



Ethnicity, Ethnogenesis and Ancestry in the Early Iron Age Aegean as Background to and through the Lens of the Iliad

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Ethnicity, Ethnogenesis and Ancestry in the Early Iron Age Aegean
As Background to and through the Lens of the *Iliad*

A dissertation presented

by

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to

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Ethnicity, Ethnogenesis and Ancestry in the Early Iron Age Aegean
As Background to and through the Lens of the *Iliad*

Abstract

The prevalence of orality in the 8th/7th centuries BCE and the inherent limits of oral memory, in the wake of centuries of illiteracy, invalidate the conventional premise that the archaizing world of the *Iliad* somehow represents a Late Bronze Age (LBA) reality: generally, one can look back in time no further than two or three centuries—to the Early Iron Age (EIA), a poorly-documented yet crucial period also known as the Dark Age.

Paralleling the eastward expansion of the Mycenaeans and their Greek-speaking successors onto the coast of Anatolia in both the LBA and EIA, another closely-related, yet distinct group similarly expands eastward from its home base in Epirus and Macedonia to the northern coast of Anatolia, the location of Troy; and thence, much farther into the Anatolian heartland to the very slopes of the Caucasus. Adapting an ethnonym from Herodotus 1.56 & 8.43 (Μακεδόνων ἔθνος), I refer to this group as the Makednians: in linguistic terms (a key criterion of ethnicity), this includes Macedonian, Phrygian, Armenian, and even, it is argued, what is traditionally referred to as “Northwestern Greek.” Not only do they move into Anatolia, but also southward into Greece, thus impacting the evolution of post-Mycenaean society and contributing to the rise of new hybrid *ethne*, notably the Dorians and the Aeolians.

The saga of the Trojan War dramatizes and crystallizes, to an appreciable degree, the many wars throughout the EIA Aegean between the post-Mycenaeans / post-

Anatolians and the Makednians, prior to their final coalescence. The Achaeans and the Trojans of epic are so alike and yet different because the (post)-Mycenaeans and Makednians are so alike, yet different. Chapter 1 explores the connection between Trojans and Ionians, primary audience of Homeric performances. Chapter 2 explores the connection between Trojans, Phrygians and Macedonians. Chapter 3 investigates the ways in which the intertwined notions of primordial death, land of the dead and ancestor worship converge in Achilles, his native Phthia and his immediate entourage.

Table of Contents:

1. TROJANS AND IONIANS

1.1. **Trojans and East Ionians: The Significance of the Early Performance Context of the *Iliad* in East Ionia: Ionian Identity Straddling Greek & Anatolian / Achaean and Trojan Identities**

1.1.1. Πιαιδικὶ Ἰάονες ἐλκεχίτωνες and Τρωῶς καὶ Τρωάδας ἐλκεσιπέπλους

1.1.2. An Ionian Hector

1.1.3. The Carianized Neleids of Miletus in the Catalogue of Ships

1.1.4. The Iliadic Zeus and the Cult of Carian Zeus in Anatolia

1.1.5. The Lycian kings of early Ionia and their Connection to Sarpedon and Glaukos in the *Iliad*

1.1.5.1. Sarpedon: Zeus' Only Living Son in the *Iliad*

1.1.5.2. The Scenario of a Lycian Aristocracy in Ionia Sponsoring Homeric Performances

1.1.5.3. Sarpedon: a Milesian Hero

1.1.5.4. Lycians and Crete

1.1.5.5. Sarpedon and Glaukos: Ancestors of Ionian Kings

1.1.6. **A Fluvial Triangulation sanctioned by Zeus: Mythical Troy, Lycia and Historical Ionia**

1.1.6.1. The Maiandros: Greatest River of Ionia

1.1.6.2. The River Xanthos and Sarpedon: the Only (/Fluvial) Son(s) of Zeus in the *Iliad*

1.1.6.3. The Milesian Clan of the Euxantidai

1.1.6.4. The Trojan Ska-mandros and the Ionian Maiandros

1.1.6.5. Greater Lycia and the Myth of Leukippos

- 1.1.6.6. Underground Water Networks
- 1.1.6.7. The Lycian Glaukos and the River Glaukos, Affluent of the Maiandros
- 1.1.6.8. Glaukos and the Hittite King Suppiluliuma
- 1.1.6.9. The Lycian River Xanthos: *The Spring*
- 1.1.6.10. Bellerophon and Pegasus in Lycia

1.2. Trojans and West Ionians: Alkman's Helen Held in Attica

- 1.2.1. The Dioskouroi Besiege Athens: A Proto-Peloponnesian War between West Ionians & Dorians**
- 1.2.2. Foreknowledge of a Proto-Peloponnesian War in the *Iliad***
- 1.2.3. The Atreids as Dissimilated Tyndarids**
- 1.2.4. The Athenian Erichthonios and the Trojan Erichthonios**
- 1.2.5. King Kodros: Missing link between West Ionians, Trojans and East Ionians**
- 1.2.6. Association of the Athenians in the *Iliad* with the Defensive Wall of the Achaeans: Recycling the Defensive Wall of Athens against the onslaught of the Tyndarids**
- 1.2.7. The Kikones, Athens and the Neleids**
- 1.2.8. The Iliadic Thracians, the Theseids and Athens**
- 1.2.9. Theseus, the Abantes and Thracians**
- 1.2.10. Attica, Herodotean Pelasgians, Lemnians and Etruscans**
- 1.2.11. Athens, Lemnos and Athenian Penetration of the North Aegean**
- 1.2.12. Teukros, Attica and the Teukroi**
- 1.2.13. The Greater Ajax: An Earlier Dorian, Anti-Athenian Hero**
- 1.2.14. Athenians Slaughter Argives over Troy's Palladion**

2. TROJANS, PHRYGIANS AND MACEDONIANS

2.1. Mygdon, King of the Phrygians (Iliad 3.186): Midas and Mygdones out of Macedonia

2.1.1. Late Bronze Age and EIA Migrations from Northern Greece to Asia Minor

2.1.2. ‘Phrygian’ Φρύγες, Βρύγες, Βρίγες, Βρυγοί

2.1.3. Homeric Mygdon: an ethnonym from Macedonia

2.1.4. Μυγδόνες = Syncopated *Μακεδόνες

2.1.4.1. The Estuary Valley of the Thermaic Gulf: A Generator of Macedonias

2.1.4.2. Syncope *-ked- > -gd- (**Makedónes* > *Mugdónes*)

2.1.4.3. Areal Vocalic Shift *a* > *o* > *u* (**Makedónes* > **Mokdónes* > *Mugdónes*)

2.1.4.3.1. *a* > *o*

2.1.4.3.2. *o* > *u*

2.1.5. The Macedonian ‘Mygdones’ and the Mygdonia in Macedonia

2.1.6. The Territory of Macedonia / Orestis before the Argeads: of Highlands and Mountains

2.1.7. Βρύγης ἔθνος Μακεδονικόν: “the Brygians are a Macedonian ethnos”

2.1.8. The Makednoi and the Proto-Dorians

2.1.9. Cultural Homogeneity in Macedonia and the North Aegean

2.2. Linguistic Homogeneity: the case for a separate Indo-European Greco-Phrygian unit: ‘the Hellenic group’

2.2.1. Determining the Status of Ancient Macedonian by Triangulating it with Phrygian and Greek.

2.2.1.1. How close Greek and Phrygian really are

2.2.1.2. Discussion of Macedonian Lexemes

2.2.1.3. Macedonian treatment of the Indo-European Laryngeals vis-à-vis Greek and Phrygian

2.2.2. Paeonian

2.2.2.1. Introduction: the Paeonians

2.2.2.2. The Linguistic Status of Paeonian: the Hellenistic *Lagid* Dynasty and Phrygian *Lawagtaei*

2.2.3. ‘Hellanic’ = ‘South Hellanic’ (Greek) + ‘North Hellanic’ (Phrygian, Macedonian, Paeonian + Armenian, Epirote)

2.2.3.1. Introducing a neologism for a linguistic unit: ‘Hellanic’

2.2.3.2. Helloi, Hellopia, Hellespont and Hellānes

2.2.4. Epirote and North Aetolian (“Northwestern Greek”): Close to Greek, but Not Greek

2.2.4.1. Homeric *Phaeacians* = Epirote *Baiakes*

2.2.4.2. The Macedonian Temenid *Gauanes*, Eponym of the Epirote ethnos *Chaones*

2.2.4.3. The “Northwestern Greek” *koine*: An Epigraphic Mirage

2.2.5. North Hellanic (= Makednian / Proto-Doric) Penetration of South Hellanic: The Formation of Aeolic and Doric Greek

2.2.5.1. Introduction: Dodona

2.2.5.2. Lexical and Grammatical Idiosyncrasies of Proto-Doric / Makednian

2.3. Troy, Macedonia and Northern Greece: Cultural, Historical and Mythical Ties

2.3.1. The River King among the Macedonians, Paeonians, Trojans and Phrygians

2.3.2. Gold-laden Midas at Home in Mieza, Macedonia

2.3.3. Emathia(ns): Macedonia(ns) in the Trojan War?

2.3.4. Hesiodic Macedonians

2.3.5. The Homeric eponyms Pelagon & Pelegon in relation to the Pelagones, the Paeonians and the Macedonians

2.3.6. Troy and Epirus

2.3.7. Paeonians in Anatolia: from Macedonia to Armenia

2.3.7.1. *Maeonia and Paeonia*

2.3.7.2. The Armenian Endonym *Hayk* ‘Armenian’ < **Pai-*, ‘Paionian’

2.3.7.3. A Paeonian Component among the EIA Lycians: the Case of the Paeonian Asteropaios as Sarpedon’s Doppelgänger

2.3.7.3.1. Introduction

2.3.7.3.2. Asteropaios’ first appearance in the *Iliad* in book 12 –as a Lycian

2.3.7.3.3. The juxtaposition of Asteropaios’ Duel with Achilles to the Death of *Lykaon* = Luwian **Lukawanni* ‘the Lycian’.

2.3.7.3.4. *Aia*, the Cosmic Spring of the Axios and the Lycian Spring of the Maiandros: King Midas, Glaukos and Asteropaios

2.3.7.3.5. Substantial Phrygian Settlements in the Hinterland of the Maiandros

2.3.7.3.6. *Sarp-edon*, “the Man of the River *Sirb-is*,” Paeonian / proto-Armenian endonym of the Greek Xanthos / Lycian *Arñna*

2.3.7.3.7. Conclusion

2.3.8. The Hellenization of Makednians: Dubious Achaeans and Achaeans in the Making

2.3.8.1. Boeotians (**Pai-ōtoi*) as Hellenized Paeonians (*Pai-ones*)

2.3.8.1.1. Evidence for Homeland in the *Boion* / *Poion* Mountain Range in Epirus

2.3.8.1.2. Boeotians: Cannon Fodder of the Achaeans

2.3.8.1.3. Thamyris ‘the Thracian’: a crypto-Boeotian.

2.3.8.1.4. Kadmos the ‘Phoenician’

2.3.8.2. Locrians: Ajax the son of (W)ileus “the Trojan”

- 2.3.8.2.1. The Locrian Medon in southern Macedonia
- 2.3.8.2.2. Abderos the Locrian
- 2.3.8.3. Pelops the Phrygian and Non-Achaean Eleans Fighting Against the Youthful Nestor
 - 2.3.8.3.1. Pelops the Phrygian
 - 2.3.8.3.2. Paeonians as *Apoikoi* of the Trojan Teucrians and the Question of a Counter-invasion of Northern Greece by the Teucrians and Mysians
 - 2.3.8.3.3. Eleian: A Makednian Adstrate
 - 2.3.8.3.4. The Olympic Games: “The Eleians’ Passport to Hellenism”
 - 2.3.8.3.5. Across the Gulf of Calydon: Aetolia and Elis

3. ANCESTRY AND PRIMORDIALITY

3.1. The Otherworldly Ancestral Lands of the Achaeans

3.1.1. Hades and Nestor’s Swampy Gate: Ancestral Land of the Ionians

3.1.2. Phthia, “Land of the Dead”: Ancestral Land of the Dorians and East Aeolians

- 3.1.2.1. The Geographical Extent of Phthia
- 3.1.2.2. Phthia: the Name
- 3.1.2.3. The River Styx in Phthia
- 3.1.2.4. Hermes and Phthia
- 3.1.2.5. Phthia as Prison
- 3.1.2.6. Phthia as Asylum and Hades Polyxenos
- 3.1.2.7. Phthia as Fabulous Beyond: the Contingent of Eurypylos
- 3.1.2.8. Phthia, Thessalos, and the Death of Herakles
 - 3.1.2.8.1. Herakles’ Koan Disaster
 - 3.1.2.8.2. Trachis and Mount Oita in Achilles’ Catalogue Entry

3.2. Of Ants, Ant-cestors and Other Insects: the Myrmidons and the Phthian Tenthredon

3.2.1. Tenthredon

3.2.2. The Pylian Periklymenos the Bee

3.2.3. Peleus the King Bee

3.2.4. Ants, Anthill Clay, Peleus ‘Clay man’ and Mount Pelion ‘Lehmberg’

3.2.5. The Phthian Gouneus “the Ancestor”

3.3. Phthians and Myrmidons: the *Iliad*’s Metatheatrical Army of the Dead

3.3.1. Achilles’ *klisie* ‘shelter’ / ‘tomb’

3.3.2. From Salvific Ships to Funerary Ships

3.3.3. The Army of the Dead to the Rescue of the Living

3.3.4. Patroklos “Glory of the Forefathers”

3.3.5. “Gentle Patroklos” and *Meilikhios* Cult Title of the Dead

3.3.6. Patroklos, son of *Menoitios* “He Who Awaits his Doom” and the Hesiodic Titan Menoitios

3.3.7. Menoitios and Arkhemoros “Beginning of Doom”

3.3.8. Achilles, Patroklos and Anthropogony

3.3.8.1. Deukalion and Pyrrha in the Shadow of Achilles and Patroklos

3.3.8.2. Peleid Achilles and the Pelian Ash Spear: Of Clay and Ash Trees

3.3.8.3. Of Clay

3.3.8.4. Achilles’ Ash Spear: Of Death...and Life

3.3.8.5. Achilles, Prometheus and Phoroneus

3.3.8.6. Achilles, Acheles and the Cosmic Acheloios

3.3.9. Locrian / Lelegian Patroklos & Briseis vs. Pelasgian Achilles: An Allegorical Love Triangle

3.3.9.1. Briseis and Patroklos: the two Leleges of the *Iliad*

- 3.3.9.1.1. Patroklos the Locrian = Lelex
- 3.3.9.1.2. Briseis the Lelex
- 3.3.9.2. The Priamid Lykaon: Achilles' Covert Erotic Encounter with a Third Lelex
 - 3.3.9.2.1. Lykaon's Nudity
 - 3.3.9.2.2. The Eroticization of Wounds and Vulnerability in the *Iliad*
 - 3.3.9.2.3. Lykaon and the *Akte* of Demeter
 - 3.3.9.2.4. Lykaon, Demeter and the Mystery Cult of the Kabeiroi
 - 3.3.9.2.5. Dardanos, Stammvater of the Trojans and Kabeiric Cult
 - 3.3.9.2.6. The Swimmers Dardanos and Lykaon
 - 3.3.9.2.7. Lykaon's Initiation Setting
 - 3.3.9.2.7.1. The Wild Fig Tree
 - 3.3.9.2.7.2. The Sweet Wine of Lemnos
 - 3.3.9.2.7.3. Lykaon and the Kabeiros *Pais* 'Child'
 - 3.3.9.2.7.4. Achilles' Seizure of Lykaon
 - 3.3.9.2.7.5. Achilles Takes Away Lykaon's Virginity
 - 3.3.9.2.7.6. The Threshing Floor
 - 3.3.9.2.7.7. Lykaon: Achilles' *Philos*

3.3.10. Primordial, Fratricidal Sacrifice and the Guilt of Achilles

- 3.3.10.1. Achilles the Pelasgian
 - 3.3.10.1.1. Pelasgian Argos and Pelasgian Dodona
 - 3.3.10.1.2. From Makednian Pelasgians to Hellenized Dorians
 - 3.3.10.1.3. The Alleged Unidentifiability of the Pelasgians
 - 3.3.10.1.4. The Dorian Name Among the Myrmidons
 - 3.3.10.1.5. Pelasgians and the Alienation of Death

- 3.3.10.1.6. Aristotle’s Dodona: the Oldest Region of Hellas
- 3.3.10.1.7. Homeric Pelasgians
- 3.3.10.1.8. Achilles the Achaean and the Rise of a New Diachronically Hybrid Greek Identity

3.3.11. Dardanos Anēr and the Cult of the Kabeiroi

- 3.3.11.1. Semantic Distinction Between Dardanos, Singular, and Dardanoi, Plural
- 3.3.11.2. Protesilaos and Patroklos, Ritual Victims of the Trojan Stammvater Dardanos
 - 3.3.11.2.1. Protesilaos: Another Patroklos vis-à-vis Achilles
 - 3.3.11.2.2. Protesilaos and the Kabeiroi Pratolaos and Dardanos
- 3.3.11.3. Protesilaos in Relation to Patroklos and the Mystery Cult of the Kabeiroi
- 3.3.11.4. Dardanos the Diver in Relation to Protesilaos’ and Kebriones’ Fatal Leaps Off a Ship, and Patroklos’ Fatal Leap
 - 3.3.11.4.1. Patroklos’ last victim Kebriones ‘the Diver’
 - 3.3.11.4.2. The Crypto-Kabeiros Kebriones Re-enacting the Dive of Dardanos—and Protesilaos (and Patroklos)

Conclusion

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Glossary

Doric: the *Greek* dialect spoken in the Peloponnese and other parts of the Mediterranean. In terms of origin, I consider it a) South Hellanic dominant (an indigenous, Peloponnesian descendant of Mycenaean Greek) with b) North Hellanic recessive elements (a minority of traits, which the EIA Makednian immigrants brought with them).

Dorians: Greek ethnos, mostly based in the Peloponnese. In terms of origins, they are the heirs of the Mycenaean civilization, with an immigrant EIA Makednian component.

EIA: Early Iron Age

Hellanic: a proposed new term to designate the linguistic unit within Indo-European that includes two subgroups: 1) Greek proper, which I also refer to as ‘South Hellanic’ and 2) ‘North Hellanic’ or ‘Makednian’, which includes Phrygian, Armenian and other more poorly attested languages and/or dialects, such as Macedonian, Epirote, Paeonian and North Aetolian.

IE: Indo-European

Makednoi: ancient EIA supra-ethnos, described by Herodotus 1.56 & 8.43 (Μακεδνὸν ἔθνος), which refers to the proto-Dorian populations, prior to their entry into the Peloponnese. I use the term a little more loosely than Herodotus does, in that I include among them the Kadmeians and other populations, which I believe were culturally and linguistically related: Epirote, Paeonian, North Aetolian, Macedonian, Phrygian and even Armenian. I also use ‘North Hellane’ as a synonym. Their homeland was mostly the vast Pindus mountain range in Epirus and Macedonia and much of the North Aegean lowlands (Paeonia).

Makednian: languages and dialects of the Makednoi, based on Herodotus 1.56 & 8.43 (see ‘Makednoi’ in this glossary). Also referred to as ‘North Hellanic’, because the Makednian languages and dialects share many common innovations with Greek, and are more closely related to Greek than any other Indo-European language.

Mygdonian: may have three definitions: 1) a poetic synonym of ‘Phrygian’ in ancient Greek literature; 2) an indeterminate subset of the Phrygians in Asia Minor and 3) an inhabitant of Mygdonia, a small region in eastern Macedonia, located above Chalcidike. It is generally assumed that the former two originated from the region of Mygdonia in Macedonia. I agree, except that I argue that Mygdonia was a synonym and dialectic contraction of ‘Macedonia’, so that its geographic extent was once much larger.

Proto-Boeotian: Not to be confused with Boeotian, the Aeolic language of the Boeotians. The Proto-Boeotians were a Makednian-speaking ethnos. I argue that they were a branch of the Paeonians. With a homeland in Epirus and Macedonia, they first settled in Thessaly before moving further south into Boeotia sometime in the EIA, where they ended up adopting a majority of the linguistic features of the native speakers of Aeolic.

North Hellanic: a synonym of ‘Makednian’.

Phrygian: ancient population in Asia Minor with a homeland in Macedonia. They are a subset of the Makednians / North Hellanes.

Paeonian: a North Hellanic / Makednian ethnos and language whose late Bronze Age homeland was Macedonia and Northern Thessaly. They are Trojan allies in the *Iliad*.

Proto-Dorian: synonym of ‘Makednos’ or ‘North Hellane’, not to be confused with ‘Dorian’, in spite of the historical connection between the two. The Proto-Dorians were not Greek per se, unlike the Dorians, their descendants, who arose from the fusion of these Proto-Dorians with the indigenous Greek-speaking populations of the Peloponnese.

Proto-Thessalian: Not to be confused with Thessalian, the Aeolic language of the Thessalians. The Proto-Thessalians were a Makednian-speaking ethnos. With a homeland in Epirus, they settled in Thessaly sometime in the EIA, where they ended up adopting a majority of the linguistic features of the native speakers of Aeolic.

South Hellanic: a synonym of ‘Greek’, includes the Greek dialects, including Ionic, Doric, Aeolic and Arcado-Cypriote.

List of Illustrations

Figure 1: Map of Caria. Page 23.

Figure 2: The river Maiandros. Page 36.

Figure 3: Map of Troy and the Troad. Page 51.

Figure 4: Map of Lycaonia and Lycia. Page 56.

Figure 5: Magnesia on the Maiandros. Page 61.

Figure 6: The springs of the Maiandros. Page 65.

Figure 7: The spring of Glaukos. Page 67.

Figure 8: King Suppiluliuma II. Page 71.

Figure 9: Coin, Eumenea (Turkey), 2nd-3rd century CE; syncretistic river god Glaukos.
Page 73.

Figure 10: Map of Brygia and Phrygia. Page 138.

Figure 11: Hera's Trajectory (*Iliad* 14.225-232). Page 281.

Figure 12: Relief Samothrace Louvre Ma697 (IG XII,8,226). Page 562.

Figure 13: Orpheus as Mystagogue to Youth with Paidagogos. Page 572.

Preface

The *Iliad*, and more broadly the saga of the Trojan War, has endured through the ages, thanks in part to its universal appeal, the range of its well-crafted patterns and archetypes, as found in a variety of oral traditions worldwide: Achilles, the antisocial, exceptional warrior whose single absence impacts the larger group to which he belongs; Agamemnon, the boastful king with tyrannical tendencies; Paris, the sensual young man, better at lovemaking than war; Nestor, a garrulous old man, whose many rants often mask sage advice; Helen, a woman of such supernatural beauty that countless men lose their lives for her sake. What makes the *Iliad* such an enduring success is, more particularly, its overarching literary quality and structure, as Aristotle commented in his *Poetics*.

If the Greek linguistic template, on which modern translations are based, were lost, if the Aegean background of the Trojan War poems were forgotten, if all of the personal names, ethnonyms and place names in the *Iliad* were replaced with randomly computer-generated personal names, ethnonyms and place names, if all of the ancient testimonies of the poem's existence were lost, were it not for a few scattered references to material and cultural idiosyncrasies, the monumental poem could be thought to have arisen anywhere in the vast Eurasian continent from China to Britain, anywhere war chariots were in use, anytime between 1500 BCE and 100 CE. Even so, the *Iliad* would still retain its essential qualities and still earn its place among the greatest pieces of literature.

We are unconcerned, however, with either the folkloristic personality traits of heroes or the poem's overarching literary quality: questions and aspects of ethnicity are our primary interest. Herodotus 8.144 famously defined ethnicity as a composite of four

criteria: common ancestry / blood (ὄμαιομον), common language (ὁμόγλωσσον), common religion (θεῶν ἰδρύματα τε κοινὰ καὶ θυσίαι) and common lifestyle (ἥθεα ὁμότροπα).

The past decades, experts have availed themselves of Herodotus' definition as a reference point and expanded upon it in various ways. A fifth criterion of ethnicity, which Jonathan Hall 1997:47-48 persuasively argued was especially important to the ancient Greeks, is the criterion of a common *territory*. Among these five criteria of ethnicity, three of them—language, ancestry and territory—have proven to be the most firmly synergistic and the most amenable to yielding advanced, heuristic models in the present investigation: on this organic, tripartite bedrock, the more problematic criteria of religion and lifestyle in the *Iliad* can be secondarily, yet more securely approached.

We aim to reconstruct the ethnographic and historical background of the *Iliad*, with whichever tools we have at our disposal, be they internal to the monumental poem or external to it. Luckily, we do know the original language in which the text was composed: it was neither Celtic nor Chinese, but rather an early form of Greek with an 8th/7th century B.C.E. temporal anchoring. We also know something about linguistic distribution in the Aegean during or shortly after this time frame: either directly via inscriptions, i.e. Greek, Phrygian, Luwian, Etruscan and Carian; or indirectly via ancient authors, such as Herodotos, Hekataios, Hellanikos, Thucydides, Pseudo-Skylax, Pseudo-Skymnos, Strabo, etc. This equips us with the linguistic component of ethnicity. Significantly, the text also provides personal names, ethnonyms and place names, which map nicely onto an Aegean canvass, to the exclusion of other regions of the Eurasian continent, such as Britain or China. Such additional considerations encompass not only the aforementioned linguistic criterion of ethnicity, but also two additional ethnic criteria:

2) the territorial / geographical criterion and 3) the criterion of ancestry. This spatiotemporal, linguistic, ethnonymic, onomastic and toponymic convergence represents an essential, methodological foundation for our investigation into ethnicity and ancestry in the *Iliad*.

By way of illustration, Homer, as a convenient way of referring to the narrative voice of the poem, does not invent the vast majority of personal names such as Alexandros and Diomedes, ethnonyms such as Locrians and Paeonians, and place names in the *Iliad* such as Phaistos in Crete or the river Skamandros in the Troad: with perhaps the single exception of the Trojans themselves, nearly all the other *ethne* are historically attested by outside 6th, 5th century and subsequent sources, e.g. *Dardanians*, *Teucrians*, *Argives*, *Locrians*, *Thracians*, *Paeonians*, etc. Some of the Homeric *ethne* are attested in Late Bronze sources, e.g. the *Danaja* (Danaoi) in Egyptian records, fossilized as the mythical / ancestral Danaos / Danae in Greek myth, genealogy and topography; the *Ahhiya/wa* (Achaioi/Achaia) in Hittite inscriptions are still regional ethnonyms in the classical period in the northern Peloponnese, Magna Graecia and Cilicia (Hypachaioi).

The ethnic criterion of blood or ancestry transpires in a number of ways: for one thing, the majority of Homeric heroes are historical figures of cult: Agamemnon in the Peloponnese; Sarpedon in Asia Minor (and inferentially in Thrace and Crete), etc. Another noteworthy manifestation of the ethnic criterion of blood transpires in the underappreciated frequency of ethnonymic eponyms in the poem: as Hall and others have emphasized, the ethnic criterion of blood entails the belief in a common, mythical ancestor, whose name is often the same as that of the *ethnos* itself: thus, the Trojan Stammvater *Dardanos*, whose name corresponds to the historically attested Dardanians;

Troilos “the (/ Little) Trojan,” the most frequently depicted Trojan in early Archaic art; *Epeios*, “the Epeian,” builder of the Trojan Horse, eponym of the Epeians, an ancient population attested on the islands off the coast of Aetolia and in the northwestern Peloponnesian mainland.

Other personal names are less obviously eponymic, but upon scrutiny, can be identified as such: Ajax’s archer brother *Teukros*, eponym of the historically attested Teucrians, a population in northwestern Anatolia and Macedonia: his illegitimate status and identity as an archer match the stereotype of the northern, Scythian archer. Aineias, little-known eponym of the *Aineioid*, as evidenced by a fragment of Hipponax, an ancient population of Macedonia; *Lykaon*, the name of several Trojan characters, *prima facie* a bland, homonym of the mythical Arcadian king Lykaon, but upon scrutiny, the eponym of the Lycians in the indigenous Anatolian languages (**Lukawanni*); *Pelagon* and *Pelegon*, eponyms of the Pelagones, a Paeonian population; the Thessalian *Euaimon*, eponym of the Thessalian Haimones; (*O*)*ileus* (**Wileus*), eponym of the Trojans. Even Achilles has a folk etymological connection to the Achaeans. With so many eponyms pervading the narrative, one becomes aware of the extent to which ethnic consciousness and interethnic relations informed the crystallization of the saga.

An example of inferring the lifestyle criterion of ethnicity, or perhaps more loosely the cultural criterion of ethnicity, from the tripartite or minimally bipartite bedrock of language, blood, and territory, is instantiated in the figure of the Paeonian hero Asteropaios and his genealogy in book 21: Asteropaios is the son of Pelegon, eponym of the Pelagones in Paeonia / Macedonia. The significance of his fluvial ancestor, the river Axios, underpins the lifestyle criterion of ethnicity: in the Iliadic

narrative, Asteropaios fights beside the river Skamandros against Achilles and eventually is tossed into it; correspondingly, Diodorus Siculus informs us that Paeonian kings, upon coronation, took a ritual bath in a river; Diogenes Laertius writes that many Paeonians, upon death, were thrown into lakes. Thus, in this particular case, we can identify ethnicity in the *Iliad*, first through ancestral (Pelegon = eponym of Pelagones) and territorial features (Pelagonia, Axios river). Building on this geographic and ethnonymic convergence, we can further point out that the correspondence between the *Iliad*'s thematization of Asteropaios' fluvial identity and independent accounts concerning the historical association between Paeonian kingship and rivers allows us to securely identify a third ethnic criterion, Herodotus' lifestyle (/ broadly cultural) criterion. Without the ethnonymic and toponymic data, it would have been impossible to make any historical and cultural claims on the poem's Paeonians—"the narrator could have just made it up" since the cultural significance of rivers is not uncommon around the globe—but thanks to the convergence of the two aforementioned criteria, one can securely identify a third criterion of ethnicity for the Homeric Paeonians, that of lifestyle and culture.

A premise, which has informed the present dissertation, is taking Ionia as the cradle of Homeric composition. There is little controversy in adopting this position, as most experts have agreed, on the basis of linguistic criteria, geographic details in the poem and historiographical evidence, that East Ionia is very likely to be the region, in which the poem came to maturation. I do not attempt to demonstrate this, but agreeing with what is a near consensus, I make novel or seldom-expressed arguments, which are predicated on it. I cannot speak to Barry Powell's alternative hypothesis that Homer was Euboean or Raoul Schrott's hypothesis that Homer was Cilician. Rather, building on the

widely-accepted view that Ionia is the cradle of Homeric composition, I find further inspiration in the works of Gregory Nagy, Douglas Frame and Alexander Herda: Nagy has stressed, to great benefit, the critical importance of performance in oral poetry: *the geographic and cultural setting, the audience, in particular the patrons* of the poem shape the poem's compositional process. I cannot overemphasize my debt to Nagy in shaping my heuristic models.

I have also been greatly inspired by Frame's and Herda's extensive research on archaic Ionia and the prominence of an aristocratic clan among them: the *Neleids*, Nestor's family, also known as the *Kodrids*. This has led me to provide an explanatory model for the prominence of Sarpedon and the Lycians in the *Iliad*: Sarpedon, together with his cousin Glaukos, are the mythical ancestors of the other ruling family in archaic Ionia (alongside the *Neleids*): as Wilamowitz himself I later found out had already suggested, Sarpedon's prominence and positive portrayal in the poem can in part be explained by the patronage, which the Lycian kings of Ionia would have bestowed upon Homer and/or the Homeridai. Sarpedon, too, was an oikist of Miletus, the largest city in ancient Ionia, not to mention one of the very largest cities in the 8th and 7th century B.C.E. Greek-speaking oikoumene.

The paramount significance of the poem's performance setting in East Ionia also accounts for the disproportionate role played by Sarpedon and the Lycians at Troy: as several experts have pointed out, this runs afoul of any evidence that historical Lycians ever played a significant role in northwestern Anatolia, the region of Troy. On the other hand, Sarpedon and the Lycians are deeply rooted in southwestern Anatolia, much closer

to Ionia, and draw ever closer to the Ionian coastline if one realizes, as I demonstrate, that in early Greek poetry ‘Lycian’ encompasses ‘Carian’.

The critical significance of an oral poem’s performance setting further warrants a major claim I make: the topography of Troy, though real and geographically anchored in the northeastern Aegean by means of such geographical indicators as the vicinity of the Hellespont, can, nevertheless, blend in with the topography of Ionia much further to the south. It is as if Homer superimposed Ionia on Troy: when an Ionian audience heard Homeric performances, e.g. at the Panionion not far from Miletus, they could be prompted to visualize distant Troy and its local Scamander river as if the city and river were their Miletus and their Maeander river: the Maeander river, in particular, was the largest river in western Anatolia and was so popular and iconic that other major rivers to the north could also be given the same name, as Peter Thonemann has shown. The Maeander was more than a simple river, but rather a true cultural emblem, with which Ionians could identify. The riddling homonymy of the Lycian river Xanthos and the Trojan river Xanthos, divine name of the Scamander, can thus be unraveled: the *Scamander* can take on the identity of the *Maeander*, whose distant springs arise in Lycia: the Lycian Glaukos, after his death, is buried at the springs of the Maeander; the native word for the Lycian river Xanthos, i.e. *Arñna*, precisely means ‘Spring’. Evidence for this mapping of the Maeander onto the Scamander lies in the singular parallelism between Sarpedon’s status as the only living son of Zeus in the monumental poem and the ‘Trojan’ Scamander / Xanthos as the only *fluvial* son of Zeus in said poem. Hence, the title of my section “A Fluvial Triangulation sanctioned by Zeus: Mythical Troy, Lycia and Historical Ionia.”

The foregoing argument is predicated on the assumption and the evidence for the perceived *hybrid identity* of the ancient Ionians, primary audience of Homeric performances: not only was there among them a palpable Anatolian component, a concept which requires further defining, but also obviously a Greek-Ionian component, with historical, linguistic and cultural ties with Attica, Euboea and the pre-Dorian Peloponnese, which I refer to as “West Ionia.” In terms of myth and epic, this is reflected in the *Iliad*’s foreknowledge of Helen’s abduction not to Troy, but rather to Athens, making the Athenians and the inhabitants of Attica play the role of the besieged, just like the Trojans in the Trojan War. In this proto-Peloponnesian War, as it were, the Athenians are under attack by two brothers from the Peloponnese: the Tyndarids Castor and Pollux map onto the Atreids Agamemnon and Menelaos, as also confirmed by cultic ties between the Tyndarids and the Atreids.

Chapter 2 “Trojans, Phrygians and Macedonians” is an in-depth investigation of the linguistic background of the poem’s Trojans. To repeat, language is one of Herodotus’ four criteria of ethnicity: one is therefore justified in exploring this important geolinguistic question, inasmuch as the Homeric poem is deeply rooted in the Aegean. In “Greek Ethnicity and the Greek Language,” (2007), Edwin Anson contends that language plays a greater role in shaping perceptions of ethnicity among the ancient Greeks than most experts have hitherto acknowledged. Even with respect to Herodotus’ quadripartite definition of ethnicity, Anson writes:

“Yet, while Herodotus does mention these four criteria, most often he refers to the Greek language as the defining element of Hellenism [Hdt. 2. 30. 1, 56.3, 59. 2, 112. 1, 144.2, 153. 1, 154. 2; 3. 26. 1; 4. 23. 2, 52. 3, 78. 1, 106, 108. 2, 109, 110. 1, 117, 155. 3, 192. 3; 6. 98. 3; 7. 9b. 3; 8. 135. 3, 144. 2; 9. 16. 2, 110. 2]. This sense of a common tongue was the decisive criterion for determining who were Greeks.”

In the *Iliad*, all the Achaeans may communicate freely with each other without ever displaying any problems of mutual intelligibility: the Ithacan Odysseus understands the Peloponnesian Agamemnon, who in turn understands the Phthian Achilles: even though the three heroes speak the same artificial, archaizing, Ionian-heavy Homeric Greek dialect in the poem, from a historical perspective, the varieties of Greek spoken during this period in Ithaca, the Peloponnese and southern Thessaly (Doric Greek and Aeolic Greek respectively) would also be mutually intelligible. From the works of Aristophanes and Thucydides, it is clear that Attic speakers, the dialectic gap notwithstanding, are still able to understand Doric speakers. Thus, in the case of the Achaeans, while the poetic license taken by the Homeric composer admittedly obscures the underlying diversity among Greek dialects, it does reflect, at the same time, the greater sense of unity among many Greeks (Achaeans): the willingness in terms of myth of all (or more precisely many) Greeks to form an anti-Trojan coalition for the sake of Helen is the reflex of a perception and claim among 8th/7th century B.C.E Greeks to an overarching Greek ethnos, one of whose essential components and manifestations are mutually intelligible dialects: in other words, a common language.

Whereas the Achaean coalition against Troy does correlate with genuinely Greek-speaking regions in the Aegean, the Homeric Greek of the Trojans and their allies is *in part* an expression of poetic license. I write *in part* because, as stated above, one of the epic templates for the Atreids' siege of Troy was the Tyndarids' siege of Greek-speaking Athens. In this alternative epic tradition, which informed our Trojan War tradition, the besieged Athenians were Greek-speaking. Another template for Homeric Troy and the Trojans was Miletus and its mixed Ionians, Carians and Lycians, as mediated by the

nexus interconnecting the Zeus-born Trojan / Lycian river Xanthos / Scamander with the Ionian Maeander and Zeus-born Sarpedon, mythical co-oikist of Miletus.

That being said, it is very likely that interethnic conflicts in the historical Troad also informed the Homeric account of the Trojan War. What language(s), then, did the historical inhabitants of the Troad speak? Again, this is an important question because language was an essential criterion of ethnicity to the ancient Greeks, as cogently argued by Anson 2009. If the Achaean coalition against Troy correlates with linguistic unity among the Greek-speaking territories whence they originated, it follows that *at least one* of the historical models for Trojanness implied a difference in language, notwithstanding the poem's license in Hellenizing the speech of the Trojans (this too, however, was facilitated by a *Greek*-speaking model for the Trojans: the Ionians).

I first acknowledge what every Homerist already knows: aside from the Aeolic and later Ionic newcomers to the Troad, we do not know with any certainty what language(s) the local inhabitants spoke in the 9th, 8th or 7th century B.C.E. Whatever the right answer should be, it should be safe to say, from the start, that the Troad's location at a major geographical crossroads—1) between Asia and Europe, 2) the Aegean and the Black Sea—favors the scenario of heterogeneous, multilingual communities. Thus, if there ever existed a Trojan polity in the 9th, 8th or 7th century B.C.E, one must imagine the regional currency of several languages. On the basis of inscriptions in the surrounding regions and historiographical evidence ranging from the 9th century B.C.E. to the Roman Imperial period, the following languages are the likeliest to have been spoken by at least a segment of the population in the Troad: Phrygian, Lydian, Etruscan, Paeonian, Thracian

and even Illyrian, as evidenced by the Dardanian component among the Trojans (cf. Katičić 1964).

Among these diverse groups, however, I argue that the Phrygians and closely-related Paeonians represented a major component among these historical Trojans. Two principal factors inform my position: 1) immigration patterns across the Dardanelles into Anatolia in the LBA, and continuing throughout the EIA, as irrefutably shown by the appearance of the presence of new non-Anatolian languages in Asia Minor; 2) a common, cultural and ideological heritage among the Greeks and the Phrygians 3) the overwhelming prevalence of ‘Greek’ onomastics of Trojan characters in the *Iliad*. At first blush, one might be tempted to posit what most experts have hitherto posited: Homer either makes up out of whole cloth Greek-sounding names for the Trojans, e.g. Alexandros, Kassandra and Laomedon; or Homer provides Hellenized forms of native, Anatolian personal names—‘Anatolian’ in the Indo-European, taxonomic sense of the word, to which Hittite, Luwian, Carian and Lycian belong. Either view is misguided

To begin with factor 1), two new, major languages appear in Asia Minor in the Early Iron Age, which were previously hardly attested in the region: Phrygian and Armenian. Although Phrygian and Armenian are Indo-European languages like the ‘indigenous’ Anatolian languages of Asia Minor, such as Hittite, Luwian, Carian, etc., Phrygian and Armenian are *not* closely related to Anatolian: rather, the next of kin of Phrygian and Armenian is *Greek*, to such an extent that leading experts in Indo-European linguistics concur that all three languages probably formed a separate, linguistic unit in the Early or Middle Bronze Age in the southern Balkans: at the very least, proto-Greek, proto-Phrygian and proto-Armenian were geographical neighbors somewhere in the

southern Balkans. Moreover, Phrygian populations, known as ‘Brygian’ populations, are attested by ancient Greek authors in the Classical and post-Classical periods, ranging from Epirus to Macedonia. Thus, when waves of proto-Phrygians and proto-Armenians left their homeland in northern Greece in the LBA and EIA and resettled in different parts of Asia Minor, they *had to go through the Troad* (cf. Brixhe 2004:284). If one looks at a map of the North Aegean, the Troad is located smack in between Phrygian populations in Macedonia and Phrygian populations in Bithynia in the Trojan hinterland.

This takes us to factor 3), the overwhelming prevalence of ‘Greek’ onomastics among the Trojans. As stated above, the *communis opinio* holds that Homer either makes up out of whole cloth Trojan personal names or Hellenizes indigenous, Anatolian names—‘Anatolian’ in the taxonomic sense of being subsumed under the same family as Hittite, Luwian, etc. The problem with this hypothesis is that it violates Occam’s razor, in that a) it completely disregards the aforementioned massive migration patterns from Northern Greece into Asia Minor in the EIA, a geographical stepping stone of which is the Troad; and b) it fails to collate Trojan names with names attested in the North Aegean, in particular names in Macedonia. Here, Trojan-Macedonian matches are significantly more numerous and precise than putative Hellenizations of Anatolian names.

It so happens that the earliest post-Mycenaean attestation for such Trojan names as Alexandros and Kassandra are in Macedonia, homeland of the Phrygians. Grace Macurdy (1919), a pioneer in the field of Trojan onomastics, was among the first to make this observation. Aineias, Helen’s co-abductor on a number of archaic Greek vases and a major figure of the Trojan War, has strong ties to several cities in Macedonia and dies

there according to several ancient accounts. The former Alexandros, a popular hereditary name among the Argead kings of Macedonia, exemplifies a well-nigh millennium-long continuity in North Aegean onomastics: it is first attested in 14th century B.C.E *Wilusa* as *Alaksandu* in Hittite records, a prime exemplum of one of the earliest Macedonian-Phrygian advances across the Dardanelles into Anatolia.

To claim alternatively that *Alaksandu* is a ‘trendy’ Greek (nick-) name among otherwise indemonstrably ‘native Anatolian’ rulers requires special pleading: it operates in the fictional scenario that newcomers from the northwestern Aegean *cannot* have commenced migrating into Anatolia *before* the end of the LBA, despite the participation of *Drdny* (‘Dardanians’) at the battle of Kadesh in 1274 BCE,¹ despite the irrefutable presence of Mycenaean Greeks further south around Miletus, despite the probable presence of Phrygians on the borders of Assyria as early as the 12th century B.C.E (the ‘Muški’), finally despite the widespread diffusion of Phrygians and Armenians throughout the Anatolian plateau in the subsequently better-attested historical period. Despite the controversy over the linguistic status of ancient Macedonian, I make the case that Macedonian can be identified by triangulating the three hundred Macedonian glosses and personal names with both Greek *and* Phrygian: to the best of my knowledge, no scholar, prior to the present study, has attempted this approach. Thus, it would appear from this triangulation that Macedonian is *not* Greek *per se*, but very closely related to it, just like Phrygian and Armenian.

Thus, one observes the pattern that nearly all of the Homeric characters with the ending *-koon*, e.g. *Hippokoon*, *Deikoon*, *Laokoon*, and the simplex *Koon*, are Trojan—not Achaean heroes. The name is clearly related to archaic Greek κοέω; but the same root

¹ Kullmann 2002:106.

is also attested in Macedonian κοῖος ‘number’; similarly, Κοίης is the name of priests at the Samothracian mysteries, not far from Troy.² Similarly, even the first element of such compounds, e.g. *Lao-* in *Lao-koon*, although perfectly analyzable as Greek, is also perfectly analyzable as Phrygian-Macedonian: the collation of the Eordian (Paeonian) personal name Λάαγος (**Lāwagos*, see Masson 1993:158), hence the Hellenistic *Lagids*, with the 7th century B.C.E. Phrygian inscription *lawagtaei*, suggests that **lāwos* is a common Greco-Phrygian lexeme and compound term, which remained independently productive in both Greek and Phrygian-Macedonian. Henceforward, I refer to the closely related Phrygian, Paeonian, Macedonian and Armenian languages as ‘North Hellanic’ (as opposed to Greek, which is ‘South Hellanic’) or ‘Makednian’, adapting a term used by Herodotus. I further contend, similarly to Blažek 2005, that the vernacular dialects spoken in Epirus (‘Epirote’) belonged to this subgroup rather than Greek per se, as generally assumed by most linguists. All of these regions are connected to the Trojans “and their allies.”

Accordingly, not is it generally easier linguistically and more plausible historically to match Trojan names with Makednian names, Herodotus records the view that the Trojan Teucrians are closely related to the Paeonians, residents of Macedonia, according to Paeonians themselves. Along similar lines, the commonly misunderstood characterization of the Trojans as Phrygians in Attic Tragedy is not so much an anachronistic generalization (*pace* Edith Hall 1988) as an archaic synonym of ‘Trojan’ attested in the anonymous pre-Classical *Phoronis* as well as Alcaeus (like ‘Danaan’ and

² Even more significantly, the Samothracian Mysteries are attested early on in the very Troad and is very likely to reach back to pre-Classical times: see Brian Rose 2013. The last section of my dissertation deals with evidence of allusions to the Samothracian Mysteries *in the Iliad*: see “3.4.1.7. Dardanos Anēr and the Cult of the Kabeiroi.”

‘Argive’ are archaic synonyms of ‘Achaean’), which points up the linguistic and cultural *koine*, to which both Troy, Phrygia and even Mysia³ belonged.

This takes us to factor 2): common cultural and ideological traits uniting the Greeks and the Phrygians, beyond their special, linguistic heritage (‘Greco-Phrygian’ or ‘Hellanic’). The well-known similarities between the Achaeans and the Trojans of the Trojan War saga can accommodate the evidence for a Greco-Phrygian *koine*. The Old Phrygian lexeme mentioned above *lawagtaei*, akin to Linear B *lawagetas*, “leader of the armed host,” Pindaric *λαγέτας*, Paeonian **lāwagos*, is part of a 7th century B.C.E. inscription in the dative *Midai Wanaktei Lawagtaei*. In Mycenaean society, the *wanax* and the *lawagetas* were the two supreme heads of state, the former perhaps specializing in religious and economic affairs, the latter in the conduct of war. The generally overlooked Paeonian simplex **lāwagos* disproves or renders improbable the otherwise plausible hypothesis that Phrygian *lawagtaei* is a loanword from Mycenaean Greek, since Paeonia in Macedonia was part of the proto-Phrygian (Brygian) homeland. Accordingly, *wanaktei* too may represent an inherited Greco-Phrygian lexeme, rather than a loanword from Linear B *wanaks*. Offshoots of the same stem remain productive in late Phrygian as a personal name: *Θαναξος*, *Θαναξων* and *Θαναξιων*.⁴ On a cultural level, Devries 1980:41 could write:

In four detailed passages the [Homeric] poems give revealing insights into the material goods valued most highly: the lists of prizes given at Patroklos’ funeral games, the gifts bestowed by the Phaeacians on Odysseus, and the offerings made separately to Achilles by Agamemnon and Priam. The kinds of goods cited are consistent among themselves, and they tend to match the very ones prominent in the tombs and megarons of the Gordion rich.

³ Xanthos of Lydia *fr.* 8a. Old Phrygian inscriptions found near Parion on the doorsteps of Troy, see Brixhe 2013:57.==

⁴ Brixhe 2013:65

Devries notes, for instance, that 8th century B.C.E. graves in both Phrygia and Argos suggest that iron spits were used as a measure of wealth in both territories.⁵ Devries further notes, in the same time period, striking similarities in the geometric patterning on pottery, woodwork and textiles in both Phrygia and Greece. The setting of Homeric banquets, too, readily compares with Gordion megarons, in particular Megaron 3.⁶

One must also reckon with the intertwined co-evolution of the Phrygian and Greek alphabets from the Phoenician alphabets: “Rares sont les historiens de l'alphabet grec qui font intervenir les Phrygiens. Dans leur quasi-totalité, ils ramènent cette histoire à un tête-à-tête entre Hellènes et Sémites.”⁷ With the new earlier dating of the fire at Gordion, the earliest inscriptions in Old Phrygian are now datable to the 9th century B.C.E., roughly a *century earlier* than the oldest extant inscription in the Greek alphabet, the Dipylon inscription at Athens. Rejecting either a Hellenocentric or ‘Phrygocentric’ model, Brixhe envisions some sort of collaboration between early Phrygians and Greeks as early as the 10th century B.C.E. as they adapted the Phoenician alphabet to the Phrygian and Greek alphabets, which display common innovations, not only in the standardization of alphabetic vowels, but also in that of a number of consonants.

