enlisted Tereus' aid during a border dispute with Labdacus of Thebes. The matter was resolved satisfactorily, and so Pandion gave Tereus his daughter Procne in marriage. The rest of the tale concerns Tereus' loathsome treatment of Procne and her sister Philomela and their revenge, which entails the murder of Tereus' son Itys. The whole affair is resolved with the metamorphosis of Tereus and the sisters into birds.[39]

Several points bear noting. Thucydides' objection is not to the historicity of Tereus but to the application of his story to the diplomatic exchanges over which Nymphodorus presided. So when the historian criticizes the use of this story, he does so on the myth's own terms, with four arguments: (1) Contrary to the idea that Tereus was from Thrace proper, the tradition held that he was from Daulis in Phocis, where Thracians had resided in "ancient" times. (2) Like any good, practical king, Pandion would expect to reap some material benefit from giving away his daughter in a diplomatic marriage. Procuring aid from an allied king would be considerably easier if his kingdom were close at hand, as Daulis was, compared with Thrace. (3) The names of Tereus and Teres are different. (4) Teres was the founder of the Odrysian dynasty and not of a line going back to Tereus. The effort that Thucydides exerts in making these arguments suggests that he was fighting a well-entrenched tradition. Hornblower and Gomme both conjecture that Thucydides, who had strong connections with Thrace (see below), felt compelled to apply a corrective to earlier treatments of the story by Sophocles and possibly Hellanicus.[40]

Until Sophocles, there is no evidence that links Tereus directly with Thrace.[41] Before that invention, Tereus was a hero from Phocis and had a cult in Megara.[42] Curiously, he was still regarded a Thracian either way, given the tradition that central Greece had been inhabited by Thracians at one time. Again, our main and earliest source is Thucydides (2.29.3), although Pausanias makes an interesting observation: whereas the Megarians believed Tereus to have been king in Pagae (in the Megarid), Pausanias asserts his view that he was king of Daulis, "for long ago barbarians dwelt in much of what is now called Greece. After Tereus' acts against Philomela and those of the women regarding Itys had occurred, Tereus was unable to capture them."[43] The last clause implies that Tereus, a Thracian or Thracian descendant, started out in central Greece and pursued the sisters southward.[44]

Associating Tereus with Thrace itself may have been a Sophoclean invention because an association based on the similarity of names (Thucydides notwithstanding) provided an opportunity.[45] Sophocles would be operating in the same vein as Herodotus with such a name association. Though he may well have had more immediate literary goals in connecting Tereus with Thrace (see below), his method would be in accordance with the general hellenocentric view discussed above in connection with Herodotus 7.150, whereby the periphery of civilization is organized in terms of its relationship to the hellenic core. But it could have been only after 480 that such an innovation on that basis occurred,[46] that is, the period in which the Odrysian kingdom was first consolidated under Teres.[47] The date of composition of the *Tereus* is uncertain but most likely was in the decade or so following the treaty with Thrace.[48] The question becomes, why associate Tereus with Thrace? The treaty obviously provides the context, but interpreting the few scant fragments is difficult. On the one hand, the play may have been acknowledging the historical reality that the Athenians were seeking closer ties with the Thraceward region. We have noted that it was in their interests to promote their links with the region, given its importance to their strategic concerns. The tradition of Odrysian descent from Tereus would serve this purpose, for which Sophocles, whose plays served a civic function as much as any other, provided no doubt a memorable expression.[49]

The fact remains that Tereus seems hardly an appropriate symbol of Athenian-Thracian kinship, and the play hints at an Athenian apprehension of *sungeneia* with the barbarian Thracians. Of the mutilation of Philomela, which follows her rape, Anne Pippin Burnett says the following:

> This second act of violation thus fixes Tereus not just as a barbarian opposed to Greek ways but as an enemy to the whole human race—one who not only dismantles Greek marriage, breaks oaths, and insults an Attic king, but also represents mating itself as a barren cutting of female flesh. And this means that the place where he rules, the Thrace where Procne will take her revenge, is a place where men are far worse than beasts.[50]

Given the genius of Sophocles, we should not be surprised to find him painting a multifaceted and problematic picture, a trademark to be found more famously in his plays on Oedipus. The foreign Tereus, whether invented by Sophocles or someone earlier in the fifth century, gave the playwright an opportunity to explore Tereus' barbaric behavior in the context of "otherness," whereby one could contrast the boorish and uncivilized behavior and character of foreigners to those regarded as virtuous by good Greeks.[51]

Nonetheless, the question remains whether the Thracians themselves could have embraced this story. In theory, it would seem unreasonable to expect the Athenians to propose a link through Tereus as a basis for an alliance if the Odrysians did not share their belief. Such practical considerations do seem to have entered the mind of Alexander the Great in his dealings with non-Greek peoples, as we shall see. Can the same be true of the Athenian *demos,* who managed foreign affairs in the popular assembly known as the *ecclesia?* The question is further complicated by the considerable influence Pericles and other charismatic individuals wielded over the members of the *ecclesia.* Thucydides does not say so, but it would not be surprising if it were Pericles, an educated and practical man who understood the importance of the Thraceward region to Athens, who engineered the diplomacy with the Odrysians.[52]

We find some evidence to support a Thracian acceptance of the tradition. First, there was a strong Greek presence on the Thracian littoral, with colonies such as Amphipolis, Eion, and Brea engaging in extensive mercantile activity with the Thracians and others. As Isaac has shown, this state of affairs provided opportunities for wealthy families, especially in Athens, to serve the interests of both their *polis* and themselves. For example, the gold and silver mines in Thrace provided a basis of power for Peisistratus after he seized the tyranny in Athens.[53] Several of the Philaïdai were actually tyrants in the Chersonese, most notably the elder and younger Miltiades.[54] Miltiades' son Cimon, just before his success at Scyros, captured Eion in 476 and in 465 acquired the gold mines at Mount Pangaeus in Thrace after putting down a Thasian revolt.[55] Thucydides himself, of course, wielded considerable power in Thrace, as he comments that he had the right to mine gold in the area, enhancing his influence among the Thracians and others, who could then be potential enemies of Brasidas. He seems to be referring to the mines at Mount Pangaeus, because Plutarch says that Thucydides inherited his from Cimon.[56]

Second, we have evidence of intermarriage and actual consanguinity between Thracians and Greeks. We have already noted the marriage of Nymphodorus' sister to Sitalces. The younger Miltiades was married to a daughter of an earlier Thracian king, Olorus.[57] Thucydides' father was also named Olorus, leading to the conclusion in Plutarch's mind that he was descended from Cimon.[58] At the beginning of the fourth century, the Thracian kinglet Seuthes II offered his daughter to Xenophon in marriage and also offered to buy Xenophon's daughter, if he had one, "in the Thracian fashion" (Xen. *Ana.* 7.2.38). As a result of this state of affairs, many avenues of cultural influence were open, allowing for some level of hellenization of the Thracians to occur, even given their reputation for barbarity and their frequent hostility to Greek mercantile endeavors in the area.

Finally, it is Seuthes who offers the best evidence of Thracian acceptance (or at least acknowledgement) of their descent from Tereus. This Seuthes was the son of Maesades, who had ruled the Melantidae, the Thynians, and the Tranipsae in a strategically vital part of Thrace north of the Propontis. Apparently a vassal to King Medocus, Maesades had been expelled from his territory,[59] leaving the orphaned Seuthes to be raised in the royal court. Later, Seuthes strongly desired to recover his ancestral land. For this purpose, he sought the help of Xenophon and those Greek mercenaries who had survived their journey out of Asia following their disastrous association with Cyrus the Younger (Xen. *Ana.* 7.2.32–34). At their meeting, "Seuthes said that he would not mistrust any Athenian, for he said that he knew the Athenians were his kinsmen and that he believed them to be well-minded friends."[60] Later, while preparing for a march against his enemies, Seuthes and Xenophon agreed to have "Athena" be their watchword in recognition of their kinship.[61]

Ultimately, however, we can go only so far with this evidence. Let us recapitulate several important points with the following questions: (1) Does Seuthes' acknowledgement of Tereus in c. 400 mean that Sitalces also recognized the link in 431? (2) Did there have to be an expectation that the Thracians believed in the Tereus link for such a link to be invoked in the treaty with Sitalces? (3) If so, would the Athenian *demos* have been concerned with such a practical question, or would it have occurred only to someone like Pericles to consider it? These questions are difficult to answer without the best evidence of all, an actual text of the treaty. With that state of affairs, there can be no definite answers, only probabilities.

Seuthes' assertion is strong evidence, but one more piece of evidence must be considered as well. Because it is clear that Thucydides knows Thrace and the peoples of that region, he would seem to be in a strong position to know the answer to our first question. There is no doubt that he feels the need to correct mistaken notions *among the Athenians* about the connection of Tereus to the house of Teres, but in addition he may have done so with the knowledge that there were no such beliefs in the court of Sitalces, and Thucydides' superior vantage point compelled the need for the remarks at 2.29 as a corrective.

That interpretation of Thucydides' perspective and intentions, however, still does not preclude the invocation of kinship in the treaty with Thrace, for the remaining two questions stand: did it really matter if the Thracians shared the Athenians' belief, and would the Athenian citizenry have been pragmatic enough to consider this question? The answers to both amount to the following conclusion: it did not matter whether the Thracians believed in the Tereus link or not. Even if someone like Pericles, seeing the benefits of an alliance with Sitalces, proposed it in the Assembly, there is no reason to say that the *demos* then did not invoke the link with Tereus as a means of supporting that alliance. Regarding practical matters, for example, Thracian acceptance of Tereus, there is considerable evidence that the members of the Athenian *ecclesia* were often short-sighted and fickle. The decisions involving the judgment of Melos in 416 and the Sicilian Expedition in 415 are cases in point. I mentioned before Adcock and Mosley's proposition that the citizens voting in a democratic assembly would be at a disadvantage in fully understanding the particulars of foreign affairs (see note 52). It was *opinion* rather than *knowledge* that guided Athenian public policy; moreover, it was a "collective opinion," arrived at through the deliberative process of an entire voting community, thus giving its decisions their authority and demonstrating their wisdom. Thus, in political matters, authority was granted by collective acknowledgement and agreement.[62] Kinship diplomacy is an example of a political matter, and the same process that granted authority to political decisions in full democracies also granted authority to kinship myths, the authority expressed by the traditions that were well known to the voting collective. However the connection of Tereus with Thrace came about, it was a tradition that apparently was commonly acknowledged in Athens, found voice in Sophocles, and was rejected by Thucydides on rational grounds.

I opened this section by noting the recurring disconnect between Thucydides and the masses. Thucydides documents it in other contexts, as when he contrasts his scientific approach to historical knowledge to the more reckless credulity of others (1.20). Thucydides also has stern words for the imprecise conceptions of myth described above, for the belief in the *demos*' collective wisdom, based partly on their embrace of the poets and of sensationalistic historians (*logographoi,* including Herodotus perhaps?) without sufficient practical knowledge.[63] At 2.29, Thucydides certainly is reacting to a real phenomenon, for which Sophocles provides evidence, if after the fact, and our historian does so in the context of the treaty with the Odrysians in 431. Even the silence about other sons of Tereus besides the ill-fated Itys did not hinder popular belief that the Odrysians could have been descended from Tereus. We are reminded of Smith's ideological model of descent, discussed in Chapter One, which can account for an embrace of this tradition without those intermediaries in the collective memory of the Athenians.

THE SPARTANS AND THE JEWS

Kinship between Greeks and Jews, even its allegation, opens up the fascinating question of contact between two of the great civilizations of ancient times. While they seem to have paid little attention to each other for much of their respective histories, all that changed (as with so many other things) with the conquests of Alexander the Great. In the hellenistic period that followed, the Jews suddenly found themselves in a Greek world that had exploded into Asia and Egypt.[64] The supposed claims of kinship took place in this new cosmopolitan context. Because of their profound implications, these claims have received enormous scholarly interest, especially those made in a letter sent to Rome and Sparta in 143 BCE by the Hasmonean Jonathan Maccabaeus, who referred to kinship with the Spartans through Abraham, an assertion he says had already been made by an earlier king of Sparta.[65] My purpose in going down this already thoroughly traveled road is to accomplish two things: to gauge the nature of Abraham's authority as a putative ancestor of Greeks and to observe how the Jews made use of a hellenic diplomatic mechanism.

First, let us review the evidence. Our earliest source is the first book of Maccabees, a book of the Apocrypha, written in Hebrew around 100 BCE,[66] though surviving manuscripts exist in Greek, thanks to its inclusion in the Septuagint. To this we can append, with some variations, the account of Josephus, a historian residing in Jerusalem before its sack by the Romans in 70 CE. Our sources allege that during his long reign (309/8–265), Areus I of Sparta sent a letter to Onias I, the High Priest in Jerusalem,[67] with the following claim: "It has been found in writing concerning the Spartans and the Jews that they are brethren and are of the family of Abraham. And now that we have learned this, please write us concerning your welfare; we on our part write to you that your cattle and your property belong to us, and ours belong to you."[68] The text of this letter is given at the end of the section of I Maccabees that deals with the diplomatic overtures of the High Priest Jonathan to Rome and Sparta in 143 BCE. In his own letter to Sparta, Jonathan alleges that Areus had mentioned alliance as a goal of his diplomacy as well, although the quoted text of Areus' letter does not say anything about alliance, nor does Josephus' rendering. Jonathan makes the following case to the Spartans:

> Onias welcomed the envoy with honor and received the letter, which contained a clear declaration of alliance and friendship. Therefore, though we have no need of these things, since we have as encouragement the holy books which are in our hands, we have undertaken to send to renew our *brotherhood* and friendship with you, so that we may not become estranged from you, for considerable time has passed since you sent your letter to us.[69]

Jonathan goes on to say that the Spartans have been remembered in holy festivals, as well as in the Jews' prayers. He mentions the wars Judaea has fought (and won) over the Seleucids during Jonathan's tenure and concludes, "We were unwilling to annoy you and our other allies and friends with these wars, for we have the help which comes from Heaven for our aid; and we were delivered from our enemies and our enemies were humbled,"[70] a not unfair boast, given the disarray of the Seleucid leadership at this time. Two ambassadors are then named, envoys to be sent to Rome who are then to stop at Sparta, to "greet you and deliver to you this letter from us concerning the renewal of our *brotherhood.*"[71] Josephus' version has most of the elements of Jonathan's, with such variations as a longer greeting (*Ant.* 13.166), attributing Seleucid aggressions to "covetousness" (πλεονεξίαν) (13.169), and, most importantly, the rendering of "we have no need of [alliance and friendship]" as "we have no need of proof [of our alliance and friendship]" (οὐ δεόμενοι τῆς τοιαύτης ἀποδείξεως, 13.167).[72] The last item is significant because it shows Josephus' awareness of how kinship diplomacy was conducted in the hellenistic period. As we shall see in more detail later, when we examine hellenistic inscriptions containing kinship terms, presentation of proof of kinship was often expected.[73]

To this overture the Spartans responded with another letter, apparently addressed to Jonathan's brother and successor Simon, having learned of Jonathan's death in 143/2. Thus, "they wrote to [Simon] on bronze tablets to renew with him the friendship and alliance which they had established with Judas and Jonathan, his brothers."[74]

Taking Areus' letter first, we must ask why a hellenistic Spartan king would approach the Jews and declare kinship with them. As with Xerxes' embassy to Argos, the notion is highly implausible.[75] Yet, some scholars have gone to great lengths to find a reason for the diplomacy. Arguments in favor of it vary widely in plausibility. One proposal is that Areus needed manpower to bolster his aggressive policies, a commodity Sparta was sorely lacking at this time.[76] Jewish mercenaries, the argument goes, would have served well in this capacity. The phrasing at I Maccabees 12.23, about the sharing of resources, may have referred to military resources.[77] Areus' connection with Judaea perhaps should be seen in the context of his alliance with Ptolemy II, whose territory at this time included Judaea. There may have been a Jewish community near Sparta, through which Areus might have forged a link with Judaea and thus strengthened his ties to Egypt. The context perhaps involves the traditional anti-Macedonian stance taken by Sparta, for which Areus hoped for support from Judaea, again in its capacity as a Ptolemaic vassal state.[78] Other theories have been advanced, but there has been little headway in plausibility. To be sure, the Ptolemies were active in Greece, especially working against the interests of their Macedonian rivals there. But why would Areus need Jewish intermediaries when he already had an alliance with Ptolemy II, as attested in the Chremonidean Decree of 268, a document that recorded the list of Spartan allies ranged against Macedon (*SIG*^{3} 434/5)?[79]

For me, the most salient objection to the authenticity of Areus' letter is his reference to Abraham rather than a Greek figure. The problems are several. (1) Would Areus have even been aware of Abraham, bearing in mind that the Septuagint did not exist until later in the third century? (2) What could possibly link Abraham to the Spartans? (3) Were there any sources in Greek that might have suggested to Areus such a link? (4) Most importantly, if Areus were somehow aware of Abraham, is it reasonable that this Hebrew patriarch could possess the authority with which we have seen the Greeks investing their own heroes?

No more evidence is at hand to support Areus' claims, but there was another incident between the periods of Onias I and Jonathan involving putative kinship between the Spartans and the Jews that could suggest a prior tradition. In 174, the leader of the pro-Greek party in Jerusalem was Jason, the brother of the High Priest Onias III. To remove his brother and take his place, Jason sought the help of the Seleucid king Antiochus Epiphanes, later to be one of the great villains in Jewish history. In response to offers of money and to promises to hellenize the city (including the building of gymnasia, the implementation of a Greek education, and the enrollment of Jews as citizens of Antioch), Antiochus helped establish Jason as High Priest. Jason kept his promises but was eventually deposed, in 171, by another rival, Menelaus, who went further in his efforts of hellenization. Later Jason returned to Jerusalem and captured the city, killing many Jews and engendering such hatred that he was driven out again. Detested and cursed, he fled to the Nabataean Arabs, to Egypt, and finally to Sparta, where he perished. His reason for going to Sparta supposedly was to seek sanctuary on the basis of kinship (*sungeneia*).[80]

Is it possible that Jason was referring to the tradition supposedly cited by Areus? Our main source for Jason's exploits, the Second Book of Maccabees, was an epitome of an earlier history by Jason of Cyrene, whose *floruit* would seem to be around 150 BCE.[81] That is roughly the time of Jonathan's letter (143). So either Jason the exiled High Priest knew of the tradition or it was Jason of Cyrene or his epitomizer who introduced it (possibly under the influence of Jonathan's letter). Orrieux has suggested that the detail about kinship was introduced by the author of II Maccabees to emphasize the cruel (and just) fate Jason suffered, seeking the kinship of a foreign people and dying in a land far from his ancestral home. There is nothing about the Spartan reaction to Jason's claim of kinship, but there would be no need, the point having been made.[82] If Orrieux is right, then we cannot use this evidence to support the authenticity of Areus' claims.

However, the possibility of Areus' awareness of Abraham, slim though it is, cannot be denied. Goldstein maintains that Areus' letter could have originally been written in Aramaic, given that Aramaic scribes were known to be of service to governments in the Greek world as early as the late fifth century (at least in Athens, where Persian documents in Aramaic were translated: Thuc. 4.50).[83] From this one might further adduce that Areus learned of Abraham directly from local Jewish contacts, whether the aforementioned neighboring community or scribes in his court. Ultimately, this notion is unconvincing.

More promising are possible sources in Greek. One that predates Areus' letter is Hecataeus of Abdera (*fl.* 300 BCE), a courier under Ptolemy I who had traveled extensively across Greece, including to Sparta.[84] Hecataeus is the earliest source in Greek for the origins of the Jews, especially his *Aegyptika,* which describes the exodus from Egypt under Moses. Not all these "banished foreigners" (ξενηλατούμενοι) followed Moses to Palestine; some, says Hecataeus, followed Danaus and Cadmus to Greece.[85] Here we may have a possible link, because Danaus was ultimately an ancestor of Heracles through Perseus. It will be recalled that the two royal houses of Sparta were founded by the sons of the Heraclid Aristodemus. No less than his predecessors, Areus would certainly have embraced his Heraclid ancestry, but it remains questionable if he would have connected all the dots, as it were, to link the Spartans (or rather the ruling class) with the Jews, even through their common ancestors in Egypt; on the Greek side alone, several traditions must come together to link Danaus to the founders of Sparta. But once that was established, Hecataeus could provide the proof of kinship with Areus' contemporaries in Judaea.

Areus' letter speaks of Abraham, however, not Moses. Goldstein offers a possible explanation: Danaus was equated with a son of Abraham and Keturah named Dedan, who himself had a son named Leummim, a word associated with Gentiles, including possibly (as at Gen. 10.5) the Greeks.[86] In other words, the kinship becomes apparent when two different versions of the same story are compared: the Greek containing Danaus and the Hebrew containing Dedan. Whatever the merits of this reconstruction, the problem remains of how Areus would be aware of any of it. A direct reference to Abraham would be required. Such a reference supposedly was made in another work of Hecataeus called *On Abraham and the Egyptians.* However, the quotation of this lost work by Clement of Alexandria and Eusebius does not inspire confidence.[87] Here Hecataeus supposedly gives verses of Sophocles that reflect Jewish monotheistic ideas, a strong marker of fabrication by later Jewish sources.[88] It seems then that Hecataeus could only be useful to Areus if Abraham were mentioned in some no longer extant portion of an authentic work like the *Aegyptika.*

A hellenistic writer who unequivocally connects the Greeks and the Jews through Abraham is Cleodemus Malchus. Josephus relates that the hellenistic historian Alexander Polyhistor had quoted Cleodemus, who wrote in his history of the Jews that a son of Abraham and Keturah, Aphras, had accompanied Heracles in his expedition against Antaeus in north Africa. Aphras' daughter married Heracles and bore him a son, Diodorus.[89] The date of Cleodemus is unknown, but Alexander Polyhistor's *floruit* is c. 100 BCE, making him contemporaneous with the author of I Maccabees. Areus could have read Cleodemus and used him to justify kinship with the Jews. To connect Diodorus with the Spartans, Goldstein notes the similarity of "Diodoros" and "Doros," a scenario that brings together two disparate traditions concerning the Spartans' origins, their Heraclid and their Dorian ancestries (Figure 3.1). This is the only way the Spartans and the Jews could be linked.

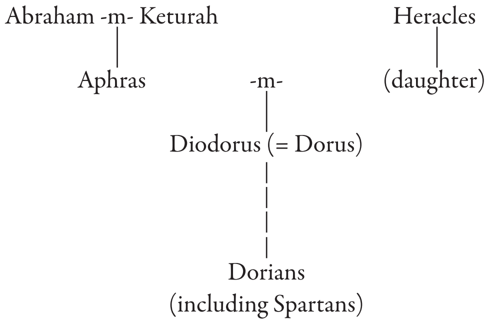


FIGURE 3.1.
The Spartans and the Jews

Curiously, it is the same sort of mythopoesis that lies behind the much older and unquestionably authentic tradition articulated by Tyrtaeus and others, wherein Heraclid and Dorian are linked by the adoption of Hyllus by Aegimius. But here no opportunity can exist for a Spartan-Jewish link, and one wonders if the resulting contradiction would have bothered Areus, namely, that Dorus is a grandson of Heracles in the one version and the father of Hyllus' adopted father Aegimius in the other. Contradictions such as these are ubiquitous in Greek myth and did not generally meet with the sort of dismay sometimes expressed by analytical writers. Was Areus of like mind? One can presume, given his education, that he would not likely embrace the genealogy outlined by Cleodemus unless the Spartan king's appeal to the Jews was consciously made for purely expedient reasons and was based on a tradition he would otherwise reject. Given the unknowns on that count, as well as our ignorance of when Cleodemus lived, we cannot put much faith in this source.

Finally, none of the foregoing really gets to the heart of the fourth question I posed above: could a Hebrew patriarch stand in for a Greek hero? Even if Areus were aware of Abraham, had some reason to reach out to the Jews, and acknowledged a genealogy such as that found in Cleodemus, it does not seem possible to me that Abraham could command the sort of authority that we have seen bolster and justify Greek kinship diplomacy. To be sure, Areus was a shrewd leader who transformed the archaic Spartan kingship into a hellenistic institution and made his city a respected power once again (if not the feared hegemon of the classical period). But I see no reason why he would not follow the same pattern that had prevailed in the Greek world for centuries: whenever expressing relationships with nonhellenic peoples, in diplomatic activity and other venues, the Greeks always employed hellenic personages (regardless of whether they were actually Greek in origin), for example, Tereus with the Thracians and Perses with the Persians. There is no evidence that in the hellenistic period the hellenocentrism in Greek myth-making began to break down.

On the contrary, considerable evidence shows that hellenistic Greeks firmly retained this world view. The embrace of Greek heroes and gods as ancestors (and legitimizing agents) by the major dynasties illustrates the point. It was primarily to Heracles that the Antigonids turned (following the example of their Argead predecessors); to Apollo, the Seleucids; and to Dionysus (rather than the non-Greek but similar god Osiris), the Ptolemies.[90] Nor does Abraham have the benefit of appearing to be similar to some Greek personage, the way Osiris in Egypt and Indra in India struck the Greeks as similar to Dionysus. Areus' embrace of Abraham as ancestor is simply untenable. Areus' letter to the High Priest Onias, then, seems to be inauthentic.

Corroborating evidence comes from another case of diplomacy between Greeks and Jews later in the second century. In time, the Jews achieved a favored status in Rome. The senate issued a *senatus consultum* (*s.c.*) that admonished the Seleucids to abandon all hostile actions and ambitions toward Judaea, which supposedly was quoted in a decree of Pergamum (as Josephus has it). The Pergamenes wanted to assure both the Romans and the Jews of their intention to comply with the edict (Jos. *Ant.* 14.247–258). The question of the exact timing of the *s.c.* and the Pergamene decree defies easy answers. John Hyrcanus I was High Priest (135/4–104), and the Antiochus mentioned in the text is either Antiochus VII Sidetes (139–129) or Antiochus IX Cyzicenus (115–95).[91] In any case, the Pergamenes acknowledged, if not kinship, a close tie to the Jewish state, for their ancestors and Abraham had been *philoi.* The Pergamenes could have easily asserted a bond of consanguinity with the Jews but chose not to. As we shall see in Chapter Six, the former were not reluctant to employ their putative ancestor Heracles in support of their grant of polity to the citizens of Tegea. Heracles could have provided the same tie with the Jews as he would have for the Spartans. I suggest that the Pergamenes did not go this route because, again, Abraham was not a hellenic figure. As in Sparta, he did not command the authority that one would expect as a link in kinship diplomacy.

Given this state of affairs, one might wonder why the Spartans of the second century bothered to send a letter to Simon, Jonathan's successor, apparently acknowledging his claim of kinship. But in fact the Spartans held back. The letter only mentions "friendship and alliance," using *philia* and *summachia,* with no references to more consanguineous connections (as denoted by *sungeneia* and sometimes *oikeiotēs*). *Philia* could imply kinship but generally described a more distant connection,[92] and thus it was the appropriate term to signal Spartans' disavowal of Abraham as an ancestor while they embraced Jonathan's overtures in general terms.

The authenticity of Jonathan's letter has proven easier to sustain in scholarly discussion. Further, Jonathan likely fabricated Areus' letter for his own purposes around 143.[93] Jonathan was himself a dynamic figure, with a career not entirely dissimilar to Areus'. Like the Spartan king, Jonathan fought (militarily and diplomatically) to enhance Judaea's position in the face of external threat, in this case from the Seleucids.[94] He also faced enemies within the Jewish state. Set in opposition to the Maccabees was a hellenizing party, who occasionally appealed to the Seleucids for support. The aforementioned Jason was such an opponent.

These foreign and domestic challenges are important to keep in mind when considering some of the proposals that have been made to explain Jonathan's motives for alleging kinship with Sparta. A detailed analysis of those motives is beyond the scope of this study,[95] but a brief notice of the main patterns of scholarly opinion does yield an interesting observation about a Greek institution, kinship diplomacy, in the hands of non-Greeks. There is general agreement that if Jonathan's letter is authentic, it points to an understanding among the Jews of how hellenistic diplomacy worked.[96] As Goldstein has noted, his diplomacy bears certain similarities to the embassies sent by Lampsacus to her sister-city Massilia and to Rome in 197 BCE (*SIG*^{3} 591).[97] The purpose of the embassy to Rome was probably to ask for help in the face of the aggressions of Antiochus III.[98] Though Lampsacus could claim a basis for kinship with the Romans through its affiliation with—not to mention proximity to—Troy, the Lampsacenes also enlisted the aid of Massilia, a former colony of Phocaea (as Lampsacus was) and a long-term ally of Rome, to strengthen the case made to the Romans. Jonathan saw a similar opportunity with Sparta, another inveterate ally of Rome, which had gone so far as to destroy the Achaean League in 146, in part for Sparta's sake.[99] In lieu of kinship with the Romans themselves, Judaea had to rely on kinship with a favored Roman ally. The purpose for this diplomatic overture would be to procure the same sort of protection from Seleucid aggression that Lampsacus had sought, the threat this time coming from the kings Demetrius II and Tryphon.

There are, however, two flaws in this reconstruction. One, Judaea already had a treaty with Rome, in effect since 161.[100] Thus, it would be surprising to find Jonathan strengthening ties with Rome by reaching out to Sparta.[101] The difficulty is analogous to that of Areus' appeal to Judaea for the sake of establishing or strengthening bonds with Ptolemy. Second, Jonathan's boasts themselves argue against Goldstein's interpretation: Jonathan quite clearly eschews any call for alliance with Sparta for practical reasons, for the Jews have divine protection, which has already seen them through their wars with the Seleucids (I Macc. 12.9–15).

Most explanations of Jonathan's motives are couched in the context of the Jews' place in the hellenistic world at large. In the eastern Mediterranean and Asia, the spread of Greek culture was one legacy of Macedonian imperialism, a culture that came to imbue the world of the Jews, who thus had to articulate their own place within the wider hellenistic world. But if the objective was to promote a sense of political or cultural legitimacy among the Greeks, the link Jonathan chose should have been a Greek god or hero, not a Hebrew patriarch. Jonathan's purpose was in fact quite the opposite: not assimilation but an assertion of *distinctiveness* in the wider world.[102] The evidence is in the confident assurances of their strength at I. Macc. 12.9–15; these assurances refute any need of material aid from Sparta.

So of what use was Sparta to Jonathan? Despite its peculiarities of social and political structure, Sparta's traditional Lycurgan system, however much it was a shadow of its former self in the hellenistic period, gave Sparta its reputation for preeminence in discipline, order, valor, and military prowess. Jonathan was trying to declare Jewish superiority to the Spartans by denying his people needed their help, thus distancing themselves from the Greeks in an effort to assert their own identity, while at the same time he had the Jews take credit for Sparta's brilliance by producing Abraham, the embodiment of their own virtues as conveyed in the Torah and, as progenitor of the Spartans, the one responsible for their virtues as well.[103] A likely motivation was to appeal to the hellenized Jews in Judaea, including Jonathan's enemies in Jerusalem. He was trying to promote the legitimacy of the Hasmoneans.[104]

For the most part, we have considered myth as a means of constructing identity in the Greek world, but we see that here, too, the Jews, having learned much from the Greeks, were employing myth in the same way. Jonathan was a good student. The use of kinship myth was a time-honored way to establish bonds between states, whatever their immediate objectives. In fact, kinship diplomacy seems to have increased dramatically in the hellenistic period, as the evidence of inscriptions suggests, though the pattern of survival of literary texts must also influence the percentage. More than ever before, it was a means to procure such goals as exchanges of polity, recognition of *asylia,* and so on. Because most of our sources for kinship diplomacy in this period are epigraphical and not literary, we sidestep much of the incredulity that often hampers our learned sources from unconditionally accepting a given tradition. Some of the links articulated at this time may well have involved fabrications, if not in whole, at least inasmuch as new lines had to be drawn in stemmas to make *Polis* A kin to *Polis* B. This process often involved reconciling local myths and connecting them through such panhellenic figures as Hellen, as we shall see. Fabrication of this sort is what lies behind Jonathan's letter. While the Maccabees may have been enemies of the pro-hellenizing factions in Jerusalem, Jonathan at least understood Greeks, their modes of thought regarding myth, and their methods of diplomacy involving kinship. But rather than by a Greek figure, his purposes were best served by the Hebrews' great forefather, who facilitated an expression of Jewish identity in the same way Heracles or Hellen did in the Greek world.

FOUR

KINSHIP MYTH IN THE LITERARY SOURCES

Conquests and Territorial Possession

As with cases of alliance, considerable challenges confront the historian trying to establish and explain the historicity of events behind the justification of territorial conquest on the basis of *sungeneia.* Each of the examples in the previous chapter happened to involve foreigners, which potentially adds further cause for incredulity, as in the case of Thucydides. Now the nature of the problem has to do with the vast stretches of time that separate our main sources from the events they describe, except for the case of Archidamus. The first two involve claims of kinship in the archaic period, Solon's assertion of Salamis' Athenian identity and Dorieus' affirmation of Heraclid descent, for which almost no contemporary sources survive. The last involves Alexander the Great, a hugely complex historiographical nightmare in his own person.

As we have seen, while alliances were usually proposed and formed for pragmatic reasons having to do with immediate circumstances, the further incentive of consanguinity or a similar affiliation sometimes helped to cement the deal. The hellenic mindset Herodotus superimposes on Xerxes, one that came naturally to the Athenians and one for which the High Priest Jonathan developed an affinity, fostered the attempt to attain a political or other immediate goal on the basis of a particularly defined identity. The stories that expressed a community's identity, for example, its shared history, its cultic distinctiveness, and so on, usually provided the context for certain revered sites, such as a hero's burial place, as well as the particulars of many religious rituals. In this same vein, the very land itself could be imbued with meaning for the Greeks who lived on it. It connected its present inhabitants with a mythical past recounted in story. For this reason, the taking and holding of land could be as much a mythological act as a historical one. The same mythopoeic processes that enabled alliances to be perceived as actual consequences of mythical events also gave rise to the justification of territorial conquest and possession.

ATHENS AND SALAMIS

A salient example of this phenomenon is the foundation of the arguments used by Athens and Megara in their competing claims to the island of Salamis early in the sixth century. The two *poleis* had warred over Salamis for decades, if not centuries, but myth, it seems, played a role in the final determination of Salamis' fate. Plutarch, writing seven centuries later in the time of the Roman Principate, attributed this resolution to Athens' famous lawmaker Solon, who allegedly affiliated Athens and Salamis by a reference to the sons of Ajax and to a shared Ionian ethnicity. The problem for us is that we cannot be sure if this happened around 600, when an Athenian force under Solon captured Salamis, or in the 560s, when the future Athenian tyrant Peisistratus captured the Megarian port of Nisaea. There may have been a further occasion for the use of kinship myth toward the end of the sixth century, c. 510. Spartan arbitration ultimately settled the issue of Athens' claims to Salamis, and this would have been the occasion for the two sides to argue their case, whether c. 600, the 560s, or c. 510.

This uncertainty arises from the staggering complexity of the problems of our sources. Such is the difficulty of the minutiae that I have relegated most of it to Appendix One. For now it suffices to say that attributing the use of kinship myth to Solon is very problematic on historical grounds. The problem begins with Plutarch, who gives us two versions of the capture of Salamis, but in fact the first one has details that correspond to the expedition against Nisaea (or possibly Megara itself) by Peisistratus. The solution should be sought in the Spartan arbitration that resolved the matter. This settlement can be assigned to the 560s with fewer objections than to the other periods, making Peisistratus the one who should have been credited with it, rather than Solon. The arbitration makes more sense in the context of Nisaea's capture, a far more serious matter to Megara than the loss of Salamis. That Athens acquired Salamis in the context of a resolution involving Nisaea is somewhat conjectural but makes the most sense of the evidence, which further makes a strong case for Peisistratus' role in the mythmaking.

Some of the evidence includes his association with Philaeus, a son of Ajax who linked Athens to Salamis, ostensibly through the name of his own deme Philaïdai, and the common knowledge that the Peisistratids engaged in the sort of manipulation of Homeric lines that comes into play.[1] The shift to Solon reflects a tradition that served Plutarch's purpose of promoting Greek achievement in a time of overwhelming Roman dominance. Solon's role in restoring order between rich and poor in Athens around 590 BCE had made him an iconic figure for Greeks ever since and an especially potent symbol in the commemorative waxing that characterized much of the narrative of Plutarch and his contemporaries.

Let us now look at the mythological arguments used by "Solon," as we shall refer to Peisistratus in deference to the tradition preserved by Plutarch, keeping in mind the further possibility that not every argument mentioned by Plutarch was made on this occasion in the 560s. First, Solon inserted into the Catalogue of Ships from Homer's *Iliad* the following lines: "Ajax led twelve ships from Salamis, / and placed them where the ranks of the Athenians were positioned."[2] Reading these lines to the arbiters, he was thus invoking the authority of Homer. Plutarch says that the Athenians (i.e., his sources) regarded this as "rubbish" (φλυαρίαν), the meaning of which is unclear here. Either Plutarch's sources rejected the idea that Solon made use of Homer on this occasion or rejected the idea that he had interpolated lines.[3] Instead, Solon used the classic ploy of genealogy, asserting that the sons of Ajax, Philaeus and Eurysaces, had become Athenian citizens and ceded the island to Athens (so, in fact, this was an argument based on a combination of genealogy and naturalization of foreigners). Moreover, as we have already noted, Plutarch points out that the Attic deme known as Philaïdai was the home of Peisistratus.[4]

These were the mythological arguments, but Solon also made an ethnographical argument with the help of Delphic oracles, which declared Salamis to be Ionian rather than Dorian (*Sol.* 10). Clearly, the Spartans favored Athens in their decision, but we have to wonder if in fact these arguments were what convinced them. Whatever logistical and political considerations were also at play, there is no reason to reject Spartan acceptance of the mythical as a political motivator. The decision is consistent with the one by which they favored the Athenians on the eve of the Battle of Plataea in 479. The Athenians had won their place of honor as much by virtue of their more distant "mythical" achievements as by their more recent ones.

The last of the Solonian arguments, to which we will return in a moment, reminds us of the importance of Delphi in giving weight to the Athenian case. The oracle at Delphi, some thirty to forty years before, bid the real Solon to make a sacrifice to Periphemus and Cychreus, two Salaminian heroes (*Sol.* 9.1). Plutarch does not actually say that in this oracle Apollo sanctioned Solon's attack on Salamis. The position of the oracle in Plutarch's narrative, just preceding the expedition (Plutarch's second version: *Sol.* 9), is suggestive, but such a conclusion can be only an inference. Attacking the island was apparently not a necessary prerequisite for the sacrifices, though it immediately follows them in the narrative. What makes the connection appealing is the benefit Solon may have gotten out of the particular heroes to whom he sacrificed, especially Cychreus. The objective was to win over a Megarian hero to the Athenian side, much as the Spartans sought to strengthen their position against Tegea through the removal of Orestes' bones. The Athenians later built a temple to Cychreus on Salamis. Their goal seemed to have been accomplished when Cychreus allegedly manifested as a snake in the Athenian ships that overcame their Persian opponents in the Battle of Salamis (Paus. 1.36.1).

Thus, the position of the oracle right before Plutarch's account of Solon's expedition suggests the development of a tradition linking the oracle to Athens' claims to Salamis, though it could well have developed after Solon's time. A further connection is suggested by the detail that Periphemus and Cychreus were buried facing to the west.[5] We now come to the anthropological argument made before the Spartan arbiters in the 560s. Here, Peisistratus-Solon explained that Athenian burials, like those of Salaminians, faced to the west, which suggested a kinship between Athenians and Salaminians denied to the Megarians, who buried their dead with an eastward orientation.[6]

The oracle of c. 600 also reminds us of the Delphic oracles brought to bear in the arguments before the arbiters. "They say that Solon's case was strengthened by certain Pythian oracles in which the god called Salamis Ionian."[7] These oblique pronouncements about Salamis' ethnic affiliation parallel to some extent Solon's anthropological argument on burial practices: taken together, the earlier and later oracles might suggest an Ionian/Dorian dichotomy of which burial practices are an indication or, to use J. M. Hall's terminology, an *indicium* of ethnicity.[8] What lies behind the recording of these oracles then was perhaps an argument based ultimately on ancient perceptions of ethnic identity. Solon's argument on this basis would be twofold: the ethnic affiliation of Athens and Salamis and the ethnic distinction of Megara and Salamis.

The appeal to Homer is not surprising, but it is fraught with problems. In brief, there was a debate even in ancient times (notably at Alexandria) on the authenticity of lines 552–558 in the Catalogue of Ships, to a great extent on the basis of inconsistencies with the presentation of the other participants (i.e., besides the Athenians under Menestheus) in the Trojan War.[9] Athenian interpolation was widely suspected.[10] In terms of mythopoesis, however, the problem is not so formidable. It would be best to remember that the variant's essential purpose was to articulate a link (though not of consanguinity as such) between Salaminian Ajax and the Athenians under Menestheus, resulting in a historical link between Salamis and Athens. The Megarians had a response to this tactic. Their own interpolation ran as follows: "Ajax led ships from Salamis, from Polichne, Aegeiroussa, Nisaea, and Tripodes," with the latter four places located in Megarian territory.[11] But, despite charges of interpolation, it is the Athenian version that found its way into the "canonical" Homer by the hellenistic period, no doubt an inevitable consequence of the Spartans' award of Salamis to Athens. Thus, we have here an instance in which local myth became panhellenic myth, which is perhaps how all panhellenic myth originates.[12]

By the same token, the Megarian variant did not gain ascendency. But they had other means to express a link with Salamis using mythological sleight of hand. The key lay in the figure Sciron. In his biography of Theseus, at the point at which he relates Theseus' famous "six labors," Plutarch gives the common picture of the hero's opponent Sciron, a robber and murderer from Megara. This mainstream version, however, was challenged by Megarian writers.[13] They maintained not only that Sciron combated robbery but that he was related to and an ally of good men. In particular, Aeacus was married to his daughter Endeïs, through whom Sciron was thus grandfather of Peleus and Telamon.[14] Would such noble men affiliate themselves with such a base creature? Furthermore, the Megarians continue, Sciron's death at Theseus' hands came not during the latter's initial circuit by foot around the Saronic Gulf en route to Athens but later, in the context of Theseus' capture of Eleusis (Plut. *Thes.* 10).

Wickersham has argued that the Megarians developed this version in direct response to their loss of Salamis. If their physical possession of the island was now lost forever, they could at least reclaim it in the realm of myth.[15] The Megarian claim went back to the time of Telamon, the first Aeacid on Salamis. As grandson of Sciron, Telamon allowed Megarian rights to precede Athenian. In other words, Salamis had been Megarian two generations before it became Athenian, for Telamon, we might recall, was the father of Ajax and thus grandfather of the first Salaminians with Athenian citizen rights, Eurysaces and Philaeus. This sort of argument through primacy is precisely the sort on which many European territorial claims are made today, as we considered in Chapter One. What is more, Megara's solution was not to *challenge* the basis of Athens' claim, once the Spartan decision, irrefutable and unable to be appealed, was made. Rather, at the hands of Megarian "historians," Megara's *own local traditions* were adjusted.

These counterclaims remind us of the point made at the beginning of this chapter, that the land itself is usually a vital part of the community's sense of its identity. The loss of Salamis ultimately diminishes Megara strategically but also mythologically, despite its efforts to reclaim it in new myths. The consequences for identity are also bound up in the verses that Solon used to goad his countrymen into action around 600 and are related to the most convincing argument presented in the 560s to the Spartans. At the outset of the war Solon rebuked the Athenians, poetically wishing to be anything other than an Athenian if they "betrayed" Salamis by letting it go (FF. 2–3 Bergk). As with

Megara, the loss of Salamis would also mean Athens' diminution, at least as Solon painted it. The need to fight for Salamis amounted to a need to avoid disgrace.

Not surprising, then, the strongest argument to the Spartans is a genealogical expression of this identity, that Philaeus and Eurysaces became citizens of Athens, bequeathing the island to the Athenians and taking up residence in Brauron and Melite respectively (Plut. *Sol.* 10.2). We noted before Lavelle's suggestion that Peisistratus had the prime motive for establishing this Aeacid connection because Philaeus' new home in Brauron was in the deme Philaïdai. But while Plato and Plutarch both describe Philaïdai as the home deme of the Peisistratids, Strabo and Pausanias refer to the deme of Brauron.[16] What in fact happened was that the name "Philaïdai" was invented by Cleisthenes during the reorganization of 508, with "Brauron" of old absorbed into the new Cleisthenic deme. It was the name *Brauron* that had the Peisistratid association that Cleisthenes therefore wanted to suppress.[17] Once again, we have a case of misapplied sources that anachronistically associated "Philaïdai" with Peisistratus. Nonetheless, the evidence in Plutarch is still usable on the assumption that Philaeus' settlement at Brauron provided the needed mythological connection to further associate Peisistratus with the recovery of Salamis.

From there even rival Athenian families could reap the benefits of descent from the sons of Ajax. We saw this mentality before, when we noted that the Spartans were willing to appropriate an Argive invention for their own ends and situate the origins of the dual monarchy in the Return of the Heracleidae. Likewise, Miltiades son of Cypselus (and relative of Miltiades the hero of Marathon), jumped on the Aeacid bandwagon and traced his descent back to Aeacus through Ajax and Philaeus. Herodotus specifically makes the point that Philaeus was the first of this line to be an Athenian.[18] The Delphic oracles and similarities in burial customs associated Salamis with Athens, but the sons of Ajax specifically provide proof of a link of *kinship* to Athens and in particular to two powerful Athenian families in the period of the war with Megara.[19] Once Salaminians of the stamp of Ajax's sons became Athenians and played an eponymic role in the formation of certain political structures, the conclusion in Athens was inescapable: Salamis belonged to Athens.

THE "HERACLID" CONQUESTS OF SPARTA

As we have seen, the myth of the Return of the Heracleidae not only served the useful purpose of legitimizing Dorian control of the Peloponnesus but, at the hands of Tyrtaeus, provided a vehicle for the expression of Spartan identity. Charter and foundation myths concerning confirmed and purported colonies of Sparta around the Mediterranean are also important in this context. Whether or not some of the more distant colonies like Thera and Melos, whose actual foundations would seem to lie in the eighth century, were established by Sparta, myths circulating in archaic and classical times point to a Spartan (as well as a native) belief in its role in these foundations.[20] For example, in the case of Thera, Herodotus relates that one Theras, maternal uncle of Eurysthenes and Procles, accompanied by kindred Minyans, settled on the island of Callista, which was subsequently renamed after the colony's founder. Herodotus makes it quite clear that he had Spartan sources for this account.[21]

Putting aside the fact that the actual colonization occurred several centuries after the period of the Return of the Heracleidae (though most Greeks would have been oblivious to such a chronological incongruity as long as the "facts" of the matter were to be found only in legend), I want to make two incidental observations. (1) The story itself contains an instance of kinship diplomacy, for these Minyans, exiles from Lemnos, originally sought land in Laconia and the Spartans granted their request because they were descendants of Argonauts, among whose number were the Tyndaridae, Castor and Polydeuces, heroes firmly associated with Sparta. (2) Herodotus says that Theras left Sparta to found a colony because he was denied royal power when Eurysthenes and Procles came of age, making him a precedent of sorts for Dorieus, whose adventures in north Africa and Sicily arose from the same motivation when his half-brother Cleomenes took the throne, as we shall see presently.

The question of who *really* founded many of the older colonies in the Dark and early archaic ages is difficult to answer, despite clues provided by archaeology, but our focus here is on putative foundations. The historicity of Taras as an eighth-century Spartan colony is more secure, and yet here, too, myths involving Menelaus were generated to strengthen ties between Taras (and her own colonies) and Sparta. Menelaus is not actually the founder. Post-Homeric accounts have him traveling to southern Italy and western Sicily, to areas of later Spartan activity. In Italy he was apparently an enemy of the Iapyges, hostility to whom was expressed by the foundation oracle of Taras. Menelaus then would seem to provide a precedent for Spartan activity in the West, especially in the context of colonization.[22]

Whatever the implications of these charter myths for superimposing Spartan identity (rightly or wrongly) on these colonies, that sort of myth-making is not the same as justification of conquest and territorial possession. The Spartans never justified possession of Taras or Thera. Even if these former colonies had not become thoroughly independent but remained subject to Sparta, as if they were geographically close at hand,[23] Sparta would have no need of such validation as long as their "sovereignty," to borrow a term from modern times, was not in dispute. With Messenia, we have an example in which such was not the case. Either in response to a specific crisis in the fourth century (in which the need would be to justify territorial *possession*) or at some earlier point, the Spartans put forward the idea of a Messenia that was "Spartan" by virtue of an inheritance from the Heraclids. If this myth had been invented during Sparta's first campaigns against Messenia in the eighth century (in which the need would be to justify territorial *conquest*), then its application at this point parallels Dorieus' use of his Heraclid ancestry during his Sicilian campaigns in the late sixth century. These are the two cases I propose to discuss in this section.

I will begin with Dorieus on the assumption that the invention of a Spartan Messenia only goes back to the fourth century, for reasons that will be made clear later. In the story told by Herodotus (5.39–48), Dorieus, son of the Spartan king Anaxandrides by his first wife, was greatly respected and expected to succeed him. But this was not to be. At the beginning, Anaxandrides' first marriage was childless, giving the ephors, the elite overseers of the state, concern that the line of Eurysthenes might die out. They therefore required Anaxandrides to take a second wife, who soon gave birth to Cleomenes. His birth was quickly followed with the news that the king's first wife was pregnant. In the end, she provided three heirs, Dorieus, Leonidas (the future leader of the Three Hundred at Thermopylae), and Cleombrotus. Cleomenes, however, succeeded Anaxandrides by virtue of his age, in accordance with Spartan custom. Finding the prospect of living under Cleomenes' rule intolerable, Dorieus left Sparta with a group of citizens to establish a colony.

His first venture was in north Africa, at a spot along the river Cinyps. By c. 512 the venture failed: Dorieus and his fellow colonists were driven out by the local inhabitants as well as by the Carthaginians. Herodotus implies that Dorieus' failure to consult the Delphic oracle, a routine procedure when founding a colony, may have been a contributing factor. Returning to Sparta, Dorieus planned another expedition. His choice seems to have been motivated by the advice he received from one Antichares of Eleon (in Boeotia), who spoke of oracles received by Laius. These oracles indicated that the area around Eryx in western Sicily was Heraclid territory, having been conquered by Heracles himself. Antichares suggested to Dorieus that he, as a Heraclid, should found a city called Heraclea in the country around Eryx.[24] Though this time he did consult Delphi (c. 510), Dorieus' pursuit of Heraclid glory did not end well. According to the people of Sybaris (says Herodotus), Dorieus and the other Spartans with him involved themselves in a local Italian war on the side of Croton against Sybaris, a detail the Crotoniates denied.