This takes me to another important aspect of identifying historical Trojans and *a* historical Troy. Already above, we hinted at the inadequacy of equating Homeric Troy and Trojans with the Troad and its local inhabitants: Athens, Miletus and their respective populations too informed Homeric Troy and the Homeric Trojans. There is yet a *fourth*, underestimated model for Troy and the Trojans, which may, however, be the most

⁵ Devries 1980:40. But as Brixhe 2004:280 points out, the dating of the Phrygian artefacts should be revised to the 9th century B.C.E., rather than 8th, with the new evidence for dating early Phrygian Gordion.

⁶ Devries 1980:41

⁷ Brixhe 2004:280

important of all: to a certain extent, Homeric Troy was no particular city in or near the Aegean, but rather collectively represented *any* city and region, which had preserved the memory of non-Greek (to a great degree Makednian) migrants clashing at first with Greek-speaking populations before eventually uniting with them: among them are the ubiquitous, almost-dehistoricized, yet originally historical Pelasgians, Trojan allies in the *Iliad*; also the Makednian proto-Dorians, who become Hellenized Dorians in the Peloponnese; the proto-Thessalians and proto-Boeotians, both of whom were originally non-Aeolic populations from Makednian Epirus. Whether into the Troad or into Greece, the same Makednian populations scattered about in the EIA from their homeland in Macedonia and Epirus, resulting in the duplication of heroic names, toponyms and ethnonyms in both the Troad, and by extension much of Asia Minor, and Greece proper.

Thus, the Phrygian affinities of the Trojans in the Troad (cf. *Phoronis fr.* 1) are echoed by the presence of Brygians in Epirus, against whom Odysseus fights in the *Telegony*: Brygians (= Phrygians) in Epirus are no fiction, since they are attested independently by a variety of historiographical and linguistic sources. As Bethe already proposed in 1902, Andromache's and Helenos' alleged deportations to Epirus after the Trojan War mask their original rootedness in Epirus. Similarly, the myth of a Phrygian Pelops moving to the Peloponnese contains the memory of historical Brygians / Phrygians moving into the Peloponnese in the EIA. I argue, innovatively, that the very formation of Elean (Northwestern Greek), Doric and continental Aeolic arises from the coalescence of a Mycenaean Greek matrix with a Makednian adstratum. Nestor, in his recollection of his youthful exploits, remembers a time when the Epeians / Eleans were not yet Achaean, even if they have become Achaean in the narrative present of the Trojan

War. Even as Achaeans, however, one discerns a distinct tendency among these ethne, whose historical dialects are categorized as Northwestern Greek, i.e. Locrians, Phocians, Eleians and Abantes, or dialects with a significant Northwestern Greek component, i.e. Boeotian, for them to either be denigrated in their moral or martial qualities or earmarked for cannon fodder.

To put it differently, it is almost as if there had already been a Macedonian invasion of Greece and Asia Minor 700 years or so before the aptly-named Alexander the Great and his father did, a major difference being, though, that no such large-scale political unity among the first invaders is likely to have occurred as under the subsequent Argeads. Thus, even before the Homeric poems radiated from Ionia, Bethe is surely right to posit that the *prima facie* strange myth of an epichoric Alexander fighting Achilles and Patroklos by the Sperkheios river (Istros *fr.* 12) was already extant in Thessaly.

Alexander in Thessaly, as an aristocratic name (cf. Alexander of Pherae near lake Boibe), would have accompanied the Makednian proto-Thessalians and proto-Boeotians in their EIA migrations from Epirus and Macedonia to Thessaly and Boeotia, just as it accompanied the migration of earlier waves of Makednians across the Dardanelles to the Troad in the LBA (*Alaksandu* of Wilusa) and EIA (*Alexander* Paris of epic). Of course, the EIA, also known as the Dark Age, lacks any contemporaneous authors who could lend support to the present claim, but the preservation of certain continuities in the Classical and Hellenistic periods can be adduced to illustrate my point.

History would repeat itself: from their home base in Illyria, historical *Dardanians*, who are surely the same ethnos as the Dardanians of the Trojan War, undertook in 385 BCE a march southward under their king Bardylis, which was only stopped by the

intervention of the Spartan king Agesilaos II, who defeated them in battle near Dodona. Along similar lines, the non-Mycenaean-derived features of Doric and Aeolic arguably originate in this Makednian adstrate: traditionally, these non-Mycenaean-derived features have been labeled “northwestern Greek” features: but the present dissertation attempts to show that the Ur-language, which contributed the non-Mycenaean adstratum in Doric and Aeolic is very unlikely to have been ‘Greek’, strictly speaking, but rather belonged to the closely-related Makednian subgroup—within, however, the larger Greco-Phrygian (‘Hellanic’) branch of Indo-European.

Chapter 3 explores the three ethnic criteria of common ancestry / blood (ὄμοιμον), common territory and even common religion. Nagy has shown that Patroklos is a ritual substitute (θεράπων) of Achilles, the central figure in the poem. It should follow that Patroklos’ etymological and functional significance as “the glory of the forefathers” applies to Achilles himself, which is what I argue. Upon scrutiny, the locations associated with Deukalion and Pyrrha, survivors of the flood, and progenitors of mankind—and of the Hellenes, map onto the locations associated with Patroklos and Achilles: a) Lokris, including specifically Patroklos’ hometown of Opous, b) southern Thessaly and c) Dodona. The mingled bones of Patroklos and Achilles, placed in the golden urn of Dionysos, will implicitly survive another palingenetic flood corresponding to the prophecy in *Iliad* 12.17-33, and be reborn in the next age, Hesiod’s Iron Age, the here and now of a Homeric audience in the 8th/7th centuries B.C.E. As Joan Connelly 2014 has shown, floods separate different eras in Greek consciousness. The *Iliad* implies that Achilles’ vision of Patroklos and himself being the sole survivors of the Trojan War (16.98-99) is correct in the sense that Achilles and Patroklos, like “Adam and Steve,” will

re-enact Deukalion and Pyrrha: they are to become the ancestors of all the Greeks.

Accordingly, Achilles is not only the best of the Achaeans, he is also the quasi eponym of the Achaeans.

Achilles' and Patroklos' anthropogenic qualities account for their embodiments of the Pelasgians and Leleges respectively, who are remembered in Greek myth as the oldest inhabitants of Greece. The Leleges were born from the stones /bones of the earth, which Deukalion and Pyrrha threw behind them: after the flood, Deukalion lands at Opous, which is the reason, I argue, Patroklos "Glory of the Forefathers" hails from there. The only individual Pelasgian ever to make an appearance in the *Iliad* falls face to face on the corpse of Patroklos (πρηνῆς ἐπὶ νεκρῷ: 17.300): he is a doublet of Achilles (Rabel 1990), lord of "Pelasgian Argos," and prefigures the union in death of Patroklos the Lelex and Achilles the Pelasgian.

Why should the (two) hero(es) typifying all the Greeks be from southern Thessaly, referred to in the poem as Φθίη "land of the Dead"? Why not from somewhere else? The first clue lies in the parallelism between Achilles' Phthia "land of the Dead" and Nestor's "Pylos," which is clearly equated with the gates of Hades in the poem. To seek answers, one must keep in mind the primary performance setting(s) of the poem, as emphasized by studies in orality: East Ionia and to a certain extent East Aeolis (Lesbos) and the northern Peloponnese, in particular the Argolid. From an East Ionian perspective, the homeland of Nestor are the gates of Hades because Nestor is the son of Neleus and the Neleids are the mythical oikists of East Ionian settlements. Thus, a Milesian, a Samian or Ephesian would picture the western Peloponnese as a distant land across the Aegean sea whence their ancestors, "the Dead," had originated. Similarly, both the

Lesbians in the northeastern Aegean and the Dorians in the Peloponnese remembered that their ancestors, “the Dead,” originated in Thessaly. To a Dorian audience in Argos, Corinth or Sparta, “the land of the Dead” = *Phthia* was the land, north, across the isthmus, beyond Attica. Thus, Achilles is to the East Aeolians and Peloponnesian Dorians what Nestor is to the Ionians.

The southernmost part of Thessaly, the artificially small territory of Doris, is in the same vicinity as Achilles’ distorted, urban landscape: whereas the large Thessalian cities of Laris(s)a and Pharsalos are never *explicitly* attributed to Achilles’ Phthia, nor to any other Achaean contingent for that matter, the town of *Trachis* finds pride of place in Achilles’ Catalogue of Ships: it is located right next to Mount *Oita*, “Mount Doom,” where Herakles, the hero of the Dorians, famously perishes. I show that the death of Herakles, demonstrably in Φθίη, looms large in the *Iliad*, via scattered allusions, and contributes to the construction of Achilles’ homeland as the land of the Dead. Significantly in political and historical terms, it is no accident that the Dorians’ non-Peloponnesian Doris and Herakles’ / Achilles’ Trachis are only a few miles away from Anthele, original seat of the Delphic-Pylaic Amphictyonic league, the earliest manifestation on such a large scale of a Panhellenic confederation in the early Archaic age. This geographical clue confers Panhellenic legitimacy on Achilles and suggests that politics in the 8th/7th centuries B.C.E played a role in fixating the location of Achilles’ Phthia along the Sperkheios.

I have uncovered an ethnic love triangle in the poem between Achilles, Patroklos and Briseis. It becomes a love rectangle if one includes the Priamid Lykaon. Patroklos, Briseis and Lykaon all have this in common in the poem: 1) they are all loved by Achilles

and 2) they are all ethnic Leleges. Achilles' love for Briseis drives the first half of the monumental poem; his love for Patroklos drives the latter half. Lykaon, a Trojan, is explicitly Lelex through his mother Laothoe. A close analysis of Lykaon's two encounters with Achilles led me to the following discovery. The present dissertation takes credit for being the first work to have identified in the *Iliad* features of the mystery cult of the Kabeiroi, also known as the Samothracian mysteries: this corresponds to Herodotus' ethnic criterion of religion.

Earlier, mention was made that priests at the Samothracian mysteries were called Κοίης, the root of which frequently occurs in the Homeric compound *-koon*, which is most common in the name of Homeric Trojans, very rarely in that of Achaeans. Brian Rose 2013 made the case that the mystery cult of the Kabeiroi, attested in the Troad in both literature and archaeologically in the Hellenistic period, is very likely to have been practiced there centuries earlier: the twin Meccas for this mystery cult are Samothrace and Lemnos, both right off the coast of Troy. The late Paul Wathelet noted in a 1986 article the initiatory setting of the Lykaon episode in book 21, though without naming any particular mystery cult. The Kabeiric evidence includes, *inter alia*, Lykaon's characterization as *Pais* 'Child', a key figure in Kabeiric cult; his delivery by the son of *Jason* and *Imbrios*, a title of Hermes, other figures in Kabeiric cult; Lykaon's forced journey to Lemnos and re-emergence at Troy, soaked in water, is an atavistic re-enactment of Dardanos' diluvial voyage from Samothrace to Troy, as first attested by Hesiodic *fr.* 177 M-W. It is of the utmost significance that Dardanos, Stammvater of the Trojans, is a figure of Kabeiric cult.

Dardanos is further re-enacted not only by Lykaon as he returns to Troy, but also by Euphorbos, Patroklos' first mortal killer, who is characterized as *Dardanos Anēr*: the myth of Dardanos on Samothrace entails a primordial fratricide, which is immediately followed by the flood. Tellingly, Protesilaos, a doublet of Patroklos in earlier competing epics, is also slain by *Dardanos Anēr*. In both cases, the literal or metaphorical contexts involve jumping off a ship, like Dardanos once did. Homeric awareness of the Kabeiric cult is also inferable from the Achaeans' stopover at Lemnos and the parallels with Jason's former stopover on the island.

The mystery cult of the Kabeiroi, a feature which falls under the ethnic criterion of religion, represents yet another feature connecting the Troad to Boeotia, where the cult is also extant in the Hellenistic period. In keeping with my argument that the Boeotians were Makedonian in their recent past and as a result serve in the Homeric narrative as the Achaeans' cannon fodder *par excellence*, Tsagalis 2008 noted many mythical ties between Troy and Boeotia: the god Ares, the marriage of Kadmos and Harmonia. The cognate *Kadmilos* is a Kabeiros—Kadmos too is attested as a variant of Kadmilos. Although unattested in Thessaly, the death of Protesilaos by *Dardanos Anēr*, combined with the fact that Demeter, a Kabeira, has a near exclusive connection to Protesilaos in the *Iliad*, may suggest either that the cult had also spread to Thessaly or that features of Thessalian cult were syncretized with this mystery cult in the mind of the Homeric composer(s). The death of Patroklos' last victim *Kebriones*, whose very own name could be an epichoric variant of Kabeiros (Hemberg 1950:159), prefigures Patroklos' own death.

Whether or not the mystery cult of the Kabeiroi was ever practiced in Thessaly, the mytheme of a primordial sacrificial fratricide, a feature of the cult, is definitely reconstructible in the triangular nexus interconnecting Achilles, Patroklos and Peleus. This brings us back to Achilles as the functional eponym and ancestor of the Achaeans. Besides the aforementioned, Achilles is also the wielder of the ash, an anthropogenic tree, and is the son of Peleus, the man from Mount Pelion, Mount ‘Clay’, as verified by geological surveys of the mountain. I have shown that this aspect of Mount Pelion, as of Peleus, connects with the Myrmidons, ‘the Antmen’, in that anthropological studies have shown that anthills were known for their rich content in clay: the implication is that Mount Pelion, Achilles’ birthplace, was thought of as a giant anthill. As the son of Clay, the emphatically formulaic Πηλεΐδης signals his embodiment of the primordial man.

As Finlay 1980 had rightly proposed, Patroklos “the glory of the forefathers,” is a father figure to Achilles: this does not mean, as Finlay’s critics have also rightly objected, that their roles, at times, are not reversed: Achilles can also be a father figure to Patroklos. Achilles is furthermore transformed by his encounter with Priam, when he realizes that the Trojan king is to Hector what his own father Peleus is to himself. The hyperbolic thematization of paternity, as it relates to Achilles, is something to be expected from such an ancestral figure as Achilles. But Achilles’ symbolic paternity of all of the Achaeans operates within a triadic allegory, which transcends Achilles and includes Patroklos—and Peleus as primary embodiments of Achaean ancestry. Achilles’ guilt in the death of Patroklos instantiates the primordial sacrificial fratricide of Indo-European myth (cf. Puhvel 1975): it is a transgenerational iteration of Peleus’ own ἀκούσιος φόνος of his brother Phokos. Like Peleus, Patroklos too is guilty of an ἀκούσιος

φόνος, over a game of dice. In fact, Patroklos and Peleus have similar trajectories: they both find asylum in Phthia, as a result of murder. They even share a common victim: the death of Eurytion is ascribed to either Peleus or Patroklos. Thus, Achilles, Peleus and Patroklos together form an ancestral unit.

One of the claimed achievements of the present dissertation is the need to re-define Hellenism and its origins, as it emerges in the early archaic period: the Trojan War found part of its inspiration in the historically reconstructible coalescence of the descendants of the LBA Mycenaeans and the arrival of the Makednians, a significant historical model for the Trojans, out of whose union the Dorians and the Aeolians in particular arose. The emergence of a Hellenic ethnos in the Classical period arises from this fusion. This does mean, though, that it is necessary to include not only the ancient Macedonians in the discipline of Hellenic studies, but also the Phrygians, the Paeonians and even the Armenians.

1. TROJANS AND IONIANS

1.1. Trojans and East Ionians: The Significance of the Early Performance Context of the *Iliad* in East Ionia: Ionian Identity Straddling Greek & Anatolian / Achaean and Trojan Identities

It is generally agreed, as we shall see, that East Ionia was the cradle of Homeric composition. It follows that the *Iliad's* audience, early on, was primarily Ionian and only secondarily non-Ionian, allowing for performances in other Greek-speaking regions, such as the Argolid. And yet, Ionians are seldom mentioned in the monumental poem. How can that be? Writes Crielaard 2009:49-50:

The omission of Ionians and their habitat from the epics requires an explanation. According to a widely accepted view, it is a case of deliberate archaizing. The Ionians and Aioliens of historical times believed that their forebears had migrated to Asia Minor after the Trojan war. In order to create a credible account of this Heroic Era (what we call the Bronze Age), the epic poet had to avoid any hint of the Ionians, Aioliens or migrations of the Iron Age. Instead, pre-Greek, native populations were mentioned as occupying later Ionian sites such as Miletos. This would be an example of 'constructed history' intended to further enhance archaizing effects.⁸⁶ However, this explanation is not entirely satisfactory. For one thing, Athens and Naxos play an obscure role in the Homeric poems, although they had important settlements not only in the Iron Age but also during the Bronze Age. What is more, the epic geography of the eastern Aegean and of western Asia Minor has a distinct post-Bronze Age and post-migratory ring. This is clear from various non-Greek peoples named in the epics, such as Maionians (i.e. Lydians⁸⁸), Mysians and Phrygians⁸⁹ who are known to have occupied western Asia Minor after the collapse of the Hittite empire. An even clearer example is constituted by the inhabitants of the Dodecanese who, as we just saw, were probably of Dorian stock. In marked contrast to the near absence of Ionians and Ionian territories, these Dorian Dodekanesians play a role of some significance among the allied Greek forces before Troia.

As Crielaard has observed, the *Iliad's* systematic exclusion of Ionian populations from any significant role in the Trojan War on the Achaean side cannot simply be imputed to the belief that the Ionians arrived in Anatolia *after* the Trojan War: other latecomers too like the Dorians in the Dodecanese, as represented by Herakles' grandson Tlepolemos

and his Rhodian contingent, are organically included in the epic, not to mention the figure of Menelaos himself and his post-Mycenaean hometown of Sparta, a Dorian foundation.¹

Similarly, the archaizing argument whereby Ionians came into existence only after the Trojan war fails to explain the conspicuously marginal role West Ionians play in the epic: Attica and Euboea quickly recovered from the across-the-board havoc, which the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean underwent at the end of the Bronze Age: the two closely interconnected West Ionian regions experienced a renaissance from about 1000 BCE onward. But the few explicit references to these West Ionians, as we shall see, are either tellingly unflattering or they are recognizable as later additions imputable to the subsequent performance context of the poem in Attica during the Panathenaic festival, *mutatis mutandis*.

Homer's primary audience was Ionian and Homeric performances were first and foremost enacted in Ionia, primarily East Ionia. It is argued that Homer's Ionian audience was acutely aware of its heterogeneous origins: a) from Ionian continental Greece, b) from non-Ionian continental Greece and c) from Anatolia. This tripartite division may surprise, as one might have expected a more simple bipartite division pitting Greek origins against Anatolian origins, as apparent in Herodotus' account of Milesian Greeks: they were the descendants of Greek Ionian colonizers who forced the indigenous Carian women into marriage, having killed off their brothers and fathers.

But my research has led me to the finding that the *Iliad* differentiates not only Achaeans from Trojans, but even Ionians from Achaeans (= Danaans / Argives) in certain passages, just as Hekataios and other subsequent authors would: Herodotus' depiction of Ionians as "less genuinely Greek" than the Dorians has early parallels in the *Iliad*, though

¹ In an inconsistent effort to archaicize the setting, the ethnonym *Dorian* is avoided in the *Iliad*, but a

the poem (almost) never mentions the Dorians by name. The Ionians would have viewed themselves as the offspring of Ajax and Tekmessa and other interethnic unions, ‘Achaean’ invaders and indigenous ‘Trojans’: the *Iliad* replays the epic fights among the *Ionians’* ancestors, having incorporated a partly East Aeolian tradition into their own.

The Panhellenic aspirations and Panhellenic appearance of the *Iliad* are in part accidental: it is at least as much the result of the Ionians’ concern with their heterogeneous origins from a broad swath of the Greek world, as Herodotus would later write, as an intent to appeal to an audience throughout the Greek-speaking world. In other words, some of what we are told about the heroes from continental Greece is not what Homer and the Homeridai picked up from traveling throughout the Greek-speaking world, but rather reflects the Ionian reception and perception of said heroes through an Ionian filter.

A certain pro-Achaean bias notwithstanding, the *Iliad* has been hailed as an early exemplum of a war narrative capable of overcoming a Manichean demonization of the enemy, as egregiously observable in *la chanson de Roland*. True, but the present dissertation hopes to show that it has less to do with Homer’s prescient ability to show empathy with the Other than the fact that ‘Trojans’, viz. Anatolians at large, never were quite the Other: they are humanely depicted, to an appreciable (yet qualified) extent, because they contributed an essential component to Ionian identity.

1.1.1. The Iliadic Ἰάονες ἔλκεχίτωνες and Τρῶας καὶ Τρωάδας ἔλκεσιπέπλους

There are both flattering and unflattering ties in the *Iliad* between the Trojans, whom we must recall, are an extinct population from the standpoint of an 8th/7th century B.C.E. Ionian compositional context. Given the restraints in the ability of oral poetry to

reconstruct history past three, four or five generations, the oral poet constantly updates / fills in the gaps of the inherited material with contemporary data, albeit archaizing, which a contemporary audience can for the most part relate to. Much of this updated, suppletive material is drawn from the Ionians themselves.

There is a striking parallelism between the hapax Ἴάονες ἐλκεχίτωνες “Ionians with trailing tunics” (*Iliad* 13.685) and Τρῶας καὶ Τρωάδας ἐλκεσιπέπλους “Trojan men and women with trailing robes” (*Iliad* 6.442, 22.105 and 7.297). In this context, the Ionians appear in a negative light because they are one among several Achaean ethne who fear the onslaught of the Trojans. It is unclear whether the epithet “with trailing tunics” is purely descriptive or somewhat derogatory. To Clement of Alexandria, it was feminizing.²

In the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, however, the Ionians’ trailing tunics are clearly idiosyncratic and a source of pride to the congregated Ionians (146-148):

ἀλλὰ σὺ Δῆλφ Φοῖβε μάλιστ’ ἐπιτέρπειαι ἦτορ,
ἔνθα τοι ἐλκεχίτωνες Ἴάονες ἠγερέθονται
αὐτοῖς σὺν παίδεσσι καὶ αἰδοίης ἀλόχοισιν

But you Delian Phoebus most rejoice in your heart,
When surely Ionians with trailing robes have gathered
With their children and wedded wives

A positive connotation and ethnic idiosyncrasy are also attachable to the Iliadic Τρῶας καὶ Τρωάδας ἐλκεσιπέπλους, as they appear twice in the context of Hector “fearing the opinion of the Trojans men and women with trailing robes” and once in the context of Hector gladdening the hearts of said crowd. As we learn from Herodotus 5.88, the Ionian

² cf. Clement of Alexandria 2.10bis.105.3-4 Ἀθηναίων δὲ ἔμπαλιν οἱ ἄρχοντες οἱ τὸ ἀστικὸν πολίτευμα ἐζηλωκότες ἐκλαθόμενοι τῆς ἀνδρωνίτιδος ἐχρυσοφόρου ποδήρεις χιτῶνας ἐνδύόμενοι [καὶ ποδήρεις ἠμπίσχοντο·] καὶ κρωβύλον, ὃ ἐμπλοκῆς ἐστὶν εἶδος, ἀνεδοῦντο χρυσῶν ἐνέρσει τεττίγων κοσμούμενοι, τὸ γηγενὲς ὡς (5) (4.) ἀληθῶς ἀπειροκαλία κιναιδίας ἐνδεικνύμενοι. Ὁ δὲ τῶν ἀρχόντων τούτων ζῆλος καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους Ἴωνας δικνεῖτο, οὗς Ὅμηρος ἐκθηλύνων «ἐλκεσιπέπλους» καλεῖ.

dress for women was originally Carian (οὐκ Ἴὰς αὕτη ἢ ἐσθῆς τὸ παλαιὸν ἀλλὰ Κάειρα), Trojan allies in the *Iliad*. It is difficult to conceive how Ionians could not have related their own trailing accoutrement to that of the mythologized Trojans.

In many cities Ionian such as Miletus, male Greek settlers are thought to have provided the paternal lineage of Ionians, whereas Anatolian (Carian) ancestors are thought to have provided their maternal lineage.³ In the saga of the Trojan War, many Achaean heroes end up with Trojan or Trojan-ally women, and together may give rise to the lineages of noble families, such as Ajax and the Phrygian Tekmessa. Thus, to an Ionian audience, whose maternal ancestors were notionally ‘Trojan’ = Anatolian, the title Ἰλιάς “Female Trojan”⁴ given to the Homeric poem may have brought to mind the very similar-sounding Ἰάς “Female Ionian.”⁵

1.1.2 An Ionian Hector

As Wade-Gery and others have posited, to an 8th/7th century East Ionian audience of the *Iliad*, the choice of the name *Hector* as war leader of the Trojans would inevitably bring to mind the semi-legendary Ionian hero Hector (circa 800 B.C.E.⁶), celebrated at the Panionion and remembered by Ion of Chios.⁷ Though the name is attested in Linear B (*e-ko-to*⁸), it is subsequently unattested anywhere else in post-Mycenaean Greece other

³ Herodotus 1.146

⁴ Ἰλιάς = “Female Trojan,” e.g. in Euripides *Helen* 1114.

⁵ A colloquial pronunciation of Ἰλιάς may have been [iˈlas] among some circles, as in literary Spanish *llorar*.

⁶ For the likely historicity of Hector of Chios, see Carlier 2006:108, fn22 quoted by Rose 2012:132.

⁷ Wade-Gery 1952:7

⁸ Tsagalis 2008:17

than in the saga of the Trojan war.⁹ Like the Iliadic Hector, this Ionian Hector too was a superlative war leader who either subdued or expelled non-Ionian populations from Chios, the island mythically associated with Homer and the *Homeridai*: the achievements of this Ionian Hector were such that he won transinsular fame and honor among all the East Ionians. Ion records that Hector's victories were celebrated at the Panionian festival where he was awarded a tripod for his bravery and leadership (8 Leurini = FGrH 392 F1 = Paus. 7.4.8–10). Not only that, Hector of Chios is also credited with the incorporation of Chios into the Ionian league.¹⁰

This double connection of Hector of Chios to Panionian unity and the plausibility of the historical ties of Homer and the *Homeridai* to Chios plead in favor of the scenario of this epichoric Chian Hector having played a role in the individualization of the Homeric Hector, a central figure in Trojan unity. From mediating the Ionicization of the Chians, himself a Panionian hero, Hector of Chios was chosen by (the) Homer(idai) to represent to represent a key figure among the mythical Trojans, with whom the Ionians partly identified. The near-synonymy of the arguably Ur-Trojan *Alexandros*,¹¹ “protector of men” with *Hektor* “Holder,”¹² hence also “Protector,”¹³ and the Dioscuric relation

⁹ A possible exception might be the existence of a Boeotian Hektor associated with Thebes—another major mythical city under siege. Dümmler and Bethe argued that the accounts, attested in Lycophron and Pausanias, of the translation of Hector's bones to Thebes, mask the hero's original Boeotian identity. The Homeric tradition would have exported him to the Troad and made him a Trojan hero (references in *RE*, s.v. “Hektor”).

¹⁰ Tsagalis 2008:17.

¹¹ In the 14th century BCE, a certain *Alaksandu* ruled over Wilusa = Ilios. It is commonly (and rightly) assumed that the memory of this Bronze Age *Alaksandu*, which could have been a hereditary title “protector of men” borne across the centuries by generations of kings, as it later was in Macedonia, contributed to the formation of the Trojan Alexander in the saga of the Trojan war.

¹² Cf. plural ἔκτορες: πάσσαλοι ἐν ῥυμῶ Leonides in Hesychius, s.v. ἔκτορες.

¹³ Nagy 1979:146.

between the two characters would facilitate the incorporation of the Chian and Panionian Hector into the Ur-Aeolic tradition of the Trojan war. Among the factors, which could have endeared the Chian Hector to the Ionians—or at least some of them—was his role in fighting the Carians on Chios: in Ionia as a whole, the Carians were *the* enemy.¹⁴

1.1.3. The Carianized Neleids of Miletus in the Catalogue of Ships

The Homeric narrator signals the *sphragis* for the poem’s early performance context by singling out the Carians as βαρβαρόφωνοι. These Κᾶρες βαρβαρόφωνοι are the beneficiaries of the Maiandros’ blessings (2.867-869):

Νάστης αὖ Καρῶν ἠγήσατο βαρβαροφώνων,
οἳ Μίλητον ἔχον Φθιρῶν τ’ ὄρος ἀκριτόφυλλον
Μαιάνδρου τε ροᾶς Μυκάλης τ’ αἰπεινὰ κάρηνα:

Nastes [“Settler”] led the barbarian-speaking Carians
Who controlled Miletus and the mountain of the Phthires with undistinguishable leaves
And the streams of the Maiandros and the lofty ridges of Mykale

Much ink has been spilled over the hapax βαρβαροφώνων “barbarian-speaking”—the first occurrence of the word βάρβαρος in Greek literature. But the true significance of why the epic poem specifically targets Carians as “barbarian of speech” has escaped most commentators. A multitude of non-Greek-speaking populations are depicted in the *Iliad*, e.g. Thracians and Paphlagonians, but nothing is said of their foreign/barbarian speech: why single out the Carians whose presence in the narrative is so scarce?¹⁵

¹⁴ Herda 2013:421-506.

¹⁵ Aside from their entry in the Catalogue of Ships, the Carians appear in only two other places: first, in a simile which refers to the blood issuing from Menelaos’ wound in his thigh (4.142: ὡς δ’ ὅτε τίς τ’ ἐλέφαντα γυνή φοίνικι μίγη / Μηονίς ἠὲ Κάειρα παρήϊον ἔμμεναι ἵππων); second, in a list of various *ethne* stationed among the Trojan shore (10.429: πρὸς μὲν ἀλδὸς Κᾶρες καὶ Παίονες ἀγκυλότοξοι / καὶ Λέλεγες καὶ Καύκωνες δῖοί τε Πελασγοί).

The answer lies again in the early performance context of the Homeric poem: to an Ionian, the hostile, dangerous Other *par excellence* was the Carian.¹⁶ The very formation of Ionia came about at the expense of former Carian territories, e.g. many islands in the Aegean, including Delos. Even the Icarian sea, into which the Maiandros spills, was also known epichorically throughout antiquity as the “Carian Sea”: Herda persuasively argued that this alternative name unmasks the original meaning of the Icarian sea.¹⁷ Under the veneer of the myth of Icarus, the standardization of an “Icarian sea” displacing a “Carian sea” was a convenient ethnic appropriation by the Greeks-becoming-Ionians of a sea, which had originally not been theirs.¹⁸ Thus, the extraordinary alterity of the Iliadic *Kḗρες βαρβαρόφωνοι* gives away the Milesian—and significantly—Maiandrian background of the poem’s primary performance setting. Had the early performance context of our Homeric *Iliad* been the more northerly Aeolis in or around

¹⁶ For the overwhelming evidence of the degree to which the Ionians demonized the Carians (at least in literature), see Herda’s comprehensive coverage “Greeks (and our) view on the Karians” (2013).

¹⁷ Herda 2009:43. His conclusion is based on epigraphic evidence and the historical ascendancy of the Carians in the region between the collapse of the Bronze Age and the Geometric period.

¹⁸ West 2011:20 takes note of the vivid description of said “Icarian” sea at *Iliad* 2.144-146:

κινήθη δ' ἀγορή φη κύματα μακρὰ θαλάσσης
 πόντου Ἰκαρίοιο, τὰ μὲν τ' Εὐρὸς τε Νότος τε
 ὄρορ' ἐπαΐξας πατρὸς Διὸς ἐκ νεφελῶν.

¹⁸ He writes: “[Homer] has compared [the Achaeans’] turbulent assembly to the turbulence of the Icarian sea when the south and east winds stir up its waves (B 144-6). Why the Icarian sea in particular, the sea south of Samos? Is it more liable to rough water than other parts of the Aegean? Again, the likeliest answer is that [the poet] himself has had experience of it.” A few lines later, West writes: “In Y 403-5 one of Achilles’ victims, speared in the back, belches out his life like a sacrificial bull that the young men drag to the altar of Poseidon Helikonios. This refers to the Panionion at Mykale, a cult centre where all Ionians gathered. [Homer] had been there and witnessed the bull sacrifice. Such gatherings provided a natural occasion for epic singers to perform, and he had very likely captivated crowds there with his recitals.”

Lesbos, the Lydians / Μήονες¹⁹—not the Carians—would have earned the hapax βαρβαρόφωνοι.

A key passage, to which we will return on other occasions in the present dissertation, is Herodotus 1.147:

βασιλέας δὲ ἐστήσαντο οἱ [Ἴωνες] μὲν αὐτῶν Λυκίους ἀπὸ Γλαύκου τοῦ Ἴππολόχου γεγονότας, οἱ δὲ Καύκωνας Πυλίους ἀπὸ Κόδρου τοῦ Μελάνθου, οἱ δὲ καὶ συναμφοτέρους.

And as kings, some of [the East Ionians] chose Lycian descendants of Glaukos son of Hippolochos, some Pylian Kaukones, descendants of Kodros son of Melanthos, and some both.

Throughout the cities of Ionia, one encounters these two royal families: the Lycian Glaukids and the Pylian Kodrids, otherwise known as the Ionian Neleids, after *Neileos* (Herodotus 9.98), namesake of the ancestor and son of the Athenian king Kodros, who was said to have initiated the Ionian migration. The elder Neleus, mentioned in the *Iliad*, is the father of Nestor. As the legendary prototypical Ionian *archegetes*, he is mentioned by a variety of ancient sources, e.g. Mimnermos *fr.* 9 αἰπὸν δ' ἐπεὶ τε Πύλου Νηληΐου ἄστῳ λιπόντες “when we left the city of Neleian Pylos.” Douglas Frame has extensively documented the Neleids,²⁰ who are of immediate concern to us.

When the Greek-speaking populations moved into the East Aegean and West Anatolia in the Submycenaean and EIA, pockets of Greek-speaking descendants of the Mycenaean Greeks may have survived, but for the most part, the majority of them had mingled with the indigenous populations, the Carians, and become assimilated.²¹

Between the Postmycenaean wave of Ionian colonies along the coast of Asia Minor circa

¹⁹ The ethnonym Λυδοί is not used in Homer: instead, we find Μήονες on the same territory as what Aeolic sources, e.g. Sappho and Alkaios, refer to as “Lydia.”

²⁰ Frame, *Hippota Nestor* 2008.

²¹ Herda 2009:44-45

1050 BCE and the early compositional stages of our *Iliad* (ca. 700), there is a gap of three centuries. Despite the remembrance as late as the 5th century B.C.E. of two separate royal families with the Ionian Neleids (Kodrids) representing the Greek element and the Lycian Glaukids representing the indigenous element, as evidenced by the aforementioned Herodotus, a close scrutiny of the Catalogue entry of the Carians shows that the composer of these lines²² is retrojecting a Carian—Non-Ionian—identity on the Neleids (!), who are supposed to represent the opposite side: the Ionian Greek newcomers, not the indigenous Carians. The names of these ‘Carian’ leaders clearly refer to the Pylian Neleids and their Epeian neighbors to the north, both of whom were said to have originated from the western coast of the Peloponnese:

Νάστης αὖ Καρῶν ἠγήσατο βαρβαροφώνων,
οἱ Μίλητον ἔχον Φθιρῶν τ’ ὄρος ἀκριτόφυλλον
Μαιάνδρου τε ῥοᾶς Μυκάλης τ’ αἰπεινὰ κάρηνα·
τῶν μὲν ἄρ’ Ἀμφίμαχος καὶ Νάστης ἠγησάσθην,
Νάστης Ἀμφίμαχος τε Νομίονος ἀγλαὰ τέκνα,
ὃς καὶ χρυσὸν ἔχων πόλεμον δ’ ἴεν ἠῦτε κούρη
νήπιος, οὐδέ τί οἱ τό γ’ ἐπήρκεσε λυγρὸν ὄλεθρον,
ἀλλ’ ἐδάμη ὑπὸ χερσὶ ποδώκεος Αἰακίδαο
ἐν ποταμῷ, χρυσὸν δ’ Ἀχιλεὺς ἐκόμισσε δαΐφρων.

Nastes, the leader of the Carians, literally ‘the Settler’, is undoubtedly a deliberate echo of the root *nes- in *Nes-tor*’s Neleids, *Neleos*, attested in Linear B as *Nehelawos* (**Neselawos*), “he who Saves/Returns the People in Arms,”²³ νόστος ‘homecoming’.

²² It is generally agreed that the Catalogue of the Ships does not belong to the same compositional tradition as the remaining bulk of the *Iliad*.

²³ For the meaning, see Frame 2009 and lately Alexander Forte (forthcoming).

This Carian *Nastes* is the son of *Nomion*, which together sound like folk etymological²⁴ ‘linked names’²⁵ paralleling inversely father and son *Neleus* and *Nestor*.

The verisimilitude of this interpretation is borne out by the name of *Nastes*’ brother *Amphimakhos*, which is also the name of one of the leaders among the Epeians (*Iliad* 2.620), immediate neighbors of the Pylians in the western Peloponnese. Significantly, this *Amphimakhos*, the only other *Amphimakhos* in the *Iliad* besides the Carian *Amphimakhos*, is the father of *Eleios* (Pausanias 5.3.4), the eponym of the Eleians who are equated with the Epeians at *Iliad* 11.671.

The Epeians are highlighted in the poem when Nestor recounts the days of his youthful exploits when he recovered from the Epeians/Eleians the horses, which they had rustled from the Pylians. A third *Amphimakhos*, not mentioned in the *Iliad*, is the son of the Iliadic *Polyxeinos*, another leader of the Epeians (*Iliad* 2.623). Pausanias 5.3.4 says that the Iliadic *Polyxeinos* named his son *Amphimakhos* on account of his friendship bond with fellow Epeian leader *Amphimakhos*. Pausanias’ account can be seen as an attempt to reconcile competing traditions about the significance of a prototypical Epeian/Elean leader named *Amphimakhos*, father of the eponym *Eleios*. The multidimensional connections of the Epeian *Amphimakhos* to *Polyxeinos* are interesting because they run parallel to the Underworld associations of the Pylian *Neleids*, with whom the Epeians share geographical, historical and micronarrative ties: *Polyxeinos* is an epithet of Hades ‘he who receives many guests’, just as *Pylos* was the place where

²⁴ *Nomion* is clearly not related etymologically to *Nastes*, but the two names are nonetheless very similar and therefore may have been perceived as cognates.

²⁵ Golden 1986:245-269: linked names are compound names across the generations whereby the name of the son or grandson contains a compound element, which is identical to that of his forebear, while the other compound element changes.

Herakles defeated Hades (*Iliad* 5.392-397), suggesting a paronomasia Πύλος / πύλη. Accordingly, Pylian Neleus too must have been folk etymologically construed early on as another epithet of Hades νηλεής “the Ruthless one.”²⁶

This cryptic connection of Miletus to Pylos’ northern neighbor Elis and the Epeians in the Catalogue of Ships is further revealed by the reference to Mount Phthires, which Hekataios identifies with Mount Latmos: in mythology, it is known as one of the two places where Endymion and the Moon goddess had sex; the other place for their nightly tryst...is Elis. According to Eustathius, the eponymous Phtheir was the son of the mortal Endymion and the Moon.²⁷ The probability of this connection is borne out by the correspondence of the thanatic theme running through all these names: φθείρω “to destroy,” / φθίω “to decay,” Miletus’ *Neleids*—folk-etymologized as an epithet of Hades²⁸ (“the Ruthless One”) as evidenced by Neleus’ lordship over the city of Pylos “the Gate” where Herakles defeats Hades (*Iliad* 5.393-396); *Polyxeinos*—also an epithet of Hades²⁹—friend of the Achaean Amphimachus / father of Amphimachus father of the eponymous Epeius.³⁰

²⁶ Eitrem 1902:47, 105. For νηλεής and the underworld, Frame 2009:537, fn55 cites Hesiod *Theogony* 456 νηλεές ἦτορ ἔχων.

²⁷ *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* 1.580.17. Cf Apollonius, *Lexicon Homericum* 163 φθειρῶν. φθειροὶ λέγονται ὑπὸ τινῶν αἰ πίτυες· Φθειρῶν γὰρ (30)ῶρος τῆς Καρίας περὶ Μίλητον, διὰ τὸ πολλὰς ἔχειν πίτυς· οἱ γὰρ τόποι τῶν πιτύων φθίραι προσαγορεύονται. οἱ δὲ ὅτι τὰτῶν πιτύων μικρὰ στροβίλια οὕτως λέγονται, ἃ καὶ πιτυοκάμπους φασίν. ἢ ἀπὸ Φθίρωνος τοῦ Ἐνδυμίονος. ἢ ὅτι τὰ ἐξανθή-ματα τῶν πιτύων ὄμβριά εἰσιν φθισίν.

²⁸ The actual etymology of Neleus, also spelled Neileos, is the root *nes “to return safely home” (both transitive and intransitive), like *Nestor*, but the character’s mythology shows that it was connected at the same time with a separate root, that of νηλεής “ruthless,” epithet of Hades.

²⁹ Cf. Aeschylus, Tetralogy 15 play B *fr.* 121 ἐν δὲ Αἰγυπτίοις τὸν Πλούτωνα καλεῖ (sc. Aischylos) ‘τὸν ἄγραϊον τὸν πολυξενώτατον. See Eitrem 1902:104-105 (citing Fick-Bechtel S. 431) and Fontenrose 1978:328.

³⁰ On the myth of Endymion, see Bremmer 2006:306. In parallel to this thanatic theme, a theme of primordality can also be recovered: Endymion and the Moon had fifty daughters, which is the same number of daughters the eponymous Danaos had. As Calvert Watkins has shown (Watkins 1995:53), this

The first conclusion I draw is that the Neleid leadership in the Ionian migration to Asia Minor and the islands nearby incorporated an Eleian element, which would be a natural thing to expect, in light of the geographical ties between Pylos and Elis and the tendency of neighboring aristocratic families to intermarry. The blurring of the lines between Pylians and Epeians is also relevant to the ancient controversy, at length discussed by Frame 2009:657-662, as to the Homeric location of Pylos: in Messenia, in Triphylia or Elis? Despite the undeniable evidence of a Bronze Age site near Anonglianos in Messenia named *Pu-lo* = Pylos, the composer of the Carians' Catalogue entry would, it seems, place it further north, in agreement with the geography of the composer of *Iliad* book 11, which details Nestor's youthful exploits: there was a Homeric perspective, for whom Nestor's Pylos was located not in Messenia, but rather in Triphylia (and possibly Elis proper), closer to Elis. Across the sea in Italy, the Greek colonies of Metaponton and Pisa were considered Pylian foundations and yet at the same time were supposedly founded by the eponymous *Epeios*.³¹ This coalescence of the Pylians and Epeians in Italy beautifully parallels the coalescence of the Pylians and Epeians in the Carians' Iliadic Catalogue entry.

Remarkably, the mythical involvement of Elis—Pylos' northern neighbor—in the Neleid foundation of Miletus and other Ionian city states is further borne out by the correspondence between Herodotus' singular statement that the Neleids from Pylos were

was originally an anthropogonic myth with other Indo-European analogues. The placement of this myth in Miletus could be the city's way of asserting its leadership over the other Ionian cities.

³¹ I owe this observation to Ziegler in *RE*, s.v. 'Pylos', pp 2161-2162.

Kaukonos (not Achaean!) with Strabo's account of the Kaukonos' erstwhile presence in the Western Peloponnese, in particular ancient Elis³²:

πλείους δ' εἰσὶ λόγοι περὶ τῶν Καυκόνων: καὶ γὰρ Ἀρκαδικὸν ἔθνος φασί, καθάπερ τὸ Πελασγικόν, καὶ πλανητικὸν ἄλλως, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνο. ἱστορεῖ γοῦν ὁ ποιητὴς καὶ τοῖς Τρωσὶν ἀφιγμένους συμμάχους... οἱ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὅλην τὴν νῦν Ἠλείαν ἀπὸ τῆς Μεσσηνίας μέχρι Δύμης Καυκωνίαν λεχθῆναί φασιν: Ἀντίμαχος γοῦν καὶ Ἐπειοὺς καὶ Καύκωνας ἅπαντας προσαγορεύει

There are several accounts of the Kaukonos; for it is said that, like the Pelasgians, they were an Arcadian *ethnos*, and, again like the Pelasgians, that they were a wandering tribe. At any rate, the poet [Homer] tells us that they came to Troy as allies of the Trojans... Some say that the whole of what is now called Eleia, from Messenia as far as Dymê, was called Kaukonos. Antimachus, at any rate, calls all the inhabitants both Epeians and Kaukonos.³³

Since the Eleians/Epeians in Nestor's recounting of his youthful exploits are characterized as non-Achaean in opposition to the Pylians who are called Achaean, it is conceivable that these non-Achaean Kaukonos were related to the non-Achaean Eleians / Epeians. Further, that the presumably Anatolian Kaukonos,³⁴ Trojan allies in the *Iliad*, are descended from the same proto-Doric populations, whose homeland might have originally been Macedonia or a region nearby.³⁵

In another section of the present study, we will argue that the underworld associations of the Pylians and the Epeians owes a great deal to the Ionian perspective:

³² Unspecified whether this is the 7th century BCE poet Antimachus of Teos or the late 5th century BCE Antimachus of Colophon/Claros.

³³ My modified translation of H. L. Jones (Loeb).

³⁴ See Leaf 1912:283.

³⁵ Two of the three ethnic affiliations for the Anatolian Kaukonos listed by Strabo 12.3.5 include the Macedonians and the Pelasgians, which raises the likelihood that Macedonia was the homeland of the Kaukonos, insofar as the same region also appears to have been the homeland of the historical Pelasgians (see discussion in this paper; also Katicic 1976). Strabo 12.3.5: Τοὺς δὲ Καύκωνας, οὓς ἱστοροῦσι τὴν ἐφεξῆς οἰ- κῆσαι παραλίαν τοῖς Μαριανδουνοῖς μέχρι τοῦ Παρθενίου ποταμοῦ πόλιν ἔχοντας τὸ Τίειον, οἱ μὲν Σκύθας φασιν οἱ δὲ τῶν Μακεδόνων τινὰς οἱ δὲ τῶν Πελασγῶν· εἴρηται δὲ πού τις καὶ περὶ τούτων πρότερον. Καλλιस्थένης δὲ καὶ ἔγραφε τὰ ἔπη ταῦτα εἰς τὸν διάκοσμον, μετὰ τὸ „Κρωμῶν τ' Αἰγιαλόν τε καὶ ὑψηλοὺς Ἐρυθίνους“ τιθεὶς „Καύκωνας δ' αὐτ' ἦγε Πολυκλέος „υἱὸς ἀμύμων, οἱ περὶ Παρθένιον ποταμὸν κλυτὰ δώματ' ἔναιον.“

from the point of view of the Ionians, the Western Peloponnese is the Land of the Dead, i.e. the land whence the Asiatic Ionians had departed.

Now, why the Catalogue of Ships should Carianize such emblems of the Ionian migration is open to a variety of interpretations: according to one view, two to three centuries of intermarriage with the native nobility of Asia Minor may have blurred the line between the two so that to some at least, the Neleids could be reinterpreted as autochthonous to Caria, out of which the future Ionia was carved; the Milesian Thales, of Aristocratic descent is a good case in point: his father has an unmistakable Carian name while his mother's is Greek.³⁶ According to another view, which we will develop elsewhere in the present study, the West Ionian category was detachable and distinguishable from the Achaean category, which we shall argue was implicitly Dorianized. Since some of the early epic traditions, as we shall see, pitted (West) indigenous Ionians (indigenous to the Peloponnese and Attica) against invading Dorians, the umbrella of indigeneity could cover Ionians and Carians at once, hence another explanatory model for the Carianization of the Ionian Neleids in the Carians' entry to the Catalogue of Ships.

Finally, if indeed the Ionian aristocracy of Miletus claimed mostly Pylia and Epeian/Elean ancestry, there would then be a parallelism between the Trojan War narrative of a struggle between Achaeans and Trojans and the Pylia War narrative of a struggle between Pylia and Epeians, insofar as each narrative represents *a (intra-)fight among the collective ancestors of a given group*: the Achaeans and the Trojans represent

³⁶ See Herda 2013:437. One scenario, in which the royal Ionian Neleids may have begun to be perceived as native rather than immigrant, would be in that of a coup or transition to tyrannical or oligarchic regimes: the new regime could spin the former kingship as 'alien' to their values or as oppressors to their freedoms. If the Neleids had intermarried with the indigenous aristocracies, as they probably did, their resultant mixed ancestry and possibly identity would be prone to political manipulations.

the ancestors of the East Ionians and East Aeolians along and off the coast of Anatolia: though increasingly Hellenized and linguistically Greek, the memory of their mixed origins (Achaean newcomers and Anatolian natives) is still fresh in the 8th century BCE.

1.1.4 The Iliadic Zeus and the Cult of Carian Zeus in Anatolia

In the late 6th century, some Athenians like Isagoras the statesman were worshippers of ‘Carian Zeus’.³⁷ As the name indicates, this cult of Zeus originated from Anatolia: Herodotus says that only Carians, Lycians and Lydians could participate in his cult, centered at Mylasa and also at Labraunda: Isagoras numbered Carians among his ancestors. The Halicarnassian further equates the cult of Carian Zeus with that of *Zeus Stratios*, a non-Greek god, to whom the Greeks do not sacrifice (5.119). This Anatolian Zeus differed from the Greek Zeus in that the Greek Zeus himself did not lead troops to victory: he delegated this role to his daughter Athena, leader of armies, protectress of Achaean heroes.³⁸

A significant inspiration for the Homeric Hector, we argued above, was Hector of Chios. In becoming the war leader of the Trojans, we witness an Anatolianization of an originally Ionian character, like the Carianized Neleids in the Carian’s entry to the Catalogue of Ships. Although Zeus among the gods in the *Iliad* is rather neutral in terms of taking sides for the Achaeans or the Trojans, he never *directly* intervenes to assist the Achaeans, but he does directly intervene to help the Trojans, in particular Hector personally. The instances are as follows.

Iliad 11.163

³⁷ Herodotus 5.66

³⁸ See Farnell 1896:59-60.

Ἔκτορα δ' ἐκ βελέων ὑπαγε Ζεὺς ἔκ τε κωνίης
ἔκ τ' ἀνδροκτασίης ἔκ θ' αἵματος ἔκ τε κυδοιμοῦ

Iliad & 15.694

ὣς Ἔκτωρ ἴθυσσε νεὸς κυανοπρόροιο
ἀντίος ἀΐξας: τὸν δὲ Ζεὺς ὣσεν ὀπισθε
χειρὶ μάλα μεγάλη, ὄτρυνε δὲ λαὸν ἅμ' αὐτῷ.

To the best of my knowledge, no scholar has drawn attention to the exceptionality of this Iliadic interventionist Zeus: other than the lone instance of Zeus directly striking Idas with his thunderbolt to save his son Polydeukes (Apollodorus 3.137), Zeus never directly assists any mortal against another in Greek epic and myth. But he does in the case of Hector. I suggest that this interventionist Zeus is a reflection of the Anatolian ‘Carian Zeus’ or *Zeus Stratios* ‘Zeus of Armies.’

1.1.5 The Lycian kings of early Ionia and their Connection to Sarpedon and Glaukos in the *Iliad*

1.1.5.1. Sarpedon: Zeus’ Only Living Son in the *Iliad*

The *Homeridai*’s³⁹ choice of making Sarpedon—king of the Lycians—the only living son of Zeus in the entire *Iliad*⁴⁰ may be baffling at first blush. In the Hesiodic

³⁹ While I do believe that a single composer in the late 8th / early 7th century BCE originated a significant portion of our *Iliad* (for the dating, see Burgess 2001 and West 2011) and single-handedly created the basic structure of the poem, I agree with Nagy that this original is irretrievable (if ever there was one). The unity of the poem, which is a common counterargument, is invalid because other skilled, intuitive poets in the transmission of the *Iliad*, whether they had been students of the original composer or had altogether different affiliations, could have altered the original, in particular through the process of expansion, without necessarily leaving any palpable evidence of their contributions (see Stillinger 1991: *Multiple Authorship and the Myth of Solitary Genius*). A guild of poets, the *Homeridai*, “descendants of Homer,” is known to have existed at Chios in the 6th century BCE: just as a number of Aristotle’s works are thought to have been written by either his students or Aristotle collaborating with his students (e.g. the *Constitution of the Athenians*), it may well be that a significant portion of our *Iliad* arose under similar conditions. I take it that our *Iliad* is the product of the initial, irretrievable creation of a great Ionian poet and his students, combined with the expansions and modifications of mostly non-Athenian Ionians, plus a final (limited) recension in Athens under the Peisistratids. I therefore conveniently refer to the author(s) of the *Iliad* as the ‘Homeridai’, ‘the Homeric narrator’ or simply ‘the *Iliad*’ as the subject.

⁴⁰ Herakles, another son of Zeus, also mentioned in the *Iliad*, as is Dardanos (20.215), but they belongs to past generations and are dead from the point of view of the narrative. The only living son of Zeus is Sarpedon.

Theogony, the heroes of the Trojan War are described as “a race of ἡμίθεοι”: the statement occurs once in the *Iliad* (12.23), but its widespread diffusion in melic poetry (Simonides, Pindar, etc.) indicates that the idea was a commonplace.⁴¹ Accordingly, one would expect at least a few Homeric heroes to claim Zeus as their father. Moreover, why would Zeus only have one son among the countless fighters at Troy, considering that Zeus is the most philandering and most prolific among the gods, as he himself brags to his wife in the *Iliad* (14.317)? The inverse correlation between Zeus’ fabled fertility and Sarpedon being his *only* son in the monumental poem sends a resounding message: there is something absolutely unique about the figure of the Lycian king, which has heretofore been underappreciated, other than tangentially by late 19th to mid 20th century scholarship.⁴²

In order to understand why the Lycian Sarpedon is the only living son of Zeus throughout the *Iliad*, we should turn to the early East Ionian performance context of the Homeric poem. Herodotus’ account is invaluable (1.147):

βασιλέας δὲ ἐστήσαντο οἱ [Ἴωνες] μὲν αὐτῶν Λυκίους ἀπὸ Γλαύκου τοῦ Ἰπολόχου γεγονότας, οἱ δὲ Καύκωνας Πυλίους ἀπὸ Κόδρου τοῦ Μελάνθου, οἱ δὲ καὶ συναμφοτέρους.

⁴¹ See Van Wees 2006.

⁴² Wilamowitz 1916:305: Die Hellenisierung des Glaukos würden wir nicht verstehen können, wenn nicht Herodot 1, 147 bezeugte, dass Nachkommen des Glaukos in einigen ionischen Städten das Königsgeschlecht waren, in andern ein Königsgeschlecht, das neben einem hellenischen stand. Wir werden das so deuten, dass in einzeln der Städte...das barbarische Herrscherhaus teils ganz in seiner Ehrenstellung geblieben war, teils neben dem der ἔποικοι fortbestand. Summary of Wilamowitz’s position by Nilsson 1972:61: [Wilamowitz 1916:305] “contends that the Ionians introduced the Lycians because their kings claimed descent partly from the Lycian hero Glaukos.” Also Wilamowitz 1925:241. I was not aware of W.’s position until after I had noticed the significance of the Herodotean passage. Also Kern 1894:17: “dass sich die letzten Worte auf Milet beziehen, wo neben Neleus auch Sarpedon als Ahnherr seiner Fürsten verehrt wurde, ist allgemein anerkannt. *Busolt Griech. Gesch.* I (2) 305, I.

And as kings, some of [the East Ionians] chose Lycian descendants of Glaukos son of Hippolochos, some Pylian Kaukones, descendants of Kodros son of Melanthos, and some both.⁴³

We will confront the implications of the latter part of Herodotus' statement concerning Ionia's Pylian kings from the Peloponnese in chapter II,⁴⁴ but for the present we will focus on the first half: the Lycian kings of Ionia. In the *Iliad*, Glaukos and Sarpedon are cousins (6.196-199) and belong to the same royal family from which Ionian kings could claim descent. As co-rulers of the Lycians (Σαρπηδῶν δ' ἤρχεν Λυκίων καὶ Γλαῦκος ἀμύμων: 2.875), Sarpedon's and Glaukos' relation to each other compares with that of Achilles and Patroklos, in that they are bound by a therapontic relationship, which paradoxically combines doubling and hierarchy⁴⁵: together, the one is dominant and the other recessive, but when the latter is alone, he takes on the identity of the former. For example, Glaukos never criticizes Hektor until after Sarpedon's death in book 16⁴⁶: prior to that, Sarpedon alone would criticize Hektor. This therapontic model, which ultimately finds its roots in Indo-European antecedents,⁴⁷ is critical to grasping the in-built potential for the identities of the Lycian co-rulers to merge in terms of cult and epic.⁴⁸

⁴³ The other royal founding family the Pylian Kaukones are the Neleids, ultimately from Pylos in the Peloponnese. As I show in my section “

⁴⁴ Chapter II: “Alkman's Helen Held in Attica - Mythical Trojans & West Ionians.”

⁴⁵ For the concept, see Frame 2009, *Hippota Nestor* part 2. An example of doubling and hierarchy would be *Iliad* 12.329-330:

ἽΩς ἔφατ', οὐδὲ Γλαῦκος ἀπετράπετ' οὐδ' ἀπίθησε
τῷ δ' ἰθὺς βήτην Λυκίων μέγα ἔθνος ἄγοντε

Thus Sarpedon spoke, Glaukos neither flinched nor disobeyed
And the two of them went forth, (both of them) leading the great *ethnos* of the Lycians

⁴⁶ 17.140-142: Γλαῦκος δ' Ἴππολόχοιο πάϊς Λυκίων ἀγὸς ἀνδρῶν Ἔκτορ' ὑπόδρα ἰδὼν χαλεπῶ ἠνίπαπε μύθοι: “Ἔκτορ εἶδος ἄριστε μάχης ἄρα πολλὸν ἐδέεο.

⁴⁷ See Sahlins 2011:97-99 for the dual kingship of the Lycians in the *Iliad* as it relates to dioscurism. Dual kingship also appears among other *ethne* in the poem: . The dual kingship at Sparta, which is also attested

1.1.5.2. The Scenario of a Lycian Aristocracy in Ionia Sponsoring Homeric Performances

The Herodotean account of an early Ionian aristocracy of Lycian descent receives independent corroboration from literary and archaeological evidence.⁴⁹ Malten is the last scholar to have remarked upon the relevance of Herodotus 1.147 to the compositional context of the *Iliad*:

Dies Stemma ist nicht von einer oberen mykenischen Zeitgrenze verständlich, sondern nur von Homer aus, der mit seinen an einer Hellenisierung interessierten lykischen zeitgenössischen Patronen diesen Stammbaum aus lykischen Bausteinen und hellenischen Ingredienzien formte.⁵⁰

Just as the ruling Peisistratids would later sponsor the performance of the Homeric poems in Athens, prior to them many East Ionian kings and/or *turannoî*, claiming descent from Lycian kings, must have played a major role in sponsoring the performance of the *Iliad* and similar poems about the Trojan War: by making Sarpedon the only son of Zeus in the *Iliad*, the Ionian *Homeridai* implicitly sanctioned the divine authority of their local rulers and patrons. As evidenced by *Iliad* 2.196-197 (διοτρεφέων βασιλῆων / τιμὴ δ' ἐκ Διὸς ἔστι, φιλεῖ δέ ἐ μητίετα Ζεύς “ and Callimachus’ *Hymn to Zeus* 79-80 (ἐκ δὲ Διὸς βασιλῆες’, ἐπεὶ Διὸς οὐδὲν ἀνάκτων / θειότερον), kingship is legitimated by descent from Zeus and the favor of Zeus: the ruling families of Ionia could only be gratified while

in Aetolia on the periphery of Greece, is best understood as an archaic feature, which can be traced back to Indo-European political structures. For an in-depth discussion of the comparative evidence, see Kristiansen & Larsson, *The rise of Bronze Age society: travels, transmissions and transformations*, 2005, Cambridge University Press. Also Ward 1968. In Mycenaean Greece, the distribution of power between the *wanax* and the *lawagetas* typifies this diarchy.

⁴⁸ Nagy 2008:71-89, in particular 2013:146-167.

⁴⁹ A 3rd BCE inscription found at Magnesia on the Maeander names the city’s oikist Leukippos a descendant of the explicitly Lycian Glaukos. Literary evidence: according to Hermesianax, the Glaukid Leukippos, originally from Lycia, founded a site near Ephesus, the Kretinaion, before founding the other city on the Maiandros. In-depth discussion in Kern’s book *Die Gründungsgeschichte Von Magnesia Am Maiandros* (1894). See also Fontenrose 1978:408; Carlier 1984:432.

⁵⁰ Malten 1944:10 “Homer und die lykischen Fürsten.”

attending a live performance of the *Iliad* in which a mythical member of their royal family—Sarpedon—rises above other heroes in his sonship from Zeus and distinguishes himself as a noble, well-nigh blameless character. Whereas Pindar praised his patrons and their ancestors in his odes explicitly, the *Homeridai* praised the leading families of Ionia and their royal Lycian ancestors rather more subtly, in keeping with the elliptical nature of Homeric style.⁵¹

The existence of a strong Lycian, conceivably bilingual component in the ethnic makeup⁵² of Ionia’s aristocracy would account for the selective penetration of Anatolian words in Homeric Greek, which are characteristic of an aristocratic milieu: the words *θεράπων* and *ταρχύω* have been thoroughly examined by Nagy 1992:86-121: he demonstrates that the Homeric usage of the former goes beyond the diluted meaning “attendant” attested in Classical Greek. The Homeric *therapon* has a connotation of “ritual substitute” with a cognate in Hittite, which is defined as the alter ego of a king: the *tarpan(alli)-/tarpašša* could take on “the impurities of the king and of the community that he represents.”

Unlike the loanword *θεράπων*, which became Panhellenized with productive, secondary derivatives (e.g. *θεραπεία*, *θεραπεύω*, etc.), *ταρχύω* proper,⁵³ on the other

⁵¹ Hainsworth 1970:97.

⁵² Herda 2009 shows that a significant portion of Carian names are attested in the elite of archaic Miletus: Thales’ father’s name Examyas, for example, was clearly Carian. In the present section “The Lycian kings of Ionia and their connection to Sarpedon in the *Iliad*,” I avoid problematizing, for the sake of clarity, the definition(s) of ‘Lycia’ and ‘Lycian’. Is it a specific term that matches 5th century usage or is the meaning broader? In my other section “What is Lycia?” The Early *Interpretatio Graeca* of the Lukka lands,” I will argue that it was indeed larger than what it was to become, and could encompass what would be known as ‘Caria.’ At any rate, Carian and Lycian are closely related Anatolian languages.

⁵³ A likely cognate of *ταρχύω*—*τάριχος*—follows the same evolutionary path as *θεράπων* in terms of Panhellenization: “a mummy or any edible preserved through salting, drying or smoking mummy or a any edible preserved through salting, drying or smoking.” Its culinary meaning is most likely secondary.

hand, is unattested in Greek other than in Greek epic authors and commentators on epic poetry⁵⁴: in other words, *ταρχύω* remains an epichoric Ionic lexeme, which could have only been Ionicized in the context of an Ionian aristocracy with a strong Anatolian element. The verb *ταρχύω*, which “entails the theme of immortalization after death,”⁵⁵ is akin to the important Lycian theonym *Trqqas* whose unknown function is revealed by the cognate Luwian Storm god *Tarhunt-*, the chief god of the Late Bronze Age Luwian pantheon.⁵⁶ Of relevance, the Lycian Sarpedon—the narrative’s only living son of Zeus—is the one given this kind of immortalizing funeral in the *Iliad*: (16.674-675):

θήσους' ἐν Λυκίης εὐρείης πίονι δήμῳ,
ἔνθα ἔ ταρχύσουσι κασίγνητοί τε ἔται τε

[Death and Sleep] will place him in Lycia’s wide, fat land
Where his brothers and kinsmen will give him an immortalizing burial

Conjointly, the adoption of the aristocratic loanword *ταρχύω*—cognate with the Storm god *Tarhunt-* and the narrative choice of Sarpedon’s being *the* son of Zeus in an epic that pits Achaeans against Lycians and Trojans is not so much a reflex of Ionians reporting on the outlandish burial practices of their external neighbors as it is indicative of the integration of such religious practices in Ionia’s élite: some of the Lycian kings of Ionia may have actually buried their dead outside the boundaries of Ionia in or towards Lycia.

1.1.5.3. Sarpedon: a Milesian Hero

The possibility of this scenario is reflected, perhaps, in an alternative description of Sarpedon’s *post mortem* consignment to Lycia. An epitaph in the Aristotelian *Peplos* reads:

⁵⁴ Homer, Apollonius of Rhodes, Lycophron, Porphyrius, Quintus of Smyrna, Nonnus and Eustathius.

⁵⁵ Nagy 1992:138

⁵⁶ Bryce 1986:177: the cult persisted to the period of Roman occupation under different names, including Zeus Solymeus.

Κᾶρες καὶ Λύκιοι βασιλεῖς Σαρπηδόνα δῖον
Ξάνθου ἐπὶ προχοαῖς ἀενάου ἔθεσαν.⁵⁷

Carian and Lycian kings laid away resplendent Sarpedon
By the mouth of the ever-flowing Xanthos.



Figure 1. Map of Caria. Note Miletus nearby and Lycia on opposite sides.⁵⁸

Why mention Κᾶρες βασιλεῖς—lords of Miletus in the Iliadic Catalogue of Ships, if it is not for the fact that Sarpedon had always been deeply rooted in what was to become Ionian Miletus, as Ephorus states⁵⁹? The single detail of Carian kings participating in the conveyance of Sarpedon to Lycia, who otherwise never explicitly interact with the Lycians in our Homeric *Iliad* aside from their vague, joint inclusion among the Trojan allies, points to Sarpedon’s adoptive homeland of Miletus, of which he was a co-founder.⁶⁰ If indeed Durnford is correct about *Sarpedon* having once been a title given to

⁵⁷ *Peplos*, #58. Gutzwiller 2010:219-249 argues that this epitaph and the other epitaphs of heroes included in the Aristotelian *Peplos* are collections of poems dating to the Classical, rather than Hellenistic period.

⁵⁸ Website: <http://www.tgeyacht.com/images/Maps/Caria.jpg>

⁵⁹ Ephorus, Jacoby, *fr.* 127.3

⁶⁰ See previous footnote.

Anatolian military commanders, as I think he is,⁶¹ this Aristotelian fragment may carry some historical value as an indirect piece of evidence for the practice of Ionia's 'Lycian' (locally 'Carian'⁶²) aristocracy taking the bodies of a number of their deceased outside the borders of Ionia to Lycia.⁶³

Sarpedon is illustrative of Herodotus' general statement about the Lycian kings of Ionia: he was thought to have been one of the two founders of Miletus (together with the Neleids⁶⁴). In this 'alternative' account, he was originally from Crete and a brother to king Minos: Sarpedon then migrated to the territory of Miletus, founded the city and named it after his own city of Miletus in Crete (which is an actual city in Crete):

τὸ πρῶτον κτίσμα εἶναι Κρητικόν, ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάττης τετειχισμένον, ὅπου νῦν ἡ Πάλαι Μίλητός ἐστιν, Σαρπηδόνοσ ἐκ Μιλήτου τῆς Κρητικῆς ἀγαγόντος οἰκήτορας καὶ θεμένου τοῦνομα τῇ πόλει τῆς ἐκεῖ πόλεως ἐπόνυμον⁶⁵

the first foundation [of Miletus in Ionia] was the fortified Cretan district above the sea, which now corresponds to Old Miletus: Sarpedon led settlers there from the other Miletus in Crete and gave it the same name.

To conclude that this Cretan Sarpedon and the Trojan war hero are very different is, *a priori*, rushed and ill-advised: they are both located in southwest Anatolia and they are

⁶¹ Durnford 2008:103-113, cf Yakubovich's favorable opinion (2012:131-133).

⁶² As we will see in section "the Carianized Neleids of Miletus in the Catalogue of Ships," Greek nomenclature seems to obscure ethnic realities: the Carian ethnonym carried strong negative connotations, as Herda demonstrates in his extensive survey "Karkiša-Karien und die sogenannte Ionische Migration" (2013:27-108), whom the Ionians thoroughly vilified in literary accounts. On the other hand, 'Lycian' was considered more noble, as is evident in Homeric poetry. For the ethnonym 'Lycian' as a supra-regional term for the populations of southwestern Anatolian (which would include Carian), cf. Tsagalis 2010:110 "the ancestors of the Lycians, the Lukka people, who were dispersed in a vast area of western Anatolia...had become for the Greeks a by-word for other Luwian-speaking populations."

⁶³ The analogy of the descendants of Genghis Khan come to mind: "Kublai died in China, where he had spent his life, expiring at the last in the capital city that he had built at Beijing. Yet it is significant that this was not to be his burial place. In life, Kublai was never in Mongolia: in death, he would never leave it. His body was packed in spices and put in a coffin which was carried reverentially back towards the homeland": Bartlett 2009:216.

⁶⁴ More on the Neleids in "Hades and Nestor's Swampy Gate."

⁶⁵ Ephorus in Strabo 14.1.6

both sons of Zeus. In fact, they are so similar that it is the Cretan Sarpedon son of Europa and Zeus who goes to Troy in Aeschylus' play *Carians or Europa* and the anonymous *Rhesus*: Sarpedon is described to Hektor as “the son of Europa, leader of Lycian men” (τὸν Εὐρώπας, Λυκίων ἀγὸν ἀνδρῶν:29). Except in book 6 of the *Iliad*, in which Glaukos tells Diomedes that Sarpedon's mother is Laodameia, the poem never again specifies the identity of the hero's mother.

1.1.5.4. Lycians and Crete:

Greek myth and historiography frequently associate the origins of the Lycians with Crete.⁶⁶ In and of itself, this does not necessarily make the Lycians ‘Greek’. Linguistically, the Hellenization of the island was not complete until after Roman occupation, as we know from 3rd century BCE inscriptions in Eteocretan—a non-Greek language.⁶⁷ These Eteocretans are mentioned in the Homeric *Odyssey* at 19.172-177 as one of the island's multilingual (ἄλλων γλῶσσα μεμιγμένη) *ethne*, alongside the Achaeans and the Dorians. The very self-descriptiveness of their name Ἐτεό-κρητες “True Cretans” suggests that the essence of being ‘Cretan’ was non-Greek.

Significantly, one of the populations in the *Odyssey's* description of Crete—the Pelasgians (Πελασγοί) fight on the side of the Trojans in the *Iliad* (e.g. 2.840-843). Like the Eteocretans—direct heirs to Minoan civilization—the Pelasgians in Greek literature represent ancient civilizations in Greece and the greater Aegean that predated the arrival of the Hellenes. As we will see in chapter 3 “Age of Hero: Age of Civilization,” the

⁶⁶ Including Herodotus 1.173: extensive surveys in Buenger 1915 and Bryce 1986.

⁶⁷ Duhoux 2007:247

conceptual axis “Old Greece” vs. “New Greece” is a pervasive, fundamental factor of ethnicization in the *Iliad*.⁶⁸

It is therefore significant that Sarpedon is associated with the district in (Ionian) Miletus known as ‘Old Miletus’ (ἡ Πάλαι Μίλητός⁶⁹). In one source, the non-Hellenicity of this Cretan Sarpedon is palpable: upon their arrival in the territory of Miletus, Sarpedon and his Cretans unite with the local Carians. Only later are the Old Milesian Creto-Carians conquered by the invading ‘Ionians’ (ὡς ἐκράτησαν τῶν ἀρχαίων Μιλησίων οἱ Ἴωνες; Pausanias 7.2.6). The usage of the term Ἴωνες is anachronistic here,⁷⁰ but such narratives do show that the account of a Cretan Sarpedon does not contradict the Homeric account in terms of his being non-Greek. Commenting on the Cretan origin of the Lycians, Herodotus explains that “in the past, the Barbarians held all of Crete” (τὴν γὰρ Κρήτην εἶχον τὸ παλαιὸν πᾶσαν βάρβαροι).⁷¹

From a historical perspective, the account of a Cretan Sarpedon is certainly not a ‘post-Homeric’ invention either, in terms of the memory of non-Greek Cretan migration to Miletus: archaeological digs firmly demonstrate the presence of Minoan settlement in Bronze Age Miletus.⁷² Conversely, the inclusion of the *Lukka* in the loose coalition of sea

⁶⁸ Trojans do not only represent the indigenous populations of Asia Minor, as is universally acknowledged: I submit that they also represent the populations in *Greece proper* perceived as ‘older’: this includes not only the elusive Pelasgians, but also *the Ionians themselves*, as indicated by Herodotus. The implications are groundbreaking, as we will discuss.

⁶⁹ Ephorus in Strabo 14.1.6

⁷⁰ Pausanias 7.2.5-6 οἱ δὲ Κᾶρες οἱ πρότερον νεμόμενοι τὴν χώραν σύνοικοι τοῖς Κρησὶν ἐγένοντο· 7.2.6 τότε δὲ ὡς ἐκράτησαν τῶν ἀρχαίων Μιλησίων οἱ Ἴωνες. As I will argue, the term ‘Ionian’ is anachronistic because Ionian identity did not pop out like a mushroom: it is the result of centuries of interaction and cultural syncretism between Greeks and non-Greeks (mostly Carians), the linguistic adoption of Greek notwithstanding.

⁷¹ Herodotus 1.173

⁷² Niemeier 2004 and Yasur-Landau 2010.

peoples raiding the coast of Libya and Egypt and the close connection of the Lycians to the sea-faring Carians whose thalassocracy extended as far north as the Black Sea in the early Iron Age, as Herda has persuasively argued,⁷³ warrants the historical scenario of intensified South Anatolian-Cretan intermigration between the collapse of the Bronze Age and the gradual rise of the Ionians in the 10th century BCE.⁷⁴ Alternatively, the memory of the Lycians' connection to Crete is probably related to the Paeonian component, as we shall see, among the Lycians⁷⁵: this Paeonian component among the Lycians arguably corresponds to the Cretan Pelasgians mentioned in the *Odyssey* (Δωριέες τε τριχάϊκες δῖοί τε Πελασγοί: 19.177). The expansion of the Paeonians from Paeonia in Macedonia to Crete, and from Crete to Lycia, i.e. the southeastern coast of Anatolia (and thence to Cyprus where the Teukrids settled⁷⁶), parallels the trajectory of the Proto-Dorians and Dorians from the Pindus, to the Peloponnese and Crete, from Crete to Rhodes and the southeastern coast of Anatolia (Halicarnassus and Pamphylia).

Still, one might object that a Cretan contingent does participate in the Trojan war on the side of the Achaeans in the *Iliad*: this is no contradiction either because Cretan society was polyethnic and multilingual, as stated in the *Odyssey* above: Idomeneus, the

⁷³ See Herda 2009. Moreover, the eponyms of the Lycian cities of Xanthos and Patara are known for having been pirates according to a tradition reported by Eustathius *ad Dion. Perieg.* 129, which may well reach back beyond the Roman period, during which Lycians were also notorious for piracy in the eastern Mediterranean. For the practice of piracy among the late Bronze Age *Lukka*, see Bryce 2010:51.

⁷⁴ A “City of the Cretans” (Κρητῶν πόλιν) is attested in Lycia: Polybius 5.72.5. For the *Lukka*'s (proto-Lycians') mastery of the sea in the Late Bronze Age, see Lipiński 2006:38.

⁷⁵ See section “Sarpedon: a Cryptic Paeonian Hero.”

⁷⁶ The Paeonians thought that they were a branch of the Teukroi (Herodotus 5.13).

king of the Cretans, would represent the Achaean (and arguably Dorian⁷⁷) element in Cretan society. At the same time, it should come as no surprise that alternative accounts of the Trojan War deny that Idomeneus ever went to Troy⁷⁸: the Eteocretan and Pelasgian elements in Crete would have made a number of oral poets reluctant to depict Cretans fighting in a war, in which their ethnic identity as a whole was uncertain.

But the Homeridai had their cake and ate it too. As a remarkable testimony to the ability of oral poets to allude to competing versions of their own narratives, the *Iliad* does mention a Cretan Miletus in the Catalogue of Ships (from which Sarpedon came according to Ephorus). The geminated place names Λύκ-τον and Λύκ-αστον, which obviously contain the same sound structure as the Λύκ-ιοι, strategically surround this Miletus in Crete. Let us turn to *Iliad* 2.642-649:

Κρητῶν δ' Ἴδομενεὺς δουρὶ κλυτὸς ἡγεμόνευεν,
οἱ Κνωσὸν τ' εἶχον Γόρτυν τε τειχιόεσσαν,
Λύκτον Μίλητόν τε καὶ ἀργινόεντα Λύκαστον
Φαιστόν τε Ῥύτιόν τε, πόλεις εὖ ναιοτώσας,

Among the Cretans Idomeneus ruled, famed for his spear,
And Knossos they held, and Gortyn with its walls,
Lyktos and **Miletus**, refulgent white Lykastos
And Phaistos and Rhytios and many populous cities

This emphatic, calculated choice of circumscribing Crete's Miletus with two toponyms characterized by the selfsame sound structure /luk-/ on the very same line— Λύκ-τον Μίλητόν τε καὶ ἀργινόεντα Λύκ-αστον—intimates that the Homeric tradition was indeed

⁷⁷ From the standpoint of the 8th/7th century BCE, there were Dorians in Crete. The projection of the Trojan War prior to the time of the arrival of the Dorians in Greece and Crete is a common assumption, which I will argue against in chapter 5.

⁷⁸ Philostratus *Heroikos* 30. To dismiss Philostratus on the basis of his lateness is unfair. As Maclean & Aitken write (2005:234): “[Philostratus] mentions a tame serpent that followed the hero [Locrian Ajax] everywhere (Her. 31.3); this has sometimes been thought as a fanciful invention, but this serpent was already present on ceramics of the classical age; we must thus conclude that here the author could be following an authentic tradition.”

aware of the belief in the Lycians’ origins in or around Miletus *in Crete*. In fact, Lykastos too was associated with the Lycians, like Miletus: Asclepiades identifies the eponym Lykastos as the victim of a Cretan fugitive to the river Xanthos in *Termera*, which is a variant of the native name of Lycia (ἔφυγε πρὸς Ξάνθον εἰς Τέρμερα).⁷⁹ Moreover, among the ninety or hundred cities in Crete, the choice of giving pride of place to Lykastos and Miletus could not have been based on their size, as there were many larger cities in Crete omitted from the Iliadic Catalogue in either early Iron Age Crete or late Bronze Age Crete.⁸⁰ But from the standpoint of the early performance setting of the Homeric poem, the selective placement of this Cretan Miletus between Lyktos and Lykastos makes perfect sense: Milesians at the Panionian festival would have known the story that their Lycian oikist Sarpedon came from the other Miletus across the sea and would have wanted to hear it mentioned in the Cretan entry. The Homeridai playfully obliged.

1.1.5.5. Sarpedon and Glaukos: Ancestor of Ionian Kings

Let us now turn to an excerpt from one of Sarpedon’s longest speeches (*Iliad* 12.312-324) and attempt to read it from the Ionian perspective, keeping in mind that many kings in Ionia claimed descent from his royal family and that the Milesians credited Sarpedon personally as one of their two oikists:⁸¹

ἐν Λυκίῃ, πάντες δὲ θεοὺς ὧς εἰσορόωσι,
καὶ τέμενος νεμόμεσθα μέγα Ξάνθοιο παρ’ ὄχθας
καλὸν φυταλιῆς καὶ ἀρούρης πυροφόροιο;
τῷ νῦν χρῆ Λυκίοισι μέτα πρώτοισιν ἔόντας

⁷⁹ In Parthenius 35, cf Treuber 1887:41 fn4. For *Termera* as a Lycian endonym for ‘Lycian’, see Bryce 1986.

⁸⁰ Wallace 2003; Sjögren 2003. The unrepresentativeness of the cities listed in the Catalogue of Ships, in general, will become apparent when we discuss in chapter 5 the Thessalian and Pylian entries.

⁸¹ Ephorus in Strabo 14.634

ἑστάμεν ἠδὲ μάχης καυστείρης ἀντιβολῆσαι,

ὄφρα τις ὧδ' εἴπη Λυκίων πύκα θωρηκτάων:
οὐ μὰν ἀκλεέες Λυκίην κάτα κοιρανέουσιν
ἡμέτεροι βασιλῆες, ἔδουσί τε πίονα μῆλα
οἶνόν τ' ἕξαιτον μελιηδέα: ἀλλ' ἄρα καὶ ἴς
ἔσθλή, ἐπεὶ Λυκίοισι μέτα πρώτοισι μάχονται

ὦ πέπον εἰ μὲν γὰρ πόλεμον περὶ τόνδε φυγόντε
αἰεὶ δὴ μέλλοιμεν ἀγήρω τ' ἀθανάτω τε
ἔσσεσθ', οὐτέ κεν αὐτὸς ἐνὶ πρώτοισι μαχοίμην

In Lycia, they all look at us as gods,
And we inhabit a *temenos*, a big one, by the banks of the Xanthos,
Beautiful, with an orchard and wheat-bearing land;
But now we must take our stand among Lycians in the front ranks
And confront the fire of battle,

So that one of our heavily-armored Lycian warriors may say
“truly not without glory our kings rule over Lycia,
Eating fat sheep and drinking choice honey-sweet wine:
But their might too is very good,
Since they fight among Lycians in the front ranks

Ah friend, if only the two of us could escape this war
And forever be ageless and deathless
Then I wouldn't have to fight in the front ranks.

Sarpedon envisions what reputation he and Glaukos have among their Lycian subjects.

His speech, which follows, has a tripartite structure. In the first part, he envisions their Lycian homeland and their luxuriant *τέμενος* in which he and Glaukos are regarded as gods: this term may equally denote the special lands allotted and reserved to living family; or significantly, *τέμενος* may denote the sacred precinct of a dead hero,⁸² which is arguably the case of Sarpedon in the eyes of a 7th century BCE Ionian audience whose kings claimed descent from his royal lineage.⁸³ The second part of Sarpedon's speech

⁸² For example, Protesilaos has his own *temenos* in the Thracian Chersonesus: Ἐν γὰρ Ἐλαιούντι τῆς Χερσονήσου ἐστὶ Πρωτεσίλειω τάφος τε καὶ τέμενος περὶ αὐτόν (Herodotus 9.116.1).

⁸³ Again, Herodotus 1.147. Epigraphic evidence for the cult of Sarpedon and Glaukos is attested in the Hellenistic period: the Lycian general Aikhmon sacrificed to Sarpedon and Glaukos in the Hellenistic period (Kern 1894:17 and De Souza 2002:217) and the cult of Sarpedon is attested on the acropolis at Xanthos according to Appian *BC* 4.10.71-8.

remains in Lycia and is a distancing vision of what a man there might say of their kings (τις ὄδ' εἶπη Λυκίων): this imaginary reported speech has a timeless quality.

With this latter meaning of τέμενος, Sarpedon's vision of his sacred precinct where he and Glaukos are worshipped as gods looks forward, arguably, not only to his future cult in historical Lycia, but also to his future cult among the partly Anatolian Ionians in their 8th/7th century BCE present.⁸⁴ Sarpedon's vision of the royal Lycian *temenos* constitutes yet another allusion to hero cult in the *Iliad*.⁸⁵

Unlike Hektor's vision of an anonymous person in the future crediting him *personally* for the death and tomb of a formidable enemy (7.90-91 ὄν ποτ' ἀριστεύοντα κατέκτανε φαίδιμος Ἔκτωρ. / ὡς ποτέ τις ἐρέει: τὸ δ' ἐμὸν κλέος οὗ ποτ' ὀλεῖται.) or unlike his vision of another anonymous person in the future recalling Hektor's name when Andromache becomes a Trojan captive in Argos,⁸⁶ Sarpedon's third-person vision is more self-effacing and doubly impersonal: he, on the other hand, envisions the esteem, which any Lycian might hold for anonymous ἡμέτεροι βασιλῆες “our kings,” as he deprives his imaginary Lycian subjects from mentioning his name (and that of Glaukos): a more self-centered Sarpedon would have quoted his Lycian subject as saying “*Sarpedon* rules...” or even “*Sarpedon and Glaukos* rule...” Instead, he removes the glory of his name Σαρπηδῶν (and that of his partner Glaukos) from his third-person

⁸⁴ On the basis of Herodotus & inscriptional evidence for the epichoric cult of the Lycian Glaukos in Ionia: to claim that the latter arises from the popularity of Homer is to exaggerate the infiltration of Panhellenic epic in local cults and undervalue the persistence of independent, yet cognate cultic traditions. It is impossible to know, of course, whether two heroes with the exact same names as Glaukos and Sarpedon were indeed worshipped in what is subsequently associated with ‘Lycia’: but it bears mentioning the inscriptional evidence that the Lycian general Aikhmon sacrificed to Sarpedon and Glaukos in the Hellenistic period and the cult of Sarpedon on the acropolis at Xanthos according to Appian *BC* 4.10.71-8.

⁸⁵ See Maclean, Aitken and Nagy 2001.

⁸⁶ *Iliad* 6.458 Ἔκτορος ἦδε γυνὴ δὲ ἀριστεύεσκε μάχεσθαι.

vision, replacing it with a generalizing, collective third person plural *κοιρανέουσιν* /
ἡμέτεροι βασιλῆες:

ὄφρα *τις ᾧδ' εἶπη Λυκίων πύκα θωρηκτάων*:
οὐ μὰν ἀκλεέες Λυκίην κάτα *κοιρανέουσιν*
ἡμέτεροι βασιλῆες, ἔδουσί τε πίονα μῆλα
οἶνόν τ' ἔξαιτον μελιηδέα: ἀλλ' ἄρα καὶ ἴς
ἔσθλή, ἐπεὶ Λυκίοισι μέτα πρότοισι *μάχονται*

But the Lycian king's impersonal vision of *ἡμέτεροι βασιλῆες* is not meant to deprive of *kleos*, since Sarpedon emphatically characterizes the collective “our kings” as οὐ μὰν ἀκλεέες “truly not inglorious.” Contrast Hektor's third-person vision in which he ties his personal *kleos* to his own name: ὄν ποτ' ἀριστεύοντα κατέκτανε φαίδιμος Ἔκτωρ. / ὥς ποτέ τις ἐρέει: τὸ δ' ἐμὸν κλέος οὐ ποτ' ὀλεῖται (7.90-91).

Sarpedon's self-effacing focalization on the pluralizing, generalizing *kleos* of the Lycian kings is unparalleled among Homeric heroes who are otherwise always concerned with their own personal *kleos*: neither Menelaos, nor Diomedes not even Achilles ever project a vision beyond themselves of how stock Spartan kings, Argive kings or Myrmidon kings are viewed by their respective nationals in their respective kingdoms. For a reason: I submit that Sarpedon's speech is a metatheatrical intimation of the early Ionian performance context of the *Iliad*: “our kings” *ἡμέτεροι βασιλῆες* is an instance of split referencing,⁸⁷ in which the referentiality of Sarpedon's vision transcends himself and encompasses his descendants—the self-styled Lycian kings of East Ionia (Herodotus 1.147)—likely sponsors of the Homeridai at major events.

Sarpedon's speech, that of a dead man from the remote past, shines its light into the present of Sarpedon's royal Ionian progeny: we are reminded of Pindar's *Pythian Ode*

⁸⁷ For the concept of split referencing, see Nagy 2012: 266-272.

8, in which a dead Amphiaraios, “the dream of a shade” (σκιᾶς ὄναρ) refracts his own light in his son Alkmaion: φυᾶ τὸ γενναῖον ἐπιπρέπει | ἐκ πατέρων παισὶ λῆμα.⁸⁸ Sarpedon’s all-encompassing national celebration of the *kleos* of Lycian kings beyond his own persona by means of the unique collocation “*our kings*”—ἡμέτεροι βασιλῆες, is a call upon all Ionians in the present to celebrate the sovereignty and legitimacy of their own Lycian kings.

1.1.6. A Fluvial Triangulation sanctioned by Zeus: Mythical Troy, Lycia and historical Ionia

1.1.6.1. The Maiandros: Greatest River of Ionia

Examining this triple nexus is germane to our investigation because of the ethnic capital with which rivers were vested: fluvial space played a crucial role in the construction of local identities in terms of both cultic activity and economic prosperity.⁸⁹ Jonathan Hall is correct to emphasize that territory is an important criterion of ethnicity to the ancient Greeks⁹⁰: rivers are an important synecdoche for this criterion.

The Nile defined Egypt; the Xanthos defined Lycia; the Xanthos also defined Troy as the sacred name of the Skamandros. It may be tempting at first to cavalierly dismiss the homonymy of the two rivers as the meaningless reflection of their waters’ tawny color or physical brightness: any bright or yellowish river, the reasoning goes, could be called Ξάνθος – it might as well be a stock name for any river. But the Xanthos *qua* potamonym is attested nowhere else in Greek literature and epigraphy, outside of

⁸⁸ Pindar *Pythian* 8.44-45. See Nagy’s “Dream of a Shade”: Refractions of Epic Vision in Pindar’s *Pythian* 8” and Aeschylus’ “Seven against Thebes,” 2000.

⁸⁹ See Connelly 2014 (forthcoming).

⁸⁹ Thonemann 2011:24-25, 30-31, 34, 48 and *passim*.

⁹⁰ Hall 2002:32.

Greece or in Greece,⁹¹ its semantic transparency and genericity notwithstanding. In the discussion that follows, we will come to grips with the intricate significance of the fluvial bond tying Lycia and Troy together.⁹²

⁹¹ Mulvany 1901:58 "'Xanthos is not found as a geographical term in Greece.'" See also *RE* s.v. Xanthos and Pape/Benseler 1875. Alkman 1.100 (Page) refers to the streams of a Xanthos (Ξάνθω ῥοαῖσι), but its identification is uncertain: Stark 1956:118 thinks it is the Lycian river whereas Campbell 1988:546 thinks it is the Trojan river. For a recent assessment, see Keen 1998:6 who takes it to be the Lycian Xanthos.

⁹² The narrative choice in attributing the name Ξάνθος not only to the Trojan and Lycian rivers but also to Achilles' and Hektor's horses both named Xanthos (for Hektor: Ξάνθε τε καὶ σὺ Πόδαργε καὶ Αἴθων Λάμπέ τε δῖε: 8.185) is not fortuitous. Rather than reaching the unjustified conclusion that the existence of more than one Xanthos in the narrative trivializes the significance of each, the opposite view stands up to scrutiny. Names and words can form meaningful systems, which have the potential to illuminate otherwise inaccessible aspects of the text, of which they are a part. The case for ξανθός (river or not) forming a system in the *Iliad* is strong: in the present dissertation, I focus solely on a subset of this onomastic system, namely the geographical and fluvial interconnections of the Ξάνθος. In this footnote, I briefly (and somewhat cursorily) address one of the key aspects of the larger system, which would have included the homonymous horses and heroes characterized as ξανθοί: it is the connection to solar immortalization, as Nagy (hereunder) has argued. An immediate bond tying the Trojan river and the equine Xanthos is their immortality; another bond tying Achilles' horse Xanthos to the Lycian river Xanthos are their distant places of origin outside the boundaries of either Troy or Greece (16.149-151: Ξάνθον καὶ Βαλίον.../ τοὺς ἔτεκε Ζεφύρω ἀνέμω Ἄρπυια Ποδάργη.. παρὰ ῥόον Ὠκεανοῖο). There is also a narratological bond between Achilles' horse Xanthos and the Trojan river Xanthos in that the horse's cameo appearance at the end of book 19, in which the immortal horse for the first and last time speaks to Achilles about his imminent death (19.420: Ξάνθε τί μοι θάνατον μαντεύεται;), is closely followed less than a hundred lines later at the beginning of book 20 by the singular reference to the river's dionymia in terms of mortality and immortality: ὄν Ξάνθον καλέουσι θεοί, ἄνδρες δὲ Σκάμανδρον (20.74). Shortly thereafter, Achilles' rampage near and in the Xanthos follows. Thus, a thematic continuum coupled to an onomastic continuum binds the harmless, yet ominous scene in which Achilles confronts Xanthos the horse to the more protracted, destructive scene in which Achilles confronts Xanthos the river. To return to the theme of solar immortalization, which is inherent in ξανθός, the Trojan river has the ability to function as a microcosmic Okeanos from which and into which the sun sets—boundary between the world of the living from the world of the dead: a psychopomp Hermes accompanying Priam across the Xanthos to visit Achilles is portrayed as a katabatic journey. At dawn, the Trojan king returns to the city as if he had crossed the cosmic river (Ἄλλ' ὅτε δὴ πόρον ἴξον ἐϋρρεῖος ποταμοῖο / Ξάνθου δινήεντος, ὄν ἀθάνατος τέκετο Ζεὺς / Ἑρμείας μὲν ἔπειτ' ἀπέβη πρὸς μακρὸν Ὀλυμπον, / Ἡὼς δὲ κροκόπεπλος ἐκίδνατο πᾶσαν ἐπ' αἶαν: 24.692-695). As regards the Lycian Xanthos, I subscribe to the view that Sarpedon is a multiform of Memnon, the son of Dawn and that Lycia, ultimately, was construed in the formative stages of epic, and arguably in our *Iliad*, as a land of Dawn (cf Homeric ἀμφιλύκη "twilight" at *Iliad* 7.433), which makes the Xanthos another Okeanos. I see three allusions to this solar model in 1) the translation of Sarpedon's corpse to Lycia and its Xanthos by Death and Sleep, whose presence holds the promise of the hero's waking up; 2) the very act of taking the hero to the ends of the earth holds the promise of his resurrection by the conjoined effects of the winds and the river Ocean, cf Nagy on *Odyssey* 4.568-569: ἀλλ' αἰεὶ ζεφύροιο λιγὺ πνεῖοντος ἀήτας / Ὠκεανὸς ἀνίησιν ἀναψύχειν ἀνθρώπους; and 3) the telling verb *tarkhuo*, which is exclusively enacted in this situation, involves a form of immortalization after death (see subsequent discussion in the section. With respect to the connection of Achilles' and Hektor's horses named Ξάνθος to the greater theme of solar immortalization, the point of the *Iliad* stating that Achilles' divine horses were conceived by the stream of the Ocean, the furthest of rivers, is to intimate the solar glory of his horses, as is evident in the Iliadic *Doloneia* (and *Rhesos* the play) in which the horses of Achilles are structurally equivalent to the clearly-solar horses of king Rhesos (*Iliad* 10:547 αἰνῶς ἀκτίνεσσιν εὐοικότες ἠελίοιο). Likewise, a close look at

The Maiandros defined Ionia. Among all the rivers in East Ionia, the Maiandros was arguably the one river to which Ionians could relate the most (the Ephesian Kaystros and Smyrnan Hermos following closely behind⁹³), not only because Miletus was the leading city of East Ionia, but also because the Panionian festival of Mykale—a site tellingly mentioned in the Catalogue of Ships—took place in the Milesian *chora*: Ionians from all over the Ionian Dodekapolis would travel to Miletus and Mykale on a regular basis to honor their patron god Poseidon.⁹⁴ There is a growing consensus among scholars that this Panionian festival, which was located in the vicinity of the great river Maiandros, was a major, if not the primary performance setting of our Homeric *Iliad*.⁹⁵ Not insignificantly, the Maiandros was *the* longest river in Western Anatolia, 329 miles

Hektor's own horses (Ξάνθέ τε καὶ σὺ Πόδαργε καὶ Αἴθων Λάμπέ τε διέ: 8.185) shows a proliferation of solar names. For the general, deep-seated connection of horses to the sun, see West 2007. Outside of Homeric epic, Hektor's ability to steer four horses at once, which is the number of horses the sun is able to tame in early Greek poetry, is described as a unparalleled feat among all heroes (περὶ δὲ τοῦ Ἑκτορος, ὃς ἔρεισμα μὲν τῆς Τροίας καὶ τοῦ ξυμμαχικοῦ παντὸς ἦν, ἵππους δὲ ξυνεῖχε τέτταρας, ὃ μηδεὶς τῶν ἡρώων ἔτερος, Philostratus, *Heroikos* 19.2). In terms of Homeric heroes described as ξανθοί, I quote Nagy 1974:210: "Xanthos seems a model of solar regeneration into immortality. We may note that heroes who have been immortalized attract the epithet *xanthos* blond: e.g., Rhadamanthys in Elysium (iv 564) and Ganymedes in Olympus (*H.Aphr.* 202). Menelaos is the hero who attracts this epithet by far the most frequently in the *Iliad* (III 284, IV 183, etc.) and the *Odyssey* (iii 257, 326, etc.)—and he is the only Homeric hero who is overtly said to have been immortalized (iv 561-569)." As a cautionary note, I would add the following: although Menelaos earns the epithet ξανθός more than any other Homeric hero and is indeed selected for immortalization *without* even experiencing death (unlike Herakles, for example who must first die), no correlation is observable between his epithet and his ἀρετή: Menelaos remains, by his own admission, a middling warrior. I repeat that the solar connections of ξανθός are not central to the present dissertation (except in section "What is Lycia? The Early *Interpretatio Graeca* of the Lukka Lands") and will be ignored in our analysis of the system of signs connecting the Trojan and Lycian rivers.