Afterwards Dorieus and his followers went on to Sicily and founded their new city of Heraclea near Eryx. Most of them, including Dorieus, were killed and their city destroyed by some combination of Carthaginians, Phoenicians, and Egestans.[25] Euryleon, one of the nobles who accompanied Dorieus, took the surviving Spartans and had some subsequent success of his own. He captured Minoa, a colony of Selinus; eventually came to power as tyrant of Selinus; and lost his life in an uprising. The reason, the Sybarites say, that Dorieus failed to secure his inheritance from Heracles was that he allowed himself to get involved with side adventures (a notable Heraclean trait) rather than go straight to Sicily and adhere to the oracle's instructions. As Pausanias says, "Heracles received greater favor from the gods than did Dorieus son of Anaxandrides afterwards."[26]

As with Athens' wars over Salamis, historical details about Dorieus' Sicilian campaign are sketchy. There is no word of how he might have made use of his fabulous heritage in Sicily (or in Sparta for that matter). The city of Heraclea itself (not to be confused with Heraclea Minoa) is not attested in Herodotus or Pausanias, only in Diodorus. It may be that Diodorus or his source had merely described an accomplishment that Antichares had proposed but was never realized.[27]

In any case, whatever his achievement, Dorieus may well have operated in a mythological context, as would Alexander the Great two centuries later. A tradition of Heracles in Sicily, to which the "oracles of Laius" referred, seems to have predated his expedition and to have given him a motivation (and a pretext) for conquest in the region of Eryx, in the western corner of Sicily. Herodotus is of little help here, but Diodorus (himself a Sicilian) says that Heracles, while shepherding the cattle of Geryon back to Greece in that characteristic way of his (Heracles never travels in a straight line), came across Himera and Egesta, where he was refreshed by warm baths brought forth by nymphs, and then arrived in Eryx. Its king was the region's eponym, a son of Aphrodite. Heracles and Eryx wrestled each other. If Heracles lost, he would have to give the cattle to Eryx (thereby losing his immortality for having failed to complete all his twelve labors), while Eryx would have to give up his land to his opponent if he lost. Heracles was the winner, and he then entrusted the land to its local population. Diodorus suggests that the natives themselves agreed not only to reap the fruits of the land but also to hand it over to a rightful heir whenever he should arrive.[28]

The lyric poet Stesichorus was likely Diodorus' source for this story of Heracles.[29] Though Heracles' Sicilian adventure is not mentioned in the extant fragments of Stesichorus' poem *Geryoneis,* Diodorus' information about Himera makes Stesichorus, a native of that town, a good candidate, providing a basis for a Heraclid "reconquest" of western Sicily as early as the beginning of the sixth century BCE. Additionally, Hecataeus' treatment of this Labor of Heracles brings together two vital details: the cattle and place names in western Sicily. This strengthens the likelihood that Hecataeus, writing at the turn of the fifth century and familiar with Stesichorus' famous poem, got these details from Stesichorus.[30]

Roughly contemporaneous with Stesichorus is a possible "Heraclid" expedition in c. 580. The adventurer this time was a Cnidian named Pentathlus, who claimed descent from Heracles through Hippotes, the founder of Cnidus (and incidentally a Spartan). Diodorus tells us that Pentathlus intended to colonize "the regions around Lilybaeum" (τοὺς κατὰ τὸ Λιλύβαιον τόπους), at the western end of the island. There he discovered the cities of Selinus and Egesta at war and chose to support the Greeks of the former against the Elymians of the latter. Pentathlus died in this endeavor, his venture a failure. Those of his followers who survived abandoned the enterprise at Lilybaeum and eventually settled on Lipara, one of the Aeolian islands to the north of Sicily.[31] We are, of course, in uncertain waters when it comes to chronology and sources. For instance, the story of Pentathlus in Diodorus may have been influenced by Dorieus' claims. The parallels are certainly suggestive.[32] If genuine, we are still left wondering if the claims of Pentathlus influenced Stesichorus, or if it was the poet who fired the adventurer's imagination, much the way Euripides' descriptions of distant eastern lands may have influenced Alexander's aspirations of surpassing Dionysus in India.

An idea of Heracles visiting this region may have been current for as long as there were Greeks living there, since the eighth century. In this heavily Carthaginian-dominated region, for a time, the worship of Melcart prevailed. We know that the Greeks were capable of recognizing facets of a local god and identifying them with those of their own. Such a syncretism is in evidence in Sicily, whereby the Phoenician Melcart was identified as Heracles. Selinus, for instance, founded in 628, promoted Heracles as a civilizing force in wild barbarian lands. Yet the presence of the *barbarian* "Heracles" may also account for the promotion of the Greek hero and his claims to western Sicily.[33]

Whatever the origins and chronology of the tradition of Heracles in Sicily, there is good reason to regard it as long entrenched by the time Dorieus showed up to stake his claim. Diodorus' incidental comment from 4.23.3—that the local inhabitants essentially made a pact with Heracles by accepting his bequest of the land and agreeing to hand it over to his rightful heir—is likely a reflection of Spartan propaganda put forth by Dorieus to legitimize his rule, at least among the Greeks in this part of Sicily. This would hold even among the Carthaginians if Dorieus believed that their Melcart was the same as Heracles. The suggestion is reinforced by the Greeks' mythopoeic response to the political and military contests in sixth-century Sicily. If Stesichorus' *Geryoneis* postdates Pentathlus' expedition (rendered a failure by the Elymians), we may have here the same phenomenon as in Megara after the loss of Salamis. The Greeks, championed by their greatest hero, laid claim to western Sicily. At present they could only do it in the realm of myth, until a new successor could take up the challenge in the field of battle. But for now the hole created by the Carthaginians and Elymians was filled mythologically, and Greek identity in Sicily, such as we can discern it in this period, was made complete again. Dorieus then was reenacting the myth of Heracles in Sicily. In doing so, he may have sought to fill, in his own person, that physical gap that the mythical one already filled; that is, the new Heracles was reclaiming his territory.

We move on now to Messenia. There is no way of knowing when the idea of a Heraclid Messenia was invented. The fragments of Tyrtaeus in the mid-seventh century, in the period of the Second Messenian War, say nothing of such a basis of commonality with Sparta. Because his depiction of the Messenians is hardly flattering and not at all in line with his picture of the Heraclid/Dorian people of Lacedaemon (FF. 4–5), the invention of a common heritage of Spartans and Messenians seems more likely to be of a later period. We have evidence of a fifth-century reference to it, which will be considered further below.

This common heritage first finds substantive expression in the speech *Archidamus* written by the Athenian orator Isocrates, as if for presentation by the future Archidamus III at a conference before the *gerousia,* or Council of Elders, in Sparta in 366. The conference had been called by the Corinthians, who urged the Spartans either to join them in peace or to allow them to withdraw from the war with Thebes. In response, the Spartans welcomed the Corinthians to do as they wanted but said that they would never relent until they had recovered Messenia (Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.8–9). Isocrates situates the speech of Archidamus in the midst of this Spartan response. Certainly there is no reason to reject the proposition that the real Archidamus, son of king Agesilaus II, would speak up at this assembly and make a fervent patriotic plea to ensure that his fellow Spartans did not join the Corinthians in making peace. The matter of Messenia was especially urgent for the Spartans at this point: they had suffered an unprecedented defeat at the hands of Epaminondas at Leuctra in 371 and then lost Messenia to the Thebans led by the same general in 369. As Cartledge explains, "The loss of the Messenian Helots was the greatest blow the Spartans had ever suffered. It meant the definitive end of their status as a first-rate power." Equally terrible, their former slaves were now masters of their own domain.[34] Archidamus wanted to spur his countrymen to reclaim land that was rightfully theirs. He deemed their common Heraclid ancestry a powerful incentive.

Discussing the invention of the Messenian factor in the tradition of the Return of the Heracleidae requires great care. My main concern is the political context of Archidamus' version. However, relying on Isocrates as our principle source carries some peril as it seems unlikely that the speech itself was delivered by the prince at this conference.[35] Moreover, there is the question of whose "persona" belongs to the speaker: Isocrates' or Archidamus'? The question of persona, extremely complex and difficult, is central in Isocratean studies but, fortunately, has only a marginal impact on our consideration of the *Archidamus.* Scholars of Isocrates grapple, for instance, with the question of the inconsistent attitudes toward Sparta throughout the Isocratean corpus.[36]

Yun Lee Too seems to have found the answer in her analysis of the *Panathenaicus,* Isocrates' encomium to Athens completed near the end of his long life in 339. Toward the end of the work (234–263), a Spartan, one of Isocrates' former students, suggests that the author's criticisms of Sparta earlier in the treatise might bear moderation. This seeming shift in tone has confounded many scholars, especially as Isocrates does not follow with a rejection of the student's position. A rhetorical exercise seems to be afoot, and Too suggests that Isocrates' point is that more than one interpretation of Sparta may be possible, that Isocrates the author can "assume all voices for all people."[37] So while we see Isocrates issue a tirade against Spartan treatment of the Messenians in the *Panathenaicus,*[38] his speech for Archidamus conveys an opposite view.

For us, then, the question of persona in the *Archidamus* is of less importance because, whether actually delivered or not, one can reasonably argue that the speech conveyed Archidamus' own views and reflected a Spartan tradition. As with the Return of the Heracleidae story of the seventh century and the putative Spartan inheritance of Heraclid domains in Sicily in the sixth, so too did the Spartan claim of Messenia originate in Sparta, leaving us with the high probability that Archidamus' actual arguments in 366, whether delivered on this occasion or not, were just as Isocrates rendered them. Therefore, as I reference Archidamus in my discussion of the Isocratean presentation, I will show the same reverence to him as I did to Solon in my reading of Plutarch.

The picture Archidamus paints has certain facets not found in earlier accounts. He describes two attacks on Messenia that he intended to be seen as merely the first of a succession of wars, leading up to the Messenian Wars in the archaic period. For the earliest, he goes all the way back to Heracles himself, who essentially had taken Messenia as a prize "won by the spear" (δοριάλωτον), after an enemy had robbed him of the cattle of Geryon (yet again), this time the local king Neleus. Heracles killed Neleus and all his sons except Nestor, who had not participated in the theft. Nestor's throne was now a gift from the conqueror rather than an inheritance from Neleus (Isoc. 6.19), much as Eryx had been a gift to its local inhabitants. This "gift" is important. The tradition of Heracles' war on Neleus and his sons goes back to Homer,[39] but there is nothing there about the "gift." Clearly, this detail is providing legitimacy for Sparta in Messenia and resonating all the more in the context of the rest of Archidamus' exposition.

Long afterwards, the narrative continues, the Heracleidae came into the Peloponnesus under the leadership of the brothers Temenus, Aristodemus, and Cresphontes. After their victories, they divided the land into three sections (Archidamus omits the details of the choosing of lots and the results, which were known well enough already). In this way, Cresphontes had acquired Messenia. However, Archidamus goes on, "The Messenians became so immoral that they plotted against and murdered Cresphontes, even though he had founded their *polis,* master of their land, descendant of Heracles, and their leader. His sons escaped danger and came into this city [Sparta] as suppliants, arguing that we ought to aid their dead father and *giving their land to us.*"[40] Their kin in Sparta then consulted the Delphic oracle, and with its blessing they invaded Messenia and forced the inhabitants to capitulate.

We might note at this point that Archidamus disparages the Messenians much as Tyrtaeus did. I used that depiction in Tyrtaeus as evidence against his invention of this part of the Return. I hold to that because of what I argue Tyrtaeus is trying to accomplish. In his zeal for showing how the Spartans, not just the kings but all citizens, derived their greatness from their Heraclid forebears, he seems to take an "us vs. them" attitude regarding the Messenians. Giving them access to Sparta's noble heritage would defeat Tyrtaeus' purpose. Archidamus, on the other hand, has a completely different objective, except that his speech is also intended to remind the Spartans of their heritage, which makes their recent setbacks all the more inexcusable.

Yet, here there is a distinctly political spin in his treatment, the purpose of which is to convince his audience of the legitimacy of Sparta's claim to Messenia. The connection lies not in kinship between the peoples of Messenia and Laconia but rather in the Spartan kings' inheritance. To that end, he takes no chances that his point will be missed and adds: "We dwell in this land [Laconia] because the Heracleidae gave it to us and the god (of Delphi) ordained it and because we subdued in war those who had possessed it. We received that land [Messenia] from these same people, by the same method, and employing the same oracle."[41]

To be sure, Archidamus did not invent the account of the lots and of Cresphontes' taking of Messenia. Sophocles may have referred to it in the *Ajax*. Euripides certainly did, as Strabo indicates.[42] But these references do not have the political connotations of Archidamus' version. To my knowledge, no other extant reference predates the Isocratean speech, written in 366.[43] The use Archidamus makes of this account is particular to the situation. A number of details in the speech reflect a political spin that served his immediate purpose. The most salient one is in the portion of the speech I highlighted above: the land *was given* to the sons of Aristodemus by the sons of Cresphontes. Heracles no doubt came to mind as the audience heard this. Once again, Messenia is a "gift" of the rightful owner. Thus, Archidamus' version of the Return, at least where Messenia was concerned, was most likely a Spartan innovation of the fourth century.[44]

Though the Spartans' reputation was for military prowess and discipline rather than creativity and eloquence, their ability to make political use of myth cannot be denied. If Tyrtaeus was exceptional for his poetic voice, by which the Spartans' Heraclid identity may have first been articulated, members of the royal families became adept at political mythopoesis, especially Dorieus and Archidamus, despite the disappointing results of their labors. We might note, as a postscript, another opportunity that came along in 426 when people from Trachis and Doris appealed to the Spartans for help against the aggressions of the neighboring Oetaeans. The Spartans responded with a new colony, Heraclea Trachinia, near the site of the recently destroyed Trachis, which was not what the locals had requested and almost certainly not what they had in mind. Though the colony had strategic purposes, Thucydides' remark that Doris was the original homeland of the Spartans and the name they selected was Heraclea suggests another attempt to legitimize a Spartan presence in a foreign region.[45]

FIVE

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

THE MYTHOPOEIC MIND OF ALEXANDER

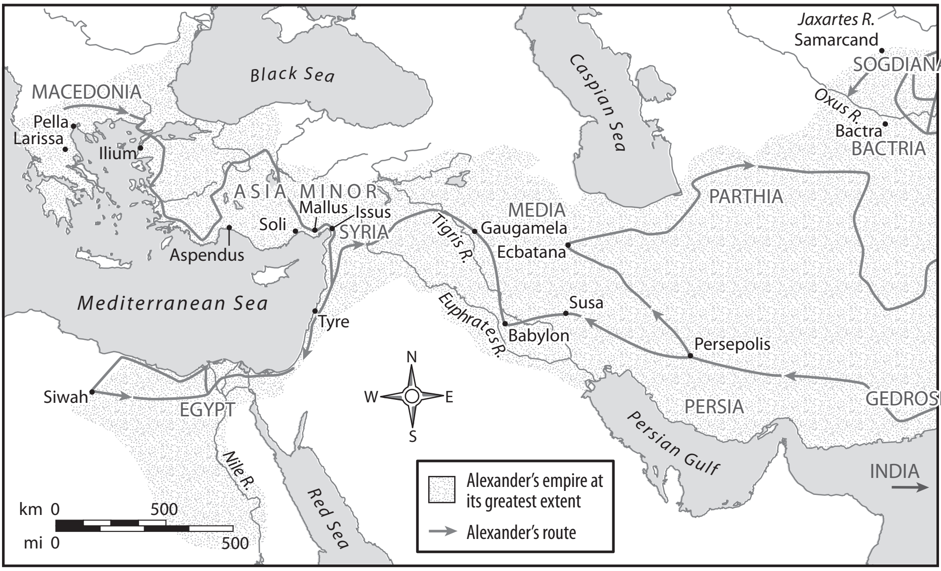
We have seen kinship myth used for the benefit of the state as well as for the glory of the individual. As king of Macedon (336–323 BCE) Alexander the Great *was* the state, but his successes proclaimed his personal glory as well. Indeed, the glory that Alexander achieved burns so brightly that the real man is often hard to find in the surviving sources. The problem is that those sources are centuries removed from the real Alexander. They rely on accounts often written in his own lifetime, but even those accounts provided varying interpretations of the king, his personality, and his achievements. This was partly because of the complex picture Alexander himself conveyed, a complexity that arose from his own erratic personality, the different images he put forth toward different parties (Greeks, Macedonians, Persians, among others), and the changes he underwent in the course of his conquest of Asia.

Avenging the Persian atrocities in Greece 150 years before provides the initial context for his invasion of the Persian Empire in 334. So does Homer, for as the great avenger of hellenic civilization, Alexander would become a latter-day Achilles and take his stand as the most successful and honorable warrior ever, imbued with the competitive spirit of the Homeric world. With the text of Homer under his pillow at night, so the story goes, given to him perhaps by his teacher Aristotle, and wearing armor from the days of the Trojan War, which he took from Troy itself, Alexander sought to outdo the achievements of all before him, including, and especially, his father Philip II. It was, in fact, Philip who was largely responsible for instilling such a mindset. The archaic Macedonian society over which Philip presided required his heir to be a worthy successor. Fredricksmeyer sums it up well,

> The ideological context of this relationship was a value complex that had been preserved in Macedonia, along with some of its institutions and customs, from Homeric times, and may be described, in a word, as the cult of the heroic personality. It placed the highest premium on success, power and glory, and regarded as the highest virtue, to be sought with the utmost exertion, the prowess and superior achievement (*arete*) of the individual hero, both for its own sake, and for the sake of honor (*time*) and glory (*kydos*) among his fellow men. As in Homer, the noblest competitor was the warrior king, and the most appropriate arena of competition was the field of battle, war and conquest.[1]

Where Alexander differed from Philip is the lengths to which the former went to achieve immortality and perhaps literal godhood as well. For as the campaign progressed, as the Persian Empire succumbed piece by piece, and then as the edge of the world beyond Persian realms beckoned, Alexander seemed transformed, aiming for goals of conquest and divinity that he did not begin with in 334. And yet in the midst of this transformation there is a fundamental pragmatism that prevailed in the way Alexander administered his empire. Most pressing was the need to have the Greek, Macedonian, Persian, and other elements work together in the new empire. Rather than dreaming of a "unity of mankind," Alexander's methods of mixing races in new city foundations, incorporating different elements in his armies, and other measures suggest a practical approach to imperial rule. For example, it has been noted that while he retained many of the Persian satraps for their knowledge of local administrative operations, the finances and the military remained firmly in Macedonian hands.[2]

In his use of kinship myth, we see these two contrasting sides of Alexander come together. The evidence shows that Alexander embraced the reality of the Greek heroes and their feats; at the same time, it suggests a certain logic in his use of kinship myth. The pragmatism Worthington and others have identified in Alexander's administration applies also here. Kinship myth was a political and diplomatic tool, often a useful alternative to military methods. Even as he likened his own victories to the successes of Heracles, even as his decisions to visit Troy and Siwah and to besiege Tyre and Aornus were influenced by his desire (his *pothos,* as Arrian called it)[3] to emulate and surpass his heroic ancestors, he also used these ancestors to secure the allegiance of a city by claiming to be related to its people (or at least its leaders). Sometimes the city's leaders, to save themselves as Alexander's army approached, took the initiative and made the claim, which Alexander readily acknowledged. Such a link was in-


Jaxartes R.
Samarcand
SOGDIANA
Oxus R.
Bactra
BACTRIA
Black Sea
Caspian Sea
MACEDONIA
Pella
Larissa
Ilium
ASIA MINOR
Mallus
Issus
Soli
SYRIA
Aspendus
Tigris R.
Gaugamela
MEDIA
Ecbatana
PARTHIA
Mediterranean Sea
Tyre
Euphrates R.
Susa
Babylon
Persepolis
N
W
E
S
Siwah
EGYPT
PERSIA
GEDROSIA
Persian Gulf
Nile R.
Red Sea
INDIA
km 0
500
mi 0
500
Alexander's empire at its greatest extent
Alexander's route

MAP 5.1.
Empire of Alexander the Great

tended to justify Alexander's overlordship and strengthen the bond between conqueror and conquered.

Alexander usually turned to Heracles and Achilles for a link of kinship, although at Ilium, which he believed to be Homer's Troy, he asserted a link through Andromache. Further on in the campaign he may also have invoked the god Dionysus, but, as we shall see, the questions of whether the tradition of Dionysus' ancestry predated Alexander and whether Alexander actually used Dionysus in kinship diplomacy are very problematic. But we can certainly say that the traditions involving Heracles and Achilles developed long before Alexander was born. The invention and development of these traditions arose in response to the Macedonians' need to assert their hellenic identity, which was largely questioned and often rejected by the Greeks further south. Alexander himself was descended from Achilles on his mother's side, for Olympias was of the ruling Molossian house of Epirus, named for Molossus, son of Neoptolemus and grandson (or great-grandson) of Achilles. Alexander's paternal line was the royal family of Macedonia, called the Argeadae, who traced their descent back to Heracles through the Temenids of Argos. The similarity of *Argeadae* and *Argos* of course bolstered the claim.[4]

ALEXANDER'S USE OF KINSHIP MYTH

Like his predecessors, Alexander the Great was a Macedonian king first and aspiring Greek second. But, as we have noted, his world was clearly imbued with myth, and while he sought to profit from myth in the conventional ways, he outdid the previous kings by associating himself with the heroes as none before, surpassing even Philip. In his use of *kinship* myth specifically, a pattern emerges that suggests the pragmatism we have noted in other aspects of his conquests and administration. Most of the examples of Alexander's use of kinship myth occur early on in his campaign. Alexander took advantage of his link with the Aleuadae of Larissa, with Ilium, and with Mallus and Aspendus in Cilicia. There is also evidence that suggests he may have recognized a link to the Nysaeans, the Sibi, and the Oxydracae in India. At Larissa, Ilium, and Mallus, Alexander made the initial claim, while the locals from Aspendus approached him to save their city, as did the Indian tribes, if those accounts can be trusted.

There seems to have been in each of these cases some tradition to support the claim, though the evidence of it in India is more tenuous. That all the other cases come from Asia Minor and Greece is highly significant, for this shows that in those regions, Alexander tended to employ a well-established tradition, whereas in regions to the East, he and his men were accused of considerable mythological fabrication.[5] Where displaying his *aretē,* or heroic virtue, was concerned, Alexander did not mind a little flattery. For the practical business of securing his conquests, however, he tended to employ myth as a political tool only if efficacious. As we shall see, the exercise of kinship myth in India is another matter altogether. If genuine, it is the only place in the nonhellenic realms beyond Asia Minor where Alexander employed kinship myth, and by the time he reached those areas, the matter had become complicated by his likely aspirations of divinity. As for the Greeks, although they generally hated him and secretly hoped his campaign in Asia would fail, I will argue below that at least some of the success he had with kinship diplomacy was the result of a sincere belief among the Greeks of his hellenic descent, even as they regarded him as alien by virtue of the culture in which he was raised and especially by virtue of his policies.

Alexander in Thessaly

Alexander's link with the Aleuadae of Thessaly is the best documented and supported in the ancient texts. The incident in which he affirmed the link occurred very soon after Alexander's accession in 336, following the assassina-

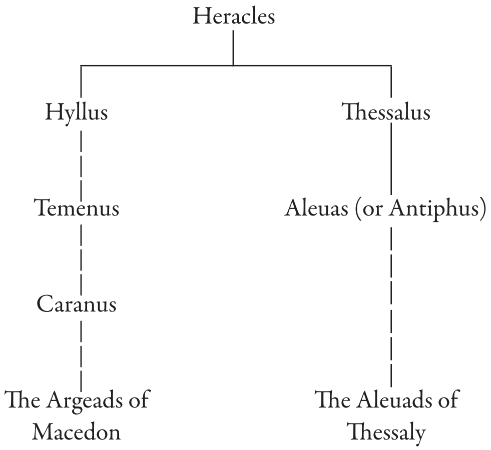


FIGURE 5.1.
The Heraclean Link of the Argeads and Aleuads

tion of Philip. Resistance by the Thessalians was part of a greater problem of general upheaval in the Greek world after Alexander took the throne. After Philip had established a Macedonian hegemony, the Greeks were hopeful that the transition to the new king would give them the chance to throw off the Macedonian yoke once and for all. But Alexander was too quick for them, meeting all opposition with his characteristic fervor. Bringing Thessaly back into the fold was especially important, for Alexander had need of its cavalry in the upcoming invasion of Asia.[6] After outmaneuvering the Thessalians on the field,[7] Alexander proceeded to Larissa and convinced the ruling Aleuadae to support him. He claimed in part to have inherited the title *archon* from his father, by which he claimed leadership of the Thessalian League. Moreover, like Philip, Alexander had a claim of kinship; indeed Alexander had an extra link not available to his father. As Diodorus explains, Alexander solidified his hold by "reminding the Thessalians of their ancient kinship through Heracles and encouraging them with kind words and great promises."[8] Justin gives this account: "During his passage he encouraged the Thessalians and reminded them of the kindnesses of his father Philip and of his relationship with them through his mother, who was of the race of the Aeacids."[9]

We have seen how well documented the Argead kings' descent from Heracles was.[10] But how did Heracles connect Alexander with the Aleuadae? Alexander and the Thessalians were likely thinking of a son of Heracles named Thessalus (Figure 5.1). Beyond Thessalus, two further avenues present themselves, his sons Pheidippus and Antiphus or a son named Aleuas the Red, eponym of the Aleuadae. The personages of Thessalus, Pheidippus, and Antiphus go all the way back to Homer, whom Strabo cites in his assessments of early Dorian migrations. The brothers are listed in the Catalogue of Ships as leading a contingent from Cos and other islands of the Dodecanese.[11] Strabo elsewhere records several different traditions about the origins of the Thessalians and mentions two separate figures named Thessalus from whom the name Thessaly derived. One of them was son of Haemon, the other son of Heracles. Strabo adds that in the latter case, Thessaly was named by the descendants of Pheidippus and Antiphus, who came from Ephyre in Thesprotia, a region of Epirus.[12]

After the Trojan War, in which Antiphus had participated, he himself occupied "the land of the Pelasgians" and called it Thessaly,[13] a variation on the idea that it was his descendants who did the deed.[14] The divergence widens, for here we have no sense that Antiphus came by way of Epirus, only that he started out in Cos and ended up in Thessaly. These variations likely reflect the post-Homeric traditions that developed at the hands of the early mythographers, in particular Hecataeus of Miletus, who was Strabo's main source for matters concerning Epirus and Macedon,[15] and Pherecydes of Athens, who provides details that are recapitulated in Apollodorus.[16] As we shall see, a similar situation arises in Alexander's maternal line, in which Homer has Neoptolemus return to Thessaly directly from Troy. The most likely explanation is that the post-Homeric versions developed in response to the need of early archaic families and communities to situate themselves in the mosaic of heroic "history" and occasionally diverted returning heroes accordingly. Aleuas likewise may have performed a similar function, his name serving to connect the Aleuadae to heroic times and to a heroic figure. Aleuas, grandson of Heracles, was purportedly the first *tagos,* or chief of Thessaly, and according to Aristotle, he divided Thessaly into tetrarchies and organized the army according to *kleroi,* or lots.[17] With Aristotle as our source and the use of an eponym predating Alexander (even though most of the attestations are much later), Aleuas strikes me as the most likely avenue Alexander would have used to connect Macedon's royal house with the Aleuadae.

Meanwhile, on the maternal side, Justin mentions the Aeacids (11.3.1).[18] He is, of course, referring to the descendants of Aeacus, the grandfather of Achilles. Alexander's mother Olympias was from Epirus, in northwestern Greece, whose ruling family was the Molossi. This dynasty traced its origins to Achilles' son Neoptolemus, who left Troy with Andromache and came to Epirus, bypassing his father's home of Phthia in Thessaly (Figure 5.2). Neoptolemus then subdued the natives in Epirus and established a dynasty. The natives are called Molossians already in the sources, but the implication is that the son

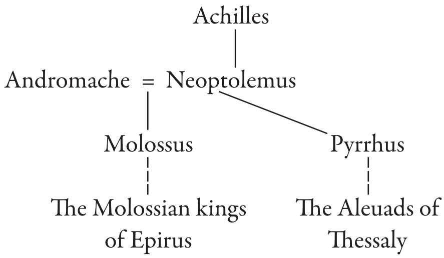


FIGURE 5.2.
The Epirote-Thessalian Connection

of Neoptolemus and Andromache, Molossus, gave his name to the people.[19] Afterwards, Neoptolemus seems to have returned to Thessaly to become the forefather of the kings in Phthia, from whom the Aleuadae claimed descent.[20] In Strabo's version, it is to Pyrrhus, son of Neoptolemus, and to Pyrrhus' descendants, "who were Thessalians," that the Molossians became subject.[21]

The names Pyrrhus and Neoptolemus are often interchangeable, but Strabo's remark may explain the divergence from the Homeric version, which has Neoptolemus return to Thessaly directly from Troy. That version would be consistent with Strabo's if we assume that Neoptolemus' son, not Achilles', went to Epirus. The Pyrrhus variant perhaps comes from Hecataeus, but the origin of the Neoptolemus version is likely the *Nostoi* by Agias of Troezen, from the seventh century, as we know from Proclus' summary. The lost epics and the mythographers of the seventh and sixth centuries did much to develop the old myths with an eye toward filling out, for example, the Trojan War cycle, and to sort out chronological and other inconsistencies, as I noted before. The archaic innovations that find more copious citation in later sources, however, probably served political aetiological purposes as well. Certainly in the fourth century we should expect Neoptolemus or his son to be the link between Alexander's maternal line and the Aleuadae.

There is no way to know, of course, if we should choose between Diodorus or Justin, or if Alexander had invoked both connections. It would not be surprising to see him take full advantage of the mythological opportunities afforded to him. In any case, Alexander had an ancient tradition to back him up on both counts, and the sources suggest that the Thessalians were convinced of his claims. While it is true that the threat of overwhelming force would be enough for them to agree to any declarations of kinship, it is noteworthy that Alexander should bother to put forth a mythological justification to bolster his unassailable logistical position. The Thessalians, like most Greeks, may have had little love for their northern neighbor, but Alexander saw kinship myth as a way of making his leadership more palatable, and we have no reason to reject Thessalian credulity on this point. Already in Thessaly we see in the mythopoeic mind of Alexander that heroic ancestors served Macedonian imperialism as much as they enhanced Alexander's ego.

Alexander in Asia Minor

Ego was no doubt in play when Alexander laid a wreath on the tomb of Achilles at Ilium, while his closest companion Hephaestion laid one on the tomb of Patroclus,[22] suggesting to Aelian that Alexander's relationship with Hephaestion was similar to that of Achilles with Patroclus. However, of greater symbolic value to the consolidation of his empire was Alexander's acknowledgement of kinship with the Trojans through Andromache. Strabo says that he "provided for them on the basis of a renewal of kinship and because of his zeal for Homer. . . . On account of this zeal and of his kinship through the Aeacids, who had been kings of the Molossi, of whom Andromache, Hector's wife, as the story goes, was also queen, Alexander treated the Ilians kindly."[23] The benefactions that Strabo describes may have included remission of tribute, as Alexander would grant to the people of Mallus. More importantly, as Bosworth has pointed out, Alexander abandoned Herodotus' view of the Trojans as eastern barbarians. Rather, they were "Hellenes on Asian soil. . . . The descendants of Achilles and Priam would now fight together against the common enemy. It was a most evocative variation on the theme of Panhellenism, and Alexander proceeded to battle with the ghosts of the past enlisted in his service."[24]

Alexander swept through Asia Minor in 334 and 333, eventually reaching Aspendus in Pamphylia. Knowing which way the wind was blowing, the Aspendians saved Alexander the trouble of an attack and surrendered to him outright, requesting that they be spared a garrison. Strabo indicates that Aspendus had been founded by the Argives. He is supported by an inscription found at the Sanctuary of Zeus at Nemea, which reveals that the Argives, probably in the last third of the fourth century BCE, acknowledged a tie of kinship with the Aspendians and that the former were granting them citizen rights.[25] And so Alexander agreed to the Aspendians' request, although he still extracted fifty talents and the contribution of their horses. The Aspendians were wealthy and could afford such a contribution.[26]

The Aspendian episode ultimately demonstrated that, even when the opportunity presented itself, Alexander would not embrace his brothers when they tried to undermine his authority. They subsequently had a change of heart and refused to pay the fifty talents. Alexander exacted a second surrender from them after they saw his vast army, and his new demands were far harsher: one hundred talents, the horses, hostages, the implementation of a satrap, yearly tribute, and a reassessment of their territory.[27] Though a kindred people, their defiance was intolerable, for it undermined the goal that kinship myth helped achieve and, perhaps more ominously, was seen as a challenge to the will of Alexander.

Thebes had already learned this harsh lesson. During the aforementioned upheavals following Alexander's ascension, the young king, who had gone out of his way to employ kinship diplomacy with the Thessalians, whose cavalry he needed, decided to make Thebes be an object lesson. Alexander spent the early years of his reign reestablishing the ties his father had made, claiming the command of the Thessalians and other positions. Alexander also reconstituted the League of Corinth, an alliance of Greek states intended to maintain the so-called Common Peace. The Macedonian king was *hegemon,* or military leader, because, after all, Macedon was the strongest state and in the best position to insure the peace. But technically, the authority for action was vested in the League.

While Alexander was securing his northwestern frontier in 335, a rumor spread that he had been killed, and so Thebes decided to try to throw off the Macedonian yoke. In a lightning march southward, Alexander caught Thebes off guard and sacked the city. Its final fate rested with the League of Corinth because Thebes was a member and had violated the Common Peace. The decision was to raze the city to the ground.[28]

In the course of these discussions, according to a tradition that possibly begins with Cleitarchus, a Theban prisoner named Cleadas was allowed to speak. His case for leniency from Alexander included the use of kinship myth, for Thebes was the traditional birthplace of Heracles. Alexander was unmoved by Cleadas' pleas and allowed the destruction of Thebes, except for the house of Pindar.[29] There is a variant of sorts in the *Greek Alexander Romance,* a work whose origin is extremely difficult to trace but may lie as early as the third century BCE. Not a historical work per se but more of an ancient novel of Alexander's adventures, filled with fantastical and absurd situations, the *Romance* preserves material that had begun to circulate soon after Alexander's death.[30] Here, we find a Theban musician named Ismenias throwing himself at Alexander's feet amidst the carnage as Thebes is sacked. He reminds Alexander that Thebes was the birthplace of Heracles and Dionysus and asks for mercy on the basis of kinship. But, again, Alexander is unmoved, chastises Ismenias, and razes the city.[31] There is no bona fide historical evidence that the Thebans attempted to assuage Alexander's anger by way of kinship myth when he destroyed their city in 335, but even if the posthumous accounts are ground-less on this point, they preserve an important idea about Alexander, which the Aspendus episode also demonstrates, that ties of *sungeneia* accounted for nothing if the *sungenes* posed any threat to Alexander and his plans.

The examples of Soli and Mallus, further to the east in Cilicia, also bring home the pragmatism in Alexander's use of myth. Both cities were of Argive origin.[32] The same inscription that refers to Aspendus also indicates that the people of Soli were granted access to the Argive assembly.[33] Meanwhile, according to legend, Mallus had been founded by the Argive Amphilochus son of Alcmaeon, one of the Epigoni against Thebes.[34] On the one hand, Alexander punished Soli for its pro-Persian leanings with a fine of two hundred talents of silver and by imposing a Macedonian garrison.[35] On the other hand, Alexander "spared the Mallians the tribute they used to pay king Darius because the Mallians were descendants of the Argives, and he himself claimed to be descended from the Argives through the Heracleidae."[36] Such remission of tribute was exceptional.

The difference in treatment is instructive. Both cities were of Argive origin but not specifically Heraclid. Alexander cited his connection to Mallus, but the ancient sources say nothing of such a claim regarding Soli. Bosworth suggests that Mallus, which lay at the eastern end of the Cilician plain (while Soli lay at the western), had the potential to aid the Persians in Alexander's rear as he advanced toward Issus.[37] Thus, its loyalty was far more paramount than Soli's, which was more isolated. It would seem then that Alexander ignored his Argive link to Soli because there was no practical advantage in citing it. At Soli, he showed once again that kinship myth need not hinder him from asserting his will or extracting needed funds for the campaign, while the Mallus episode reinforces the argument that kinship myth was a tool at Alexander's disposal when he made decisions of strategic importance.

Alexander in the Non-Greek World

We do not hear of another instance of kinship diplomacy of this sort until Alexander reaches India. There, he supposedly acknowledged *sungeneia* (this time, not consanguinity but a close affinity nonetheless) with the Nysaeans, the Sibi, and possibly the Oxydracae. These cases present considerable problems, the most fundamental of which is that well-established traditions are not in play but rather questionable scenarios with tenuous foundations. There was (and continues to be) much discussion of the role of Macedonian fabrications that glorified Alexander's accomplishments in India.

In light of this discussion, it would be instructive to consider first how Alexander behaved in other parts of Asia, where there was the potential for kinship diplomacy, especially with the people of Tyre, the Egyptians, and the Persians. The evidence suggests that Alexander did not attempt kinship diplomacy with any of them. The case of Persia is particularly surprising, given the well developed and long entrenched tradition of Persian-Argive kinship. We must then ask not only why Alexander did not seize the opportunity in these places but what accounts for the claims that he did when he encountered the Indian tribes.

Alexander's campaign received an enormous boost when he defeated Darius III at the Battle of Issus in 333, not far from the southeastern fringe of Asia Minor. From there Alexander went down the Phoenician coast. His next objective was Tyre, an island city about half a mile off the coast, whose capture was essential lest it continue to serve as a naval base for the Persians, threatening Alexander's planned excursion to Egypt, not to mention the Greek world he had left behind. The Phoenicians were not Greeks, but they interacted heavily with them. They worshiped a god named Melcart, which most Greeks equated with the deified Heracles.[38] So naturally Tyre drew Alexander's attention for both strategic and sentimental reasons. Although Alexander claimed he wanted to worship Heracles in their city,[39] the Tyrians had no interest in allowing the Macedonian king within their walls, especially as it was the period of the great annual festival for Melcart, and they did not wish to give Alexander any opportunity for posing as their ruler, for whom the rights of making a sacrifice to Melcart at this time were preserved.[40] Alexander's reaction was violent, and he set about besieging the city from January to August of 332.

His response to Tyrian defiance is not surprising, given what we have already seen about Alexander's attitudes on these matters. Clearly his pride had been hurt, and he required retribution.[41] It is interesting to note that while Alexander's descent from Heracles obviously informs his desire to sacrifice in Tyre, there is nothing in the sources about claims of kinship with the Tyrians. The closest we come is a notation in Curtius, who says simply that the Macedonian kings regarded themselves as descendants of Heracles.[42] This belief was explicitly used as a justification for conquest elsewhere, but such a justification is muted here. Nor did Alexander try to reconcile the Tyrians after his victory, when, having captured the city, he went ahead with his sacrifice.[43] Though they were a non-Greek people, he must have expected the Tyrians to believe Melcart was the same as Heracles, or else he would not have insisted on his own Argead connections to the hero/god. That expectation was not unjustified because the Phoenicians and their colonists (notably Carthaginians) had spent centuries interacting with Greeks across the Mediterranean, in both trade and war. But their defiance removed any possibility for kinship diplomacy and may account for the silence on *sungeneia* in our sources.

Before turning eastward to deal with Darius himself, Alexander went to Egypt to replace Persian control there with Macedonian. His detour to the western oasis of Siwah, where the oracle of Ammon lay, speaks to a more personal motive in Alexander's Egyptian diversion. This Ammon was believed to be the equivalent of Zeus. As conqueror of Egypt, Alexander was to become the new pharaoh and thus, by default, son of Ammon. As for his hellenic identity, Alexander's status of royal descendant of Greek heroes was about to get an upgrade, as the oracle would confirm that Alexander was a son of Zeus. This episode forms the centerpiece of most discussions of Alexander's Egyptian excursion and is extremely murky, given the uncertainties of what actually happened when he consulted the oracle alone.[44]

Although the Greeks applied their syncretic tendencies to Egypt,[45] there is no evidence that Alexander employed kinship myth here. There are indications of heroic emulation in his visit: as Arrian says, "Alexander had a desire to rival Perseus and Heracles,"[46] but nowhere is it apparent that Alexander applied his perceived descent from Ammon to his relations with the Egyptians. The Egyptian point of view in our sources is mainly limited to an acknowledgment of Alexander as their new leader,[47] but again we have nothing about any other connection to Alexander. That suggests that, Greek belief notwithstanding, there was no tradition in Egypt with which Alexander could work to support his legitimacy. While he need not have anyway because the Egyptians readily acknowledged him to be the pharaoh, we have seen Alexander elsewhere take that extra step.

We should certainly expect Alexander to have taken advantage of the tradition ingrained in the Greek world that connected the Persians with Argos. However, Alexander apparently did not seek to unite his empire by stressing the kinship of Macedonians and Persians through Perseus, who was an ancestor of Heracles, despite the authority of Aeschylus, Herodotus, and Hellanicus, and no doubt others, on which the attempt could have rested.[48] The reason quite simply is that the Persians themselves had no such beliefs. We saw in Chapter Three that the stories in Herodotus and others are typical Greek attempts to bring order to a hellenocentric world, organizing the various "barbarian" peoples in relation to personages from Greek mythology. Alexander understood this. If it had been available to him, Alexander would undoubtedly have found kinship myth very useful.

He clearly was concerned to legitimize his rule of the Persians and sought connections where he could. For instance, Alexander married Darius' daughter Stateira and Artaxerxes III's daughter Parysatis.[49] His stance as leader has been discussed at length, with general agreement that Alexander positioned himself not as the Great King of Persia but rather as "King of Asia," incorporating Macedonia into an empire grander than the one ruled by the Achaemenids. This partly answers the question of how he could claim to be avenging the Greeks for Persian outrages and then assume the leadership of the hated Persian Empire.[50] Debate over his attitude toward the Persians has been vigorous, but Alexander clearly meant to promote a connection with them. This intention helps to explain his adoption of Persian royal attire (though in combination with Macedonian) and certain customs, including the disagreeable *proskynēsis,* the ritual abasement that was normal for subjects of the Persian King but anathema to Greeks. He also pursued a policy of mixing Persians, Greeks, and others in cities across the empire; a mass wedding of Greek men and Asian women in Susa; and the incorporation of Persians into the army. There were pragmatic reasons for all this, having to do with maximizing his legitimacy and political control in the empire and promoting greater efficiency. His retention of Persians in his administration reveals that while Persian satraps often provided a smoother continuity from the old regime, the main bases for power, finances and military, remained firmly in Macedonian hands.[51]

Yet, Alexander still fell short of connecting with his Persian subjects as much as he might have. He did not worship Persian gods or truly understand Persian customs. His coronation was not held at Pasargadae, which would have meant invoking Ahura Mazda, the main Persian god with whom the Achaemenid kings were ritually and politically associated.[52] The burning of the palace complex at Persepolis is key to understanding Alexander's relations with the Persians and yet remains one of the more vexed issues. Some of our ancient sources suggest that the fire was the result of drunken debauchery and essentially accidental. According to Arrian, however, Alexander saw it as an act of retribution, a significant symbol for the Greeks.[53] Most scholars tend to see the destruction as deliberate and argue about Alexander's motivation. At the very least, we can say that its deliberate destruction would have undermined Alexander's legitimacy in the eyes of the Persians. Little did he know that in the months that would follow Darius would be dead, a usurper named Bessus would present a new threat, and Alexander's need to assert his legitimacy would be greater than ever.[54]

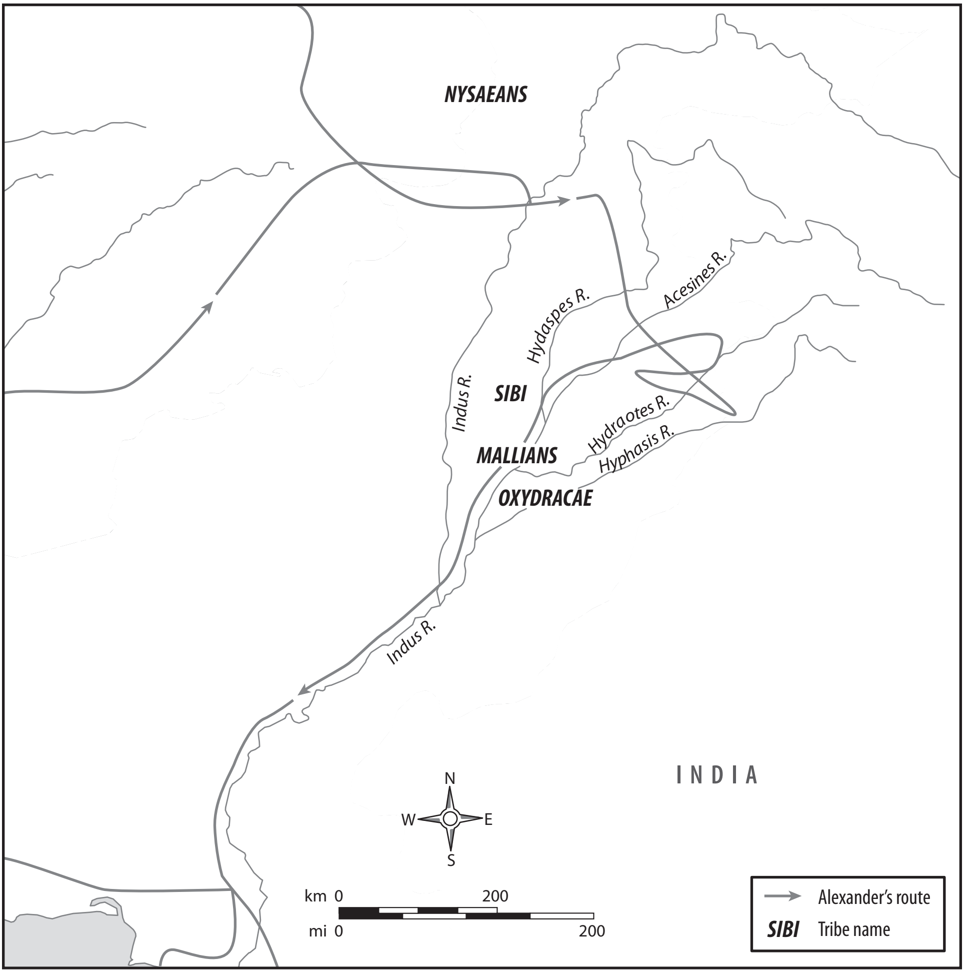
Overall, Alexander's understanding of Persian culture, including the relationship among religion, king, and nobility, was quite limited. Given this deficiency, invoking Greek myth should have bolstered his claims of legitimacy; he clearly was shrewd enough to recognize that however ingrained the traditions of Persia's Argive origins in Greek tradition, which likely informed his own belief in such *sungeneia,* there was no promise of these traditions being of any use to him. The Persians themselves simply did not share them. He tried other methods, including political marriage, to assert a link with Darius' family, but Alexander recognized, even after the sack of Persepolis when his need for legitimacy was greatest, that kinship diplomacy was not an option open to him.

So far the pattern suggests that Alexander used kinship myth only when he felt it was grounded in some mutually recognized reality (as well as in situations in which the conquered did not defy him). He had that recognition in cities inhabited by Greeks, but the deeper he moved into the non-Greek world following his victory at Issus, the fewer the possibilities. This brings us at last to Alexander's invasion of India and the most enigmatic example of kinship diplomacy. As has been mentioned, Alexander supposedly acknowledged *sungeneia* with the Nysaeans and the Sibi and possibly with the Oxydracae. As usual matters are not helped by the fact that our main sources are removed from these events by uncomfortable degrees.

Alexander in India

First, the Nysaeans: in 326, Alexander was moving through modern Nuristan in northeast Afghanistan, conducting essentially a campaign of terror in the Indus Valley. Before he reached Nysa, or possibly as he was preparing to attack it,[55] a delegation of Nysaeans led by Acuphis approached Alexander's camp. They were led into his tent and were startled to find him in full armor (as if preparing to attack). Acuphis then petitioned Alexander to leave their city independent, "out of reverence for Dionysus" (*αἰδοῖ τοῦ Διονύσου*), who they said had founded the city, naming it after his nurse Nyse. The Nysaeans themselves were descended from followers of Dionysus, soldiers and Bacchi, with whom the god had peopled his new city.[56] Of Alexander's reaction Arrian says, "Alexander was delighted to hear all these things, and he willed it that the accounts of the wandering of Dionysus be credible. He wanted Nysa to be a colony of Dionysus so as to have reached the point himself whither Dionysus had reached, beyond which he would pass afterwards."[57] And so Alexander granted the Nysaeans' wish and levied three hundred horsemen from their ranks. Afterwards, he went to Mount Merus and saw the ivy that proved Dionysus' transit through the region, as the Nysaeans had claimed. Some of the officers then made wreaths of ivy and, adorned with them, danced and frolicked, as if possessed by the Bacchic spirit (so the story went).[58]

There are essentially two layers to this account: the indisputably historical and the highly suspect. That Alexander visited and peacefully subdued Nysa, that he believed Dionysus to have preceded him in this region, and that the Macedonians found evidence of Dionysus here, namely, the ivy on Mount


NYSAEANS
Hydaspes R.
Acesines R.
Indus R.
SIBI
MALLIANS
Hydraotes R.
Hyphasis R.
OXYDRACAE
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Alexander's route
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MAP 5.2.
Alexander's Campaign in India

Merus, are not in doubt. All our main Alexander sources mention his visit, though Plutarch does not discuss Dionysus, and what Diodorus had in his account is unknown, as the Nysa episode lies in a lacuna between Chapters 83 and 84 of Book 17, though the Table of Contents indicates that he dealt with the episode. Arrian's mode of discourse seems to indicate the level of his skepticism:[59] 5.1.3: Alexander's arrival at Nysa (statement of fact), given in direct speech; 5.1.4–6: Alexander's conversation with Acuphis about Dionysus in Nysa (in doubt), given in indirect speech (with direct therein); 5.2.1–2:

Alexander's wish that Dionysus had been in Nysa (statement of fact), direct speech.

Ultimately Arrian takes a neutral stand on these events. He mentions Eratosthenes' incredulity about the "evidence" for the transit of Heracles and Dionysus through Asian lands, but he neither accepts such accounts at face value nor is willing to reject them outright. Instead, he says, "Let my own judgment of the accounts of these matters lie in the middle" (i.e., I draw no conclusion about them).[60] On the other hand, Eratosthenes claims that such accounts are the products of Macedonian fabrication intended to flatter Alexander. Likewise, in the *Indica,* Arrian relates coolly the "evidence" of Dionysus and also Heracles in India that is presented by Megasthenes, who traveled to the court of Chandragupta as an envoy of Seleucus I. Arrian's judgment about his reliability is mixed, but his conclusion about the evidence is that it amounts to Macedonian flattery, and he implies that Megasthenes' accounts should be taken with a grain of salt.[61] One reason for Arrian's apparent indecisiveness is that the introduction of the divine into a discussion of historical realities changes the rules. The uncertainties that are more easily dismissed when matters are situated thoroughly in the mortal sphere are easier to account for "whenever the divine is added to the story."[62]

Let us now be clear on what Eratosthenes rejects and Arrian has reservations about: (1) that Dionysus ever traveled in India (at least based on the "evidence" the Macedonians provide) and (2) as a consequence, that the Nysaeans ever invoked Dionysus as a link to Alexander. From our perspective, we must admit that because these facts are in doubt, Alexander's use of kinship myth at Nysa is also in doubt, or at least in the way recorded by the sources. On the surface, it does seem rather unlikely that Indian peoples like the Nysaeans, the Oxydracae, and the Sibi would invoke Greek figures as their ancestors or founders. That would require some sort of Greek influence before Alexander's arrival. The Greeks did serve the Persians in a variety of ways, as mercenaries in the armies, as architects and advisors, and so on. In anticipation of his conquest of India, Darius sent a Greek, Scylax of Caryanda, to survey the Indus valley and sail back through the Indian Ocean (Hdt. 4.44). The Persian Empire had opened up trade routes between East and West, allowing for increased contact between cultures. In the early fourth century, Ctesias, a doctor serving in the court of Artaxerxes I, gathered much information about India that came from merchants and wrote rather fanciful accounts of Indian ethnography and geography.[63] We hear of movements of populations, as when Xerxes removed the Branchidae, the priests of Apollo at Didyma who surrendered to the Persians in 479, and whom Alexander later encountered in Sogdiana just after crossing the Oxus River. In the days of Cambyses, Greeks living in Barca in Libya were removed and settled in Bactria.[64] Other Greek settlements may have been established in the eastern parts of the Persian Empire, putting them in proximity of the cultures in western India, though ultimately this is conjectural.[65]

So the possibility of interaction of Indians and Greeks in the Kabul Valley prior to Alexander's arrival exists, but it is beyond the reach of proof. No wonder modern scholarship has tended to favor the view that the kinship diplomacy was a reflection of Macedonian initiative rather than Indian.[66] If we follow the argumentation I have used above regarding Egypt and Persia, we should then wonder if Alexander would invoke a god who was not worshiped by the natives of western India, or perhaps the situation is reminiscent of Tyre in that it was Indra or Shiva whom the Nysaeans were invoking and that Alexander equated him with Dionysus. But, in fact, these precedents are of limited usefulness by this point in the campaign. In terms of the way Alexander made political use of myth in Greece and western Asia, the rules in force then likely had changed as he approached the valley of the Indus River.