⁹³ As we will see in the following paragraphs, the pre-eminence of the Maiandros over the other rivers of Ionia may be inferred, *inter alia*, by the fact a number of other Ionian rivers could also be referred to by the same name as the Maiandros + an adjectival qualifier: for example, there is some evidence that the Ephesian Kaystros had also been known early on as 'the Lesser Maiandros': see Merkelbach 1978:212 and Thonemann 2006 & 2011.

⁹⁴ See in particular Frame 2009:542 and Herda 2013:427.

⁹⁵ Kullmann 2002; Rutherford 2008; Frame 2009; West 2011; Herda 2013.

in length,⁹⁶ longer than any Anatolian river spilling into the Aegean sea—ranging from the Hellespont north of Troy to the shores facing Rhodes to the south. The Maiandros is also the first Anatolian river listed in the Hesiodic *Theogony* (339).



Figure 2: The river Maiandros, *Büyük Menderes* in Turkish, literally “the Great Maiandros”—the pride of ancient Ionia.⁹⁷

I now wish to draw attention to an underappreciated piece of evidence, within the *Iliad*, for the specter of the great Ionian river lurking in the background of the setting in which the monumental poem is likely to have been primarily performed. In the Catalogue of Ships, the Maiandros is mentioned as an identifier of the Milesian homeland of the Carians—the predecessors of the Ionians.

As stated earlier, fluvial space played a crucial role in the construction of local identities in terms of both cultic activity and economic prosperity. The Nile defined Egypt; the Xanthos defined Lycia *and* Troy. The Maiandros defined Ionia: the attestation

⁹⁶ Thonemann 2011:19

⁹⁷ Map courtesy of <http://www.manzara.gen.tr/w1/B%C3%BCy%C3%BCK-Menderes-Nehri.jpg> (retrieved 05/15/2015).

for a ritual which made the Maiandros the secret father of all pregnant women in one of the cities of Ionia and the existence of the Μαιάνδριοι—an elusive guild mentioned in 5th century Athenian tax records⁹⁸—provide a glimpse into the centrality of the Maiandros to Ionian identity.

Although from a different time period, the following anecdote surely captures the kind of reverence any cohabitant of the Maiandros (or in this case former cohabitant) would have felt for the river a thousand years earlier:

A graffito scratched into the stucco wall of a house on Delos in the late Republican period offers a crude depiction of the Antioch bridge [Antioch on the Maiandros], complete with ships sailing down the river. In the scrawled inscription alongside, the artist (apparently a slave) declares that ‘this is the land of Antioch, rich in figs and water; savior Maeander, save me and give me water’⁹⁹

The river is addressed as a living entity, as if he were the lord of what might have been the artist’s former homeland: “savior Maeander, save me and give me water.”

In the *Iliad*, the formidable might of the great Paionian hero Asteropaios—the only one to have shed Achilles’ blood (σῦτο δ’ αἶμα κελαινεφές: 21.167)—is legitimated by his claim that he is the grandson of the river Axios—the pride of Paionia:

ἀντὰρ ἐμοὶ γενεὴ ἐξ Ἀξιοῦ εὐρὺν ῥέοντος
Ἀξιοῦ, ὃς κάλλιστον ὕδωρ ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἴησιν,¹⁰⁰

But my lineage is from the wide-flowing Axios
Whose waters are the loveliest on the face of the earth

Accordingly, it is necessary to fully probe the ethnic valences of rivers: at stake is understanding the complicated, yet methodically penetrable relation between the representation of ethnicity in the *Iliad* and the ethnic realities of the Aegean in the 8th/7th

⁹⁸ The neglected significance of the Μαιάνδριοι is duly noted by Thonemann 2006 and Merkelbach 1978.

⁹⁹ Thonemann 2011: 25

¹⁰⁰ *Iliad* 21.58-59

century BCE. It is not insignificant that the Trojan river Skamandros alone instills fear in Achilles (δείσας: *Iliad* 21.248)—the greatest threat to the integrity of the Trojan *ethnos*—in a way that no one else is able to, not even Apollo whom he confronts in book 22: the Xanthos / Skamandros was central to the epicization of Trojan might and Trojan identity. It is for this reason that Hektor names his son Skamandrios (*Iliad* 6:402-403):

τόν ῥ' Ἔκτωρ καλέεσκε Σκαμάνδριον, αὐτὰρ οἱ ἄλλοι
Ἀστυάνακτ'· οἷος γὰρ ἐρύετο Ἴλιον Ἔκτωρ.

...Whom Hektor called Skamandrios, but others called
“Lord of the City” [Astyanax]: for Hektor alone protected Troy.

It is commonly assumed, without further commentary, that the γὰρ refers only to Ἀστυάνακτ', “Lord of the City”: this is technically true. But if the Trojans call Hektor’s son Astyanax because the meaning of the name reflects the father’s own identity as foremost protector of Troy, it follows that Hektor named his son Skamandrios because he knows that the river Skamandros is in fact Troy’s foremost protector: had it not been for Hephaistos’ interference (*Iliad* 21.342ff), the best of the Achaeans would have drowned in his waters. We may even interpret a scene in which the Skamandros protected, as it were, Hektor himself: in book 14, Hektor and Telamonian Ajax face off in a duel. The Achaean hero knocks the son of Priam unconscious with a boulder (ἔπεσ' Ἔκτορος ὄκα χαμαὶ μένος ἐν κονίησι: / χειρὸς δ' ἔκβαλεν ἔγχος). But his companions, including Sarpedon and Glaukos, rescue him and take him to the ford of the fair-flowing river:

Ἄλλ' ὅτε δὴ πόρον ἴξον εὐρρέϊος ποταμοῖο
Ξάνθου δινήεντος, ὃν ἀθάνατος τέκετο Ζεὺς,
ἔνθά μιν ἐξ ἵππων πέλασαν χθονί, κὰδ δέ οἱ ὕδωρ
χεῦαν: ὃ δ' ἀμπνύνθη καὶ ἀνέδρακεν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν¹⁰¹

But when they had reached the ford of the fair-flowing river –
The swirling Xanthos, whom deathless Zeus begot,

¹⁰¹ *Iliad* 4.433-436

There, they lifted him from his chariot to the ground,
And poured water down on him: he breathed again and looked up with his eyes

Subtle though the the river's care for Hektor might be, we find yet again another river's πόρος "ford/passage" associated with the protagonist's luck in Pindar, *Nemean* 9. When the melic poet says that "Hektor's glory blossomed beside the streams of the Skamandros" (Ἐκτορι μὲν κλέος ἀνθῆσαι Σκαμάνδρου χεύμασιν ἀγχοῦ), comparing it to the light shining on his honorand Chromios of Etna at the passage / ford (πόρον) by the river Heloros where he triumphed over the Syracusans,¹⁰² Pindar not only distills a visualization of Troy into a paradigmatic diptych embodied by the hero and the river, he also suggests that the special presence of the two rivers at a πόρος¹⁰³ potentiates the Trojan and Sicilian champions respectively.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰² Pindar *Nemean* 9.38-42. I thank Gregory Nagy for pointing this passage out to me (see Nagy's own commentary on the passage - 2002:76-77).

¹⁰³ In his commentary (1890:167), Bury says that the πόρος "passage/ford" where Chromios prevailed was located at the mouth of the Heloros, without apparently being aware of Lycophron's statement about Hekabe's cenotaph nearby. To be sure, the scholiast to *Nemean* 9.95c indicates that Chromios' πόρος of victory was located at the mouth of the river, no matter what its garbled name was – *Areia* or *Rhea* Ἐλωρι· ὁ δὲ αἰγιαλὸς καλεῖται Ἀρείας πόρος. ἄλλως. Ἀρείας πόρος ἐλέγετο πᾶς ὁ περὶ τὸν πορθμὸν καὶ τὸ Ῥήγιον τόπος. καὶ ἄδηλον, εἴτε Ἀρείας εἴτε Ῥείας λεκτέον. Bury sides with the latter reading "ford of Rhea," though I am of the opinion that Pindar might have cleverly intended an insoluble *double entendre*—of Rhea or *Areia*. At all events, Bury has this beautiful comment: "one might think that Pindar himself is errant for a moment, and that the clause determining the sea into which the Helorus flows is on the most favourable view an unnecessary topographical exegesis, not woven into the spiritual texture of the composition. But on closer examination this criticism turns out to be unfair, and 'the Passage of Rhea,' so far from being trivial, becomes a phrase of spiritual significance. At Helorus the light of success had regarded Chromios, but this was only his first achievement, to be followed by others; or, Pindar puts it, the Helorus conducts to the sea which may be considered a passage to scenes of future triumphs, noted immediately after, 'exploits on the dusty dryland and on the adjacent ocean'" (1890:166-167).

¹⁰⁴ According to Lycophron, *Alexandra* 1174, Hekabe's [Hektor's mother's] cenotaph stood at the mouth of the river Heloros in Sicily. The cult of Hektor's mother at the mouth of the Heloros would provide an additional impetus for Pindar to compare Chromios to Hektor. If this is indeed the case, Pindar might have implicitly meant that Hekabe's own numen enhanced the divine presence of the river Heloros, which is favorable to Chromios. It is striking that Paris in the *Iliad* turns the tide of battle against the Achaeans precisely beside the tomb of the Trojans' eponymous king Ilos: leaning against his gravestone, he starts shooting one incapacitating arrow after another, blazing a trail of victory to the Trojans: Τυδεΐδη ἔπι τόξα τιταίνετο ποιμένι λαῶν, στήλη κεκλιμένος ἀνδροκμήτῳ ἐπὶ τύμβῳ Ἴλου Δαρδανίδαο, παλαιοῦ δημογέροντος. I discuss the significance of this tomb at great length in my essay "the Homeric Battlefied as a Metaphorized Race Course for Horses."

At the same time, the alternative name of Hektor’s son—*Skamandrios*—exemplifies the tacit parallel between Hektor and the river as superlative protectors of Troy on the human and fluvial planes. The cult of Hektor as late as the 3rd century CE evinces the hierarchical equivalence of river and leader. In Philostratus’ *Heroikos*, the ghost of Hektor blends in with the identity of the river as it relates to punishing slanderous visitors. At 18.6, a spectral Hektor rushes on a youth, kills him on the road, but “blames his victim’s death on the river (ὄρμησεν ἐπὶ τὸ μεϊράκιον καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτὸ ἐν ὁδῷ, ποταμῷ τὸ ἔργον προσθείς). Wearing his heroic armor according to witnesses, Hector’s wraith dispatches another slanderous visitor by directing the course of the river against him (ὀπλίτης ἠγεῖτο τοῦ ποταμοῦ μέγας: 19.7).

From the standpoint of the multiformity of the Trojan War, the Homeric narrator’s artful claim that “Hektor alone named his son Skamandrios” adverts to competing narratives of the Trojan War, in which Skamandrios was in fact the public (not private) name of Hektor’s son: alongside the tradition of an Astyanax thrown off the walls of Troy, of which there are hints in our *Iliad*, a comparably early tradition, first attested in unidentified poems of the Epic Cycle¹⁰⁵ and Hellanikos of Lesbos, has Hektor’s son *Skamandrios*—also simply known as *Skamandros* in some sources¹⁰⁶—found a New Troy near the old site, including other cities in the Troad, together with the

¹⁰⁵ The scholia T for *Iliad* 24.735 reports that that the infelicitously named “younger poets” (the νεώτεροι) had Hektor’s son survive the war and found a new Troy. These so-called “younger poets” represents the Epic Cycle. As Burgess 2001 has demonstrated in his groundbreaking book, *The Tradition of the Trojan War in Homer and the Epic Cycle* (2001), typological evidence and the testimony of the earliest vase paintings in archaic Greece show that Epic Cycle accounts of the Trojan war are for the most part *older* than the Homeric *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, in terms of content, albeit textualized later than the Homeric poems. There was, however, no unanimity among Epic Cycle songmakers: the *Iliou Persis* follows the version of Astyanax’/Skamandrios’ death.

¹⁰⁶ Konon FGH 26 F 1.46

son of Aineias.¹⁰⁷ In these alternative narratives of the Trojan War, the river is conspicuously emblazoned on the ruler of the Troad. The metonymy between the river of a territory and the élite of the occupying *ethnos* is unmistakable.¹⁰⁸

We have thus found a good explanatory model for elucidating the problematic reduplicated patronymic of an Ionian tyrant: “Maiandrios the son of Maiandrios” overthrew and succeeded the greatest tyrant of Samos in the 6th century BCE: Polycrates. The new tyrant is described by Herodotus as Μαιάνδριον Μαιανδρίου ἄνδρα τῶν ἀστῶν (3.123). But “Maiandrios the son of Maiandrios” cannot be right because “sons were rarely called after their own fathers in Greece.”¹⁰⁹ By elimination, the putative name ‘Maiandrios’ (the son of Maiandrios) is in all likelihood an authoritative title, which the new tyrant arrogated to himself, rather than the name given to him at birth. There is nothing unusual or evidentiary about the name ‘Maiandrios’, in and of itself: rather, the suspicion of fiction is predicated on the dubious claim that father and son have identical names—an extremely, rare occurrence in ancient Greece¹¹⁰; coupled with this rarity is Maiandrios’ elliptical, folkloristic characterization as ἄνδρα τῶν

¹⁰⁷ Advanced discussion of the sources in Nagy 2010: 189-212. I thank Gregory Nagy for bringing these alternative accounts of Hektor’s son Skamandrios to my attention.

¹⁰⁸ The only one to have shed Achilles’ blood in the *Iliad* was the explicit grandson of a river: the leader of the Paionians—Asteropaios. See my MA thesis *the Mitoses of Achilles*. A number of other distinguished Homeric heroes are potamonyms. It is a little-known fact that Ajax was the name of a river (Aias) in Epirus and that the *Iliad* displays awareness of Ajax’s fluvial affinities by making the first victims of both the greater Ajax (Simoeisios) and the first victim of the lesser Ajax (Satnioeis) Trojan potamonyms—the Simoeis and the Satnios. Similarly, *Rhesos*—the king of the Thracians—is also a name of a river in the Troad: the hero and the river are both mentioned in the *Iliad*. The incomparable strength of the Thracian king, which is covert in the *Iliad* and explicit in the tragedy *Rhesos*, epitomizes the legitimizing force of rivers.

¹⁰⁹ Barron 1964:217 “The sixth-century tyranny at Samos,” *the Classical Quarterly*. It was very common in ancient Greece for sons to be named after their grandfather, as it is nowadays (especially in Cyprus), but very uncommon for a son to be named after his own father.

¹¹⁰ Golden 1993: 261-269

ἄστῶν.¹¹¹ If, moreover, the hierarchical equivalence between Skamandros and Skamandrios parallels the hierarchical equivalence between a cultically paradigmatic Maiandros river and the *parvenu* ‘Maiandrios’, the case is strong that Maiandrios too is an authoritative cult title, which 1) matches Hektor’s giving the name Skamandrios to his son in the *Iliad*, implicitly wishing him the same protective sovereignty as the river, 2) matches the blending of the identities of the ghost of Hektor and the river in Philostratus’ *Heroikos*, 3) matches the alternative Epic Cycle account of Skamandrios being the new avatar of Trojan might.

1.1.6.2. The River Xanthos and Sarpedon: the Only (/Fluvial) Son(s) of Zeus in the *Iliad*

As we recall, approximately half of the élite of early Ionia claimed Lycian descent and were likely sponsors of the Homeridai according to Busolt, Kern, Wilamowitz and Malten.¹¹² In my foregoing section, I specifically argued that this is the reason why the

¹¹¹ Herodotus’ characterization of ‘Maiandrios’ the son of Maiandrios ἄνδρα τῶν ἄστῶν—literally “a man of towns” is difficult to translate. Recognizing the civic connotation associated with the word *astu*, Roisman 1985:258 and Kuhrt 2013:128 translate it respectively as “a man from the citizens” and “a fellow citizen.” I agree. But in light of the extreme improbability of the father and son having the exact, same name, it is noteworthy that Herodotus appears to engage in word play between the duplicated *Mai-andrios* and ἄνδρα, just as the Homeric narrator does so at *Iliad* 20.74: ὃν Ξάνθον καλέουσι θεοί, ἄνδρες δὲ Σκάμ-ανδρον. Herodotus augments his paronomasia with a sustained [a] assonance: Μαιάνδριον Μαιανδρίου ἄνδρα τῶν ἄστῶν. This kind of word play conspires with the improbability of ‘Maiandrios’ having the same name as his father to suggest that Herodotus wants his readers to conclude that the name of Polycrates’ successor, as transmitted by his sources, cannot be his real name: rather, the duplicated Μαιάνδριος has all the appearances of a cult title. The spring / nymph Samia of the island over which he ruled happened to be a daughter of the river Maiandros according to the archaic Ionian poet Asios (Asios fr. 7 Bernabé = Paus. 7.4.1. See Herda 2012, s.v. ‘Maeander’ in *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History*). As often noted by critics, Herodotus says nothing of ‘Maiandrios’ origins, other than the fact that he had been Polycrates’ γραμματιστής ‘scribe’ / ‘clerk’. Herodotus’ enigmatic characterization of ‘Maiandrios’ as Μαιανδρίου ἄνδρα τῶν ἄστῶν parallels the dionymia of Hektor’s son in the *Iliad*: *Astu-anax* and *Skam-andrios*, which echo *Mai-andrios* / *andra* and *astōn* respectively.

¹¹² I repeat an earlier footnote: Wilamowitz 1916:305: Die Hellenisierung des Glaukos würden wir nicht verstehen können, wenn nicht Herodot 1, 147 bezeugte, dass Nachkommen des Glaukos in einigen ionischen Städten das Königsgeschlecht waren, in andern ein Königsgeschlecht, das neben einem hellenischen stand. Wir werden das so deuten, dass in einzeln der Städte...das barbarische Herrscherhaus teils ganz in seiner Ehrenstellung geblieben war, teils neben dem der ἔποικοι fortbestand. Summary of Wilamowitz’s position by Nilsson 1972:61: [Wilamowitz 1916:305] “contends that the Ionians introduced the Lycians because their kings claimed descent partly from the Lycian hero Glaucus.” Also Wilamowitz 1925:241. I was not aware of W.’s position until after I had noticed the significance of the Herodotean

Iliad makes Sarpedon the only, living son of Zeus in the monumental poem: the intent and the effect were to gratify their patrons who could only gain politically from the god who conferred legitimacy on rulers. In this light, we may also understand the initiative taken by the tyrant ‘Maiandrios’ of Samos to institute a cult of Zeus Eleutherios.¹¹³ Now, half of all the references to Sarpedon’s and Glaukos’ Lycia in the *Iliad*¹¹⁴ are accompanied or preceded by the identifier “the river Xanthos,” e.g. 6.173 ὅτε δὴ Λυκίην Ἴξε Ξάνθόν τε ῥέοντα: “when he reached Lycia and the river Xanthos.” It is if the river alone crucially defined the country of origin of the Lycians. No other descriptor of Lycia is used as frequently in the Homeric poem as the river Xanthos.

And yet most of the attestations of the river Xanthos in the *Iliad* designate, technically, another Xanthos—that of Troy: there are 11 attestations for the Trojan Xanthos, 4 for the Lycian Xanthos. It is rather strange that Lycia’s most common geographic descriptor—the river Xanthos—serves less to differentiate Lycia from Troy than to confuse the former with the latter by blending one of their most salient landmarks together. If the Homeric narrator says so little about the geography of Lycia and so much about the geography of his Troy, why would his passing references to a putatively distinct Lycia be most frequently expressed as “Lycia and the river Xanthos,” which is so grotesquely reminiscent of Troy’s own river? Troy’s most important river is the Xanthos and so is Lycia’s: the sameness of their names is to be construed as a deliberate signal on the part of the Homeric narrator for an alert audience to put the two rivers together

passage. Also Kern 1894:17: “dass sich die letzten Worte auf Milet beziehen, wo neben Neleus auch Sarpedon als Ahnherr seiner Fürsten verehrt wurde, ist allgemein anerkannt. *Busolt Griech. Gesch.* I (2) 305, I.

¹¹³ For Maiandrios’ exploitation of the cult, see Raaflaub 2000:253ff.

¹¹⁴ Ten references of out twenty one.

because, as we saw above, the Xanthos is attested nowhere else in Greek literature as a potamonym, outside of Greece or in Greece. The *Iliad* thus activates a fluvial space in which Troy and Lycia can merge.

There is an inverse correlation between the foregrounding of the Trojan river and the Trojans in the Iliadic narrative and the greater tangibility of the Lycian river and the Lycians in the Ionian performance setting of the narrative. To an East Ionian audience, the name of the river Xanthos would be primarily associated with the more familiar river in Lycia,¹¹⁵ located to the south and east, not the Trojan Xanthos located further away in the north: the Lycian élite of Ionia would certainly be prone to popularize the glory of the Lycian river. Thus, in his national poem, the *Ionika*, Panyassis limns Lycia's mythical genealogy (*fr.* 23):

ἔνθα δ' ἔναιε μέγας Τρεμίλης καί ῥ' ἤγαγε κόυρην,
νύμφην Ὠγυγίην, ἣν Πρηξιδίκην καλέουσι,
Σίβρωι ἐπ' ἀργυρέωι ποταμῶι βαθυδινήεντι·
τῆς δ' ὀλοοὶ παῖδες Τλώος ξανθὸς Πίναρός τε

Great Tremiles lived there and he married the Ogygian
Bridal virgin, whom they call Praxidike,
On the silver, deep-swirling Sibros
And her baneful children were conceived, Tloos and tawny Pinaros...

Tremiles is the eponym of the Lycians in the Lycian language; the Sibros is an endonym for the river Xanthos: Panyassis cleverly alludes to it in the next line by characterizing

¹¹⁵ The Lycian river Xanthos is also mentioned by Panyasis (also spelled Panyassis) in his *Ionika*: see Matthews' 1974 commentary. As I argue in another section ("What is 'Lycia'? The Early Interpretatio Graeca of the Lukka lands") 'Lycia' was defined in the Geometric and Archaic periods even more loosely and broadly than it was in the Classical and Hellenistic period, in such a way as to be synonymous with all of Western Anatolia, including Caria, Lydia and Mysia. See Keen 2005:63-82 "Lycians in the *Cares* of Aeschylus," in which he argues that Aeschylus seems to make no ethnic or geographic distinction between either Lycia and Caria or the Lycians and the Carians in his fragmentary play. *Sensu lato*, 'Lycia' could encompass Ionia or alternatively begin in the immediate hinterland of Ionia.

Pinaros—eponym of the Lycian city Pinara as ξανθός.¹¹⁶ For the union between the native eponym of Lycia and the Ogygian nymph / bride to have taken place by the silver, deep-swirling Sibros (Xanthos) suggests that the river was important in Lycian cult as well. This Lycian Xanthos was presumably worshipped by the Lycians in classical Lycia proper,¹¹⁷ in stark contrast with the Trojan Xanthos whose mythological Trojans Ionians could only imagine, never meet in real life. Outside of the world of epic, no living Ionian could bear witness to the symbiotic reality of a living Troy and its river, in contradistinction with that of a living Lycia and its Xanthos: there were no ‘real Trojans’ in the 8th/7th century BCE.

Most significantly, the Xanthos river bond tying Ionia’s coeval Lycia to mythical Troy is doubled by the genealogical parallel between the Lycian hero Sarpedon and the Lycian river’s namesake in terms of their relation to Zeus: Sarpedon is the only mortal son of Zeus in the entire *Iliad*, which as we have argued is one of the Homeridai’s strategies of paying homage to their Ionian patrons. Likewise, it is of the utmost

¹¹⁶ Matthews 1974:102 & Huxley 1964:29-33. There are textual difficulties in the reading of the fragment, but I follow Matthews & Huxley in their reconstruction.

¹¹⁷ Given the scarcity of our sources, we must rely on indirect, cumulative evidence: 1) the *Leteon* was located near the Lycian Xanthos (Strabo 14.3.6) and one of its myths involves Leto muddying the waters nearby; 2) the Lycian city of Patara was thought to have been founded by Pataros, the grandson of the river Xanthos through the nymph Lycia; 3) both the indigenous name of the river and the capital of Lycia was *Arinna* (alongside Sibros), which seems to have been construed as “Spring” or “River” by the Lycians (see Szemerényi 1987), a meaning attested in Luwian *arinna*, though centuries earlier the name of the city had been Awarna in Bronze Age documents. If indeed the city is named after the river, which is a much likelier scenario than the river being named after the city, and if the river was famous enough to carry such a generic name (cf the derivation of Istanbul from the Greek εἰς τὴν Πόλιν), one can infer that the cult of the river was significant. See Bryce 1986 for the sources. The semantic disconnect between the Greek *Xanthos* ‘Golden’ and Lycian *Arinna* ‘Spring’ may be bridged by the fact that Arinna had also been the name of the chief Hittite Sun goddess—originally a Hattian deity. Remarkably, there were several cities in the Hittite empire named Arinna, in the most important one of which the worship of the Sun goddess Arinna was very prominent: even there, the ideogram “Spring” denotes the city, thus paving the way for the identification of solar goddess and the aquatic meaning of *arinna* in Luwian (discussion in Forrer 1938). The continuation of her cult through the Dark Ages would have resulted in many Luwic languages, such as Lycian, having two different meanings for *Arinna*: “Sun” and “River.” The phonetic evolution of Bronze Awarna to Classical *Arinna* would have led the Lycian capital to take on these two meanings.

importance that the Trojan Xanthos too is *the only son of Zeus* among all the rivers named and described in the *Iliad*:

Ξάνθου δινήεντος, ὃν ἀθάνατος τέκετο Ζεύς “
of the swirling Xanthos whom deathless Zeus begot”

This formula occurs three times, strewn across the second half of the monumental poem: first at *Iliad* 14.434—only eight lines apart from the closest reference to human beings in the text: the Lycians Sarpedon and Glaukos at 14.426; second at *Iliad* 21.1-2; third at *Iliad* 24.694. The Homeric narrator clarifies at 20.74 that the river is called Skamandros by mortals, but Xanthos by the gods (ὃν Ξάνθον καλέουσι θεοί, ἄνδρες δὲ Σκάμανδρον). His being the only explicit son of Zeus among all rivers is all the more remarkable because the Hesiodic *Theogony* characterizes the Skamandros and all other rivers as sons of Okeanos, *not* sons of Zeus (337-345):

Τηθὺς δ’ Ὀκεανῷ Ποταμοὺς τέκε δινήεντας,
...Εὐήνόν τε καὶ Ἄρδησκον θεῖόν τε Σκάμανδρον.

And Tethys bore to Okeanos the swirling Rivers,
...the Evenus, the Ardeskos and the Skamandros

Even the *Iliad* itself contradicts its triple formula characterizing the river Xanthos as the son of Zeus in one passage. In conformity with the standard Hesiodic genealogy, *Iliad* 21.193-197 reads:

οὐκ ἔστι Διὶ Κρονίῳ μάχεσθαι,
τῷ οὐδὲ κρείων Ἀχελώϊος ἰσοφαρίζει,
[οὐδὲ βαθυρρεῖται μέγα σθένος Ὀκεανοῖο,] = 21.195
ἐξ οὗ περ **πάντες ποταμοὶ** καὶ πᾶσα θάλασσα
καὶ πᾶσαι κρήναι καὶ φρεῖατα μακρὰ νάουσιν:

It is not possible to fight Kronian Zeus,
Not even Lord Acheloiios is able to vie with him
[Nor the great might of the deep-flowing Okeanos]
From whom **all rivers** and every sea
And all springs and large wells flow

Inasmuch as all rivers arise from the Okeanos (—originally from the Acheloios¹¹⁸), the Trojan Xanthos too must arise from one of the two, not Zeus. If one accepts the organicity of the *Iliad*, the convergence of the aforementioned three Iliadic passages 14.426, 21.1-2; and 24.694 indicates that *the Xanthos’ filial connection to Zeus is exceptional*¹¹⁹: it parallels Sarpedon’s exceptional filial connection to Zeus among humans, he who “came from distant Lycia, from the swirling Xanthos.” The Lycian hero Sarpedon and the Lycian/Trojan potamonym Xanthos share the unique distinction in the *Iliad* of being the only human and potamomorphic sons of Zeus respectively. It was completely unnecessary for the *Homeridai* to have made the river Xanthos the son of Zeus—a typology which, barring a single exception in Apollodorus’ *Library*, is unattested anywhere in Greek literature.¹²⁰ Why would they do so, if the intent was not to clue the attentive Ionian listener in that the fictitiously-named ‘Trojan’ Xanthos and the historical Xanthos of their own Zeus-born Sarpedon—the founder of Miletus—are one and the same on a metaphorical level? The emergence of this larger equation—Sarpedon son of Zeus = Xanthos son of Zeus— is paramount because it dovetails with the proposition that the *Homeridai* honor and grant special status to their patrons, the leading families of Ionia claiming descent from Sarpedon’s and Glaukos’ Lycian royal lineage.

¹¹⁸ As d’Alessio 2004 and I have independently argued, Zenodotus was correct in athetizing line 21.195: it did not belong in the older Homeric *Iliad*. As a result, the cosmic Acheloios had once been the father of all rivers. On the other hand, if one follows the standard version of the *Iliad*, the Okeanos is the father of all rivers, an idea which gains currency in the Classical and postclassical periods.

¹¹⁹ I was able to find only one other source in Greek literature, in which Zeus is the father of a river: Apollodorus’ 3.156 Ὁ δὲ Ἀσωπὸς ποταμὸς Ὀκεανοῦ καὶ Τηθύος, ὡς δὲ Ἀκουσίλαος λέγει, Πηροῦς καὶ Ποσειδῶνος, ὡς δὲ τινες, Διὸς καὶ Εὐρυνόμης. Note that in Apollodorus’ references to the competing claims on the paternity of the river Asopos, he mentions the claim that Zeus was the river’s father last, in third position, pursuant to the extreme rarity of the claim. Conversely, he mentions Akousilaos’ standard claim that the Asopos is the son of the Okeanos in first position.

¹²⁰ See the previous footnote.

1.1.6.3. The Milesian Clan of the Euxantidai

At this point, a closer examination of the foundation myths of Miletus—primary seat of Homeric performances—is in order. A clan of the *Euxantidai* is known to have existed at Miletus: the important role they played in the early history of the city is inferable from the fact that the eponym Miletus, founder of the great Ionian city, was the son of their ancestor Euxantios: Sarpedon—the other founder of Miletus according to Ephorus¹²¹—is associated with Euxantios and his son Miletus, in that all three came from Crete and had a close connection with king Minos: Ὁ δὲ Μίλητος, ἀφ’ οὗ καὶ ἡ πόλις Μίλητος, Εὐξαντίου τοῦ Μίνωος ἦν.¹²² In one version, Sarpedon and Miletus were lovers and fled the island to Lycia and Miletus respectively.¹²³

As we saw above in our discussion of the heterogeneous, multilingual populations of Crete, which lasted till the Hellenistic period at least, Cretan origins did *not* guarantee Greek origins: tracing the Lycians to Crete, as is frequently attested (Herodotus, Ephorus, etc.) does not make them Greek. Accordingly, it is highly conceivable that the Milesian clan of the *Εὐξαντίδαι* perceived either themselves or their ancestors as non-Greek, even Lycian (or Pelasgian = Paeonian¹²⁴), considering the close parallel between Sarpedon and

¹²¹ A third, important legendary founding *genos* of Miletus are the Neleids, but we will not examine carefully until chapter 2, under “King Kodros and Kaukon Neleids: link between West Ionians, East Ionians and the Trojans.”

¹²² Aristocrates of Miletus and Herodorus in scholiast on Apollodorus of Rhodes 1.186. Also *EM* 394.33 *Εὐξαντίδος γενεῆς*. Pindar and Bacchylides mention Euxantios’ departure from Crete to Keos. The two poets allude to the subsequent migration of Euxantios’ offspring to Ionian Miletus (Pippin Burnett 1985:202 and Rutherford 2001:290-291). In his excellent commentary, Rutherford points that the figure named Ὀνει[της], who is associated with Euxantios on Keos according to one of the scholiasts on Pindar’s *Paean* IV, is probably the eponym of another Milesian clan—the *Onitadai*: Keos and Miletus entertained close connections in archaic times.

¹²³ Nicander in Antoninus Liberalis 30; Pausanias 7.2.5; Apollodorus 3.1.2

¹²⁴ *Odyssey* 19:176-177: ἐν δ’ Ἐτεόκρητες μεγαλήτορες, ἐν δὲ Κύδωνες Δωριέες τε τριχάϊκες δῖοί τε Πελασγοί. See subsection sections, “Sarpedon a Crypto-Paeonian Hero” & “Achilles the Pelasgian.”

the mythical son of Euxantios having a fallout with king Minos. The approximation of their clan name to the famous river Xanthos in Lycia would facilitate the perception of their ‘Lycianness’, as attested by the eponym Εὐξάντιος’s alternative spelling Εὐξάνθιος, which appears in a few sources.¹²⁵ Mulvany was the first to have made this suggestion: “Ἐάνθος may be connected with this Εὐξαντίς—the Lycian city Xanthos was so called ἀπὸ Ἐάνθου Αἰγυπτίου ἢ Κρητὸς οἰκιστοῦ (Steph. Byz.).”¹²⁶ The Milesian Euxantidai, who appear to have played an important role in the foundation of the city, would have thus been pleased to hear an echo of their name in the name of the Lycian and/or Trojan river Xanthos son of Zeus.

Why then does the Xanthos, unique in his being the only fluvial son of Zeus in all of Greek literature, have an alternative secular name—the Skamandros?¹²⁷ For one thing, it anchors the Iliadic setting in the spatial and chronological remoteness of the Troad, a point to which we will soon return. But we should first shed light on the general significance of the river’s dionymia in terms of the early performance context of the *Iliad* in Ionia. By way of introduction, Güntert famously observed that the attribution of dionymia to people and toponyms is well-attested in the Indo-European poetic tradition,

¹²⁵ The precise meaning of the clan appears to have been “the wool carders”, cf εὐξαντος (AP 6.282) from ξάινω, cf Pippin Burnett 1985:202 and Rutherford 2001:290-291. The folk-etymological connection with ξανθός is very easy. In Apollodorus’ Library, 3.1.2, the eponym is spelled Εὐξάνθιος.

¹²⁶ Mulvany 1901:59. I focus in my dissertation on the Lycian river Xanthos without having experienced the need, so far, to thoroughly discuss the city of the same name in Lycia.

¹²⁷ The Trojan river is designated as the *Skamandros* river 10 times in the *Iliad*, versus 11 times as the *Xanthos*.

as can be inferred from a comparative study of the poetic traditions in geographically diffuse IE-speaking populations.¹²⁸

Noting in 1950 the significance of the onomastic identity of the Trojan Xanthos and Lycian Xanthos, Heubeck drew attention to the *Ionika* by the Greco-Carian Panyassis¹²⁹—Herodotus’ uncle or cousin—in which the Lycian river itself seems to be given two names: he names it the Xanthos, as in our *Iliad*, but also the *Sibros*.¹³⁰ Further noting that the Sibros, also attested as Sirbis, is likely to be a Phrygian word meaning ‘pure and shining’,¹³¹ Heubeck concluded that “Homer invented the divine variant Xanthos in imitation of the Lycian dionymia.”¹³² To be sure, Ionia’s Lycian kings, as stated earlier, are very likely to have shown an interest in their country of origin and communicated their interest to the poets whom they sponsored.

At this point, we are in a position to probe the significance of the alternative name of the Trojan river—the *Skamandros*—not on the basis of its etymology but rather on the basis of its *interpretatio graeca*. As I’m about to demonstrate—for it can be demonstrated, an Ionian audience would naturally and almost ineluctably perceive the Skamandros as a cryptic duplication of their own beloved river *Maiandros*, with which

¹²⁸ Güntert, *Von der Sprache der Götter und Geister* (1921).

¹²⁹ The name is also spelled Panyasis

¹³⁰ Heubeck 1950:197-218

¹³¹ Kretschmer 1939:258-259 further noted that the alternative name of the Lycian river Xanthos—the Sibros—has a cognate in Northern Anatolia—the Siberis—which is glossed as ἱερὸς ποταμός. Purity and light are closely interconnected notions, cf Apollo’s most frequent stand-alone epithet φοῖβος “pure and radiant.”

¹³² Szemerényi 1987:344. Malten had reached the same conclusion a few years earlier in his 1944 publication. Malten, *Hermes*, “Homer und die lykischen Fürsten” 1944:10 fn5

they connected emotionally and with which they identified themselves¹³³: I repeat that rivers played a fundamental role in the construction of ethnic identity. This is no trivial point.

1.1.6.4. The Trojan Ska-mandros and the Ionian Maiandros



Figure 3: Map of Troy and the Troad.¹³⁴ Like the longer Ephesian river the Kaystros—in Turkish the *Küçük Menderes* literally “the Small Maiandros,” the Skamandros is formally conceptualized in Turkish as a calque of the considerably longer river Maiandros—*Büyük Menderes* “the Great Maiandros”: the Turkish name for the Skamandros is *Eski Menderes*, “the old Maiandros”—a folk-etymological rendition of Σκάμανδρος.

Before proceeding, I want to make it clear that I do not deny the existence of genuine poetic traditions in the northern Aegean, which were loosely derived from the filtered memory of a prosperous, Bronze Age Wilusa (= Ilios), where a great siege by foreign invaders might have taken place. Clearly, such geographic signposts in the *Iliad*

¹³³ cf Thonemann 2011: 26: “It is worth noting, too, that even those cities in the region which did not possess homonyms elsewhere in the Greek world could still be named and defined in terms of their relation to the Maeander river. In the first part of the Ephesian customs law, which probably dates to the first years of the Roman province of Asia (the 120s bc), we have a list of almost fifty maritime customs stations along the coastal fringe of the province of Asia, including the city of Priene, here described as ‘Priene by the mouth of the Maeander’. The designation ‘by the mouth of the Maeander’ is entirely redundant: there was only one city called Priene in Asia.”

¹³⁴ Courtesy of: http://www.goddess-athena.org/Museum/Temples/Troy/Troad-Phrygia_map.gif

as the Hellespont or the specific names of the cities nearby (Zeleaia, Arisbe, etc.) materialize the narrator's intent to anchor the setting of the poem along the shores of the northern Aegean. Even the divinity of the Skamandros river in the Homeric narrative may owe to the historically attested underground water god KASKAL.KUR of *Wilusa*, which is mentioned as one of the important deities of the city in a Hittite document.¹³⁵ The independence of an Aeolic tradition of the Trojan War, as evidenced by the Lesbian form of king Priam¹³⁶ or Sappho's inclusion of Trojan war characters in her songs,¹³⁷ demonstrates that a northern Aegean epic tradition had naturally evolved and flourished through the centuries. What I insist upon, however, is the Ionians' appropriation for their own purposes of what one might call an ur-Aeolic epic tradition. Not in the sense, though, that prior to appropriating this ur-Aeolic epic, there was no Ionian epic poetry. Surely, there was. But to the extent that our Homeric *Iliad* integrates a genuine north Aegean epic tradition, it does so on the terms of the poems' early performance in Ionia: as Nagy 1996 forcefully argues, one composes first and foremost for a living audience. Our Homeric audience, it is agreed, shows clear signs of Panhellenic aspirations. But it was Ionian before it was Aeolian or anything else.

With these things in mind, we may now grasp the reception of the potamonym Skamandros by an Ionian audience. In his 2006 publication "Neilomandros: A contribution to the History of Greek Personal Names,"¹³⁸ Oxford scholar Peter Thonemann presented a morphotactic mechanism by which an Ionian audience would be

¹³⁵ Frank, Mangini & Korfmann 2002:305-314

¹³⁶ *Perramos*.

¹³⁷ See Nagy 2010: 189-212

¹³⁸ *Chiron*, 2006.

compelled to regard the Skamandros as a manifestation of their own personal Maiandros: having surveyed forty or so personal Greek names ending in *-mandros*, the vast majority of which are Ionian, e.g. the name of the Ionian philosopher Ἀναξίμανδρος, he demonstrated that *-mandros* has to be the shorthand (albeit phonetically anomalous) rendition of the river Maiandros. His conclusion has been recently endorsed by Alexander Herda.¹³⁹ In effect, an Ionian would have construed a name like Anaximander as something like “he who rules over the Maiandros.” Likewise, an Ionian would have parsed the Trojan Skamandros as the *Ska-mandros* = *Ska-maiandros* and equated it with their own great river. States Thonemann:

It's very likely that Maiandros and the Skamandros are etymologically connected, and effectively certain that an Ionian Greek of the 8th/7th/6th centuries would have perceived the etymological link (since Maiandros is regularly contracted to *mandros in compounds).¹⁴⁰

As if this were not enough, the same Maiandrian reading can be secured alternatively via *Skam-andros* (instead of *Ska-mandros*). With this division, the Greek lexeme σκαμβός ‘bent’, ‘crooked’ becomes naturally audible within the name of the Trojan river: the beta of a retrojected **Skamb-andros*, when placed between two nasals followed by *-dr-*, is phonotactically unstable, and yields the more stable *Ska(m)mandros*. A Greek ear may be inclined to read it this way too because σκαμβός is attested as the first part of a compound, as in σκαμβόπους ‘bow-legged’.¹⁴¹ The resultant meaning, again, mirrors that of the Ionian *Mai-andros*, known for its many windings. Hence, ‘winding’ attested in

¹³⁹ Herda 2012, s.v. ‘Maeander’ in *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History*.

¹⁴⁰ Peter Thonemann: personal communication (05/03/2013).

¹⁴¹ Pseudo-Archytus: σκαμβόπους; for σκαμβός, a proverb is attested: τὸ σκαμβὸν ξύλον οὐδέποτε ὀρθόν (Pausanias, Ἀττικῶν ὀνομάτων συναγωγή.).

Classical Greek *μαίανδρος*, English *meander*.¹⁴² The Skamandros bends and the Maiandros winds.

To sum up: in terms of the early performance context of the *Iliad*, an Ionian audience decodes the comparatively tiny Trojan river Skamandros as their own gigantic river Maiandros by means of a twofold perceptual segmentation: 1) *Ska-mandros* = *Ska-Maiandros*¹⁴³ and 2) *Skam(b)*¹⁴⁴-andros “the Winding River” = the Maiandros as *the* meandering river: with the introduction of minting, cities along the river would later feature a maeander pattern on their coins.¹⁴⁵ Ionians could easily project their familiar *Maiandros* / *-mandros*—the longest river in western Anatolia—onto to the more remote, more discarnate *Skam-andros* / *Ska-mandros* “*Alter Maeandrus*” / “Winding River” of mythical Troy. This projection was part of a narrative process that allowed Ionians to relate to the Trojans. I return to Thonemann:

¹⁴² Herodotus, for example, says that a part of the Nile river is twisty, just like the Maiandros *σκολιὸς δὲ ταύτη κατά περ ὁ Μαίανδρος ἐστὶ ὁ Νεῖλος* (2.29.3).

¹⁴³ Whatever construction Ionians might have put on the first part *Ska-* is irrelevant to the present argument. But if one were to surmise, they might have linked it folk-etymologically to *σκαίος*, given the importance of the Scaean Gates in the Trojan War = Gates of the Left or Western Gates. In which case, the *interpretatio graeca* would be ominous (“the Maiandros of Doom”), owing to the negative associations of the direction where the sun sets; cf Meletius *De natura hominis* 124.5 ὁ δὲ ἀσθενῆς *σκάζει*: ὄθεν καὶ *σκαίος* ἄνθρωπος, ὁ *σκαμβὸς* κατά γνώμην καὶ οὐκ ὀρθός

¹⁴⁴ The phonetic instability of a retrojected *Skamb-andros in which the beta is placed between two nasals + *dr-* would yield the more stable Skamandros.

¹⁴⁵ Thonemann 2011:33-34: “In the late Classical and Hellenistic periods, several cities located in the Maeander valley minted local coinages featuring a prominent maeander line or pattern as part of their reverse type. That the maeander pattern on these coinages signifies the Maeander river can hardly be doubted; the pattern is extremely rare on coinage from other parts of the Greek world. 83 The use of the visual metaphor of the maeander in this context is telling.... This kind of shared regional iconography on coinage has, I think, no real parallels elsewhere in the Greek world. Certainly, symbolic word-play on cities’ names, where the toponym recalls another Greek word, is familiar enough: the Phocaeian seal (*Phokaia/phokē*), the pomegranate of Side (*Sidē/sidē*), and the Rhodian rosebud (*Rhodos/rhodon*) are only three among dozens of instances.84 But the case of the maeander pattern is really quite different. In all other cases the visual pun refers only to the individual city; to the illiterate coin-user, the Rhodian rose helps to distinguish the coinage of Rhodes from that of her neighbours. The same is true of other abstract patterns superficially similar to the ‘Maeandrian’ maeander, as for instance the Cnossian labyrinth, unique to Cnossus. The maeander pattern, by contrast, is not confined to a single city, but is used by cities up and down the Maeander valley.”

One of the earliest surviving inscriptions from Miletus [early 6th century BCE] is carved on the stone base of a statue group on the Sacred Way near Didyma, ‘dedicated by the sons of Anaximandros, son of Mandromachos; Terpsikles was the sculptor’. Nothing speaks to us so clearly of the value-system of archaic Ionia as the magnificent, sonorous personal names of the Milesian aristocratic class: Aristolochos, Astykrates, Themistagores, Timesianax, and here, Anaximandros, ‘prince of the Maeander’, son of Mandromachos, ‘Maeander-warrior’.¹⁴⁶ Moral and martial qualities are prominently advertised. Names compounded on *anax* (‘prince, ruler’) are unusually common... Nonetheless, and somewhat unexpectedly, the most popular of all the nominal elements in the archaic onomastics of Miletus was the name of the river Maeander, present in the form *Mandr-* or *-mandros* in around a seventh of all personal names attested at Miletus before 500 bc. These ‘Maeander-names’ at archaic Miletus and its Pontic colonies celebrate justice and oratory, horsemanship and the hoplite phalanx: Themistomandros, Mandrodikos, Mandragores; Mandrippos, Mandrostratos. The Maeander could be compounded with the names of gods (Pythomandros, Diomandros, Athenomandros), and even...with the names of other rivers (Hermomandros, Neilomandros). The extraordinary prominence of the Maeander in archaic Milesian onomastics demands explanation.¹⁴⁷

In light of such data, the martial prominence of the river Skamandros in the Homeric narrative and the alternative name of Hektor’s son *Skamandrios*, ultimately reflecting his own identity like *Astyanax*, should be viewed as tacit invitations for the Ionian audience to relate to the Trojans.

To recap:

- 1) The river Xanthos co-defines Troy and Lycia, which in turn is socio-politically connected to Ionia.
- 2) The river’s secular synonym Skamandros establishes a metonymic bond between Troy and Ionia—the performance setting of the poem.
- 3) The third question left, then, in our fluvial triangulation of Troy, Lycia and Ionia, is: to what extent do the Lycian Xanthos and Ionian Maiandros overlap?

¹⁴⁶ Note that Anaximandros the son of Mandromachos is a linked name, where part a morpheme in a compounded name is repeated from father to son: this is a relatively, common pattern in Greek naming patterns (Golden 1993: 261-269). This should not be confused with the case of the tyrant of Samos, putatively named “Maiandrios the son of Maiandrios,” in which the father and son have exactly identical names.

¹⁴⁷ Thonemann 2011:27

We have seen that approximately half of all the kings of Ionia claimed Lycian lineage and a classical map of Ionia and Lycia does indeed show that their territories are relatively close (closer than Troy is to historical Lycia), but not quite contiguous: on a classical map, Caria stands between the Ionian hinterland and Lycia.

1.1.6.5. The Greater Lycia and the Myth of Leukippos

Is it really fair, though, to differentiate a ‘Caria’ from a ‘Lycia’, from the schematized standpoint of oral poetics, or is there evidence that ‘Lycia’ was once thought to have incorporated the Ionian hinterland = Caria?¹⁴⁸ Answering this question could reinforce the metonymic bond tying Ionia and Lycia.