The importance of Dionysus to Alexander at this point in the campaign cannot be denied. The god had long been revered in Macedonia and was especially the object of cultic devotion by Olympias.[67] Not surprisingly, Dionysus, a god of wine, was popular among Macedonians, who were known for their devotion to heavy drinking. Moreover, Alexander had an increasing tendency to turn to alcohol as the campaign wore on.[68] Meanwhile, his relationship with Dionysus took an interesting turn. Originally he worried about offending the god, as when he expressed remorse over the destruction of Thebes, Dionysus' city. His murder of Cleitus in Sogdiana in 328 was attributed to the wrath of Dionysus, which Arrian noted appealed to Alexander as a way of shifting responsibility away from himself and to a divine agent.[69]

Dionysus, however, also became a rival of Alexander, especially as the king began to embrace more earnestly the idea of his own divinity. To surpass a god would be even more glorious than to surpass Philip or even Heracles. The unexpected presence of ivy in the frontier beyond Sogdiana and the Jaxartes River, as well as near Nysa, later seemed to confirm for the Macedonians that Dionysus had been there and that they were now passing the limits he had reached, especially as ivy had been noticeably absent in most of Asia.[70] At least that was the propaganda. In any case, it may be that Alexander paid more attention to Dionysus in his later years than when the invasion first began, and his increased use of alcohol may partly account for it. But it was also a consequence of his turn toward deification, and that would seem to explain the unlikely kinship diplomacy at Nysa. Having given in to his delusions of godhood, the pragmatist who could reject the use of kinship myth in Persia became increasingly remote in India.[71]

While the preponderance of the evidence for Dionysus in India can be dated only after Alexander's expedition, there was one sliver of a tradition that might have influenced him beforehand. The Macedonian court was home to the Athenian playwright Euripides during the reign of Archelaus (413–399). Alexander, who knew his Homer, was also likely to be familiar with two particularly pertinent plays of Euripides: the *Bacchae* and the *Cyclops.* First, Euripides has Dionysus say in the prologue of the *Bacchae* that he has traveled through Lydia, Phrygia, Persia, Media, Arabia, and other parts of Asia, all the way to Bactria before arriving at Thebes (14–23). It would not be surprising if it had been Euripides who fired Alexander's imagination when he saw ivy not only in the direction of Bactria but well beyond, namely, in the Saka lands beyond the Jaxartes River, leading Alexander to conclude that he had surpassed the god in this part of the world.[72] The ivy he found growing around Nysa would have had the same effect on him. Whatever the original Indian name of the town that surrendered,[73] Alexander, under the spell of compelling evidence, brought with him the magical name of "Nysa," long fabled to exist in distant parts of the world,[74] and applied it to this Indian town. Or rather he did after he saw the ivy. But, as we shall see, the actual diplomacy itself may not have initially involved Dionysus. The relevance of the god may have become apparent only as an afterthought.

What the *Cyclops* allowed was a possibility for Alexander to be connected directly to Dionysus by descent. Early on in the play we find Silenus saying to the chorus of satyrs: "Can it be that you have the same rhythm to your lively dance as when you went revelling at Bacchus' side to the house of Althaea, swaggering in to the music of the lyre?"[75] As later sources attest, Dionysus rather than Oeneus was said to be the actual father of Deianira by Althaea.[76] The implications are profound. Not only is Alexander in rivalry with Dionysus in the distant lands of Asia, but Alexander's own greatness in reaching them (not to mention in subduing fierce Indian tribes) can be traced back to Dionysus as well as Heracles, given that Deianira is the mother of Hyllus, ancestor of the Temenids.[77]

It remains for us to uncover the actual circumstances of the kinship diplomacy as we consider how Alexander's transformed consciousness might have effected it. Our sources say that the Nysaeans were the ones to suggest the Dionysian link. Could the people of "Nysa," or whatever they actually called their city, have embraced the Greek god Dionysus and used their resulting link with Alexander to procure lenient treatment? Bosworth points out that Alexander received several envoys from the various Indian tribes, both while still in Sogdiana and on the eve of his invasion of India, including Taxiles and later his son Mophis or Omphis, who saw in their subservience to Alexander a hope of getting the better of their rivals, including in this case the powerful Porus.[78]

Through the interpreters, the Indians would have become acquainted with the peculiarities of Alexander's personality and mindset, learning of his fixation on Dionysus and Heracles (from the coterie of court flatterers), as well as the controversies raging (perhaps quietly) in the Macedonian court about *proskynēsis* and so on. The interpreters would be "explaining Indian institutions to Alexander and expounding the peculiar customs of the invaders to visiting Indian delegations." Somehow, the suggestion would have been made to the envoys (by the interpreters or by Alexander's staff) that their tribes embrace Dionysus and Heracles as a basis for a petition of leniency from Alexander. The tribes would then be in a position to claim to have been visited once by Dionysus and Heracles, only now to be visited by Zeus' "third son,"[79] Alexander, at least according to the vulgate tradition, if not to sources closer to the events of 326.

This explanation is plausible, but it is not the most solid foundation on which to rest the theoretical edifice that gives credit to the Nysaeans. Moreover, because it is the *only* foundation for this construct, we are left with considerable difficulties. First, the sources for the myth of Dionysus in India are not the likes of Ptolemy, Aristobulus, and Nearchus—though they may well have discussed *Alexander*'s belief in it. Instead, the *legomenon* at Arrian 5.1.4–6, from which the historian chose to distance himself, is based on a less reliable source, Cleitarchus,[80] whose accounts of Alexander were tainted with inaccuracies arising from flattery and who lies behind most of the material provided in the so-called vulgate tradition, represented in the case of the Nysa episode by Curtius and Justin.[81] Also possibly lying behind Arrian's account in the *Anabasis* is Chares of Mytilene, whose reputation also does not fare well.[82] As for *Indica* 5.9, here the source is Megasthenes, from whom Arrian distances himself at 6.1. Eratosthenes completely rejected the account, and Strabo adds his voice to the dissenters.[83] Bosworth himself recognizes that Megasthenes "was developing the propaganda of Alexander's court."[84] The opposing sides are clear enough, and we have seen this dichotomy before: popular belief and the viewpoint of more analytical writers.

The second difficulty in giving credit to the Nysaeans becomes apparent when one considers the evidence with the critical eye of someone such as Eratosthenes. The tradition has become muddled. On the one hand, Arrian says that Alexander wanted to believe that Nysa had been founded by Dionysus in part because "the Macedonians would not refuse further toil if they were emulating the toils of Dionysus."[85] This comment implies that the responsibility for the myth lies with Alexander. As noted before, it is presented in direct speech and suggests Arrian's willingness to believe it. But it seems to contradict both the idea that the Nysaeans concocted the link and the alternative scenario that they were prompted either by interpreters or by officials in Alexander's court to claim *sungeneia* with him. Responsibility for the invention of Dionysus in India suddenly becomes hard to determine. Would the Nysaeans have been observant enough in Alexander's court to see the potential benefits of kinship diplomacy and concoct their Dionysian origins? Would the interpreters have been astute enough to make the suggestion, possibly recognizing similarities between Dionysus and their own god, either Indra or Shiva?[86] Would Alexander's staff have been able to do it without Alexander realizing the truth, that is, would they essentially have duped him?

The key, I believe, is the ivy that grew on Mount Merus. The ivy plays a prominent role in the narrative, but Alexander would not yet have seen it at the time of the negotiations with Acuphis. The path of least resistance then may be the following: rather than posit a connection between India and Dionysus that *might* have been made by Greeks or the Indians in the initial negotiations or suggest that the local name for the town sounded like "Nysa" to Greek ears from the start, we would do better to go with the evidence that is irrefutable, that the Macedonians saw some form of ivy growing near Nysa. As happened north of the Jaxartes, Alexander's imagination was fired, and it was only *at this point* that he considered the possibility of Dionysus as the bond of commonality between the Nysaeans and the Macedonians, even as his ambition to surpass Dionysus flared anew. The rest of the evidence (the attributes of Indra or Shiva, the name "Nysa") followed as a matter of course, all to give further credence to Dionysus' travels. It benefited the Nysaeans as well, who were more than happy to believe whatever Alexander wanted to tell them as long as it meant they avoided the grim fate that so many other Indian cities had faced and would suffer yet. This is the beginning of the stories not only of Alexander's kinship diplomacy at Nysa but of Dionysus' Indian ventures, stories that then "snowballed," as Bosworth has aptly described it, in the years, generations, and centuries that followed Alexander's death.[87]

Alexander's need for heroic and divine emulation may also provide the context for the other two known cases of kinship diplomacy in India. They come during Alexander's savage campaigns down the Hydaspes Valley in the winter of 326/5, en route to the putative southern shore of Ocean, which the Greeks believed encircled the earth. Although it is possible that some sort of cultural interaction before Alexander's assault might have led the Sibi to adopt Greek ancestors to save themselves, the probabilities here remain the same as in the case of the Nysaeans, that the Greek context was suggested by the Macedonians. Alexander encountered the Sibi around the confluence of the Hydaspes and the Acesines. The vulgate authors say that this people forestalled the usual massacre that other Indian tribes suffered by sending envoys to Alexander's camp and offering their submission. Alexander gladly accepted it and declared independence for their city.[88]

Supposedly, the basis for their surrender and Alexander's leniency was that the Sibi were descended from followers of Heracles. Diodorus says that their ancestors were established in their city by Heracles after he had failed to take Aornus. In Curtius' version, they had been left behind because of disease and established themselves in their present site. Further, says Curtius, they showed signs of their Heraclid origins by dressing in skins and wielding clubs. This account, both of the claims of kinship and even of the visit itself, is not to be found in Plutarch or Arrian's *Anabasis.* In fact, in the *Indica* Arrian attributes it, once again, to Macedonian fabrication, or at least to a confusion of different Heracleses, perhaps the Tyrian or Egyptian, rather than the Theban (5.12–6.1), an interesting stance given the more common belief that Heracles was widely traveled and that evidence of his visits could be found in distant parts of the world. Strabo echoes the rationalist's sentiment, adding that the Sibae (as he calls them) branded cattle with a sign of the club.[89] We may have a case in which characteristics of a local culture reminded Alexander of Heracles' former presence, and he was happy to promote his presence, once again for his own glory.

Alexander encountered the Oxydracae during his campaign against their neighbors the Mallians around the confluence of the Hydaspes and the Hydraotes. While he recovered from the serious wounds he incurred after his fateful leap inside the walls of the Mallians' city, he received the embassies of surviving Mallians and other tribes with the usual offers of submission. Though not claiming to be descendants of Dionysus or his followers, the Oxydracae did assert that they were entitled to their independence from Alexander, which they had preserved "from the time of Dionysus' arrival in India to that of Alexander's." Consequently, because Alexander was like Dionysus, having also been born from a god, they would agree to the presence of a satrap.[90] As Bosworth has shown, the latter comment suggests that they regarded their independence as having been bestowed initially by Dionysus, perhaps even in the capacity of a *ktistēs,* or founder.[91]

Arrian's account of their association with Dionysus carries as much weight as what Strabo had read in his sources, namely, that the Oxydracae, whom he calls the Sydracae, *were* descendants of Dionysus, as the presence of vines and the Bacchic characteristics of their royal processions indicate.[92] Arrian's account once again forces us to ask if an Indian tribe would have invoked a Greek god without prior Greek prompting. If we assume that the name "Dionysus" meant nothing to the Oxydracae, to salvage Arrian's account we must assume that they employed Shiva or Indra, expecting that Alexander would respect their own god when they mentioned him in connection with their antiquity and nobility. An alternative is that we have to move away from Indian initiative and come back to a Greek recognition of Dionysus in a local god. Someone on Alexander's side then communicates to the Oxydracae that they either mention Dionysus in connection with their antiquity (Arrian) or even cite him as an ancestor (Strabo). Yet, this seems to have been the first dialogue Alexander had with the Oxydracae, who had secured their wives and children in their strongholds and resolved themselves to resistance against the foreign invader and then later apologized to Alexander for having attempted no earlier parley.[93]

Thus, we face even greater difficulties than we did at Nysa. Under these circumstances, if the vines Strabo mentioned were genuine, Alexander may have thought of Dionysus as he passed through in 326/5, but any reference to *sungeneia* should again make us suspect later fabrication. Likewise, the reference to Alexander's divine sonship in Arrian is a clear sign of flattery, likely the product of subsequent Macedonian traditions.

In sum, the story of Dionysus in India does not seem to have predated Alexander's campaigns there. At most, we can say that they begin with Alexander himself and then take on new life after his death, as is the wont of the legends of great men. Alexander's case demonstrates well the nature of popular belief in the ancient Greek world, which develops because the force of its momentum is often greater than the efforts of analytical writers like Eratosthenes to inhibit it. Both the stories of Alexander himself and the myths he likely embraced must be judged under difficult scholarly circumstances indeed. The transformation of kinship myth's most famous practitioner from man to hero to god also transformed the way he used his myths. Alexander may well have become delusional in his last years, corrupted by power, succumbing to paranoia, or losing himself to alcoholism. The Alexander who killed Philotas, Cleitus, and Callisthenes, who introduced *proskynēsis* and alienated his army in other ways, who pushed his soldiers beyond endurance, and who possibly demanded deification is not the Alexander we know who secured Thessaly's allegiance partly on the basis of mythical kinship.

Therein lies the problem: the Alexander we know. He has become romanticized over and over, a construct remade a thousandfold. We can at least say that Greek myth always imbued his world, from beginning to end, even if we seek some "turning point" to account for his change in behavior and goals.[94] Alexander abandoned kinship myth after the Battle of Issus in 333 when it could no longer serve his ends, a recognition of the practical limitations of kinship diplomacy, which required acceptance of the proposed *sungeneia* to mollify a newly conquered city. If he took it up again in 326, his divine pretensions were what motivated it, and the purpose became his glorification. Like the myths themselves, the stories of their use by Alexander in India rose to new heights of myth-making.

REFLECTIONS ON KINSHIP MYTH IN LITERARY SOURCES

As we draw together the evidence from the literary sources, Arrian reminds us that even the intellectual writers could slip into the mode of popular belief that generally contrasted with the critical approaches taken by his ilk. Like Strabo, Arrian seemed to understand the power of tradition to perpetuate questionable claims, so much so that he acknowledged its hold even on him as he decided to maintain the custom of calling the Hindu Kush the Caucasus, despite a full acknowledgement that such practice might go back to Macedonian attempts to glorify the scope of Alexander's journey.[95] Alexander's legend itself is like Greek myth in that new versions of "the story" eventually took on a new life of its own. We have seen this in cases in which old myths were given a new spin for political gain, with the resulting variation surviving into our later literary sources.

Through it all has been the progression of credulity from the analytical writers to their audiences. The application of kinship myth with non-Greeks demonstrates the point well. Herodotus' audience would have had no reason to reject his description of Xerxes' citation of an Argive heritage. Thucydides' consternation about Tereus may have arisen from a general Athenian perception of the Thracians embracing him as an ancestor. And while Alexander seemed at first to understand the limitations of myth as a political tool, he too, it seems, embraced the unlikely identity of a descendant of Dionysus to reach his goals in India. Myth, including kinship myth, allowed the Greeks to make sense of the periphery of their world. As such, it was naturally hellenocentric.

As anyone would do, the Greeks expressed matters in their own terms, as when Greek heroes served to demonstrate the relationship of peripheral peoples with the hellenic center. That is fundamental to understanding kinship diplomacy with non-Greeks and is much of the basis for rejecting Areus' diplomacy with the Jews, which would have him invest Abraham with the same authority as a hellenic hero. For both Areus and the Pergamenes, Abraham was not suitable as a link of kinship with the Jews. However, Abraham does allow a strong case to be made for Jonathan's overtures and, further, shows that the Jewish High Priest understood Greek kinship diplomacy. If his purpose was to express a certain identity by asserting Jewish distinctiveness, for the benefit of either the Greeks or the hellenized Jews (or both), he would naturally have chosen someone like Abraham as the paradigm of the virtues of his people.

We have seen a variety of political activity (a handy rubric for both military and diplomatic acts) in which myth, kinship or otherwise, has come into play. Most prominent is treaty formation, which itself occurred in a variety of circumstances. Some treaties led to alliances with a goal of preemptive mutual defense, as in Athens and Thrace and Herodotus' putative proposal of Xerxes to the Argives. Other treaties (often informal) arose in the aftermath of conquest, as happened repeatedly, on the basis of kinship myth and otherwise, during Alexander's campaign. The overlap of alliance formation and territorial conquest in this case bridges the line I drew to divide Chapter Four from the previous one, a categorical convenience rather than a reflection of reality. We have also seen myths invoked by speakers looking to influence a political decision, as Solon (according to Plutarch) did before a group of Spartan judges and Archidamus (according to Isocrates) did before an assembly of anti-Theban allies. This type of setting lies behind some of the proclamations recorded in inscriptions mentioning *sungeneia,* though an important difference is that in the latter cases, the objective was not the justification of territorial possession, as we shall see in the next two chapters.

Conquests perhaps provide the biggest challenge for us, in terms of understanding how myth came into play. Did the conquerors really promote their Heraclid descent among the inhabitants of the regions they subdued, or tried to subdue? In the case of Dorieus and Pentathlus, the sources hint at it by making note of their special heritage. But it is the historian's notation. He does not actually say that these would-be founders themselves employed myth in their martial and diplomatic endeavors. In the case of Alexander, on the other hand, references to his use of myth are clear. But even here we must have a care: as was likely the case with the accounts of Alexander in India, reference to heroic descent could have reflected traditions or even propaganda that was transformed into tradition only *after* the actual diplomacy. In these cases, however, I have argued that the references, even if merely incidental remarks, deserve serious historical consideration: that is, we can presume that our ancient sources would not have made these remarks unless they had before them evidence that kinship and related myths were actually invoked and employed by the players in their narratives, such as Dorieus.

Discussion of conquests has also brought another important distinction to light, one that *is* to be made, though with care. The basis of the arguments made by Archidamus, Solon, and (perhaps) Dorieus was not kinship as such with the current inhabitants of Messenia, Salamis, and Eryx, respectively. We do not hear of descendants, in the *present,* of Heracles in Eryx and Messenia or of the sons of Ajax in Salamis.[96] That is not to say that there was no such notion, but we have no extant stemmas of lineage from the legendary founder or putative ancestor to the leaders in these regions at the times under discussion. Kinship, therefore, seems less applicable than the simple argument that the aggressors have a *right* to control the land and its population. The right stems from a legal grant of sorts, given by the heroes to their descendants in the aggressor states, rather than from kinship with the conquered inhabitants in the present. This argument lay behind Alexander's justification of his overlordship in Thessaly as well, but here the other methodology was also brought to bear. Through both his father and mother, Alexander *could* produce stemmas that not only linked him with Heracles and Achilles but also linked the Thessalians with both of those heroes. Anthony Smith's "genealogical" model applies here, except that the pedigrees linking the Aleuadae to Aleuas, Thessalus, Achilles, or all three may not have been fully developed, the connection perceived more abstractly.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, kinship and related myths were expressions of *identity.* This was the central concern in Athens and Megara in their contest over Salamis. Such a mindset accounts for the great deal of mythopoeic activity connected to Spartan colonies. But here, too, we must be cautious. Did Messenia have the same status in Spartan thinking as Salamis in Athenian, and especially in Archidamus' argument? Or was invoking Messenia's Heraclid identity merely a ploy of Archidamus to facilitate an immediate objective? We might argue that the similar basis of Spartan legitimacy in both Laconia and Messenia supports the former view, for the Spartans' claim to their own territory derives from the most ancient tradition of the Return. Archidamus' case is built on a tradition that had been embraced by an entire community in the archaic period. To be sure, part of the purpose was to justify the Dorian presence in the Peloponnesus.

Yet Tyrtaeus' invocations to his fellow Spartans would ring hollow if that were the only purpose of the story of the Return of the Heracleidae. As an *individual,* Archidamus will certainly have his own motives for using this tradition. Isocrates, Aeschines, Demosthenes, and every other orator knew well how personal objectives could be procured by means of emotional appeal to deeply held beliefs. The distinction is important. Dorieus is another individual. Does Sparta's Heraclid identity come into play in his bid for Eryx? It does so only as a means to an end. Though his venture was perhaps officially sanctioned by Sparta, he was out to make his name in a way he could not when the throne went to Cleomenes. His claims as a Heraclid had particularly expedient motivations. To a large extent, the same holds true for Alexander. On the other hand, myths involving genealogy and kinship were certainly expressions of identity when developed, embraced, and employed by *communities.* This will be especially apparent in our study of the inscriptions that communities produced on or soon after occasions of kinship diplomacy.

SIX

EPIGRAPHICAL EVIDENCE OF KINSHIP DIPLOMACY

Paradigmatic Inscriptions

Our consideration of inscriptions referring to kinship or other close relationships, often by the terms *sungenēs/sungeneia* or *oikeios/oikeiotēs,* brings us also to the hellenistic period that followed the death of Alexander in 323. The swell in epigraphical evidence at this time could be the result of the chance survival of our evidence, but we have reason to believe that a shift occurred in the purposes that kinship myth served, though not in the basic motivation to use myth for political gain, and that the use of kinship myth correspondingly increased.

The hellenistic period was an age of empires. The *polis* was still there, but its heyday had passed. The political fortunes of the Greek world, which now extended into the former dominions of the Persian Empire, were largely controlled by kings, beginning with those former generals of Alexander who took power and territory for themselves. The uncertainty that arose, in terms of both political identity and the vicissitudes of fortune, gave rise to anxieties that kinship diplomacy helped to address. We have less concern with territorial possession and more attention to alliances, safety for travelers, exchange of citizenship rights, and so on. Most importantly, I hope to show that the inscriptions of this period give evidence of the highly volatile nature of hellenic mythopoesis — that is, the capacity of many Greeks to accept variations and even versions newly invented, possibly by educated politicians, as part of the diplomatic proceedings. In other words, communities often provided a mythological justification of their kinship by reconciling their local myths, even given contradictory details in their respective communal traditions (as at Pergamum and Tegea; see Chapter Seven) or by using different charter myths for different occasions, as suggested by the practices of Samos.

The voice of the people, so to speak, may well be the one we hear in some of these epigraphical records. The issuers of these decrees were cities across the Aegean basin and beyond. The evidence suggests that the governments were largely democratic, if not the sort of radical democracy known to fifth- and fourth-century Athens. In his analysis of city decrees, P. J. Rhodes, building on the work of D. M. Lewis, noted the importance of a popular assembly, or *ecclesia,* in the political decisions of most hellenistic states.[1] In many cases, it was the *demos* who were largely responsible for most political and administrative appointments, maintaining financial and other public records, receiving foreign embassies, and approving foreign treaties. There was undoubtedly much variation in this state of affairs, and we must keep in mind the vital role that continued to be played by financially and politically prominent individuals. This is especially true in diplomatic proceedings, in which such individuals were likely to be better informed about international matters than the rest of the citizenry. That leaves us facing considerable limitations in assessing who proposed the mythical links.

The specific circumstances in which the *polis*' charter myths were invoked in the diplomacy are generally beyond our reach; therefore, we are not well informed on whether such myths were invoked by the citizenry (perhaps in the deliberations of the *ecclesia*) or injected into the diplomatic proceedings by men of prominence—whether in the *ecclesia* or in a more private exchange with representatives of the other state—whose education allowed them to see possible links to the charter myths of the other community. If the connections proposed below are the correct ones, however, we see Hellen and his sons, panhellenic figures of enormous significance to the Greeks, playing a significant role in hellenistic kinship diplomacy. Knowledge beyond the inherited oral traditions of the community was not needed for ordinary citizens to see possible patterns linking their state to another, once they were made aware of that state's charter myths through the agencies of more informed citizens or perhaps in the course of the diplomatic exchanges in the assembly.[2] Transactions invoking kinship were usually ratified by popular vote,[3] whatever the origin of the myth employed. In addition, members of the elite would be the ones to take the credit for the successful completion of a diplomatic venture that brought some advantage to the city. In the relationship between the elite and the community, let us recall that in more democratic societies, it was the latter on which the honor of the elite depended.[4] We are reminded, then, of the use of myth not only for civic identity but for the enhancement of prestige, along the lines of the mythopoesis behind the familial traditions of archaic and classical elite families and behind the political machinations of such ambitious individuals as Dorieus, Peisistratus, and Cimon.

A RHAPSODE IN *IC* I.XXIV.1

Unfortunately, the process of introducing myth into the diplomatic proceedings is beyond our reach. It is tantalizing to consider the following example as paradigmatic of kinship diplomacy in general, but we lack the evidence to know how much the case of Menecles was typical. This rare glimpse of diplomatic proceedings involving kinship comes in an inscription dated to the early second century BCE, part of a series found at Teos in which the cities of Crete recognized Teos as *asylos,* or "inviolable." The point of these decrees was to insure protection of Tean travelers from Cretan piracy. Most of the inscriptions use kinship terminology (*sungenēs, sungeneia,* and other terms) to describe the relationship between the Teans and the Cretans.[5]

In this context, *IC* I.xxiv.1 honors a Tean ambassador named Menecles, a rhapsode who, kithara in hand, performed for the assembly of Priansus local Cretan epic cycles, as well as works by the well-known poets Timotheus of Miletus and Polyidus of Selymbria (lines 7–13).[6] These performances served several purposes. Most immediately, they were to explain the basis of kinship between the Cretans and the Teans. Furthermore, by performing Cretan poets alongside Timotheus and Polyidus, Menecles was endorsing Crete's traditions as part of the shared hellenic culture.[7] The other inscriptions found at Teos are themselves the evidence of the success of the Tean mission to Crete, suggesting that Menecles' performances were influential in the decisions of the Cretan assemblies. These assemblies comprised Greeks with a less precise conception of myth. Depending on the extent of the democratization of Crete, it was perhaps by the votes of these citizens that the Teans' request for *asylia* was approved.[8] *IC* I.xxiv.1, therefore, could potentially give us a valuable look at how myth was actually used in diplomatic proceedings if only we had other similar evidence for comparison.

This inscription is certainly more typical, however, in that neither it nor any of the others in the series reveals what the basis of the kinship is. Indeed, this is the great challenge we face when using inscriptions as evidence for kinship diplomacy, for, with very few exceptions, no inscription out of the hundred or so employing kinship terminology gives us this information. We may know that the parties in question are *sungeneis* and that the basis of the *sungeneia* is mythical in nature, but the inscription does not fill in an important blank for us: does the *sungeneia* originate in this account or in that one, with this personage or with that one? In short, the mythological explanation is missing from the inscribed text. Such an ellipsis, of course, was as natural for the commissioners of the document as the indirect references to Perses in Aeschylus' account of Xerxes' origins. For them there was no gap.

But the debate over the series from which *IC* I.xxiv.1 comes reveals the problem for modern researchers. Jones and Curty presumed that the thalassocracy of Minos explains the link, while Elwyn looked to Athamas son of Oenopion of Crete, a reconstruction criticized by Lücke.[9] Lücke's complaint was that Elwyn started with the assumption that Athamas *must* be the link between the Cretans and the Teans because he is the only one the ancient sources have produced who could fit the bill, and from there she devised her reconstruction of Cretan-Tean *sungeneia.* Lücke made the further point that other sources, no longer extant, might also have revealed the link enshrined in local Cretan myth and reproduced by Menecles. Indeed, we should wonder why Minos would not feature highly in the performance of Menecles, given his importance as a local hero. Lücke's criticism must be taken seriously, and so we are left wondering how useful literary sources can be in reconstructing the kinship mentioned in inscriptions.

Elwyn's analysis was indeed flawed insofar as we cannot be sure that the Cretans themselves had embraced a figure named Athamas son of Oenopion as an ancestor. She cited Pausanias 7.4.8, which is problematic because Pausanias read of Oenopion and his sons in a history of Chios, written by a fifth-century poet named Ion, who was from that island rather than from Crete. We have no way of knowing if Ion provided the foundation myth we need to fill in the gap in *IC* I.xxiv.1. More importantly, he was not a local source for Cretan myth. It would not be an unreasonable conjecture because Athamas' father Oenopion was a son of Dionysus and Minos' daughter Ariadne. But the source for this tidbit is Diodorus 5.84.3, and so again we are not dealing with a local Cretan writer and cannot be sure about Diodorus' source. Moreover, we have nothing at Pausanias 7.4.8 to connect with Teos.

Earlier, Pausanias had mentioned a different Athamas who founded Teos with Minyans from Orchomenus. No patronymic is given, but Pausanias says that he was descended from Athamas son of Aeolus. He may have read this in Anacreon of Teos, whom Strabo cites as his source for the same founder.[10] At least here we have a local expression of identity, but to connect Teos and Crete, we are forced to conflate what are most likely two separate figures. That, too, is not unprecedented in Greek political mythmaking, and in fact we shall consider a comparable case. But the evidence for that lies in an inscription from Xanthus that provides all the mythological clues we need. Conflating the two Athamas figures requires stitching together sources, including nonlocal ones, which raises the uncertainty over this reconstruction to an uncomfortable level.

Caution is clearly called for as we tackle the problem of reconstructing the basis of kinship claimed by states that have no historical link that we can discern, links for which only myth can provide the answer.[11] Nevertheless, it is in *local myth* that we may find the control that we need. Ion of Chios is of limited usefulness as a source of Cretan myth, but we would be more confident if we were to call upon Ion to provide evidence of local Chian myth, as we shall later. A study of epichoric or local myth, in particular myths of foundation, can shed much light on the mythological context of the epigraphical evidence. This sort of account was extremely important to a city, whether its foundation was ancient, as with Miletus, or fairly recent, as in the case of Antioch-on-the-Maeander, a Seleucid colony. Foundation myths recounted the origins of a city and thus served as a vessel of identity. It stands to reason that this is the identity a community would most likely express in interstate diplomacy. Thus, the probability that we have correctly identified the mythological basis of kinship increases dramatically if we posit an epichoric myth for the state initiating the diplomacy.

To that end, Pausanias becomes a valuable source for study. In the second century CE this writer traveled throughout the Greek world and recorded what he had learned of the antiquities of many communities in a sort of travel log known as a *periēgēsis*—not antiquities merely in the sense of physical remains, such as temples and statues but also in the sense of local stories about the foundation and early history of these cities. Although these stories were centuries old, Greek cities preserved them, including variations of more well known accounts, far into the Roman period. Pausanias had direct access to these local myths through informants and home-grown literature. I will discuss his reliability as a source of local myth in more detail in the next chapter, but for now suffice it to say that my method will be as follows: if his source is demonstrably local, Pausanias will be deemed a reliable recorder of local myth, which I will argue lies behind the claim of kinship between the communities mentioned in the inscription under study. But before we explore those cases, there is much to learn from the two inscriptions that do reveal the mythological basis of kinship. These decrees, *I.v. Magnesia* 35 and *SEG* XXXVIII.1476, can serve as models for the others and give confidence that the local myths to be cited later are in fact the correct ones.

I.V. MAGNESIA 35: MAGNESIA-ON-THE-MAEANDER AND CEPHALLENIAN SAME

I.v. Magnesia 35 is one of about sixty inscriptions found by the Germans in the agora of Magnesia-on-the-Maeander and that now reside in the Pergamon Museum in Berlin.[12] These consisted of responses to an initial Magnesian request by various states and hellenistic kings. As we learn especially from *I.v. Magnesia* 16, in 221/0 the Magnesians attempted to enhance the prestige of its festival for its *archēgetis,* a sort of patron goddess and founder, Artemis Leucophryene. The context is a recommendation of *asylia* for Magnesia by the Delphic oracle. Earlier, the Magnesians had consulted the oracle to inquire about the meaning of a manifestation of Artemis in their city. Apollo required the Magnesians to honor him and Artemis and suggested that the Greeks should treat Magnesian territory as "sacred and inviolable" (ἱερὰν καὶ ἄσυλον) (lines 4–10). The Magnesians decided that they should hold games with stephanitic prizes in her honor to fulfill this obligation (lines 16–24).[13] Though the Magnesians sent out announcements of the games and calls for the city's inviolability, the local festival attracted little attention (line 24), probably because they did an inadequate job advertising the oracle and may have limited the scope of their invitations to Greek cities closer to them in Asia Minor.[14]

Later, in 208/7, they tried again to promote their festival and stephanitic games, perhaps more widely, certainly with greater expenditure, and with more emphasis on the oracle (lines 28–29). An important distinction from their first attempt was that now the Magnesians were seeking "isopythic" status for their games, which would make them equal in prestige to the Pythian Games at Delphi itself, enhancing their standing among the city-states of the hellenistic world, with special attention to nearby rivals Miletus, Ephesus, and Didyma.[15] The inscription concludes that this second set of embassies was much more successful, with widespread acknowledgement of the sanctity of the games and the inviolability of Magnesia (lines 30–35). Having the isopythic status of their games acknowledged was a particular coup for the Magnesians. This was achieved in part through the help of kings, but we can also presume the excellence of the envoys' arguments to justify other states' acceptance of Magnesia's requests. In the case of *I.v. Magnesia* 35, that justification was mythological in nature.

I.v. Magnesia 35 contains the decree of Same on Cephallenia, with the island's other three cities (Pale, Cranii, and Pronni) listed as subscripts. It reveals that, in making their case, the Magnesians cited accomplishments of their ancestors, praise among poets, the aforementioned Delphic oracles,[16] and finally the kinship (or relationship) (*oikeiotatos*) between the Magnesians and the Cephallenians that stemmed from the kinship (*sungeneian*) of their eponymous ancestors.[17] Figure 6.1 is a diagram of the link: the Magnesians looked to Magnes, son of Aeolus, as their founder, while Cephalus is the eponym of the island of Cephallenia and appears on their coins.[18] Cephalus' father is Deion, another son of Aeolus and thus brother of Magnes, so this account has it.

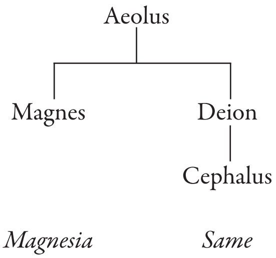


FIGURE 6.1.
Magnesia-on-the-Maeander and Cephallenian Same

For both parties we have genuine expressions of local identity, although these figures are known from a number of sources. The variations that occur are intriguing. Magnes is an ancient figure known to the oral poets, but *I.v. Magnesia* 35 is the earliest attestation of Magnes as son of Aeolus, a version that later gained ascendancy and became known to Apollodorus (*Lib.* 1.7.3). This patronymic is significant because it makes available to the Magnesians a genealogical link to the people of Same. The possibility exists, however, that Magnes' Aeolid descent was also known to Homer. Comparison with the alternative Hesiodic version bears interesting results. In the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women,* Magnes and his brother Macedon are sons of Zeus and Thyia, Deucalion's daughter. In that work the brothers are associated with the region around Pieria and Olympus (F. 7 MW), which is not surprising, as Pieria and Olympus lie in southern Macedonia. On the other hand, in the Catalogue of Ships, Homer associates the descendants of Magnes with the vicinity of Peneus and Pelion (*Il.* 2.756–758), in the region of southeastern Thessaly known as Magnesia. In the *Catalogue of Women* these regions are occupied by descendants of Aeolus, as West has noted,[19] and they continue to be in later accounts, as in Strabo.[20]

Two possible answers to this question present themselves. As with other parts of Homer's Catalogue (we have noted the Athenian case), a later interpolation may lie behind the mystery at lines 756–758 in *Iliad* 2. Another possibility is that these lines preserve some awareness of a tradition predating Homer and finding expression in only two other places: Apollodorus and *I.v. Magnesia* 35. In the same sentence in which he identifies Magnes as one of Aeolus' sons, Apollodorus speaks of Aeolus ruling Thessaly (*Bibl.* 1.7.3). In Thessaly might lie the origin of this figure Magnes, as distinguished from others such as the wind god. As J. M. Hall interprets the Hesiodic treatment of him and Macedon, their connection to the family of Hellen on the mother's side (through Thyia) allows those who invented these figures to reject their ethnic identity as Hellenes. Hall attributes the invention to the Thessalians, who wanted to deny the hellenicity of their Magnesian and other rivals in Thessaly.[21] The Magnesians who eventually migrated to Asia Minor to found Magnesia-on-the-Maeander sometime in the Dark Ages[22] may well have brought Magnes with them in their foundation stories.

We can imagine that, afterwards, a tradition developed in areas of Asia Minor or the eastern Aegean that made Magnes the son of Aeolus. This was the version that centuries later made its way to Apollodorus' handbook and was perhaps known to Homer, who traced the origin of the Magnetes, commanded by Prothous in the Trojan War, to the homeland of Aeolus and his people.[23] The local myth to which *I.v. Magnesia* 35 refers, therefore, may well have been quite old.[24] Even so, we have no solid evidence to support this reconstruction. We are just as likely dealing with a hellenistic invention, perhaps even for the occasion of Magnesia's diplomacy with Same. In fact, as we shall see, other examples from the hellenistic period show that the invention of genealogical stemmas on the occasion of a diplomatic venture not only was practiced but readily embraced. With *I.v. Magnesia* 35 itself as our earliest evidence, it would be perfectly reasonable to date Magnes' Aeolid descent to the third century.

By contrast, the connection of Cephallenia's eponymous founder to Aeolus is easier to trace in early sources. Cephalus' father Deion would seem to have been designated a son of Aeolus as far back as the eighth century, and probably earlier, if the reconstruction of line 28 of Fragment 10a in the Hesiodic corpus, in the *Catalogue of Women,* is correct.[25]

Cephalus' patronymic is well attested. The story of Cephalus and Procris goes back at least to oral tradition. There is an allusion to it in the *Epigonoi* and later in the writings of Hellanicus, a mythographer of the mid fifth century. A slightly earlier mythographer, Pherecydes, is the earliest extant source recounting some measure of the tragic tale of Procris' death at her husband's hand. In all these sources, and also the oral *Nostoi,*[26] Cephalus is acknowledged as son of Deion.[27] The account of how Cephalus gave his name to Cephallenia is told by Apollodorus, which probably derives from the *Catalogue of Women* and possibly from Pherecydes.[28] Cephalus participated in Amphitryon's campaign against the Teleboans of the Echinades islands (off the coast of Aetolia). This was the campaign to avenge the brothers of Alcmena, which Electryon was prevented from waging when Amphitryon accidently killed him. For that act he was exiled to Thebes, where he sought the aid of Creon for the forthcoming expedition. The Theban king replied that he would render the aid if Amphitryon would rid Thebes of the Teumessian fox. As often the case, this animal was special in its ferocity and in the fact that its fate was always to elude its pursuer. Amphitryon knew of another animal touched by fate, a hunting dog acquired by Procris from Minos and now in Cephalus' possession. This dog was destined to catch whatever it pursued. Cephalus agreed to help Amphitryon if later he could reap spoils from the latter's war on the Teleboans. When the dog that always caught its prey chased the fox that always eluded its pursuer, resolution only came when Zeus turned both animals into stone.[29] Finally, Amphitryon attacked the Echinades islands, defeated the Teleboans, and gave possession of one of the islands to Cephalus (*Lib.* 2.4.6–7). Whether this last detail, the naming of the island, is also from the *Catalogue* remains uncertain, though there is no reason to reject it.

In any case, this Cephalus was certainly well established in panhellenic tradition by the end of the third century. The Magnesians need not have looked far to find their link with the peoples of Same and the other cities of Cephallenia, whether by "Magnesians" we mean the voting public or members of the elite class who were well equipped to manipulate the myths. Again, we are left in the dark about the actual procedures. But the results are clear enough. The Cephallenians accepted Magnes as uncle of Cephalus. They (the people, the leaders, or both) may have been aware of some tradition for which we cannot find solid evidence, or they accepted him on the word of the Magnesians. Especially at the hands of the more credulous, such mythmaking allowed the Cephallenian citizenry to accept Magnes as son of Aeolus even if they had never heard that patronymic applied to him before. The Cephallenians may not have been aware of the epichoric traditions of Magnesia-on-the-Maeander (at least before the diplomacy) and could not judge their authenticity. In fact, as further evidence will adduce, "authenticity" did not always require antiquity.

Even the invention of Magnes' Aeolid lineage specifically for the occasion of Magnesia's quest for *asylia* need not have been a barrier to the Cephallenians' recognition of that *asylia.* From an elite point of view, the invention was perhaps a tried-and-true diplomatic formulation, but its embrace by the populace was required for the diplomacy to succeed. What Aeolus, son of the Greeks' collective ancestor, did was open a door for the Magnesians and the Cephallenians, who each found a way to connect their own local myths to the great panhellenic stemma that began with Hellen, somewhat in the same vein as the seventh-century Spartan innovations that connected their royal houses to the Heraclid collectivity. Whether through citation of old legends or manipulation on the spot, it was a tactic that recurred in hellenistic diplomacy.

SEG XXXVIII.1476: CYTENIUM AND XANTHUS

As with *I.v. Magnesia* 35, *SEG* XXXVIII.1476 presents some puzzles, even though it provides the mythological basis for the kinship. The inscription is from a stele found in a sanctuary of Leto in Xanthus in Lycia, a place of prominence for such an object because Leto was the founder and protector (*archēgetis*) of the city. It acknowledges the aid the Xanthians rendered to the people of Cytenium in Doris in 206/5 BCE. Following an earthquake that destroyed Cytenium's walls twenty years earlier, the Aetolian League, of which Cytenium was a member, encouraged its Dorian allies to seek financial help to rebuild the walls. The legation from Cytenium also sought aid from Ptolemy IV and Antiochus III. As they had with Xanthus, the Cytenians cited links of *sungeneia* with the kings.[30]

SEG XXXVIII.1476 stands out as the longest and best preserved inscription recording kinship diplomacy. What follows is only a small portion. Here, the Xanthians recall the circumstances of the diplomacy and the two mythological arguments the Cytenians had made to justify it:

> They request us, recalling the kinship that exists between them and us from gods and heroes, not to allow the walls of their city to remain demolished. Leto [they say], the goddess who presides over our city [*archēgetis*], gave birth to Artemis and Apollo amongst us; from Apollo and Coronis the daughter of Phlegyas, who was descended from Dorus, Asclepius was born in Doris [that is, the land of the Dorians]. In addition to the kinship that exists between them and us (deriving) from these gods, they also recounted the bond of kinship [*symplokē tou genous*] which exists between us (deriving) from the heroes, presenting the genealogy between Aiolus and Dorus. As well, they indicated that the colonists sent out from our land by Chrysaor, the son of Glaucus, the son of Hippolochus, received protection from Aletes, one of the descendants of Heracles: for [Aletes], starting from Doris, came to their aid when they were being warred upon. Putting an end to the danger by which they were beset, he married the daughter of Aor, the son of Chrysaor. Indicating by many other proofs the goodwill that they had customarily felt for us from ancient times because of the tie of kinship, they asked us not to allow the greatest of the cities of the Metropolis to be obliterated. (lines 14–33)[31]

The Xanthians go on to say that they agreed to the request (lines 38–42), acknowledging the *sungeneia* (line 46). However, they could only manage to give the Cytenians five hundred drachmas of silver (lines 62–65). Appended to

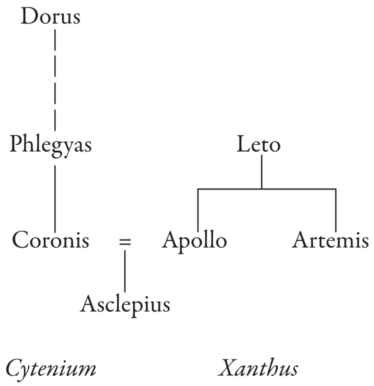


FIGURE 6.2.
Cytenium and Xanthus (Divine Connection)

the initial document of 73 lines are documents from the Aetolian League and a second letter from Cytenium. References to Ptolemy and Antiochus in these items reveal the extended scope of the mission. While most of the other inscriptions to be examined involve eponymous representatives of ethnic groups (e.g., Hellen, Aeolus, and Dorus) more directly, here, in both the divine and the heroic links, the Cytenians' Dorian heritage looms more subtly in the background of the complex argument. In both cases, the Cytenians have made innovations in older stories.

First, although Dorus is specifically mentioned in the *sungeneia* deriving from the gods, in this case the key figure is Asclepius (Figure 6.2). One might expect it to be sufficient to mention only the healer god because his relationship with Apollo, the son of Xanthus' patron goddess, and his descent from Dorus through Coronis, daughter of Phlegyas, provided the necessary connection. However, the Cytenians take the extra step to have Asclepius born in their homeland, Doris, a location not found in any previous account.[32] This invention would probably not have given the Xanthians pause because there were already a number of places that claimed to be Asclepius' birthplace, including Tricca in Thessaly and Epidaurus. The point is obviously to strengthen the association of Asclepius specifically with Cytenium itself.

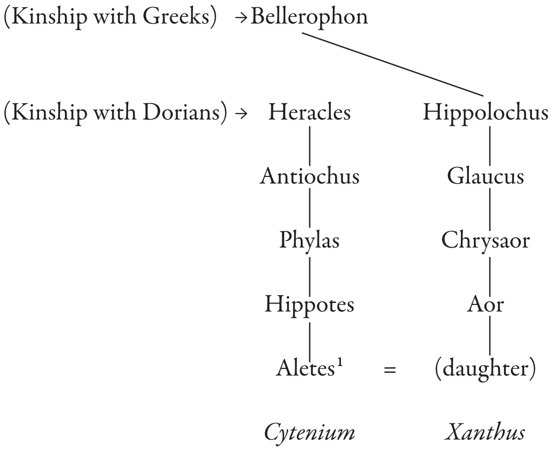
In the end, however, the Cytenians seem to have judged the divine link to be in need of supplement. As the terminology at lines 15 and 20–21 indicates (*sungeneias*), kinship of gods that were closely associated with two cities also meant kinship between the citizens of those cities. Normally that would be enough, but we also have a heroic link that provides not only a more direct genealogical link between the peoples but also a precedent for the requested act of philanthropy. In presenting this link, the Cytenians performed a remarkable feat of mythopoesis. It looks as though the Cytenians both made adjustments to Dorian epichoric myths in Doris and the Peloponnesus and added new elements to *Xanthian* local myth.

Of course, the figure Glaucus son of Hippolochus goes all the way back to Homer. Glaucus—there is evidence of a civic cult to him and Sarpedon in Xanthus (*TAM* II.265)—allows Xanthus to be connected with the Trojan War, always a venerable source for charter myths, as we shall see in the case of Phygela later. The connection enhanced the prestige of the elite classes in Xanthus and other Lycian cities and also reflects the increasing hellenization of Lycia in the hellenistic period.[33] Given the peculiar nature of the detailed revisions discussed below, we are likely dealing with mythological manipulation at more learned hands.

An innovation comes with Chrysaor, an enigmatic figure who appears in myth in multiple forms: the most famous is the offspring of Medusa and the progenitor of various monsters, including Geryon,[34] making Chrysaor hardly a heroic figure. The Lycian Chrysaor, meanwhile, may predate the Xanthian inscription, though there is no way to tell. This curious figure, or a closely related one, was prominent in southwest Asia Minor, however. The name was associated with Zeus, whose shrine was the focus of the Chrysaorian League in Caria.[35] This federation included the city of Alabanda, which became known as Chrysaorian Antioch sometime between 275/4 and 250.[36] But the name Chrysaor is also associated with a mortal, the eponymous founder of the league. One would not expect him to be associated with the son of Medusa, and yet on Antioch's coins, along with Apollo Isotimus, is found Pegasus, Medusa's other child by Poseidon.[37]

Whatever the full story of this Chrysaor, according to Bousquet, the Cytenians mention him because their embassy also traveled to Caria to seek aid from Antiochus III, who was there at the time.[38] Invoking him in this way suggests that the Carian and the Lycian Chrysaors are the same, and Stephanus of Byzantium provides further evidence of this (on which more soon). In light of this state of affairs, the argument for a Xanthian invention of Chrysaor son of Glaucus is, to me, more plausible than a Cytenian. The heroic Chrysaor, already a home-grown figure in neighboring Caria (see below), was probably adopted in Lycia from that direction or possibly had come from Lycia to Caria. In any case, his descent from Glaucus is most likely part of the local myths of Xanthus. However, it is impossible to tell if this Xanthian innovation was already ancient by 206/5 or contemporaneous with the Cytenian embassy of that year.

Meanwhile, as a link of kinship, Chrysaor's usefulness to the Cytenians was



1. Aletes’ lineage is found at Apollod., *Bibl.* 2.8.3. See also Paus. 2.4.3. Salmon 1984: 39 suggests that Aletes’ descent from Antiochus rather than from Hyllus, the ancestor of Temenus and his brothers, is evidence that the account of Aletes’ conquest was originally independent of that of the Return of the Heracleidae. The former may have been dealt with by Eumelus in the eighth century.

FIGURE 6.3.
Cytenium and Xanthus (Heroic Connection)

limited. The stemma, shown in Figure 6.3, is as follows: Chrysaor son of Glaucus son of Hippolochus son of Bellerophon. On this basis alone, there is no substantive connection to the Dorians, to say nothing of the Cytenians themselves. The emphasis seems to be merely on the Xanthians’ connection to the Greeks of the original homeland, of which Bellerophon was one of the great heroes. The inscription does, however, offer the following clue: “composing the genealogy of Aeolus and Dorus.”[39] To connect the two parties through the sons of Hellen, one must go past Bellerophon to his ancestors (Figure 6.4): Bellerophon son of Glaucus son of Sisyphus son of Aeolus. This link is a little more direct (by focusing on an actual link of consanguinity rather than a representative of the Greek race, namely, Bellerophon), even if it must reach farther back in time.

To complicate matters further, the elder Glaucus would have probably been the more appropriate one to cite as Chrysaor’s father. On the one hand, Chrysaor was known to an Apollonius of Aphrodisias (date unknown) as an important colonizing figure in Caria.[40] Basing his account on Apollonius, Stephanus of Byzantium provides information about a Carian city called Chrysaoris,

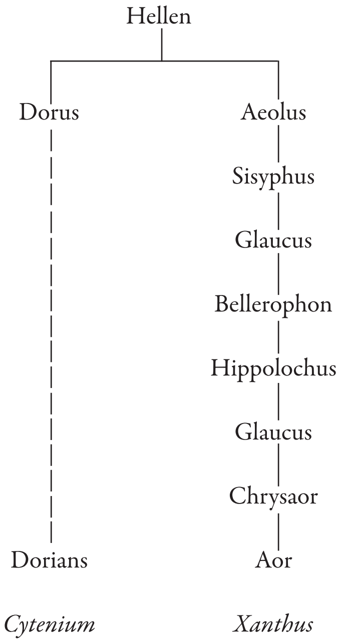


FIGURE 6.4.
Cytenium and Xanthus (Dorian-Aeolian Link)

which was "the first of the cities founded by the *Lycians.*"[41] A Lycian Chrysaor is implied here and by extension his descent from the Homeric Glaucus (son of Hippolochus), who along with Sarpedon leads the Lycians in the *Iliad* (2.876–877). On the other hand, in reference to another Carian city, Mylasa, Stephanus mentions the eponymous founder, Mylasus, and gives the following lineage for him: son of Chrysaor son of Glaucus son of Sisyphus son of Aeolus.[42] This pattern recurs in early Greek myth: a king, himself a *ktistēs,* or founder (e.g., Chrysaor), has sons who go on to found more cities (e.g., Mylasus). As with accounts of the Ionian migrations, this aetiology of Mylasa is probably quite old, apparently from a source other than Apollonius, unless the latter had confused his Glauci.

Both versions are apparently Carian in origin. If Mylasus was a local hero in Mylasa, then his father might well have been also. Conceivably, the formulation of Chrysaor as son of Homer's Glaucus that took place in Cytenium or more likely in Xanthus in the hellenistic period (if not before) was a revision of this earlier version (a Chrysaor only two generations removed from Aeolus) that still survived in one of Stephanus' sources. In other words, someone in the hellenistic period moved Chrysaor further down the genealogical tree so that he could be more closely associated with the Lycians, a Chrysaor who was originally Mylasan.

Whether the Cytenians were aware of or concerned about these contradictions is ultimately academic, for they came up with a link that was more efficacious than the others: an even more shadowy figure named Aor. As noted above, his tale further served the purpose of providing a precedent for the aid the Cytenians sought. The inscription suggests that Chrysaor sent out his son Aor to colonize other places.[43] Aor came to Greece, apparently not to Doris itself because the king who saved him had already "started out" from there. This king, Aletes, was a descendant of Heracles and led a faction of the Dorians to capture Corinth (Paus. 2.4.3), perhaps around the same time that the other Heraclids under Temenus took the rest of the Peloponnesus.[44] In any case, Aletes came to the rescue of Aor and his people during a war and afterwards married Aor's daughter. Aside from the genealogical link this marriage afforded—the people of Aor were now part of the tribe of Dorus—the Cytenians saw in this scenario the perfect precedent. Their ancestors had come to the aid of the Xanthians, and now it was time to return the favor.

Bousquet was unable to find a history behind Aor and concluded that he was a Cytenian fabrication on the occasion of the kinship diplomacy.[45] However, an inscription from Delos holds a possible clue: although the city that issued the inscription cannot be identified due to the present condition of the stone, Robert suggested that it was issued by Corinth's neighbor Phlius because of a reference to a civic tribe called the Aoreis, perhaps derived from the local hero Aoris, son of Phlius' founder Aras.[46] Nicholas Jones, however, argues for Corinth, pointing out that her colony Corcyra may have had a tribe called Aworoi. Christopher Jones favors the latter interpretation, which he feels is confirmed by the Xanthian inscription.[47]

Either way, we can have some confidence in a tradition of a Dorian Aor, whether from Corinth or Phlius, of whom the Cytenians were aware. A reasonable conclusion is that the Cytenians brought together for the first time the Xanthian figure Chrysaor and the Corinthian figure Aor, shamelessly putting a spin on Xanthus' local myth. Perhaps the Cytenian ambassadors, in making their case to the Xanthians, argued that the Sisyphid Chrysaor was also known in the old Dorian lands. The argument would not have been difficult for the Xanthians to accept because Chrysaor alone was obviously known in a variety of forms across the Greek world. It is a testament to the persuasiveness of the Cytenians' case that the Xanthians agreed to pay something in spite of considerable financial hardship.[48] They could not offer the vast sums that Ptolemy and Antiochus could, but they clearly deemed their *sungeneia* with Cytenium important enough to spare five hundred drachmas.

SEVEN

EPIGRAPHICAL EVIDENCE OF KINSHIP DIPLOMACY

Local Myths in Pausanias

PAUSANIAS AS A SOURCE OF LOCAL MYTH

There are some hundred or so inscriptions catalogued by Elwyn, Curty, and others that use kinship terms, far more than can be accommodated in the remainder of this study. But the sample examined in this chapter, it is to be hoped, represents well the collective epigraphical evidence of kinship diplomacy. I have chosen inscriptions on which we have some hope of shedding light despite the lack of specificity about the mythological basis for the claim of kinship. As I suggested before, the consideration of epichoric, or local, myths can help reveal the intentions of the Greeks who issued these decrees. Kinship is, after all, about identity, and kinship diplomacy depends on the expression of a community's identity in the context of a political venture.

If we accept that epichoric myths articulated a community's identity, as when they addressed its origins, and if we find those myths in sources that had direct access to them (most notably Pausanias), we can reconstruct highly plausible stemmas that linked the two communities. There are two vital ramifications. First, we will see more evidence of the use of such ethnic myth as was presented in *I.v. Magnesia* 35 and *SEG* XXXVIII.1476. Indeed, as panhellenic figures, Hellen and his sons often bridged the local myths of individual cities, which would find a way to plug their own heroes into the panhellenic stemma. Second, in the process of inserting their heroes into this stemma, the communities often had to reconcile variations arising from local versions of famous myths, even to the point of inventing details for the occasion, as was likely done by the issuers of both of our paradigmatic inscriptions. That such manipulation succeeded is suggestive evidence for the freer credulity that often gave analytical writers pause in their literary accounts.

Identifying local myths can be an enormous challenge. To get at these stories, we need sources that had direct access to them, whether through autopsy or consultation of relevant local works. Although many of our sources, from Herodotus to the Byzantines, no doubt had such access, the task of identifying the local myths behind the epigraphical references to kinship discussed below will be made more secure by consulting a writer whose references to local myth can be more easily verified. Pausanias, a Greek from Asia Minor in the second century CE, traveled widely and came into direct contact with local informants. He also read extensively, including works written by authors who recorded the local myths of their hometowns. His medium, the *Periēgēsis,* was essentially a tourist guide, with an account of the monuments, local cults, and the historical significance of the various sites he visited. One should not, however, infer from the term "tourist guide" a superficial work, for in fact Pausanias accomplished much more than a mere description of sites in Greece, and his work proves to be of enormous importance to anyone interested in post-Homeric myth and history.

Generally speaking, Pausanias situates the Greek world in the glorious pre-Roman past, working as he did in the Antonine period, at the height of the Second Sophistic, an intellectual movement that sought a greater understanding of the culture of classical Greece.[1] Reading through the *Periēgēsis,* one soon becomes dizzy from the myriad variants Pausanias lobs with even greater gusto than Herodotus. What drove Pausanias to delve into these stories so intricately has much to do with his emotional investment with the localities he describes. As a product of the Second Sophistic, Pausanias was interested in a version of the Greek world that emphasized the glory days of Greece before the coming of the Romans, and, unlike some other Greek writers of the Roman era like Strabo, he had a personal investment in this presentation. His own identity was bound to it.[2] This profoundly affected the way he packaged the Greek world in the *Periēgēsis.*

Pausanias did not deny the Roman world as such but rather engaged in a form of resistance.[3] To understand the final product that Pausanias produced, we should note an interesting term introduced by Susan Alcock, who describes the *Periēgēsis* as a "landscape of memory," a guide not merely to the art and buildings of various locales in the old Greek homeland but to what those physical remains represented, choices made by those communities as to what to remember about the past. These choices gave shape to the social, political, and religious identity of a *polis,* which the community was all too happy to convey to visitors like Pausanias for the sake of its own distinctiveness and prestige and which Pausanias was all too happy to convey to his readers as he gave shape to the Greek past.[4]

Alcock has also noted the timelessness of the world that comes alive in the pages of Pausanias' text:

> The various events Pausanias chooses for commemoration (the Trojan War, Persian Wars, Gallic invasion), so far distant from each other in terms of their reality and temporality, are combined by him within a realm that could be termed "ritual" time; there they interact with each other beyond the bounds of any linear, historical chronology. Events in ritual time are ever-present and ever-powerful, to be returned to again and again in ritual communication and commemorative acts.[5]

This interpretation suggests that in making his own choices of what to record and what to omit, Pausanias understands the Greek mind and knows what events and what associations of events are particularly meaningful in the context of recovering a Greek identity. The invocation of this timeless world was Pausanias' method of opposition. If Greek identity was under assault in a world in which Roman rule prevailed—we might recall here a comparable situation in Jerusalem in the hellenistic period—Pausanias' method of resistance was not violence but "the control of social memory," as Alcock puts it. For him, the older the memory, the more effective it was as an expression of this resistance. This is why Pausanias shows a distinct preference for events and material predating the mid second century BCE (when the final doom emanating from Rome fell upon the Greek world), as has been generally recognized.[6]

Moreover, as we speak of the Periegete's "choices," another criterion comes into play: Pausanias sees objects in the context of their surroundings. An object's age is not the sole criterion for inclusion or omission but also its appropriateness to the site where it is located. In the end, however, the two criteria usually go hand-in-hand. For example, in his otherwise detailed description of Olympia in Book 5, Pausanias omits the nymphaeum of Herodes Atticus. While its modernity and gaudiness are no doubt part of the reason,[7] so, too, is its incongruity in its sacred setting. Arafat has noted that "while it is a spectacular gift, it is above all a practical one, of little importance in determining what the sanctuary is really about or in promoting the sanctity of the sanctuary. While an *ancient* building with a practical purpose can be seen as hallowed by time and usage, a *modern* building of similar purpose has no tradition to fall back on."[8] This explanation is sensible if we think of sites like Olympia as survivors of the culture Pausanias seeks to bring back to life.

The *older* objects in situ and the stories about them give expression to the meaning of the site for the local Greeks and, often, for all Greeks. Herodes' monument can make no such contribution and has nothing to offer in Pausanias' quest for hellenic identity. We can, therefore, have a reasonable expectation, unless solid information is at hand to counter it, that the local myths we presume served as the mythological basis for kinship were indeed at least as old as the hellenistic inscriptions commemorating the diplomatic ventures.

What we say of inscriptions, works of art, and monuments in general, as objects of Pausanias' attention, can be said of them as sources of information as well—namely, that Pausanias' bias, when he uses these and other kinds of sources, lies with the ones of greater antiquity. Habicht's survey of Pausanias' citations of sculptors, painters, architects, and writers shows a clear pattern: in all these areas, Pausanias has far less to say about hellenistic endeavors. For example, he will cite Apollonius, but the epics of oral tradition loom far larger as evidence for his inquiries. His use of historians is a noteworthy exception. Although he prefers to cite Herodotus, Thucydides, and other classical historians over the later ones, his impressive command of hellenistic history shows that he at least consulted historians of that era, even if he does not cite them often.[9]

Still, an enormous challenge faced Pausanias as he used local myths in the manner described above. How does one reconcile local variants that were likely products of an epichoric tradition with the established panhellenic traditions, above all of Homer, for whom Pausanias showed due reverence (as at 2.21.10)? Employing a methodology that recalls that of Herodotus, Pausanias will often present variants of an account and refrain from preferring one over the other.[10] More so than Herodotus, Pausanias is attuned to the difference between local and panhellenic personages. As we have observed of analytical writers elsewhere, Pausanias wrestles with problems that arise when a local version defies the logic of a panhellenic one. For example, Telamon and Chalcodon were commemorated on monuments in a sanctuary to Apollo near Arcadian Pheneus, which was established, so the story went, by Heracles. The monuments were dedicated to those heroes who had helped Heracles sack Elis but fell in the battle. But, asks Pausanias, how could these two heroes have fallen at that time because the more popular accounts have Chalcodon already dead by then (at the hands of Heracles' father Amphitryon) and Telamon still alive when he expels Teucer from Salamis after the Trojan War? The answer is that these more famous heroes were not the ones involved in Heracles' Elean war, and the homonymy of their names has confused them (8.15.5–7), or, as Madeleine Jost has observed, homonymous local heroes have become absorbed into their panhellenic counterparts.[11]

In the example given above, Pausanias is critical of a local account in terms of logic, but by no means does he reject its authenticity. For the community that erected those monuments, the local account of Heracles' sack of Elis holds a great deal of importance. I have mentioned above that communities were eager to express their cultural distinctiveness to visitors like Pausanias who wanted to record their local traditions. He was likely well received and made the acquaintance of several types of informants. No doubt the more educated among the populace would be included, especially any prominent families who, whatever the current political structure, could claim to have played important roles in the earlier history of the city and would currently hold important magistracies and priesthoods. They may have had local histories written but just as likely would continue to pass along oral accounts that had been the medium of family histories since the most ancient times. Pausanias himself was likely of this social class, a well-to-do man with the leisure to travel, who could cover his own expenses and provide gifts and thus would be a welcome guest.[12]

But he would also consult other ranks of society, including would-be professional tour guides. Christopher Jones notes that periegetes like Pausanias were more "learned" than these guides. I believe he means that the former's knowledge about myth and tradition in general was more extensive, as opposed to the expertise of guides on merely local traditions.[13] Nevertheless, it is instructive to consider briefly the place of these tour guides in the mosaic of Greek credulity. An observation by Habicht is very telling. Pausanias notes, regarding an Argive disagreement with canonical myth on the location of Deianira's and Helenus' tombs and of the Palladium, "It has not escaped the notice of the guides of the Argives themselves that they have not been entirely truthful, but they tell these stories nonetheless, for the multitude do not readily reverse the views they hold."[14] Habicht explains, "He seems to mean that the guides themselves were quite prepared to discard their fictions, but that the public was not: visitors preferred the known fictional story to the unfamiliar truth."[15]

I have repeatedly noted how Pausanias approaches myth in a more clinical way than the masses, whether prehistorical Greeks expressing deeply religious truths or citizens of a *polis* articulating what is so special about their hometown. By Habicht's reasoning, the guides were closer to Pausanias and recognized some versions of a myth as not "true." I suspect the guides were more diverse than this, varying perhaps in their level of education and professional status but all "experts" on the local antiquities.[16] They would then further demonstrate the degrees of credulity that we have seen come into play in the assessment of kinship myth. Many of them may have known better but were more interested in promoting the popular image of their *polis* for the sake of expressing its cultural distinctiveness. Others may have found criticism at Pausanias' hands, borne from a more informed vantage. In any case, Habicht's interpretation has the further implication that Pausanias' "multitude" (τοὺς πολλοὺς) are the ones who keep the traditions alive when they visit foreign *poleis*.[17] Our examination of kinship diplomacy would suggest this was not mere nostalgia but a genuine embrace of myths borne from the ease with which they engaged in mythopoeic thinking.

Nonetheless, for the sake of crafting a "landscape of memory," Pausanias was clearly indulgent when it came to assessing local variants. Informed as he was about more convincing or "authentic" versions, he shows great patience with the locals who shared their epichoric traditions with him. What Pausanias demonstrates is that the sanction of hellenic collective memory was too great for one version to be held over another as more authoritative in some cases. The issue of *truth* is stillborn from the moment it enters considerations of local myth. Local *tradition* matters more because of its importance to the expression of meaning and identity.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE PHOCIANS

The Phocians engaged in kinship diplomacy at least twice in the third century, as *IG* IX 1 97 and *I.v. Magnesia* 34 attest. In both cases, we have opportunities to observe how local myth intersected with panhellenic myth, making the diplomatic venture possible. In the Phocians' case there is a complication in that they actually had *two* eponymous heroes named Phocus, the famous son of Aeacus whose murder at the hands of his half-brothers Peleus and Telamon was well known, and a scarcely attested son of Ornytion son of Sisyphus son of Aeolus. Pausanias suggests that Ornytion's son was a local hero in the area around Tithorea in northeast Phocis, which thus formed the original "Phocis." The name then came to be applied to the entire region after the Aeacid Phocus arrived (10.1.1). This situation arose because the Phocians were really a collection of communities with separate identities that federated in a *koinon,* a league, around 510 BCE, largely in the face of threats from outside, especially from the north in Thessaly. Pausanias' summation suggests that the significance of the Sisyphid Phocus was always limited, while the Aeacid Phocus was embraced by the whole of the Phocian League.[18]

Still, this need not preclude the recognition by all the Phocians, or in any case their leaders, of the usefulness of Ornytion's son in international diplomacy in the hellenistic period. Moreover, we may have evidence of a shrine to Phocus, established near the Phocicon, the meeting place of the federal officials of the Phocian League, no earlier than the fifth century. A thorough examination of the evidence may be found in Appendix Three, but if interpreted correctly, it suggests a high degree of significance for the Sisyphid Phocus even after the establishment of the Phocian League.

Whatever other reasons the Phocians may have had for requiring a second Phocus as their common eponymous ancestor, certainly one must have been the possibilities that a descendant of Aeolus offered for purposes of kinship diplomacy, opportunities not afforded by the son of Aeacus. Though Aeacus was said to be the son of Zeus, whom one would expect to open up many diplomatic doors, there is a curious paucity of evidence that Zeus served as a link of kinship between two communities, despite his numerous offspring. However, this state of affairs accords with the prevailing pattern of using as common ancestors heroes or sons of heroes (or other important *mortal* personages such as Dorus and Aeolus) rather than deities, who constitute rare exceptions and in any case are often not straightforward examples.[19] But the possibilities for a descendant of Aeolus were virtually limitless, giving the Phocians access to the great stemma that derived from Hellen.

Such an opportunity arose sometime before 261 BCE when the Phocians responded to a Tenian request, as recorded in an inscription found in Elatea in Phocis (*IG* IX 1 97). What the Tenians wanted was financial assistance for the building of a temple to Poseidon and Amphitrite and recognition of territorial *asylia* for the sanctuary and the island. As the Magnesians were to do, the Tenians sent embassies across the Greek world to make their request. Phocian and Aetolian responses are dated to before 200, possibly constituting a first "series," with a second series of inscriptions made in Crete apparently to acknowledge the renewal of Tenos' *asylia* and recognize the newly expanded sanctuary in the second century.[20] In acknowledging the Tenians' request, whereby five minas were promised and *asylia* was recognized, the Phocians mention the kinship between them (lines 3–11).[21] The phrase *kataxiōs . . . tas huparchousas* is especially suggestive: kinship almost demands further assistance. Later in the inscription the Phocians praise the Tenians for attending to this new temple and because they "are renewing kinship with the Phocians," immediately after which the Phocians say that they are granting polity to those Tenians living in Phocis (lines 11–15).[22] Presumably, the Tenians' claim of kinship accompanied their initial request.

The evidence is too slight in this series to know how often the Tenians cited kinship links with other states and if these links were acknowledged, but the phenomenon recurs in appeals of this kind, as in the requests made by Magnesia-on-the-Maeander. Most significantly, the regard the Phocians held for their kinship with the Tenians was so high that they not only sent financial assistance for the temple's building and declared it and the island *asylos* but granted citizenship rights to them.

There does not seem to have been a historical connection between Phocis and Tenos, and so it follows that the basis of the kinship is mythological. With

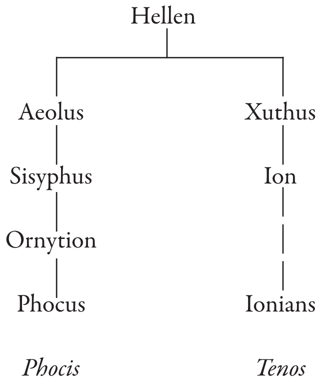


FIGURE 7.1.
Phocis and Tenos

Pausanias as our guide, we can postulate a link through the sons of Hellen (Figure 7.1). To recapitulate, Phocus' father Ornytion was a son of Sisyphus son of Aeolus son of Hellen. As for Tenos, for which Pausanias has nothing useful to tell us, the connection with the Phocians is not so easy for us to discern. Stephanus of Byzantium referred to Tenos (s.v. *Tēnos*) as Laconian, leading Elwyn to propose that the Tenians might trace their descent through the Dorians back to Dorus. But she also notes their Ionian identity,[23] and I think this provides the more plausible answer. Thucydides attests that the Tenians regarded themselves as Ionians. Moreover, the Tenians celebrated the festival of Apatouria,[24] an institution that Herodotus stresses as Ionian. On this assumption, the link with Phocis would go through Ion son of Xuthus in most versions and nephew of Aeolus.[25]

The other inscription mentioned above involves Magnesia-on-the-Maeander. *I.v. Magnesia* 34 is another from the series found at Magnesia recording the responses to the Magnesians' request for *asylia* around 208/7.[26] As the four cities of Cephallenia did, the Phocian League recognized the inviolability of the Magnesians' sanctuary of Artemis Leucophryene. The inscription begins with a reference to the Magnesians' initial overtures, by which their ambassadors went to Phocis to "renew" their kinship (lines 2–14, esp. 6–7).[27] The Phocians agreed, forming the basis for the diplomacy celebrated by the inscription (lines 14–17).[28]

In this case, and relying on our knowledge of epichoric myths on both sides of the Aegean, we can have virtually no doubt how the two parties imagined the origin of their kinship. We might recall the myth revealed by *I.v. Magnesia* 35, which identifies Magnes son of Aeolus as eponymous ancestor. I have con-

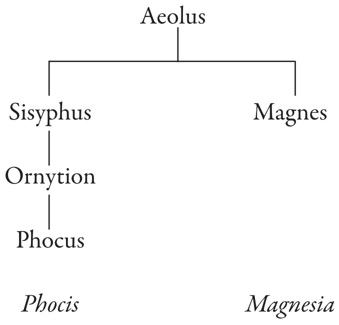


FIGURE 7.2.
Phocis and Magnesia-on-the-Maeander

sidered the possibility that this personage was invented in Magnesia for the occasion of their quest for *asylia.* Whether ancient or recent, Magnes provided the Magnesians with a viable link to the Phocians through Aeolus, father of both Magnes and Sisyphus (Figure 7.2). The Sisyphid Phocus served the Phocians in the same way, a local hero for Tithorea, to be sure, and possibly a local hero for all the Phocians in the hellenistic period and beyond.

IG IX 1^2 173: HERACLEA-AT-LATMUS AND THE AETOLIAN LEAGUE

Sometime around the mid third century, perhaps by 260, the Aetolian League commemorated at Delphi a diplomatic venture upon which it had embarked for the sake of a city called Heraclea. This inscription, *IG* IX 1^2 173, notes that the Aetolians, first, granted Heraclea membership in their league (lines 6–7) and, second, agreed to speak with King Ptolemy II on some matter on the Heracleans' behalf (lines 11–12). They did this because the Heracleans had initially based their request on a claim of kinship, using phraseology that occurs in a number of other decrees of kinship diplomacy: *tan sungeneian aneneōsanto* (4), meaning that the kinship, or *sungeneia,* was being "renewed," as was noted in some of the foregoing decrees.[29] The Aetolians found Heraclea's justification convincing, agreeing to its requests because they considered the Heracleans to be their colonists (lines 11–13).[30] Once again we see diplomacy that has practical benefit, in line with the monetary assistance rendered by the Phocians to Tenos.

The scholarship on this inscription is considerable, in large part because of the uncertainty about which Heraclea is mentioned.[31] In the end, however, Robert made such a convincing case for Heraclea-at-Latmus in Caria that most scholars since have followed suit with this identification. He was not the first to adduce this, for others had cited Heraclea's dependence on Ptolemy Philadelphus as support for the Carian city.[32] But the best evidence, Robert argued, lies in local myth, partly preserved by Pausanias.[33] In effect, Habicht, following Robert, uses Pausanias to argue for the identification of Heraclea-at-Latmus—this is an attempt to demonstrate the value of Pausanias as a source—while I proceed from the assumption that the identification is correct and that, in revealing the foundation myth of this city, Pausanias proves useful for reconstructing the basis of kinship referred to in *IG* IX 1^2 173.

We avoid problems of circular reasoning by noting that Pausanias' foundation myth has outside support in Strabo (preserving Ephorus) and in archaeological material at Heraclea-at-Latmus. The myth involves Endymion, an important Greek hero known especially for his love affair with Selene, the Moon, and the eternal sleep by which he avoided old age.[34] In analyzing Pausanias 5.1.3–5, Robert and his followers have assumed that Pausanias answers the question of which Heraclea the Aetolians made a treaty with, but we must be clear on one point: Pausanias' fifth book deals with Elis, not with Aetolia. As I have shown elsewhere,[35] however, there is plenty of evidence that Elean local myth is tantamount to Aetolian local myth.

To treat the matter briefly here, at 5.1.5, Pausanias specifically mentions the Eleans as his source when relating the local version of Endymion's story. Before that, he says,

> We know that the Eleans crossed over from Calydon and the rest of Aetolia, and regarding their even more ancient [*palaiotera*] history I have found the following: They say that the one who ruled first in this land was Aethlius, son of Zeus and Deucalion's daughter Protogenia and father of Endymion. . . . To Endymion were born Paeon, Epeus, Aetolus, and a daughter Eurycyda.[36]

My primary concern is more with the *putative* conceptions of the past than with the realities behind the myths, but here we must make an exception. This historical note of Pausanias' is a remembrance of a real event. The Eleans' migration from Aetolia was part of the varied movements that took place after the fall of Mycenaean civilization.[37] The story of Oxylus (who is not named here) is the mythological account of this migration and in fact is made to link with the account of the Return of the Heracleidae, as we shall see. We will presently see that the Eleans maintained legends that were Aetolian in origin, legends that included that tell-tale sign of what Jonathan Hall would call ethnic identity, the eponymous ancestor—in this case, Aetolus. Such a figure and the lineage Pausanias records would give the Aetolians the link they needed to claim kinship with the people of Heraclea-at-Latmus. But before we consider the rest of the evidence and the Heraclean side of things, let us untangle the likely putative chronology of the mythological events.

The key to sorting out the chronology is Pausanias' phrasing at 5.1.3, especially *palaiotera,* which suggests that the narrative of Aethlius, Endymion, and Aetolus precedes the migration "from Calydon and the rest of Aetolia." Pausanias seems to mean the migration under Oxylus many generations later. The earlier migration is actually from Elis to Aetolia and should be attributed only to Aetolus himself, rather than any group of people. We know Elis to be the starting point because his grandfather Aethlius is supposed to be the first king of the Eleans. This Aethlius may have arrived from Aetolia, constituting an *earlier* migration to Elis, on which more in a moment.[38] Endymion followed as king and held a race at Olympia to determine which of his sons would take the throne after him. The winner was Epeus, but because he had no male offspring, his brother Aetolus came to the throne. Then, having been convicted of murder, Aetolus was exiled to the region later to be called Aetolia,[39] while Eleus, son of Endymion's daughter Eurycyda, became king and gave the Eleans their permanent name. This Eleus was the father of the Augeas whose stables Heracles cleaned as one of his labors (Paus. 5.1.4–10).

Some generations later, in the time of the Return of the Heracleidae, Aetolus' descendant Oxylus returned to Elis. This figure is curiously well documented, perhaps a sign that he was promoted as eponymous ancestor by the prominent Oxylidae family in Elis in historical times.[40] In any case, he was said to have been a guide for the Heracleidae under Temenus after being exiled for accidently killing a man with an errant discus; in return, they allowed him to reclaim his ancestral land in the northwest Peloponnesus. Oxylus led an Aetolian army against the Eleans (or Epeans) but became king of Elis only after the matter was decided in single combat between the two parties' champions.[41]

In a variant to Pausanias' version, which implies that Aethlius arrived in Elis from elsewhere to become its first king, Apollodorus renders an account of Endymion leading Aeolian Greeks from Thessaly into Elis, which calls to mind Strabo's more general discussion of the distribution of the "four" Greek dialects, Attic, Ionic, Doric, and Aeolic (and distribution implies migrations, on which he has much to say elsewhere, as at 7.7.8 and 14.2.6), and his note that the Eleans were an Aeolic-speaking group.[42] If we bring this into the picture, we have the Eleans/Aetolians (or at least one strain of them) moving into Elis from the north, then Aetolus leaving Elis for Aetolia, and finally a new group of "Aetolians" returning to Elis again (returning in the same sense that the Heraclids "returned" to lands in the Peloponnesus originally belonging to

Heracles). The two migrations *into* Elis are separated by several generations, related in essentially two separate accounts, despite clear signs as far back as Ephorus that they were linked.

The suspicion arises that in origin only one account of the Aetolian migration into Elis existed, based it would seem on a real population movement in the Dark Ages, an account that then developed into two versions. Perhaps one was strictly Aetolian to begin with, featuring an eponymous ancestor. This version was known to Hesiod in Boeotia at the end of the eighth century (F. 10a.58–64 MW). Aethlius complicates that scenario, however, because his name (= *athlios*) means "winning the race," suggesting a connection with the Olympic Games.[43] But he may have been added to the genealogy by the Aetolians' Elean descendants at a later date, certainly by Hesiod's time.[44] Meanwhile, the other account was perhaps an Elean concoction of the Oxylidae, with an eye toward legitimacy through myth, as Hammond has suggested.

Beyond Pausanias, we can see that Oxylus was an important personage in local myth in Elis, as a statue of him had been erected in the agora of the city of Elis (see further below).[45] In addition, Aristotle mentions an Elean property law that was attributed to Oxylus (*Pol.* 1319a). Alternatively, just as we know better than to posit a single "invasion" of Dorians in sub-Mycenaean times, the actual movements of Aeolic-speaking peoples in this period are no doubt also complicated, perhaps involving a series of migrations of smaller groups. Two divergent accounts of Elis' occupation rather than one may stem from that state of affairs.

The reality behind this conjecture is forever beyond our reach, but we can at least feel confident that both the Eleans and the Aetolians shared a basic common narrative, not only because of the likelihood of its being carried into Elis from the north in the Dark Ages, whatever details were added later. Better evidence still is provided by Ephorus, as preserved by Strabo (note 45), namely, that an inscription at Therma in Aetolia and another one in the agora of Elis both acknowledged the Elean origins of Aetolus. The latter also mentions Oxylus as a descendant in the tenth generation from Aetolus. This evidence, coming from a fourth-century writer, assures us that the Aetolian League of the third century shared the same basic epichoric myth as the Eleans, who related this myth to Pausanias five hundred years later. We are now ready to show how Endymion serves as the most likely link with Heraclea-at-Latmus by considering the foundation myth of that city.

Pausanias and Strabo make it clear that Endymion was an important figure to the Heracleans as well.[46] They both indicate that there was a shrine to Endymion. Strabo places it in a cave, which obviously brings to mind the cave in which Endymion was said to be sleeping eternally. On the south side of Hera-

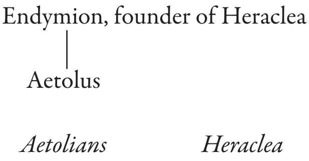


FIGURE 7.3.
Heraclea-at-Latmus and the Aetolian League

clea is a sanctuary worked into a rocky niche with large outcroppings. Because entry lies on the southwest side rather than the east, which was reserved for gods and goddesses, this sanctuary was apparently devoted to a hero. Given the literary evidence, Endymion becomes the prime candidate.[47] He is also mentioned in an inscription found at Heraclea in 1873 and published sixty years later by Alphonse Dain. Inscribed on white marble and originally attached to a monument, it is a hymn celebrating a festival, possibly to Athena.[48] Endymion is mentioned as the founder and in connection with his unending sleep and the cave (lines 6–9).

Endymion then is the key to the kinship between the Aetolians and the Heracleans in *IG* IX 1^2 173 (Figure 7.3). He is the figure, whether he started out in Elis (Pausanias) or in northern Aeolian lands, apparently Thessaly (Apollodorus), who founded Heraclea as a colony of the Aetolians, hence their term for the Heracleans: *apoikōn,* meaning "colonists" (line 12). This putative kinship was real enough to merit the Heracleans membership in the league in the mid third century and an Aetolian embassy to Ptolemy on Heraclea's behalf.

Perhaps most amazing is that this diplomacy proceeded despite an obvious contradiction between the two local accounts. Again, we turn to Pausanias: "Regarding the death of Endymion, the Eleans and the Heracleans near Miletus do not say the same things: the Eleans point out Endymion's tomb; the Heracleans say that he withdrew to Mount Latmus and they honor him, and they say there is a shrine of Endymion on the mountain."[49] It stands to reason that the Aetolians also conceived of Endymion as buried in Elis. One suspects narratives on each side of the Aegean that were originally unrelated, perhaps even accounts of two separate Endymions, one the lover of Selene and the other the father of Aetolus. Other than his comment on Endymion's final resting place, there is no overlap between the two versions preserved by Pausanias. Of course, the contradiction he identifies bears less on Endymion's departure from Elis and the foundation of Heraclea. The question of Endymion's burial place might never have come up in the diplomatic exchanges between the negotiating parties of the league and Heraclea, but his final fate is an important part of Endymion's story, no doubt the main reason it was so popular. And, as discussed in earlier chapters, local burial shrines are key markers of a community's cultural identity. One would therefore expect the issue to have surfaced in the discussions.

If it did, the Aetolians were not bothered by the incongruity when acknowledging the kinship the Heracleans claimed, which was even more remarkable than simply rewriting a stemma to establish links between two communities at a panhellenic level. An irreconcilable contradiction was no impediment to successful kinship diplomacy. An inscription from Pergamum illustrates this point even more effectively by showing evidence of success despite a contradiction that bore more directly on the claims made by the two sides of the hero's accomplishment and its consequences for them.

PERGAMUM AND TEGEA: RECONCILING LOCAL MYTHS IN *I.V. PERGAMON* 156

Pausanias also gives us an opportunity to see how local communities might pick and choose the variants of a myth that best suit them in their interstate dealings, a more conscious (and artificial) delineation than the simple (and natural) localization described above. Pergamum issued the inscription in question, *I.v. Pergamon* 156, granting citizenship rights to the Tegeans in the Peloponnesus sometime in the first half of the second century BCE. We might recall that the Pergamenes declared friendship with the Jews in the late second century but eschewed a declaration of *sungeneia* with them because their lineage (from Abraham) was not perceived as hellenic, or even modified accordingly (Chapter Three). However, the ruling dynasty known as the Attalids, especially Attalus I (241–197) and Eumenes II (197–159), worked assiduously to promote their hellenic identity elsewhere.

I.v. Pergamon 156 is but one example, a statement of kinship with Tegea.[50] This decree, inscribed on a marble stele in Pergamum, was issued to praise the Tegeans for their belief in kinship with the Pergamenes and extend citizenship rights to them.[51] The Tegeans had recorded this belief in an earlier decree and accompanying "documents."[52] As only part of the stele survives, it is possible these items were inscribed in the missing section,[53] especially given the Pergamenes' declaration that they be preserved for posterity.[54] As with the Aetolians and the Heracleans, local myths on both sides of the Aegean explain the basis of kinship where the inscription does not, although it does contain a tantalizing clue. The local traditions point to Telephus son of Heracles,[55] as implied by the mention of his mother Auge in the inscription at line 24.[56]

Because the extant portion of the decree mentions only a grant of polity with no reference to any concrete actions (financial assistance, an embassy to a king, and so on), Gruen argues that the sole point of the decree is to promote the Pergamenes' "cultural credentials" in the Greek world. Fulfilling this purpose admirably was Heracles' son Telephus, a figure of local significance in Pergamum as well as Tegea, "thus providing a link between the *recent* realm of Pergamon and the *ancient* land of Arkadia."[57] The Pergamenes, particularly Attalus I, had already begun to establish such credentials by ostensibly championing the hellenic cause against barbarism as victors over the Gauls.[58] Such was the message in the Gigantomachy scene on the Great Altar of Zeus erected by Attalus' son Eumenes II around 180 or so, or in any case in the same general period as the erection of the stele on which *I.v. Pergamon* 156 was inscribed. Likewise, Attalus' benefactions to the universally recognized repository of Greek culture, Athens, were to be seen as promoting his hellenic greatness. Among his contributions were four monuments depicting, as a series, the triumph of hellenic civilization over barbarism: the Gigantomachy, the Amazonomachy, the defeat of the Persians at Marathon, and the Pergamene victory over the Gauls.[59]

Thus, in Pergamum's diplomacy with Tegea, Telephus offered an opportunity for reconciling local myths, or at least the attempt to do so. But as in the case of Endymion's burial place, the chronology of Telephus' journey to Mysia, where Pergamum was located, was problematic. The different local versions were essentially irreconcilable. This time, the issue revolves around the circumstances of the founding of Pergamum. Nonetheless, as in the other cases we have seen, this state of affairs was not a hindrance to achieving the Pergamenes' goals because the Tegeans saw no reason to dispute the validity of the Pergamenes' Heraclean origins because of the details.

Many versions of Telephus' story in fact exist, and some delineation is required to show which ones were involved in the kinship diplomacy of the Pergamenes and the Tegeans.[60] The most important distinction for us is *when* Telephus came to Mysia, where he would eventually be king in the time of the Trojan War and receive a wound from Achilles (Apollod. *Epit.* 3.17). The basic story of his birth is that his mother Auge, daughter of King Aleus of Tegea in most cases, was either raped or seduced by Heracles in Arcadia. When Aleus discovered the truth, he caused Auge and her son (or just Auge alone) to wind up in Mysia, where they (or she) were taken in by its king Teuthras. The numerous treatments of this story give rise to three basic versions. The oldest is attested only in the Hesiodic corpus and has Telephus born in Mysia (F. 165 MW). The other two have him born in Arcadia. The difference is whether he leaves Arcadia as a baby with his mother or whether he goes to Mysia as an adult.

The former is the Tegeans' position (or at least that of some of them), as Pausanias indicates at 8.48.7. Here there are actually two Tegean accounts:

> The Tegeans call Eileithyia, whose temple and statue they have in the agora, "Auge on her Knees," and say that Aleus handed her over to Nauplius and ordered him to drown her in the sea. As he took her, she fell on her knees and, on the spot where Eileithyia's temple is, gave birth to a son. This story differs from another, in which the son, Telephus, was born without the knowledge of Auge's father, was exposed on Mount Parthenion on his order, and, once abandoned, was given milk by a deer.[61]

This passage indicates a cult of Auge in Tegea. The variation mentioned further down in the text is a version localized specifically around Mount Parthenion and attested by coinage showing Telephus nourished by a hind.[62] Pausanias lends further support to the second version by referring to a *temenos,* or sacred shrine, of Telephus on the mountain itself (8.54.6). More information on the main local account at Tegea is at 8.47.4, where Pausanias makes a distinction between Tegean tradition and the version recorded by Hecataeus (*FGrH* 1 F. 29a), which he gives at 8.4.9. In Hecataeus' version, Aleus shut Auge and her son in a chest and sent them out to sea, which eventually carried them to Mysia, where they were rescued by Teuthras. The difference between the two seems to be whether Heracles had seduced Auge (8.4.9) or had raped her (8.47.4). Finally, we have Strabo. Although he relates this version of the story (Telephus' journey to Mysia as an infant) in his books on Pergamum,[63] Strabo's named source is Euripides, rather than the Pergamenes themselves, despite likely agreement in later particulars, such as Auge's marriage to Teuthras and Telephus' inheritance of Teuthras' throne.

We know from two reliable sources that the Pergamene version has Telephus come to Mysia as a grown man. Pausanias says that the Pergamenes

> claim to be descended from those Arcadians who crossed into Asia with Telephus. Of their other wars no report has gone out to anyone, but they achieved three famous feats: the mastery of lower Asia, the retreat of the Galatians (Gauls), and Telephus' enterprise against the army of Agamemnon, when the Achaeans, having missed Troy, plundered the Meian plain as if Trojan territory.[64]

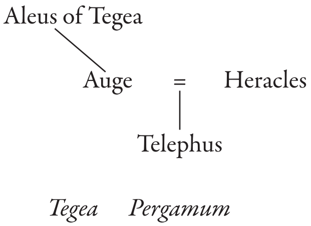


FIGURE 7.4.
Pergamum and Tegea

We noted this sort of continuity from mythical to historical times, expressed as a sequence of accomplishments, in the Athenians' argumentation to justify their position at one of the wings of the coalition army at Plataea in 479.[65]

Then there is the Telephus Frieze on the inner court of the Great Altar at Pergamum, which depicts, as far as we can tell from the surviving fragments, the entire life of Telephus. Panel 12 shows Heracles finding the infant Telephus on Mount Parthenion, where he is suckled not by a deer but by a lion, a more appropriate image for a monument of a ruling house. The panels covering Telephus' upbringing are too fragmentary to reconstruct, and he is already an adult before we can resume the narrative. These panels (13, 14b and 32–33)[66] depict the ships that traveled to Mysia under Telephus' command. The scene, therefore, shows Telephus leading Arcadians to the future site of Pergamum, just as Pausanias describes. Other panels (22–31 or 33) show Telephus' victory over the Achaeans who had mistakenly landed in Mysia on their way to Troy. The victory occurs in the valley of the Caecus River, at whose headwaters Attalus I had achieved his great victory over the Gauls.[67] This version that the Pergamenes adopted was of course already quite old and copiously treated and continued to be popular into the Roman period.[68]

As with any good ancestor from the heroic age, Telephus provided the Pergamenes with the antiquity that earns a *polis* respect among its peers. He also allowed them to back up a claim of kinship with an old city of the Greek motherland (Figure 7.4), an important part of the Attalids' campaign to promote their hellenic identity. The Telephus Frieze and Pausanias 1.4.6 suggest that it was important for the Pergamenes to have Telephus lead Arcadians to Mysia. That he was grandson of Tegea's king Aleus was apparently not enough. The heroic act of foundation, especially when the hero had journeyed far to establish his new kingdom, was vital in the charter myths of so many states. It is a motif that recurs in the hero myths of the Greeks, part of the so-called hero pattern that many scholars have identified. Such a foundation was a heroic act and ennobled the origins of that city, and especially of its ruling elite.

Thus, the ties between Pergamum and Tegea were strengthened by the notion of Pergamum as a *colony* of Tegea, though the relationship is not characterized in that manner in *I.v. Pergamon* 156. In any case, we may note yet again that the mutual agreement on the point of kinship did not require agreement on the particulars of the myth. We have seen many examples of variants coursing their way in the collective memory of the Greeks, and in the variant of the Tegeans and Pergamenes, this state of affairs was not in the least bit troubling. Once again we are without the specifics of how the diplomacy proceeded, but it is not difficult to see, on analogy with other cases, how the majority populations would either be untroubled by the contradictions or not made aware of them, while the diplomats, likely to be more educated and more incredulous, could have overlooked the contradictions as they used the myths for expedient political goals.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THREE IONIAN STATES

Although Pergamum chose a version of a myth that best suited it, other states had occasion to choose among different myths altogether when articulating their identity in the context of kinship diplomacy. Miletus, Samos, and Priene were all part of the Ionian League, a loose confederation, probably religious in nature, with twelve members.[69] Long before the hellenistic period, traditions had arisen that linked these states *qua* Ionian cities with Athens, the putative metropolis. What of course had happened was a process we have examined earlier, the use of myth to fill a historical vacuum. Traditions developed over time to explain the migrations of the eleventh century BCE to Asia Minor and elsewhere. Those migrations were historical, but we have no information about the specifics, including the names of founders. The charter myths of the Ionian states provide those details, but the circumstances in which these myths originated remain obscure. Much of the debate has centered on whether these traditions originated in Athens, in Ionia, or both, but this is beyond the scope of the present study. The epigraphical evidence presented below is from the hellenistic period, by which time the main narrative of the Ionian migration was quite old, and the charter myths were genuine expressions of local identity.[70]

Myths of Miletus

Miletus made treaties with a number of states in the hellenistic period. By this time it had put forward several founders, including Neleus son of Codrus from Athens, an eponymous Miletus from Crete, and Sarpedon from Crete (specifically from a town called Miletus or Milatus).[71] The Cretan context is conspicuous. Perhaps reflecting a memory of Minoan activity in the area in the late bronze age, it sometimes involved their eponymous founder, as attested by a local source Aristocritus of Miletus, who described Miletus as a son of Apollo who fled fearing the jealousy of Minos and established his city in Caria. Other accounts connecting Miletus with Crete involved personages other than Miletus.[72] In any case, the Milesians clearly embraced their putative Cretan identity in an inscription recording an agreement with cities in Crete itself: *Milet* 1.3 No. 37. This grant of polity to the Cretans, issued in the last quarter of the third century, speaks of kinship deriving from a "god," most likely Apollo.[73]

As for Neleus, Pausanias gives an account at 7.2.5 apparently derived directly from informants at Miletus: "The Milesians themselves say the following about their earliest history: for two generations the land was called Anactoria, when Anax, who was born of the earth, and his son Asterius were rulers. Then Miletus arrived with an army from Crete, and the land and city were renamed after him."[74] The Cretans and the native Carians then joined together to form the new community. What Pausanias does afterwards is to have the Ionians under Neleus arrive later and take the city from the Cretan/Carian population.[75] This, too, may have come from the Milesians, or it may be a rationalizing attempt to resolve conflicting accounts, which we have seen Pausanias do elsewhere. But we cannot dismiss the Neleid explanation as a local myth so easily, for immediately afterwards, Pausanias points to a spot near the gates of Miletus on the road to Didyma that was believed to be the grave of Neleus.

Assuming he had not read it in Pherecydes or Panyassis, Herodotus also may have related local Milesian myth by incidentally noting that a local temple at Mycale had been established by Philistus during his expedition with Neleus to found Miletus (9.97). He also relates presumably Milesian tradition when he has Aristagoras invoke Athens as a mother city as he appeals to the Athenians for help with the Ionian Revolt in 499 (5.97). Given his wide travels, we should be very surprised if Herodotus, born in nearby Halicarnassus, had not visited the most prominent city of Ionia and learned much of its local legends.[76]

We can therefore reasonably conclude that (1) various versions of their origins were embraced by the Milesians and (2) they utilized whichever tradition was more useful in their dealings with various states. Neleus may have originally been a local hero in Miletus predating the formation of a collective Ionian identity and (subsequently?) its link to Athens. Alternatively, he was an Athenian invention (perhaps Peisistratid) later adopted by the Milesians.

Nonetheless, I think the evidence in Herodotus reasonably allows us to assign a terminus ante quem of c. 450 to the Milesian Neleus. From the classical period on, he would have obviously been useful as a link with other Ionian states; however, we have surprisingly no evidence of treaties with Ionian states that looked to a son of Codrus as founder, at least none in which the Milesians employ kinship terminology. Most of them are with Milesian colonies or with cities whose likely foundation stories stem from other traditions. Nonetheless, because Codrus had a connection to Aeolus, as Hellanicus attests (*FGrH* 4 F. 125), many opportunities were available to the Milesians for a plausible basis of kinship with other *poleis* through a tried-and-true panhellenic linkage, Hellen and his sons. It may be, then, that the Milesians embraced Neleus for this specific purpose, much as the Phocians established a potential link with many states by giving Phocus son of Ornytion a Sisyphid lineage.

The sons of Hellen were almost certainly in mind as Miletus forged its treaties with Phygela and Mylasa.[77] The one with Phygela in c. 300 (*StV* III 453) was a renewal of polity and referred back to an earlier treaty (lines 2–8), with reference to their kinship as justification at lines 11–13. Strabo, another source besides Pausanias who was close to the local myths of the communities he visited, suggests that the Phygelans saw themselves as descendants of the Achaeans who came with Agamemnon for the Trojan War (14.1.20).[78] The name Phygela or Pygela, derived, it was said, from the disease of the buttocks (*pugalgias*) that caused some of Agamemnon's men to remain behind and ultimately settle there. The Phygelans also had a tribe called Agamemnonis.[79] Given that the association of Homer's Achaiwoi and the ethnic group Achaeans was firmly established by 300 BCE, whatever difficulties in reconstructing the origins of that association,[80] it is reasonable that the Phygelans saw themselves as Achaeans in one sense, even as they were Ionian in another.[81] The former association was perhaps preferable because it gave them a specific link to the Trojan War, always a desirable context in which to trace the origins of a *polis*. Through Agamemnon they would then derive their ethnic origins from their eponymous ancestor Achaeus son of Xuthus. Almost certainly knowing this, the Milesians (or in any case their envoys) may have invoked ties of kinship through the sons of Hellen, if they asserted a Neleid origin, because according to Hellanicus (*FGrH* 4 F. 125), Codrus was said to have descended from Xuthus' brother Aeolus (Figure 7.5).

As for Mylasa, *StV* III 539 actually consists of two treaties in which the two cities exchange citizenship and other rights. The kinship is mentioned in several places (lines 2–3, 6–7, 60–65, and 80–85), with much of the same formulaic renderings we have seen elsewhere, for example, ἀνενεώσαντο τήν τε

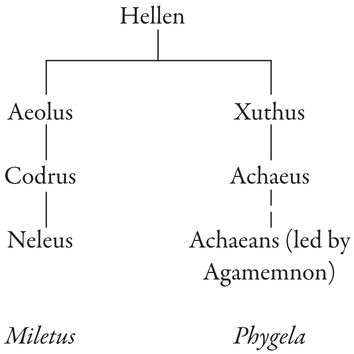

Hellen
Aeolus
Xuthus
Codrus
Achaeus
Neleus
Achaeans (led by Agamemnon)
Miletus
Phygela

FIGURE 7.5.
Miletus and Phygela

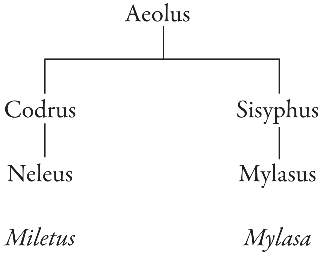

Aeolus
Codrus
Sisyphus
Neleus
Mylasus
Miletus
Mylasa

FIGURE 7.6.
Miletus and Mylasa

διὰ προγόνων ὑπάρχουσαν / οἰκειότητα καὶ φιλίαν (lines 6–7), in which the verb *ananeoomai* is used to indicate a renewal of kinship acknowledged on a previous occasion. If Miletus invoked Neleus, then Aeolus would have served as the link because the Mylasans, as we saw in Chapter Six, apparently had an eponymous ancestor, Mylasus, who was descended from Sisyphus (Figure 7.6).[82]

Myths of Samos

We have multiple foundation stories for Samos. Ancaeus is certainly an epichoric figure. Procles probably was as well. Least likely but still possible was Cydrolaus son of Macar. The local account this time is an epic poem by Asios of Samos, a writer of the seventh or sixth century. As Pausanias relates, Asios describes various personages of importance to the early history of the island, including the eponymous Samos son of Ancaeus (Paus. 7.4.1). We will have more to say on this figure Ancaeus shortly. Pausanias then shifts gears in the same way as in 7.2.5 by turning to a new source. While the foregoing was Asios' account, at 7.4.2 we move on to something else, the arrival of the Ionians, which Pausanias introduces with *tote,* meaning "then" or "next." The pattern is parallel with the Milesian account: an earlier group of people are driven out or, in Samos' case, joined by interloping Ionians. Thus Procles, an Epidaurian who was descended from Ion, led Ionians fleeing from the Dorian attack on Epidaurus to Samos and settled there. Though he does not say so explicitly, Pausanias is probably relating local myth at 7.4.2 as well. As for Cydrolaus, we will return to him shortly.

As stated above, Ancaeus comes out of Asios,[83] who says, "to Ancaeus, who married Samia the daughter of the river Maeander, [were born four sons and a daughter]."[84] One of these sons was Samos. Ancaeus is thoroughly grounded in the pre-Ionian context of Samos' legendary history, described by Asios as king of the Leleges, a subgroup of the Carians.[85] As we turn to the *polis*' diplomatic dealings in the second century, this local myth may have served it well. *I.v. Magnesia* 103 was issued in the second half of the second century.[86] The inscription consists of two decrees, one put forth by each side in the diplomacy: Samos and Magnesia-on-the-Maeander. While reaffirming the isopolity between them, worked out in an earlier decree (lines 8–9, 36–37), they also sought to extend honors to Telestratus, the leader of the Magnesian embassy to Samos, including specific citizenship rights in Samos, above and beyond the normal provisions of the isopolity (lines 5–7, 39). In this context, the two cities were said to be "kindred" (οἰκείους: line 8). The key to the link provided by Asios' testimony is the Maeander River. What follows is essentially the argument Curty puts forward to explain the relationship between Samos and Antioch-on-the-Maeander,[87] but the same stemmas can be drawn here. Maeander was of course a god as well as a river and thus a character in myth. He may have figured heavily in the local traditions of the cities along the river, including both Magnesia and Antioch. Thus, the link would lie in Ancaeus' marriage to Maeander's daughter Samia (Figure 7.7).

Unclear is how literally the Magnesians would have taken their relationship to the river god, but it is true that a connection with the land in this way allowed a *polis* to make a case for autochthony, as Argos claimed through Phoroneus, son of the river Inachus, and Ephesus through its eponymous founder, who was son of Caÿster.[88] The land itself often played an important role in the identity of a state. In the case of autochthony, however, the mythical ancestors

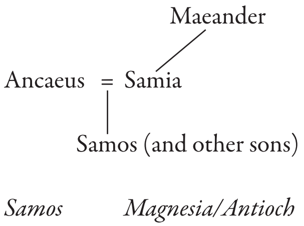

Maeander
Ancaeus = Samia
Samos (and other sons)
Samos
Magnesia/Antioch

FIGURE 7.7.
Samos and Magnesia-on-the-Maeander/Samos and Antioch-on-the-Maeander (through Ancaeus)

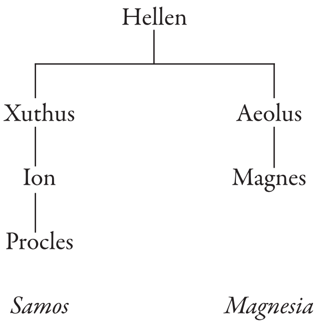

Hellen
Xuthus
Aeolus
Ion
Magnes
Procles
Samos
Magnesia

FIGURE 7.8.
Samos and Magnesia-on-the-Maeander (through Hellen)

were probably conceived in a less literal sense. The connection to the land was "ideological," and once again we find use in Anthony Smith's model of ideological descent that we considered in Chapter One. In this case, we have somewhat of a variant in that there is a genealogical stemma we can produce to connect the Magnesians with the land, but the figures, or in any case the river god, may be metaphorical. Either way, the Magnesians do not mention a local hero as son of the river, raising for me serious doubts about this scenario. However, we need not make any conjectures about Magnesia's local myth because, let it be recalled, *I.v. Magnesia* 35 makes it as plain as day. It was to Magnes that the Magnesians looked as their founder. It would therefore be more proper to invoke the second Samian tradition, pointing out that Procles' ancestor was Ion, son of Xuthus, whose brother was Aeolus, father of Magnes (Figure 7.8).

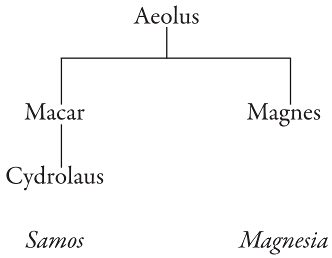


FIGURE 7.9.
Samos and Magnesia-on-the-Maeander (through Aeolus)

Elwyn has yet another explanation, and here Macar's line comes into play.[89] Macar was a local figure in Amphissa in Locris; his daughter was named Amphisse. The Locrians also said that he was a son of Aeolus. Macar is made king of Lesbos by Homer, as in the Homeric Hymn to Apollo, which also calls him a son of Aeolus.[90] Macar is especially prominent as a colonizer, which is how he is characterized in accounts handed down to Diodorus, including Hesiod's. Macar expands his influence from Lesbos. Like Codrus and Chrysaor, he is a father of *ktistai,* having sent one son (unnamed) to found Chios and another, Cydrolaus, to found Samos, to name two.[91] Although Diodorus lists Lesbos as Macar's kingdom, he found in Hesiod a different patronymic from the Macar known in Amphissa and to the author of the Homeric Hymn. The Hesiodic Macar was a son of Crinacus (Diod. 5.81.4). Given the Magnesians' Aeolic origins, the Hesiodic Macar would seem to be unsuitable for the Samians to claim as a common ancestor. The situation demands the son of Aeolus, but can we say that Cydrolaus was the son of this Macar, as suggested by Figure 7.9?