Figure 4: Map of Lycaonia and Lycia, classical Lycia (south) and Lycaonia (northeast) are shown. As evidenced by a Hittite document, Lukka populations once extended westward to the very borders of

¹⁴⁸ As most recently argued by Mary Bachvarova in “Migrations in Anatolian Narrative Traditions”: www.academia.edu retrieved October 2013.

Millawanda (= Miletus) and would have thus incorporated a significant portion of what later became known as Caria.¹⁴⁹

One may begin with the observation, which is standard in discussing the Lycians and their origins, that the term Λύκιοι is an exonym used by the Greeks, not by the Lycians themselves who called themselves *Trmmile/i-*, as is known from their own inscriptions and Greek sources such as Herodotus (1.173: καὶ νῦν ἔτι καλέονται ὑπὸ τῶν περιοίκων οἱ Λύκιοι Τερμίλαι). This raises the question: where did the Greeks get their Λύκιοι from? It is commonly assumed that the Greek term is a Bronze Age reminiscence of the ancient *Lukka*, a bellicose population in southwestern Anatolia, which the Hittites had trouble keeping under control. If the Greek exonym Λύκιοι is an archaic throwback on the possible Bronze Age (even conceivably Geometric) predecessors of the *Trmmile/i-*, the territory designated as Λυκίη in the *Iliad* may represent an archaic throwback as well: the *Lukka* lands were significantly larger than classical Lycia and included classical Pamphylia to the east, Lykaonia to the north,¹⁵⁰ parts of Caria and extended to the

¹⁴⁹ Map courtesy of courtesy of <http://www.stilus.nl/oudheid/wfdo/GEO/KAART/ASPAMPH.gif> (retrieved 05/15/2015). Internet sources like the *Wikipedia* entry on 'Lycia' (11/04/2013) claim that Hittitologists are divided as to the geographic extent of the Lukka lands, with Bryce representing a "maximalist view" and Yakubovich representing "a minimalist view." The *Wikipedia* article, however, is misleading, as it relates to our argument of what the *Lukka lands* became *after* the Bronze Age collapse, i.e. the "Dark Ages," upon which our *Iliad* is mostly predicated (cf. Dickinson, "Homer, the Poet of the Dark Age," *Greece & Rome*, 1986). Yakubovich himself acknowledges the considerable expansion of the Lukka populations at the very end of the Bronze Age and implies that their territory commensurately expands as well (2008:172): "the expansion of the Lukka peoples outside their core area helps to account for the etymology of classical Λυκαονία, which must have corresponded to the Lower Land and/or Pedassa of Late Bronze Age sources...I suggest that the etymology of Lycaonia may reflect the invasions of the Lukka people that marked the end of *pax hethitica* in the southern part of Bronze Age Anatolia. The fact that both Tuthaliya IV and Suppiluliyama II allocated a prominent place in their *res gestae* to the description of their victories over Lukka suggests that the last Hittite kings regarded the Lukka-lands among their most formidable opponents...Suppiluliyama II had to fight against a large coalition that stretched from Lycia to parts of Lycaonia. It is possible that the Lukka-people held an upper hand in this coalition and came to exercise a political dominion over Lycaonia after the collapse of the Hittite Empire."

¹⁵⁰ On Lykaonia as Lukkan at the end of the Bronze age, see Durnford 2013:62-63

territory of Bronze Age Millawanda = Classical Miletus.¹⁵¹ In other words, the lands of *Lukka* once extended sometime in the preclassical period to the very borders of Ionia.¹⁵²

With the chronological backdrop of the *Lukka* in mind, we may now examine two Hellenistic documents concerning the strength of the bond linking the Lycian Xanthos and the Ionian Maiandros. According to both Hermesianax¹⁵³ and a Hellenistic inscription found in the agora of the Ionian city of Magnesia on the Maiandros,¹⁵⁴ the founder of the city was a Lycian: Leukippos, a descendant of the Lycian leader Glaukos who fought in the Trojan war—generic ancestor of Ionian kings. This mythological figure of Leukippos at Magnesia on the Maiandros loomed large in local consciousness,

¹⁵¹ Bryce 1992:121-130 “Lukka Revisited.” Greaves 2002:69: “Millawanda [Bronze Age Miletus] appears to have been bordered by the Lukka Lands and the Seha River Lands.” Tsagalis 2010:110 “the ancestors of the Lycians, the Lukka people, who were dispersed in a vast area of western Anatolia...had become for the Greeks a by-word for other Luwian-speaking populations.” Trevor Bryce reiterates and summarizes his view in his contribution to *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Anatolia*, 2011:372: “a further, and perhaps more clear-cut example of population continuity between the Late Bronze and Iron Ages is provided by the inhabitants of Lukka, or the Lukka lands. Lukka-people, who were among the Luwian-speaking population groups, are referred to relatively frequently in Hittite texts, with an occasional reference to them in Egyptian records as well. We can conclude from the Hittite sources that the term Lukka was used not in reference to a state with a clearly defined political organization but to a conglomerate of independent communities, with close ethnic affinities and lying within a roughly definable region in southwestern Anatolia, extending from the western end of Pamphylia through Lycaonia, Pisidia, and Lycia (the later Classical names). Further, although it seems clear that there was a central Lukka region, a “Lukka homeland,” various elements of the Lukka population may have been widely scattered through southern and western Anatolia, and may in some cases have settled temporarily or permanently in states with formal political organizations.”

¹⁵² When the Lukka / Λύκιοι ceded territory to the Carians and/or Ionians—if indeed such ethnic categories carry weight—is unknown. As we will see, defining what they are is a crucial prerequisite. For the purpose of this footnote, I will repeat a previous one: in “Lycians in the *Cares* of Aeschylus,” Keen 2005:63-82 argues that Aeschylus seems to make no ethnic or geographic distinction between either Lycia and Caria or the Lycians and the Carians in his fragmentary play.

¹⁵³ In Parthenius 5.

¹⁵⁴ *IM* 17 = Michel 855, lines 46-51.

as one of the city's magistrates bore his name and appears to have shown an image of the mythological figure on the back of the city's coins.¹⁵⁵

In Hermesianax's account, Leukippos flees Lycia for having killed his father *Xanthios* who accidentally killed his unnamed sister with whom Leukippos had engaged in an incestuous relation. From Thessaly, he returns to south Anatolia with a band of Thessalians, at the behest of an oracle, and besieges the city of the aptly-named *Mandrolytos* [= Magnesia on the Maiandros], which he conquers thanks to the betrayal of Mandrolytos' daughter Leukophrye who had fallen in love with Leukippos. There is no love story in the inscription found in the agora of Magnesia on the Maiandros, but it provides the following relevant details: the same Lycian Leukippos—descendant of the Lycian Glaukos—is told by the oracle at Delphi to set out with Thessalian Magnesians to “the gulf of the ‘Pamphylia’ (ΕΠΙ ΠΑΜΦΥΛΩΓ ΚΟ[Λ]ΠΙΟΝ:46)...past the steep mountain of Mykale...and settle materially blessed in the house of Mandrolytos (Μ[Α]ΝΔΡΟΛΥΤΟΥ ΔΟΜΟΝ ΟΛΒΙΟΙ:50).”

In these two Hellenistic accounts on the foundation of Magnesia on the Maiandros, we can attempt to extract nuggets of older patterns that may reach back to Homeric times: the name of the native ruler of the future Magnesia on the Maiandros—Mandrolytos—is potamonymic and contains the shorthand compound form of the river Maiandros (*Mandro-lytos*), as Thonemann demonstrated, cf *Ska-mandros*, etc. Similarly, Fontenrose concluded in his comparative study of myths: "Xanthios, Leukippos' father is the Lycian river-god, Xanthos."¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁵ Bijovsky 2009:278-279

¹⁵⁶ Fontenrose 1981:54

The second conjoined pattern is 1) Leukippos' antagonism to fluvial father-figures; 2) Leukippos' consorting with their daughters. The daughter of Mandrolytos shares with Leuk-ippos the first element *leuk-*: Leukophrye, which is also the cult title of Artemis at Magnesia on the Maiandros. The two fluvial fathers Xanthios and Mandrolytos (who represent the Lycian and Ionian rivers respectively) are arguably Hellenistic duplications of the same river unit: a Xanthos-Maiandros. Similarly, Leukippos' unnamed sister and Leukophrye are duplications of the same sisterly figure.

The last meaningful part of our puzzle is the characterization of the Latmian gulf above Miletus and under Mount Mykale as the gulf of the *Pamphylians*, which is at first very surprising: in the rest of Greek literature, Pamphylia and the Pamphylians are speakers of a conservative Greek dialect mixed with Anatolian features, located in southeastern Anatolia *beyond* historical Lycia—from the point of view of Ionia and the Aegean. But it is undeniable, as Kern notes, “dem Dichter unserer Orakel gelten die Ureinwohner am latmischen Golf als Pamphyler”¹⁵⁷—not in the sense, though, that they are specifically related to the Πάμφυλοι as we know them, but rather represent a mix of populations,¹⁵⁸ the majority of which are presumably non-Greek.¹⁵⁹ Collating the two usages of the term ‘Pamphylian’ allows one to suggest that this term originally designated any territory in southeastern Anatolia ranging from historical Ionia to historical Pamphylia, including Caria and Lycia: such territories were mostly non-Greek, but were dotted with Greek colonial settlers, traders, transnational migrants and

¹⁵⁷ Kern 1894:13

¹⁵⁸ cf Stavrianopoulou 2013:186

¹⁵⁹ cf McNerney 1999 who proposes that the name of the third Dorian tribe—the Pamphyloi—were originally non-Dorian in Dorian societies.

mercenaries.¹⁶⁰ For what it's worth, the Homeric account in book 5 according to which Lycian royalty claimed both 'native' and Greek blood through Bellerophon is likely to genuinely reflect the historical reality of Greek-Anatolian intermigration and intermarriage in which one of the two ethnicities made up the minority or majority of the other.¹⁶¹



Figure 5: Magnesia on the Maiandros. The unnamed 'Latmian gulf' at the mouth of the Maiandros is referred to as "the gulf of the Pamphylians" (ΠΑΜΦΥΛΩΓ ΚΟ[Λ]ΠΙΟΝ) in the inscription found in the agora of Magnesia, though 'Pamphylia', as we know it, was located two hundred miles to the southeast in the modern gulf of Antalya.¹⁶²

In both Hermesianax's account and the inscription in the agora of Magnesia on the Maiandros, a third pattern emerges: that of the Lycian Leukippos leaving Anatolia (Lycia and its legendary river Xanthos) for Greece and returning to Anatolia in the end (Pamphylia / Ionia and its river Maiandros), as if he were returning home. If indeed a vaster, ethnically heterogeneous 'Pamphylia' included both historical Lycia and historical

¹⁶⁰ I arrive at this peculiar, tentative definition of Πάμφυλοι on the basis of a) the attested population movements of Greeks into southwest Anatolia at the end of the Bronze Age and later, b) the usage of the term in Dorian society, which implies a certain degree of interethnic interaction and collaboration between Greek and Non-Greek.

¹⁶¹ For intermarriage, see Coldstream 1993. In his 1998 appendix, Keen noted how similar Lycian and Greek weaponry was, in comparison to other regions of the Persian Empire. Herda 2013 says the same of the Greeks and the Carians and posits that greaves were a Carian invention, which the Greeks were the first to use.

¹⁶² Map: <http://www.gottwein.de/graeca/images01/gr4ro.jpg>

Ionia, in which the Lycians were politically ascendant, Leukippos' *nostos* of sorts to a fabulous place in the hinterland of Ionia—"the house of Mandrolytos"—where he overcomes a double of his fluvial Lycian father 'Xanthios' = *Mandro-lytos* and unites with a double of his Lycian sister, then it is legitimate to consider the possibility that the Maiandros was once thought to have been the confluent or the mouth of the Lycian river Xanthos: the lengthy stream of the Maiandros flows into Ionia from East to West—beyond its territory in the general direction of Lycia and Lycaonia—the old Lukka lands.

1.1.6.6. Underground Water Networks

The widespread, ancient belief in an underground system of rivers, which ultimately find their source in a cosmic river like the Okeanos or the Acheloiios, as attested in the *Iliad*, (ἐξ οὗ περ πάντες ποταμοὶ καὶ πᾶσα θάλασσα καὶ πᾶσαι κρήναι καὶ φρεῖατα μακρὰ νάουσιν = 21.196-196), paves the way for the scenario of a Maiandros-Xanthos continuum, which a Lycian aristocracy in early Ionia would be inclined to promote for their own purposes: in the early 5th century BCE, the Aeginetans certainly attempted to secure the Boeotians' military support against Athens by playing up the twinship of their insular nymph Aigina with the nymph Thebe, daughters of the river god Asopos, as apparent in Pindar's *Isthmian Ode* 8.¹⁶³ Along similar lines, the Sikyonians related that their local Asopos in the Peloponnese originated from the Maiandros across the Aegean Sea.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶³ See Nagy 2011:41-78

¹⁶⁴ Pausanias 2.5.3. Interestingly, Sikyon is the only Greek city in the *Iliad*, which is said to hospitably house a Trojan (at *Iliad* 23.295-299, the Trojan Echebolos, the son of Anchises, enjoys a wealthy livelihood in Sikyon because he had given Agamemnon his mare Aithe), a distinction to which we will return in our discussion of the connection between the Trojans and the early West Ionians—former occupants of the Northern Peloponnese before the region was Dorianized.

¹⁶⁴ Pausanias 2.5.3

It is worth noting that this belief in subterranean water channels is also clearly attested in Bronze Age Anatolia, as demonstrated by Edmund Gordon’s 1967 article *The Meaning of the Ideogram d KASKAL. KUR=" Underground Water-Course" and Its Significance for Bronze Age Historical Geography*. It is of great significance that two of the Maiandros’ tributaries, which are located closest to Lycia and Lykaonia “the land of the Lukka,” bear names that Ionians would have associated with the Lycians: the *Lykos*—eponym of the Lycians according to Herodotus¹⁶⁵—and the *Glaukos*,¹⁶⁶—at whose spring the Lycian hero was thought to have been buried.

1.1.6.7. The Lycian Glaukos and the River Glaukos, Affluent of the Maiandros

In his excellent discussion “Defining the Maeander,”¹⁶⁷ Thonemann shows that the numerous tributaries which connected with the river made it impossible to know what “the real source” of the Maiandros was: what and where the source of the river began was

¹⁶⁵ Byzantine sources paraphrase the river Lykos—technically an affluent of the Maiandros—as “the Lesser Maiandros” (Thonemann 2011:21). With respect to *Lukos qua* eponym of the Lycians, Herodotus relates that the Lycians were originally named *Termilai* (their actual endonym), but changed their names to *Lukioi* when the Athenian *Lykos* joined them: Σαρπηδῶν ἦρχε, οἱ δὲ ἐκαλέοντο τό πέρ τε ἠνείκαντο οὔνομα καὶ νῦν ἔτι καλέονται ὑπὸ τῶν περιοίκων οἱ Λύκιοι, Τερμίλαι· ὡς δὲ ἐξ Ἀθηνέων Λύκος ὁ Πανδίωνος, ἐξελασθεὶς καὶ οὗτος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ Αἰγέος, ἀπίκητο ἐς τοὺς Τερμίλας παρὰ Σαρπηδόνα, οὕτω δὴ κατὰ τοῦ Λύκου τὴν ἐπωνυμίην Λύκιοι ἀνὰ χρόνον ἐκλήθησαν (1.73). That this ‘Lykos’ was an Athenian should *prima facie* seem to refute the current contention that it is perceived as non-Greek: but as I will argue in chapter 2, there is substantial evidence that the Ionians did not perceive even their Ionian ancestors from Greece to be Greek, which at first I found very shocking in the course of my investigation. If we turn to our key passage, Herodotus 1.147, he states that half of the kings of Ionia were of Lycian decent, the other half being “Kaukon Pylians, descendants of Kodros the son of Melanthos” (οἱ δὲ Καύκωνας Πυλίου ἀπὸ Κόδρου τοῦ Μελάνθου). Kodros was an Athenian king who ultimately claimed descent from the Pylians in the Peloponnese. The shocking revelation comes from their characterization as *Kaukon* (Καύκωνας Πυλίου), which is an *ethnos* fighting on the side of the Trojans in the Trojan war! For example, *Iliad* 10.428-430 πρὸς μὲν ἄλδς Κᾶρες καὶ Παίονες ἀγκυλότοξοι / καὶ Λέλεγες καὶ Καύκωνες δῖοι τε Πελασγοί, / πρὸς Θύμβρης δ’ Ἐλαχον Λύκιοι Μυσοὶ τ’ ἀγέρωχοι. And yet, we find these *Kaukones* in the Peloponnese in the Homeric *Odyssey* (3.367).

¹⁶⁶ Herda 2012, s.v. 'Maeander' in the Encyclopedia of Ancient History.

¹⁶⁷ Thonemann 2011:19-22 in his book *The Maeander Valley: A Historical Geography from Antiquity to Byzantium*.

contingent on the economic and political situation in the region and could vary across the centuries. Be that as it may, Herodotus and Xenophon—our earliest source for locating the springs of the Maiandros—place the inception of the great river near the city of Kelainai (= later Apamea).¹⁶⁸ It so happens that the spring of Glaukos—the resting place of the great Lycian king—was located only 25 miles away: in comparison, the mouth of the Maiandros in Ionia was located more than 300 miles away. If politics and socio-economic status are indeed influential in determining the source of a river with many affluents,¹⁶⁹ it would have taken little effort on the part of Ionia’s Lycian kings to promote the eponymous affluent Glaukos as *the* source of the great Maiandros.

¹⁶⁹ At the end of the Byzantine period, for example, Apamea’s economic role and prestige had dwindled to such a degree that the source of the Maiandros located near the city according to was no longer considered to be “the” source of the great river.

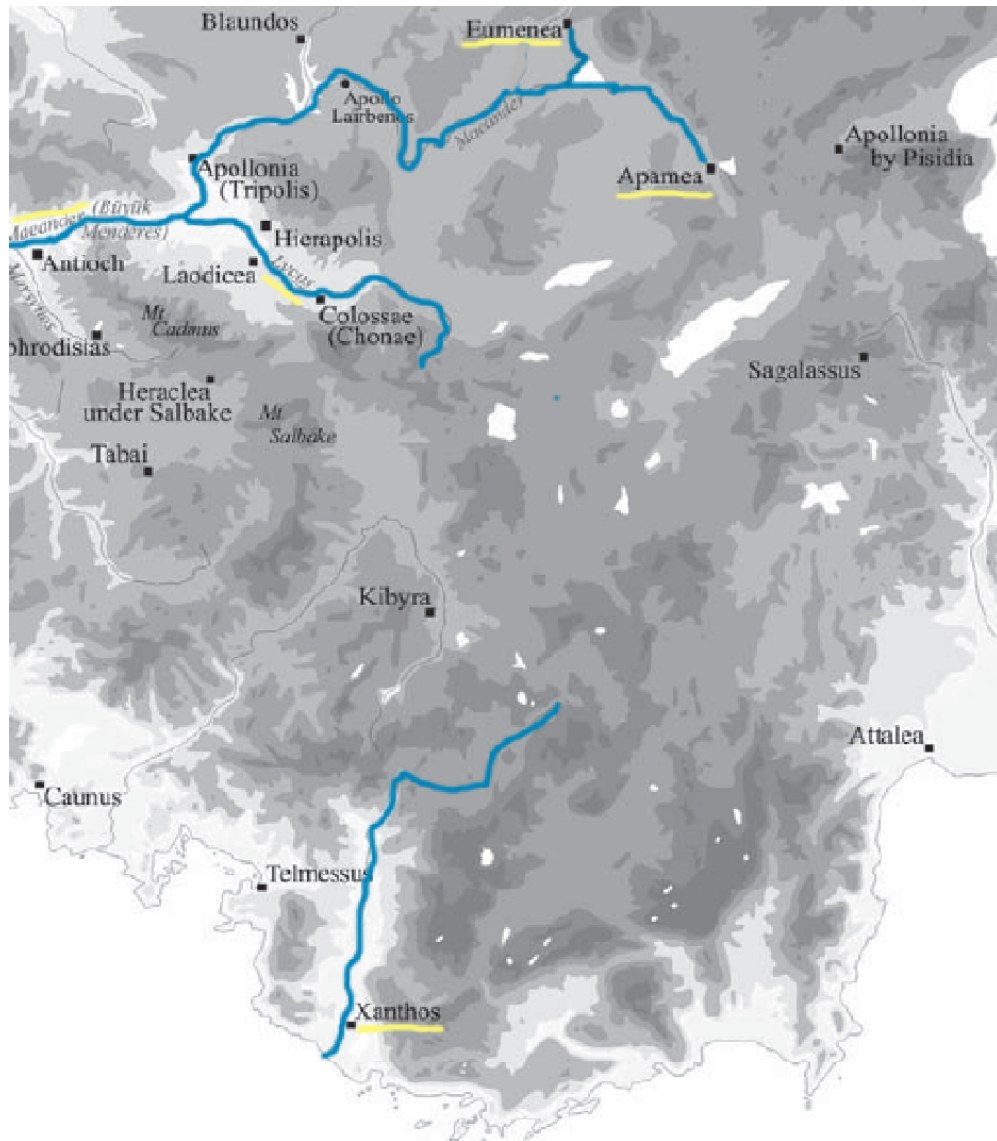


Figure 6: The springs of the Maiandros between Lykaonia to the east (“land of the Lukka”) and Lycia to the south (note Xanthos the city and river): the spring of Glaukos is near Eumeneia (modern Işıklı) only 25 miles from Kelainai (Apamea on the map)—the source of the Maiandros according to Herodotus and Xenophon. Map courtesy of Thonemann 2011.

A thousand years after the composition of the *Iliad*, Quintus of Smyrna provides invaluable information about the perennial cultic backdrop of epic poetry: not everything he writes is ‘derivative’, ‘invented’ or ‘cheaply imitative’, as is sometimes claimed—certainly not what follows. Quintus describes the translation of Glaukos by Apollo and

the winds to the region of Telandros located “near Lycia” (Λυκίης σχεδὸν αἴης: 4.6) where the homonymous river Glaukos has its source:

...πέτρην δ' ἐφύπερθε βάλοντο
Νύμφαι δὲ περίβλυσαν ἱερὸν ὕδωρ
ἀενάου ποταμοῖο τὸν εἰσέτι φῦλ' ἀνθρώπων
Γλαῦκον ἐπικλείουσιν εὐρροον• ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν που
ἀθάνατοι τεύξαντο γέρας Λυκίων βασιλῆι.¹⁷⁰

And the nymphs heaved a boulder over [Glaukos' body]
And caused the sacred water of an ever-flowing river to gush around
Him whom to this day the tribes of men still call the fair-flowing Glaukos
For there's a place where the immortals bestowed honor upon the king of the Lycians

Confirmed by epigraphic evidence and Alexander Polyhistor's *Lykiaka*—a common source cited by Herodian and Stephanus of Byzantium,¹⁷¹ the poet's account must be based on the genuine persistence of the cult of the Lycian king, which is all the more credible because Quintus was from Smyrna in Asia Minor: the spring of Glaukos was located in the city's distant hinterland.

Moreover, Quintus' comment that Glaukos' spring and tomb was located *near* Lycia (Λυκίης σχεδὸν αἴης: 4.6) instead of *in* Lycia underscores his technical knowledge of Anatolian geography: unlike Alexander who claimed that Lycia comprises the *deme of Glaukos* (Γλαύκου δῆμος, ἐν Λυκία, ὡς Ἀλέξανδρός φησιν, ἀπὸ Γλαύκου τοῦ ἥρωος), whose exact location, however, is ascertainable on the strength of coins and

¹⁷⁰ Quintus of Smyrna 4.8-12

¹⁷¹ See *RE*, s.v. Glaukos, p 1408, #6: the name Glaukos appears on the reverse of a coin from Eumeneia, which was located near the homonymous. Herodian 3.1.28: Γλαῦκος, ἀφ' οὗ Γλαύκου δῆμος ἐν Λυκία, ὡς Ἀλέξανδρός φησιν; Alexandros is also quoted by Stephanus of Byzantium, s.v. Γλαύκου δῆμος: "Γλαύκου δῆμος, ἐν Λυκία, ὡς Ἀλέξανδρός φησιν, ἀπὸ Γλαύκου τοῦ ἥρωος. ὁ δημότης Γλαυκοδήμιος. I infer that this Alexandros is Alexander Polyhistor (1st century BCE) on the basis of Huxley 1964:29, who says that he wrote a *Lykiaka*. Since he was also from Miletus (Grant 1995:107), our two literary sources on the resting place of Glaukos—Alexander Polyhistor and Quintus of Smyrna—are provided by authors from Asia Minor, thus illustrating the benefit we can reap from the epichoric interests of ancient authors.

inscriptions,¹⁷² Quintus' specific description Λυκίης σχεδὸν αἴης is a poetic understatement, which alludes to the vast distance separating the glens of Telandros (ἄγκεια Τηλάνδροιο: 4.4.6) and historical Lycia—almost three hundred miles.



Figure 7: The spring of Glaukos (Ak Göz springs near Işıklı): resting place of the Lycian king. Through the river Glaukos, the spring connects to the largest river in western Anatolia—the Maiandros, and empties into the Aegean.¹⁷³

By taking the pains to say that the spring of Glaukos wasn't quite located in Lycia, Quintus of Smyrna reveals that he defines it technically, pursuant to the boundaries of Lycia as a relatively small Roman province, whereas Alexander Polyhistor seems to have taken 'Lycia' in a more archaic sense, influenced perhaps by the proximity of the deme of

¹⁷² Thonemann 2011:143-145

¹⁷³ photo: <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/21398841>

Glaukos to *Lykaonia*, which had been part of the larger *Lukka lands* at the end of the Bronze Age.¹⁷⁴

Seven or eight hundred years before Quintus of Smyrna, the Aristotelian *Peplos*¹⁷⁵ preserved an epitaph for the Lycian king, buried in Lycia (Γλαῦκος...Λυκία ἐτάφη), according to the commentator:

εὐώδης κυπάρισσος ὁμοῦ καὶ λάινος ὄχθος
ἐνθάδε τὸν Λύκιον Γλαῦκον ἔχει φθίμενον.¹⁷⁶

A fragrant cypress and a sculpted crag
Now keep the Lycian Glaukos, dead.

The cypress grows in aquatic environments (cf. *Odyssey* 5.64-70: “a fragrant cypress / where...four springs in a row flowed with bright white water”: εὐώδης κυπάρισσος / ἔνθα...κρῆναι δ’ ἐξείης πίσυρες ῥέον ὕδατι λευκῷ”) and the sculpted mass / sculpted crag (λάινος ὄχθος¹⁷⁷) matches the boulder (πέτρην), with which the nymphs encased the body

¹⁷⁴ Yakubovich 2010:183. The problematic existence of ‘northern Lycians’ in the *Iliad*—Pandaros’ contingent from Zeleia north of the Troad (5.171-174 Πάνδαρε ... / οὐδέ τις ἐν Λυκίῃ σέο γ’ εὔχεται εἶναι ἀμείνων)—is best understood in terms of the Ionian performance setting of the Homeric poem: the name *Lykaonia* being an indigenous Anatolian region, which Anatolianists agree is a Greek loanword from a Luwic dialect (e.g. Melchert, etc.), must have been known to the *Homeridai* and considered to be part of the greater Lycia—*Lukka lands*—which surely poetic traditions had maintained. There is not the slightest evidence that there ever were Lycians considerably further to the north at or in Zeleia. But to an average Ionian, the existence of ‘northern Lycians’ was credible because Lycaonia is in central Anatolia *northeast* of Ionia, though from a strictly Trojan perspective near the Hellespont, Lycaonia would be located to the *southeast*.

¹⁷⁵ Gutzwiller 2010:219-249 argues that this epitaph and the other epitaphs of heroes included in the Aristotelian *Peplos* are collections of poems dating to the Classical, rather than Hellenistic period.

¹⁷⁶ *Peplos* #59

¹⁷⁷ λάινος ὄχθος is difficult to translate: λάινος ‘of stone’ or ‘marble’ often refers to sculpted stone; ὄχθος is a bank, elevation, or hill; cf. Jebb’s translation of λαίνου τάφου in Sophocles, *Oedipus at Colonus* as “marble tomb.” In his commentary, he writes “The “λάινος τάφος” is opposed to a “τύμβος” of earth or a “λάρναξ” of wood (Thuc. 2.34): it would commonly denote an oblong monument with a flat slab (“τράπεζα”) on top, the sides being sometimes sculptured” (1889:247). See also Chantraine & Liddell & Scott, s.v. λάινος and ὄχθος respectively. For typological comparanda among the indigenous populations of Peru, I cite Gose 2008: “the most important of these mountains, Caruayacolca, took its name from the sculpted crag that represented the petrified body of that founding ancestor. The mountain continued to house an entirely traditional ancestral form, whose presence precluded any development of the mountain as an autonomous, quasi-ancestral agent. Moreover, the proliferation of stone monoliths in the document

of the Lycian king in Quintus' great epic poem. The independent agreement between Alexander Polyhistor and Quintus of Smyrna in placing the tomb of Glaukos in the geographically ascertainable deme of Glaukos strengthens the case that the *Peplos*' vague, poetic description of his tomb "in Lycia" refers to the same specific tomb of Glaukos in the deme of Glaukos, which is technically located out of Lycia, as we know it: but, as we have stressed, Lycia *qua* lands of Lukka, used to be much larger.

The existence of a tomb of the mythical ancestor of the Lycian kings of Ionia at the source of a river located in the ancient *Lukka lands*—which connects directly to the Maiandros—should be regarded as an important piece of evidence for the perception that the Lycian river Xanthos was *the* source of the Ionians' own Maiandros. It makes no difference whether the identity of the mythical Xanthos were 'fixed' in its location in Classical Lycia and connected to the Maiandros through an underground channel or whether the identity of the mythical Xanthos were mobile and literally was one of the Maiandros' numerous tributaries, such as the rivers Lykos and Glaukos. Nevertheless, the metonymic definition of Lycia as *the* river Xanthos through numerous, vague, formulaic occurrences of "Lycia and the river Xanthos" in the *Iliad*, suggests that the Xanthos could be whichever river in 'Lycia' was famous and sacred—from the Ionian standpoint: since it was very easy to follow the dense settlements along the Maiandros upstream into Lycian territory,¹⁷⁸ the most familiar Lycian river(s) would be whichever affluent of the

suggests that when previous extirpators destroyed ancestral mummies, people probably remade them in this form" (*Invaders as Ancestors: On the Intercultural Making and Unmaking of Spanish Colonialism in the Andes*).

¹⁷⁸ Thonemann 2011:133: "Throughout antiquity and the middle ages, the upper Maeander valley

¹⁷⁸ consistently served as the main gateway between the Aegean river valleys and the Anatolian plateau."

Maiandros was located in ‘Lycia’ and was associated with the tomb of the mythical Lycian king.

1.1.6.8. Glaukos and the Hittite King Suppiluliuma

It is a remarkable coincidence that the very last king of the Hittites, Suppiluliuma II (1207-1178 BCE), the end of whose reign marked the collapse of the Bronze Age and the collapse of an empire that dominated Anatolia and much of the Near East for over half a millenium, bore the poetic name “Clear Spring,”¹⁷⁹ which is what Lycian Glaukos becomes in death:

Just to the east of the village rises the spring of Ak Göz, source of the ancient river Glaukos; all the visible remains of the Roman city of Eumeneia lie around this spring. It was this small river, rather than the Maeander or the Cludrus, which was depicted on the bronze coinage of Roman Eumeneia. The choice is at first sight a surprising one, since the Glaukos is by far the smallest of the three streams. But it was the clear waters of the Glaukos, which were home to one of the great glories of both ancient Eumeneia and modern Işıklı.¹⁸⁰

Ideographically, Suppiluliuma is written KUG-TUL-ma, whereby KUG means ‘pure’, TUL ‘Spring’ and *lulio* or *luliya* is another word for ‘spring’, ‘fountain’.¹⁸¹ Just as the Homeric Lycian king Glaukos was conjoined with a homonymous river, so was the last Hittite king Suppiluliuma “Clear Spring”: Forrer contends that he took his name specifically after the river *Soppilulija*—also located in the Lukka lands.¹⁸²

That another king two centuries earlier bore the same name—Suppiluliuma I—(1344-1322 BCE) makes it likely that a cultic bond linked Hittite kings to the springs of certain

¹⁷⁹ Forrer 1938:184. A memory of the Hittites may be preserved in the Κήτειοι of the Mysian hero Eurypylos mentioned in *Odyssey* 11:520-521: ἦρω’ Εὐρύπυλον· πολλοὶ δ’ ἄμφ’ αὐτὸν ἐταῖροι / Κήτειοι κτείνοντο γυναιῶν εἵνεκα δῶρων (see Miller 1971:160).

¹⁸⁰ Thonemann 2011:143

¹⁸¹ Forrer 1938:184 “worin KUG ‘rein’, TUL ‘Brunnen’ heisst. lulio oder lulija ist also ein weiters Wort für “Quelle, Brunnen.”

¹⁸² Forrer 1938:184. The river Soppilulija is located in Lycaonia.

sacred rivers: the great Swiss Hittitologist further describes another ritual at Ḫattuša—capital of the Hittite empire—in which a young, unnamed king stands in the ritual pond of the temple of the weather god: the text then literally states that “he drinks the river god Zuliya,” who Forrer says is probably represented by the pond whose waters were taken from the spring of the river Zūli.¹⁸³ Significantly, the word for this ritual pond, in which conceivably all Hittite kings performed this ritual in the temple of their supreme deity, is *lūliya*, whose root is embedded in the name Suppiluliuma: *lūliya* means both ‘spring’ and this kind of ritual pond. In other words, *Suppiluliuma* is an authoritative, ritual name.



Figure 8: King Suppiluliuma II “Pure Spring.” Last king of the Hittite empire (1207-1178 BCE).¹⁸⁴

¹⁸³ Forrer 1938:186 (article title: “Quelle und Brunnen in Alt-Vorderasien”). One finds similar rituals binding a sacred river and kings or rulers in ancient Rome. See Julia Dyson’s extensive discussion of the significance of the Numic(i)us river: *King of the Woods*.

¹⁸⁴ Image: <http://www.bkg.com.tr/multimedia/products/1060-kral-suppiluliuma-heykeli-31x17-5/1355667005-max.jpg> For the discovery of the statue in hatay province, see http://www.todayszaman.com/newsDetail_getNewsById.action?newsId=288138

Accordingly, the Lycian Glaukos, whose name is undoubtedly Greek, is likely to be in part a *Lehnübersetzung* of an Anatolian title: a common Hittite synonym for ‘spring’—*sakuis*— is a figurative gender-marked acception of *sakuwa*—the basic word for ‘eyes’.¹⁸⁵ As evidenced by Athena’s Homeric epithet γλαυκῶπις, the word γλαυκός in Greek is strongly associated with the eyes (‘gleaming’, ‘grey’, ‘blue’); it is also strongly associated with water, as in the name Glaukos in his quality as old man of the sea¹⁸⁶ or the famous, clear spring of Glauke at Corinth.¹⁸⁷ Thus, the ascription of the Greek name Glaukos to the Lycian king perfectly captures the range of semantic valences, with which the hero’s Anatolian substrate appears to have been associated: 1) a river; 2) the sacred, bright spring of the river and 3) most importantly the Anatolian metaphor of ‘eye’ for ‘spring’,¹⁸⁸ which is not obvious in Greek, but would be to early Ionia’s heavily bilingual society.

Another point is worth stressing: whereas Glaukos is very rare in Greece as a potamonym (a single attestation),¹⁸⁹ it is common in Asia Minor: one in Lydia, two in

¹⁸⁵ Forrer 1938: 182: wirklich heißt im Kanisischen, wie J. Friedrich gezeigt hat, *sakuwa* "die Augen" (Singularis *sakui* neutr. g) ist also gleichen, nur durch das Geschlecht unterschiedenen Stammes mit *sakuis* "der Sprudel" oder, wie wir jetzt etymologisch richtiger übersetzen dürfen, "die Quelle". Hittite *sakuwa* is related to the verbs *see* in English and *sehen* in German.

¹⁸⁶ As in Aeschylus in scholiast on Pindar, *Pythian* 1.79 and Plato *Republic* 611d. Of course, there were other names in Greece for the old man of the sea, e.g. Proteus and Nereus.

¹⁸⁷ Pausanias 8.6.21: ...κρήνη καλουμένη Γλαύκης... Extensive discussion of this spring and the interconnected Peirene in Robinson’s admirable book *Histories of Peirene: A Corinthian Fountain in Three Millennia* (2011).

¹⁸⁸ Forrer, *ibidem*, says that the metaphor ‘eye’ for the clear pond by a spring is unusual in Europe, but common in Semitic languages, with which Hittite formed a *Sprachbund*.

¹⁸⁹ *RE* s.v. ‘Glaukos’ lists only one river in Greece named ‘Glaukos’—one located near Patrai (Pausanias 7.18.2).

Cappadocia¹⁹⁰ and significantly another one on the border between Caria and Lycia,¹⁹¹ not to be confused with our Glaukos—an affluent to the Maiandros. This represents a total of one Glaukos river in Greece versus five in Asia Minor, the asymmetry of which is all the more significant because the Anatolian Glaukoi can only be *Lehnübersetzungen* of rivers with sacred springs, which arguably belong to the Hittite type *Soppilulija*.¹⁹² The river god Glaukos, who is depicted on the coins of Eumeneia near the spring of the Lycian king—so movingly portrayed by Quintus of Smyrna, must be the *interpretatio graeca* of an indigenous hero god¹⁹³ because his divine equivalent Glaukos in Greece is always associated with the briny sea, not rivers.¹⁹⁴ Let us recall Sarpedon’s words to his Lycian co-ruler and cousin Glaukos: “in Lycia, they all look upon us as gods” (ἐν Λυκίῃ, πάντες δὲ θεοὺς ὧς εἰσορόωσι: *Iliad* 12.312).



Figure 9: Coin, Eumeneia (Turkey), 2nd-3rd century CE; syncretistic river god Glaukos in the deme of Glaukos. Note that the god Glaukos in Greece proper is a saltwater god, not a freshwater god. Photo courtesy of Thonemann 2011:144.

¹⁹⁰ *RE*, s.v. ‘Glaukos’.

¹⁹¹ Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* 5.103 "In proxima ora Caria est, mox Ionia, ultra eam Aeolis. Caria mediae Doridi circumfunditur, ad mare utroque latere ambiens. in ea promunturium Pedalium, amnis Glaucus, deferens Telmedium, oppida Daedala, Crya fugitivorum, flumen Axon, oppidum Calynda."

¹⁹² The Lydian river Glaukos is located near *Hierokome*: “Name mehrerer Ortschaften im westlichen Kleinasien mit dörflicher oder hieratischer Verfassung” (*RE*, s.v. ‘Hierokome’).

¹⁹⁴ *RE*, s.v. ‘Glaukos’.

1.1.6.9. The Lycian River Xanthos: *The Spring*

I wish to adduce one final piece of evidence for the perception that the Lycian river Xanthos was conceptually deemed as *the* holy source of the Ionians' own Maiandros. In Lycian inscriptions, the river Xanthos (and the city Xanthos) is called *Arñna*.¹⁹⁵ Despite the fact that the Bronze Age name of the city was Awarna,¹⁹⁶ it had dropped the –w- early on, in such a way as to become conflated with the homonymous Lycian word **arñna* “spring,” which Lebrun and Neumann concurrently posit on the basis of the older Luwian form *arinna*, “spring.”¹⁹⁷ In the Bronze Age, there were several cities named Arinna, the most prestigious one of which was dedicated to the Sun goddess *Arinna*: the name of the city could be spelled ideographically TUL-ma, ‘spring’.¹⁹⁸

I submit that the prominence of a spring by the river Xanthos in the myth of Leto's arrival to Lycia with her infants Apollo and Artemis corroborates Lebrun's and Neumann's inference that the Lycian name of the river Xanthos—*Arñna*—was indeed construed as ‘Spring’ in Lycian. According to the 4th century BCE historian Menekrates *of Xanthos*,

Λητώ ἐπεὶ ἔτεκεν Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ Ἄρτεμιν ἐν Ἀστερίᾳ τῇ νήσῳ, ἀφίκετο εἰς Λυκίαν ἐπιφερομένη τοὺς παῖδας ἐπὶ τὰ λουτρά τοῦ Ξάνθου· καὶ ἐπεὶ τάχιστα ἐγένετο ἐν τῇ γῆ ταύτῃ, ἐνέτυχε πρῶτα Μελίτη κρήνη καὶ προεθυμείτο πρὶν ἐπὶ τὸν Ξάνθον ἐλθεῖν ἐνταυθοῖ τοὺς παῖδας ἀπολοῦσαι. (5) (2.) ἐπεὶ δ' αὐτὴν ἐξήλασαν ἄνδρες βουκόλοι, ὅπως ἂν αὐτοῖς οἱ βόες ἐκ τῆς κρήνης πίωσιν, ἀπαλλάττεται καταλιποῦσα τὴν Μελίτην ἢ Λητώ, λύκοι δὲ συναντόμενοι καὶ σήναντες ὑφηγήσαντο τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ ἀπήγαγον ἄχρι πρὸς τὸν ποταμὸν αὐτὴν τὸν Ξάνθον. ἡ δὲ πιούσα τοῦ ὕδατος καὶ ἀπο- λούσα τοὺς παῖδας τὸν μὲν Ξάνθον ἱερὸν ἀπέδειξεν Ἀπόλλωνος, τὴν δὲ γῆν Τρεμιλίδα λεγομένην

¹⁹⁵ Bryce 1986, *inter alia*.

¹⁹⁶ The inference rests on a reference to the city in an Aramaic inscription, see Poetto 1993.

¹⁹⁷ Though the word *arñna* is unattested in Lycian, given the scarcity of inscriptions, Lebrun 1983:65 has adduced the Lycian toponym *Kabarnis* “River source” (whereby Luwian *hapa* > Lycian **xaba*) and Neumann 2007:22 adduces the personal name *Erinna-arma*.

¹⁹⁸ Forrer 1938:138

Λυκίαν μετωνόμασεν ἀπὸ τῶν καθηγησαμένων λύκων. (4.) ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν κρή- νην αὐτὶς ἐξίκετο δίκην ἐπιβαλοῦσα τοῖς ἀπελάσασιν αὐτὴν βουκόλοις· καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπέλουον[το] ἔτι παρὰ τὴν κρήνην τοὺς βοῦς, Λητώ δὲ μεταβαλοῦσα πάντας ἐποίησε βατράχους καὶ λίθω τραχεῖ τύπτουσα τὰ νῶτα καὶ τοὺς ὄμους (5) κατέβαλε πάντας εἰς τὴν κρήνην καὶ βίον ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς καθ' ὕδατος, οἱ δ' ἄχρι νῦν παρὰ ποταμοὺς βοῶσι καὶ λίμνας¹⁹⁹

"After Leto gave birth to Apollon and Artemis on the island of Asteria, departed to Lycia, taking her children with her, to the baths of [the River] Xanthos. As soon as she arrived in that land, she first chanced upon the spring of Melite and wanted to bathe her children there before going on to Xanthos. But some herdsmen drove her away so that their own cattle could drink at the spring. Leto made off and left Melite. Wolves came out to meet her and, wagging their tails, led the way, guiding her to the River Xanthos. She drank the water and bathed the babes and consecrated the Xanthos to Apollon while the land which had been called Tremilis she renamed Lycia (Wolf Land) from the wolves that had guided her. Then she returned to the spring to inflict a penalty on the herdsmen who had driven her away. They were then still washing their cattle besides the spring. Leto changed them all into frogs whose backs and shoulders she scratched with a rough stone. Throwing them all into the spring she made them live in water. To this day they croak away by rivers and ponds."

The entire vignette is centered on the spring of Xanthos and Leto giving a bath to her twin infants in the river. The consecration of the Xanthos to Apollo speaks to Apollo's association with Lycia, as evidenced by his association with the Lycian Pandaros the son of Lykaon²⁰⁰ and his epithet *Lukegenes* in the *Iliad* (Ἀπόλλωνι Λυκηγενεῖ κλυτοτόξω: 4.119). There is more.

1.1.6.10 Bellerophon and Pegasus in Lycia

Bellerophon—the ancestor of our Lycian king Glaukos—himself the son of another Glaukos—is associated with the horse *Pegasus*, with whose aid he slew the Chimera, according to the Hesiodic *Theogony* (321-324) and Pindar, *Olympian Ode* 13.63ff. The former specifically identifies the horse Pegasus as co-authoring the Chimera's death: τὴν μὲν Πήγασος εἴλε καὶ ἐσθλὸς Βελλεροφόντης (325). In the *Iliad*, Pegasus is not mentioned, in keeping with the Iliadic tendency to de-emphasize the

¹⁹⁹ Menekrates of Xanthos, in Antoninus Liberalis 35.

²⁰⁰ Apollo gave the son of Lykaon his very own bow: Πάνδαρος, ᾧ καὶ τόξον Ἀπόλλων αὐτὸς ἔδωκεν (*Iliad* 2.827).

supernatural, but the hero's killing of the monster in Lycia is mentioned at *Iliad* 6.179,²⁰¹ as it is in Pindar.

It is well-known among Hittitologists that the name of the winged horse is a Greek loanword from the root of the lightning storm god *Pihassassi* (an epithet of the storm god *Tarhunt* as god of lightning) who was connected with horses and was the patron god of several Hittite kings.²⁰² As Hutter notes, the popularity of this Anatolian equine storm god was such that “a remote echo of Tarhunt's connection to horses even can be seen in Hellenistic times when once the god Trikasbos [literally “Tarhunt horse”] is mentioned in a Greek inscription accompanied by the image of a horse with a rider.”²⁰³ Pegasus' Anatolian origins is also shown in his connection to Zeus in Greek myth: he dwells in the halls of Zeus and carries the god's thunder and lightning in *Theogony* 285-286: Ζηνὸς δ' ἐν δώμασι ναίει / βροντὴν τε στεροπὴν τε φέρων.

Inevitably, the phonetic structure of *Pegasus* in Greek (cf. πηγή “fountain,” “spring”) resulted in his being associated with the creation of many springs throughout Greece, including the spring Peirene in Corinth (near the spring of Glauke), which is where Glaukos' son Bellerophon reportedly tamed him.²⁰⁴ Significantly, the Hesiodic *Theogony* relates that Pegasus was born from the Medusa's head near the springs of the Okeanos, hence his name: Πήγασος ἵππος / τῷ μὲν ἐπώνυμον ἦν, ὅτ' ἄρ' Ὀκεανοῦ παρὰ πηγᾶς. Along similar lines, Pegasus and Dawn fly off from a cosmic spring at the ends of

²⁰¹ The monster's name reappears at 16.328—again associated with Lycia—the chimera is described as having been nurtured by Amisodaros, a friend of Sarpedon.

²⁰² Hutter 2003:222; Durnford 2008:110; Yakubovich 2010: 184.

²⁰³ Hutter 2003:222

²⁰⁴ Pindar, *Olympian Ode* 13.63ff

the earth every morning, according to Lykophron.²⁰⁵ It is rather remarkable that a Greek myth should associate 1) a cosmic spring horse 2) with the royal family of Glaukos—remembered for being buried at a spring in/near Lycia 3) whose very river the Xanthos means ‘Spring’ in Lycian.

The very fact that Bellerophon is both the ancestor of the Lycian Glaukos and the son of a homophonous Glaukos suggests that Bellerophon and Glaukos are multiforms of the same Anatolian cultic figure associated with springs, horses and the storm god²⁰⁶: this is borne out by the fact that the Lycian king Glaukos—the son of a *Hippo*-lochos—is the ancestor of yet another oikist in Ionia: Leukippos the founder of Magnesia on the Maiandros and the founder of a district in Ephesus. Glaukos’ atavistic Lycian descendant Leukippos “White Horse” is depicted as a horse rider on coins found at Magnesia on the Maiandros,²⁰⁷ very much like Bellerophon—very much like the indigenous Trikasbos, direct descendant in Hellenistic times of the Hittite Bronze age equine storm god *Tarhunt Pihassassi*. As Fontenrose independently demonstrates (1981:54), "Xanthios, Leukippos' father, is the Lycian river-god, Xanthos".

In Greek myth and epic, the only other divine horses besides Pegasus who were explicitly procreated near the river Ocean are Achilles’ twin horses Balios and *Xanthos*

²⁰⁵ Lycophron, *Alexandra* 16-17, "Dawn was flying up from the steep spring of Phegios on the swift wings of Pegasus, leaving Tithonos in his bed near Kerne" Ἡὼς μὲν αἰπὺν ἄρτι Φηγίου πάγον / κραιπνοῖς ὑπερποτάτο Πηγιάσου πτεροῖς / Τιθωνὸν ἐν κοίτησι τῆς Κέρνης πέλας / λιποῦσα. Kerne was a fabled island in the remotest east (Plin. N.H. vi. 198 ff.) or west (Strabo i. 47).