Unfortunately, the criteria I have adopted for determining local myths are not met under the circumstances. If Diodorus is reflecting a local account, it is not through Asios, nor is his version of Chios' origins to be found in Ion of Chios, a fifth-century tragedian who wrote a history of his home island.[92] While Diodorus' Macar is clearly a local hero in Locris and very likely on Lesbos, we have to get past too many hurdles to be confident that his son Cydrolaus was an epichoric figure on Samos if we wish to rely on writers like Pausanias and Strabo who have had direct contact with the local accounts they related, through conversation with locals, consultation of local works, or autopsy of local sites. On this basis, we should not give much credence to Macar as a link with Magnesia.

As mentioned already, the Samians and the people of Antioch-on-the-Maeander also made a treaty, this one in the first half of the second century:

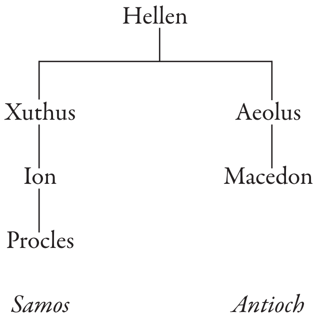


FIGURE 7.10.
Samos and Antioch-on-the-Maeander (through Hellen)

MDAI 72 (1957) No. 65, which is preserved in an inscription from a stele in the Heraion at Samos.[93] The decree does not specifically convey such honors as citizenship but refers to isopolity between the two cities in the same, ostensibly formulaic way as to kinship.[94] These linkages serve as the explanation for the Samians' congratulation to the Antiocheians for the expansion of their territory (lines 22–23). As such, the kinship was as real as the isopolity, which was probably achieved on an earlier occasion, as in *I.v. Magnesia* 103. Comparing the two inscriptions, Habicht notes that the basis of kinship between Antioch-on-the-Maeander and Samos would have been less clear than that between Magnesia and Samos because Antiochus I had likely founded Antioch,[95]making no link of kinship apparent and also denying it the antiquity of Magnesia.[96]

As a foundation of Antiochus, Antioch would have consisted of Macedonians. To find the Samian link, we must look for something other than a foundation myth and may find it in an eponymous ancestor, Macedon.[97] Although we cannot be certain on this point, we can reasonably assume that the Antiocheians retained their Macedonian dialect and other cultural features to a sufficient degree for Macedon to be significant for them as the source of their ethnic identity. Although the Hesiodic tradition has Macedon as a son of Zeus and Thyia (along with Magnes, F. 7 MW), Hellanicus knew of a different tradition, that Macedon's father was Aeolus.[98] If the Samian ambassadors had need of explaining the kinship, they would have referred to Hellanicus (or some other source with the same version) for obvious reasons (Figure 7.10). Otherwise, the connection Curty has suggested could possibly have worked: that the association of Antioch with the Maeander River provided a link with Samos through Ancaeus and his wife (Figure 7.7).[99] The territory of Antioch encompassed both sides of the river, and the river god was featured on the Antiocheians' coinage.[100] As for Macar, I have already argued that he should be put at the bottom of the list of possibilities, though his connection to Aeolus would have worked for the Samians.

A Myth of Priene

Finally, we might briefly consider Priene, whose *ktistēs* was a shadowy figure named Aepytus, not the same as the putative founder of the royal house in Messenia. *I.v. Priene* 5[101] is a decree (c. 326/5 BCE) of the Prienians declaring their intent to send a panoply to Athens for every occasion of the Great Panathenaia (lines 1–4). In general respects, this duty was performed by colonists for their mother city. Some have thought, therefore, that Athens was involved in Priene's refounding in the mid fourth century,[102] which could explain the phrasing at lines 5–6: "a monument to the kinship (*sungeneia*) and friendship that we have shared with them from the beginning."[103] The tradition of the Ionian migration can also account for Priene's putative status as Athens' colony. Pausanias does not say, "The Prienians say," or some such phrase, but Aepytus is not attested in any context other than a local one. Pausanias speaks of mixed foundation by Aepytus son of Neleus and by Philotas, a Theban. Strabo clarifies the matter slightly by designating Aepytus as the first founder and Philotas as the second.[104]

Our estimate of Aepytus as an epichoric figure can go somewhat further than that of Neleus, given the nature of our sources. Although we cannot say if he was known in Priene in the archaic period or if he came to join Philotas as another putative founder later on, Aepytus, attested nowhere outside Pausanias and Strabo (not even in art, as far as I know), was probably a local personage whose function was to connect Priene with the other Ionian states and their metropolis, Athens. Beyond the vague association arising from Ion, the forefather of all Ionians, the Prienians could claim kinship with their fellow Ionians through a specific *ktistēs,* a son of the Athenian colonizer Neleus. Indeed, if the dedication of the panoply for the Great Panathenaia was a reflection of recent Athenian recolonization, Aepytus might well have been a *fourth*-century invention. There is, in any case, no evidence to refute that. As we have seen, myth could fill in the gaps left by history—that is, it could provide specificity. Aepytus son of Neleus was sufficient to express Priene's relationship to Athens in specific terms (Figure 7.11) and may well provide the context for the dedication and its justification through *sungeneia* and other relationships in *I.v. Priene* 5.

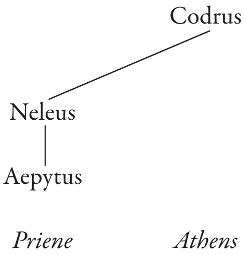


FIGURE 7.11.
Priene and Athens

REFLECTIONS ON KINSHIP MYTH IN INSCRIPTIONS

The problems one encounters when dealing with kinship myth in the epigraphical record seem almost as varied as the traditions that fill the pages of Pausanias. For example, to uncover and identify genuine epichoric myths, we have faced the issue of heroic homonymy (e.g., two Phoci, two Glauci, and perhaps two Endymions). This state of affairs probably arises from multiple origins, and to our tremendous disadvantage, we cannot reconstruct all the strands of narrative in the locations where these figures were known. We have also had to take great care to assign Narrative A, B, or both to a given *polis.* Clearly, Pausanias is enormously helpful in this regard, especially where he names his sources. Yet in some cases, as in those of Miletus and Samos, the origins of additional variants are difficult to pin down. Finally, the specific circumstances in which charter myths were invoked in the diplomacy are generally beyond our reach, in particular the roles played by prominent, more educated individuals and by the common citizenry.

I suspect the situation described by Johannes Fried of the medieval reception of Walter von der Vogelweide applies to many communities in ancient Greece as well, including at least some of the hellenistic states issuing these decrees: that the citizenry "accepted the distortion of memory that was part of the oral tradition simply because they didn't realise that there was any distortion. They had no way of countering it, in spite of the fact that the literary sources contained the knowledge required to correct it, and scholars could actually have done so."[105] For some states, we might have bald-faced manipulation of myth by the elite and their diplomats and its ready acceptance by the populace, who were ill-equipped to know better.

Despite such difficulties in the Ionian examples, we can probably have some confidence that Asios' account is not the only *local* foundation myth in Samos, nor is the narrative of Miletus the Cretan the only one in Miletus. By the hellenistic period at any rate, both Ionian *ktistai* were very likely of great importance to the identity of those states. The chronology of their origins can remain only uncertain, especially for Procles in Samos. With Neleus we have at least Herodotus to support the contention that he was an epichoric figure in Miletus by c. 450. But does this hold for, say, the seventh century, when Mimnermus says that Colophon was founded by Pylians?[106] Or was Neleus strictly an Athenian invention of the sixth or early fifth centuries and adopted by the Milesians only afterwards? What makes this supposition more attractive is that such myth-making in these Ionian states is consistent with the situations we saw in Pergamum and Tegea, Heraclea-at-Latmus and Aetolia, and very likely Phocis. In each case, one version out of two or more was selected for the purpose of achieving diplomatic goals.

For the Phocians, Phocus son of Ornytion was particularly useful in their interstate dealings. Endymion linked Heraclea and Aetolia even as their respective local versions of his narrative contained irreconcilable elements, namely, that he was buried in two different places. The version of Telephus' story embraced by Pergamum had him lead Arcadians to Mysia as an adult, giving them a basis to claim kinship with Tegea through putative colonization. While the situation with Heraclea and Aetolia arose from the natural development of local variants, the Pergamenes had *consciously* chosen this version of Telephus' story to serve their purpose. In the same way, Miletus and Samos might have picked and chosen the variants that would best serve their needs in a given diplomatic venture. To have embraced Athenian accounts of the migration sometime in the classical period for that purpose would not be surprising.

What the analysis shows is that, whatever differences in detail, the *basic narrative* was agreed upon. We come back to the point that success in kinship diplomacy rested on the power of collective memory, which provided the foundation for the acceptance of variations on familiar stories. The existence of variants did not concern most Greeks, either because they were unaware of them, as suggested above, or because they were less precise in their thinking about canon and authenticity, as may have been the case when Menecles performed oral poetry for the assembly of Priansus and used a version of Cretan myth to prove the kinship of the Teans. More educated Greeks were obviously aware of these variants; otherwise, the Magnesian ambassadors, for example, who did the leg work as Magnesia-on-the-Maeander sought recognitions of *asylia* from states far and wide, would not have been able to tailor Magnesia's mythical identity to the foundation myths of the host community. Even within the same community, variant accounts were told, as Pausanias shows us time and again. Recall that the Tegeans also had an account of Telephus leaving Arcadia as an adult, the version embraced by an enclave on Mount Parthenion.

In a way, all tradition begins as fabrication at some point in the past, though the criteria for what we call "fabrication" may not always be recognizable to us. Variations will gain currency in the collective memory of individual communities, of regions, of tribes, and, in some cases, of the whole hellenic world, which will show up in handbooks like Apollodorus', in local histories, in scholia, or even in fifth-century Athenian tragedy after someone says something about Endymion or the Heracleidae or Perses that had never been said before. After that, tradition is like unto kudzu and does not let go except by the exertion of a Pausanias, a Thucydides, or a Hecataeus, who will rip it out of the soil when they apply standards of canon or authenticity to some stories even as they perpetuate other traditions. The public proclamations of the inscriptions discussed here suggest a somewhat different way of thinking about myth, at least on the part of the voting citizenry.

The mythopoeic procedure in most cases of kinship diplomacy was either to (1) find a figure shared by both parties, for example, Endymion and Telephus, and put him forward as the basis of kinship regardless of differences in the details or (2) take one's foundation story and link it up with others by way of a panhellenic bridge. The sampling of cases presented above overwhelmingly points to Hellen and his sons as that bridge. As we have seen, ties of ethnicity were held in very high regard by the Greeks, and the Greek concept of ethnicity derived not from language or religion or even citizenship. It derived from descent from eponymous ancestors like Dorus, Aeolus, Aetolus, and Macedon. Hellen and his sons are clearly panhellenic personages, with origins predating written Greek somewhere perhaps in Thessaly but in any case not far from Hesiod's Boeotia, where this stemma was first expressed in written form near the end of the eighth century. In the centuries that followed, individual states linked themselves to that stemma in ways facilitating their putative kinship with other states. *I.v. Magnesia* 35 demonstrates the process explicitly, and my hope is that the foregoing analysis of the local myths in Pausanias has born that out.

If so, his usefulness is clear. Through such writers as Pausanias we are able to see how individual communities found links of *sungeneia* between them and, in some cases, what choices they had among the variants. Pausanias was interested in knowing what stories contributed to the identity of an individual location, perhaps as part of an effort to map a hellenic identity in an era dominated by the Romans. He is especially helpful in that he elucidates the way local myth can intersect with panhellenic. Pausanias will compare different accounts of the same basic narrative (as with Endymion and Telephus), provide an addendum of sorts otherwise unattested to a commonly known story (Phocus in the Antiope story), or even refer to an individual entirely (or almost entirely) unattested elsewhere (Aepytus). The inscriptions are testimony to the success of the diplomatic ventures on which states like Pergamum embarked. Kinship played a large (if not always exclusive) part in that success, and their epichoric traditions were the most likely means to articulate that kinship.

EIGHT

CONCLUSIONS

One hopes that Musti's claim of "artificiality" in late hellenistic kinship diplomacy is now disproved. In that claim, he asserted that Greeks before c. 240 somehow viewed political myth as usable only if it expressed a historical reality and that afterwards kinship myth consisted of fabrications employed for diplomatic purposes despite being obviously baseless. Christopher Jones has already recognized that the "concept of artificiality is not really helpful," because it comes into play not as a means of deception but as a necessary mechanism for constructing familial ties.[1] This sort of fabrication is different from the learned allusions and affectations on display in the literary works of writers in Alexandria and elsewhere. In their pages, myth had become an artifact and subject to scholarly analysis, a phenomenon that has traditionally come to mind when we think of mythopoeic artifice in the hellenistic age and is more akin to what Musti described.

Nevertheless, myth continued to be a living expression of cultural meaning in the public consciousness of hellenistic communities, a continuation of a mindset identifiable as much in Solon's day as later. Moreover, most Greeks did not view accounts that appear fabricated to us as really fabricated. On those occasions when they were aware of variants or exposed to new traditions, by and large these stories entered the collective memory of the Greeks and gained the authority to become precedents for political action, though in some cases immediate fabrications might have taken time to solidify as venerable traditions hallowed even by writers.

This study has shown that most Greeks could accept interstate kinship even when local foundation narratives could not be reconciled smoothly or when accounts suddenly emerged to explain the link. By "most" Greeks, of course, I mean ordinary Greeks, for instance, the members of democratic assemblies, with varying degrees of education. Obviously, prominent personages like King Archelaus of Macedon and Jonathan the High Priest were capable of bald-faced fabrications and had no illusions about their agendas. Likewise, the choices of the Attalids seem more deliberate, more self-conscious than those of communities that used myth over long periods of time, whereby culture and history generally gave shape to these local accounts in a less calculated fashion. Some potentates and statesmen perhaps understood the aetiological function of myth, its ability to account for the origin and nature of cultural, religious, social, and political institutions in a community; they therefore shared some degree of clinical incredulity with the most intellectual of Greeks. The point is that this vital function of myth, on which its authority was based, turned no corner in the mid third century but continued as it had for centuries, even in the changed political circumstances of the late hellenistic era.

More analytical thinkers, notably writers of Pausanias' and Ephorus' ilk, on the other hand, often applied criteria of analysis based on concepts of authenticity as they understood it. To be clear, the distinction I am making does not involve usages of myth themselves. The intellectual writers made use of myth to explain things as well. Hecataeus, for instance, may well have invented the figure of Perses to account for the origin of the Persians. This eponymous ancestor was a device to help make sense of the world, about which Hecataeus wrote in a systematic way in his geography. However, his attempt to bring about such order was in line with his rationalizing approach to myth, whereby he sorted out different versions and evaluated aristocratic claims of divine origin that did not, to his way of thinking, hold water. Such a rationalizing approach is the main division between these thinkers and the majority of Greeks, even given the vast range of incredulity that informed the former's attitudes about the heroes. The intellectuals were often on the hunt for a "canonical" version of a story; most other Greeks were less aware of this concept, if at all.

Let us now consider these matters in more detail by briefly recalling the three questions I posed in Chapter One. (1) How was the myth in question relevant to the participants in the diplomacy? (2) To what extent did the participants actually invoke the supposed mythical links between the two parties engaging in the diplomatic venture? (3) Did the participants and anyone else interested in the treaty, alliance, or conquest actually believe in the reality of the ancestral hero or race? The first question can be restated in terms of choices, whether a choice to bring to mind the outstanding qualities of a certain hero like Heracles, to give expression to explanations of a community's origins and place in the world, or to support the proposition of a viable link with another community. The second and third questions are closely related and bring us back to the issue of credulity. In general, we can argue that (1) heroic myth was regarded as early history, (2) such belief was qualified by one's perspective, which ranged from the rationalizing of analytical writers to easy acceptance by ordinary people, and (3) links of kinship were imbued with sufficient reality to facilitate real-life endeavors in the here and now.

We saw that the status of Argos in a Greek world under threat from the Persians was in part a Herodotean construct with a literary purpose. The creation of Perses lies some time in the second half of the sixth century, perhaps in the mind of Hecataeus and certainly after the Greeks first became aware of the Persians following their conquest of Lydia around 550. Perses was invented specifically to account for the origin of the Persians, and he was connected to the eastern adventures of Perseus. Because Perseus had been an Argive hero since perhaps the Dark Ages, if not earlier, he served Herodotus' purpose of putting forward a certain view of Argos during the Persian Wars. The incident of Xerxes' embassy builds on the more widely known tradition of the Persians' Argive origins, attested in several early works.

Herodotus knew his audience and was a party in a mythopoeic conspiracy of sorts. In refuting Fehling, I made the point that, ultimately, even if Herodotus made up Xerxes' embassy, he did so with an eye toward making sense of Argos' role in the Persian Wars and its moral position, in relative terms, in the vicissitudes of fortune. His use of kinship myth was one means of achieving the goal of bringing order and meaning to the vast mosaic of historical data that had never before been collated in a single opus. In that sense, Herodotus is perhaps more in tune with his audience (no matter how conscious and deliberate his editorial choices) than his successor Thucydides.

In the case of Athens and Thrace, Thucydides seems quite at odds with popular sentiment and eager to dismiss the kinship as nonsense, perhaps because, as a prominent man in the Thraceward regions, he knows very well that no kinship actually existed. Nonetheless, similarity of names connects Teres with Tereus, possibly by Sophocles' invention. Homonymy is often a spur to kinship diplomacy, whether ingrained in ancient tradition or engineered for the occasion. Sophocles either invented or made use of the Teres/Tereus homonymy, but whether his intention was to give the Athenian alliance with Sitalces of Thrace in 431 a mythological boost or to promote the Odrysians' otherness, the association of the names was enough for Thucydides to comment on it at 2.29 specifically in the context of that treaty. This suggests the link was actually invoked in 431.

Earlier in Athens, "Solon" (per our deference to Plutarch, though Peisistratus seems to have been the actual figure behind this) made a case for Athens' claim to Salamis by noting, among other things, that the sons of Ajax, Eurysaces and Philaeus, had become Athenian citizens and bequeathed Salamis to Athens. In other words, it was Salaminians who had given Athens their island. Having become Athenians themselves, these brothers provided the all-important link that justified the assertion that Salamis was Athenian, not Megarian. To counter Solon's argument, the Megarians employed a local hero of their own, one Sciron (though he was a brute in non-Megarian accounts), and rendered him a grandfather of Peleus and Telamon, thus predating the origins of Athens' claim. This measure was intended to compensate in the mythological sphere for the political reality that the generations-long conflict over Salamis was resolved in Athens' favor by arbiters from Sparta. Despite the difficulties in sorting out the details, we need not doubt that the Solonian arguments had been made some time in the sixth century, giving teeth, as it were, to some of the political claims made by Cleisthenes and to those who claimed descent from the Aeacids, such as the families of Miltiades and Alcibiades.

Accepting that Areus' letter to the Jews was a forged document by the High Priest Jonathan in the 140s, and despite having problems when assessing his motives, we find that Abraham proved a useful tool for asserting Jewish identity in a hellenocentric world. For me, the main point is to note how authentically, whether successfully or not, Jonathan employed a hellenic institution, kinship diplomacy, in service to a nonhellenic agenda. His use of Abraham to connect Jewish lineage with Spartan is reminiscent of the fabrications and adjustments made by the issuers of the decrees analyzed in Chapters Six and Seven in the period—including Jonathan's era—when kinship diplomacy was at its height.

Attributing the diplomacy to Jonathan is in keeping with the conclusion we drew that Abraham could not command the sort of authority that we have seen bolstering and justifying Greek kinship diplomacy. This assumed we could even find convincing evidence that Areus was aware of Abraham, had some reason to reach out to the Jews, and acknowledged a genealogy such as that found in Cleodemus Malchus. Likewise, it would never have occurred to the Pergamenes in the late second century to consider themselves *sungeneis* of the Jews through Abraham, though they clearly invoked ties with the Greek city of Tegea through Heracles' son Telephus. The Pergamenes described themselves as *philoi* of the Jews, a term that in this case does not seem to designate kinship. The lesson to be learned is that hellenic kinship diplomacy depended on hellenic personages like Heracles, even in situations where non-Greeks were regarded as kindred: for example, kinship with the Persians through Perses and with the Thracians through Tereus.

In Chapter Four we saw how links of kinship could be expressed through people, through land, or through both. We also began to distinguish between a community's use of myth and an individual's. But the line between communal and individual uses is sometimes difficult to draw. The possession of Salamis came to be vital to the completion of both Megarian and Athenian identity. The mythological arguments supporting Athens' claim were originally made by an individual who sought to spur his fellow citizens into action against an inveterate enemy. In a sense it was a political ploy, an expedient by a man, traditionally Solon, who understood how myth could serve the common good. If an individual initiates a claim or uses a tradition of mythical kinship, of course the chances for success are based on the community's understanding of how myth works, but whether the individual himself believes in the link is less certain. Sometimes we are talking of educated men who are "working the system" without sharing the view that his *polis* is linked to the other in the way our sources claim, as perhaps was the case in the Athenian/Thracian diplomacy if someone like Pericles had been behind the Tereus story.

Likewise, how do we gauge the Spartan cases? What role did Sparta's Heraclid identity play in Dorieus' bid for Eryx? The answer is, an expedient one. When the throne went to his half-brother Cleomenes, Dorieus was denied a chance to make his name as a king of Sparta. As he saw it, his operation in Sicily gave him another chance. Specifically, Dorieus took on the role of a new Heracles come to reclaim Heraclid territory. A tradition of such an inheritance was already in place in Sicily by the time Dorieus showed up to found his new Heraclea.

In Archidamus' case, the situation is more closely parallel to Solon's. Both men faced dire circumstances for their states. As Salamis was important to the Athenians, so Messenia was to the Spartans, especially as they had had Messenia under their firm control for centuries, that is until 369 and the coming of Epaminondas of Thebes. Suddenly, the Return of the Heracleidae took on renewed importance. It was a genuine expression of identity for the Spartans, even if originally an Argive invention. In Tyrtaeus' time or before, the Return had been remade into a Spartan foundation myth. Perhaps in Archidamus' time, the Messenian portion was added or enhanced, but in any case Archidamus had the immediate objective of keeping the Spartans in the fight against Thebes for the sake of their territorial integrity. To argue that Messenia was Spartan was to rely on the Spartans' (and others') belief in the Return; so here, too, an individual employed deeply held beliefs for an immediate political objective.

By the time Alexander the Great came to the throne in 336 and subsequently employed kinship myth in his conquest of the Greek world, traditions linking his house, the Argeads, with the Temenids of Argos, descendants of Heracles, were well entrenched in the Greeks' collective memory. For the earlier kings, this tradition served the purpose of promoting a hellenic identity, something that some Greeks continued to reject even in Alexander's time.

As with most cases, it was partly a question of political gain, as when Alexander I sought permission to participate in the Olympic Games around 500 (see Appendix Two), and partly an attempt to address the need to articulate one's place in the grand mosaic of peoples and races in the world. The Temenids were the link that connected the Macedonians to everyone else and gave them an antiquity stretching back to heroic times, both extremely important objectives. So when Alexander came on the scene, he need not have fabricated anything to achieve his own goals, which were more immediate and had less to do with identity and more with securing his empire.

The extent to which Alexander engaged in kinship diplomacy is relatively easy to gauge for instances leading to the Battle of Issus in 333. The tradition of the Argeads' Heraclid descent could potentially serve him in the cases of Aspendus, Soli, and Mallus in Asia Minor. It also gave Alexander an opportunity to cite kinship with the Thessalians, in particular the ruling Aleuadae, who likely looked back to Aleuas the Red, son of Thessalus son of Heracles. In the Thessalian case, another very ancient tradition linked Alexander to his southern neighbors by way of the Molossian kings of Epirus, descendants of Achilles, whose kingdom Phthia was in Thessaly. Alexander's mother Olympias was a member of that royal house in Epirus. At Ilium it was a tradition involving Andromache that gave Alexander his opening, for the story went that Andromache had married Achilles' son Neoptolemus after the Trojan War and bore him Molossus in Epirus. Finally, we have traditions of links, less consanguineous but still close, with the Nysaeans and the Oxydracae in India through Dionysus and with the Sibi through Heracles.

Kinship myth proved an effective alternative to the exertion of military resources in places where he could argue that his claim of overlordship had the sanction of tradition, as he did in Thessaly and Ilium. Further, in Ilium Alexander granted a remission of tribute, demonstrating that the benefits of kinship myth worked both ways, that he could bestow as well as receive the benefits of diplomacy. The sources make clear Alexander's *pothos* in the course of his conquest, including his willingness to be guided in part by mythological considerations — that is, his choices were often based on the need to emulate and surpass his heroic forebears, especially Heracles and Achilles. But Alexander was also pragmatic when he needed to be. It served his purpose to assert kinship with the Thessalians and with the Ilians. When he reached the southern littoral of Asia Minor, he imposed harsh penalties on the people of Aspendus despite their earlier proclamations of kinship. The Aspendian episode demonstrates that the overriding criterion in Alexander's treatment of the vanquished was obedience to the king. Alexander suffered no challenges to his authority, even when they came from a putative kindred people.

The case of Mallus and Soli demonstrates that Alexander would also put strategic considerations first if the need was pressing: thus, he punished Soli with a garrison and tribute, despite their Argive origins, while Mallus was treated kindly, specifically *because of* their Argive origins. The answer seems to be that Soli lay at the western end of the Cilician plain while Mallus lay to the east, not far from Issus; thus, it was strategically more valuable and its allegiance to Alexander, more vital.

His first great battle with Darius, at Issus, proved a watershed in several ways. For one, it marks the end of Alexander's use of kinship myth in his campaign, at least that we can verify with confidence. The Indian examples are possibly enhancements to the original accounts of Alexander's encounters with the Nysaeans and the others, made subsequent to the Indian campaign to flatter Alexander and glorify him as a greater conqueror than all previous invaders of India, to whom Dionysus was added because of his affinities with Indra, giving rise to the likelihood in Greek minds that the wine god must have once visited India. Or, if Alexander did employ kinship myth at Nysa, it would have been after the nearby ivy suggested to him or someone on his staff the former presence of Dionysus. Our more pragmatic Alexander has by this point given way to the Alexander whose *pothos* had carried him beyond the capacity for reasonable perception: he originally recognized that Greek mythical personages did not wield the kind of authority in the nonhellenic world, for example Persia, that they did in the hellenic. This realization would later inform the choices made by and regarding the Jews in the hellenistic period.

Macedonian fabrication in India was readily apparent to writers such as Arrian and Eratosthenes, two fine examples of the intellectual writers whose credulity was somewhat diminished when it came to mythological explanations. The issue for them was not whether Alexander believed Dionysus had come to India but whether Dionysus actually had done so, making contact with the Nysaeans, who then centuries later approached Alexander as brothers. Arrian's and Eratosthenes' doubts are akin to the doubt Hecataeus expressed about some of the aristocratic claims of heroic origins or Pausanias' doubt that Theseus had ever slain a bull-headed man. But the presence of Dionysus in India, like the kinship diplomacy of the Nysaeans, gained acceptance by the hellenistic period and joined the ranks of the fantastical accounts of Theseus and of the hellenocentric explanations of the Persians' origins in the minds of the general populace of the Greek world.

The hellenistic world saw a tremendous increase in the use of kinship diplomacy, very likely as a consequence of the assault on the *polis* as a political entity. Communities sought to reinforce their own identities and establish ties with each other in the face of the great empires of the Macedonians. Accordingly, the epigraphical record for kinship myth increases, if the foregoing reconstructions are accurate. As we encounter the now familiar problem that the inscriptions almost never explain the basis of the *sungeneia* between the two parties, we find the most fruitful solutions in local myths. After all, when communities forged and asserted links with each other, their most likely expressions of identity would be epichoric in nature. Even here there occasionally arises the issue of which applicable myths are local, a problem alleviated somewhat by Pausanias, who had direct access to such accounts, but which sometimes persists, especially in the case of the Ionian cities of Asia Minor.

It is particularly apposite to speak of choices when discussing Ionia, whereby a city might cite different ancestors as it felt appropriate for the occasion. For example, Samos might employ a link through Ancaeus in relating to Antioch-on-the-Maeander (given his marriage to the river god's daughter) but a link through Procles, descendant of Ion, in relating to Magnesia-on-the-Maeander, whose origins, according to *I.v. Magnesia* 35, lie with the eponymous Magnes, a cousin of Ion. We have seen that communities in the hellenistic period overwhelmingly favored ties through Hellen or his sons. These figures served not only as panhellenic bridges but as representatives of ethnic groups in which membership naturally led to kinship. As was noted at the beginning of this study, the putative associations that constituted a *genos* derived from these figures rather than from affinities of language, culture, and so on. Dorus, Aeolus, and the others were thus more than devices of convenience or clichéd figures merely cited in a formulaic fashion. A conclusion to be drawn from the analysis of Chapters Six and Seven is that the use of terms like *sungeneia* and *oikeiotēs* reflected genuine feelings of kinship among the citizenry when the common ancestors were Hellen or his sons, as can also be said of other figures like Telephus and Endymion, whose importance to local identity was shared by both parties involved in the diplomatic endeavor.

Through these inscriptions we have a more direct access to the mindset about which our intellectual sources so often complained, the mindset of assemblies and councils who were willing to reconcile their local myths to secure their diplomatic objectives, even in the face of contradiction or to the point of fabrication (from our perspective). Through such objectives, the Greeks were very much operating in the real world, seeking alliances, granting *asylia* to threatened or jittery states, paying sums of drachmas for repair projects. To rely on myth so much as a basis, a justification, a rationale for such projects says something indeed about how the Greeks viewed their stories of heroes like Heracles, the events and players of the Trojan War, and ethnic eponymous forefathers.

In this context, however, we should also recall how important envoys were in the execution of kinship diplomacy, for they were the ones who communicated their own local myths to their hosts and explained what the kinship rested on. These envoys were not professionals as such, but they were men of distinction in their communities who understood, perhaps better than the common citizenry of their home cities, the international issues that brought them to foreign places. Their walks of life were varied. They included performers, such as the actor Aristodemus, who accompanied the Athenian embassy to Philip in 346, and of course the rhapsode Menecles from Teos.[2] If a higher level of education resulted from their elite status, and thus if they shared some level of incredulity with writers such as Thucydides and Pausanias, they may well have offered kinship links without actually believing in them, especially if the links were concoctions of their own making beyond the already-established charter myths of the respective communities. In these cases, as with their elite forebears like Peisistratus and Cimon and their hellenistic contemporaries like the High Priest Jonathan and the Ptolemies in Egypt, they put myth to political, expedient use. And it worked.

So then, we must ask one final question to make sense of this practice: Why employ kinship myth at all? This question speaks to the premise that underlies all that has been discussed above. It asks what motivated the king or community in question to cite a heroic or legendary ancestor in an attempt to gain some profit from the immediate diplomatic venture. In other words, how did myth become so effective as a means of achieving real-life pragmatic goals in the here and now, as a phenomenon of which alliances, isopolity, and other arrangements came to be regarded as direct consequences, whatever other factors may have also been in play in the diplomacy?

The examples considered here are but a small sampling of the uses of kinship myth in ancient Greece. A notable pattern that Elwyn highlighted in her survey of some 95 inscriptions was that the states making the initial claim were usually the ones that derived benefit from the kinship, as in the case of Magnesia and Teos, especially if the grantor was more powerful or prestigious.[3] The grantor might ask, "What's in it for us?" In response, the recipient of the *asylia* or financial assistance might substitute the moral imperative of kinship for any material quid pro quo. The recurring success of this method attests the high value Greeks in general placed on assertions of *sungeneia,* however tenuous the links. The need to come to the assistance of a kindred people often overrode anxieties about what material benefit might accrue from such a venture.

This mode of thought has deep origins, taking its cue from the fundamental concepts of *oikos* and (later) *polis.*[4] Whether in the context of land, as with Salamis and Messenia, or of people, the concept at work in kinship diplomacy is one of *inclusion.* The *oikos* was a familial unit, both in the sense of a household and as a concept with a temporal dimension. The *oikos,* that is, connected all its members, ancestors and descendants, across time in a single unit of identity.[5] And it was bound to the land, the possession of which was important to keep in the family. The rise of the *polis* in the archaic period changed the dynamic of identity, establishing a new basis grounded in the concept of citizenship. The *oikos* of course remained fundamentally important, but now the application of law and custom on the basis of inclusion was applied further afield, to groups of *oikoi.*[6]

Kinship myth takes the matter a step further, prescribing a way to bring disparate peoples into a shared heritage, this time defined by a common ancestor (sometimes, therefore, a common ethnicity). Just as fellow family members and citizens alone were eligible for familial and civic activities, such as certain religious rites, so doors were opened to *sungeneis* that might otherwise have remained closed if a link of kinship, even if mythical, had not been found (or rather, invented). Moreover, despite the dichotomy of "the other" that often informs discussions of hellenic perceptions of non-Greeks, the concept of foreignness was not always so pronounced. Peoples like the Persians and the Thracians could be brought into the hellenic family if a reason was needed, such as to account for their origins or to form an alliance with them.

If the rationale of kinship myth was inclusion, its success in Greek practice arises from the authority given it in collective memory. It is remarkable how most Greeks could be faced with a new version of a familiar myth or a personage never before encountered and accept both as legitimate expressions of identity by the party claiming kinship. The Megarians' solution to the Athenian claim of Salamis, grounded as it was on an explanation involving Ajax's sons, was not to reject the claim because the sons were merely mythical personages, or even to dispute the details of the narrative. Rather, the Megarians concocted a rival myth that undercut the effectiveness of the Athenian argument by moving the basis of Megara's claim further back in time.

The details were often less important than the basic idea of, for example, Endymion's and Telephus' role as founder of Heraclea-at-Latmus and Pergamum respectively, even if, in the case of the Pergamenes, a conscious choice had been made to present a scenario whereby Telephus had led ancestors of the Tegeans to Mysia. That most Tegeans in the second century did not share this view of the chronology of Telephus' journey did not matter. Among Greeks of this persuasion, certain versions of myth hallowed by tradition may have been favored, but other versions were not usually rejected outright because they, too, had been so hallowed, if such versions were made known to the other party.

What was innovation in one century, perhaps viewed with a raised eyebrow by the skeptical, sometimes became canonical in the next, especially as it gained momentum in the collective memory of enough Greeks. As it was with the Donation of Constantine in medieval Europe and continues to be in some ethnic and territorial claims of the modern world, innovation often became tradition in ancient Greece. My hope for this study is that it will lead to further investigation not only of political and communal uses of myth in the Greek world but of the wider canvas of human culture. We glimpsed snapshots of this canvas many pages ago, proceeding from there with the understanding that we need to ask of all humanity and not just the Greeks the question of why we as a species find both truth and comfort in myth.

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF PLUTARCH, *SOLON* 8–10

Part of the challenge of understanding the use of kinship myth by the Athenians in their contest with Megara for Salamis is unraveling the chaos left by our sources. Most of the evidence is centuries removed from the events of the sixth century BCE and greatly influenced by the legends of Solon that had gripped the Greeks' memory, rendering a version not entirely aligned with the reality. While it would be easy simply to throw our hands up and resign ourselves to the impossibility of knowing what the truth is behind the evidence,[1] the puzzle box beckons to the historian, and the mythographer is compelled to draw up a proposed chronology to put the myths in some sort of context. What follows is tentative but, one hopes, not uncomfortably so.

The problem with Plutarch's account is that he seems to have conflated two Athenian campaigns against Megarian interests as if they were two versions of Solon's capture of Salamis. The earlier campaign followed a long period of despondency in Athens. Megara had taken possession of Salamis sometime in the seventh century, possibly during the reign of Theagenes at mid century,[2] and held on to it for several decades. Athenian attempts to wrestle Salamis from Megara ultimately failed, and the Athenians finally passed a law forbidding on pain of death any incitement to continuing the war. Solon found this law unacceptable and contrived a stratagem to get the war renewed. He memorized a hundred-line poem he had composed on why Salamis was essentially Athenian and should be retaken. He recited these verses in the agora, feigning madness lest he be accused of breaking the law, and received much praise for them: the law was repealed, war was renewed, and Solon was placed in command.[3]

Of Plutarch's two versions of the capture of Salamis, then, which one corresponds to this earlier campaign? The first he called *demodes,* the "popular" version, suggesting that he found it less plausible when applied to Solon. Indeed, it does contain such traditional elements as enemies in disguise overcoming their attackers[4] and foreigners abducting beautiful and prominent young women.[5] Moreover, sources earlier than Plutarch connect the story with Peisistratus alone, suggesting that his expedition against Nisaea (or possibly Megara itself) in the 560s was the actual occasion, dubious traditional details notwithstanding. The second version, the one more likely to apply to Solon, describes a more conventional two-pronged attack on the city of Salamis by land and sea, probably around 600.

While it is possible, with some level of conjecture, to sort out the two expeditions, the main question for us remains: On which occasion was kinship myth applied, if either of these? The venue would most likely have been during a session when the Spartans were called upon to decide Salamis' fate.[6] If that session occurred around 600, we can comfortably ascribe the political myth-making to Solon and be confident about the Salaminian context, though we are left wondering why a Spartan decision would not render the matter resolved henceforth. Arbitration dated to the 560s would be connected to Peisistratus' capture of Nisaea. The role of Solon would be more dubious, and the relevance of Salamis would be less obvious, although one could plausibly argue that this was the context in which Megara finally relinquished control of Salamis as a trade-off for Nisaea. But, in the end, we can be completely confident only of the establishment of Athenian control in Salamis after c. 510, when a decree, *IG* I^3 1, was issued regulating Athens' settlement of the island.[7]

We must start with the sources. Plutarch stands very late in the tradition of this myth and this war, but he is our starting point from which we will work back to the earlier sources that perhaps had a clearer view of the events in the sixth century.[8] According to Plutarch's first version, Solon sailed with Peisistratus to Cape Colias in the deme of Halimous and sent to Salamis a trusted Athenian to convince the Megarians that he was a deserter. This Athenian was to lure a Megarian ship to Colias, giving the story that the Megarians could capture the women of all the prominent Athenian families, who were conducting rites of Demeter at Colias. Once ensnared, the Megarians found that Solon had replaced the women with young beardless men in disguise. They had been playing and dancing by the sea, keeping their swords hidden, and now they overpowered the Megarians and captured the ship. With this vessel, the Athenians were able to capture all of Salamis.[9]

Of our other extant sources that employ the same or similar elements, Polyaenus, writing in the second century CE, credits Solon but does not mention Peisistratus.[10] Much closer to the historical events was Aeneas Tacticus, writing in the fourth century BCE, who makes Peisistratus the hero of the story. According to this account, Peisistratus, during a tenure as *strategos,* an elected general, received intelligence that the Megarians were planning to abduct Athenian women celebrating the Thesmophoria in Eleusis. After the Megarians had launched their ships (from Megara, it would seem), Peisistratus captured them, filled them with soldiers and women, and landed the ships at Megara. The Megarians had been tricked and came out to see the abducted women, whereupon the Athenians seized and brought aboard as many prominent citizens as they could, certainly enough of the ruling class for this to be a major Athenian victory over Megara. Justin, epitomizing the Augustan era historian Pompeius Trogus, and Frontinus in the first century CE give very similar versions, with Peisistratus as the protagonist, suggesting a common source with Aeneas.[11]

Variations of the folkloric element of foreigners abducting women are to be found in all these versions, but it is clear that Aeneas' account does not have Peisistratus capture Salamis but rather make a landing at Megara. Many scholars feel that Aeneas is in fact describing Peisistratus' capture of the Megarian port of Nisaea, which Herodotus hailed as his primary claim to fame before seizing the tyranny in Athens for the first time,[12] even though Aeneas did not specifically refer to Nisaea. Indeed, Figueira and Lavelle have each suggested that it would not make tactical sense for a ship coming from Eleusis to make landing at Nisaea, though it would in the case of Megara. Instead, Lavelle argues, what Aeneas' account gives us is not an accurate rendering of the famous campaign against Nisaea mentioned by Herodotus but simply a story motivated by a *topos* of Peisistratus' cleverness. The only known facts are that Peisistratus was a general and that he had captured Nisaea at some point. The details in Aeneas are otherwise of limited usefulness.[13]

Aristotle specifically comments that Peisistratus would have been too young to capture Salamis.[14] We can presume that his sense of chronology would have this campaign around 600 or so. Aristotle is clearly reacting to a problem that had arisen, probably among the local historians in Attica known as Atthidographers, whereby stories of Solon and Peisistratus had been conflated.[15] These Atthidographers were an especially important source for Plutarch, particularly for his biography of Theseus.[16] Herodotus' bare reference, with no embellishment, was likely the result of fifth-century hostility in Athens to the Peisistratid tyranny, made at a time when it was common to attribute the successes of other Athenians to the great lawgiver Solon. So Version 1 of Plutarch's account would seem better assigned to a Peisistratid context, even though the exploits of Peisistratus himself at Nisaea have largely fallen out of reach of historical verification because of the embellishments made by Aeneas Tacticus and those who followed him or his source.

In Version 2 Solon received a Delphic oracle bidding him to sacrifice to two local heroes on Salamis, Periphemus and Cychreus. Afterwards Solon led five hundred Athenian volunteers to Salamis. The Megarians in the city of Salamis sent out the bulk of their soldiers to engage the enemy and at the same time dispatched a ship. Solon captured this ship, filled it with Athenians, and sent it on to capture the city while he led the rest against the ground forces. Both on land and at sea the Athenians prevailed, and the island was now firmly in their hands. Plutarch finds this version preferable because of a ritual at Salamis that reenacted the capture of the city as described in this account (*Sol.* 9).[17]

On which occasion, then, did kinship myth come into play? Solon's capture of Salamis in c. 600 (Plutarch's second story) or Peisistratus' capture of Nisaea in the 560s (on which Plutarch's first version, the *demodes,* is loosely based)? The real question before us is when the Spartan resolution of these matters took place, for that would have been the occasion for the presentation of the arguments analyzed in Chapter Four. But, in fact, we must entertain the possibility that the arbitration postdates both conflicts and is to be found in the politics of the late sixth century. The inscription *IG* I^3 1, dated to c. 510–500, gives us our first clear indication of Athenian possession of Salamis.[18] Meanwhile, two of the five arbiters named by Plutarch correspond to those of known late sixth-century figures. Cleomenes may be the same as the Spartan king, and Amompharetus may be a Spartan officer at the Battle of Plataea (479) mentioned by Herodotus.[19]

In support of a late date, Beloch questioned how much prestige Sparta might have had early in the century. Figueira has suggested that Cleomenes' support of his friend Isagoras, following the Spartan expulsion of the Peisistratids, may provide the context for the arbitration — that Cleomenes wished to bolster support for Isagoras against the Alcmeonid threat represented by Cleisthenes.[20] By contrast, Legon argues that even before it surpassed Argos and Tegea in influence in the mid-sixth century, Sparta was a formidable power and likely to be acceptable as an impartial arbiter for its distance from the Saronic Gulf. Moreover, Legon continues, if "we attempt to date the Spartan arbitration in a substantially later period, when Megara had been drawn into the network of Spartan alliances, Solon's role would be impossible and Athens is unlikely to have agreed to this choice of mediator."[21] We have already seen, however, that at least one Athenian, Isagoras, would have welcomed Spartan involvement.

While Taylor is open to the possibility of a late date, especially in light of *IG* I^3 1, she does raise the vital question of why nothing is said about the Salamis affair in the accounts of Cleisthenes' and Isagoras' rivalry.[22] That to me is a particularly fatal objection, and because no other circumstance will allow an Athenian acceptance of Spartan arbitration at this time, I assign the greatest probability to the 560s, especially as *IG* I^3 1 does not specify when the organization of Salamis began or how gradual Athenian movements to the island were, whether by individuals or as part of an official state-supported cleruchy.

That conclusion would suggest that Peisistratus' capture of Nisaea (Herodotus) and of many prominent Megarians (Aeneas Tacticus) was the likely catalyst for the Spartan arbitration, which the Megarians would be eager to have. In short, recovering Nisaea was more important to Megara than keeping Salamis,[23] though, as discussed in Chapter Four, the Megarians maintained their claim by way of myth, if not by arms. This still leaves unanswered the question of Salamis' status at this time. Had the Athenians maintained possession of it since Solon's invasion? Had the Megarians regained it and offered it as an incentive for restoring Nisaea? There is no way to know who possessed it at the time of the arbitration, only that, as Plutarch suggests, Athens and Megara had continued to vie over Salamis in the decades following Solon's victory.

So we are now in the 560s. Does that exclude Solon from the arbitration? Chronologically no. Whatever its usefulness, there was a tradition recorded by Aristotle, Plutarch, and Diogenes Laertius that Solon opposed Peisistratus' first bid as tyrant of Athens in 561/0.[24] However, Lavelle argues that Peisistratus was more likely to have made Athens' case before the Spartans.[25] First, one basis for Athens' claims was that Salamis was an inheritance from the sons of Ajax: Eurysaces and Philaeus. As the eponym of Philaïdai, the home deme of the Peisistratids, Philaeus reinforced Peisistratus' connection to Salamis, although this argument is not without its flaws, as discussed in Chapter Four. Second, manipulation of Homeric lines comes into play, and the Peisistratids were known for introducing the first recension of the *Iliad* in Athens.[26] Third, the burial customs that Solon allegedly describes to align Athenian and Salaminian practice imply Peisistratus' interest in such matters, as when he proposed to purify Delos by digging up the bodies within sight of the temple of Apollo and reinterring them elsewhere on the island.[27] Fourth, to explain why the Spartans would rule in favor of the Ionian Athenians over the Dorian Megarians, Lavelle suggests that the close ties between the Peisistratids and Sparta[28] worked in the tyrant's favor at the arbitration.

With the exception of the first argument, I believe Lavelle's interpretation of Peisistratus' role works, but the displacement of Peisistratus' Nisaea to Solon's Salamis in Plutarch remains. What was achieved by Peisistratus was transferred to Solon, possibly first by the Atthidographers of the fifth and fourth centuries who lionized Solon as the champion of the Athenian democracy and who lay behind Plutarch's account. But what motivated Plutarch, a Boeotian centuries removed from the Athenian democracy of classical times, to bring Solon to the fore? The answer has to do with his approach to historiography, and specifically his response to Polybius' approach.

Polybius' history, written in the second century BCE, was a Romanocentric account that pushed the Greek achievement to the margins. The Greek world was reimagined in relation to the expansion of Roman power. This idea of history was anathema to Plutarch, who set the *Parallel Lives* in a different context. Biography is about character, not events; the genre allows its practitioner to use or discard evidence as befits his agenda of establishing the character of his subject. In the *Parallel Lives,* Plutarch presented the biographies of Greeks and Romans in pairs, often drawing out comparisons and contrasts between the two individuals (e.g., Caesar and Alexander). The effect was to establish a balance between the Greek and Roman worlds, whereby the Greeks were not simply noted for their intellectual achievements but could match the Romans in the political and military spheres as well.[29] It was, in short, as Lamberton puts it, "cultural mythmaking," an ahistorical shaping of the past that belied the traditional Polybian constructs. It was in this spirit that Solon rose once again to take credit for things he had not done. For who, after Theseus, better exemplified what was great about Athens and made it worthy of standing next to Rome as a vital contributor to the achievement of human history?

APPENDIX TWO

GREEK MYTH AND MACEDONIAN IDENTITY

Scholars have long debated the historicity of the Argead claim of descent from the southern Greeks and of the ethnic relationship between Greeks and Macedonians.[1] The issue itself is of less importance to us, but we might note the Greek and Macedonian perceptions of these matters because they come into play in Alexander's use of kinship myth. First, we should note a tradition that supplements the putative descent from the Temenids. The Argeads also had an ethnic explanation of their name, noting that their ancestor Argeas was son of Macedon son of Zeus. This presumes (1) that this explanation was a Macedonian expression of identity and not a construct imposed from outside and (2) that it arose in the seventh or sixth century, in the early years of the Argead house.

Serious questions arise. Argeas is only directly attested in the sixth-century CE Byzantine lexicographer Stephanus.[2] Based on his analysis of Stephanus' source citations, Hammond argues that Stephanus' main source for Macedonia was a hellenistic work written by Theagenes (*FGrH* 774).[3] But with this, we are still in the position only to conjecture that Argeas was a local creation of the archaic period. However, on the fringes of the Greek world though they were, the ruling Macedonian dynasty, still in the process of consolidating its holdings in Lower Macedonia,[4] was certainly as capable of inventing an eponymous ancestor as were other royal houses, such as the dual monarchies of Sparta around the same time.

The main problem arises with Macedon himself. Obviously an eponym for Macedonia, he was the brother of Magnes, eponym of Magnesia, a region to the south of Macedonia. The brothers bear several different patronymics in the ancient sources. One of them is "son of Aeolus," as in the son of Hellen who fathered the Aeolian branch of the Greeks, so Hellanicus says of Macedon (but not Magnes).[5] Wherever this patronymic came from, it granted the Macedonians access to hellenic ethnicity. Aeolus may also have been assigned to Magnes as father in the archaic period, as I discussed in Chapter Six.

This tradition stands in contrast to one attested in the sixth century at the latest, the *Catalogue of Women* by Pseudo-Hesiod. Here, Macedon and Magnes are the sons of Zeus and Thyia, daughter of Deucalion.[6] It bears recalling that Hellen is a son of Deucalion. West and J. M. Hall have argued that a line of descent from a daughter excludes its members from hellenic identity. Moreover, the descent does not derive directly from Hellen but laterally through a sibling. Hall proposes that the Thessalians assigned this patronymic to Macedon and Magnes because they wanted to assert their priority, in terms of religious and other rights, over Magnesian and other rivals in that region. Hammond, on the other hand, argues that Hesiod believed the Macedonians were Greek because Macedon and Magnes were cousins of the sons of Hellen.[7] All in all, Hall's argument is more convincing and accounts for the invention of the alternate Aeolid patronymic, which would have been useful to the Macedonians as a people and also to the Argeads themselves, if they came to conceive of the following pedigree: Aeolus > Macedon > Argeas.

Whatever the realities behind the preceding conjectures, the fact remains that the Argeads made much more use of their Temenid origins, a more historically grounded connection with the Greeks, than the ethnic affiliations whose developments are obviously difficult for us to trace. The earliest claim to the Temenid legacy that we know of was made by Alexander I (c. 498–454). Herodotus tells us that Alexander wished to participate in the Olympic Games, but—as only Greeks were allowed to participate and (an important point) given the protests of other participants who regarded him as a barbarian—he was forced to verify his hellenic descent to the satisfaction of the Hellanodicae, the judges of the Olympic Games. He provided proof of Argive origins and eventually tied for first place in the foot race (5.22). Herodotus refers us to a later section of his *History* for the proof: a king list going back to the first Argead ruler of Macedonia, Perdiccas, who was a Temenid exiled from Argos. This list follows a charter myth chronicling the exile from Argos of Perdiccas and his brothers and their founding of Macedon (8.137–139). Even the cautious Thucydides, skeptical of other traditions, agrees with Herodotus about the number of kings going down to Perdiccas II (c. 450–413).[8]

Where Herodotus got the list would be fascinating to learn. That he got his information in Macedonia itself is an attractive idea, more likely from an oral tradition than from written accounts. From the vague clues he gives (e.g., "as the Macedonians say"),[9] we cannot definitively conclude that he did not access a written archive, but he certainly does not mention accessing one, nor is such an archive in the Macedonian royal court attested elsewhere. He could have gotten the information directly from Alexander himself, possibly from the familial myths of the Argeads. In any case, Herodotus means us to take the charter myth and the pedigree (at least connecting Perdiccas I and Alexander I) as the proof that convinced the Hellanodicae. The line going back from Perdiccas to Temenus, however, does not seem to have been worked out.