²⁰⁶ Let us recall that Glaukos is in a therapontic relation with Sarpedon in the *Iliad*—the son of Zeus, and that their two identities can merge. See earlier footnote.

²⁰⁷ See Kern 1900.

(*Iliad* 16.149-151 Ξάνθον... τοὺς ἔτεκε... λειμῶνι παρὰ ῥόον Ὠκεανοῖο).²⁰⁸ Let us recall that the Ocean-born Pegasus too was conceived in a meadow in the *Theogony* (ἐν μαλακῷ λειμῶνι καὶ ἄνθεσιν εἰαρινοῖσι²⁰⁹) and that he himself was a twin (ἐξέθορε Χρυσάωρ τε μέγας καὶ Πήγασος ἵππος²¹⁰). The resultant collation between the interconnected Chrysaor ‘Golden Sword’ and Ξάνθος unmasks the solar luminosity inherent in Achilles’ Ocean-born horse.²¹¹

From all of this, it follows that the *Iliad*’s enigmatic river Xanthos in ‘Lycia’ is a veiled reflex of the cosmic Okeanos—source of all rivers. This is precisely the conclusion Ferrari reaches (2008:201-202) concerning the identity of a geographically unidentified river Xanthos in Alkman 1 (Ξάνθω ῥοαῖσι:100): the streams of Alkman’s Xanthos, which Stark 1956:118 and Keen 1998:6 interpreted to be the river in Lycia, must represent, Ferrari says, the streams of Ocean in the structure of the poem.²¹² Indirect evidence for this will be provided below.

Despite the *Iliad*’s general tendency to de-emphasize the supernatural,²¹³ the Homeridai could not help mentioning Lycia’s supernatural chimera on two separate occasions in the *Iliad*: at 6.179 (Χίμαιραν ἀμαϊμακέτην) and 16.328, where it is said that

²⁰⁸ As I discuss in a previous footnote, I have deliberately avoided getting into solar mythology. I will only say that the association of Achilles’ horse Xanthos with the river Ocean speaks to the association of the adjective with the golden aspect of the sun, which rises from the cosmic river.

²⁰⁹ Hesiodic *Theogony* 278-282

²¹⁰ Hesiodic *Theogony* 281

²¹¹ For the connection of the adjective ξανθός to solar radiance in Greek poetry, see Nagy 1974:210, which I discuss in greater detail in an earlier footnote. For the pervasive association of horses with the sun in Greek and Indo-European poetry, see M.L. West’s *Indo-European Poetry and Myth* (2009).

²¹² Ferrari 2008:201-202, *Aleman and the Cosmos of Sparta*, 2008. The University of Chicago Press.

²¹³ Achilles’ talking horse Xanthos being a shining exception.

the monster had been raised by Amisodaros—the father of Sarpedon's companions: Σαρπηδόνος ἐσθλοὶ ἐταῖροι υἷες...ὄς ῥα Χίμαιραν θρέψεν ἀμαιμακέτην πολέσιν κακὸν ἀνθρώποισιν.²¹⁴ The only other reference to a monster is Typhoeus “among the Arimoï” at *Iliad* 2.781 (εἰν Ἀρίμοις, ὅτι φασὶ Τυφωέος ἔμμεναι εὐνάς): if the elusive Arimoï are indeed the inhabitants of a place in Cilicia called Arima, as Callisthenes later reports, we are again not very far because “the headland of Sarpedon” is nearby and Lykaonia—literally “the land of the Lukka”—is right above (Homer’s unnamed) Cilicia.²¹⁵ In fact, Lycia is the only country in the entire *Iliad* where human encounter with monsters is described.²¹⁶ If the Iliadic Lycia was exotic enough to house the poem’s only supernatural monsters, it could also house a supernatural river—spring of all rivers.²¹⁷ The divine translation of Sarpedon to Lycia in the *Iliad* supports this view on typological grounds.²¹⁸

²¹⁴ Although the Iliadic text does not literally say “Bellerophon slew the Chimera in Lycia,” the conclusion is readily inferable from a) no express change of scenery between the Lycian king Iobates asking him to kill the chimera and Bellerophon killing the chimera; b) the fact that the slaying of the chimera is the very first achievement, which Bellerophon carries out *before* any reference to another ethnonym, which could potentially indicate a change of scenery: the slaying of the Chimera is mentioned *before* Bellerophon wages war against the Solymoi and c) the consensus in the post-Homeric tradition that Bellerophon slew the Chimera *in Lycia*: Strabo xiv. p. 665; Plutarch *Mul. Virt.* 247-48; Pliny *H. N.* ii. 106, v. 27; Mela. i. 15; Hyginus 151; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 6.339 & 9.647. If one were to still adopt an ultra-skeptical position about the location of the Chimaera in the *Iliad* and point out that the Homeric reference to its death is sandwiched between Bellerophon’s presence in Lycia and his war against the Solymoi, two counter-objections are worth considering: a) the Solymoi, as we know from Herodotus 1.173, were located *in Lycia stricto sensu*; b) linguistically, the language of the Solymoi is a Lycian dialect, also known as Milyan or Lycian B. See McMahon 2011:27; c) the statement made in the *Iliad* that the Chimera was raised by the father of Sarpedon’s companions bears out the Lycian setting.

²¹⁵ Strabo 13.4.6: Καλλισθένης δ’ ἐγγὺς τοῦ Καλυκάδνου καὶ τῆς Σαρπηδόνος ἄκρας παρ’ αὐτὸ τὸ Κορύκιον ἄντρον εἶναι τοὺς Ἀρίμους, ἀφ’ ὧν τὰ ἐγγὺς ὄρη λέγεσθαι Ἄριμα. Pindar (*Pythian* 1.31) is the first to locate Typhoeus in Cilicia.

²¹⁶ Perseus is mentioned twice in the *Iliad*, but not his beheading of Medusa by the springs of Ocean: the Gorgon is represented on Agamemnon’s shield but that’s it: no background information on her original whereabouts or whether the shield’s artistic gorgon represents anything real. The same holds true for Herakles: he is mentioned on numerous occasions, including a reference to his twelve labors in book 8, but again not a single reference to Herakles’ slaying of any monster.

²¹⁷ Let us recall that another notorious monster—Pegasus’ very own mother *Medusa*—lived by the springs of the river Ocean in the Hesiodic account. The Lycian chimera—cognate with Greek χειμών “winter”—must represent a winter monster (the secular meaning χίμαιρα = young goat was originally a one-year old

This takes us to the question of the early *interpretatio graeca* of Λύκιος ‘Lycian’. Rightly so, the translation of Sarpedon to Lycia has often been compared to the translation of Memnon to the land of the Aithiopes rimming the river Ocean,²¹⁹ which we know from *Odyssey* was located at the ends of the earth. We argued earlier that the river Xanthos must be a multiform of the river Ocean and that Lycia, therefore, the place to which Sarpedon is translated, must be a mythical land at the ends of the earth where polar opposites of paradise and haunts of monsters are to be found. Indirect evidence for this ancient conception is discernible in *fr.* 32 of the *Cypria* according to which the island of ‘Sarpedon’ houses the Gorgons: Γοργόνας, αινὰ πέλωρα, / αἶ Σαρπηδόνα ναῖον ἐν ὠκεανῶι βαθυδίνηι / νῆσον πετρήεσσαν. This is consistent with both the Hesiodic account, which also places the Gorgons near the river Ocean: Γοργούς θ’, αἶ ναίουσι πέρην κλυτοῦ Ὠκεανοῖο (*Theogony* 274), and the Simonidean account, in which

goat born in the winter, see Chantraine, s.v. χίμαιρα), when collated with Vergil’s *Aeneid* 4.143-144 *qualis ubi hibernam Lyciam Xanthique fluenta / deserit ac Delum maternam inuisit Apollo* “just as when Apollo leaves wintry Lycia and the streams of Xanthus and visits his maternal Delos...” It would be absurd to claim that Vergil invented the myth of Apollo’s comings and goings to and from Greece on a seasonal base, which finds an archaic parallel in Alcaeus’ description of Apollo’s cyclical return to Delphi in the summer on his swans from the land of the Hyperboreans (ὁ δὲ ἐπιβάς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρμάτων ἐφήκε τοὺς κύκνους ἐς Ὑπερβορέους πέτεσθαι. Δελφοὶ μὲν οὖν, ὡς ἦσθοντο, παιᾶνα συνθέντες καὶ μέλος, καὶ χοροὺς ἠθέων περὶ τὸν τρίποδα στήσαντες, ἐκάλουν τὸν θεὸν ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων ἐλθεῖν· ὁ δὲ ἔτος ὅλον παρὰ τοῖς ἐκεῖ θεμιστεύσας ἀνθρώποις, ἐπειδὴ καιρὸν ἐνομοθέτει καὶ τοὺς Δελφικοὺς ἠχῆσαι τρίποδας, αὔθις κελεύει τοῖς κύκνοις ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων ἀφίπτασθαι. ἦν μὲν οὖν θέρος καὶ τοῦ θέρους τὸ μέσον αὐτό, ὅτε ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων Ἀλκαῖος ἄγει τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα· ὅθεν δὴ θέρους ἐκλάμποντος καὶ ἐπιδημοῦντος Ἀπόλλωνος θερινόν τι καὶ ἡ λύρα περὶ τὸν θεὸν ἀβρύνεται: Alcaeus quoted in Himerius 48). Thus, the slaying of the monsters Medusa and Chimera (“monster of the winter”) at the ends of the earth are multiforms of the same cosmic myth.

²¹⁸ In archaic and Classical poetry, divine translations involving the impossibility of return, are to the ends of the earth: in the *Aithiopsis*, Achilles is snatched from the pyre and taken by Thetis to Leuke—a multiform of the isles of the Blessed (see my expanded and improved MA thesis “the Mitoses of Achilles” on academia.edu); from his pyre, king Kroisos is translated by Apollo the land of the Hyperboreans, according to Bacchylides. In a fragment of Sophocles, the Athenian princess Oreithyia is snatched up by the Zephyrus and taken to the garden of Phoebus (= the land of the Hyperboreans).

²¹⁹ Fenik 1968:237 & Dihle 1970:19-20 quoted by Clark & Coulson 1978:66.

Oreithyia is taken by the Boreas to the ‘Sarpedonian Rock of Thrace’,²²⁰ which is otherwise a substitute for the lands of the Hyperboreans at the ends of the earth.²²¹

I submit that unlike in later Classical Greek in which λύκιος primarily means ‘lupine’, ‘of the wolf’, λύκιος / Λύκιος must have meant ‘auroral’, ‘from the Dawn’ and more broadly ‘Eastern’ in preclassical Greek, so that the Λύκιοι must have had a general connotation, especially to the Ionians, of ‘the Ones from Dawn’ or ‘Easterners’: the derivative ἀμφιλύκη at *Iliad* 7.433 means ‘early morning twilight’; the synonyms λυκόφως and λυκόφως are also extant in subsequent Greek literature, the underlying IE root being the ubiquitous **leuk*, attested in English *light*, Latin *lux*, etc. Thus, whether Apollo’s Homeric epithet Λυκηγενής meant ‘born in Lycia’ or ‘born at early dawn’²²² is a moot point because to early Greeks, in particular early Ionians and insular Dorians around Rhodes, ‘Lycia’ was located eastward and thus lent itself to the early folk etymology ‘the Levant’. *Lato sensu*, Λύκιος was a synonym and early precursor of ‘*Anatolian*’ (ἀνατολικός). This broader archaic meaning could explain in part the otherwise historically absurd ‘northern Lycians’ of Pandaros north of the Troad near Zeleia (*Iliad* 2.824).

Conclusion

The Trojan allies Glaukos and Sarpedon, dual kings of the Lycians in the Homeric poem, typify the cultural and linguistic hybridity of early Ionian society, in which and for which the monumental *Iliad* was primarily composed. Sarpedon’s unparalleled sonship from Zeus in the present tense of the narrative, which is only matched by the Xanthos’

²²⁰ Boedeker & Sider 2001:14.

²²¹ Sophocles *fr.* 956, see Pearson 1917:118.

²²² See Konstan & Russell *Heraclitus: Homeric Problems* 2005:14-15.

unparalleled sonship from Zeus among rivers, is a riddle, which an Ionian audience would have best understood: the Homeridai’s compositional appropriation of a holy Troy and its sacred river—set in the distant past more than three hundred miles north of Miletus—is a projection of their own *hic et nunc*: the river’s divine name Ξάνθος firmly superimposes the Trojan setting on the land of the Lycian river from whose sacred spring Ionia’s Lycian élite could claim the Ionians’ own Maiandros arose.

This is borne out by the facts that 1) the geographically tiny Skamandros of Troy functions metaphorically and literally reads—morphologically and semantically—as a double of the Maiandros (Ska-*maiandros*²²³)—the longest river on the Aegean shores of Asia Minor, connecting Ionia in the west to the Lukka lands²²⁴ in the east; as

²²³ I repeat the evidence: 1) Oxford scholar Peter Thonemann (2006) demonstrated that *-mandros* is a productive onomastic suffix which is the shorthand form of the river Maiandros, as in the name of the Ionian pre-Socratic philosopher Ἀναξίτη-μανδρός; 2) In addition to parsing Skamandros as Ska-*maiandros*, I independently proposed that it can also be parsed as *Skam-andros*, which reads as “the river with bendings” (Greek σκαμβός: ‘bent’, ‘crooked’): this happens to match the lexicalized meaning of the Maiandros, in both Greek (μαίανδρος) and modern English (*meander*). I also repeat Thonemann’s personal communication (05/03/2013): “It’s very likely that Maiandros and the Skamandros are etymologically connected, and effectively certain that an Ionian Greek of the 8th/7th/6th centuries would have perceived the etymological link (since Maiandros is regularly contracted to *mandros in compounds).”

²²⁴ Internet sources like the *Wikipedia* entry on ‘Lycia’ (11/04/2013) claim that Hittitologists are divided as to the geographic extent of the Lukka lands, with Bryce representing a “maximalist view” and Yakubovich representing “a minimalist view.” The *Wikipedia* article, however, is misleading, as it relates to our argument of what the *Lukka lands* became *after* the Bronze Age collapse, i.e. the “Dark Ages,” upon which our *Iliad* is mostly predicated (cf. Dickinson, “Homer, the Poet of the Dark Age,” *Greece & Rome*, 1986). Yakubovich himself acknowledges the considerable expansion of the Lukka populations at the very end of the Bronze Age and implies that their territory commensurately expands (2008:172): “the expansion of the Lukka peoples outside their core area helps to account for the etymology of classical Λυκαονία, which must have corresponded to the Lower Land and/or Pedassa of Late Bronze Age sources...I suggest that the etymology of Lycaonia may reflect the invasions of the Lukka people that marked the end of *pax hethitica* in the southern part of Bronze Age Anatolia. The fact that both Tuthaliya IV and Suppiluliyama II allocated a prominent place in their *res gestae* to the description of their victories over Lukka suggests that the last Hittite kings regarded the Lukka-lands among their most formidable opponents...Suppiluliyama II had to fight against a large coalition that stretched from Lycia to parts of Lycaonia. It is possible that the Lukka-people held an upper hand in this coalition and came to exercise a political dominion over Lycaonia after the collapse of the Hittite Empire.” For the resultant ethnonym Lukkan / ‘Lycian’ as a supraregional designation for the various (and related) populations of southwestern Anatolia, cf. Tsagalis 2010:110 “the ancestors of the Lycians, the Lukka people, who were dispersed in a vast area of western Anatolia, had become for the Greeks a by-word for other Luwian-speaking populations.”

demonstrated, the river Maiandros was an indispensable feature in the construction of Ionian identity; 2) the epigraphic endonym for the Lycian river Xanthos was *Arñna*, which is the same as the Lycian word for “spring” (**arñna*²²⁵): thus, the Lycian river and the Lycian city, which the Greeks called Ξάνθος, the Lycians themselves literally called “the Spring” (*la source*²²⁶ / *die Quelle*²²⁷) in their own language. Political agendas and bilingualism in early Ionia encouraged the view that the ever-winding Maiandros, whose springs arise in Homeric Lycia, originated from their source.

The royal Hittite ritual, in which their kings literally drink the river god from within the spring water pond inside the temple of the weather god, their supreme deity, provides a historical model for Ionian kings or *turannoî* securing political legitimacy through a ritual metonymy, in which they were linked to the distant spring of their great river Maiandros located in the greater ‘Lycia’ or Lukka lands: τῆλόθεν ἐκ Λυκίης, Ξάνθου ἄπο δινήεντος.²²⁸ Here lies the reason why the *Iliad*’s epicized Xanthos is at once so near (at Troy) and so far (in Lycia): the Trojan river Xanthos *qua* Skamandros is the Maiandros—a κατ’ ἐξοχὴν synecdoche for Ionia; the Lycian Xanthos is the distant source of the Maiandros outside of Ionia in the lands of Lukka.²²⁹ Like the last Hittite king

²²⁵ Just as the Hittite city *Arinna* was written ideographically TUL-ma “the spring” (Forrer 1938:138). As Lebrun and Neumann demonstrated (following footnotes), Lycian **arñna* “spring” would be the expected reflex of the older Luwian form *arinna*. Moreover, as Lebrun and Neumann both indicated, several toponyms in Lycia seem to contain the idiosyncratically Lycian form **arñna* in them.

²²⁶ Lebrun 1983:65

²²⁷ Neumann 2007:22

²²⁸ *Iliad* 2.877

²²⁹ I summarize my earlier argument: the great river Maiandros, with which the Ionians identified, follows a long 300-mile, west-to-east upstream path into south central Anatolia, which corresponds to the Lands of the Lukka at the end of the Bronze Age and/or in the Submycenaean period. The evidence for labeling the territory of the springs of the Maiandros ‘Lukkan’ or ‘Lycian’ in an archaic way is twofold: a) the springs of the Maiandros were located between classical Lykaonia to the west—literally the land of the Lukka

Suppiluliuma “Clear Spring,” whose name is intricately embedded in ritual practices of legitimation, the Ionians’ mythical king *Glaukos* “Clear Spring”²³⁰ had his own clear spring at the very end of the Maiandros, located in the greater territory of pre-classical Lycia—“the Lukka lands.”

To conclude, I return to Herodotus 1.147:

βασιλέας δὲ ἐστήσαντο οἱ [Ἴωνες] μὲν αὐτῶν Λυκίου ἀπὸ Γλαύκου τοῦ Ἴππολόχου γεγονότας, οἱ δὲ Καύκωνας Πυλίου ἀπὸ Κόδρου τοῦ Μελάνθου, οἱ δὲ καὶ συναμφοτέρους.

And as kings, some of [the East Ionians] chose Lycian descendants of Glaukos son of Hippolochos, some Pylian Kaukones, descendants of Kodros son of Melanthos, and some both.

Having examined the ‘Lycian’ (= Anatolian) component in early Ionia’s élite—patrons of the Homeridai, we will consider the other half—their self-styled Neleid patrons from Pylos and Athens—in section “King Kodros and Kaukon Neleids: link between West Ionians, East Ionians and the Trojans.”

1.2. Trojans and West Ionians: Alkman’s Helen Held in Attica

people as universally acknowledged by Hittitologists—and classical Lycia to the south, as shown on the map , which I provided in this excerpt; b) Alexander Polyhistor’s *Lykiaka* specifically locates the spring of Glaukos—resting place of Glaukos ,co-king of the Iliadic Lycians and reputed ancestor of Ionia’s Lycian kings—in *Lycia*: he also says that Glaukos’ tomb/shrine at the spring named after him was located in the geographically identifiable deme of Glaukos. However, Alexander Polyhistor’s claim that the deme of Glaukos is located in Lycia proper is technically inaccurate if one defines ‘Lycia’ as the small Roman province, located south. The author of the Aristotelian *Peplos* also locates the tomb of Glaukos in ‘Lycia’ without providing any further details as to its whereabouts. Quintus of Smyrna, on the other hand, locates the spring and tomb of Glaukos *near* Lycia (Λυκίης σχεδὸν αἴης: 4.6): in light of Alexander Polyhistor’s *Lykiaka* and the Aristotelian commentator of the *Peplos*, Quintus may be suspected of attempting to reach a compromise position between the traditional (ultimately archaic) location of the spring / tomb of Glaukos *in Lycia* and the changing geographical boundaries of post-Archaic Lycia.

²³⁰ I reiterate Forrer’s statement (1938: 182: see discussion above) that the Hittite word for ‘eyes’ also figuratively means ‘spring’. The metaphor is not obvious in Greek, but it would have been to early Ionia’s heavily bilingual society. Thus, the personal name *Glaukos*, whose corresponding adjective γλαυκός in Greek strongly connotes the light or color within one’s eyes, would specifically conjure up the idea of a ‘clear spring’ in a bilingual (or even trilingual) Greek/Lycian-Carian community. I also repeat that *Glaukos* is a common river name in Anatolia, but it is very rare in Greece proper, hence the suggestion that it is a Greek calque of an Anatolian sememe, as typified by the talking river name *Soppilulija* “Pure Spring” à the kings Suppiluliuma I and Suppiluliuma II. Thus, to a bilingual Ionian, the mythical ancestor of the Lycian kings of Ionia immediately subsumed the meaning “Clear Spring.”

1.2.1. The Dioskouroi Besiege Athens: A Proto-Peloponnesian War between West Ionians & Dorians

We saw earlier how the Chian Hector, dated to 800 BCE, roughly a century before the major compositional period of the *Iliad*, was influential in shaping the Homeric Hector in that the former was celebrated at the Panionion, premiere venue for Homeric performances, was an anti-Carian war hero with whom the more jingoistic East Ionians could identify and ensured the membership of his fellow Chians in the Ionian League, of which the Chian Homer and Homeridai would not be oblivious. Ion of Chios tells us that this Hector of Chios was the great-grandson of a certain Amphiklos who had emigrated to the island from *Euboea*—West Ionian territory, the other one being Attica.

I submit that the *pre-Homeric* epic tradition of what I refer to as as ‘a proto-Peloponnesian war’ pitting invading Dorians against besieged Athenians (Atticans) is an additional and separate factor for 1) the indebtedness of the constructed Trojan identity to an Ionian template, specifically West Ionian template; and 2) the effacement of West Ionians in the Achaean expedition against Troy. Among the various epic traditions upon which the saga of the Trojan war drew, the saga of a proto-Peloponnesian war, as attested in Alkman, the *Cypria*, the Chest of Cypselus and 7th century B.C.E iconographic evidence, was an important precursor.²³¹ As we shall see, our Homeric *Iliad* shows some unmistakable signs of its pre-existence.

In this narrative, Helen is abducted and then held captive in a city. Two brothers lead a great army, besiege the city and demand her restitution. One might think that this very short summary is that of the beginning of the Trojan War and that the city under

²³¹ Alkman *fr.* 22 PMG; *Cypria* F 12 (EGF); Chest of Cypselus in Pausanias 5.19.3: the chest is dated to an early 7th century-582 BCE range. For the early iconographic evidence, see Anderson 1997:100-101.

siege is Troy. It is not: according to Alkman *fr.* 22, PMG, the city under siege by two brothers demanding Helen’s liberation is Ἀσαναίων πόλιν “the city of the Athenians,” not the citadel of Troy. Theseus’ abduction of Helen resulted in the Dioskouroi levying an entire coalition ranging from the entire Peloponnese, south of Attica, to Boeotia, north of Attica. They invade Attica: ἐσέβαλον ἐς γῆν τὴν Ἀττικὴν σὺν στρατοῦ πλήθει (Herodotus 9.73). From what Herodotus says, the memory of this Proto-Peloponnesian war was so deeply anchored in the collective memory of the Lakedaimaimonians that when the Spartans invaded Attica in the 5th century B.C.E and ravaged the country, they spared the city of Dekelea because their eponymous leader Dekelos had told the Dioskouroi in the distant past in what part of Attica Helen had been kept hidden (9.73).

Alkman and composers ‘of the epic cycle’, who are roughly contemporaries of Homer by a generation or two (upstream or downstream²³²), are epitomized by the first scholiast A to *Iliad* 3.242 (i 153 Dindorf):

Ἑλένη ἄρπασθεῖσα ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου ... προτέρως ὑπὸ Θησέως ἠρπασθη ... διὰ γὰρ τὴν τότε γενομένην ἄρπαγὴν Ἄφιδνα πόλις Ἀττικῆς πορθεῖται καὶ τιτρώσκειται Κάστωρ ὑπὸ Ἀφίδνου τοῦ τότε βασιλέως κατὰ τὸν δεξιὸν μηρόν. Οἱ δὲ Διόσκουροι Θησέως μὴ τυχόντες λαφυραγωγούσι τὰς Ἀθήνας. ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ τοῖς Πολεμωνίοις ἢ τοῖς Κυκλικοῖς καὶ ἀπὸ μέρους παρὰ Ἀλκμᾶνι τῷ λυρικῷ.

Helen was abducted by Alexander...earlier she had been abducted by Theseus...on account of this abduction the city of Aphidna in Attica was sacked and Kastor was wounded by its king Aphidnos in the right thigh. Unable to find Theseus, the Dioskouroi ravage Athens.

As in the Herodotean account, in which the besieged Trojans tell the Achaeans that they do not have Helen in their midst, the Athenians tell the Dioskouroi, Helen’s brothers, that she is not among them at Athens, rather she is kept at Aphidna, also located in Attica,²³³

²³² For a re-evaluation of the dating of the *contents* of the *Cypria* and other epic cycle narratives to Homeric or pre-Homeric times, see Burgess 2001.

²³³ Aphidna is located in the direction of Mount Parnes, see Milchhoefer (*RE*), s.v. ‘Aphidna’.

which they proceed to besiege.²³⁴ Pausanias 1.41.4-5 summarizes Alkman's (and Pindar's) account after summarizing a local account told by the Megarians:

Μεγαρέως δὲ Τίμαλκον παῖδα τίς μὲν ἐς Ἄφιδναν ἐλθεῖν μετὰ τῶν Διοσκούρων ἔγραψε; πῶς δ' ἂν ἀφικόμενος ἀναιρεθῆναι νομίζοιτο ὑπὸ Θησέως, ὅπου καὶ Ἀλκμάν ποιήσας ἄσμα ἐς τοὺς Διοσκούρους, ὡς Ἀθήνας ἔλοιεν καὶ τὴν Θησέως ἀγάγοιεν μητέρα αἰχμάλωτον, ὅμως Θησέα φησὶν αὐτὸν ἀπειναί; Πίνδαρος δὲ τούτοις τε κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίησε

How could some [Megarian] have written that Timalkos the son of Megareus came to Aphidna, together with the Dioskouroi? How could he be of the opinion that, having come to Attica, he was slain by Theseus, when even Alkman having composed a song for the Dioskouroi as to how they took Athens and led Theseus' mother as a prisoner of war, while saying at the same time that Theseus was absent while this happened? Pindar too made an account of this.

Attica is littered with toponyms, which are said to be named after eponyms of heroes who had fought in this great war (ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ τὴν Ἑλένης ἀρπαγὴν πολέμου μὲν ἐμπλήσαι τὴν Ἀττικὴν²³⁵): Akademia was named after the Athenian *Akademios*, one of those who informed the Dioskouroi that Helen was kept at Aphidnai; Marathon was named after the Arcadian *Marathos* who had fought bravely beside the Tyndarids and died in battle at his toponymic namesake.²³⁶

1.2.2. Foreknowledge of a Proto-Peloponnesian War in the *Iliad*

As Michael J. Anderson 1997 points out,²³⁷ foreknowledge of this proto-Peloponnesian war is implied by *Iliad* 3.144, in which Aithre, “the daughter of Pittheus” (Αἰθρη Πιτθῆος θυγάτηρ) is mentioned as one of Helen's handmaids at Troy: Aithra is the standard name given to Theseus' mother, whom the Dioskouroi are said to have

²³⁴ For the motif of Helen's absence from a besieged city (Athens or Troy) and thus connection to the Indo-European origins of Helen's phantom, as attested by Stesichorus and arguably Hesiod, see Smoot 2012 “Did the Helen of the Homeric *Odyssey* Ever Go to Troy?”

²³⁵ Plutarch, *Theseus* 29.2.

²³⁶ Plutarch, *Theseus*, also Dikaiarkhos quoted by Plutarch.

²³⁷ Anderson 1997:98-101

counter-abducted in revenge for Theseus' abduction of Helen. Theseus himself is mentioned in the *Iliad* by none other than Neleid Nestor, who cites him as one of the great men of the past, better than the best of the Achaeans in the narrative present of the poem (1.265). Foreknowledge of this proto-Peloponnesian war in the *Iliad* is also implied in the *Teikhoskopia* when Helen from atop the walls of Troy wonders why her brothers Kastor and Polydeukes are missing from the battlefield (*Iliad* 3.235-237): her question is a playful allusion to this alternative epic in which the Dioskouroi are her customary rescuers.²³⁸

1.2.3. The Atreids as Dissimilated Tyndarids

There is more: in the aforementioned Iliadic passage, Helen refers to her brothers as κοσμήτορε λαῶν 'the two marshaller of hosts' (οὐ δύναμαι ιδέειν κοσμήτορε λαῶν: 3.236). In the entirety of the *Iliad*, this short formula κοσμήτορε λαῶν is applied only to the Tyndarids... and the Atreids—at 1.16 and 1.375 = Ἀτρεΐδα δὲ μάλιστα δύο κοσμήτορε λαῶν. This is one, among several pieces of evidence, that the two pairs of brothers are dissimilated multiforms of the same twin prototype, as Eitrem, Ward and Jackson have proposed.²³⁹ A remarkable Stesikhorean fragment (23 PMG), quoted by Eustathius of Thessalonike, refers to the Atreids as *the Dioskouroi*:

Τὸν δὲ εἰρημένον Ἐπειὸν ὑδροφορεῖν τοῖς Ἀτρεΐδαις ἱστορεῖ Στησίχορος ἐν τῷ «ᾧκτειρε δ' αὐτὸν ὕδωρ ἀεὶ φορέοντα Διὸς κούροις βασιλεῦσιν».

A competing version of this line cited by Athenaios modifies the Stesikhorean quote quite significantly by replacing Διὸς κούροις with Διὸς κούρη. I shall naturally support

²³⁸ Anderson 1997:99.

²³⁹ Eitrem 1902; Ward 1968; Jackson 2006. An incest motif connecting Helen to her twin brothers, of inherited IE origin, became effaced in the saga of the Trojan war.

the *lectio difficilior* of Διὸς κούροις in this case. Linda Lee Clader comments: "some kind of confusion between the Atreidai and the divine Dioskouroi is evident, but the source is not as authoritative as it might be."²⁴⁰ But what Clader failed to observe is that this fragment of Stesikhoros, though preserved by a late Byzantine source, fits in perfectly with another Stesikhorean and Simonidean fragment. The scholiast on Euripides, *Orestes* 46 (i 102 Schwartz) relates:

φανερὸν ὅτι ἐν Ἄργει ἡ σκηνὴ τοῦ δράματος ὑπόκειται. Ὅμηρος δὲ ἐν Μυκῆναις φησὶ τὰ βασιλεια Ἀγαμέμνονος, Στησίχορος [fr. 39] δὲ καὶ Σιμωνίδης [fr. 207] ἐν Λακεδαιμόνι²⁴¹

In other words, there had to be an ancient tradition whereby Menelaos and Agamemnon ruled jointly over Sparta, thus cohering with the practice of dual kingship in ancient Sparta, which was itself modeled after the joint sovereignty of the Dioskouroi, as Herodotos 5.75 recounts:

ἐτέθη νόμος ἐν Σπάρτῃ μὴ ἐξεῖναι ἔπεσθαι ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς βασιλέας ἐξιούσης στρατιῆς· τέως γὰρ ἀμφοτέροι εἶποντο

Each Spartan dyarch kept with him, whether he went to war or stayed at home, an effigy of the Tyndarids. Remarkably, Agamemnon is well attested in Spartan cult where he is identified with one of the Dioskouroi through the interrelated cults of Zeus Lapersios and Zeus Agamemnon. In the following lines of Lykophron's *Alexandra*, Agamemnon is assimilated to Zeus Lapersios:

Πρῶτος μὲν ἦξει Ζηνὶ τῷ Λαπερσίῳ ὁμώνυμος Ζεὺς, ὃς καταιβάτης μολῶν σκηπτῷ πυρώσει πάντα δυσμενῶν σταθμά.

At 511, *Λαπερσίους* is a stand-alone epithet of the Dioskouroi at Sparta (τοῖς ἡμιθνήτοις διπτύχοις Λαπερσίους), thus prompting Mair's Loeb commentary to line 1369:

Ζηνὶ τῷ Λαπερσίῳ = Agamemnon, in reference to cult of Zeus-Agamemnon in Sparta [cf lines 1120-1122]. Lapersios consequently is here transferred from the Dioscuri.

²⁴⁰ Clader 1976:52-53.

²⁴¹ Schol. Euripides *Orestes* 46 (i 102 Schwartz).

It is probably from Stesikhoros or a Cyclic poet that Vergil found his inspiration for his characterization of Agamemnon and Menelaos as twins in the Aeneid (e.g. 2.414-415: *acerrimus Ajax / et gemini Atridae*), unless he was familiar with Spartan lore.

If Agamemnon and Menelaos are dissimilated from Kastor and Polydeukes, so is Klytaimnestra, literally “Famous for her Suitors” (Κλυται-μνήστρη) dissimilated from Helen: Theseus’ and Helen’s parenthood of Iphigeneia, according to Stesichorus 191 PMG and three other sources,²⁴² not only supports this hypothesis, it also shows that Stesichorus too knew of Theseus’ abduction of Helen and the war that ensued—in Greece, not overseas. In Jonathan Hall’s own words (2000:92):

The earliest dedications to Agamemnon [in Lakonia] date to the last quarter of the sixth century (thus predating by more than two centuries the earliest inscribed dedications to Agamemnon at the so-called "Agamemnoneion" near Mykenai). Agamemnon's rootedness in Sparta would also explain an incident described by Herodotos. Immediately prior to the Persian invasion of Greece, the Spartans sent an embassy to Gelon, the tyrant of Syracuse, seeking assistance. Gelon accepted, but only on the condition that he would assume the supreme command of the Greek defence, to which the Spartan envoy Syagros exclaimed, "The Pelopid Agamemnon would wail greatly if he learned that the Spartans had been robbed of hegemony by Gelon and the Syracusans." Finally, the theme of the two brothers Agamemnon and Menelaos launching an expedition to rescue Helen is remarkably similar to the Lakonian myth of the abduction of Helen by Theseus and her rescue by her brothers, the Dioskouroi, first attested in the *Iliou Persis*. Both myths conform to the same structure: the hostess is abducted by the guest and rescued by her brothers (-in-law).”The similarities and the overlaps between the Dioscuri and Atreids are such that they can be regarded as having originated in the same prototype.

1.2.4. The Athenian Erichthonios and the Trojan Erichthonios

A besieged Troy for the sake of Helen maps onto a besieged Athens for the sake of Helen in other respects: in the *Iliad*, Athens is described as ἐυκτίμενον πολίεθρον / δῆμον Ἐρεχθῆος (2.546-547). In 20.220, Erichthonios is the father of the eponymous king of Troy: Τρῶα δ’ Ἐριχθόνιος τέκετο Τρώεσσι βῆνακτα. As we know from Athenian

²⁴² Euphorion of Chalkis, Alexander of Pleuron, Nicander *fr.* 58, see Lightfoot 2009:316-319.

genealogies, the names and the figures of the mythical Athenian kings Erekhtheus and Erikhthonios are interchangeable: “Erechtheus and Erichthonius are obviously merely variants.”²⁴³ It might be tempting to dismiss the homonymous Erikhthonioi of Athens and Troy as a coincidence resulting from the generic myth of autochthony, but a glance at the *RE* or Benseler’s *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen* reveals that the names Erekhtheus and Erikhthonios are exclusively associated with Attika and the Troad and no other Greek (or foreign) region.

It so happens that this Trojan Erikhthonios and Athenian Erikhthonios/Erektheus are further connected by a double connection with horses and the Boreas. The Athenian Erikhthonios was said to be the inventor of the four-horse chariot and he and/or Erekhtheus are also said to be father to Oreithyia who was abducted by the Boreas. Similarly, the Trojan Erikhthonios in Iliad 20.215-41 is the wealthy owner of three thousand mares impregnated by the Boreas. Since the two Erikhthonios both have an affinity with horses and the Boreas, they are likely to stem from the same original figure, with the original hailing from Attica. This conclusion is also reached by Escher and over two thousand years ago by unknown sources quoted by Strabo.²⁴⁴

To be sure, the name, which Alkman 71 PMG ascribes to Priam’s mother, Zeuxippe, is otherwise associated with Attica in 2/3 of the other examples of mythological Zeuxippes: Apollodoros 3.14.8 has the Athenian Pandion marry Zeuxippe

²⁴³ Burkert, Walter. 1987:156 (*Homo Necans*).

²⁴⁴ Escher in *RE*, s.v. ‘Erichthonios’: Die Überlieferung über den troischen E.[richthonios] scheint mehrfach Spuren attischer Sage aufzuweisen: die Beziehung zu Zeus, der Name der Kallirrhoe, die Rosse und deren wunderbare Eigenschaften u. a. m. Es ist möglich, daß seine Gestalt durch attischen Einfluß in die troische Königsliste gelangt ist. Sein Auftreten in Attika wäre dann in gewissem Sinne eine Repatriierung. For Strabo, see 13.1.48.

who then begets the twins Erekhtheus and Boutes. Pausanias 2.6.5 quoting Hesiod relates that the ancient king of Sikyon Lamedon, which is the Dorianized form of Priam's own father *Laomedon*, married his daughter Zeuxippe to a migrant Athenian named "Sikyon"—the son of Erekhtheus—who then gives his name to the city. Interestingly, the Trojan Ekhepolos "He who Has Colts," the son of Ankhises, is said to dwell in Sikyon, enjoying much wealth (*Iliad* 23.296-299): he had given Agamemnon his mare Aithe, a descendant of the fabulous horses of Tros, the son of Erikhthonios.²⁴⁵ In other words, the wealthy, horse-raising Athenian and the Trojan Erikhthonios converge in Sikyon whereto either a Trojan or an Athenian migrates.²⁴⁶

This mythical connection of Sikyon to Athens could date to a period when Ionians still inhabited the northern coast of the Peloponnese prior to the Dorian migration and were called Πελασγοὶ Αἰγιαλέες (Herodotus 7.94).²⁴⁷ In fact, the old name of Sikyon was *Aigialoi* (Strabo 8.382), which thus would have meant "the Ionian stronghold."²⁴⁸

²⁴⁵ In exchange of Tros' giving Ganymede to Zeus. This aetiology for Tros' obtention of fabulous horses appears to be a multiform of his father Erikhthonios' possession of three thousand mares with which the Boreas copulated.

²⁴⁶ Gladstone 1858: 499: "[Ekhepolos] was possessed of great wealth, and apparently he had also the fine breed of horses which was in his family: for he presented Agamemnon with the mare Aithe, as a consideration for not being required to follow him against Troy. Now there was evidently at this time no commercial class formed in Greece. Echepolus must therefore have had a territorial fortune. To find a wealthy member of the Dardan house domesticated in Greece, and peacefully remaining there during the expedition, must excite some surprise. *It seems to supply a new and strong presumption of the Hellic origin of the royal families of Tros* [italics mine]. The name too, and the gift of a horse, are in remarkable conformity with the horse-rearing and horse-breaking pursuits of the highest Trojans."

²⁴⁷ Ἴωνες δὲ ὅσον μὲν χρόνον ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ οἴκεον τὴν νῦν καλεομένην Ἀχαιῖν καὶ πρὶν ἢ Δαναόν τε καὶ Εὐῶθον ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Πελοπόννησον, ὡς Ἕλληνας λέγουσι, ἐκαλέοντο Πελασγοὶ Αἰγιαλέες.

²⁴⁸ Carruba 1995 "Ahhiya e Ahhiyawa, la Grecia e l'Egeo" intriguingly posited that this root *Aig-*, which is widespread throughout Greece, stems in many cases from the same pre-Hellenic root as found in Greek Ἀχαιός 'Achaean', Hittite *Ahhiya*, and that *laon* 'Ionian' is an aphaeretic and psilotic derivational offshoot of the Anatolian form (= **Ahhiya-won*, whereas *Aig-* forms, as in the *Aegean* sea, are from a metathesized base, involving also a shift *hh* → *g*, hence *Ahhiya* → *Agiya* → *Aig-*. Carruba reconstructs the basic meaning 'Water people', 'Sea people', 'Islanders', citing the ubiquity of the root *akh-* in (pre-)Greek toponyms associated with rivers and water, e.g. *Akheloi*os, *Inakhos*, *Akheron*, etc. Extensive survey in Sakellariou

1.2.5. King Kodros: Missing link between West Ionians, Trojans and East Ionians

Of equal significance to connecting Troy and the Trojans to Attica and the Athenians is the myth of the Athenian king Kodros, who is reputed to be the last king of Athens.

Under his reign (1068 BCE according to *Marm. Par.*), the Dorians under king Aletes besiege Athens. According to one version, an oracle says that the Athenians will prevail only if their king sacrifices himself: Kodros disguises himself as a woodcutter, leaves the city, provokes some Dorian soldiers, gets lethally wounded and on the verge of death reveals his identity. The Dorians retreat. According to another version, king Kodros dies in battle fighting the Dorians: the latter retreat.²⁴⁹

It cannot be doubted that the East Ionians of the Dodecapolis, Miletus, Ephesus, Colophon, etc., were intimately familiar with the Athenian king Kodros saving Athens and Attica from this alternative Dorian invasion because Kodros was the father and/or descendant of the legendary oikist Neleus (and of his younger brothers such as Androklos according to some sources) who spearheaded the Ionian colonization of the East Aegean and southern half of the coast of Anatolia. We will recall that Herodotus refers to the East Ionian Neleid kings at 1.147 as the Kodrids. As Douglas Frame writes (2009:519),

1977:230-240. I would add, corroboratively, that the Homeric synonym, *Danaan*, also attested in Bronze Age Egyptian records, is from a synonymous root also meaning 'water', as found in the mythical river *Eri-danos* and such Indo-European hydronyms as the *Dan*-ube. My only departure from Carruba is my counter-proposal that the northern Peloponnesian *Αἰγιαλλέες* was only partially a metathesized loanword from an Anatolian language, the other part being a direct descendant of the Linear B cognate *aikia2rijo*, Classical Greek *αἰγιαλός* 'coast', originally a lexicalization of a Bronze Age expression *ἐν αἰγί ἄλός* "à l'endroit où déferle la mer." (Chantraine s.v. *αἰγιαλός*.) The attestation for this variant water root *aig-* is attested in Doric: *αἶγες· τὰ κύματα*. *Δωριεῖς* (Hesychius) and the coastal Macedonian capital *Aigeai*. In other words, renaming the *Aigialos* = the northern coast of the Peloponnese *Achaia* in the Classical period may have involved recycling the same root, possibly unmasking the Bronze Age meaning of 'Achaean': 'the Sea people.'

²⁴⁹ Pherekydes and Hellanikos of Lesbos are our earliest sources. For the details of the many variants, see Frame 2009:34, 517; Harding 2007:78-81; Ruge, *RE*, s.v. 'Kodros'. Contra the claim that Attica as a stopover for the Kodrids/Neleids from Pylos to East Ionia is a late invention of imperialistic Athens, see Kerschner 2006 and Harding 2007:81 for the archaeological evidence.

Phocaea, the northernmost of the twelve cities, may well have been the last admitted to the [Panionic] league; to gain admission it had to accept Kodrid rulers from two other cities which had already achieved Panionic status, Erythrai and Teos. Phocaea, forced to accept rulers from outside, may have been an extreme case, but it shows clearly how the Kodrid myth was used. A more usual pattern was perhaps to bring a new city into the league by working with a particular family favorable to the league's goals, and to confer on that family (or families) the distinction of Kodrid descent. If this was the process, it leads back ultimately to Miletus as the prime mover in creating the Panionic league. To be a member of the league meant not just to be the notional descendant of Neleus, the founder of Pylos, but increasingly it also meant to be the descendant of Kodros, and therefore, like Miletus, to have an Athenian origin.

Thus, the memory of king Kodros saving a besieged Athens, a metropolis for the East Ionians, notwithstanding excessive attempts to impute Athens' historical relations to East Ionia to imperialistic Athenian retrojections of the late archaic and classical periods, would have been fresh among the early archaic East Ionians and promoted by their Neleid kings claiming descent from Kodros. The alternative siege of Athens by the Dioskouroi in Theseus' own mythical time further reinforces the overarching structural parallels between besieged Athenians and besieged Trojans.

1.2.6. Association of the Athenians in the *Iliad* with the Defensive Wall of the Achaeans: Recycling the Defensive Wall of Athens against the onslaught of the Tyndarids

The only instance in the *Iliad* in which an Athenian is portrayed individually and given an opportunity to speak involves their leader Menestheus cowering behind the wall of the Achaeans, as Sarpedon and the Lycians prepare their counter-offensive against the Achaean invaders:

τοὺς δὲ ἰδὼν ῥίγησ' υἱὸς Πετεῶο Μενεσθεύς·
 τοῦ γὰρ δὴ πρὸς πύργον ἴσαν κακότητα φέροντες.
 πάπτηγεν δ' ἀνὰ πύργον Ἀχαιῶν εἴ τιν' ἴδοιτο
 ἡγεμόνων, ὅς τις οἱ ἀρὴν ἐτάροισιν ἀμύναι·
 ἐς δ' ἐνόησ' Αἴαντε δῶ πολέμου ἀκορήτω (335)
 ἐσταότας, Τεῦκρόν τε νέον κλισίηθεν ἰόντα
 ἐγγύθεν· ἀλλ' οὐ πῶς οἱ ἔην βῶσαντι γεγωνεῖν·
 τόσσοι γὰρ κτύπος ἦεν, αὐτὴ δ' οὐρανὸν ἴκε,
 βαλλομένων σακέων τε καὶ ἵπποκόμων τρυφαλειῶν
 καὶ πυλέων· πᾶσαι γὰρ ἐπώχατο, τοὶ δὲ κατ' αὐτάς

ἰστάμενοι πειρῶντο βίη ῥήξαντες ἐσελθεῖν.
αἶψα δ' ἐπ' Αἴαντα προΐει κήρυκα Θοώτην·
ἔρχεο δῖε Θοῶτα, θεῶν Αἴαντα κάλεσσον,
ἀμφοτέρω μὲν μᾶλλον· ὁ γὰρ κ' ὄχ' ἄριστον ἀπάντων
εἶη, ἐπεὶ τάχα τῆδε τετεύχεται αἰπὺς ὄλεθρος.

Like Helen, the Athenian Menestheus, the son of Peteos, is one of the few characters who makes a double appearance, at least according to our extant sources, in both the saga of the Proto-Peloponnesian War and that of the Trojan War. In the former epic, Menestheus was the Athenian *collaborateur* who opened the gates of Athens to the Tyndarids' Dorian coalition while Theseus was away, either in Hades or an unspecified location: a descendant of the autochthonous Erechtheids, Menestheus was rewarded with the kingship, once held by his ancestors before those of Theseus took over. Clearly, with Menestheus expressing alarm at the approach of the Trojans and their allies, the Homeric composer is playfully placing the Athenian traitor in the same defensive position, with the same lily-livered attitude, as he had previously held against the Dorians at Athens.

1.2.7. The Kikones, Athens and the Neleids

Troizen, which is famous for being the birthplace of the legendary Athenian hero Theseus, is located in this northern Peloponnese. Strangely, the eponym *Troizen* appears in the Iliadic Catalogue of Ships as the name of the father of Euphemos, leader of the Kikones, Trojan allies. Their homeland is what later becomes western Thrace. The Kikones are otherwise mostly remembered from an episode in the *Odyssey*, in which one of their cities is the first to be attacked by Odysseus and his crew after their departure from Troy (9.39-47). From the Kikonian priest of Apollo Maron, Odysseus receives the wine with which he will intoxicate the Cyclops (*Odyssey* 9.197). Let us now return to the Catalogue of Ships (*Iliad* 2.846-847):

Εὐφημος δ' ἀρχὸς Κικόνων ἦν αἰχμητῶν

υἶος Τροϊζήγιοιο διοτρεφέος Κεάδαο.