We can see why there was no need for such details by recalling Rosalind Thomas' argument that familial oral traditions tended to stress its noble origins and the association of the current generation with them and paid less attention to the intervening generations, which tended to be the purview of prose writers like Hecataeus.[10] Moreover, we might recall our consideration in Chapter One of Anthony Smith's model of ideological descent, whereby the link to putative ancestors is articulated not through genealogical stemma as such but rather "through the persistence of certain kinds of 'virtue' or other distinctive cultural qualities."[11] The quality looked for here was Alexander's Argive/Heraclid/Temenid origin, somehow proven to the Hellanodicae and opening the door for the king to participate successfully in the Olympic Games, at least according to Herodotus' source.[12]

It is not unreasonable to suggest that Alexander I himself developed the idea as part of a larger effort to promote greater cooperation with the Greeks.[13] Though nominally subject to Persia and indeed a contributor to Xerxes' army, Alexander had warned the Greeks that taking a stand against Xerxes' overwhelming forces at Tempe in Thessaly would be futile. He also provided intelligence on the size of the Persian army and fleet. Later, Mardonius sent Alexander to Athens to deliver the message that Xerxes was willing to forgive the Athenians, a rare opportunity that Alexander urged the Athenians to seize in light of the seemingly hopeless prospect of resisting the Persians. Finally, Alexander crossed enemy lines at Plataea to reveal Mardonius' plans to the Athenian contingent of the Greek coalition army.[14] In all three instances, Alexander stressed his love for the Greeks. Herodotus also tells a story of how a young Alexander massacred Persian ambassadors using a ruse of beardless men disguised as women, a story that was likely invented by Alexander himself and reinforced his anti-Persian and pro-Greek stance.[15] This is the context in which we should likely see the invention of the Argeads' Temenid origins.

An even more daring attempt at mythopoeic manipulation came about at the hands of another Macedonian king, Archelaus (413–399), or possibly one of his immediate successors. This was the introduction into the king list of Caranus, who was promoted as the father of Perdiccas and the new founder of the Argead dynasty. Who actually introduced Caranus has been debated. Hammond's argument in favor of Archelaus depends on a supposed oracle that Caranus, having set out from Argos for Macedonia, received from Delphi: that he should settle wherever he might see goats grazing. This oracle was invented by propagandists before the Macedonian capital was moved from Aegae to Pella, "an event which must therefore be placed late in the reign of Archelaus," presumably because of the association of the Greek word for goat, *aix, aigos*.[16] Badian agrees that Archelaus is the likely candidate, but he rejects Hammond's reasoning that Aegae should cease to be significant. Even after Pella became the new political capital, Aegae retained ritualistic importance, especially as the burial place of the Argead kings. Instead, Archelaus' manipulation has the same motivation as Alexander I's, to reinforce Macedonia's Greek origins by promoting a Dorian link.[17]

Greenwalt, however, rightly questions why the name Caranus should serve better than Perdiccas as a link to Argos—in other words, why Archelaus had more use for the figure Caranus than for Perdiccas. The preferred explanation is that Caranus was an invention of one of the immediate successors of Archelaus because of their need to strengthen their claims to the throne. With Archelaus, son of Perdiccas II, in one line, and Amyntas II in another line, and Amyntas III in still another, but all descended from Alexander I, a formidable rivalry developed in the 390s. Amyntas II and III sought to diminish Archelaus' line by diminishing the name "Perdiccas," given that earlier tradition had assigned Perdiccas to the role of dynastic founder.[18]

Whoever is right in this debate (Greenwalt's argument is more persuasive), there is no escaping the reality that Caranus appeared out of the blue shortly before or after 400. We might expect eyebrows to be raised, but in fact he caught on, so much so that Plutarch eventually proclaimed a complete lack of controversy about the presence of Caranus in the lineage of Alexander the Great.[19] Caranus demonstrates well the main thesis of this study: that acceptance of variations and even newly invented elements and traditions was possible in the fluid thinking of most Greeks.

The cases we have considered also reveal how complicated Greek thinking was about the

Macedonians' hellenicity.[20] Greeks commonly called Macedonians "barbarians," a characterization that certainly responded to an inveterate sense of foreignness in their perceptions of the Macedonians. The Macedonian lifestyle, after all, was vastly different from that found in the *poleis* of the south, and their language, though Greek, sounded very strange indeed to the ears of Attic and other speakers. This is the reason I think Thucydides uses language suggesting the foreignness of the Macedonians while embracing the tradition of their Argive origins.[21] The early archaic Thessalians may have devised a genealogy to exclude the Macedonians (and others) from the hellenic family, no doubt for political reasons as we have seen but perhaps also to emphasize their foreignness.

Matters were not helped when Macedonian kings appeared to threaten Greek interests. After Archelaus attacked Larissa in Thessaly, the orator Thrasymachus suggested how wrong it was that Greeks should be slaves to a barbarian.[22] The policy of Philip II (360–336) to consolidate his hold over the Greek world yielded the same reaction by Demosthenes, the Athenian orator who posed as the champion of Greek freedom in the face of northern tyranny. Orators of course always have agendas, and Isocrates argued the other side of things. Having spent decades looking for a champion to lead the Greeks in unity against the old enemy in Persia (thus ending their self-destructive internecine warfare), Isocrates finally settled on Philip and promoted his Heraclid origins in what was ostensibly a letter to Philip.[23]

For his own part, Philip II was particularly shrewd in the promotion of his Greekness, while never giving anyone reason to doubt that he was a Macedonian king first. After the invention of Caranus sometime around the turn of the fourth century, we do not hear again, until the reign of Philip, of any promotion of hellenic culture or identity in the Macedonian court, which was sinking into political dire straits in the early decades of the century. Indeed, a particularly bad turn of fortune had a young Philip forced to be a hostage in Thebes during the height of its hegemony in the early 360s, where he came under the tutelage of Epaminondas and learned Pythagorean philosophy, the politics and history of the Greek *poleis,* and military tactics that would prove useful later.[24] We can reasonably assume that Philip also gained a better understanding of Greek mythopoeic thinking in this formative period. On the road to Macedonian hegemony he used many methods, including military reforms, bribery, deceit, alliances, and political marriages. Likewise, Philip's Heraclid descent proved useful. It allowed him, through representatives, to participate in the Olympic Games. He also promoted Heracles on his coins and in his dealings with Argos, especially during the settlement of the Peloponnesus following the Battle of Chaeronea.[25]

A TALE OF TWO PHOCI

Discussion of the Phocians' use of kinship myth requires engaging a sticky question arising from the homonymy of two heroes, both of whom serve as eponymous founders. Pausanias dispenses with the confusion in the following manner: "It is clear that the name of Phocis, at least the part around Tithorea and Delphi, was taken in antiquity from a man of Corinth, Phocus of Ornytion. A few years later the name won out throughout all the land we now call Phocis after the Aeginetans arrived by ship with Phocus son of Aeacus."[1] This state of affairs is very curious because either of the Phoci would have been sufficient to account for the origins of the Phocians. Pausanias' chronology suggests that Phocus son of Ornytion was a local hero in a restricted section of Phocis and that later the Aeacid Phocus was embraced by the whole collective of the Phocians.[2] Still, this need not preclude the recognition by all the Phocians of the usefulness of Ornytion's son in international diplomacy in the hellenistic period. Moreover, we may have evidence of his continued importance to the whole Phocian collective in the federal period if the identification of a certain hero shrine in Daulis is correct.

The son of Aeacus is a well-attested figure, known to many writers.[3] We can safely describe him as panhellenic from the earliest times, whose murder at the hands of his half-brothers Peleus and Telamon was well known. The other Phocus, however, is almost entirely unattested. Pausanias is our principle source.[4] Aside from Homeric scholia (*Il.* 2.517 Erbse), the only other written source is a *periēgēsis* dedicated to Nicomedes IV of Bithynia in the early first century BCE.[5] This work mentions that Phocus was son of Ornytus (cf. Ornytion in Pausanias), who was son of Sisyphus (485–487). That allows us to posit Phocus as a local Phocian hero in the first century. One final source, an Attic skyphos, or drinking cup, from around 400 BCE, depicts Antiope and (most likely) Phocus.[6] Two basic versions of the story of Antiope exist, but they both entail her giving birth to Thebes' second founders, Amphion and Zethus, and her ill-treatment by Dirce. To punish her for seeking revenge against Dirce, who was a maenad, Dionysus drove Antiope mad. Of the sources that cover or allude to this story,[7] we can find mention only of Phocus in Pausanias. In his addendum to the traditional tales, Phocus cured Antiope of her madness and married her.

The aforementioned Attic drinking cup allows us to push attestation of Ornytion's son into the late fifth century at the latest and more importantly, though an *Attic* skyphos, hints at a local Phocian variant that can be dated to before the period of the inscriptions discussed in Chapter Seven.[8] Pausanias provides further evidence for the antiquity of Phocus, for he refers to a Phocian cult that was focused on a heroon possibly devoted to him:

> There is in Daulis a place called Tronis, where a shrine [*hērōon*] to the Founder Hero has been built. Some say this hero is Xanthippus, who was distinguished in war, while others say Phocus son of Ornytion son of Sisyphus. Either way, he receives cultic honors every day. The Phocians bring animals for sacrifice and pour the blood through an opening into the grave, and they are disposed to consuming the meat right there.[9]

This shrine has drawn considerable comment from scholars. Its exact location is not known with certainty, but Robert put forward the possibility that it was located near the Phocicon, the meeting place of the federal officials of the Phocian League, which Pausanias describes only a few lines later at 10.5.1. Robert suggests that representatives of the league, residing on the spot where the shrine was located, would be conducting the daily communal sacrifices.[10] If the association of the two sites is correct, that would place this heroon very close to a building whose location was highly symbolic. The centrality of the Phocicon was a significant comment on the unity of the Phocians as an ethnic group.[11] The consequences for the heroon are compelling: the cult of Phocus son of Ornytion would also be of importance to the whole of the Phocian *koinon.* But before we discuss the date of the heroon, some chronological sorting out is in order.

The significance of Ornytion's son goes back to the archaic period and was originally limited to the northeast section of the region later to be called "Phocis," as suggested by Pausanias 2.29.3 and 10.1.1. It was only the peoples of Tithorea, where the tomb of the Sisyphid Phocus was said to be, and later those of Hyampolis who initially used the term "Phocians" to identify themselves, and presumably to differentiate themselves from attacking Locrians, in the eighth or seventh century. This Phocus was originally a Corinthian, and we can tell from Pausanias' references in his Corinthian book that he was a local figure there as well.[12] It is possible that in the eighth and seventh centuries, when Corinthian trade was at its height, the figure was brought to Tithorea from Corinth, giving us another example of the sort of multilocality we considered in Chapter Two. The region called Phocis then expanded as adjacent areas were added. The process leading to a sense of a Phocian *koinon* by the sixth century was largely a reaction to outside threats emanating from the Boeotians, Locrians, and Thessalians. Phocis was subject to the last named in the sixth century and finally broke free, forming a federal league by perhaps 510. By this point, the ill-fated brother of Peleus and Telamon had been embraced as the eponymous ancestor of the entire Phocian *ethnos.*[13]

However, if Robert is right and the heroon described by Pausanias is located very near the Phocicon, we may have evidence that Ornytion's son continued to be important into the fifth century. In the early 1960s, a few years after Robert made his case, Edward French examined the ruins of the Phocicon in the valley of the Platanias River and found on Sanctuary Hill some vestiges of what he believed to be a shrine, which he dated to the fifth century at the earliest, based on a terracotta spout shaped as a lionhead and one of two black-glazed sherds. As we have seen, Robert had argued that the close topographical relationship of the

Founding Hero's shrine and the Phocicon made sense in light of Pausanias' reference to communal sacrifices. On that reasoning, French and Vanderpool supposed this shrine to be the heroon in question, though they were unable to go beyond conjecture.[14]

If they are correct, even with some local disagreement in Pausanias' time about whether the shrine was devoted to Phocus or Xanthippus, we can reasonably conclude that a shrine to Phocus son of Ornytion was established in Daulis (as opposed to Tithorea) and that it dates to no earlier than the fifth century. Such a proposal argues for a high degree of significance for the Sisyphid Phocus, even after the establishment of the Phocian League in the sixth century, given the shrine's central location near the Phocicon. The heroon's location and date would be evidence that he continued to be significant even after the Phocian *koinon* had taken its collective name from the other Phocus, according to Pausanias. Still, even if this evidence falls short, we need not exclude the possibility that Ornytion's son could have played a useful role in the league's hellenistic diplomatic ventures.

NOTES

CHAPTER 1

1. “Stephanitic” means that the prizes were probably vegetal crowns rather than money. Prestige indeed would be the reason for cities to send their citizens to such games.

2. The full account is given in *I.v. Magnesia* 16. There are some controversies over whether the games of 221 had monetary or stephanitic prizes and over whether they were advertised only locally to Greeks in Asia. These issues are discussed more thoroughly, with accompanying bibliography, in Chapter Six.

3. The response is recorded in *I.v. Magnesia* 35.

4. This Cephalus appears on the Cephallenians’ coins. See Rigsby 1996: 213.

5. For example, a sarcastic comment by Demosthenes is recorded by Hyperides (5.31). Cf. Dinarchus 1.94.

6. Herodotus records the Heraclid ancestry, claimed by Alexander I around 500 BCE (5.22, 8.137–8.139). Alexander the Great’s mother Olympias was from Epirus and a member of the Molossian royal house, whose putative ancestor Molossus was likely mentioned in the lost epic, the *Nostoi,* as descended from Achilles.

7. Veyne 1988: 11–14.

8. Or, to put it in Ober’s terms, these two groups were the “educated elite” and “the masses” (1989: 11), although he is applying these terms specifically to Athenians.

9. ἐν Δαυλίᾳ τῆς Φωκίδος νῦν καλουμένης γῆς ᾤκει, τότε ὑπὸ Θρᾳκῶν οἰκουμένης, 2.29.

10. Sophocles’ play *Tereus,* produced sometime near the beginning of the war, had the popular version to which Thucydides objected, as we shall see later.

11. Minos: Arist. *Pol.* 1271b; Thuc. 1.4; Theseus: Paus. 1.3.3; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 41.2.

12. Pausanias’ views especially have received treatment by scholars and are often seen as a reflection of their times, the second century CE. See J. A. Hall 1981: 199; Branham 1989: 155; Elsner 1992: 16; Konstan 2001: 37. This is certainly a valid characterization, though we shall consider in Chapter Six a broader context to account as well for Pausanias’ skepticism along the lines mentioned here, on which see Veyne 1988: 13–14.

13. Smith 1999: 57–58; J. M. Hall 2002: 15.

14. See Thomas 1989: 161–173 and the next chapter.

15. The oral nature of most traditions can also account for the relative fluidity of some

of them. Different versions of a myth, or even different myths entirely, resulting in multiple identities, might serve the needs of a state according to the immediate political circumstances. The Magnesians' claim of Aeolian descent through Magnes is an example of the former, because Hesiod's more well-known version makes him a son of Zeus (F. 7 MW). Multiple identities arising from separate traditions are known for Sparta (Dorian, Heraclid, and Pelopid), Athens (Ionian and autochthonous), and possibly Miletus (Ionian and Aeolian) and Samos (founded by Samos, Procles, or Cydrolaus).

16. Gruen 1992: 31; Cornell 1995: 65.

17. Thorough treatments of these matters may be found in Zanker 1990 and Galinsky 1996.

18. *SIG*^{3} 591 (translation in Austin 1981, no. 155). On kinship diplomacy in the Roman world in general, see Elwyn 1993, with discussion of Lampsacus on pp. 273–274.

19. Justin 42.3.4. In fact Pompeius Trogus, whom Justin epitomizes, suggests that the kinship was proposed by the Albani rather than the Romans. For the arguments I made in favor of a Roman invention, see Patterson 2002.

20. *Chronicarum quae dicuntur Fredegarii scholastici Liber 3.2, MGH Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum* 2.93. See further Geary 1988: 77–78; Bouet 1995: 403–404.

21. Beaune 1991: 242.

22. Bouet 1995: 405–406; Southern 2004: 26.

23. Albu 2001: 7–8.

24. *De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum* 130.

25. Bouet 1995: 407, 412; Albu 2001: 15; Southern 2004: 26.

26. Albu 2001: 10.

27. Hauner 1978: 26. Hitler's vacillating views of the English as a kindred people also applied to the citizens of the United States. For a time he expressed hope that Germans and Americans would unite in meeting the threat of Bolshevism, and he couched this political goal in the delusion of racial kinship, even as he in truth counted on American neutrality in the war. See Compton 1967: 28–30.

28. Ellis 1998: 69–70.

29. Though a little more precision is perhaps called for here. As Nick Crowson explains, "Such links emphasized the connection of the Anglo-Saxon races of Europe and stressed the common teutonic heritage. Whilst it is difficult to define the extent to which these cultural influences encouraged Germanophile sentiments, they nevertheless must have at least suggested to Conservatives that Germany could be a civilized nation" (1997: 26).

30. Geary 2002: 7. See also the collection of essays edited by Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983). One chapter, by Prys Morgan (1983), examines the "revival" of Welsh identity in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in the face of an absorption into English culture through the reinterpretation and invention of Celtic cultural forms, such as the conception of the "Druid." I believe something similar took place in Messenia after its liberation from Spartan domination in c. 370 BCE, when local mythical figures such as Aepytus were either revived or created *ab nihilo,* and the historical but quasi-legendary Aristomenes was put forth as the great champion of Messenian independence from Sparta.

31. The main line of Fried's argument is that the *Constitutum* was a ninth-century

forgery of Frankish monasteries, as against the more traditional view of an invention in the papal court of the eighth century. See especially Fried 2007: 35–49.

32. On the point made here about Walter von der Vogelweide, see Fried 2007: 8. On Otto of Freising, Fried 2007: 13; on Gerhoch of Reichersberg, Fried 2007: 14.

33. Fried 2007: 10.

34. C. P. Jones 1999: 4. I have found his term "kinship diplomacy" to be a handy rubric for a very large topic.

35. Another difference is in scope. Jones touches on Greeks, Romans, and Christians in somewhat broad strokes, while I limit this book to the Greek world for the sake of coherence and length. Although I consider the Greeks' relations with Persians, Thracians, and other foreigners, I have elected to leave out the Romans for the simple reason that this topic seems to me worthy of its own monograph. The Greeks' relations with other foreign powers is one thing, but the case of the Romans differs in that the expansion of Roman influence into the eastern Mediterranean profoundly changed the dynamics of power in the hellenistic East. Many of the old links had fallen into disuse, although they were still acknowledged and thus known to those sources whom Pausanias, Strabo, and others consulted in imperial times. In the second century BCE, instead of appealing to each other for help in troubled times, hellenistic cities and kings began to turn to the great power in the West that was increasingly mediating relations in the Greek East. That is a different dynamic from what we get in earlier examples of Greek assertions of kinship with foreigners. In those cases, the foreigners are on the fringe of a Greek world, where the political orientation remains firmly centered.

36. C. P. Jones 1999: 4. Likewise, Curty limited himself to "legendary kinship," of which Jones is critical (Jones 1999: 153n.4 under "Introduction"). Regarding the prestige of antiquity, Malkin (2005: 64–66) has observed that cities often invoked mythical origins to enhance their prestige, to the point of sometimes inventing new mythical founders even if a historical one was already revered in local tradition, as happened, for example, in Croton. See also Clarke 2008: 199–200.

37. Noble attempts at wrestling with the problem of defining what a "myth" is can be found in Honko 1984; Kirk 1984 and 1990; and Dowden 1992.

38. J. M. Hall 1997: 25 (Hall's italics). Cf. J. M. Hall 2002: 14–15. Interestingly, this idea of putative ethnicity came up when Sonia Sotomayor was nominated to the U.S. Supreme Court in May 2009. On its website, the Pew Hispanic Center posed the possibility that Judge Sotomayor may not be the first Hispanic Justice after all. Ultimately, it depends on how one defines Hispanic and Latino ethnicity, which can be somewhat fluid: "One approach defines a Hispanic or Latino as a member of an ethnic group that traces its roots to 20 Spanish-speaking nations from Latin America and Spain itself (but not Portugal or Portuguese-speaking Brazil). The other approach is much simpler. Who's Hispanic? Anyone who says they are. And nobody who says they aren't. The U.S. Census Bureau uses this second approach." See Pew Hispanic Center 2009. My thanks to Nancy Moore for referring me to this website.

39. Indeed, I should make clear that this study assumes fictiveness in the claims of descent from Heracles, Hellen, and other mythical figures. My concern is with them as *putative* ancestors, their importance to the creation of identity, and their use in interstate relations.

For example, while I note the debate about the historicity of the Return of the Heracleidae in the next chapter, I do not need to offer a resolution of that debate to discuss how the Greeks conceived it and used it for political gain.

40. Barth 1969: 14, quoted by Konstan 2001: 43n.2.

41. Eriksen (1993: 11) uses "boundaries of the group" to explain how ethnicity might be delineated. This indigenous perspective used to be styled "emic" and roughly corresponds to the so-called primordialist view of ethnicity. This perspective is opposed to the instrumentalist, which proposes that ethnic choices in fact serve political or economic goals that belie the ostensible intentions of those choices. But there has been a growing awareness among anthropologists of the dangers of this dichotomy, which inhibits a proper understanding of ethnicity. Certain economic and political realities often do have to be acknowledged by the ethnic group facing them, even as the importance of the indigenous perspective on how to view the world and the culture's place in it cannot be denied. See J. M. Hall 1997: 18; Konstan 2001: 30. As ethnicity per se is not my primary concern, I do not see this development in anthropological thinking as anathema to the goal of better understanding how myth works. For one thing, myths are as variable as the criteria of ethnic identity. Also, "myth" means many things, as we saw when considering the "historical fiction" of the Donation of Constantine.

42. The canonical stemma of Hellen and his sons, Aeolus, Xuthus, and Dorus, was articulated in the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women,* FF. 9, 10a; cf. Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.7.3. Fowler (1998: 3–5) and Kühr (2006: 16–18) put greater emphasis on the instability of local traditions, as they respond to local needs and circumstances, than Finkelberg (2005: 28–29), who notes how the panhellenic stemma was considered so canonical as to impose certain limits on the extent to which local communities could innovate when articulating their place in the mythological mosaic. Or more accurately, it provided a framework by which communities and mythographers abided. See also Clarke 2008: 202–203.

43. Elwyn 1993: 264–267; Curty 1995: 254–255. Cf. Erskine 2002: 103–104.

44. Elwyn 1991: 306–311; C. P. Jones 1999: 133–134; Erskine 2002: 104.

45. There are a number of occasions in which a *polis* might offer justifications and incentives for a diplomatic venture but bolstered its case with a claim of kinship in case the other reasons were deemed insufficient for rendering aid.

46. The main sources for the debate are Musti 1963; Elwyn 1991; Curty 1995; Will 1995; and Lücke 2000. See also Giovannini 1997; C. P. Jones 1999; and Erskine 2002. These studies owe much to the pioneering work of Louis Robert, who examined many cases of kinship diplomacy, especially involving states in Asia Minor. He had announced that he was planning a more comprehensive treatment of the concept of "parentés de peuples" (1935: 498; 1960: 520), but this project was never realized. In addition to the examples covered in this book, see also Curty 1994a, 1994b, 1999, 2001.

47. Robert has written, for example, about documents asserting links between Heraclea-at-Latmus and the Aetolians (1987: 173–186), Samos and Antioch-on-the-Maeander (1973: 446–448), Samos and Lebedos (1960: 211), Gonnos and Magnesia-on-the-Maeander (1969a: 100n.5), Pergamum and Tegea (1969a: 453–454), and Alabanda (Chrysaorian Antioch) and the Greeks in general (1973: 448–466).

48. That is not to say that every instance of kinship diplomacy was between a colony and its mother-city. Many links were asserted on broader grounds, e.g., an ethnic affiliation between Miletus and Mylasa, whose respective founders were descended from Aeolus. The case made by Cytenium (in Doris) when requesting financial help from Xanthus was probably based on a common Doric identity stemming either from Bellerophon (who left Corinth, a Dorian city, and whose descendant married Aletes, a descendant of Heracles and king of Corinth, coming full circle) or through Asclepius, descended from Dorus through Coronis and from Leto, the *archegētis* of Xanthus, through Apollo.

49. This phenomenon is one way to explain the general tendency of the Greeks to regard myth, or at least heroic myth, as history. Accounts of kings such as Pelops and Agamemnon, whatever attempts there may be to rationalize them, "are the only traditions relating to times which otherwise would be blank — only myth can fill the historical vacuum" (Dowden 1992: 42).

50. Robert 1969a: 100n.5.

51. Musti 1963: 229, 233–235.

52. Musti 1963: 238. Musti, however, emphasized the point that this is only a trend and that such an interpretation should not be applied to the documents too severely, as other scholars had done.

53. Musti 1963: 226; Curty 1995: 231; Will 1995: 300; C. P. Jones 1999: 14. Elwyn concludes that use of the two terms defies any particular pattern in terms of consanguinity versus something more vague. See especially 1991: 275–283.

54. Lücke 2000: 119. This methodology in general is sound, and indeed I agree with Lücke that there are some cases in which the putative relationship between two communities is perhaps less consanguineous. See also Lücke 2000: 26–27, but I think Lücke underestimates the degree to which the Greeks embraced genealogy as a political tool.

55. Diod. 17.4.1; Just. 11.3.1.

56. Erskine 2002: 104. Cf. Curty 1995: 254–255.

57. Hdt. 5.42–48; Diod. 4.23; Paus. 3.4.1, 3.16.4–5.

58. Arr. 5.3.1–4; cf. Arr. *Ind.* 5.9–13.

59. On Phocis, see Paus. 10.1.1, 10.4.10.

60. Miletus: Paus. 7.2.1–4; Phygela: Strabo 14.1.20.

61. Paus. 5.1.3–5; Strabo 10.3.2, 14.1.8.

62. Tegean version: Paus. 8.47.4, 48.7, 54.6; Pergamene version: Paus. 1.4.6.

63. Again, as I mentioned in the case of Jonathan above, the point of view of non-Greeks is of concern to me as well. After all, the point of kinship diplomacy, if there is to be any immediate gain from it and is not simply an exercise in ideological propaganda for the Greeks back home, is to make the other side, even if not Greek, go along with your own claim of kinship. The intention was often to stabilize the situation that had resulted from a conquest of the native tribe or state or to secure an alliance with a foreign power, such as Thrace. As I mentioned above, I believe Pompey had employed kinship myth to deflect the hostility of the Albani in the eastern Caucasus.

CHAPTER 2

1. Among the many of this persuasion, to one extent or another, are Finley 1965: 284; Habicht 1984: 41; Nilsson 1986: 12; Veyne 1988: 21–26; Dowden 1992: 42; Bremmer 1997: 16; C. P. Jones 1999: 4; Calame 2003: 22–27; Green 2004: 8; Kühr 2006: 23; Pretzler 2007: 74; Luraghi 2008: 47.

2. *StV* III 453; Strabo 14.1.20.

3. Brillante 1990: 94.

4. ἀπὸ μὲν Τροίας ἁλώσεως ἐπὶ ῾Ηρακλειδῶν κάθοδον ἔτη ὀγδοήκοντα· ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰωνίας κτίσιν ἔτη ἑξήκοντα· τὰ δὲ τούτοις ἑξῆς ἐπὶ μὲν τὴν ἐπιτροπίαν τὴν Λυκούργου ἔτη ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα ἐννέα· ἐπὶ δὲ <τὸ> προηγούμενον ἔτος τῶν πρώτων Ὀλυμπίων ἔτη ἑκατὸν ὀκτώ· ἀφ᾿ ἧς ὀλυμπιάδος ἐπὶ τὴν Χέρξου διάβασιν ἔτη διακόσια ἐνενήκοντα ἑπτά· ἀφ᾿ ἧς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ Πελοποννησιακοῦ πολέμου ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα ὀκτώ· καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν κατάλυσιν καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἧτταν ἔτη εἴκοσι ἑπτά· καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐν Λεύκτροις μάχην ἔτη τριάκοντα τέσσαρα· μεθ᾿ ἣν ἐπὶ τὴν Φιλίππου τελευτὴν ἔτη τριάκοντα πέντε· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τὴν ᾿Αλεξάνδρου μεταλλαγὴν ἔτη δώδεκα.

5. Hes. *Works and Days* 109–201. If the fourth and fifth ages of Hesiod's plan are in some sense separate, it is because the heroes were men of superhuman ability and accomplishment, far beyond the paltry claims that could be made in the "modern" age of archaic Greece.

6. Hignett 1963: 313.

7. Veyne 1988: 28. Buxton (1994: 178–179) draws a similar conclusion: "The compatibility of alternatives is basic to Greek mythology."

8. Thomas 1989: 180.

9. See further Veyne 1988: 41–57; Green 2004: 13–15. For general discussions of the relationship of myth and philosophy in Ionia, see Kirk 1990: 276–303; Murray 1993: 250–251. On Ionian rationalizations of myth, Pearson 1939 is important. For example, on Hecataeus, see pp. 28 and 97–106.

10. It bears noting that they are working primarily in literary mediums. Rosalind Thomas, discussing the construction of genealogies, argues that the written text by its very nature seeks to sort out inconsistencies and wild claims that are engendered by family traditions handed down orally (1989: Ch. 3).

11. Diod. 4.1.4. Diodorus, nonetheless, conveys a sense that this mythological material is fundamentally different from historical accounts by his assertion that it is unfair to judge the veracity of the former by the standards of the latter (4.8.3–4) and by distancing himself from the mythological narrative with such phrases as "it is said" and "the myth writers say." See Marincola 1997: 119–121.

12. ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ μὲν τούτων οὐκ ἔρχομαι ἐρέων ὡς οὕτως ἢ ἄλλως κως ταῦτα ἐγένετο, τὸν δὲ οἶδα αὐτὸς πρῶτον ὑπάρξαντα ἀδίκων ἔργων ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, τοῦτον σημήνας προβήσομαι ἐς τὸ πρόσω τοῦ λόγου, Hdt. 1.5.3.

13. The nature and historicity of the Dorian "invasion" are highly problematic for a number of reasons. For one, in the ancient accounts themselves, as we shall see, there was a definite distinction made between Dorians and Heracleidae. See further Malkin 1994:

38–43; J. M. Hall 1997: 56–62; Cartledge 2002: 68. For more on the debate about historicity, see note 22 below.

14. See further Schepens (1977: 106–107) and Clarke (2008: 98), who both make the point that Ephorus was concerned with reliable sources in his presentation and conception of history and laid stress on truth as a criterion for his choices of what to include.

15. Bickerman 1952: 70; Dowden 1992: 42.

16. Arist. *Pol.* 1271b; cf. Thuc. 1.4.

17. Hdt. 2.120. Herodotus' credulity is often difficult to gauge because (1) in general, his method of relating uncertain or disputed accounts is to present multiple variants, often with his own final judgment omitted, and (2) he interweaves the historical and the mythological freely throughout his work, especially for aetiological purposes. But there are a few passages, including 2.120, in which he expresses his unequivocal belief in the historicity of mythological personages. At 5.59–61, Herodotus has seen in the temple of Ismenian Apollo in Thebes tripods with inscriptions indicating who had dedicated them: Amphitryon, Scaeus son of Hippocoon (whose association with this tripod is not certain but whose historicity is obviously not doubted), and Laodamas son of Eteocles of Thebes. At 2.49, Herodotus attributes the origins of the worship of Dionysus in Greece to Melampus the Minyan, who had brought it from Egypt. At 7.134–137, the historian recounts the consequences that Sparta faced for throwing envoys sent by Darius into a well: they suffered the wrath of Agamemnon's herald Talthybius, a real person whose descendants, the Talthybiadae, continued to be heralds for Sparta.

18. Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 41.2. There is a similar situation in Aristotle's discussion of the origins of the Thessalian League, in which he attributes its tetradic system and the resulting military organization to a mythical Aleuas the Red, the putative ancestor of the ruling Aleuadae. See FF. 497 and 498 Rose.

19. Aeschin. 2.31. It was especially characteristic of the Athenian orators to cite mythical events as early examples of greatness later displayed or as precedents or proofs for later claims (e.g., Dem. 60.8; Isoc. 4.68–71, 7.75, 12.193; Lys. 2.3–16).

20. Veyne 1988: 14.

21. One interesting line that the educated physician Galen drew had less to do with the historicity of myth than its usefulness. On the issue of whether centaurs existed, Galen expressed his disbelief when propounding his ideas to his learned readers. But when it came to generating interest in his work and attracting new students, he was willing to include Chiron in the early history of medicine. It was not that he actually believed it but rather that he was employing the sort of rhetorical trick to which orators in court resorted to win their case. "[R]hetoric was the art of winning more than the art of being right. In order to win—that is, to convince—it was doubtless necessary to start with what people thought rather than rub the jury the wrong way by telling them that they were mistaken on everything and must change their worldview to acquit the accused" (Veyne 1988: 55–56). Talk of rhetoric in this way might bring to mind the aforementioned reference Aeschines makes to Acamas (2.31) and my comment on orators, but here there is a difference. True, Aeschines is out to win over a jury and he employs myth to that end, but his belief in the historicity of Theseus and Acamas is genuine because they were not mythological monsters as centaurs were. The disingenu-

ousness that Veyne talks about does not apply here because there are no fantastical elements in Aeschines' "proof," which the orator used to justify Athens' possession of Amphipolis.

22. Was there a Dorian invasion? The argument that there was not runs along two lines of reasoning. First, Chadwick (1976: 112–115) and Hooker (1976: 170–173; 1979: 359–360) argued for a Dorian presence in the Peloponnesus in Mycenaean times by identifying Dorian features in the Greek of the Linear B tablets, an interpretation that has not convinced Cartledge (2002: 66–67) or Malkin (1994: 45). Cf. J. M. Hall 1997: 167. Second, archaeology has yet to prove such an "invasion" (J. M. Hall 1997: 114–129; Thomas and Conant 1999: 41–43). An absence of archaeological evidence does not, however, necessarily argue against the historicity of a migration, as the example of the Celtic settlement of Galatia attests (Winter 1977; cf. J. M. Hall 1997: 129). As it is, having examined in detail the ceramic and other evidence in Laconia, Cartledge has argued that a complete rejection of an *arrival* of the Dorians is not warranted, much of the evidence showing a possible outside influence datable to the tenth century (2002: 65–82). What the evidence cannot speak to is migration as an *invasion.* In the tenth century (and perhaps in the preceding and following centuries as well), we may be dealing with gradual movements of small groups, much like the migrations of Ionians and others in the Dark Age period.

23. Malkin 1994: 45.

24. Ὀρέστου δὲ ἀποθανόντος ἔσχε Τισαμενὸς τὴν ἀρχήν, Ἑρμιόνης τῆς Μενελάου καὶ Ὀρέστου παῖς. . . . ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Τισαμενοῦ τούτου κατίασιν ἐς Πελοπόννησον Ἡρακλεῖδαι, Τήμενος μὲν καὶ Κρεσφόντης Ἀριστομάχου, τοῦ τρίτου δὲ Ἀριστοδήμου προτεθνεῶτος εἵποντο οἱ παῖδες. Ἄργους μὲν δὴ καὶ τῆς ἐν Ἄργει βασιλείας ὀρθότατα ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἠμφισβήτουν, ὅτι ἦν Πελοπίδης ὁ Τισαμενός, οἱ δὲ Ἡρακλεῖδαι τὸ ἀνέκαθέν εἰσι Περσεῖδαι, Paus. 2.18.6–7.

25. While this view is common enough (see J. M. Hall 1997: 59n.198 for bibliography), J. M. Hall (1997: 59) poses an interesting question: if the intention was to conceal the Dorians' extra-Peloponnesian origin and characterize their invasion as a return, why did their foreign origin persist in ancient accounts? The difficulty, however, is not so great. Technically, the Heracleidae and the Dorians were separate peoples, and even our ancient sources are clear on this. But the *association* of the two was sufficient for the Dorians to justify their possession of the Peloponnesus. That principle lies at the heart of kinship diplomacy. Analytical writers might ponder contradictory details, but the momentum of the Return story was too great in the collective memory of most Greeks for the narrative difficulties to undermine the propagandistic goals for which it was created.

26. Thuc. 1.12.3; Paus. 4.3.3. Cf. Hdt. 9.26; Strabo 9.4.10; Vell. Pat. 1.2.1. The main narrative of the Return is to be found in Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.8.1–5 and Diod. 4.57–58. For additional citations of ancient sources, see Graves 1992: 572 and the scholars listed in the next note.

27. Tigerstedt 1965: 28–34; Nilsson 1986: 70–72; Vanschoonwinkel 1995: 127–131; J. M. Hall 1997: 56–57.

28. Tisamenus killed: Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.8.3; Tisamenus expelled: Paus. 2.18.7.

29. Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.8.2–5; Diod. 4.58.1–5; Paus. 2.7.6, 4.3.7, 8.5.1; Plato *Laws* 683d; Isoc. 6.20–23.

30. Thuc. 1.12.3; Paus. 5.3.5.

31. Kings: Hdt. 6.53 (cf. Paus. 3.7.1), Leonidas: 7.204, Leutychides: 8.131.

32. Hdt. 1.56. See further Malkin 1994: 42.

33. Pind. *Pyth.* 1.60–66.

34. αὐτὸς γὰρ Κρονίων] καλλιστεφάνου [πόσις Ἥρης / Ζεὺς Ἡρακλείδαις] ἄστυ δέδωκε τό[δε, / οἷσιν ἅμα προλιπ]όντες Ἐρινεὸν [ἠνεμόεντα / εὐρεῖαν Πέλοπ]ο[ς] νῆσον ἀφικό[μεθα, Tyrt. F. 2 West, 12–15. Like Pindus, Erineus is part of the Tetrapolis in Doris (Strabo 9.4.10).

35. Diod. 4.37.3–4; cf. Strabo 9.4.10.

36. Malkin (1994: 38–40) questions whether the Hylleis are the sons of Hyllus, having examined Hesiod's *Catalogue of Women,* Tyrtaeus, and other works. Hesiod shows a clear separation between the lines of Aegimius and Heracles, and in Fragment 19 Tyrtaeus makes no mention of Hyllus when listing the tribes: ". . . girded by your hollow shields, Pamphyloi, Hylleis, and Dymanes, each of you holding aloft in your hands man-slaying ashen spears" (. . . κοίλῃς ἀσπίσι φραξάμ[ενοι, / χωρὶς Πάμφυλοί τε καὶ Ὑλλεῖς ἠδ[ὲ Δυμᾶνες, / ἀνδροφόνους μελίας χερσὶν ἀν[ασχόμενοι, 7–9). One can grant the distinction between Dorians and Heraclids. One might even grant that perhaps in Tyrtaeus' time there was no association between Hyllus and the Hylleis, although I will argue below that in fact Tyrtaeus regarded the Heraclid rulers of Sparta and the Dorian Spartiate subjects as essentially of the same stock. In any case, it is clear that by Ephorus' time the association was firm.

37. The term used by Dowden 1992: 71.

38. Tigerstedt 1965: 34 with earlier references at n.151. Followed by J. M. Hall 1997: 61 and Cartledge 2001: 28. Contra Piérart 1991: 140.

39. His administration of the Olympic Games was left unrecorded by the furious Eleans, a gap that might correspond to either of the interruptions in the list of Olympic victors that date to 748 and 668 (Strabo 8.3.33), in the time of the Argive hegemony. On the dating of Pheidon, see Tomlinson 1972: 81–83; Murray 1993: 143; Koiv 2001.

40. In any case, there is little certainty about whether an Aepytid family in Messenia invoked an "Aepytus" in the archaic period. See further below.

41. Homer, *Il.* 19.98–124; Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.4.6–8; cf. Diod. 4.9.1–10.2.

42. Tyndareus: Isoc. 6.18; Diod. 4.33.5; Nestor: Isoc. 6.19.

43. J. M. Hall 1997: 61–62; Parker 1989: 146.

44. Luraghi 2008: 51.

45. Delphi: Paus. 3.1.6; Naupactus: Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.8.2.

46. Hdt. 6.52; Xen. *Ages.* 8.6. He is then dead while his sons are still infants: Hdt. 4.147.

47. So Plato said about the Spartans of his own era (*Hipp. Mai.* 285c–d), explaining that genealogy appealed to them more than subjects of greater sophistication like math and music. Of course, that would have been less the case in the era that produced Tyrtaeus and Alcman.

48. Cf. Tigerstedt (1965: 34), who says that the non-Temenid figures were later fabrications. In a later period, the Argives would go as far as to embrace all the Seven against Thebes as Argive heroes despite their foreign origins and multilocal worship. By stressing the tradition of Argive leadership under Adrastus, they were citing this as a precedent for their own claim to share the leadership with Sparta of the Greek coalition against the Persians in 480

and more generally laying out the hegemonic dynamic as they saw it, or rather wanted to see it. See further J. M. Hall 1999: 53–55 and my discussion below on "multilocality" (Hall's term).

49. The same situation may lie behind the story of Aletes, king of Corinth and great-great-grandson of Heracles. Aletes probably started out as a local Corinthian hero, covered by the epic poet Eumelus in the eighth century, and was possibly assimilated into the pan-Doric Return story at a later time. See further Salmon 1984: 38; J. M. Hall 1997: 58–59.

50. *FGrH* 70 F. 118; Strabo 8.5.5.

51. Ephorus seems to be in editorializing mode, because his remarks come as a criticism of Hellanicus, who had wrongly ascribed the role of Lycurgus as constitutional reformer to Procles and Eurysthenes.

52. The same sort of distancing may have been at work within Lacedaemonia itself. The kings' Heraclid ancestry distinguished them from other noble families, as well as from the common people. See Cartledge 2002: 295.

53. Cartledge 2002: 90, 296–297.

54. Thomas 1989: 161–173.

55. See, for example, Pearson 1962 and Harrison and Spencer 1998: 153.

56. Among those with this view are Shero 1938 and Treves 1944.

57. Alcock 1999: 338.

58. Alcock 1999: 339.

59. Euripides' story of reclamation may have been inspired by a Messenian reclamation, of a sort, of Pylos after the Athenians captured it from the Spartans in 425. These Messenians had been exiles settled by the Athenians at Naupactus following the helot revolt of the 460s. See Schwartz 1899: 449; Luraghi 2008: 62. Apollodorus' rendering (*Bibl.* 2.8.6) seems to be based on Euripides' version, but with the son's name changed to Aepytus. This nationalist version was of course only one of several. There was also a pro-Spartan version put forward by Isocrates (6.22–23), discussed in a different context in a later chapter below, and Nicolaus of Damascus (*FGrH* 90 FF. 31, 34).

60. Cf. Paus. 8.5.6–7. See further Robert 1920: 673–674; Harder 1985: 54; Collard, Cropp, and Lee 1995: 124; Bremmer 1997: 15; Luraghi 2008: 62–63.

61. These writers composed at a time when "tragic" history was all the rage, when sensational and compelling stories were more important than careful accounts of events, causes, and policies, an approach strongly criticized in the following century by Polybius. See Pearson 1962: 412–413.

62. What instead happened, Luraghi argues, was the development of a Messenian identity in the fourth century as an expression of opposition to Spartan and then projected backward in time to the pre-Spartan period. See Luraghi 2002: 48–50 and 2003: 111–112. This is not to say, however, that Spartan elements did not persist in local Messenian myth and cult, on which see Luraghi 2008: 237–239. Cf. Cartledge 2002: 102.

63. Ἡρακλῆος γὰρ ἀνικήτου γένος ἐστέ, Tyrt. F. 11, line 1.

64. The emphasis is on service to the *state,* on *aretē* from which the group benefits, as opposed to personal *kleos,* or "glory," won for the sake of the individual, as in Homer. See further Tarkow 1983: 49–60.

65. Tarkow 1983: 61–68.

66. Fuqua 1981: 223. What Tyrtaeus was doing was capitalizing on the belief that heroes possessed special protective powers, which the community could access through ritual and worship. For copious examples from literature, epigraphy, and art, see Kron 1999. For implications of heroes' cultic power in particular localities, especially as a focus of communal identity, see Malkin 1987: 202–203.

67. One example of his skill as a poet is his use of imagery in the priamel of Fragment 12, especially the reference at line 7 to Pelops. The priamel is a list of attributes of *aretē* that are demonstrably inferior to the *aretē* possessed by the hoplite who faces the blood and violence of battle. In effect, Tyrtaeus is drawing a contrast between the Heraclid descendants in Laconia and the descendants of Pelops. See Shey 1976: 16. The reference to Pelops, of course, reminds the audience of the saga of the cursed House of Atreus, which is descended from him. Shey's point is taken, but one can go further and comment that the Atreides' saga touches on the Return of the Heracleidae because it is from Tisamenus, son of Orestes (who had at some point acquired Argos: Paus. 2.18.5), that Temenus recovers Argos.

68. Herodotus' sources are ultimately unknowable. For discussion of these king lists, see Cartledge 2002: 293–298.

69. Malkin 1987: 243–245; Kron 1976: 27–31.

70. J. M. Hall 1999: 50; Kearns 1989: 48. Not all scholars, however, ascribe such protective powers to the bones themselves. See, for example, McCauley 1999: 94. Rohde (1925: 121–122) emphasizes the importance of the hero's grave, to which his bones are subordinated.

71. See J. M. Hall 1999.

72. There are, of course, many more, at least thirteen as identified by McCauley 1999: 96n.40.

73. Plut. *Thes.* 36.1. Podlecki (1971: 141–142) rightly points out that Plutarch's date, "in the archonship of Phaedon," applies only to the oracle and not necessarily to the end of the campaign or the discovery of the bones. See also Walker 1995: 76n.164.

74. Paus. 3.3.7. Though silent about Theseus, Thuc. 1.96–98 and Diod. 11.60 discuss the capture of Scyros in the context of the expansion and enforcement here and elsewhere (e.g., Eion, Carystos, Naxos) of Athenian imperial might in the era known as the Pentecontaetia, the fifty-year period between the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars that saw Athens create a naval empire behind the façade of the Delian League.

75. Cimon first overcame the Dolopians, the piratical inhabitants of the island (Plut. *Cim.* 8.3–5).

76. The development of these notions is connected to the question of whether we should lay them at the feet of Peisistratus in the mid sixth century or Cleisthenes at the end of the century. See further Kearns 1989: 117–119; Walker 1995: 35–55.

77. Henry Walker (1995: 10–13) has cast doubt on an "Ionian" Theseus. Whereas Hans Herter (1936) had argued that Theseus was originally a pan-Ionian hero who appeared wherever Ionians lived, e.g., in Attica, Thessaly, and Troezen, Walker demonstrates that Theseus was very much an Attic hero from the beginning, in part because of a lack of cult and myth devoted to Theseus in the Ionian states of Asia Minor.

78. McCauley 1999: 95.

79. See the detailed discussion of Walker 1995: 55–61. Further bibliography can be found at McCauley 1999: 91n.20.

80. Podlecki 1971: 143.

81. *Il.* 2.581–587; *Od.* 4.

82. Malkin 1994: 47–48; McCauley 1999: 89n.12; Cartledge 2002: 104–105.

83. Thus Pausanias (2.18.6) has the original Orestes himself as their king, "with the Spartans approving" (Λακεδαιμονίων ἐφέντων).

84. Hdt. 1.65–68; Paus. 3.3.6; cf. Paus. 3.11.10.

85. This view has been the prevailing one from Dickins 1912: 21–24 to Cartledge 2002: 120. For extensive bibliographies, see Boedeker 1998: 173–174n.10; Phillips 2003: 303n.7. The idea of Sparta's Dorian/Achaean duality comes through in the story of Cleomenes I's visit to the Athenian Acropolis during his attempt to reverse the recent reforms of Cleisthenes. On that occasion, he made the declaration that he was "an Achaean" rather than a "Dorian" when Athena's priestess denied him entry into the goddess' temple (Hdt. 5.72). On this incident, see Phillips 2003: 308–309.

86. Malkin 1994: 27–28.

87. Boedeker 1993: 168–169.

88. Boedeker 1993: 167.

89. See especially Phillips 2003: 310–311.

90. See Paus. 7.1.8 for a brief account of the appropriation of Tisamenus' bones. Phillips (2003: 312) associates this appropriation with the removal of the "pre-Dorian tyrant" Aeschines of Sicyon soon after 556/5.

91. Cf. Leahy 1955: 30–31.

92. Pind. *Pyth.* 11.31–32. See Phillips 2003: 313–314. Cf. J. M. Hall 1999: 55–59.

93. See Strabo 14.1.20. Such a desire to enhance a community's prestige by tracing its origins to heroic times was common. See further Malkin 2005: 64–66; Clarke 2008: 199–200.

94. J. M. Hall 1999: 52.

95. J. M. Hall 1999: 53–55.

CHAPTER 3

1. For example, Nino Luraghi has recognized how exceedingly difficult it is "to reconstruct how Helotry really originated or how the Spartans really conquered Messenia," taking a different tack as a first step: "Understanding the perceptions and ideologies that have left their mark in the sources, besides being a fruitful activity in its own right, is or should be—an indispensable preliminary stage to any use of the sources for a reconstruction of events and structures" (2003: 110). A similar approach is taken by Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood in her analysis of Greek "perceptions" of the Pelasgians rather than an actual history of the "real Pelasgians" (2003). Still, these developments are not entirely new. Related to this historiographical approach is the so-called linguistic turn described at length by Elizabeth Clark (2004), who sees much benefit in the application of critical and intellectual theory (such as

what has traditionally been applied to literature) to historical documents, which are no less literary. Here lies one of the central debates of modern historiography, which came about with the advent of the linguistic turn in the 1970s, for some historians feel that theory applied to history is "'idealist,' divorced from material reality, and neglectful of context" (Clark 2004: 110). That debate is beyond the scope of this work, but I would say that while I obviously embrace the need for understanding ancient texts and other evidence in the context of their creation, which necessarily entails some theorizing about authorial intent, I share the critics' concerns about getting lost in the eddies of the abstract.

2. Arr. 7.11.9; Tarn 1948 (Vol. I): 115–117. Cf. Tarn's main discussion: 1948 (Vol. II): 399–449.

3. Bosworth 1980a: 4, 11.

4. Fehling 1989: 9.

5. Rosalind Thomas' phrase (2000: 4). See also Pritchett 1993: 10–143 for a detailed discussion of Fehling's examples.

6. In fact, Murray (1987: 106–107) has argued for an Ionian storytelling tradition that influenced Herodotus' conception of history. This tradition is replete with the sort of folktale motifs that animate much of Herodotus' narrative.

7. On heroes as eponymns of foreign peoples, see Bickerman 1952: 68–69; Drews 1973: 8–11; Nilsson 1986: 96–98.

8. Heracles: Hdt. 2.44; cf. Arr. 2.16.1; Dionysus: Hdt. 3.8.

9. See, for example, the discussions of Gould 1989: 24–27; Miller 1997: 105–108; T. Harrison 1998; and Munson 2005: 27–29 with further bibliography at 29n.51.

10. Lewis 1985: 106–117.

11. ἔστι δὲ ἄλλος λόγος λεγόμενος ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ὡς Ξέρξης ἔπεμψε κήρυκα ἐς Ἄργος πρότερον ἤ περ ὁρμῆσαι στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα· ἐλθόντα δὲ τοῦτον λέγεται εἰπεῖν·Ἄνδρες Ἀργεῖοι, βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης τάδε ὑμῖν λέγει·Ἡμεῖς νομίζομεν Πέρσην εἶναι ἀπ᾽ οὗ ἡμεῖς γεγόναμεν, παῖδα Περσέος τοῦ Δανάης, γεγονότα ἐκ τῆς Κηφέος θυγατρὸς Ἀνδρομέδης. οὕτω ἂν ὦν εἴημεν ὑμέτεροι ἀπόγονοι. οὔτε ὦν ἡμέας οἰκὸς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους προγόνους ἐκστρατεύεσθαι, οὔτε ὑμέας ἄλλοισι τιμωρέοντας ἡμῖν ἀντιξόους γίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ παρ᾽ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖσι ἡσυχίην ἔχοντας κατῆσθαι. ἢν γὰρ ἐμοὶ γένηται κατὰ νόον, οὐδαμοὺς μέζονας ὑμέων ἄξω, 7.150.1–2.

12. One representative of such interaction would be the exiled Spartan king Damaratus, who had the ear of Xerxes himself. There are also the many clay tablets, mentioned above, that refer to Greek secretaries working in the Persian Empire during the reign of Darius I, on which see Lewis 1985: 106–108.

13. Hdt. 6.78–80, 6.83, 7.148; Paus. 3.4.1.

14. Hellanicus was a younger contemporary of Herodotus, and so there has been some debate on how much Herodotus was indebted to him. See further Drews 1973: 23–24, 155–156n.18.

15. Drews 1973: 151n.58.

16. Tomlinson 1972: 92. According to Drews (1973: 151n.58), Hecataeus of Miletus may have made the first genealogy connecting Perses with the Persians, although no fragments of Hecataeus in the *FGrH* attest this. Herodotus does not attribute his account of Perses in 7.61 or 7.150 to Hecataeus. On the other hand, while the *floruit* of Hecataeus is not nec-

essarily the terminus post quem of the creation of the Perses link—for, as suggested above, it could well be placed closer to the mid sixth century—it remains that (1) Herodotus used Hecataeus in his history (e.g., 2.143, 6.137) and (2) Hecataeus, given his interest in Persian affairs and in mythical genealogies, is likely to have invented Perses.

17. Drews 1973: 147n.25. He also cites line 155, in which the Chorus hails Atossa, Xerxes' mother, "O highest Queen of the deep-girdled Persian women" (ὦ βαθυζώνων ἄνασσα Περσίδων ὑπερτάτη). I am unclear as to what Drews has in mind by citing this line. Perhaps he means that βαθύζωνος—despite one usage in Homer as an epithet for Trojan women (*Od.* 3.154) and a scholium on that passage to the effect that this word denotes only barbarian women—generally was used, along with βαθύκολπος, to describe Greek goddesses and nymphs (e.g., HH Dem. 5; HH Aphr. 258, Baccyl. 5.9; Pind. *Isth.* 74), with one Homeric usage for Greek women (*Id.* 9.594). Such a word in the context of this scene might resonate with the audience in a way similar to the earlier allusions.

18. See Georges 1994: 67.

19. Χαλδαῖοι· οἱ πρότερον Κηφῆνες, ἀπὸ Κηφέως τοῦ πατρὸς Ἀνδρομέδας, ἀφ᾽ ἧς καὶ τοῦ Περσέως τοῦ Δανάης καὶ Διὸς Πέρσης. . . . Ἑλλάνικος δέ φησιν ἐν α´ Περσικῶν οὕτω· "Κηφέος οὐκέτι ζῶντος στρατευσάμενοι ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ἀνέστησαν ἐκ τῆς χώρας καὶ τὴν Ἀρταίαν ἔσχον," *FGrH* 4 F. 59.

20. Ἀρταία· Περσικὴ χώρα, ἣν ἐπόλισε Πέρσης ὁ Περσέως καὶ Ἀνδρομέδας· Ἑλλάνικος ἐν Περσικῶν α´· οἱ οἰκοῦντες Ἀρταίοι. ἀρταίους δὲ Πέρσαι, ὥσπερ οἱ Ἕλληνες, τοὺς παλαιοὺς ἀνθρώπους καλοῦσι, *FGrH* 4 F. 60.

21. Schol. Dion. Per. 1053. Jacoby (1957: 453) provides the text in his commentary on Hellanicus (*FGrH* 4 FF. 59–60).

22. Contra Pearson 1939: 205.

23. Herodotus himself says of the Persians' origins that the Greeks called the Persians "of old" (πάλαι) Cephenes, while the latter's own name for themselves was Artaei before they took their more famous name from Perses (7.61). Pearson (1939: 205) believes this to be a conflation of earlier accounts.

24. At 7.151, however, Herodotus uses Athenian sources to back it up, referring to Athenian envoys in Susa in c. 450, who supposedly encountered an Argive delegation sent to reaffirm the alliance between Argos and Persia. Artaxerxes, son of Xerxes, declared that Argos was still a city dear to him.

25. Nagy 1990: 315.

26. Munson 2001: 229–230. The translation of 3.38.4 is my own. She also mentions 2.3.2, containing a declaration that "all men know equally about the gods" (Munson's translation).

27. *On the Malice of Herodotus* 863b–864a.

28. Their willing surrender (7.132) contrasts with those who had no choice, such as the Thessalians (7.172) and the Phocians (9.17). Leonidas kept a contingent of Thebans with him as hostages during the Battle of Thermopylae (7.205, 222), but they defected to the Persians when the opportunity arose (7.233). The Thebans' support of Mardonius is especially well documented: 9.2, 13, 15, 31, 38, 40. At 9.67, the Thebans were said to have fought for the Persians more assiduously than other Greek allies. See also 8.50 and 9.86–88.

29. How and Wells 1950: Vol. II, 189.

30. Murray 1987: 99–101.

31. Crane 1996: 150. For a full catalogue, from which I take the following examples, see Crane 1996: 147–161.

32. I had discussed above the extent to which Thucydides embraced such mythical figures as Minos. See Chapter One.

33. See especially J. M. Hall 1997: 25 on the primacy of these eponymous ancestors over other considerations, such as language and religion, in determining Dorian and Ionian ethnic identity.

34. Crane 1996: 153–159; J. M. Hall 1997: 38; Mitchell 1997: 24–25. Alty (1982: 5–6) rightly points out that we should not overgeneralize Thucydides' views based on the few examples, mainly from the Sicilian Expedition, that suggest this point of view.

35. Alty 1982: 6.

36. So attached had Sadocus become to Athens that he participated in 430, along with Nymphodorus in collusion with two Athenian ambassadors, in the capture of several Peloponnesian envoys sent to Thrace en route to Persia (Thuc. 2.67; Hdt. 7.137). Cf. the remark of Aristophanes at *Acharnians* 141–150, where Sadocus' Athenian citizenship and successful petitions to his father on Athens' behalf are acknowledged.

37. Τηρεῖ δὲ τῷ Πρόκνην τὴν Πανδίονος ἀπ᾽ Ἀθηνῶν σχόντι γυναῖκα προσήκει ὁ Τήρης οὗτος οὐδέν, οὐδὲ τῆς αὐτῆς Θρᾴκης ἐγένοντο, ἀλλ᾽ ὁ μὲν ἐν Δαυλίᾳ τῆς Φωκίδος νῦν καλουμένης γῆς [ὁ Τηρεὺς] ᾤκει, τότε ὑπὸ Θρᾳκῶν οἰκουμένης, 2.29.3.

38. FF. 581–595, Radt.

39. Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.14.8; Ovid *Meta.* 6.424–674; cf. Paus. 1.5.4, 10.4.6.

40. Gomme 1956: 90n.1; Hornblower 1991: 287.

41. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1931: 52n.2; Zacharia 2001: 102. There is early evidence of the story of Procne and Philomela, though by what names they went is unclear. In Homer, a daughter of Pandareus kills her son Itylus and later becomes a nightingale (*Od.* 19.518–523). Hesiod says that the nightingale (the bird Procne becomes in later accounts) never sleeps, and the swallow (Philomela in later accounts) sleeps only half the amount of other birds as a result of "the suffering endured in Thrace in that appalling dinner" (διὰ τὸ πάθος τὸ ἐν Θρᾴκῃ κατατολμηθὲν τὸ ἐς τὸ δεῖπνον ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἄθεσμον, F. 312 MW). If Tereus were mentioned here, then we would have a very early connection between Tereus and Thrace. As it is, the earliest extant reference to Tereus is Aeschylus' *Hicetides* (60–68), in which elements of the story are recognizable, though there is no reference to Thrace in the fragments. See further Gantz 1996: 239–240.

42. Paus. 1.41.8. On Tereus as a Megarian hero, see Hanell 1934: 37–39.

43. πάλαι γὰρ τῆς νῦν καλουμένης Ἑλλάδος βάρβαροι τὰ πολλὰ ᾤκησαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦν καὶ Τηρεῖ τὰ ἐς Φιλομήλαν ἐξειργασμένα καὶ <τὰ> περὶ τὸν Ἴτυν ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν, ἑλεῖν σφᾶς ὁ Τηρεὺς οὐκ ἐδύνατο, 1.41.8.

44. Whereas in Apollodorus' version, Tereus ruled in Thrace and nearly caught up with Procne and Philomela in Daulis, where they were all transformed into birds (*Bibl.* 3.14.8).

45. Plenty of evidence shows the Greeks' preoccupation with names and their morphologies. This preoccupation accounts, for example, for their considerable use of eponyms. In connection with Tereus, see Dowden 1992: 85.

46. The year of Xerxes' expedition. Afterwards, the Persians were largely driven out of Thrace by the Greeks (Hdt. 7.106).

47. Thuc. 2.29.2. See further Casson 1926: 193; Isaac 1986: 96–97; Stronk 1995: 48–51.

48. Radt 1977: 436; Zacharia 2001: 95.

49. Stronk 1995: 53; Zacharia 2001: 102–103.

50. Burnett 1998: 184.

51. Jonathan Hall suggests that barbarians so captivated the Greek tragedians that they had, finally, to resort to inventing new ones, thus: "Tereus, originally a Megarian cult hero, becomes a savage king of Thrace in Sophocles' homonymous play" (2002: 177–178). Edith Hall points out that the sexual excesses of Tereus contrasted with Plato's virtue of *sōphrosunē,* which involved self-control and moderation (1991: 126). On Tereus, see also E. Hall 1991: 103–105.

52. Adcock and Mosley observe that in general democratic assemblies would not be equipped to understand fully foreign affairs or issues involving interstate diplomacy, given limitations in travel and literacy. Men like Pericles, then, would play particularly important roles in bringing these issues to the *demos* for debate in the assembly (1975: 167).

53. Hdt. 1.64; Isaac 1986: 14–15.

54. Hdt. 6.34–36; Isaac 1986: 163–175.

55. Plut. *Cim.* 7.1–3, 14.2; Thuc. 1.98; Hdt. 7.107; Diod. 11.60; Polyaen. 7.24; Paus. 8.8.9; Nepos *Cim.* 2.2; Isaac 1986: 19–20, 23–24.

56. Thuc. 4.105.1; Plut. *Cim.* 4.1.

57. Hdt. 6.39; Plut. *Cim.* 4.1–2.

58. Thuc. 4.104.4; Plut. *Cim.* 4.1.

59. By whom remains unclear, as Stronk notes in his commentary at *Ana.* 7.2.32 (1995: 191–192). On the career of Seuthes II, see Stronk 1995: 140–143.

60. ὁ Σεύθης εἶπεν ὅτι οὐδενὶ ἂν ἀπιστήσειεν Ἀθηναίων· καὶ γὰρ ὅτι συγγενεῖς εἶεν εἰδέναι καὶ φίλους εὔνους ἔφη νομίζειν, Xen. *Ana.* 7.2.31.

61. Literally, "in accordance with their kinship," κατὰ τὴν συγγένειαν (Xen. *Ana.* 7.3.39).

62. On the Athenians' "collective wisdom," see Ober 1989: 156–165; on the importance of "opinion," see Ober 1993: 83. My suggestion that Pericles could have applied manipulative tactics in the deliberations about Thrace arises from the ease with which the collective, given its disadvantage in practical knowledge, could be manipulated to follow certain policies. Indeed, an educated man like Pericles might cite specific myths and historical facts for this reason, although in the case of Tereus, there is no way to know if Pericles introduced this putative link with the Odrysians or if it was voiced in common discussions among the *demos.* In general, see further Ober 1989: 177–182.

63. See especially Ober 1993: 84–85.

64. A voluminous bibliography awaits the reader interested in the Jews' struggle to redefine their identity in the hellenistic and Roman periods. Good starting points include Collins 1983; Mendels 1992; Gruen 1998 and 2001; Rajak 2002.

65. Recent studies, with further bibliography, include Katzoff 1985: 485–489; Orrieux 1987: 187n.7; Gruen 1996 and 1998: 253–268; C. P. Jones 1999: 75–79. A thorough study is Goldstein 1976: 447–462.

66. Goldstein 1976: 62–64.

67. Some controversy exists about whether it is Onias I or Onias II, but the former seems more likely. See Schürer 1973: 185n.33; Goldstein 1976: 455–456; Orrieux 1987: 174–175; Gruen 1996: 265n.3 and 1998: 254n.32.

68. εὑρέθη ἐν γραφῇ περί τε τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν καὶ Ἰουδαίων ὅτι εἰσὶν ἀδελφοὶ, καὶ ὅτι εἰσὶν ἐκ γένους Ἀβραάμ. καὶ νῦν ἀφ᾽ οὗ ἔγνωμεν ταῦτα, καλῶς ποιήσετε γράφοντες ἡμῖν περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ὑμῶν. καὶ ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀντιγράφομεν ὑμῖν, τὰ κτήνη ὑμῶν καὶ ἡ ὕπαρξις ὑμῶν ἡμῖν ἐστὶ, καὶ τὰ ἡμῶν ὑμῖν ἐστίν, I Macc. 12.21–23. Cf. Jos. *Ant.* 12.225–227. For the translation of I and II Maccabees, I am using the Revised Standard Version, as listed in the bibliography under *Apocrypha* 1957.

69. ἐπεδέξατο Ὀνίας τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν ἀπεσταλμένον ἐνδόξως, καὶ ἔλαβε τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ἐν αἷς διεσαφεῖτο περὶ συμμαχίας καὶ φιλίας. καὶ ἡμεῖς οὖν ἀπροσδεεῖς τούτων ὄντες, παράκλησιν ἔχοντες τὰ βιβλία τὰ ἅγια τὰ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἡμῶν, ἐπειράθημεν ἀποστεῖλαι τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς *ἀδελφότητα* καὶ φιλίαν ἀνανεώσασθαι, πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐξαλλοτριωθῆναι ὑμῶν· πολλοὶ γὰρ καιροὶ διῆλθον ἀφ᾽ οὗ ἀπεστείλατε πρὸς ἡμᾶς, I Macc. 12.8–10.

70. οὐκ ἠβουλόμεθα οὖν παρενοχλεῖν ὑμῖν, καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς συμμάχοις, καὶ φίλιος ἡμῶν, ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις τούτοις. ἔχομεν γὰρ τὴν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ βοήθειαν βοηθοῦσαν ἡμῖν, καὶ ἐῤῥύσθημεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἡμῶν, καὶ ἐταπεινώθησαν οἱ ἐχθροὶ ἡμῶν, I Macc. 12.14–15.

71. ἀσπάσασθαι ὑμᾶς, καὶ ἀποδοῦναι ὑμῖν τὰς παρ᾽ ἡμῶν ἐπιστολὰς περὶ τῆς ἀνανεώσεως καὶ τῆς *ἀδελφότητος* ἡμῶν, I Macc. 12.17–18.

72. See further Goldstein 1976: 459–460.

73. C. P. Jones 1999: 77.

74. ἔγραψαν πρὸς αὐτὸν δέλτοις χαλκαῖς, τοῦ ἀνανεώσασθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν φιλίαν καὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν ἣν ἔστησαν πρὸς Ἰούδαν καὶ Ἰωνάθαν τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ, I. Macc. 14.18; cf. Jos. *Ant.* 13.170.

75. Indeed, the implausibility itself has been offered as grounds for rejecting the authenticity of the letter, as in Cardauns 1967: 318–320.

76. Areus needed allies and mercenaries for his adventures (on which see Cartledge and Spawforth 2002: 28–37), including his attempt to engage the Aetolian League in Boeotia in 281 (Justin 24.1.1–7), his confrontation with Pyrrhus in Argos following the latter's repulse from Laconia (Plut. *Pyrrh.* 30–32), and his efforts to build an anti-Macedonian alliance (including among others Ptolemy II), which were recognized in the decree of Chremonides of Athens in 268 (*SIG*^{3} 434/5).

77. Goldstein 1976: 457. Orrieux (1987: 174) accepts the possibility of mercenaries as Areus' motive for calling on Judaea but not the notion that he cited kinship. This detail, Orrieux argues, was a later interpolation.

78. The Ptolemaic context is suggested by, for example, Ehrenberg 1929: 1425; Ginsburg 1934: 119; Cartledge and Spawforth 2002: 36–37. For the idea of a local Jewish community as a factor, see Ehrenberg 1929: 1425; Ginsburg 1934: 122. Schüller (1956: 267–268) argues forcefully against the existence of such a community.

79. See further Gruen 1996: 261 and 1998: 263.

80. II Macc. 4:7–5:10; cf. Jos. *Ant.* 12.238–241. Ginsburg (1934: 122) suggests that a local Jewish community at Sparta may have drawn Jason there, but, as Schüller correctly

points out, if the vile Jason has been rejected by the Jewish communities in Judaea and Egypt, why would he be accepted by the one at Sparta? See further Schüller 1956: 266.

81. Schürer 1973: 19–20.

82. Orrieux 1987: 181.

83. Goldstein 1976: 456–457.

84. Jos. *Ap.* 1.183; Diod. 1.46.8; Plut. *Lyc.* 20.3. See further Stern 1976: 20–44.

85. *FGrH* 264 F. 6 = Diod. 40.3.2–3.

86. Goldstein 1976: 458.

87. Hecataeus *FGrH* 264 F. 24; Clement *Stromateis* 5.113.2; Eusebius *Praep. Evang.* 13.13 680d; cf. Jos. *Ant.* 1.159.

88. Goldstein 1976: 458; Stern 1976: 22.

89. Cleodemus *FGrH* 273, F. 102 = Jos. *Ant.* 1.240–241; cf. Eus. *Praep. Evang.* 9.20.2–4.

90. Walbank 1993: 210–212.

91. On the problems attending the timing of the two decrees, see Schürer 1973: 204–205; Rajak 1981: 78–79; Gruen 1998: 267–268.

92. On the connotations of *philia,* see Curty 1995: 228–229; Will 1995: 302–303; C. P. Jones 1999: 78.

93. Gruen 1996: 259–262 and 1998: 259–268.

94. A synopsis of Jonathan's career, including his machinations whose success stemmed largely from wars between Seleucid rivals, can be found at Schürer 1973: 174–186.

95. They are surveyed by Katzoff 1985: 487 and Gruen 1996: 257–258, 263 and 1998: 257–258, 266.

96. Goldstein 1976: 447, 450; Jones 1999: 79.

97. Goldstein 1976: 448.

98. Antiochus' aggressions are not made explicit in the extant text of the inscription that the Lampsacenes dedicated to one of the ambassadors, Hegesias. Nonetheless, the timing of the embassy strongly suggests this context. The basis of the kinship mentioned at lines 18–19, 21, 25, 30–31, 55, 56, and 60–61 was probably Lampsacus' affiliation with Troy via its membership in the Ilian League. See further Bickerman 1932; Elwyn 1993: 273–274; C. P. Jones 1999: 95–96. Gruen (1984: 543n.56, 621n.42) disputes the connection with Antiochus.

99. Polyb. 38.10.5, 38.11.1; Paus. 7.14.1.

100. I Macc. 8; Jos. *Ant.* 12.414–419.

101. See further Gruen 1996: 258 and 1998: 258.

102. Gruen 1996: 263–264 and 1998: 266.

103. Gruen 2001: 362.

104. Katzoff 1985: 488–489.

CHAPTER 4

1. Then there is the famous scene in Herodotus in which Peisistratus ostensibly manipulates myth for political gain by claiming Athena has supported his return to Athens,

following his first exile in the 550s (Hdt. 1.60). Herodotus expresses dismay that Athenians, so clever among Greeks, should be taken in by this contrivance, and some scholars accordingly regard the affair as an occasion when the populace was duped, e.g., Boardman (1972: 60). Connor (1987: 44–47), on the other hand, sees Peisistratus' "audience" as sharing in the "theatricality" of the episode because the tyrant's arrival in a chariot, with Athena at his side, bears a resemblance to certain communal rituals. Connor describes both literary and cultic parallels, and it seems reasonable to me that archaic Athenians would indeed be less gullible than Herodotus suggested. The credulity I see pervading among most Greeks arose from acceptance of mythological explanations for current realities, as conveyed by oral and literary tradition, but a divine epiphany such as this was probably too much for most Athenian citizens of the sixth century to accept at face value.

2. Αἴας δ᾽ ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος ἄγεν δυοκαίδεκα νῆας, / στῆσε δ᾽ ἄγων ἵν᾽ Ἀθηναίων ἵσταντο φάλαγγες, 2.557–558.

3. See further Wickersham 1991: 17n.2.

4. There were also shrines and cultic rituals involving these mythical personages in Athens and, presumably after the Athenian takeover, in Salamis as well (Paus. 1.35.2).

5. οἳ φθίμενοι δέρκονται ἐς ἠέλιον δύνοντα, Plut. *Sol.* 9.1.

6. For a fuller discussion of Solon's anthropological arguments and their possible Delphic context, see Higbie 1997: 299–303.

7. τῷ . . . Σόλωνι καὶ Πυθικούς τινας βοηθῆσαι λέγουσι χρησμούς, ἐν οἷς ὁ θεὸς Ἰαονίαν τὴν Σαλαμῖνα προσηγόρευσε, Plut. *Sol.* 10.6.

8. J. M. Hall 1997: 20–25.

9. Higbie 1997: 284–285.

10. So noted at Strabo 9.1.10.

11. Αἴας δ᾽ ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος ἄγεν νέας, ἔκ τε Πολίχνης,/ ἔκ τ᾽ Αἰγειρούσσης Νισαίης τε Τριπόδων τε, Strabo 9.1.10.

12. Aside from Solon's interpolated verses, a local tradition in Athens was also suggested by certain archaeological evidence: the marble base of a bronze statue of the Trojan Horse found in the temple of Athena Brauronia on the Acropolis, dated to no later than 414 BCE. Pausanias (1.23.8) says that among the Greek warriors hidden in the horse, the statue shows Menestheus, Teucer, and the sons of Theseus. None of these Athenians are listed in the "canonical" catalogues before late antiquity. See further Higbie 1997: 290–291.

13. Perhaps in the fourth and third centuries BCE. Among them may be Praxion, Dieuchidas, Hereas, and Heragoras. See further Figueira 1985a: 118n.2 and Okin 1985: 19n.3.

14. Here we have an oddity. Scholiasts of Homer, Pindar, and Apollonius refer to the famous centaur Chiron (Kheiron) as the father of Endeïs. But as no ancient source names Endeïs' father, the Megarian version of Sciron (Skeiron) need not be any less legitimate. First, the two are virtually "doublets" of each other: "The difference between the two names amounts to an initial sigma alternating with an initial aspiration. These two sounds have an equivalence in Greek" (Wickersham 1991: 20). Second, if we cannot assign priority to one version based on the surviving evidence, certainly most Greeks would not as well, even though the Megarians lost the war of Homeric verse. In the end, this intersection of pan-

hellenic and local myth is reminiscent of the adjustments to panhellenic stemmas that were commonly made in the context of kinship diplomacy in the hellenistic period, as we shall see later.

15. Wickersham 1991: 18–21; cf. Figueira 1985a: 120.

16. Plato *Hipparc.* 228b; Plut. *Sol.* 10.2; Strabo 9.1.22; Paus. 1.23.7, 1.33.1.

17. Lewis 1963: 26–27; Whitehead 1986: 11n.30, 24n.83.

18. Hdt. 6.35; cf. Pherecydes *FGrH* 3 F. 2. This was a typical example of using myth to enhance the nobility of an aristocratic family. The mythopoeic manipulations of the Philaid clan are examined in detail by Thomas 1989: 161–173.

19. Alcibiades also claimed Aeacid descent, citing Eurysaces as his ancestor (Plut. *Alc.* 1; Plato *Alc.* 1.121a). I am not aware, however, of any evidence that Alcibiades' ancestors made this claim in the sixth century.

20. The same can be said for Cnidus, Cythera, Gortyn, Lyctus, Polyrrhenia, Croton, and Locri, as well as Cyrene, by extension through its metropolis Thera. See Malkin 1994: 8.

21. Hdt. 4.145–148, 4.150.

22. The main source is the poem *Alexandra* by Pseudo-Lycophron (early second century BCE), who may have been drawing from Timaeus. The foundation oracle of Taras is given by Antiochus of Syracuse (*FGrH* 555 F. 13 = Strabo 6.3.2). See further Malkin 1994: 57–64.

23. Based on Graham's theory that "when colony and mother city were near to each other their relations were sometimes so close that the colony could almost be called an extension of the founding state" (1983: 96).

24. As Malkin (1994: 205–206) has pointed out, the oracles spoke only of the Heraclid right of possession of this region. Antichares himself applied them to Dorieus and, further, made them out as oracles sanctioning a new colony.

25. Assuming Phoenicians and Carthaginians are distinct in this case. Hdt. 5.46: Phoenicians and Egestans; Diodorus 4.23.3: Carthaginians; Pausanias 3.16.5: Egestans. See further Graham 1982: 189.

26. τὸ δὲ εὐμενὲς ἐκ τῶν θεῶν οὐ κατὰ ταὐτὰ Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ ὕστερον Δωριεῖ τῷ Ἀναξανδρίδου παρεγένετο, 3.16.5.

27. That source was Timaeus of Tauromenium (Sicily), writing in the third century BCE. See Pareti 1920: 26–27; Malkin 1994: 212.

28. Diod. 4.23.2–3.

29. Dunbabin 1948: 330; Malkin 1994: 206–209.

30. *FGrH* 1 FF. 71–72, 76–77; Dunbabin 1948: 300; Malkin 1994: 210–211.

31. Diod. 5.9; Paus. 10.11.3.

32. Thus Pareti 1920: 26–27.

33. Martin 1979: 12; Malkin 1994: 213–217. Alexander would follow this tradition of associating Heracles and Melcart at Tyre; a few years later certain facets of Indra may have suggested the prior presence of Dionysus to the Macedonians in India.

34. Cartledge 2002: 255.

35. Norlin 1928: 344; Mossé 1953: 32–33; Baynes 1960: 160.

36. Kennedy 1963: 197–203; Too 1995: 61–67.

37. Too 1995: 72; contra Kennedy 1963: 197. The rhetorical nature of this section of the *Panathenaicus* is also stressed by Gray 1994: 228–229, 238–242, 261–262.

38. Isoc. 12.177–181. Given the date of composition (342–399), Tigerstedt (1965: 187) took this passage at face value to mean that Isocrates, who had spent decades hoping for a panhellenic campaign against the Persians and for a time considered Sparta to be the possible champion in that cause, now pinned his hopes elsewhere in light of Sparta's decline.

39. Homer *Il.* 11.690–695.

40. Μεσσήνιοι δ᾽ εἰς τοῦτ᾽ ἀσεβείας ἦλθον, ὥστ᾽ ἐπιβουλεύσαντες ἀπέκτειναν Κρεσφόντην τὸν οἰκιστὴν μὲν τῆς πόλεως, κύριον δὲ τῆς χώρας, ἔκγονον δ᾽ Ἡρακλέους, αὐτῶν δ᾽ ἡγεμόνα γεγενημένον. διαφυγόντες δ᾽ οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ τοὺς κινδύνους ἱκέται κατέστησαν ταυτησὶ τῆς πόλεως, ἀξιοῦντες βοηθεῖν τῷ τεθνεῶτι καὶ *τὴν χώραν διδόντες ἡμῖν*, Isoc. 6.22–23.

41. ταύτην τε γὰρ οἰκοῦμεν δόντων μὲν Ἡρακλειδῶν, ἀνελόντος δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ, πολέμῳ δὲ κρατήσαντες τοὺς ἔχοντας· ἐκείνην τ᾽ ἐλάβομεν παρὰ τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ταῖς μαντείαις χρησάμενοι ταῖς αὐταῖς, Isoc. 6.24; cf. Paus. 2.18.7.

42. Soph. *Ajax* 1283, cf. scholia at 1285; Eur. F. 1083 Nauck; Strabo 8.5.6.

43. That includes Plato (*Laws* 683d) and Ephorus (*FGrH* 70, FF. 15–18), who may have been the source for Apollodorus (*Bibl.* 2.8.4–5) and the incomplete account of Diodorus (note 4.57–58, though not relevant to Messenia), as Tigerstedt argues (1965: 33 with n.147). Tigerstedt also puts Pausanias in this category. Ephorus may well have been a source for any number of the relevant sections (1.41.2, 2.18.7–9, 3.1.5–6, 4.3.4–8, 5.3.5–7, and 8.5.1). Section 2.18.7 has details that were important for Archidamus' case. Section 4.3.4–8 also deals specifically with the Messenian part of the Return, and local myths may have also (or exclusively) been Pausanias' source there, especially as he diverges from the other accounts somewhat (see next note).

44. Pausanias' version has an interesting variation. In his description of Sparta's (and Argos') role in the recovery of Messenia following the murder of Cresphontes, the main protagonist is Aepytus, son of Cresphontes. The role of the other Heraclid kings is diminished, for they merely help him recover his own land. This Aepytus is so beloved by the people that his house henceforth becomes known as the Aepytid (4.3.4–8). Though a slight variation, it produces a different basis for Spartan legitimacy: as noted above, in Archidamus' version, the link between Laconia and Messenia is based on a shared heritage; it looks back into the *past,* to Heracles and the Heracleidae. Pausanias' account would have provided evidence of kinship between the peoples (or at least the leaders) of the two regions in the *present;* stemmas could have been produced showing the royal houses of the two *poleis,* their origins among the Heracleidae, and their descent into the present. Archidamus does not make this kind of argument, nor could he have. There had been no Aepytids for the centuries that Messenia was a Spartan province, assuming there had ever been Aepytids. The last one of note was supposedly Aristomenes, who had fought the Spartans in the Second Messenian War (Paus. 4.15.4) and to whom Epaminondas offered a sacrifice as he prepared to build the city of Messene (Paus. 4.27.6). If Archidamus was familiar with Pausanias' sources, he chose to ignore another interesting detail: at 4.3.6, Pausanias says that the Messenian people (as opposed to the nobles who eventually murdered the king) had accepted the rule of Cresphontes, preferring it to the house of Neleus (βασιλεύεσθαί τε συγχωροῦσιν ὑπὸ Κρεσφόντου

καὶ ἀναδάσασθαι πρὸς τοὺς Δωριέας τὴν γῆν, 4.3.6). Under normal circumstances, that would strengthen a case for legitimacy, but given the Spartans' utter contempt for the Messenian people themselves, Archidamus had no use for such an argument. Finally, we have the likelihood that the Aepytid tradition hardly predates Archidamus' speech anyway.

45. Thuc. 3.92. See further Malkin 1994: 219–235. Heracles was strongly associated with the original Trachis, and his son Hyllus was adopted into the Dorian royal family.

CHAPTER 5

1. Fredricksmeyer 1990: 304. As a requirement of Macedonian society, the king would demonstrate military prowess, bestow benefactions on nobles, and have consultations with the council (as Agamemnon does in the *Iliad*). On the importance of honor to Alexander, in both Homeric and Macedonian contexts, see Roisman 2003, esp. 282–289. On the influence of Homer on Alexander, see Edmunds 1971: 372–374; Badian 1982: 48n.43; Fredricksmeyer 1990: 304–305. On Alexander's rivalry with Philip, see Bosworth 1988a: 6–16; Fredricksmeyer 1990: 308–314; Worthington 2003a: 92–94 and 2004: 299–303.

2. The bibliography for Alexander's alleged conception of the "unity of mankind" is vast. The debate began with Tarn's idealistic portrayal (1948 [Vol. II]: 399–449), which received corrective responses from Badian 1958; Thomas 1968; Bosworth 1980. Worthington (2004: 246) tears down Tarn's vision by showing how "pragmatic" Alexander's racial integration in the army and administration was.

3. E.g., at 3.3.1 and 5.2.5.

4. The background on Greek and Macedonian perceptions of Macedonian identity, with emphasis on how myth was used to explain it, is discussed in more detail in Appendix Two.

5. E.g., was Heracles' siege of Aornus a Macedonian fabrication, as Eratosthenes charged (Arr. 4.28.1–2; Strabo 15.1.8–9), and likewise the journey of Dionysus to India (Arr. 5.3.4; Strabo 15.1.7–8)? Also alleged was that Alexander's flatterers moved the Caucasus further east and claimed to have found the cave where Heracles had released Prometheus (Arr. 5.3.2–3; Strabo 15.1.8). This is the context for the kinship diplomacy with the Nysaeans, the Oxydracae, and the Sibi in India.

6. Green 1991: 159.

7. Polyaen. *Strat.* 4.3.23.

8. Θετταλοὺς ὑπομνήσας τῆς ἀρχαίας ἀφ᾽ Ἡρακλέους συγγενείας καὶ λόγοις φιλανθρώποις, ἔτι δὲ μεγάλαις ἐπαγγελίαις μετεωρίσας, 17.4.1.

9. *In transitu hortatus Thessalos fuerat beneficiorumque Philippi patris maternaeque suae cum his ab Aeacidarum gente necessitudinis admonuerat,* 11.3.1.

10. E.g., Hdt. 8.137–139; Thuc. 2.99.3; Isoc. 5.105–108, 5.127; Arr. 4.11.6; Diod. 17.4.1; Plut. *Alex.* 2.1; Livy 32.22.11.

11. Homer *Il.* 2.678–679; Apollod. *Epit.* 3.13; Strabo 14.2.6.

12. Strabo 9.5.23.

13. Ἄντιφος δὲ ὁ Θεσσαλοῦ εἰς Πελασγοὺς ἐλθὼν καὶ τὴν χώραν κατασχὼν Θεσσαλίαν ἐκάλεσε, Apollod. *Epit.* 6.15b.

14. Yet another version was known to Diodorus, who has a Thessalus son of Jason and Medea reclaim the throne of Iolcus (in Thessaly) after the death of Pelias' son Acastus and name the Thessalians after himself (4.55.2). In Fragment 7 of Book 7, Diodorus notes that he is aware of other versions of how the Thessalians got their name. See also Vell. Pat. 1.3.1–2.

15. Hammond 1967: 447–456, 1972: 439, 1989: 37.

16. From Pherecydes *FGrH* 3 F. 78 comes the detail that Heracles killed the king of Cos, Eurypylus, and later had a son named Thessalus through Chalciope, the king's daughter. Cf. Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.7.1, 2.7.8. See also Van der Valk 1958: 117–131; Gantz 1996: 444–445. Recall that the Coan contingent in the Catalogue of Ships was under the command of Thessalus' sons.

17. Arist. FF. 497, 498 Rose; Suda s.v. *Aleuadai;* Sch. Ap. Rhod. 3.1090; Sch. Pind. *Pyth.* 10.5; Plut. de frat. am. 21 = *Mor.* 492; Ael. *H. An.* 8.11. See Larsen 1968: 17; Helly 1995: 120.

18. See also Plut. *Alex.* 2.1; Curt. 4.6.29.

19. The story goes at least as far back as Agias' *Nostoi,* which was summarized by Proclus in his *Chrestomathia.* See Argument 4 = West 2003: 157. Later sources: Pindar *Nem.* 4.51–53, 7.34–40; *Paean* 6.100–120; Hellan. *FGrH* 4 F. 84 (= Dion. Hal. 1.72.2); Eur. *Androm.* 1243–1250; Arist. *Pol.* 1285b. A scholion at Homer's *Odyssey* 3.188, citing Eratosthenes, explains that Molossus was the ancestor of the Molossian kings. See also Eust. *Od.* p. 1463. On Molossus himself, see Apollod. *Epit.* 6.12; Paus. 1.11.1. On the Molossians, see further Hammond 1967: 383–386; Malkin 2001: 202. For a full discussion of the sources on Neoptolemus' return "home," whether to Epirus or Thessaly, see Gantz 1996: 687–690.

20. Apollod. *Epit.* 6.13. Cf. Homer *Od.* 3.188, 4.5–9, which notes that Neoptolemus goes straight back to Phthia after the Trojan War, where he will take up the throne and marry Menelaus' daughter Hermione.

21. Μολοττοὶ ὑπὸ Πύρρῳ τῷ Νεοπτολέμου τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως καὶ τοῖς ἀπογόνοις αὐτοῦ Θετταλοῖς οὖσι γεγονότες, 7.7.8.

22. Arr. 1.12.1. Cf. Plut. *Alex.* 15.4; Diod. 17.17.3; Justin 11.5.12; Aelian *VH* 12.7.

23. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ κατὰ συγγενείας ἀνανέωσιν ὥρμησε προνοεῖν αὐτῶν, ἅμα καὶ φιλόμηρος. . . . κατά τε δὴ τὸν τοῦ ποιητοῦ ζῆλον καὶ κατὰ τὴν συγγένειαν τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν Αἰακιδῶν τῶν ἐν Μολοττοῖς βασιλευσάντων, παρ᾽ οἷς καὶ τὴν Ἀνδρομάχην ἱστοροῦσι βασιλεῦσαι τὴν Ἕκτορος γενομένην γυναῖκα, ἐφιλοφρονεῖτο πρὸς τοὺς Ἰλιέας ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, 13.1.27.

24. Bosworth 1988a: 39.

25. Strabo 14.4.2; *SEG* XXXIV.282. Stroud (1984: 199–201) renders the relevant section of lines 4–5 as Ἀσπ[εν]δίοις συγγενέ[σι καὶ ἀποίκ]οις Ἀργείων.

26. Arr. 1.26.2–3. See Bosworth 1988a: 255.

27. Arr. 1.26.5–27.4.

28. But it was not the entire League Council that had made this decision. The representatives of the league who happened to be with Alexander were from Thespiae, Plataea, and Orchomenus, all Boeotian states that, along with Phocis, felt enormous animosity toward

Thebes. See Justin 11.3.8–9; Diod. 17.14; Arr. 1.8.8; Plut. *Alex.* 11.5. Incidentally, Justin adds that the Boeotians used myth to bolster their characterization of Thebes as a wicked city (11.3.11). Alexander knew Thebes' destruction would be the outcome, manipulating the letter of the law for his own ends. See further Worthington 2003b: 68 and 2004: 61.

29. Justin 11.4.5–8. Along with Diodorus, Curtius, and the *Metz Epitome,* Justin is usually said to fall within the so-called vulgate tradition, which stemmed from Cleitarchus for the most part. Cleitarchus' twelve-book history of Alexander (c. 310 BCE) was enormously popular in the hellenistic period. This tradition stands in contrast to the more sober and reliable "court" tradition of Arrian, whose sources were closer to Alexander. But this is an oversimplification, as our later sources each clearly used a variety of primary sources, breaking the dichotomy somewhat. See further Baynham 2003: 21.

30. Stoneman 1991: 8–11 and 2008: 2–3.

31. *Alex. Rom.* 1.46.

32. Soli's Argive origins are acknowledged but not elaborated upon in Polyb. 21.24.11 and Livy 37.56.7. Cf. Strabo 14.5.8.

33. Line 7: καθάπερ κ[α]ὶ τοῖς Σολεῦσι. According to Stroud, "These privileges for the people of Soloi were also no doubt the topic of an earlier Argive decree which may have closely resembled the present document. If we can believe Diogenes Laertius (1.51) the ethnic in line 7 is that of the Kilikian Soloi and not the homonymous city on the north coast of Kypros" (1984: 201 and n.24).

34. Strabo 14.5.16; cf. Apollod. *Epit.* 6.19.

35. Arr. 2.5.5; Curt. 3.7.2–3.

36. τοὺς φόρους, οὓς βασιλεῖ Δαρείῳ ἀπέφερον, ἀνῆκεν, ὅτι Ἀργείων μὲν Μαλλωταὶ ἄποικοι ἦσαν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀπ᾽ Ἄργους τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν εἶναι ἠξίου, Arr. 2.5.9.

37. Bosworth 1988a: 58.

38. Arrian 2.16 differentiated them, and Brundage 1958 provides evidence of multiple figures with similar characteristics, of whom one was the Tyrian Heracles and another, the Argive.

39. Arr. 2.16.7–8; Diod. 17.40.2; Curt. 4.2.4; Justin 11.10.10.

40. Of extant sources, the festival is only mentioned by Curtius 4.2.10. See further Bosworth 1988a: 65; Green 1991: 248.

41. Bosworth 1988a: 65; Worthington 2004: 106–107.

42. Curt. 4.2.3, called here Hercules, of course.

43. Arr. 2.24.5–6; Diod. 17.46.4–6; Curt. 4.4.12–18.

44. The main sources are Arr. 3.3–4; Diod. 17.49.2–51.4; Plut. *Alex.* 26.6–27.6; Curt. 4.7.6–32; Justin 11.11.2–12. On the role of Siwah in Alexander's claims to divinity, see Bosworth 1977; Kienast 1988; Fredricksmeyer 2003: 270–274; Worthington 2004: 116–117, 278–279.

45. Most notably, Herodotus (2.50.1) claimed that most of the Greek gods were Egyptian in origin.

46. Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ φιλοτιμία ἦν πρὸς Περσέα καὶ Ἡρακλέα, 3.3.2.

47. Diod. 17.49.2; Curt. 4.7.1. Arrian (3.1.2) limits Alexander's warm reception to the Persian satrap Mazaces.

48. See especially Hdt. 7.61, 7.150; Aesch. *Per.* 79–80, 144–146, 155, 185–187; Hellan. *FGrH* 4 FF. 59–60.

49. Stateira: Arr. 7.4.4; Diod. 17.107.6; Plut. Alex. 70.3. Parysatis: Arr. 7.4.4; Curt. 4.10.2.

50. Hammond 1986: 79–80; Fredricksmeyer 2000: 139–143; Brosius 2003: 171–172.

51. Balsdon 1966: 187–198; Bosworth 1980; Hamilton 1988; Brosius 2003: 173–179; Worthington 2004: 140–142, 156–157.

52. Brosius 2003: 179–181; cf. Badian 1996: 20.

53. Deliberate: Arr. 3.18.11; Strabo 15.3.6. Drunken accident: Diod. 17.72; Curt. 5.7.1–11. Plutarch (*Alex.* 38) somewhat combines the two by suggesting that the Macedonians, under the influence of an Athenian courtesan named Thais, should send a message to Greece, which they proceeded to do, albeit in a drunken stupor.

54. O'Brien (1992: 109–110) holds to the view that the fire was not premeditated. Contrary interpretations are many. Green (1991: 320) argues that the Persian *magi* (priests) angered Alexander by not holding the New Year's festival, in which he would have been formally recognized as Great King. Brosius (2003: 184–185) acknowledges the motivation ascribed by Arrian but also points to the symbolic nature of Persepolis as the focal point of the satrapal system. Worthington (2004: 150–151) sees the timing of the complex's destruction as related to Agis' war in Greece, which threatened the stability of the Greek world. Whether planned from the start or an opportunity that the destruction opened up, Alexander wanted to undermine support for Agis, who was fighting against the Greeks' great avenger. Fredricksmeyer (2000: 147–150 and 2003: 259–260), however, argues that Persepolis was not as well known to the Greeks as Susa and thus less useful as a symbol of hellenic revenge. Rather, Alexander wanted to reinforce his disassociation from Persia's Avestan religion, the religion of the Achaemenids, the focal point of which was Persepolis. Having consulted E. F. Schmidt's excavation reports on Persepolis, Sancisi-Weerdenburg (1993: 184–185) concludes that the original aim of the fire may have been the contents of the palace complex rather than the buildings themselves. Alexander, knowing the Achaemenid kings' reputation for establishing political bonds through largesse, wanted to remove precious items that local potentates might try to use to increase their influence.

55. This detail is found only in Plutarch and Curtius. See next note.

56. Arr. 5.1.3–6, *Ind.* 1.5; Curt. 8.10.7–12; Plut *Alex.* 58.4–7; Justin 12.7.6.

57. καὶ ταῦτα πάντα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πρὸς θυμοῦ ἐγίγνετο ἀκούειν καὶ ἤθελε πιστὰ εἶναι τὰ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Διονύσου τῆς πλάνης μυθευόμενα· καὶ κτίσμα εἶναι Διονύσου τὴν Νῦσαν ἤθελεν, ὡς ἤδη τε ἥκειν αὐτὸς ἔνθα ἦλθε Διόνυσος καὶ ἐπέκεινα <ἂν> ἐλθεῖν Διονύσου, 5.2.1.

58. Arr. 5.2.2–7, *Ind.* 5.9; Curtius 8.10.13–17; Justin 12.7.7–8.

59. Bosworth 1996b: 150. Compare with Hammond (1993: 248–251), who thinks the difference of modes indicates that Arrian is using different sources. In the end, both Hammond's and Bosworth's explanations amount to the same thing, that Arrian is more skeptical of the information provided by the *legomenon,* the second-hand reporting of less reliable sources (the myth of Dionysus in Indian Nysa), than of the facts likely to have been presented by Ptolemy (the particulars of the visit) and Aristobulus (Alexander's desire to believe Dionysus had been in this region).

60. ἐμοὶ δ᾽ ἐν μέσῳ κείσθων οἱ ὑπὲρ τούτων λόγοι, 5.3.4.

61. *Ind.* 5.9–13, 6.1. This judgment applies to the Sibi (or Sibae) as well (*Ind.* 5.12–13). See further below. For a general discussion of Arrian's attitudes on earlier geographical treatments of India, see Stadter 1980: 115–132.

62. ἐπειδὰν τὸ θεῖόν τις προσθῇ τῷ λόγῳ, 5.1.2. Bosworth (1988b: 70) has noted that Arrian, in Herodotean fashion, tended to present even dubious claims (e.g., mythological) without commitment, letting his reader decide on their veracity. Invoking the divine is certainly a good way to clear one's conscience when presenting such material.

63. On Scylax's and Ctesias' accounts of India, see Romm 1992: 84–88.

64. Branchidae: Curt. 7.5.28; Strabo 11.11.4, 14.1.5. Also covered in the missing section of Diodorus Book 17. Greeks at Barca: Hdt. 4.204.

65. In general, see Karttunen 1989: 55–57.

66. Bosworth (1996a: 122 and 1996b: 151–154) has argued that the Nysaeans did in fact invoke Dionysus, albeit after some coaching by Greeks. On Macedonian invention: see Anspach 1901: 21; Nock 1928; Goukowski 1981: 32. Schachermeyr (1973: 411) implies an Indian invention but chooses not to venture an explanation, focusing instead on how Alexander, driven by his *pothos,* took advantage of the town's Dionysian identity. Edmunds 1971: 377–378 is inconclusive.

67. O'Brien 1980: 86–87 and 1992: 13; Fredricksmeyer 2003: 264.

68. O'Brien 1980: 90–91 and 1992: 6–8, 102–104.

69. Thebes: Arr. 2.15.2–3; Plut. *Alex.* 13.4. Murder of Cleitus: Arr. 4.9.5.

70. Curt. 7.9.15; *Metz Epit.* 12. The rarity of ivy in the interior of Asia is noted by Theophrastus *Hist. Pl.* 4.4.1. See further Goukowski 1981: 29; Bosworth 1996a: 120 and 1996b: 146–147.

71. On Alexander's alleged desire for deification, see especially Balsdon 1966; Edmunds 1971; Fredricksmeyer 1979 and 2003; Badian 1981 and 1996; Bosworth 1988a: 278–290 and 1996; Cawkwell 1994; Worthington 2004: 273–283. Berve (1926: 94) sees the promotion of Dionysus in India in connection with this desire. Contra Nock 1928: 25.

72. It bears noting, however, as Nock did many decades ago, that the itinerary Euripides describes has Dionysus traveling from east to west. See Nock 1928: 25.

73. As far as I can tell, no place names in the modern areas of Nuristan where one can still find the famous ivy (namely, at Wama, Kurder, and in the Waigal Valley) record any memory of ancient "Nysa." See further Edelberg 1965: 195.

74. "Nysa," usually the mountain on which Dionysus was reared rather than a town, is abundantly attested in the ancient sources, e.g., Homer *Il.* 6.132; HH Dion. 8; Hdt. 2.146, 3.97; Diod. 3.64–67; Stephanus of Byzantium and Hesychius (s.v. *Nusa*). But the usage of the name has undergone an additional transformation: not the place name of Dionysus' upbringing or birth but a town founded by the god.

75. μῶν κρότος σικινίδων / ὁμοῖος ὑμῖν νῦν τε χὤτε Βακχίῳ / κῶμος συνασπίζοντες Ἀλθαίας δόμους / προσῇτ᾽ ἀοιδαῖς βαρβίτων σαυλούμενοι; Eur. *Cycl.* 37–40, trans. David Kovacs from the Loeb edition.

76. Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.8.1; Satyrus *FGrH* 631 F. 1; Hyg. *Fab.* 129; *POxy* 2465, col. 2.2–11. Satyrus specifically links the Argeads to this story. Nock (1928: 25–26) suggested a Ptole-

maic ruse to link the Macedonian dynasty of Egypt with the Argeads and their Temenid forebears.

77. See further Bosworth 1996a: 125–126 and n.128.

78. Arr. 4.22.6; Diod. 17.86.4–7; Curt. 8.12.4–10; Plut. *Alex.* 59.1–3. Taxiles: Arr. 5.18.7. See Bosworth 1996b: 152–153.

79. *tertium Iove genitum,* Curt. 8.10.1.

80. Stadter 1980: 84; Bosworth 1995: 199.

81. On Cleitarchus, see Pearson 1960: 212–242; Hammond 1993: 328–329. On Curtius 8.10.11–12 and Justin 12.7.6, see Hammond 1983: 148 and 104 respectively.

82. *FGrH* 125 F. 17; cf. Hammond 1993: 250. On Chares' reputation, see Hammond 1993: 327–328.

83. Strabo 15.1.7, 15.1.9.

84. Bosworth 1996a: 126.

85. οὐδ᾽ ἂν Μακεδόνας τὸ πρόσω ἀπαξιῶσαι συμπονεῖν οἱ ἔτι κατὰ ζῆλον τῶν Διονύσου ἔργων, 5.2.1.

86. On the possibility of Indra, Edelberg (1965: 196) notes that it is reasonable "that the people whom Alexander met with at the 'mountain of Meros' were the cultural forefathers of the Kafirs, and that the wine-cult there thus goes back to before 326 B.C. But the *forefathers* of the 'people of Nysa' may well have been soma-drinkers, and the connection between Indra and that intoxicating drink would seem almost to point in that direction." Cf. Goukowsky 1981: 27. Shiva's attributes involve music and dance and for that reason could have suggested Dionysus to the Greeks, as suggested by Karttunen 1989: 214–215.

87. Nock (1928: 29–30) argues that writers beginning with Cleitarchus were serving an agenda of the Ptolemies of Egypt, who promoted the cult of Dionysus and likewise sought to strengthen their connection to Alexander.

88. Diod. 17.96.1–3; Curt. 9.4.1–3; Justin 12.9.2.

89. Strabo 15.1.8. In fact, ancient Indians did brand cattle, and Krishna was said to wield a club. See Stein 1931: 303–304.

90. ἐξ ὅτου Διόνυσος ἐς Ἰνδοὺς ἧκε . . . ἐς Ἀλέξανδρον, Arr. 6.14.2.

91. Bosworth 1996a: 164–165.

92. Strabo 15.1.8. Strabo mentions "vines" (ἄμπελος) rather than "ivy" (κισσός), the term used by Arrian and presumably Theophrastus, if the emendations to the latter are correct.

93. Arr. 6.4.3, 6.14.2.

94. Lowell Edmunds (1971: 363) divides Alexander's campaign into two phases: a "Graeco-Macedonian phase" and a "heroic phase." The former he extends to Alexander's execution of Philotas and subsequently to that of his father Parmenion in 330. Worthington (2004: 278) sees Alexander's visit to Siwah as "the real turning point in his quest for divine status."

95. Arr. 5.5.3; cf. Strabo 11.6.4.

96. Although in the case of Salamis, we know the Athenians acknowledged a *genos* of Salaminios, and the inscription *IG* I^3 1 gives information about Athenian settlement of the island.

CHAPTER 6

1. The nature of *democratia* in the hellenistic world, however, is very complicated. Among the evidence Rhodes looked at was the authorship of decrees. Was the proposer an individual making a motion within the *ecclesia,* or perhaps a citizen speaking as a member of the *boule,* or perhaps a board of *prytaneis* selected along more oligarchical lines? Nonetheless, his analysis of Sherwin-White's "three basic criteria of Greek democracy" yielded the conclusion that "most Greek states were indeed formally democratic in the hellenistic period" (Rhodes and Lewis 1997: 533). These criteria, on which see Sherwin-White 1978: 176, were no property qualification to limit the franchise, a sovereign assembly, and popularly elected magistrates. Of these, Rhodes found the last two criteria to apply to most hellenistic states but only scant evidence about property qualification, which at any rate would, in some cases, be less rigid for the assembly than for the council and other offices. See also Shipley 2000: 35–36; Grieb 2008: 13–26.

2. As we noted in Chapter One, Finkelberg (2005: 28–29) argues that the panhellenic stemma of Hellen and his sons provided a stable framework for the paths taken by local charter myths to connect the local community to the panhellenic. We can imagine how leading citizens in hellenistic cities determined those paths not only for the sake of their community's identity but to facilitate putative links of kinship with others. For further consideration of how local conditions influenced this sort of mythopoesis, see Fowler 1998: 3–5; Kühr 2006: 16–18; and Clarke 2008: 202–203.

3. The "standardized process" in the hellenistic world, to use Shipley's expression, involved proposals from magistrates, from within the *boule,* or from within the *ecclesia* itself that were then made legal by the *ecclesia* in those cities where some form of participatory democracy was in place. See Shipley 2000: 35.