Wathelet 1988 perceptively analyzes Κεάδαο as the patronymic of the island of Keos and concludes that, combined with the eponym Τροϊζήγιοιο, standing for the city of Troizen, the Catalogue entry of the Kikones somehow associates them with Attica, since Keos is off of Attica to the east, and Troizen off of Attica to the south. Wathelet hypothesizes that these riddling topographical allusions in the Kikones' Catalogue entry to Attica's hero Theseus and to an island on the very borders of Attica may be connected with Athens' penetration by sea of the distant North Aegean in the archaic period. Since Athenian colonization of the northern Aegean does not begin, according to the modern consensus, until the latter part of the 7th century, which seems to postdate the major compositional period of the *Iliad* by at least half a century, one either has to a) revise downward the compositional period for this passage (which as we shall see would also entail revising downward the catalogue of the Trojans), b) revise downward the compositional period of the *Iliad* as a whole or c) consider the possibility that Athenian ties with the North Aegean, whether or not they involved colonization from Athens thence, reach further back in time than the majority of scholars have hitherto suspected.

It is noteworthy that one of the Athenian demes in the Classical period was named *Kikynna* (famous as the deme of the Aristophanic *Strepsiades*), that it housed a famous cult of Apollo and was a part of the Akamantis phyle,²⁵⁰ which was named after Theseus' son *Akamas*, Trojan war hero who rescues with his brother Demophon his grandmother Aithre from Troy in the Epic Cycle. We will return to this Theseid Akamas in a moment. Similarly, the only named Kikonian in the *Odyssey* is Maron, a priest of Apollo; according to Philostephanus *fr.* 7 FHG III 30, the eponym Kikon is the son of Apollo.

²⁵⁰ *RE*, s.v. 'Kikynna'.

According to Hipponax, the eponym *Kikon*, son of Amythaon, is clearly related to the former Apollonian Kikon eponyms: he was a male version of sorts of Cassandra: anything Kikon prophesied was inauspicious.²⁵¹ Kikon's father Amythaon (a rare name), in turn, would be the brother of Neleus (and his twin Pelias) in *Odyssey* 11.259 and most interestingly is said by another source to have dwelled in Neleus' hometown of Pylos,²⁵² which is even farther away from the land of the Kikones in the North Aegean than Attica. According to Rhianus, a part of Elis, which is located north of Pylos, was named Amythaonia after Kikon's father. As stated earlier, the leaders of the Carians in the Catalogue of Ships represent Pylian (Neleid) and Elean (Epeian) figures of myth, whose ancestors became kings of Athens before becoming kings of Eastern Ionia.

Insofar as the eponym Kikon has genealogical and geographical connections to the Neleids, it is very tempting to connect the *Kikones* with the similar-sounding *Kaukones*,²⁵³ also Trojan allies in the *Iliad* (10.429 & 20.329): the eponym *Kaukon*, like the eponym *Kikon*, has clear Apollonian affinities, as a statue of him at his tomb in Triphylia (one of the areas associated with Nestor's Pylos²⁵⁴) shows him holding a lyre in his hands.²⁵⁵ In the *Odyssey*, Athena refers to her going to visit the *Kaukones* (3.366), which is generally understood to represent a region in the western Peloponnese, since

²⁵¹ Hipponax in Hesychius s.v. Κίκων· ὁ Κίκων Ἀμυθάωνος ἦν, οὐδὲν αἴσιον προθεσπίζων.

²⁵² Apollodorus, *Library* 1.9.11

²⁵³ The similar-sounding onomatopoeic Kikones and the Kaukones are both associated with birds: κίκιππος and καυκαλιάς are kinds of birds; *pace* Chantraine, κύκνος 'swan' could have an onomatopoeic origin as well, cf. Latin *ciconia* 'stork'. Birds were common totemic animals in antiquity, cf the Italic *Picentes*. Were the Kikones and/or Kaukones one of the sea peoples depicted with feathered hats in the late Bronze Age and EIA?

²⁵⁴ Frame 2009:757-758.

²⁵⁵ Pausanias 5.5.5 ...Καύκωνος: τούτω δὲ καὶ ἐπίθημα ἄνδρα ἐπεῖναι λύραν ἔχοντα.

other sources mention them there.²⁵⁶ Shockingly, Herodotus 1.147, which we have quoted before, characterizes the ethnicity of Nestor’s Pylian Kodrids (the kings of Pylos, future kings of Athens and East Ionia) as *Kaukonian*, Trojan allies in the *Iliad*:

βασιλέας δὲ ἐστήσαντο οἱ [Ἴωνες] μὲν αὐτῶν Λυκίου ἀπὸ Γλαύκου τοῦ Ἴππολόχου γεγονότας, οἱ δὲ Καύκωνας Πυλίου ἀπὸ Κόδρου τοῦ Μελάνθου, οἱ δὲ καὶ συναμφοτέρους.

And as kings, some of [the East Ionians] chose Lycian descendants of Glaukos son of Hippolochos, some Pylian Kaukones, descendants of Kodros son of Melanthos, and some both.

We thus see that the Kikonians and the Kaukonians, both Trojan allies, have ties to both Athens and the Neleids in the Western Peloponnese, Attica and East Ionia. We witness again these (proto) West Ionians drawn out and away from the sphere of the Achaeans.

1.2.8 .The Iliadic Thracians, the Theseids and Athens

In an innovative monograph (1986),²⁵⁷ Aloni surveyed a web of connections between the *Iliad*’s Thracians and the Athenians: the names of the Thracian heroes match the names of Attic heroes, the cities near the Hellespont where the Thracians settle match future Athenian strongholds and one can discern in them allusions to Attica, just as the lineage of the aforementioned Kikonian leader Euphemos, son of Troizen(os), grandson of Keos, bring Theseus to mind and the island off the coast of Attica.

Akamas is one of the co-rulers of the Thracians in the *Iliad* (2.844; 6.8). When the god Ares mingles in the fray and devastates the ranks of the Achaeans, he takes on the shape of Akamas, leader of the Thracians (5.642). It takes an Ajax, son of Telamon, to rid the Achaeans of Akamas, described as ἄριστος ἐνὶ Θρήκεσσι “the best among the Thracians” (6.8). Although never mentioned in the *Iliad*, Theseus’ homonymous son

²⁵⁶ See Ruge (*RE*), s.v. Kaukones.

²⁵⁷ Aloni, *Tradizioni arcaiche della Troade e composizione dell’Iliade*, 1986, 132 pages.

Akamas, another Trojan war hero, has ties to the North Aegean as well: he is mentioned in the Epic Cycle as a participant in the Trojan war and was worshipped as a hero in Attica. As Aloni points out, after the Trojan War, the Athenian Akamas sojourns in different parts of the North Aegean, which corresponds to the general region of the Thracian Akamas: the son of Theseus sleeps with the daughter of the king of the Bisalti and inherits his kingdom; the son of the Athenian Akamas and Laodike, daughter of Priam, dies in Chalkidike.²⁵⁸ As regards the mutual connections of the Thracian Akamas and Athenian Akamas to the city of Arisbe in the Troad,

Nel Catalogo, infine, Acamante trace è menzionato pochi versi dopo che è apparso il nome della città di Arisbe (B 836); la casualità di questa successione è messa in forte dubbio dal fatto che, appena dopo che Aiace ha ucciso Acamante, Diomede uccide (Z 12-3) Assilo [Axylos], che vive in Arisbe. L'elemento di connessione tra queste due menzioni di Arisbe è dunque il trace Acamante, omonimo dell'ateniese fondatore, o rifondatore, della stessa.²⁵⁹

Anaximenes of Lampsakos reports that Arisbe became a Milesian colony around the end of the 8th century BCE.²⁶⁰ in Strabo 14.1.6 If Miletus had considered itself an Athenian colony from the very start, as Frame 2009:519 reasonably argues, then they could have co-opted the Theseid as one of their own.

1.2.9 .Theseus, the Abantes and Thracians

Although Wathelet and Aloni may be correct in part to point out that the Athenian affinities of the Thracians and their neighbors the Kikones, both Trojans allies, may be related to Athens' colonization of the north Aegean in the 7th century BCE, if not earlier, other factors seem to have played a role: the connection of Theseus and his sons Akamas and Demophon to the Abantes, an ancient population in Euboea, which was originally

²⁵⁸ Aloni 1986:26

²⁵⁹ Aloni 1986:33

²⁶⁰ Anaximenes of Lampsakos in Strabo 14.1.6. For dating, see Kullmann 1993:143-144.

distinct from the (West) Ionians but had already fused with the (Ionic-speaking) Euboeans in Herodotus' own time.

Theseus had close ties to the Abantes. According to Plutarch, Theseus entrusted his children to the Abantic Elephenor in Euboea after Menestheus' coup and during the early stages of the Trojan War. Theseus' ties to the Abantes were so strong that the 'Theseis' haircut style, which was a kind of mullet, was the exact same as the national hairstyle of the Abantes,²⁶¹ as already described in the *Iliad*: Ἄβαντες ἔποντο θοοὶ ὄπιθεν κομόωντες (2.542). It so happens that the Abantes were of Thracian stock according to Aristotle *fr* 601.2: ἐξ Ἄβας τῆς Φωκικῆς Θρακίας ὀρμηθέντας ἐποικῆσαι τὴν νῆσον καὶ ἐπονομάσαι Ἄβαντας τοὺς ἔχοντας αὐτήν. The Abantes' Thracian ethnicity is also attested by Arrian.²⁶² The Abantes non-Hellenicity is also inferable from Ion of Chios, who says that the aforementioned Hector of Chios rid the island not only of its Carian inhabitants, but also of its Abantic inhabitants, before becoming a Panionian hero and the incorporation of Chios in the Ionian League.

And yet, in the *Iliad*, the Abantes fight on the side of the Achaeans: in fact, their leader Elephenor, who had raised the Theseids Akamas and Demophon, is the very first in the *Iliad* among the Achaeans to die (4.463-469): outside of the Catalogue of Ships, the Abantes disappear as soon as they appear. How can one reconcile Ion's and Aristotle's identifying the Abantes as Thracian or non-Greek with their fighting on the side of the Achaeans in the *Iliad*? Perceptions of ethnicity are subject to mutability in

²⁶¹ Plutarch *Theseus* 5 Ἔθους δ' ὄντος ἔτι τότε τοὺς μεταβαίνοντας ἐκ παίδων ἐλθόντας εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀπάρχεσθαι τῷ θεῷ τῆς κόμης, ἦλθε μὲν εἰς Δελφοὺς ὁ Θησεύς (καὶ τόπον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὴν Θησειαν ἔτι νῦν ὀνομάζεσθαι λέγουσιν), ἐκείρατο δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς τὰ πρόσθεν μόνον, ὥσπερ Ὅμηρος (*Il.* 2, 542) ἔφη τοὺς Ἄβαντας· καὶ τοῦτο τῆς κουρᾶς τὸ γένος Θησιῆς ὀνομάσθη δι' ἐκεῖνον.

²⁶² Arrian in *Eustath ad Dionys. Per.* 520

time and space. From the Ionian perspective—one must always strive to keep this in mind as one examines the Homeric poems, Herodotus’ statement that a non-negligible segment of the (East) Ionian population was of Abantic descent is important to keep in mind. Ionians who still identified as partly Abantic or claimed Abantic ancestry were nonetheless full-fledged Ionians like their peers, spoke the same language and partook in the same institutions. From a perspective of the Abantes’ gradual incorporation in Ionian society, in Euboea and East Ionia, the Abantes become Ionian.

But there were other Abantes as well, outside of Ionia, whose different language and lifestyle persisted long enough for Aristotle and Arrian to be aware of it: the Euboean Abantes, Aristotle continues, still had Thracian relatives in Phokis centered around the city of Abai.²⁶³ Further northwest, a region in Epirus known as Abantis / Amantis had mythical ties to the Euboean Abantes (Pausanias 5.22.3-4): allegedly, these Epirote Ab/m-antians were the descendants of Euboean Abantic survivors of the Trojan war who got shipwrecked and settled in the land. The converse, however, is more likely: Epirus was the homeland of the Abantes in the Bronze Age: they gradually expanded to the southeast in the centuries that followed. As we shall see, their ‘Thracian’ identity is not to be taken literally, at least not in the modern way it understood linguistically: ‘Thracian’ was often used *lato sensu* by the ancient Greeks to designate a wide range of populations north of Greece, which would include populations currently referred to as ‘northern Greeks’: their Hellenicity was more often not denied and their dialect, which maybe an understatement, depending on how ‘dialect’ is defined, was different enough that their language(s), though closely related to the Greeks dialects as we know them, were

²⁶³ For additional evidence of the Abantes’ earlier presence in the region of Phokis, see Vürtheim 1907:98 who gathered evidence for the presence of Elephenor’s father Chalcodon in the area.

generally incomprehensible and closer linguistically to Macedonian and Phrygian than to Greek per se.²⁶⁴

Be that as it may, the qualifying complexity and fluidity of Greek (Achaean) identity is discernible within the time frame of the early compositional period of the *Iliad*: Ajax's brother *Teukros*, though fighting on the side of the Achaeans, is clearly a Trojan ethnonym meaning 'Trojan', as attested in Callinus of Ephesus and Herodotus who is probably relying on the Epic Cycle. The Pelasgians fight on the side of the Trojans and yet Achilles' very own territory is *Argos Pelasgikon*. Most importantly, as we shall see, beyond the basic Achaean / Trojan divide, the *Iliad* operates shades of 'Hellenicity': not all the Achaean ethne are equal, some are "more Achaean" than others. The very fact that the *Iliad* makes short shrift of the Abantes, as they hardly play any role among the Achaeans, shows in fact that their Achaeaness was questionable. The same can be said of their neighbors to the south: the Athenians. They hardly play a role in the monumental poem, not because Athens was a backwater town in the Geometric period or Bronze Age,²⁶⁵ but because the Ionians themselves were a major template for the construction of Trojan identity.

1.2.10. Attica, Herodotean Pelasgians, Lemnians and Etruscans

As Munro notes, Herodotus "ascribes a Pelasgian ancestry to the Ionians, wherever they may dwell or be reputed to have dwelt."²⁶⁶ Pertinent to our discussion of the *Iliad*'s debt

²⁶⁴ See latter section of dissertation 'Trojans, Phrygians and Macedonians'.

²⁶⁵ Athens never was a backwater town in Greece in either the late Bronze Age or EIA, see Snodgrass 2000:327.

²⁶⁶ Munro 1934:113

to a widespread oral tradition of a Proto-Peloponnesian war dichotomizing Hellenic Dorians and Pelasgian Athenians,

Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Ἀθηναίους προέχοντας τοὺς μὲν τοῦ Δωρικοῦ γένεος τοὺς δὲ τοῦ Ἴωνικοῦ. ταῦτα γὰρ ἦν τὰ προκεκριμένα, ἐόντα τὸ ἀρχαῖον τὸ μὲν Πελασγικὸν τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν ἔθνος.²⁶⁷

The chief peoples were the Lacedaemonians among those of Doric, and the Athenians among those of Ionic stock. These *ethne*, Ionian and Dorian, were the foremost in ancient time, the first a Pelasgian and the second a Hellenic people.²⁶⁸

Here, the association between Ionian and non-Hellenic is very clear and is a very important factor in the exclusion or near exclusion of the Ionians from a Greek expedition against Troy: they were notionally on the other side. Herodotus further describes Attica as one of the very last historical strongholds of the Pelasgians before invasion by the Hellenes, i.e. notional Dorians: his extensive comments make it clear that the Athenians with their *teikhos pelasgikon* “Pelasgian Wall”²⁶⁹ were among the last populations of Greece to be Hellenized by the new invaders. Counter-intuitive as it may seem, the Hellenization of Attica is a relatively late phenomenon according to the father of history.²⁷⁰

In a separate chapter of the present dissertation, we will argue that the Homeric Pelasgians are not the same as the Herodotean Pelasgians: in fact, we will argue that the Homeric Pelasgians represent the Herodotean Dorians, the exact opposite as in Herodotus who pits Pelasgians against Dorians. The Herodotean Pelasgians appear to be a conflation of descendants of Mycenaean Greeks and (proto-) Etruscans. Regardless of the

²⁶⁷ Herodotus 1.56.2

²⁶⁸ My modified translation of A.D. Godley (Loeb).

²⁶⁹ We will return to the significance of the Pelasgian wall and the ethnic significance of the variant name *pelargikon teikhos*, “wall of the storks.”

²⁷⁰ See Laird 1933:97-119.

differences between Herodotean and Homeric Pelasgians, the two also share some common ground: the Pelasgians were a population of the past who lived in different parts of Greece and beyond, *but they were not Greek/Achaeans*. In the *Iliad*, the Pelasgians fight on the side of the Trojans. A discussion of Herodotean Pelasgians in a dissertation, which is mostly concerned with Homer, is relevant because the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* implicitly and explicitly emphasize special ties between Athens and Lemnos, which is what Herodotus (and Thucydides) does, as he characterizes the former population of Attica as ‘Pelasgians’: later, they either flee to Lemnos or stay behind and become Hellenized.

The peculiar Athenian myth of autochthony, which we alluded to in our discussion of the Athenian/Trojan overlap of the figure of Erichthonios, albeit played up in the 5th century to further the ulterior motive of imperialistic ambitions, is best understood as a reflection of an original non-Hellenic component among the Athenians: ‘Pelasgian’ according to Herodotus. According to the archaic poet Asios of Samos, the eponymous Pelasgos was “the son of the earth” and is the first man—a sort of Adamic figure. It is no accident that the early mythical king *Erichthonios* is exclusively foundational to both Athens and Troy.

Most of modern scholarship on the Pelasgians in ancient Greek literature focuses on the vagueness of their identity and their hypothetical or imagined existence in a very remote past of Greece. There is no denying that this nebulous definition of the Pelasgians is attested, and that a multiplicity of heterogeneous populations may be subsumed under the term “Pelasgian” if one seeks to identify them with any particular historical *ethne*. In fact, I will later argue that part of what the *Iliad* calls “Pelasgian” does indeed connote

“Primordial”: the reason being is that primordially and distancing in the past and space produces an ‘othering’ effect, an alienation from the *ethnos* of the living.

Be that as it may, there is a historical dimension to the non-Hellenicity of the Pelasgians on linguistic grounds: recognizing this factor will ultimately help us better understand why Athens and Troy were so readily interchangeable in the Geometric period of Greece and hence, why their notional East Ionian kinsmen problematized their Hellenicity beyond the fact that they were also in part Anatolian.

Juxtaposed to the use of the term ‘Pelasgian’ as denoting a vague alien people from the distant past, the combined testimonies of Herodotus and Thucydides—the latter always eager to contradict his predecessor and rival whenever he has the opportunity—indicate that there still existed in the 5th century BCE an actual people called “Pelasgians”: Herodotus and Thucydides both agree that the language spoken by their contemporary, non-mythical Pelasgians was a) non-Greek and b) located in the northern Aegean.²⁷¹

Let us first turn to Herodotus 1.67:

ἦντινα δὲ γλῶσσαν ἴεσαν οἱ Πελασγοί, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως εἰπεῖν. εἰ δὲ χρεόν ἐστι τεκμαιρόμενον λέγειν τοῖσι νῦν ἐτι ἐοῦσι Πελασγῶν τῶν ὑπὲρ Τυρσηνῶν Κρηστῶνα πόλιν οἰκεόντων, οἱ ὄμουροι κοτὲ ἦσαν τοῖσι νῦν Δωριεῦσι καλεομένοισι (οἶκεον δὲ τηνικαῦτα γῆν τὴν νῦν Θεσσαλιῶτιν καλεομένην) , καὶ τῶν Πλακίην τε καὶ Σκυλάκην Πελασγῶν οἰκησάντων ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ, οἱ σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναίοισι, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα Πελασγικὰ ἐόντα πολίσματα τὸ οὖνομα μετέβαλε: εἰ τούτοισι τεκμαιρόμενον δεῖ λέγειν, ἦσαν οἱ Πελασγοὶ βάρβαρον γλῶσσαν ἰέντες. εἰ τοίνυν ἦν καὶ πᾶν τοιοῦτο τὸ Πελασγικόν, τὸ Ἀττικὸν ἔθνος ἐὸν Πελασγικὸν ἅμα τῇ μεταβολῇ τῇ ἐς Ἑλληνας καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν μετέμαθε. καὶ γὰρ δὴ οὔτε οἱ Κρηστῶνιῆται οὐδαμοῖσι τῶν νῦν σφέας περιοικεόντων εἰσὶ ὁμόγλωσσοι οὔτε οἱ Πλακηνοί, σφίσι δὲ ὁμόγλωσσοι: δηλοῦσί τε ὅτι τὸν ἠνεύκοντο γλώσσης χαρακτῆρα μεταβαίνοντες ἐς ταῦτα τὰ χωρία, τοῦτον ἔχουσι ἐν φυλακῇ.

What language the Pelasgians spoke I cannot say definitely. But if one may judge by those that still remain of the Pelasgians who live above the Tyrrenians in the city of

²⁷¹ Historical, non-mythical 5th- century Pelasgians in the North Aegean recognized by Myres 1907:170-225.

Creston—who were once neighbors of the people now called Dorians, and at that time inhabited the country which now is called Thessalian— and of the Pelasgians who inhabited Placia and Scylace on the Hellespont, who used to live among the Athenians, and by other towns too which were once Pelasgian and afterwards took a different name: if, as I said, one may judge by these, the Pelasgians spoke a language which was not Greek. [3] If, then, all the Pelasgian stock spoke so, then the Attic nation, being of Pelasgian blood, must have changed its language too at the time when it became part of the Hellenes. For the people of Creston and Placia have a language of their own in common, which is not the language of their neighbors; and it is plain that they still preserve the manner of speech which they brought with them in their migration into the places where they live.²⁷²

This text is remarkable for many reasons, which we will fully explore in the chapters to come, notably the connection between Athens and the North Aegean. For one thing, Herodotus associates the Pelasgians with the Tyrrhenians, whom elsewhere Herodotus equates with the Etruscans of Italy (cf Pindar *Pythian* 1.72). Let us now compare

Thucydides 4.109.2-5:

καὶ ὁ Ἄθως αὐτῆς ὄρος ὑψηλὸν τελευτᾷ ἐς τὸ Αἰγαῖον πέλαγος. πόλεις δὲ ἔχει Σάνην μὲν Ἀνδρίων ἀποικίαν παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν διώρυχα, ἐς τὸ πρὸς Εὐβοίαν πέλαγος τετραμμένην, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας Θυσσὸν καὶ Κλεωνᾶς καὶ Ἀκροθῶους καὶ Ὀλόφυξον καὶ Δίον· αἱ οἰκοῦνται ξυμμεικτοὶς ἔθνεσι βαρβάρων διγλώσσων, καὶ τι καὶ Χαλκιδικὸν ἐνὶ βραχύ, τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον Πελασγικόν, τῶν καὶ Λῆμνόν ποτε καὶ Ἀθήνας Τυρσηνῶν οἰκησάντων, καὶ Βισαλτικὸν καὶ Κρηστωνικὸν καὶ Ἡδῶνες

and Athos, a high mountain in the same, ends at the Aegean sea. Of the cities it has, one is Sane, a colony of the Andrians, by the side of the said ditch on the part which looks to the sea towards Euboea; the rest are Thyssus, Cleone, Acrothoi, Olophyxus, and Dion, and are inhabited by bilingual mixed barbarians. A few of them are also of the Chalcidican; but the most are Pelasgic, of those Tyrrhenians that once inhabited Athens and Lemnos; and also of the Bisaltic and Crestonic nations, and Edonians, and dwell in small cities. The most of which yielded to Brasidas;²⁷³

In other words, both Herodotus and Thucydides agree that Pelasgians spoke a distinct, Barbaric language in Chalcidike—a region Thucydides would have been personally familiar with; Pelasgians are related to the Tyrrhenians; these Pelasgians came from Attica. Significantly, Thucydides also mentions that Lemnos too was once inhabited by

²⁷² My modified translation of A.S. Godley

²⁷³ My modified translation of Thomas Hobbes.

Pelasgians. Elsewhere, Herodotus states—agreeing with Hecataeus²⁷⁴—that the Pelasgians on Lemnos came from Attica, having been expelled by the ‘Athenians’ (6.137.1: Πελασγοὶ ἐπειτέ ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων ἐξεβλήθησαν). Herodotus further relates that in 505 BCE, Pelasgian populations inhabited the island when the Persians annexed it and that some of them fled Lemnos when Miltiades conquered it 493 BCE.²⁷⁵ Along similar lines, according to Ephorus, Sounion in Attica at one point was inhabited by non-Greek Aonians and Temmikes, before they wandered further off to Boeotia (ἡ δ’ οὖν Βοιωτία πρότερον μὲν ὑπὸ βαρβάρων ὠκεῖτο Ἀόνων καὶ Τεμμίκων, ἐκ τοῦ Σουνίου πεπλανημένων).²⁷⁶

Groundbreaking in their implications, two inscriptions in the West Greek alphabet from the late 6th century BCE were discovered on the island: first, the “Lemnos Stele” and second another inscription at Efestia in 2009. Linguists have shown that this language spoken on Lemnos is closely related to Etruscan.²⁷⁷ Fragments on local pottery show that it was spoken there by the local community.²⁷⁸ Collating the linguistic evidence from these inscriptions with a) Herodotus’ statement that a non-Greek-speaking Pelasgian community still existed there in his own time, b) Thucydides’ statement that a non-Greek-speaking Pelasgian community existed in his own time in Chalcidike, which had come either from Athens or Lemnos, c) Herodotus’ and Thucydides’ independent

²⁷⁴ Hecataeus, the son of Hegesandrus. I don’t know if this Hecataeus, referred to by Herodotus, is the one from Miletus.

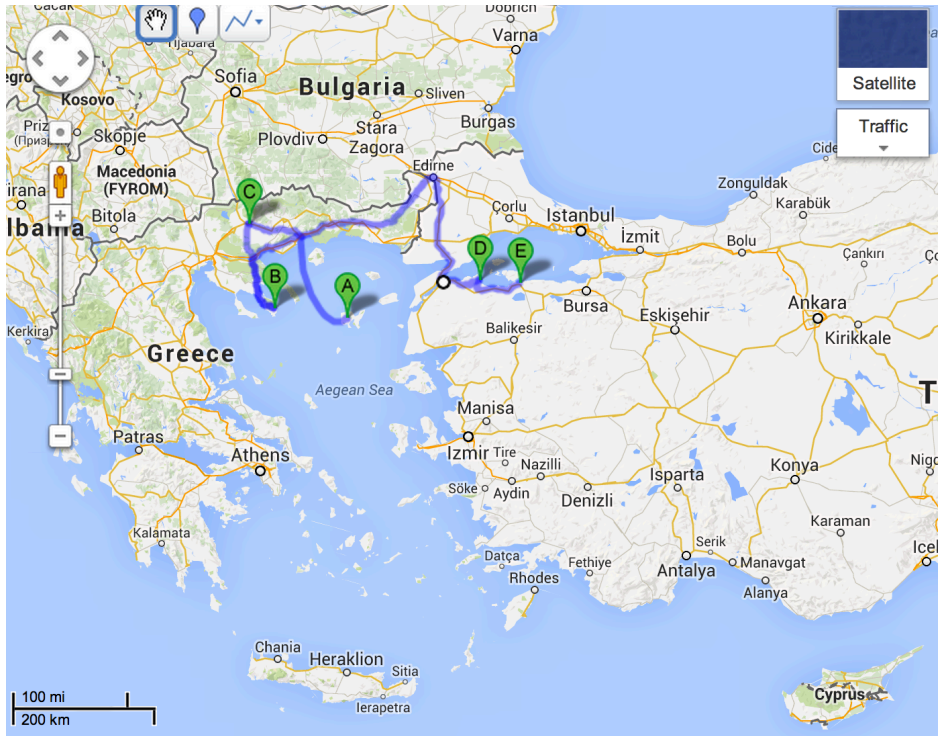
²⁷⁵ For a good synthesis of all the relevant passages in Herodotus, see Myres’ commentary 1907:192.

²⁷⁶ Ephorus *fr.* 119.118 Jacoby.

²⁷⁷ De Simone 2011. It would appear that Michael Weiss, from Cornell University, endorses the kinship between Lemnian and Etruscan (source: blog accessed 09/09/2014).

²⁷⁸ Bonfante 2003; Meer 1992.

statements that the Pelasgians on Lemnos hailed from Attica, leads me to conclude that the original Pelasgians of Attica and Athens, extensively described by Herodotus, spoke a Proto-Etruscan language. This is not to conclude that the entire population of Attica, e.g. in the Submycenaean or perhaps Geometric period, spoke such a language, but a segment of the population did.



Map of cities in the 5th century Aegean where ‘Pelasgian’ (Herodotus) was still spoken = Thucydides’ Tyrsenian. Courtesy of google maps (retrieved 05/15/2015).

1.2.11. Athens, Lemnos and Athenian Penetration of the North Aegean

There is more. In all of Greece, the cult of Hephaistos is exceptionally prominent in only two places: in Athens where the god’s sperm, wiped off by Athena, inseminated the earth and gave rise to Erechtheus, the first king of Athens; and in Lemnos, whither the god falls and nearly dies, having been struck down by Zeus (*Iliad* 1.594). The Hephaestians--the Pelasgian inhabitants of the city of Hephaestias on Lemnos named after the god—are reported to have fled the island upon Miltiades' injunction for them to

leave.²⁷⁹ The Iliadic account says that the local Sinties took care of the god and helped him to recover. In *Odyssey* 8.284, Lemnos is described as Hephaistos’ “dearest land by far” (ἢ οἱ γαῖάων πολὺ φιλτάτη ἐστὶν ἀπασέων). The Homeric text does not say whether the Lemnian Sinties were Achaean or not, but their absence from the Achaean coalition and subsequent accounts describing them as non-Greek, suggests that they were not. Thus, the case can be made that the god Hephaistos was originally a Prehellenic Pelasgian god, connected with Lemnos’ Pelasgian population and the Athenians’ notion of autochthony, hence Hephaistos’ paternity of the primordial king Erechtheus / Erichthonios.²⁸⁰

A close examination of Lemnos in the *Iliad* confirms an implicit connection to Athens: the Lemnian king Euneos is the eponym of an Attic clan of musicians the Euneidai, who claimed descent from king Euneos of Lemnos.²⁸¹ The bilateralism of Euneos’ connection to both Lemnos and Athens is further corroborated by the account of three Attic brothers accompanying Theseus on a foreign expedition against the Amazons, two of whom were named Euneos and Thoas²⁸²: Thoas is the mythical prototypical king of Lemnos and Euneos’ mother Hypsipyle—who is mentioned in the *Iliad*—was described as an Amazon in a variety of sources:²⁸³ when Jason—Euneos’ father in the *Iliad*—and the Argonauts arrived on the island, the absence of men—aetiologically slain

²⁷⁹ Herodotus 6.140

²⁸⁰ Same conclusion independently reached by Farnell 1909:388

²⁸¹ Hesychius, Photius and *E.M.* See Sommerstein 2009:158 who argues that the title of one Kratinos’ plays Eumenides is a corruption of Euneidai: “in the opening words of a song referred to in Ar. Knights 530, which according to the scholia comes from Eumenides, tektones eupalamwn humnwn, would fit well into Euneidai, since according to the lexica (Hsch. e7007, Harp. e161 Keaney) the Euneidai were a clan of musicians, and they later provided a priest of Dionysos Melpomenos (*IG* ii2. 5056).”

²⁸² Menekratos in Plutarch *Theseus*.

²⁸³ *RE* s.v. “Hypsipyle,” p 440.

by their Lemnian wives for sleeping with Thracian women—gives the place an alien appearance.

As we shall see, the othering and/or eroticization of women in the East Aegean correlates with the historical reality that these islands had originally been non-Greek and had stronger material ties with Anatolia: as is frequently the case in colonization narratives²⁸⁴, indigenous women tend to be Orientalized. Archaeological evidence shows that Lemnos and Lesbos—two prominent islands in the East Aegean where women appear as either threateningly strange or very erotic—evince more material ties with Anatolia than they do with Greece. While the ethnic identity of the Lemnian women in most narratives is unspecified—Hypsipyle’s mother is the eponym of a local city on the island—their assimilation to Amazons is in keeping with the discovery at Mycenaean Pylos of a Linear B inscription referring to a female Lemnian slave simply called “Lamnia” (*ra-mini-ja*).²⁸⁵ The vast majority of slaves with toponyms in Linear B are demonstrably foreign locations, so this specimen of Linear B onomastics supports the idea that Lemnos had once been considered foreign territory or semi-foreign territory, as it is the case in our Homeric *Iliad*.

Euneos’ status as Jason’s son intimates his Ionian identity: as Wilamowitz, Zielinski and most recently Sakellariou have argued, Jason was originally an Ionian hero whose very own name *Ia-son* and port of origin *Ia-olklos* connected him eponymously—as a variant of *Ia-on*—to the Ionians when their geographical extension had once been

²⁸⁴ See Said 1978.

²⁸⁵ Pylos tablets (Hiller *ra-mi-ni-ja: Mykenische-Kleinasaitische Beziehungen und die Linear b-Texte*,” *zivaant* 25 1975 400-401, 403 and n.96.

much wider.²⁸⁶ In the *Iliad*, the cognate name *Iasos* is an *archon* of the Athenians slain by Aineias: his name clearly reflects the Ionian identity of the Athenians, as further adumbrated by his descent from Boukolos (15.338), which is akin to the name of the king's palace at Athens—the *Boukoleion*.²⁸⁷ We may further compare the *Odyssey*'s reference to Ἰάσον Ἄργος (18.246), whose location in the middle of Greece, squares nicely with the greater Ionia.

In my view, the connection of the Athenians to the Pelasgians, in the Herodotean (not Homeric) sense of the word, is a likely hitherto unsuspected factor in ties between Athens and the North Aegean *prior* to the late 7th century BCE when Athenian colonization of the North Aegean, as we know it, begins. If a segment of the Athenian population had been proto-Etruscan, which is what Herodotus and Thucydides seem to imply, then early ties of the Athenians to the North Aegean,²⁸⁸ where 5th century-speaking Etruscans are still attested, become more readily explainable. The hypothesis can also be advanced that the root of *Tro-es* and *Turs-enoī* / (*E*)*trus-ci* is be the same,²⁸⁹ since Troy is right in the middle of said 5th century North Aegean Etruscan-speaking cities.

1.2.12. Teukros, Attica, and the Hypothesis of an anti-Athenian Dorian Ur-Ajax son of Telamon

²⁸⁶ Zielinski 1932; Sakellariou 2009:85-100.

²⁸⁷ Aristotle *Constitution of the Athenians* 3.5

²⁸⁸ See our earlier discussion of Homeric ties of the Athenians to the Kikones and Thracians.

²⁸⁹ Bronze Age *Taruisa* is often recognized as inspiration for the Greek *Troy* (lately Rose 2013:27 & 70), which would involve intervocalic psilosis, a regional phenomenon attested in other place names as well (see Beekes 2002).

Remarkably, a tradition reported by the atthidographer Phanodemus “and many other authors” (ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ²⁹⁰) holds that ‘Teukros’ led the migration of the Trojans from from the Attic deme of Xypete, located between Athens and Phaleron, to Troy near the Hellespont. Comments Bethe:

Derselben gelehrten Erörterung dieses Atheners [Phanodemos] verdanken wir auch eine unanfechtbar urkundliche Notiz, die die grosste Überraschung bringt: am attischen Demos Xypete, zwischen Athen und Phaleron gelegen, haftete der Name der Troer. Es ist also auch Tros, der Sohn des attischen Erichthonios, ein Attiker, Eponym des attischen Stammes der Troer. So ist den sogar der Name der Troer in Griechenland bezeugt - das Schlusstück des Beweisgewolbes, die These zu tragen, dass die troische Sage im griechischen Mutterlande entstanden ist, dass sie schon von den Auswanderern über das Meer geführt wurde, viel älter als die Ansiedelungen der Griechen in Asien. Es eröffnet sich zugleich von Attika aus auf Troja eine unerwartete und weite Perspektive.²⁹¹

As we know from Callinus of Ephesus and Herodotus (as well as Vergil, centuries later), who refer to Alexander (Paris) as ‘Teucrian’, Ajax’s brother *Teukros* is an eponymous ethnonym: ‘the Teukrian’, which appears to have been equivalent to ‘Trojan’ in at least one tradition of the Epic Cycle. Herodotus says that the *Gergithes* in the Troad were the descendants of the bygone *Teukroi* of the Trojan War, a statement which mirrors the presence of a Trojan named *Gorgythaon* at *Iliad* 8.302 (ἀμύμονα Γοργυθίωνα). That the Homeric composer should be aware of the affinities between Trojans and Teukroi is intimated by the fact that *Teukros* is the one who kills Gorgythaon, in keeping with the victim-victimizer identification principle.²⁹² Other than in Attica and the Troad, the *Teukroi* are also attested in Paeonia, Crete, Cilicia and Cyprus.²⁹³ The last mentioned Cyprus was according to legend the place of refuge where Telamonian Teukros migrated

²⁹⁰ Dionysius of Halicarnassus 1.57; Strabo 13.1.48 ἄλλοι δ’ ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἀφίχθαι τινα Τευκρόν φασιν ἐκ δήμου Τρώων, ὃς νῦν οἱ Ξυπετεῶνες λέγεται, Τευκρους δὲ μηδένας ἐλθεῖν ἐκ τῆς Κρήτης.

²⁹¹ Bethe 1902:17-18

²⁹² See elsewhere in this dissertation for other examples.

²⁹³ See Vürtheim 1907:56-57 and Willetts 1977:158.

from the other Salamis in the Saronic Gulf to found a new Salamis in Cyprus: kings of Cyprus, the Teukrids, claimed descent from Teukros and in Cilicia to the north, the priests of Zeus were also named ‘Teukroi’.

The Cypriote connection to Athens, which is also reinforced by legends of Theseus’ son Akamas dying in Cyprus, presents the historical scenario of Attica having been at some point a territory occupied, at least in part, by Teucrians, plausible²⁹⁴: whether it was had also been their homeland at the end of the end of the Bronze Age is dubious.²⁹⁵ The following Aristotelian fragment, cited by Plutarch, which establishes migratory connections between 1) Bottiaia in Paeonia, 2) Athens and 3) Crete may preserve a historical kernel of EIA sea-faring populations, which either were the same as the Teukroi or represented populations that were somehow associated with the Teukroi, since their migratory routes include the middle axis linking geographically three of the proximate territories in which the Teukroi are attested.

τοὺς παῖδας ὑπὸ τοῦ Μίνω, ἀλλὰ θητεύοντας ἐν τῇ Κρήτῃ καταγῆρας· καὶ ποτε Κρήτης εὐχὴν παλαιὰν ἀποδιδόντας ἀνθρώπων ἀπαρχὴν εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀποστέλλειν, τοῖς δὲ πεμπομένοις ἀνα- μειχθέντας ἐκγόνους ἐκείνων συνεξελθεῖν· ὡς δ’ οὐκ ἦσαν ἱκανοὶ τρέφειν ἑαυτοὺς αὐτόθι, πρῶτον μὲν εἰς Ἰταλίαν διαπερᾶσαι κάκεῖ κατοικεῖν περὶ τὴν Ἰαπυγίαν, ἐκεῖθεν δ’ αὖθις εἰς Θράκην κομισθῆναι καὶ κληθῆναι Βοττιαίους· διὸ τὰς κόρας τῶν Βοττιαίων θυσίαν τινὰ τελοῦσας ἐπάδειν· ‘ἴωμεν εἰς Ἀθήνας’²⁹⁶

The [Athenian] youths were not slain by Minos, but spent the remainder of their days in slavery in Crete; that the Cretans, in former times, to acquit themselves of an ancient vow which they had made, were used to send an offering of the first-fruits of their men to Delphi, and that some descendants of these Athenian slaves were mingled with them and sent amongst them, and, unable to get their living there, removed from thence, first into Italy, and settled about Iapygia; from thence again, that they removed to Thrace, and were named Bottiaean; and that this is the reason why, in a certain sacrifice, the Bottiaean girls sing a hymn beginning Let us go to Athens.

²⁹⁴ For the cult of the Athenian mythical figure Aglauros in Cyprus see Guía 2005:58-76.

²⁹⁵ At the end of the dissertation, I will suggest that Paeonia is the likeliest candidate, among all the territories associated with the Teukroi, for their original homeland. From there, they spread out to the Troad to the east and Attica to the southwest; thence to Crete, Cyprus and Cilicia.

²⁹⁶ Aristotle *fr.* 43 in Plutarch, *Theseus*.

Located in Paeonia, the future Macedonia, Bottiaia is the territory of Trojan allies. The plausibility of the relevance of Bottiaians in Paeonia to mediating a link between Athens and Troy is the claim made by Paeonians that they are a branch of the Teukroi (5.13). It thus appears that a non-Achaean component had once existed in Attica, which is conceivably post-Mycenaean, but pre-Classical: they end up assimilating into the greater Greek-speaking mass. The languages they once spoke were presumably a mix of Paeonian²⁹⁷ and an early form of Etruscan. Athens' incipient thalassocracy in the archaic period and exploration of the North Aegean received an impetus, in all likelihood, from these immigrant sea-faring Teukroi. Peisistratos' extensive ties with tribes with 'Thracian' tribes from Mount Pangaion is probably predicated on Athens' Teucric heritage.

1.2.13. The Greater Ajax: An Originally Anti-Athenian Hero

As discussed earlier, the non-Achaean maternity of Teukros, Ajax's brother, is subtly hinted at in the *Iliad* in Teukros' killing of Gorgythion, eponym of the Trojan Gergithes known to Herodotus. In Sophocles' *Ajax*, Teukros clearly and plainly descends from Trojan kings on his mother's side. Thus, Ajax has a half-foreign brother in the saga of the Trojan war. His alienness is refracted and enhanced by his illegitimacy and status as an archer.²⁹⁸ In an earlier stage of the epic, more specifically going back to the saga of the Proto-Peloponnesian war, the ethnic alienness of Teukros could be associated with Athens, rather than Troy. Thus, just as Ajax fights against the Trojan ethnicity of his half-brother Teukros in the Trojan war as we know it, an earlier Ajax would have fought

²⁹⁷ On the language of the Paeonians, see section "Paeonian."

²⁹⁸ Ebbott 2003, chapter 2 "Teucer, the Bastard Archer."

against the Attican/Athenian ethnicity of his half brother: Telamonian Ajax was a Dorian hero before becoming an Atticized hero in the Classical period.

It is well-known that the Greater Ajax *becomes* popular in 5th century Athens to the point of being celebrated as a state hero: the clan of the pre-eminent *Philaidai*, who claimed descent from him through his son/grandson *Philaos*, played a role in the diffusion of his cult. There is much to suggest, however, that Telamonian Ajax had been in the early archaic period and prior a Dorian, anti-Athenian hero in lost proto-Peloponnesian epics. To begin with the name of the clan itself, it is very strange for a clan to name itself “those who love Ajax” rather than merely “descendants of Ajax” **Aiantidai* or “descendants of Aiakos” *Aiakidai* (Ajax’s supposed grandfather²⁹⁹) as did the royal family in Epirus: the verbal descriptive *phil-* is more reminiscent of the nickname given to Alexander the I of Macedon, ‘the Philhellene’: rather than showing that Alexander I (and the Macedonians) were perceived as Greek, ‘Philhellene’ shows on the contrary that he was *not* perceived as Greek, but wished to be perceived as Greek or perceived as adopting and promoting Greek manners.³⁰⁰ Thus, if the *genos Philaidai* has an etymological connection to Aias, something Beloch even doubted,³⁰¹ it must have carried xenophilic connotations from an Attican point of view.

To be sure, Athens’ connection to Telamonian Ajax seems very secondary and artificial: a descendant of Ajax, rather than Ajax himself, mediates the link to Athens and Attica, either Eurysakes, the son of Ajax and Tekmessa a Phrygian captive according to

²⁹⁹ More on the connection between Aias (Aias) and Aiakos below.

³⁰⁰ See Badian 1982:33-51.

³⁰¹ Beloch quoted by *RE*, s.v. ‘Philaos’.

Sophocles,³⁰² or Philaios, the son of Eurysakes or son of Ajax according to various sources.³⁰³ As Figueira's research has shown, the Eurysakeion at Athens was founded at least fifty years, and possibly many years earlier, before the foundation of the Aiakeion circa 506 BCE,³⁰⁴ underlining the original indirectness of the cult of Ajax at Athens. Let us turn the *Iliad*, such passages as 2.557-558

Αἶας δ' ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος ἄγεν δυοκαίδεκα νῆας,
στῆσε δ' ἄγων Ἴν' Ἀθηναίων ἴσταντο φάλαγγες.

Are generally considered to be late 6th century BCE Athenian adaptations / interpolations to an earlier version of the *Iliad*, in which no special friendly, connection is made between Athens and Ajax, other than geographic contiguity through Salamis. The reflection of an older version of Ajax's Catalogue entry can be seen in the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* fr. 204.44-51:

Αἶας δ' ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος ἀμώμητος πολεμιστῆς
μᾶτο· δίδου δ' ἄρα ἔδνα ἐ[ο]ικότα, θαυματὰ ἔργα· (45)
οἱ γὰρ ἔχον Τροιζῆνα καὶ ἀγ[χ]ίαλον Ἐπίδουρον
νῆσόν τ' Αἴγινα Μάσητά τε κοῦρο[ι] Ἀχαιῶν
καὶ Μέγαρα σκίοεντα καὶ ὄφρυόεντα Κόρινθον,
Ἐρμιόνην Ἀσίνην τε παρὲς ἄλα γαιετώσας,
τῶν ἔφατ' εἰλίποδάς τε βόας κ[α]ὶ [ἴ]φια μῆλα (50)
συνελάσας δώσειν· ἐκέκαστο γὰρ ἔγχεϊ μακρῶι

Here, we can see that Ajax's territory is much larger than Salamis alone, Salamis being in effect the northernmost tip of a much larger kingdom that included Aigina, Megara and much of the northern Peloponnese, which is otherwise assigned to Diomedes and Agamemnon in the Iliadic Catalogue of Ships.³⁰⁵ This larger territory seems a more

³⁰² Tekmessa in Sophocles, *Ajax* 210 & 487.

³⁰³ Philaios the grandson of Ajax, not son of Ajax according to Pausanias 1.35.2, which represents the older tradition according to Toepffer. For the latter and other sources, see *RE*, s.v. 'Philaios'.

³⁰⁴ Figueira 2012.

³⁰⁵ See Finkelberg 1988:32.

proper size for a hero of Ajax's rank. And as Finkelberg notes, all of them were Dorian in historic times and the majority of them yield little or not Mycenaean finds.³⁰⁶ The cult of Ajax and the Aiakids, Aiakos in particular seems at home in Dorian Aigina³⁰⁷ and Megara³⁰⁸; it would also probably be attested in Corinth, which is ascribed to Ajax in the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*, in light of the digammic spelling of his name AIFAS in archaic Corinthian vase: clearly, in light of the disappearance of the digamma in the earliest Ionic inscriptions, the tradition of an *Aiwas*³⁰⁹ (rather than an *Aias*), which is also extant in Etruscan inscriptions,³¹⁰ must go back to an independent Dorian tradition that is not reliant on Ionian epic. Genealogically, Ajax was the nephew of the proto-Boeotian (= Dorian³¹¹) hero Timalkos, slain by Theseus, in the proto-Peloponnesian war involving the Dioskouroi's siege of Athens for the sake of Helen.³¹²

Telamonian Ajax's post-Mycenaean Dorian origins are justifiable on several grounds. In keeping with Ajax's larger Dorian territory in the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*, there is also the strange clue of the Cytherian Lykophron, who is uniquely characterized as his *therapon* at *Iliad* 15.431 (Αἴαντος θεράποντα Κυθήριον) and at 15.437 Ajax describes him as his loyal companion (πιστὸς ἐταῖρος). The island of

³⁰⁶ Finkelberg 1988:36

³⁰⁷ Nagy 2011:203

³⁰⁸ Pausanias 1.42.4

³⁰⁹ Simon 2003:8

³¹⁰ Bonfante 2003:193

³¹¹ See Mygdonian section of this dissertation for evidence that the proto-Boeotians were Dorians (from northwestern Greece), rather than Aeolians.