4. Referring to an honorific document for an eminent citizen named Mokazis, inscribed on a stele in Tarseia in Bithynia in the second century BCE, John Ma explains, "that it reflects . . . the dialectical relation between city and elite and shows how the city retained a monopoly on the granting of honor, and hence remained an important venue for the elite's self-imagination as a *civic* elite, as opposed to a nobility of birth, wealth, or leisure" (2000: 110, Ma's italics).

5. C. P. Jones 1999: 60; Lücke 2000: 22–23. This was, in fact, the second of two series. The first dates to the last decade of the third century. These inscriptions are discussed by Elwyn 1991: 218–246; Curty 1995: 89–106; and Rigsby 1996: 280–325.

6. This decree and its companion piece *IC* I.viii.11 are not strictly grants of *asylia* to Teos but merely celebrate the poetic genius of Menecles.

7. Chaniotis 1988: 348–349; Erskine 2002: 106.

8. As in the more general discussion of the Greek world at this time, the degree of actual democratization in Crete in the hellenistic period has been a matter of some debate. Effenterre (1948: 161–172) suggested a movement toward democracy away from the classical-era aristocratic systems of the Cretan states, an assessment based partly on Polybius 6.46.4, which speaks of Cretan magistrates elected on a "democratic system" (δημοκρατικὴν διάθεσιν). Willetts (1955: 170–191) was critical of Effenterre's interpretation, noting for in-

stance that Polybius was merely comparing the quasi-democratic magistracies of Crete to the hereditary offices of Sparta (see esp. pp. 178–179). Rhodes notes a lack of emphasis on democratic language in Cretan decrees (Rhodes and Lewis 1997: 312). In any case, whether in an oligarchical or a democratic system, it was the decision-makers of Crete who were receptive to the Teans' overtures on the basis of kinship myth.

9. Elwyn 1991: 244; Curty 1995: 106; C. P. Jones 1999: 60; Lücke 2000: 21–23.

10. Paus. 7.3.6; Strabo 14.1.3. Elwyn (1991: 242) does mention these writers in connection with a grant of *asylia* to Teos by the Athamanes of Thessaly, but we are looking for a Cretan context.

11. It bears recalling that not every claim of kinship is based on myth. Historical colonization accounts for some instances in the epigraphical record, as in the literary. Given the preponderance of mythological explanations for kinship, one can assume that a putative linkage is based on myth if the relationship cannot be discerned from historical circumstances.

12. For general discussion of these inscriptions, see Elwyn 1991: 139–165; Curty 1995: 117–124; Rigsby 1996: 179–185; Slater and Summa 2006; Thonemann 2007, with further bibliography at Curty 1995: 108n.68. Other requests of *asylia* from cities in or near southwest Asia Minor, namely, Teos and Alabanda, are also dated to the last decade of the third century. Dangers emanating from active kings, especially Philip V and Antiochus III, may have spurred this increased diplomatic activity. See further C. P. Jones 1999: 58–63. For the text of *I.v. Magnesia* 35, see also Chaniotis 1988: no. T5; Curty 1995: no. 46c. Background on myths involving the Magnesians on the Maeander and other Magnesians can be found in Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1937.

13. For the text, see *I.v. Magnesia* 16; *SIG*^{3} 557; *SEG* XXXII 1147; and the following cited. Line 16 is damaged and can be filled with several equally plausible emendations, based on the number of letters. Two in particular that have been debated are ἀργυρί]-/την (lines 16–17) by Ebert 1982: 202n.17, L. and J. Robert 1989: 53n.270, and Rigsby 1996: 188; and στεφανί-/την by Kern 1900 and Slater and Summa 2006: 284–285. The latter would mean that the contest in 221 had vegetal crowns as prizes, while the first would refer to monetary prizes, as if the upgrade between 221 and 208 was not only in scope but also from argyritic to stephanitic. Aside from various epigraphical arguments, Slater and Summa put forth that an argyritic contest in 221 makes less sense because such a competition does not need international acknowledgement. The inscription clearly refers to the Magnesians' frustration in 221, and a stephanitic contest, whose success does require such acknowledgement, would make more sense. See Slater and Summa 2006: 283.

14. Such a restriction strikes Thonemann (2007: 154) as odd and without parallel. Instead, he proposes that lines 16–17 of *I.v. Magnesia* 16 read, "They were the *first of those dwelling in Asia* to vote in favour of establishing a stephanitic contest" (2007: 155, Thonemann's italics), giving Magnesia pride of priority over other Asian cities, especially nearby rival Miletus, on which see Thonemann 2007: 159–160.

15. See further Slater and Summa 2006: 287.

16. τὰς γεγενημένας ὑπὸ τῶν προγόνων αὐτῶν ἐν τοὺς /Ἕ]λλανας εὐεργεσίας καὶ ἐν τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς διά τε τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ / χ]ρησμῶν καὶ διὰ τῶμ ποιητᾶν . . . (lines 7–9).

17. ἐμφανιξάντων / δὲ καὶ περὶ τᾶς οἰκειότατος τᾶς ὑπαρχούσας Μαγνήτοις ποτὶ Κεφαλ-

λᾶνας / κατὰ τὰν συγγένειαν τὰμ Μάγνητος καὶ Κεφάλου τοῦ Δηΐονος μετὰ πάσας φιλο/τιμίας (lines 12–15).

18. Rigsby 1996: 212.

19. West 1985: 54.

20. Strabo 8.7.1; cf. Hdt. 7.176.4. Moreover, Strabo is critical of Homer at 9.5.21. His basic point is that Homer has assigned the area of Peneus and Pelion to the Magnetes when he had previously (at lines 734 and 738) had others (albeit not Aeolians) inhabiting these regions. His criticism is perhaps disingenuous because at 8.7.1 Strabo seems to regard this region as Aeolian. Moreover, this allusion to the Magnetes at 756–758 is unique in Homer, prompting Kirk (1985: 237) to question why the poet would make the geographical setting of this part of the Catalogue problematic by introducing this contingent at all.

21. J. M. Hall 2002: 165–171.

22. The chronology of the Ionian and Aeolian migrations of the Dark Age is virtually out of reach (Graham 1983: 2), but the foundation of Magnesia-on-the-Maeander lies in this period, possibly c. 1000 BCE (Graham 2001: 94) but in any case before the traditional time of Homer in the eighth century.

23. Eustathius (338.21) and Scholiast A on 2.756 (Erbse) produce stemmas that connect Prothous to Magnes. The scholiast also notes that Magnes is an Aeolid: Μάγνης εἷς τῶν Αἰολιδῶν ὑπὸ τὸ Πήλιον κτίσας πόλιν ἀπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς Μελίβοιαν ἐκάλεσεν.

24. The question of the origins of Aeolus is somewhat more complex than that of Magnes, though only marginally problematic for my analysis of Magnes' relationship to him. Magnes and Macedon, as agents of ethnic exclusivity, to follow J. M. Hall's argument, served the greater purpose of delineating Aeolian identity in Thessaly. Yet something more than identity by contrast was still needed. Originally there was apparently no Aeolus to serve as eponymous ancestor to the Aeolic-speaking Thessalians. Thus he, too, may have been invented by the Thessalians as a means of anchoring their origins in myth. See further J. M. Hall 2002: 169–170. I have argued above for the possibility that it was only after the establishment of Magnesia-on-the-Maeander, Magnesia-at-Sipylus, and other cities in Asia Minor that Magnes was made son of Aeolus, an alternative patronymic to the one given in Fragment 7 of the Hesiodic corpus. Some of the earliest accounts of the Aeolian migrations from Greece, however, would seem to have been made in the East, in this case in Lesbos in the seventh century at the latest (J. M. Hall 2002: 72–74). Perhaps the figure of Aeolus himself, then, migrated from Asia Minor to Thessaly sometime before the archaic period.

25. Based on meter and the later testimony of Apollodorus, the reconstruction is accepted by Gantz and rendered by Merkelbach and West as Δηϊών] τε μέγ[ας . . . .] τ' ἀριδείκετος ἀνδρῶν. See Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.3, 3.15.1; Gantz 1996: 167.

26. Early sources: *Epig.* F. 5 (Bernabé); Hellan. *FGrH* 4 F. 169; Pher. *FGrH* 3 F. 34; *Nostoi* F. 5 (Bernabé); cf. Paus. 10.29.6. In his characteristic fashion, Pausanias reconciles what were likely two different traditions concerning Cephalus. Whereas he was married to Clymene in the *Nostoi* and to Procris in the *Epigonoi,* Pausanias says that he was married first to the latter and then to the former. See further Gantz 1996: 182.

27. The story was subsequently treated copiously. For example, Sophocles wrote a play

Procris. Note also Ovid 7.672–862; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.15.1; Ant. Lib. *Met.* 41; and Hyg. *Fab.* 189. On the variants of this story, see Gantz 1996: 245–247.

28. *Catalogue of Women:* note F. 135; Pher. *FGrH* 3 F. 13b. See further Gantz 1996: 376–377.

29. In the *Epigonoi,* if Fragment 5 (Bernabé) is genuine, Cephalus' role in the hunt is more prominent than in Apollodorus. Interestingly, in both accounts, he is from Athens.

30. The basis of kinship with the kings was the same as with Xanthus. The Cytenians were calling upon their Dorian heritage. Heracles was the great hero of the Dorians, and the Ptolemies, while more devoted to Dionysus, also saw themselves as descendants of Heracles (Rice 1983: 43). As for the Seleucids, the link would be through their patron god Apollo (Walbank 1993: 211), who was son of Coronis, a descendant of Dorus. The Cytenians also had Xanthus in mind when they mentioned Ptolemy, for Xanthus was subject to that king. The Ptolemaic link was yet one more tie between Xanthus and Cytenium, on top of the myriad mythological explanations discussed below. See further Bousquet 1988: 39–41; Curty 1995: 190–191; and Lücke 2000: 38–40.

31. . . . παρακαλοῦσιν ἡμᾶς ἀναμνησθέντας τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὑπαρχούσης συγγενείας ἀπό τε τῶν θεῶν καὶ τῶν ἡρώων μὴ περιιδεῖν κατεσκαμμένα τῆς πατρίδος αὐτῶν τὰ τείχη· Λητοῦν γάρ, τὴν τῆς πόλεως ἀρχηγέτιν τῆς ἡμετέρας, γεννῆσαι Ἄρτεμίν τε καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα παρ᾿ ἡμεῖν· Ἀπόλλωνος δὲ καὶ Κορωνίδος τῆς Φλεγύου τοῦ ἀπὸ Δώρου γενέσθαι ἐν τῆι Δωρίδι Ἀσκληπιόν· τῆς δὲ συγγενείας ὑπαρχούσης αὐτοῖς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν τούτων, προσαπελογίζοντο καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἡρώων συμπλοκὴν τοῦ γένους ὑπάρχουσαν αὐτοῖς, ἀπό τε Αἰόλου καὶ Δώρου τὴν γενεαλογίαν συνιστάμενοι, ἔτι τε παρεδείκνυον τῶν ἀποικισθέντων ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας ὑπὸ Χρυσάορος τοῦ Γλαύκου τοῦ Ἱππολόχου πρόνοιαν πεποιημένον Ἀλήτην, ὄντα τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν· ὁρμηθέντα γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς Δωρίδος βοηθῆσαι πολεμουμένοις καὶ τὸν περιεστηκότα κίνδυνον λύσαντα συνοικῆσαι τὴν Ἄορος τοῦ Χρυσάορος θυγατέρα· καὶ δι᾿ ἄλλων δὲ πλειόνων παραδεικνύοντες τὴν ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων συνωικειωμένην πρὸς ἡμᾶς εὔνοιαν διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν, ἠξίουν μὴ περιιδεῖν τὴν μεγίστην πόλιν τῶν ἐν τῆι Μητροπόλει ἐξαλειφθεῖσαν. . . .

The translation and the bracketed notations are those of C. P. Jones (1999: 61–62).

32. Bousquet 1988: 32.

33. Bryce 1990: 540; Bresson 1999: 100.

34. Hesiod *Th.* 281; Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.4.2.

35. Strabo 14.2.25; cf. Paus. 5.21.10.

36. Holleaux 1942: 141–157. Chrysaorian Antioch was also engaged in kinship diplo-

macy, certainly with the Amphictyonic League (*OGIS* 234) and possibly with Athens (*SEG* XXVIII 75). In both, *asylia* was granted to the city, and the civic deities Zeus Chrysaoreus and Apollo Isotimus were honored. Additionally, *OGIS* 234 records honors for Antiochus III. See further Robert 1973: 448–466; Pounder 1978; Bousquet 1988: 36–37; Elwyn 1991: 251–256.

37. Robert 1973: 451–453; Bousquet 1988: 37n.43.

38. Bousquet 1988: 37. See also Curty 1995: 191.

39. ἀπὸ τε Αἰόλου καὶ Δώρου τὴν γενεαλογίαν συνιστάμενοι (lines 23–24), my translation.

40. C. P. Jones 1999: 142–143.

41. πρώτη πόλις τῶν ὑπὸ *Λυκίων* κτισθεισῶν, s.v. C*hrysaoris.*

42. Steph. Byz. s.v. *Mylasa.* See also Bousquet 1988: 34.

43. Again, the pattern of the father sending out his son. See further C. P. Jones 1999: 140 for a critique of Bousquet's translation of *SEG* XXXVIII.1476, which presumes that Chrysaor himself led the expedition to Greece. Bousquet's translation (1988: 35) of ἀποικισθέντων (line 25) is problematic because "the verb ἀποικίζω, when it has a personal object, means 'send away from home,' 'send to a new home,' not 'lead out'" (C. P. Jones 1999: 140).

44. Evidence exists, however, that Aletes' conquest was not part of the tradition of the Return. Around the time or probably before the Argives invented the Return (see Chapter Two), an eighth-century poem, the *Corinthiaca* of Eumelus, apparently contained the story of Aletes. See further Salmon 1984: 52.

45. Bosquet 1988: 35.

46. Robert 1948: 5–15 (original publication) and 1960: 562–569. Text revised as *SEG* XXX.990, after N. F. Jones 1980: 165–166.

47. N. F. Jones 1980: 165–172; C. P. Jones: 1999: 141.

48. This observation was made by Curty (1995: 189). In his commentary on this inscription, Lücke (2000: 43) also pointed to the fluidity of Greek thinking by noting how the Cytenian envoys could take advantage of myth's multiform nature by offering a version of Chrysaor that suited their needs.

CHAPTER 7

1. On Pausanias' role in the Second Sophistic, see further Pretzler 2005: 236–237 and 2006: 156–157.

2. Pretzler 2006: 156–159. Moreover, in accordance with the idea that human nature has remained essentially unchanged, Pausanias embraces the notion that the achievements of great men from the heroes of the Trojan War to the last of them, the second-century BCE statesman Philopoemen, would have continued to the Periegete's own time if the Romans had not suppressed Greek freedom. See Sidebottom 2002: 497.

3. Elsner 1992; cf. Bowie 1996: 216–217; Habicht 1998: 120–123.

4. Alcock 1996: 249–250; cf. Pretzler 2005: 237–239 and 2007: 73–75.

5. Alcock 1996: 259.

6. See, e.g., Elsner 1992: 7–10, 17–18; Habicht 1998: 104–105, 134–135; Pretzler 2007: 74.

7. On which, see further Habicht 1998: 134n.74.

8. Arafat 1992: 389–390, my emphasis.

9. Habicht 1998: 130–134, cf. 142–143.

10. Jost 1998: 235; Pretzler 2005: 242 and 2007: 81. A similar openness is also apparent when Pausanias acknowledges the occasions when he has faltered in his methods, as when he admits that he failed to inquire about certain details while visiting a site on which he is now writing. See Pretzler 2007: 19.

11. Jost 1998: 237.

12. Pretzler 2004: 205 and 2005: 237–238.

13. C. P. Jones 2001: 35–39.

14. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ αὐτῶν λέληθεν Ἀργείων τοὺς ἐξηγητὰς ὅτι μὴ πάντα ἐπ᾽ ἀληθείᾳ λέγεταί σφισι, λέγουσι δὲ ὅμως· οὐ γάρ τι ἕτοιμον μεταπεῖσαι τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐναντία ὧν δοξάζουσιν, 2.23.6. Cf. 1.35.7–8, where Pausanias forces the truth out of Lydian guides who had claimed that certain large bones exposed on a nearby mountain belonged to the monster Geryon, as commonly believed, instead of a local hero Hyllus son of Gaea.

15. Habicht 1998: 145–146.

16. See also Pretzler 2004: 205–206.

17. I would also not align all "visitors" with the uneducated masses, as Habicht seems to — Pausanias is an obvious exception — though perhaps the majority were such.

18. Thus McInerney 1999: 136–149.

19. Recall, e.g., Leto's status of *archēgetis* (rather than ancestress) of the Xanthians and the problems that attend any analysis of Alexander's would-be use of Dionysus in India. A more clear-cut example lies in a Milesian document according citizenship rights to the peoples of Crete, *Milet* 1.3 No. 37, in which the common ancestor of the two parties was said to be Apollo.

20. The chronology is very uncertain, as Rigsby 1996: 154–163 stresses. See also Elwyn 1991: 246–251, who delineates the two series more confidently. The Phocian decree has traditionally been dated to around 278 to 261.

21. δ]εδόχθαι τῷ κοινῷ Φωκέων τ[ὸ] ἱε-
ρὸν τοῦ [Πο]τειδᾶνος καὶ τᾶς Ἀμφιτρίτας
ἐν Τήνῳ καὶ τὰν νᾶσον ἄσυλα εἶμεν, κα[ὶ]
ἐν τὰν κατασκευὰν τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπ̣ὶ
μὲν τ[ο]ῦ̣ παρόντος [δ]όμεν πέντε μ[ν]ᾶς, ὕσ-
τερον δέ, γενομένων Φωκεῦσι τῶν πραγμάτω[ν]
καὶ τοῦ πολέμου κατὰ λόγον, ἀποστεῖλαι
καταξίως τῶν θεῶν καὶ τᾶς ὑπαρχούσας
οἰκειότατος ποτὶ Τηνίους.

22. ἐπαινέσαι δὲ καὶ / τὰν πόλιν Τηνίων, ὅτι τοῦ τε ἱεροῦ τὰν ἐπιμέ-/λειαν ποιεῖνται καὶ τὰν ποτὶ Φωκεῖς οἰκειότα-/τα ἀνανεοῦνται, καὶ εἶμεν Την̣ίοις ἰσοπολι-/τείαν πᾶσι δεδομέναν ἐμ Φωκεῦσι (lines 11–15).

23. On Tenos' Dorian associations, see Elwyn 1991: 82. On the Ionian, Elwyn 1991: 251.

24. Thuc. 7.57.4; Hdt. 1.147.2. On Tenos and the Apatouria, see Sakellariou 1958: 46.

25. For the usual stemma of Hellen and his sons, Dorus, Aeolus, and Xuthus, see the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women,* FF. 9, 10a and Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.7.3.

26. Discussion by Robert 1969b: 1069–1070 and Rigsby 1996: 212.

27. ἀνενεώσαντό τε τὰν διὰ προγόνων ὑπάρχουσαν οἰκειό-/τατα καὶ φιλίαν ποτὶ Μάγνητας (lines 6–7).

28. ὅπως οὖν καὶ τὸ κοινὸν τῶμ Φωκέ-/ων φαίνηται τάν τε πὸτ τὸ θεῖον εὐσέβειαν καὶ τὰς τιμὰς συναύ-/ξειν, καθότι αὐτοῖς πάτριόν ἐστιν, μναμονεύοντες τᾶς οἰκειότα-/τος καὶ φιλίας ποτὶ Μάγνητας (lines 14–17).

29. See further Elwyn 1991: 70.

30. οἴονται δεῖν οἱ Ἡρακλει-/ῶται [τὸν βασιλέα] ἑ̣α̣υ̣τῶν πολυωρεῖν ὡς ὄντων ἀποίκων / [τῶ]ν̣ Αἰτ̣ω̣λ̣ῶ̣ν (lines 11–13).

31. See especially Gawantka 1975: 118–119; Robert 1987: 173–187; Elwyn 1991: 70–71; Curty 1995: 31–32; Habicht 1998: 66–67; C. P. Jones 1999: 53–54; Patterson 2004. Furher bibliography in Elwyn 1991: 70n.32. Robert (1987: 175–77) reviews the various attempts to identify this Heraclea before offering the interpretation that has since gained currency.

32. For bibliography, see Patterson 2004: 350n.4.

33. Robert 1987: 179, 185–186.

34. Hes. F. 10a.60–62 MW; Plato *Phaedo* 72c; Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.7.6; Paus. 5.1.3–4; Hyg. *Fab.* 271.

35. Patterson 2004.

36. τοὺς Ἠλείους ἴσμεν ἐκ Καλυδῶνος διαβεβηκότας καὶ Αἰτωλίας τῆς ἄλλης· τὰ δὲ ἔτι παλαιότερα ἐς αὐτοὺς τοιάδε εὕρισκον. βασιλεῦσαι πρῶτον ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ λέγουσιν Ἀέθλιον, παῖδα δὲ αὐτὸν Διός τε εἶναι καὶ Πρωτογενείας τῆς Δευκαλίωνος, Ἀεθλίου δὲ Ἐνδυμίωνα γενέσθαι. . . . γενέσθαι δ᾽ οὖν φασιν αὐτῷ Παίονα καὶ Ἐπειόν τε καὶ Αἰτωλὸν καὶ θυγατέρα ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς Εὐρυκύδαν, 5.1.3–4.

37. Lafond 1997: 994.

38. Cf. Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.7.5, which says that Endymion led Aeolians from Thessaly and founded Elis.

39. Cf. Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.7.6; Strabo 8.3.33; Ephorus *FGrH* 70 F. 115.

40. Certainly much of the mythology dealt with in this study arose from the attempts by prominent families in the Dark Ages to promote their greatness and account for their origins, heroic of course. See further Hammond 1975: 704.

41. Strabo 8.1.2, 8.3.33, 10.3.2; Paus. 5.3.5–4.4; Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.8.3; Ephorus *FGrH* 70 FF. 115, 122.

42. Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.7.5; Strabo 8.1.2. Strabo, however, has his facts wrong. The Eleans spoke a dialect of West Greek, not Aeolic. On the West Greek dialects spoken in Aetolia and Elis and elsewhere, see Osborne 1996: 35–36; J. M. Hall 1997: 155.

43. West 1985: 60n.67.

44. There are problems attending Aethlius, whose patronymic is confused, either a son of Aeolus, possibly an "additional name" given to Zeus (ἐπίκλησιν, Paus. 5.8.2) or of Zeus

unequivocally (Paus. 5.1.3; Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.7.2; Hes. F. 260 MW; Schol. Ap. Rhod. 4.58). See further Patterson 2004: 349–350.

45. Ephorus *FGrH* 70 F. 122; Strabo 10.3.2.

46. Paus. 5.1.5; Strabo 14.1.8.

47. Bean 1979: 214–215. George Bean describes his identification of this sanctuary as “very attractive,” which is as far as one can go without inscriptions or votive offerings to secure it.

48. Dain 1933: 66–73; Robert 1987: 184–185.

49. τὰ δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἐνδυμίωνος τελευτὴν οὐ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ Ἡρακλεῶταί τε οἱ πρὸς Μιλήτῳ καὶ Ἠλεῖοι λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ Ἠλεῖοι μὲν ἀποφαίνουσιν Ἐνδυμίωνος μνῆμα, Ἡρακλεῶται δὲ ἐς Λάτμον τὸ ὄρος ἀποχωρῆσαί φασιν αὐτὸν <καὶ τιμὴν αὐτῷ νέ>μουσι, καὶ ἄδυτον Ἐνδυμίωνός ἐστιν ἐν τῷ Λάτμῳ, 5.1.5.

50. *I.v. Pergamon* 156 has received a good deal of attention. See Elwyn 1991: 99–100; Curty 1995: 86–87; Robert 1969a: 453–454; C. P. Jones 1999: 79–80; Lücke 2000: 92–95.

51. δ̣ε̣δόχθαι τῷ δήμ̣ῳ̣ ἐ̣[π]αιν̣[έσαι
μὲν τὴν πό]λιν τὴν Τεγεατῶν, διότι καὶ . . . α[. . . εἰς
ἡμῶν τὴ]ν πόλιν οἰκειότητος καὶ δ̣ι’ ἀρ̣ετ[ὴν(?) . . .]την δ . . .
. . . ἐ]π̣εὶ κα̣ὶ δ̣[ίκαι]όν ἐστιν καὶ σύ̣[μφορον . . . (lines 9–12)
ἐξουσίαν δὲ [εἶναι
καὶ] πολιτεύ̣[ε]σθαι ἐν Περγ̣άμ̣ῳ τοῖς βου̣λομένοις Τεγεάτ[αις
μετέχουσι] π̣άντ̣ων [ὧν κ]α̣ὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Περγαμηνοί. (lines 15–17)

52. [. . . τὰ ἐν
τοῖς προϋπάρχουσιν ὑ̣π̣ομνήμ̣ασι περὶ τῆς συγγενεί[ας ἡμῶν
πρὸς] Τ[εγε]ά[τα]ς κα̣[ὶ τ]ὸ ψήφισμα τοῦτό τε καὶ τὸ παρ[ὰ Τεγε]α-
τῶν̣ ἐνηνεγμέν[ο]ν. . . . (lines 17–20)

53. Lücke 2000: 93.

54. [so that the aforementioned items]

ἐμφανῆ τοῖς ἐπιγινομ̣έν[οις] ἢ̣ καὶ
μηδὲν τῶν τοι[ο]ύ̣των εἰς τὸ δυνατὸν διὰ [χρόνο]υ πλῆ-
[θ]ος εἰς λήθην πέσῃ, ἀναγράψαι αὐτὰ εἰς σ[τήλ]ην λευ-
κοῦ λίθου καὶ ἀναθεῖναι α̣ὐτὴν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν̣ [τῆς] Ἀθηνᾶς. . . . (lines 20–23)

55. On the Attalids’ campaign to “establish their cultural credentials” in the Greek world, in which Telephus played an important role, see especially Gruen 2000: 17–23. Also important in this respect is the Telephus Frieze on the Great Altar at Pergamum, on which see Hansen 1971: 340–347 and Heres 1997.

56. The latter part of the sentence at lines 17–24 reads: “These things have been inscribed on a stele of white stone; the [statue of Athena], which Auge set up, was dedicated in the sacred precinct of Athena” (ἀναγράψαι αὐτὰ εἰς σ[τήλ]ην λευ-/κοῦ λίθου καὶ ἀναθεῖναι α̣ὐτὴν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν̣ [τῆς] Ἀθηνᾶς, / ἣ]ν ἱδρύσατο Αὔγη (22–24). This passage seems to refer to

Auge's founding of a cult of Athena in Pergamum, to which Panel 11 of the Telephus Frieze is believed to refer (Heres 1997: 85).

57. Gruen 2000: 23, my emphasis.

58. For his victory at the beginning of his reign in 241, see Livy 38.16; Polyb. 8.41.7–8; Strabo 13.4.2.

59. Hansen 1971: 59; Gruen 2000: 17–19.

60. Extremely helpful in sorting them out is Gantz 1996: 428–431. See also Stewart 1997; Pretzler 1999: 113–114.

61. τὴν δὲ Εἰλείθυιαν οἱ Τεγεᾶται — καὶ γὰρ ταύτης ἔχουσιν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ναὸν καὶ ἄγαλμα — ἐπονομάζουσιν Αὔγην ἐν γόνασι, λέγοντες ὡς Ναυπλίῳ παραδοίη τὴν θυγατέρα Ἄλεος ἐντειλάμενος ἐπαναγαγόντα αὐτὴν ἐς θάλασσαν καταποντῶσαι· τὴν δὲ ὡς ἤγετο πεσεῖν τε ἐς γόνατα καὶ οὕτω τεκεῖν τὸν παῖδα, ἔνθα τῆς Εἰλειθυίας ἐστὶ τὸ ἱερόν. οὗτος ὁ λόγος διάφορος μέν ἐστιν ἑτέρῳ λόγῳ, λάθρᾳ τὴν Αὔγην τεκεῖν τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἐκτεθῆναι τὸν Τήλεφον λέγοντι ἐς τὸ ὄρος τὸ Παρθένιον καὶ τῷ παιδὶ ἐκκειμένῳ διδόναι γάλα ἔλαφον, 8.48.7.

62. Jost 1998: 231. The motif of the abandoned infant hero found and nourished by a female animal in the wild is well known. On Telephus and the deer, see also Soph. *Aleadai* (F. 89 Radt); Diod. 4.33.7–12; Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.7.4, 3.9.1.

63. Strabo 12.8.2, 13.1.69.

64. αὐτοὶ δὲ Ἀρκάδες ἐθέλουσιν εἶναι τῶν ὁμοῦ Τηλέφῳ διαβάντων ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν. πολέμων δὲ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων, εἰ δή τινας ἐπολέμησαν, οὐκ ἐς ἅπαντας κεχώρηκεν ἡ φήμη· τρία δὲ γνωριμώτατα ἐξείργασταί σφισι, τῆς τε Ἀσίας ἀρχὴ τῆς κάτω καὶ ἡ Γαλατῶν ἀπ᾽ αὐτῆς ἀναχώρησις καὶ τὸ ἐς τοὺς σὺν Ἀγαμέμνονι Τηλέφου τόλμημα, ὅτε Ἕλληνες ἁμαρτόντες Ἰλίου τὸ πεδίον ἐλεηλάτουν τὸ Μήιον ὡς γῆν [τὴν] Τρῳάδα, 1.4.6.

65. Hdt. 9.26–27; see Chapter Two.

66. Panels 32–33, showing a Greek boarding a ship, were previously interpreted as the flight of the Achaeans after Telephus, as king of Mysia, had defeated them. Heres (1997: 177n.14) proposes rearranging the panels so that the Greeks in question are the Arcadians accompanying Telephus on his voyage.

67. Heres 1997: 85–89.

68. See, e.g., Soph. *Aleadai* (F. 89 Radt); Eur. *Telephus* (F. 17 Page); Arist. *Poet.* 1460a (on a tragedy called *The Mysians* by either Sophocles or Aeschylus); Diod. 4.33.7–12; Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.7.4, 3.9.1; Hyg. *Fab.* 99, 100; Aelian *NA* 3.47.

69. The twelve members of the league, according to Herodotus (1.142–148), were Chios, Ephesus, Erythrae, Clazomenae, Colophon, Lebedus, Miletus, Myus, Phocaea, Priene, Samos, and Teos. On the religious nature of the league, see further Gorman 2001: 124–126.

70. In all likelihood, the question of origins is an oversimplification, as innovations could have taken place on both sides of the Aegean. There are essentially two issues: the origin of Ionian identity (whether or not it lay in Athens) and the origin of the idea that the Ionians were immigrants from Athens (again, an Athenian invention?). Relevant ancient sources include Pher. *FGrH* 3 F. 155 (= Strabo 14.1.3); Hellan. *FGrH* 4 F. 125 (= Sch. Plato *Symp.* 208d); Hdt. 1.146, 5.65.3; Thuc. 7.57.2; Paus. 2.18.9, 7.1.1–2.6, 7.3.5, 7.4.2; Arist. *Ath.*

Pol. 5; Eph. *FGrH* 70 F. 127 (= Strabo 14.1.6); Ael. *VH* 8.5; Marm. Par. *FGrH* 239 F 27; Polyb. 16.12.1–2; Polyaen. 8.35; Callim. *Art.* 225. For useful surveys of the rich source tradition, see Sakellariou 1958: 21–29 and Huxley 1966: 25–30. For scholarly discussions of the Ionian migration and its relation to Ionian and Athenian identity, see Roebuck 1955: 35; Cook 1962: 24; Connor 1993: 196–197; J. M. Hall 1997: 51–52 and 2002: 68–70; Gorman 2001: 37–41. Among the pieces of evidence for assessing the beginnings of Ionian identity is the Panionion, the name of the twelve cities' league centered on the shrine of Poseidon Heliconius at Mycale, on which see Shipley 1987: 29–31 and J. M. Hall 2002: 67–68. Another piece may lie in a festival called the Apatouria, which Herodotus said only true Ionians celebrated (1.147). See further Huxley 1966: 31. On the role of the Peisistratids in promoting Neleus as an important Ionian founder, see Shapiro 1983: 89, 94 and Lavelle 2005: 24–25; cf. Brommer 1957: 161.

71. On Neleus, see further below. Miletus: Sch. Ap. Rhod. 1.185; Aristocritus of Miletus (*FGrH* 493 F. 3); Herodorus of Heraclea (*FGrH* 31 F. 45). Sarpedon: Eph. *FGrH* 70 F. 127 = Strabo 14.1.6. Further discussion by Gorman 2001: 18–20.

72. The sources for all variants involving a Cretan origin are surveyed by Sakellariou 1958: 362–367.

73. Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.1.2; Ant. Lib. *Met.* 30, preserving Nic. *Met.* 2. See Curty 1995: 140; C. P. Jones 1999: 55.

74. Μιλήσιοι δὲ αὐτοὶ τοιάδε τὰ ἀρχαιότατά σφισιν εἶναι λέγουσιν· ἐπὶ γενεὰς μὲν δύο Ἀνακτορίαν καλεῖσθαι τὴν γῆν Ἄνακτός τε αὐτόχθονος καὶ Ἀστερίου βασιλεύοντος τοῦ Ἄνακτος, Μιλήτου δὲ κατάραντος στόλῳ Κρητῶν ἥ τε γῆ τὸ ὄνομα μετέβαλεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Μιλήτου καὶ ἡ πόλις, 7.2.5.

75. Paus. 7.2.6; cf. Hdt. 9.97.

76. However, Gorman 2001: 32, citing Duris (*FGrH* 76 F. 64), suggests that Herodotus "probably got his information from a history of the Neleids and the colonization of Ionia written in six thousand verses by Panyassis of Halikarnassos, Herodotos' own uncle or cousin."

77. Phygela: *StV* III 453, on which see Elwyn 1991: 79–80. Mylasa: *StV* III 539, on which see Elwyn 1991: 87–90.

78. We have good reason to believe that Strabo was relaying a local charter myth from Phygela. That he visited it is very likely, given his detailed descriptions of such nearby locations as Ephesus, Mylasa, Alabanda, and Magnesia-on-the-Maeander. See further Dueck 2000: 22–24. On Strabo as a source of local myth, see Patterson 2010.

79. *SEG* IV.513; cf. Huxley 1966: 27.

80. See J. M. Hall 2002: 58–65.

81. Phygela was not a member of the Ionian League (Huxley 1966: 27). Given the local myth recorded by Strabo and the tribal name Agamemnonis, its Ionian identity may have been somewhat muted.

82. Steph. Byz. s.v. *Mylasa*.

83. According to Apollonius of Rhodes, Ancaeus was one of the Argonauts (2.865–867).

84. Ἀγκαῖῳ δὲ τὴν θυγατέρα τοῦ ποταμοῦ λαβόντι τοῦ Μαιάνδρου Σαμίαν . . . , Paus. 7.4.1.

85. Cf. Hdt. 1.171; Paus. 7.2.8.

86. For discussion of this inscription, see Gawantka 1975: 55–57; Elwyn 1991: 91–92.

87. Curty 1995: 63.

88. See further Dowden 1992: 75.

89. Elwyn 1991: 92.

90. Paus. 10.38.4; Hom. *Il.* 24.544; HH Ap. 3.37.

91. Diod. 5.81.7–8; Hes. F. 184 MW.

92. For Chios' local foundation story, see Pausanias (7.4.8–9), who cites Ion.

93. Given at Habicht 1958: 241–252. See also Elwyn 1991: 76–77; Curty 1995: 61–63.

94. ὅπως [δὲ οὖν πᾶσιν / ἐμ]φανῆ ποιῶμεν ἣν ἔχομεν εὔνοιαν δι[ὰ] παντὸς πρὸς Ἀντιοχεῖς τ[οὺς πρὸς τῷ / Μ]αιάνδρῳ συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλους καὶ εὔ[ν]ους καὶ ἰσοπολίτας καὶ συμ[μάχους ὑπάρ-/χοντας ἡμῶν, lines 17–20. "Formulaic" is Elwyn's word, for the tally of descriptors is very similar to the one expressing the links, consanguineous and otherwise, between Samos and Magnesia in *I.v. Magnesia* 103. This state of affairs in inscriptions after c. 240 BCE is what led Musti (1963: 229, 233–235) to conclude that such language precluded genuine belief in the kinship. I believe, however, it merely reflects the idiom of diplomacy in the epigraphical record.

95. On which see Cohen 1978: 10, 15n.51. This was one of many foundations made by Seleucus I and Antiochus I throughout Asia Minor and Syria.

96. Habicht 1958: 251–252.

97. Elwyn 1991: 77.

98. Hellan. *FGrH* 4 F. 74; Steph. Byz. s.v. *Makedonia.*

99. Curty 1995: 63.

100. Strabo 13.4.15; Robert 1973: 446n.73.

101. Discussion of this inscription by Elwyn 1991: 68–69; Curty 1995: 127–128; and Lücke 2000: 97–101.

102. See Elwyn 1991: 69n.30. Priene is notable for having outstanding physical remains dated to the fourth century BCE, while evidence for the supposed earlier city cannot be found. See further Tomlinson 1992: 85–86; Cohen 1996: 187–188.

103. μνημεῖον τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς συγγενείας καὶ φιλίας / ἡμῖν ὑπαρχούσης πρὸς αὐτούς, lines 5–6.

104. Paus. 7.2.10; Strabo 14.1.3; cf. Hellan. *FGrH* 4 F. 101. This accords with the picture of a migration to Ionia that is far more complicated than one involving Athens as the sole metropolis. In his description of the varied origins of the famous Twelve Cities, in addition to Ionians, Herodotus mentions Abantes, Minyans, Cadmeans, Dryopians, Phocians, Molossians, Dorians from Epidaurus, and Pelasgians from Arcadia, with an admixture of Carians (1.146). Note also Homer's odd juxtaposition of Ionian and Boeotian elements at *Il.* 13.685. J. M. Hall (2002: 69–70) has argued that by associating them in this way, Homer, in his one reference to the Ionians, is reflecting a tradition in Asia Minor in which Boeotian origins were an important part of Ionian identity. This is part of a larger argument positing an Asiatic origin for the Ionian Migration story instead of an Athenian one.

105. Fried 2007: 10.

106. FF. 9–10 West; cf. Strabo 14.1.3–4.

CHAPTER 8

1. C. P. Jones 1999: 132–133. An exception would be cases of historical colonization. Sometimes even then, the details of personages and circumstances are invented for the sake of having a foundation narrative.

2. Aristodemus is mentioned at Aeschin. 2.19. In general, see further Adcock and Mosley 1975: 155–156.

3. Elwyn 1991: 118–119, 240–241, 288–291.

4. Elwyn 1991: 306–311. See also Erskine 2002: 104–106.

5. Lacey 1968: 15.

6. Lacey 1968: 51–83.

APPENDIX ONE

1. Thus Podlecki 1987: 4–5, 9.

2. Legon 1981: 101; Lavelle 2005: 35.

3. Plut. *Sol.* 8.1–3; Paus. 1.40.5; Justin 2.6–12; Diog. Laert. 1.46–47; Polyaen. *Strat.* 1.20.1.

4. Compare an episode recounted by Herodotus (5.20): Persian nobles, sent as a delegation by King Darius I to the Macedonian court of Amyntas, were entertaining themselves with young women at a dinner. The prince Alexander son of Amyntas replaced these women with young beardless men, who then killed all the delegates with hidden daggers. As How and Wells observe, Herodotus' portrayal of Persian attitudes toward women is inaccurate here, allowing him to portray Persian *hubris* and the retribution that follows (*ad loc.*). This characterization makes possible the use of a familiar folkloric element.

5. Again, Herodotus, ever attuned to folkloric elements to convey meaning to his audience, provides a brief catalogue of such abductions, replete in Greek myth, at the beginning of his *Histories* (1.1–5).

6. Strabo (9.1.10) notes that there was much disagreement on this point in various writers.

7. Figueira 1985b: 302; Lambert 1997: 98; Taylor 1997: 21.

8. An excellent survey of these sources, with translations, can be found in Taylor 1997: 28–34.

9. Plut. *Sol.* 8.4–6. Aelian (*VH* 7.19) seems to give this version without the folkloric elements. He mentions a deception with no specifics.

10. Polyaen. *Strat.* 1.20.2.

11. Aen. Tact. 4.8–12; Justin 2.8.1–5; Frontin. *Strat.* 2.9.9.

12. Hdt. 1.59. Cf. Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 14.1. See Legon 1981: 137; Frost 2005: 62.

13. Figueira 1985b: 283; Lavelle 2005: 54–55.

14. *Ath. Pol.* 17.2.

15. As noted by many scholars. In general, see Podlecki 1987.

16. See Frost 2005: 72; Harding 2008: 52. One, however, need not assume that the one reference in *Solon* (specifically Androtion at 15.3) meant that Plutarch did not consult the Atthidographers with vigor for this biography as well, as when he made such vague references as "the Athenians themselves," e.g., at 10.2.

17. A third version was given by the Megarians to Pausanias centuries later. It held that exiles called Dorycleans had settled on Salamis and later betrayed it to the Athenians (1.40.5). Little solid information can be gleaned about these Dorycleans, but see further Legon 1981: 129 and Figueira 1985b: 285–286.

18. *IG* I^3 1 = *GHI* 14.

19. Hdt. 9.53–57, 71, 85. This idea was first put forward by Beloch 1913: 312–313.

20. Figueira 1985b: 302. Sealey (1976: 146–147) made another suggestion: that the award of Salamis to Athens, coupled with the expulsion of the tyrants, was part of a Spartan plan to bring Athens into its sphere of influence, perhaps even into the Peloponnesian League.

21. Legon 1981: 138.

22. Taylor 1997: 46. The main account, of course, is Hdt. 5.66–76.

23. Legon 1981: 137.

24. Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 14.2; Plut. *Sol.* 30.4–6, D.L. 1.49.

25. Lavelle 2005: 60–64.

26. Plato *Hipp.* 228b.

27. Hdt. 1.64; Thuc. 3.104.2.

28. Attested at Hdt. 5.63, 5.90.

29. Lamberton 2001: 64–65, 69.

APPENDIX TWO

1. For readier acceptance of these traditions, see Dascalakis 1965: 97–146 and Hammond in Hammond and Griffith 1979: 3–14. Borza (1982 and 1990: 80–84) is more skeptical. On the ethnicity of the Macedonians, for which some of the evidence will be of concern to us, see Badian 1982; Hammond 1989: 12–15; Worthington 2004: 10 and 2008: 216–219.

2. Steph. Byz. s.v. *Argeou,* describing an island on the Nile near Canobus that was named after Argeas son of Macedon, from whom the Argeadae derived. The third-century CE historian Appian notes that the Argeads originally came from Argos in Orestis, northwest of Macedonia (*Syr.* 63).

3. Hammond and Griffith 1979: 33.

4. See especially Strabo 329 F. 11, which likely derives from Hecataeus. See Hammond 1972: 432 and 1989: 17; Hammond and Griffith 1979: 27. Hammond (1972: 432) further suggests that the Argeads, categorized here as a tribe rather than a dynasty, influenced their Macedonian neighbors when the latter adopted the name "Makednoi" (an early form of "Macedonian") from the former.

5. Hellan. *FGrH* 4 F. 74; Steph. Byz. s.v. *Makedonia.*

6. F. 7 MW. The sixth-century date, put forward by West (1985: 136), is controversial.

Janko (1982: 85–87) argued for a date closer to the time of Hesiod, on stylistic grounds. See Hirschberger 2004: 42–51 for a summary of arguments. Yet another version of Macedon's lineage came about in the second century BCE. Theagenes (*FGrH* 774) called Macedon son of Lycaon, probably to cut Macedon the founder down to size after the Romans had done the same to the country. Cf. Aelian *VH* 10.48; Tzetzes *Chil.* 4.329–330. See Hammond and Griffith 1979: 34, 38.

7. West 1985: 10; Hammond 1989: 12; J. M. Hall 1997: 64 and 2002: 165–166, 170. We know the name "Makedones" is Greek and may have meant "highlanders." See Hammond 1972: 309; Worthington 2003a: 70.

8. Thuc. 2.99.2, 2.100.2. The kings are Perdiccas I, Argaeus, Philip, Aeropus, Alcetes, Amyntas, Alexander, Perdiccas II.

9. E.g., ὡς Μακεδόνες λέγουσι (7.73.1); ὡς λέγεται ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων (8.138.3).

10. Thomas 1989: 180. Of course, by the hellenistic period these gaps had been filled, most notably by Satyrus (*FGrH* 630 F. 1).

11. Smith 1999: 57–58.

12. In fact, Alexander does not appear in any of the Olympic victor lists, further suggesting that he himself may have been Herodotus' source. See Dewald 1998: 667 (under 5.17–22). Cf. next note for less incredulous opinions about Alexander's Olympic career.

13. Badian (1982: 34) dates his Olympic venture to 476, Alexander's "first opportunity after the [Persian] War," on the idea that it was part of such a philhellenic policy. Hammond (1989: 18) favors a date closer to 500 on the argument that Alexander would have been close to 50 by 476.

14. Hdt. 7.173, 8.140, 9.44–45.

15. Hdt. 5.18–21. The suggestion of Alexander's invention of this tale was made by Burn (1962: 134). As can also be said about the Argead charter myth, this story clearly has folkloric elements, especially the ruse of men disguised as women, as we saw in one version of Solon's capture of Salamis.

16. Hammond and Griffith 1979: 11–12. The oracle is preserved by a scholiast on Clement of Alexandria's *Exhortation to the Greeks* 2.11. See Parke and Wormell 1956 (Vol. II): 93. Perdiccas also receives an oracle in which the Pythia advises him to be watchful for goats as a sign of where to found his capital (Diod. 7.16). Given its close similarity to the oracle of Caranus, one can imagine but a short hop from one version to the next when the account of Macedonia's founding was rewritten. Parke and Wormell (1956 [Vol. I]: 64), however, join Hammond in linking the Caranus oracle to Aegae and date its invention to before the capital was moved to Pella. Therefore, they argue that the Perdiccas version postdates the Caranus to make the oracle conform to political reality.

17. Badian 1982: 45n.14. Hammond also notes the Dorian connection, describing "Caranus" as "a good Dorian name." See Hammond and Griffith 1979: 11n.2.

18. Greenwalt 1985: 45–48. He also voices the same objections as Badian about the continued importance of Aegae.

19. Plut. *Alex.* 2.1. Unlike Caranus, another mythological concoction was less successful. As a promoter of hellenic culture, Archelaus invited Euripides to Pella. Euripides wrote *Archelaus,* a play about a son of Temenus named Archelaus. This innovation may have flat-

tered the king, but it never took hold in the wider circles of Greek consciousness. See further Hammond and Griffith 1979: 11; Greenwalt 1985: 44.

20. In general, see Badian 1982; Hammond 1989: 19–21. Borza (1996) catalogues the evidence of distinctiveness in the sources (mostly contemporary or nearly contemporary with Alexander the Great) used by Arrian, Plutarch, Diodorus, Curtius, and Justin-Trogus.

21. E.g., Thuc. 2.80.5–7, using the term *barbaroi.* See also 4.124.1. Belief in the Temenid lineage: 2.99.2, 5.80.2.

22. F. 2 DK.

23. Dem. 3.24, 9.30; Isoc. 5.105–108, 5.127. On Demosthenes, see Dascalakis 1965: 256–269. On Isocrates, see Markle 1976: 84–85; C. P. Jones 1999: 39–40.

24. Diod. 15.67.4, 16.2.2–3; Justin 6.9.7, 7.5.2; Plut. *Pelop.* 26.4.

25. Olympics: Justin 12.16.6; Plut. *Alex.* 3.5. On coins, see Hammond 1994: 114; on Argos in 338, see Ellis 1976: 204. Philip also planned to seize Ambracia, perhaps in 343/2, in western Greece and may have justified this by claiming that it had previously belonged to the Heraclids, but our only source for Heracles' conquest of Ambracia is Speusippus' letter to Philip (sec. 7). See further Natoli 2004: 134.

APPENDIX THREE

1. Γῆς δὲ τῆς Φωκίδος ὅσον μὲν περὶ Τιθορέαν καὶ Δελφούς ἐστιν αὐτῆς, ἐκ παλαιοτάτου φανερὰ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο εἰληφυῖά ἐστιν ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς Κορινθίου Φώκου τοῦ Ὀρνυτίωνος· ἔτεσι δ᾽ ὕστερον οὐ πολλοῖς ἐξενίκησε καὶ ἁπάσῃ γενέσθαι τῇ ἐφ᾽ ἡμῶν καλουμένῃ Φωκίδι, Αἰγινητῶν ναυσὶν ἐς τὴν χώραν διαβάντων ὁμοῦ Φώκῳ τῷ Αἰακοῦ, 10.1.1.

2. As interpreted by McInerney 1999: 136–149.

3. Hes. *Theog.* 1003–1005; Pind. N. 5.12–13; Diod. 4.72.6; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.12.6; schol. Euripides *Andr.* 687; Ovid *Met.* 7.476–477. A full list of ancient texts is provided by Frazer in his notes to the Apollodorus Loeb at *Bibl.* 3.12.6.

4. Paus. 2.4.3, 2.29.3, 9.17.6, 10.1.1, 10.4.10, 10.32.10–11.

5. Müller 1855: lxxiv. This work was ascribed in the seventeenth century to the second-century BCE geographer Scymnus of Chios, an attribution later proven to be untenable. Hence, the author of this work is often referred to as Pseudo-Scymnus. See Diller 1952: 20–21.

6. Icard-Gianolio 1994: 396.

7. Hom. *Od.* 11.260; Eur. *Antiope* fragments; Ap. Rhod. 1.735–741, 4.1090; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.5.5; Hyg. *Fab.* 7–8; Horace *Epist.* 1.18.41; Paus. 2.6.2, 9.17.3–4, 10.32.10–11; Asios of Samos F. 1 (Bernabé).

8. Pausanias locates the tomb of Phocus and Antiope in the Phocian region called Tithorea (9.17.3–4, 10.32.10–11). This putative tomb possibly dates back to the fifth century; indeed, McInerney places it in the archaic period as a focus of ritualistic rivalry with Boeotia. According to Pausanias, the Tithoreans tried to take dirt from the tomb of Amphion and Zethus, the founders of Thebes, and place it on the tomb of Antiope and Phocus in the spring so that crops might grow in Tithorea but not around Thebes (9.17.3). McInerney

suggests that this account developed at an early stage of the development of Phocis' identity. Fertility cults centered on the two rival pairs gave rise to a story that "became a way of expressing the rivalry between Tithorea and Thebes" (1999: 138–140). The introduction of Phocus as a new element in Antiope's story was to account for her alienation from her children. See further below.

9. ἔστι δὲ τῆς Δαυλίας χώρα καλουμένη Τρωνίς· ἐνταῦθα ἡρῷον ἥρω Ἀρχηγέτου πεποίηται· τὸν δὲ ἥρω τοῦτον Ξάνθιππον οὐκ ἀφανῆ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον, οἱ δὲ Φῶκον εἶναι τὸν Ὀρνυτίωνος τοῦ Σισύφου φασίν. ἔχει δ᾽ οὖν ἐπὶ ἡμέρᾳ τε πάσῃ τιμὰς καὶ ἄγοντες ἱερεῖα οἱ Φωκεῖς τὸ μὲν αἷμα δι᾽ ὀπῆς ἐσχέουσιν ἐς τὸν τάφον, τὰ δὲ κρέα ταύτῃ σφίσιν ἀναλοῦν καθέστηκεν, 10.4.10.

10. Robert 1960: 81. One of the questions Robert was grappling with was whether Pausanias' Tronis should be equated with Plutarch's Patronis (*Sulla* 15), thereby placing Tronis at Hagia Marina north of Daulis, whose identification with Patronis is not in doubt, or in a location south of Daulis. Associating the heroon at Paus. 10.4.10 with the Phocicon lends credence to the southern location. See also McInerney 1999: 284–286.

11. McInerney 1999: 62.

12. See Paus. 2.4.3, 2.29.3.

13. See McInerney 1999: 136–141, 147–149.

14. French and Vanderpool 1963: 224–225. In the end, their identification can be no more than plausible, as is true of any other interpretation, given the scant remains. McInerney proposes that the Phocicon seen by Pausanias would not have been the same as the one French and Vanderpool allege to be contemporaneous with the hero shrine. His suggestion is that this "shrine" is in fact the original Phocicon. See McInerney 1997: 201.

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