³¹² Pausanias 1.42.4

Cythera, to the south of the Peloponnese, is certainly far from Ajax's Hesiodic territories: what they have in common, however, is their Dorian identity.³¹³

The extensively attested rootedness of Ajax and the Aiakids in Dorian Aegina also takes us north, rather than south: Aiakos, the grandfather of Ajax (and Achilles), was originally the king of Thessaly according to one source; similarly, the creation of humans from ants, the Myrmidons, also takes us to Thessaly.³¹⁴ These ties between Aigina and Thessaly are not ties between Dorian Aigina and an Aeolian Thessaly, which reflects a subsequent reality, but between Dorian Aigina and a Dorian Thessaly ruled by newcomers, the *Petthaloi*: from the 10th to the 8th century BCE, the newcomers keep streaming into their future territory, inhabited by indigenous Aeolians, from the mountainous regions of northwestern Greece in successive waves.³¹⁵

At the same time, *prima facie* inconsistently,³¹⁶ Herakles' son *Thettalos*, Thessaly's eponym is the father of the two brothers leading the insular Dorian contingent in the Catalogue of Ships (2.679): the islands of Nisyros, Krapathos, Kasos, Kos and Kalydnai, all clearly Dorian islands in historic times with clear cultic ties to Thessaly.³¹⁷ We will deal with this in another part of the present dissertation, but suffice it to say that the main reason for the earlier association of the eponym Thessalos with islands in the southeast Aegean, far from Thessaly, which has misled some scholars such as Sordi to hypothesize a southeastern origin of the proto-Thessalians, is the *East Ionian perspective*

³¹³ See Fragoulaki 2013:151-152 on the Herodotean and Thucydidean data.

³¹⁴ See Schmid's detailed genealogical evidence, *RE*, s.v. 'Aias'.

³¹⁵ See Helly 2007 and other chapter of the present dissertation.

³¹⁶ The authorship of the Catalogue of Ships is usually considered separate from the rest of the *Iliad*.

³¹⁷ See in particular *RE*, s.v. 'Kos'.

of Homeric poetry: to a Milesian or Chian, the nearest proto-Dorians were not those who settled in the Peloponnese but those who migrated directly from Thessaly to the islands of Kos, Nisyros, etc. That Thessalos should be the son of Herakles in the Catalogue of Ships should be construed as a *terminus ante quem* for the early Dorianization of the hero Herakles.³¹⁸

In local Thessalian legends, however, the eponym Thessalos is not the son of Herakles, but rather of *Aiat(i)os*,³¹⁹ leader of the proto-Thessalians from Epirus into their future homeland. His name is obviously from the same stem as *Aias* and *Aiakos*, grandson and grandfather respectively—according to the mainstream tradition. A 7th-6th century BCE inscription AIATIION, found in a sanctuary near Xinonerion in western Thessaly, not far from the mountains of Epirus, is the earliest attestation for the cult of the prototypical Thessalian king *Aiat(i)os* (Indzesiloglou 2002:292-295), one of whose

³¹⁸ For additional evidence of Herakles' Dorianization in the *Iliad*, cf. 1) Herakles' destruction of Nestor's Neleid family in Pylos, which kicked off the initial stages of the Ionian migration; 2) Herakles' son Tlepolemos, ruler over Dorian Rhodes. The process by which Herakles may have become a Dorian hero compares with the way Hercules became the national god of the Germanic Batavians: see Roymans 2009, "Hercules and the construction of a Batavian identity in the context of the Roman empire."

³¹⁹ Charax in Steph. Byz. s.v. Δώριον Χάραξ ἐν ζ' τῆδε γράφων περὶ Θεσσαλοῦ τοῦ Αἰάτου, [τοῦ] νικῆσαντος τοὺς ἐν Ἄρην Βοιωτοὺς „ὁ δὲ Θεσσαλὸς; also Polyaeus. The Homeric and apparently local Thessalian genealogies are interconnected, however, by the figure of *Pheidippos*: in the most extensive testimony, Polyainos, *Strategemata* 8.44, Thessalos is the son of Pheidippos; in the Homeric Catalogue of Ships, the converse occurs: Pheidippos is the son of Thessalos. Hekataios *fr.* 137A associates Aiatios, Pheidippos and Antiphos (quoted by Fowler 2013:315). The text is very fragmentary: line 177 reads ...ος Αἰάτιος οὐ[...] The fluctuation of the hero's name *Aiatos/Aiatios* may be related to the use of the Aeolic patronymic, cf. Homeric *Telamonios*, 'the son of Telamon'. If so, *Aiatios* may be an Aeolic honorific cult title, which is equivalent to the honorific cult title *Aiakides*, with the alternative patronymic *-ides*, which becomes standard in most of continental Greece from the Hellenistic period on. Given the attestation for the early development of affricates in Aeolic, cf. *za-* from *dia-*, the possibility remains that *Aiatios* stems in fact from **Aiwakios* (possibly pronounced [Aiwatʃos] and later [Aiwatsos]) and that the simplex *Aiatos* is a late back-formation. If this is the case, then **Aiakos* himself or his son **Aiakios* (or rather their digammic equivalents) would have been the one leading the proto-Thessalians from northwestern Greece into Thessaly. At all events, it is no obstacle that various morphemes, *-ko*, *-nt* or *-to* should give rise to related mythological figures.

descendants (Αιατίου γενεάν), possibly a Thessalian ταγός, Simonides wrote an epinician for.³²⁰

Aiat(i)os, Aiakos and Aias are arguably multiforms of the same prototypical proto-Thessalian / “northwestern Greek” ancestral figure, whose name and life force were ritually summoned from the dead for succor in battle: *-to*, *-ko* and *-nt* are merely regional variants; *Aiakos* may have been or become the preferred form on Aigina (and elsewhere, even parts of Thessaly); as Figueira points out, “the social reality lying behind the predominance of the Aiginetan component in Aiakid mythology is probably the greater accessibility of Aigina to itinerant poets because of its maritime connections and the superior resources of the Aiginetans”; at Salamis, in the northern Peloponnese and in Lokris, the ancestral hero whose life force was summoned for help in times of peril was not *Aiakos*, but the variant *Ai(w)ant-*. Eventually, with Panhellenism, “contractual mythology” (Nagy 2011) led to arrangements in which links between these multiforms were established, of a genealogical order: the one became the grandfather of the other.

But there are still traces of their original indistinction: as Bury perceptively observes, “linguistically [Latin] *Aiāx* represents Αιακός, and does not represent *Aiwas*.”³²¹ He argues that the anomalous Latin form of the hero, hence our ‘Ajax’, is predicated on the strong cult of Aiakos in Campania by virtue of a significant Thessalian immigrant component within this region of Magna Graecia: with the increasing popularity of Athenian and Ionian culture, the Thessalian Ai(w)ak(o)s syncretized with

³²⁰ Simonides, Page, fr. 6.1 Κρόνοιο παῖς ἐρικυδ[ή]ς (3) / [] Αιατίου γενεάν. See Molyneux 1992:129-130. Stenger 2004:306 fn157 suggests that, since Aiatios is named βασιλεύς, he might have held the rank of ταγός among the Thessalians.

³²¹ Bury 1900:128

the *Aias* of Ionic epic.³²² Collating essential elements of the mythologies of Aiatos, Aiakos and Aias mutually illuminate their respective dissimilated identities.

I submit that the *Iliad* shows awareness of Aias' connection to his multiform Epirote *Aiat(i)os* in that 1) a homonymous river *Aias* flows in Epirus³²³ and the first two victims of both the Telamonian and the Oilean *Aiante* in the *Iliad* are explicitly fluvial names: *Simoeisios* and *Satnios*, named after two rivers in the Troad, the *Simoeis* and *Satnioeis*³²⁴; 2) crossing a river is a major feature of the myth of Aiat(i)os, as we shall see below; 3) knowledge within Homeric poetry of this river *Aias* having originally been not any kind of river, but rather a multiform of the mythical *Eridanos*, or northern branch of the cosmic Okeanos, is evidenced by an allusion to the superlatively beautiful spring *Aia* in a *uaria lectio* to *Iliad* 2.850, mentioned by Strabo (αἴα originally 'place of dawn' not just 'earth', see West 2007:193-198, root **aus*, with Watkins' approval) located north in nearby Paeonia, and the location of Circe's νῆσος Αἰαίη in the *Odyssey* by the dancing

³²² Bury 1900:128-129 mentions the phratry of the Eumelidae (= Thessalian Pherae, the city of Eumelus) and the phratry of the Aristaioi in Naples; he also mentions Thessalian admixture among the bulk of the Euboean settlers in Cumae, as expected from the geographical contiguity of Euboea and Thessaly. Morphologically, the inflexional difference [between *Aiax* and *Aiakos*] can easily be explained either as the result of a syncopation on Italian ground, or by assuming a collateral Greek form **Aiaξ* (cp. πάλλαξ: παλλακός, --φύλαξ: φυλακός and φύλακος, --ἄναξ: ἀνακός).” I would add that Latin *Pollux* vs. Greek *Poludeukes* or *Vlixes* vs. Homeric *Odysseus* cannot be adduced as counter-examples for arbitrary Latin guttural extensions. The final *-x* in Latin *Pollux* is simply a syncopation of *-kes* whereas the *x* in Latin *Vlixes* finds a counterpart in a fragment of Ibycus Οὐλίξης. Lambdic forms of *Odysseus* in Greece, e.g. ΟΛΥΤΕΥΣ in archaic Greek vases, outnumber the deltic forms, which are mostly late or exclusively Homeric. In an unpublished form, I argue that the Urform of *Vlixes/Odysseus* was **Olukyeus*.

³²³ Hekataios in Steph. Byz. S.v. Λάκμων: ἄκρα τοῦ Πίνδου ὄρους, ἐξ ἧς ὁ Ἴναχος καὶ Αἴας ῥεῖ ποταμός, ὡς Ἐκαταῖος ἐν πρώτῳ.

³²⁴ *Iliad* 4.475 *Simoeisios* victim of Telamonian Ajax, juxtaposed to mention of *Simeois* river at 4.476. 14.443 *Satnios* victim of Oilean Ajax, juxtaposed to mention of *Satnioeis* river at 14.445.

places of dawn.³²⁵ This memory of *Aias* having once been “the Auroral one” is reflected, perhaps, in the moment of his suicide at dawn in the *Aethiopsis*.³²⁶

The metonymic pattern of identifying the victim with his victimizer is an underappreciated pattern in the *Iliad*: Idomeneus, king of Crete, for instance, kills a certain Trojan named *Phaistos*, which is clearly the same as a major city in Crete.³²⁷

Given the infrequency of explicit river names in the *Iliad*, it is statistically improbable

³²⁵ *Odyssey* 12.3-4 νῆσόν τ' Αἰαίην, ὅθι τ' Ἴουῆς ἠριγενεΐης / οἰκία καὶ χοροὶ εἰσι καὶ ἀντολαὶ Ἥελίοιο. There was an ancient conception that Epirus was at or near the northern ends of the earth: Aidoneus was the king of Epirus, according to Plutarch, *Theseus*: it was there that his companion Perithous was detained for attempting to abduct Persephone. At *Iliad* 2.755, the Styx river (ὄρκου γὰρ δεινοῦ Στυγὸς ὕδατος ἔστιν ἀπορρώξ) is located in Epirus, which in the *Odyssey* is explicitly a river of Hades (10.514). There is also the testimony of a scholiast to the *Iliad* who says that Dodona was located near the land of the Hyperboreans, despite the fact that Dodona is also labeled *duskheimenon*. This is in keeping, however, with the Hesiodic *Hellopia* located not far from Dodona, which is described as a paradisiacal lands of sorts: the ends of the earth combine polar extremes of paradise and hell.

³²⁶ Scholiast on Pindar, *Isthmian Ode*, 3.53. Upon scrutiny, Sophocles, *Ajax* too seems to indicate that Ajax killed himself at dawn: in his final speech, Ajax speaks of the necessity of yielding to power, just as winter to summer, and the night to the day (ἄρχοντές εἰσιν, ὥσθ' ὑπεικτέον. τί μήν; καὶ γὰρ τὰ δεινὰ καὶ τὰ καρτερώτατα τιμαῖς ὑπέικει· τοῦτο μὲν νιφοστιβεῖς (670) χειμῶνες ἐκχωροῦσιν εὐκάρπῳ θέρει· ἐξίσταται δὲ νυκτὸς αἰανῆς κύκλος τῇ λευκοπώλῳ φέγγος ἡμέρα φλέγειν). Thereafter, the chorus rejoices over his death and call upon Pan and Apollo to appear / shine: ἰὼ ἰὼ Πᾶν Πᾶν, ὦ Πᾶν Πᾶν ἀλίπλαγκτε, Κυλ- (695) λανίας χιονοκτύπου πετραίας ἀπὸ δειράδος φάνηθ', ὦ θεῶν χοροποι' ἄναξ, ὅπως μοι Μύσια Κνώσι' ὀρχήματ' αὐτοδαῖ ξυνὼν ἰάψης. (700) νῦν γὰρ ἐμοὶ μέλει χορευσαί. Ἰκαρίων δ' ὑπὲρ †πελαγέων† μολῶν ἄναξ Απόλλων ὁ Δάλιος εὐγνωστος ἐμοὶ ξυνεῖη διὰ παντὸς εὐφρων. (705) ἔλυσεν αἰνὸν ἄχος ἀπ' ὀμμάτων Ἄρης. {72ἀντ.} 72 ἰὼ ἰὼ, νῦν αἶ, νῦν, ὦ Ζεῦ, πᾶρα λευκὸν εὐάμερον πελάσαι φάος. The triple parallelism between 1) Pan roving over the sea, 2) Delian Apollo arriving from the Icarian, and 3) the white light of a new favorable day approaching, suggests a naturalistic allusion to Pan and Apollo *qua* embodiments of the daily sun rising from the Ocean. While the cumulative evidence for Apollo's solar nature is strong despite contrarian opinions (e.g. *Odyssey* 15.404 Ὀρτυγίης καθύπερθεν, ὅθι τροπαὶ ἠελίοιο, which is otherwise the birthplace of Leto's twin children), it is less well-documented for Pan. Indo-European Comparative Mythology suggests, however, that Pan's affinity with the sun may have always been latent, notably through his connection to flocks, which are associated in a wide variety of cultures with the power of the sun. The Vedic etymological and genetic counterpart of Pan is *Pūṣan*, who was a solar god of feeding the cattle and traveling. His wagon was drawn by goats. Indo-Europeanists are generally agreed on the kinship of Pan and *Pūṣan*.

³²⁷ *Iliad* 2.648 = Phaistos city in Crete; 5.43 = Phaistos Trojan slain by Idomeneus, king of Crete. One could also mention Teukros' victim Gorgythion 8.300-308: the name is clearly cognate with Herodotus' *Gergithes*, 5th century remnants of the erstwhile Trojan *Teukroi*: Γέργιθας τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας τῶν ἀρχαίων Τευκρῶν (Hdt 5.122). Odysseus' first victim is the Trojan *Demokoon* at 4.449, whose name translates as 'Perception of the People', which matches Odysseus' own skills as the *metis* hero. Similarly, the leader of the suitors in the *Odyssey* is *Antinoos* 'Counter-Perception'; he is also Odysseus' first named victim in the *Odyssey*. The Trojan *Laokoon* of the Epic Cycle, also known to Vergil, is another talking name with a meaning, which is similar to *Demokoon*: he is the only Trojan who was *perceptive* enough to know that the gift of the Trojan horse was a ruse...thought out by Odysseus.

that the first victims of the two Ajaxes having potamonyms should be a coincidence. The Homeric composer's awareness of a river *Aias* in northern Greece readily explains this triangulation through the mirror image pattern between victim and killer: the first victims of the greater and lesser Ajax are both potamonyms, Simoeisios (= *Simoeis*) and Satnios (= *Satnioeis*), because *Aias* too was a famous and defining river in the ancestral land of the proto-Thessalians. Now let us turn to the myth of the proto-Thessalian leader *Aiat(i)os*. Polyaeus provides the longest account of Aiatos' leadership of the proto-Thessalians from the Pindus across the Acheloius into Thessaly:

Ἐπὶ Βοιωτοῦς, οἳ πάλαι Θεσσαλίαν ᾤκουν, ἐστράτευσεν Αἴατος ὁ Φειδίππου Πολύκλειαν ἀδελφὴν ἔχων, Ἡρακλεΐδαι τὸ γένος ἄμφω. χρησμὸς ἦν ἄρξειν, ὃς ἂν ἐκ τοῦ γένους πρῶτος διαβάς τὸν Ἀχελῶν ἐπιβῆ τῆς πολεμίας. ἡ μὲν στρατιὰ τὸν ποταμὸν διαβαίνειν ἔμελλε, Πολύκλεια δὲ τὸν πόδα ἐπιδησαμένη φάσκουσα τετρωθῆαι τὸ σφυρὸν παρακαλεῖ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Αἴατον διενεγκεῖν αὐτὴν ὑπὲρ τὸν ποταμὸν. ὁ δὲ μηδὲν ὑποπεύσας, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀδελφῆ βουλόμενος ὑπουργῆσαι τὴν μὲν ἀσπίδα ἐπέδωκε τοῖς ὀπλοφόροις, τὴν δὲ Πολύκλειαν ἀράμενος ἐβάδιζε διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ προθύμως. ἡ δὲ γενομένου πλησίον τῆς ὄχθης φθάσασα ἐξήλατο καὶ μεταστραφεῖσα πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἔφη· 'ἐμὸν γέρας ἢ βασιλεία κατὰ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ χρησμόν· πρώτη γὰρ ἀπάντων τῆς χώρας ἐπέβην.' Αἴατος αἰσθόμενος τῆς ἀπάτης οὐκ ἐχαλέπηεν, τὸ δὲ φρόνημα τῆς κόρης ἀγάμενος αὐτὴν ἔγημε· καὶ ὁμοῦ βασιλεύοντες παῖδα Θεσσαλὸν ἐποίησαντο, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὴν πόλιν Θεσσαλίαν προσηγόρευσαν.

Crossing the river Acheloius, which here is a notional boundary between presumably Aiatos' Thesprotia (in Epirus) and Thessaly, is an essential test for the conferment of sovereignty in the conquered land. The mythical spring *Aia*, source of the Paeonian Axios river in the *Iliad*, the city *Aia* by the river Ocean in a fragment of Mimnermus, the Aiaian island by the risings of the sun in the *Odyssey* are not the only pieces of evidence that the historically identifiable Epirote river *Aias*, which is mentioned by Hekataios and later by Lycophron³²⁸ and Pliny, rather once was an Eridanos of sorts located north toward the

³²⁸ Lycophron 1020 πίνοντες Αἴαντος ῥόας

end of the known world³²⁹: thus, the Homeric Περαιβοὶ (*Iliad* 2.749), one of the northernmost Achaean *ethne* in the Catalogue of Ships, dwelling near Dodona (2.749-750 Περαιβοὶ / οἱ περὶ Δωδώνην δυσχεῖμερον οἰκί' ἔθεντο,) literally mean “those beyond (Περ-) the river *Aiwos/Aiwas*, as Sakellariou 2009:719 convincingly argued.³³⁰ Since the river Acheloius has the same cosmic associations as multiform of the Okeanos,³³¹ one can argue that Aiatos' crossing of the Acheloius in Polyaeus' account amounted to his crossing the river of his own namesake, the *Aias* in alternative accounts. Crossing the Acheloius, arguably also known as the *Aias*, was a defining moment for *Aiatos*, *archegetas* of the proto-Thessalians.

Thus, Telamonian Ajax is an all likelihood a post-Mycenaean Dorian hero whose earlier incarnations were antithetical to Athens and the early West Ionians before later becoming, in part through the *Philaidai*, in part through Panhellenism, one of their own. The same would be true of his predecessor *Mopsos* in the Bronze Age, rendered as *Muksu* in the Hittite records: his Mycenaean origins notwithstanding, centuries later, he would be remembered by the native traditions of Asia Minor as an Anatolia, as attested by Xanthos of Lydia's portrayal of the mythical conqueror. A variety of hypotheses have been put forth why Athena the goddess is consistently opposed to both Ajax son of Telamon and Ajax son of Oileus: I do not claim to unravel the mystery of Athena's hostility to the *Aiante*, but among the contributing factors, I would suggest that in an

³²⁹ According to scholiast A on *Iliad* 2.750 & 16.233, Dodona, which was located in Epirus was, was as a place among the Hyperboreans (quoted by Bridgman 2004:42).

³³⁰ The beta in *Perai-b-oi* would be one of the ways of an Ionian rendering the indigenous *w* (**Peraiwoi*), besides other alternatives such as zero or *o*-vocalization, e.g. the Homeric name of Locrian Ajax's father *Oileus* vs. *Ileus* in Hesiod, Stesichorus, Pindar, etc. Etruscan inscriptions show *Vil-* for Lesser Ajax's father. The Peraiboi are thus quasi-synonymous and cognate with the *Parauaioi* (root **aus* of 'dawn', cf. Latin *aurora*)

³³¹ See d'Alessio 2004.

earlier epic she had been the protective deity of Athens, as eponymous goddess of the city of Athens.

As (one of the) mythical leader of the proto-Dorian forces, Ajax would have been bound to get in trouble with the protectress of the city, just as Achilles was bound to get in trouble with Apollo at Troy.³³² Hekabe's and Theano's attempt to propitiate and win over the goddess Athena with a magnificently embroidered *peplos* (*Iliad* 6.288-310), which Nagy considers an instance of 'split referencing', in which reference is also made to the temple of Athena on the acropolis of Athens and the yearly parade of her *peplos* at Athens,³³³ are arguably relics of this Proto-Peloponnesian war saga in our Homeric *Iliad*.³³⁴ This is all the more likely because the scene of Athena's *peplos* at Troy involves Helen specifically: Athena's embroidery was originally obtained from Sidonia by Paris and Helen after they had eloped.

Helen's aetiological association in the *Iliad* with Athena's *peplos* in a ritual involving the supplication of the goddess on the acropolis of the city has a fair probability of being recycled material from the older siege of Athens. One can readily picture Theseus in the same position as Paris as the one fetching the magnificent embroidery from the Sidonians in an earlier rendition of the myth of Helen.

1.2.14. Athenians slaughter Argives over Troy's Palladion

³³² The situation with Locrian Ajax is a little more complicated: on the one hand, the Greek ethnos, which he represents, is historically northwestern Greek, but as we shall see, the 'Hellenic' (Dorian) element among the Locrians was remembered as a minority element among a majority of indigenous *Leleges*, who had much more in common with the Ionians, who represented 'the Old Greeks' (roughly the descendants of the inhabitants of Greece prior to the end of the Bronze Age).

³³³ Nagy 2012:271

³³⁴ In our *Iliad*, Athena is staunchly pro-Achaean and anti-Trojan. But the Epic Cycle and the *Odyssey*, recounting events at the end of the Trojan war, portrays a sudden and rather extreme turnabout of the goddess, who causes so many of the Achaeans to get shipwrecked and die at sea on their way back to Greece. All because Locrian Ajax had attempted to rape Cassandra at the altar of Athena! As Vergil would later say: many would die for the fault of a single man.

There are strange accounts, told by Kleidemos, Phanodemos, Pausanias and others, that Argives ‘accidentally’ landed at Attica after the Trojan war, led by either Diomedes or Agamemnon. The Theseid Demophon and/or Akamas, king of Athens, proceeded to have most of them slaughtered, again “accidentally out of ignorance of who they were.” Regardless, the Athenians end up seizing the Palladium from the Argives.³³⁵ One can consider these accounts as hangovers from a Proto-Peloponnesian war saga, in which Agamemnon and/or Diomedes fought for the retrieval of Helen from Attica and attempt to steal the Palladion, not from Troy but from Athens. Originally, the Argives’ landing in Attica, conceivably from such a stopover as Dorian Aegina, which was included in Telamonian Ajax’s Catalogue entry in the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*, was no accident, but a deliberate act of hostility. The Theseids in return defending their homeland was a natural response, in the face of such an invasion.

2. TROJANS, PHRYGIANS AND MACEDONIANS

2.1. Mygdon, King of the Phrygians (*Iliad* 3.186): Midas and Mygdones out of Macedonia

Although there are no explicit references to Macedonia and the Macedonians in Homeric poetry, *Mygdon*, king of the Phrygians (Μυγδόνοϋ ἀντιθέοιο: *Iliad* 3.186), is a covert

Pausanias 1.28.9, also Harding 2007:75 for Kleidemos F20/Phanodemos F16: “According to Pausanias the ephetai used to judge cases of unintentional homicide there. For the Argives (he says), when they put in at Phaleron on their way sailing back from Ilion, were done away with by the Athenians out of ignorance of who they were. Later, when Akamas learned about this and when the Palladion that was being searched for had been found, they established a lawcourt at that place on the bidding of an oracle, as Phanodemos says. But Kleitodemos says that when Agamemnon put in at Athens with the Palladion, Demophon snatched the Palladion and killed many of the men who were pursuing him. When Agamemnon became angry, they subjected themselves to trial at the hands of fifty Athenians and the same number of Argives. These men were called ephetai, on account of the fact that both parties appealed to them for the decision.”

ethnonym, which is ultimately associated in ancient sources with Mygdonia, a region in and/or next to Macedonia between the Axios and Strymon river according to Thucydides. In Europe, however, the Mygdonians are an evanescent population in our extant sources whereas in Asia Minor, their namesake denoted either a synonym of ‘Phrygian’ or represented a subset of Phrygians. The relation of the Trojans to the Phrygians is a narrow one, insofar as there was a Phrygian component among the Trojans, both mythologically and historically: Hector and Paris, the premier princes of Troy are half-Phrygian through their mother (*Iliad* 16.718-720 ἀτοκασίγνητος Ἐκάβης, υἱὸς δὲ Δύμαντος, / ὃς Φρυγίη ναίεσκε ῥοῆς ἔπι Σαγαρῖοιο). We will also re-examine the facile assumption taken on by many scholars, that the application of the designation Φρύξ / Φρύγες to the Trojans in Greek tragedy, as opposed to Homer’s distinction of the two *ethne*, reflects a licentious anachronism.

Although no Trojan language or Trojan dictionary can be pinpointed, it is a fair question to ask which languages are likely to have been spoken in the Troad between the end of the Bronze Age and the EIA. Located at a geographical, migration and trade crossroads, it is unlikely that any single “Trojan language” was ever spoken there and if there ever existed what could be called a Trojan kingdom in the area during these time periods, it is very likely to have been a multilingual kingdom. The linguistic status of Mysian, whose region abuts on the Troad, is germane: that Mysian was in Strabo’s time a mix of Phrygian and Lydian is likely to also be true of two of the languages spoken in the Troad in the time periods of interest to us: varieties of Phrygian and Lydian.³³⁶ To this, we may add, as we shall see, as many as three additional languages with no close genetic

³³⁶ Strabo 12.8.3: Μυσοῦς, ἀπὸ τῆς ὀξύης οὔτω προσαγορευ- θέντας· μαρτυρεῖν δὲ καὶ τὴν διάλεκτον· μιξολύδιον γὰρ πως εἶναι καὶ μιξοφρύγιον (cf. Kullmann 2002:63).

ties to each other: Paeonian and/or Macedonian, as well as Etruscan and Thracian.

Among these last three, Paeonian and/or Macedonian, are closely related to Phrygian—*and to Greek as well.*

Who were the Mygdonians in relation to the Phrygians, if one of the Phrygian kings is named ‘the Mygdonian one’? Should any distinction be drawn between Phrygian and Mygdonian? Who were the Mygdonians in relation to the Macedonians, since their homeland is in Macedonia? While no definitive answer can be reached, we will suggest, at the end of our survey, that a majority of the the various populations of Macedonia, prior to the emigration of what would later become the Phrygians and other populations of Asia Minor, were linguistically and culturally closely related to each other. This chapter is concerned with the linguistic and cultural ‘Phrygian’ component among the Trojans, which have inspired the various accounts of the Trojan War—Phrygian in the peculiar sense of speakers who were descendants or cultural/linguistic converts, of populations, which had come from Macedonia and Northern Greece at the end of the Bronze Age or EIA. As we shall see, this would include not only Phrygians per se, but also Macedonians, Paeonians and Epirotes.

It is argued here that:

- 1) the land Μυγδονία, which is associated with the ethnonym Μύγδων, represents an ancient syncopated form of Μακεδονία and thus too the Μυγδόνες too are a syncopated form of the Μακεδόνες. What is at stake is showing that ‘Macedonian’ would have been one of the early ethnonyms for the Phrygians themselves, or at the very least, a key component among the Phrygians.

- 2) the Phrygians, of which ‘Mygdonian’ is a synonym in Greek and Latin sources, were very closely related to the Macedonians before the last major wave of Phrygian emigration to Anatolia was complete. The ethnonym *Mygdonia* had originally been a Phrygian dialectic (Paeonian) pronunciation of *Macedonia*, which initially exceeded the boundaries of the pre-Hellenistic Macedonia of the Argeads and covered the entire Pindus mountain range in Northern Greece. At the end of the Bronze Age, ‘*Makedones*’, ‘**Bhruges*’ and ‘*Orestai*’ = “the Highlanders” and/or “Mountaineers” were loosely interchangeable ethnonyms with the same meaning: it is unclear whether some of them might have originally been exonyms used by the Mycenaeans to denote their unsubjected neighbors to the west and north whose protective and isolating habitat were the pastures and forests of the vast Pindus; or whether some of them had been endonyms.
- 3) The ongoing debate on the extent to which the pre-Hellenistic Macedonians were Greek *cannot* be legitimately conducted without contextualizing and qualifying the Hellenicity of the Macedonians within the *qualified Hellenicity* of the early Phrygians. If one wishes to define pre-Hellenistic ‘Macedonians’ as linguistically ‘Hellenic’, then one must also include Phrygians, Paeonians and early Armenians³³⁷ under the Hellenic umbrella, for which I propose the disambiguating neologisms “Greco-Phrygian” or better ‘Hellanic’: these languages had formed a single, linguistic and cultural unit (originally distinct from the Thracians) covering territories in northern Greece, southern Albania and

³³⁷ Eudoxus *fr.* 279 Ἀρμένιοι δὲ τὸ μὲν γένος ἐκ Φρυγίας, καὶ τῆ φωνῆ πολλὰ φρυγίζουσι. See Kretschmer 1896:209-210 on the ancient observation that Thessalian and Armenian attire were very similar (Strabo 11.503 & 530 and Justinian 42.2.3), cf Helly 2005:300. On the linguistic affiliation of Armenian to Greek G. Bonfante 1946:82.

- the Republic of Macedonia until the middle Bronze Age, and was reinforced by *Sprachbund* down to the Early Iron Age.
- 4) How and why the dialectic form ‘Mygdonia’ shrank geographically from the whole of Macedonia to to the region between the Axios to the Strymon rivers (Thucydides) or the even smaller region between the Axios river and the future Thessalonike (Herodotus) is attributable to the center of power and the last vestiges of the last Phrygian and/or Paeonian kingdom(s), which was located in the fluvial valley of the Thermaic gulf: Edessa, the legend goes, had been a residence of king Midas. The historicity of a counter-invasion of Phrygians & Lydians from Anatolia cannot be proven, but it is plausible; even if it were untrue, at the very least the projection of Anatolianized Phrygian might in Macedonia would speak to the multidirectional flow of language and culture between the North Aegean and Anatolia. It was in the same fluvial valley of the Thermaic gulf that the Argead kings chose their successive capitals of Aigeai and Pella.
 - 5) In the saga of the Trojan war, which mythologizes events mostly from the post-Mycenaean EIA, the Macedonians *per se* are never mentioned, but the cumulative evidence suggests that many of the ancestors of the Classical and Hellenistic Macedonians would have fought on the side of the Trojans from the point of view of the Greek oral tradition. Not only are the Phrygians and their king *Mygdon*, eponym of the Mygdonians and Mygdonia, Trojan allies, who are integrated in the royal family of the Trojans, so is *Emathion*, the eponym of Emathia, an Ionic synonym of Macedonia. Aineias, finally, has strong ties with Macedonia, both literary and archaeological. Despite the usefulness of the Trojan War as a witness

for the perception of early Greek identity, upon scrutiny, the Trojan War was to a certain extent an intra-Hellanic war³³⁸ pitting southern Hellenes (= the Achaeans) against northern Hellenes (= the Trojans, which included a strong Phrygian, Paeonian and Macedonian component).

Popular imagination remembers Alexander the Great arriving triumphantly in ancient Gordion and cutting the Gordian knot, which has now become idiomatically canonized in the modern languages of Europe in the expression “cut the Gordian knot.” According to a Phrygian oracle, whoever could undo the intricate knot tying the ancient oxcart of king Midas to its yoke would become ruler of Asia. Impatiently, in a hurry to conquer the world, Alexander allegedly slashed the knot with his sword. This at least is a version found in sources cited by Arrian *Anabasis* 2.3, Plutarch *Alexander* 18.1-4, Curtius 3.2.11-18 and Justin 11.7.3-16.³³⁹ According to Aristoboulos,³⁴⁰ however, Alexander painstakingly spent several hours in sweat trying to undo (not cut) the Gordian knot, until finally he succeeded. In one version, the young Macedonian king had foreknowledge of the Phrygian oracle and therefore deliberately planned to stop in Gordion as a means of legitimating his ambitious mission of punishing the Persians for their past oppression; other versions hold that Alexander was unaware of the Gordian knot until local Phrygians told him about it and urged him to undo it as a good portent of his messianic status. As Roller 1984 269-270 noted, however, several non-Phrygian conquerors before Alexander swept over the Anatolian plateau without ever paying the slightest attention to the

³³⁸ I propose the neologism ‘Hellanic’ (as opposed to the more ambiguous ‘Hellenic’) to denote the IE linguistic subgroup that included Greek, Phrygian, Macedonian, Paeonian and Armenian.

³³⁹ Sources quoted by Roller 1984:256

³⁴⁰ Aristoboulos, also cited by the aforementioned Arrian and Plutarch, quoted by Roller 1984:256.

Phrygians' Gordian knot, a symbol which was apparently important to the local Phrygians: the Cimmerians had no interest in it when they came in, neither did the Lydians, nor did the Persians. Why then would the Macedonian king have shown an interest in this emblem of Phrygian sovereignty, as Justin would have it, whose narrative, albeit late, several scholars suggest is the closest to the Macedonian version?

Alternatively, why would the local Phrygians be so eager to vest the Macedonian newcomer with the royal emblem of their bygone king Midas whose wealthy empire had collapsed four centuries earlier? Why not confer the privilege on the kings of the Cimmerians, Lydians or Persians? Could it be that the Phrygians and the Macedonians were connected by special ties of kinship?

Legend has it that it was from Macedonia that king Midas rode the royal wagon together with his people all the way to Gordion in Phrygia across the Dardanelles and established a great kingdom: the Phrygians came from Macedonia. In fact, according to Callisthenes who accompanied Alexander on his expedition across Asia, Midas' fabulous wealth stemmed from the mines around Mount Bermion in Macedonia.³⁴¹ Centuries later after the disintegration of the Phrygian state in Anatolia, the royal wagon would still lie fallow until some day a new king would set his hands on it again, undo its portentous knot and prove himself worthy of becoming the new master of Asia. The territorial connection of the Phrygians to Macedonia, the evidence of which we will examine below, is epitomized by the deep embeddedness of the Phrygian king in the founding myth of the Macedonian Argeads, also known as the Temenids: the three sons of Temenos, having fled an anonymous king, found refuge in the fabulous garden of Midas, fragrant with supernatural roses, at the foot of Mount Bermion in Macedonia: according

³⁴¹ Callisthenes *FGrH*, No. 124, fr. 54.

to Herodotus, the garden of Midas was the epicenter from which the Argead kings would gradually conquer all of Macedonia (8.138), thus intimating the suggestion that Alexander's ancestors legitimated their sovereignty over Macedonia by passing themselves off as the heirs of the legendary Phrygian king.³⁴²

³⁴² Fredricksmeier 1961:163ff; Roller 1984:269; Vassileva 1997:14. Fredricksmeier is cited with approval (sources in Munn 2008:136, fn136) by J.R. Hamilton, *Plutarch, "Alexander" A Commentary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969)47; *Alexander the Great* (London:Hutchinson, 1973) 64, 187; Peter Green, *Alexander of Macedon, 356-232 B.C.* (London: Penguin, 1974) 577 (cf., 213); Robin Lane Fox, *Alexander the Great* (London: Allen Lane for Longman, 1973) 149, 518; J.E. Atkinson, *A Commentary on Q. Curtius Rufus' Historiae Alexandri Magni*, Books 3 and 4 (Amsteram: Gieben, 1980) 87; N.G.L. Hammond, *Alexander the Great: King, Commander and Statesman* (Park Ridge, NJ : Noyes, 1980) 88, 310 n. 32; Michael Wood, *In the Footsteps of Alexander the Great* (Berkely: Univ of California Press, 1997) 49; Ian Worthington, *Alexander the Great, Man and God* (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2004) 87, 309 n. 16. It is most baffling, in light of the latter and better half of Munn's article (2008:115-134), that he should have spent eight pages (108-115) setting up a straw man argument against Fredricksmeier's seminal "Alexander, Midas, and the Oracle at Gordium" (1961). Pages110-111, Munn writes "By fulfilling the oracle that sovereignty was the destiny of him who undid the yoke knot, according to Fredricksmeier, Alexander was receiving a token of a royal heritage that had roots in his own homeland. Fredricksmeier's explanation thus connects the cart at Gordium with Macedonian tradition, but the connection is entirely conjectural and is most likely incorrect." In his conclusion, however, after explicitly voicing a number of his own conjectures (e.g. p 124), Munn flatly contradicts his original argument against Fredericksmeier: "The evidence reviewed here demonstrates that Midas had an important place in the traditional lore of Thrace and Macedonia that was unlike his memory in Hellas to the south. In the north he was connected with the land almost as an autochthonous hero, much as he was in Phrygia...Midas was particularly meaningful to the Macedonians, if we accept Herodotus's telling of the foundation legend of the Argead dynasty as true to what 'the Macedonians say'...It may well be that Midas, already a figure in local lore, became a particular fixture in Argead legend as Herodotus tells it as an immediate consequence of the ambitious of Alexander I. The recession of Persian dominion over Thrace witnessed by Alexander I could have encouraged him to lay claim to the tokens of royal legitimacy that had long been associated in this quarter of the Aegean with the great kingship of Midas. When, a century and a half later, Alexander III arrived at Gordium, he made a deliberate show of resolving the oracle of kingship attending the Gordian knot, thereby appropriating the very center and source of an essential aspect of the royal legitimacy of the Argead house, and at the same time foreclosing the possibility that anyone else might lay claim to this symbol of power. Alexander's stop at Gordium may have had this purpose from the beginning, for there is every reason to believe that Alexander was as well informed on the legends and lore of Midas as anyone could be (130-131)...Finally, we consider the meaning attached to the cart of Gordius and to the loosening of the Gordian knot. The cart dedicated to Zeus Basileios should have been familiar to Alexander as a symbol of sovereignty, if the royal ox cart depicted on the coins of the Derrones was still familiar to Macedonians and Thracians (133)." I could not agree more with Munn's conclusion. The author's earlier polemic against an imaginary Fredricksmeier, has to do with F.'s alleged claim that "Midas came to Phrygia from Macedon in the ox cart that Alexander saw at Gordium" (p 113). But it was never Fredricksmeier's main point or side point for that matter that a historical figure named 'Midas the Phrygian' led Brygians/Phrygians from Macedonia to Phrygia. As Fredricksmeier makes it clear, "How and Wells *ad Hdt.* 7.73 and 8.138.2 state, in effect, that the Brigians left for Asia as a result of the Macedonian conquest. However, the source passages cited by them do not bear this out. The evidence considered in this paper is only for the Macedonian tradition about the migration; *I am not concerned here with the question of historicity* [my italics] (1961:167)." Fredricksmeier reiterated his main point at least eight times, between pages 161-166 , e.g. p 165: that there was "a Macedonian tradition about the migration of Midas and the Brigians from Macedonia to Phrygia." Frerdericksmeier made it crystal clear in his 1961 article that he was concerned about the Macedonian

As Fredricksmeier 1961:161-165 has shown, the existence of a Macedonian tradition about the journey of Midas from Macedonia to Asia is inferable from a collation of several ancient historiographers: Marsyas, Conon and Trogus. That Alexander the Great was intimately familiar with the Macedonian homeland of Midas may be gathered from the very setting where Aristotle formally educated Alexander between 343/2 and 340 BCE: the *nymphaeum* was located near Mieza on the eastern foothills of the Bermion

tradition of King Midas leaving Macedonia for Asia, not whether said tradition genuinely reflects the historical reality of a Brigian king named Midas emigrating with his Phrygians from Macedonia to Anatolia. In his meritorious discussion of 6th century coins of several tribes in Paeonia and Thrace, Munn does in fact address the question of historical ties between the populations of Macedonia, Thrace and Asia Minor, as he points out that the story underlying the Gordian knot finds close parallels on the European side of the northern Aegean (p 126): “the team of oxen driven by a young man calls to mind Gordius the plowman before he became the father of Midas. There is no compelling reason to suppose that these coins were meant to depict Gordius or Midas...Perhaps the Derrones [a Paeonian or Thracian tribe] had their own version of the legend that a king would appear to them on an ox cart.” Munn goes on to add: “The Dardanians who dwelt to the west of Macedonia were said to have been settled by the same Dardanus who founded the royal lineage of Troy. The validity, nature, or origin of these migration stories are not of immediate concern here, except to note that the connections assumed in classical sources are borne out at least to a certain degree by the evidence of linguistics. Best attested in this regard are the Phrygians, whose language was related more closely to Greek and to the languages of the Balkans than to the group of Indo-European languages of Anatolia that included Hittite, Luwian, and later Lydian and Carian.” Page 112, after nitpicking over the chronological positions of our ancient sources on the topic and making a red herring of the question of the directionality of the Phrygians’ migration into the Balkans from Anatolia or the reverse (see Vassileva 1993:45 & 47), Munn reveals the roots of his misguided quarrel: “Only the mythographer, Conon, writing in the era of Augustus, specifies that Midas was king in Macedonia before leading the Briges from Europe to Asia and changing their name to Phrygians. Here, at last is testimony supportive of Fredricksmeier’s argument. But it defies an otherwise consistent tradition that accepts the priority of Midas’ *Asiatic Phrygian identity* [italics mine], and it is not sufficient to support the view that this was Alexander’s understanding of the significance of the cart that brought Midas to kingship in Phrygia.” Clearly, Munn wants Midas’ and the Phrygians’ identity to be exclusively ‘Asiatic’ (reiterated at 114-115), as opposed, it follows, to ‘Balkanic’ or ‘European’, which is an important conceptual antithesis in his piece, as he addresses the danger facing Alexander the Great for the identities of the Macedonians, Phrygians, Trojans and Persians to merge in the minds of his 4th century Greek audience. But as most ethnic studies rightly emphasize nowadays, ethnic identity can be a complex, composite construct in which either the subject or the external observer draws on multiple identities: nothing prevents the Phrygians or a putative king Midas from embracing an “Anatolian identity,” as evidenced by the Phrygians’ emulation of the images of power of the Neo-Hittite kingdoms, and embracing at the same time a ‘Balkanic identity’; nothing prevented the Macedonians from perceiving Midas and the Phrygians as both Asiatic and Balkanic, in the sense that they could have maintained ties of friendship, culture and trade with their Macedonian homeland. The one does not exclude the other, nor do the two separate identities have to either be antithetical or significant.

mountain range.³⁴³ Moreover, Midas' legendary capture of Silenus at the spring of Midas on Mount Bermion was known to Aristotle (*fr.* 44 R).

2.1.1. Late Bronze Age and EIA Migrations from Northern Greece to Asia Minor

The migration of the Phrygians from Macedonia into Anatolia as early as the 12th century BCE is now accepted by a majority of scholars.³⁴⁴ Sams documented the existence of a new kind of handmade pottery on the site of Gordion, an ancient Hittite stronghold, the closest parallels of which are attested in the southern Balkans.³⁴⁵

Commenting on the site of Daskyleion, Van Dongen 2013:7 writes:

In the second millennium BCE, the site of Daskyleion seems to be a typical western Anatolian settlement. At the end of the millennium, however, ... a link with Thracian, Macedonian and Thessalian material culture can be observed. Then, in the mid-eighth century, there is a strong increase in Phrygian elements, pointing to the arrival of a Phrygian population at the site. Daskyleion can now be called a Phrygian town.

³⁴³ Plutarch, *Alexander* 7.4.

³⁴⁴ Muscarella 2013:552; Henrickson & Voigt 2000:42-43; Sams 1994:20-2, 194-6; Vassileva 2001:227 “the Early Iron Age ceramic assemblages from Troy, Thrace and Phrygia cannot directly support the literary tradition on Phrygian migration from the Balkans, but they can corroborate a culturally similar environment and can justify the use of the term ‘ethno-cultural community’; also Neumann 1988; Haas 1970: 33, 58-59, 68. Linguists unanimously accept it, as far as I know; archaeologists are divided, but as discussed in the present paper, the naysayers, besides arbitrarily rejecting some of the material evidence, ignore and do not address the countless cases in history when population movements leave little or no archaeological evidence of their journey.

³⁴⁵ Sams 1994; the ceramic in Troy VII B 2 is similar to the ceramic found in Macedonia (Neumann in Kleine Pauly IV 822; Petrova 1998:45). Mellink 1960:250-251 (review of Blegen): “The knobbed ware of Troy VIIb 2 was well known by the abundant sampling in the Schliemann collection... Whatever the precise origins of this ware are, it is un-Anatolian.... The quantity of knobbed ware at Troy indicates that the newcomers settled in fairly large numbers. They coexisted with the native element, whose gray and tan ware pots continue to be produced.” A number of scholars dismiss this kind of pottery as evidence for migration, as do other archaeologists. It is unfortunate that a number of archaeologists are able to draw such peremptory negative conclusions, misled by the implicit equation “absence of evidence” = “evidence of absence” without taking into account data from linguistics and not seriously engaging with data with historiographical accounts other than through the narrow prism of their own archaeological methods.

The knobbed-like ware at Gordion compares with the knobbed ware found in Thrace.³⁴⁶

The coarse kitchen wares at Gordion and Thrace are comparable; there are compelling parallels with stamped pottery (Nikov 2002), whose appearance in Thrace is usually assigned to the 10th the 9th centuries BCE'. Although in Phrygia stamping occurs generally on wheel made pottery, predominantly on big pots and pithoi, the patterns of decoration are sometimes impressively similar to the Thracian designs; this practice is otherwise almost unknown in Early Iron Age Anatolia, an exception being at Midas City.³⁴⁷ Vassileva also draws attention to S-shaped stamped motifs in Thrace and Phrygia.³⁴⁸

The appearance of large tumuli in the Anatolian plateau also matches up quite nicely with similar ones found in the southern Balkans.³⁴⁹ In turn, the indigenous Lydians adopted and adapted them.³⁵⁰ Even the centrality of the oxcart as an emblem of kingship, as attested in the accession to power of the first Phrygian king and iterated in the significance of the Gordian knot, finds close parallels in the southern Balkans: Theodossiev 1998 & 2000 reads the significance of the royal oxcart in the mythology of the early Phrygian kings from the vantage point of the royal wagons found in the tomb of aristocratic families in the southern Balkans and the depiction of local kings riding an oxcart on local coins. An unadduced parallel between the kings of Phrygia and the kings of the region of Macedonia is the royal cult of rivers: the Macedonian kings worshipped an unidentified river as their savior (ποταμὸς δὲ ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ χώρῃ ταύτῃ, τῷ θύουσι οἱ

³⁴⁶ Vassileva 2005:228-229.

³⁴⁷ Vassileva 2005:228.

³⁴⁸ Vassileva 2005:229; Sams 1994:131.

³⁴⁹ Petrova 1997; Petrova 1998:49.

³⁵⁰ Luke & Roosevelt 2009:2; Haas 1970:35 “die phrygischen Tumuli unterscheiden sich davon durch das Fehlen einer Steinkammer, des Dromos und des Phallus-Steins”; cf Akurgal 1955:103.

τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀπ' Ἄργεος ἀπόγονοι σωτήρι: Herodotus 8.138). The Paeonians, neighbors of the Macedonians in the post-Archaic period and former occupants of Macedonia, were led by a ruler in the *Iliad* who claimed descent from the wide-flowing Axios (Ἀξιὸς εὐρυρέεθρος: *Iliad* 21.141).

Similarly, the rock-cut shrines in Anatolian Phrygia are often located in the vicinity of springs and rivers.³⁵¹ The garden of Midas, whether located in Macedonia by Mount Bermion or alternatively in Anatolia,³⁵² was associated with a spring of Midas where the king captured Silenus. The former name of the river *Marsyas* in Anatolia was the Midas, which was linked to the Phrygian king through an aetiological tale: the name Marsyas itself is not Anatolian in the Indo-European sense of the word, but Phrygian and is of European origin,³⁵³ so it must have been introduced into Antolia no later than the end of the Bronze Age, probably a little later. The abundance of several rivers in Asia Minor in gold, e.g. the Pactolus, the Maeander and Marsyas, were linked to king Midas as well: he had washed off the curse of his golden touch by bathing in one of them.³⁵⁴ Anchyrus, the son of Midas, saved Phrygia from a drought by sacrificing himself and diving with his horse into the source of the Maeander river.³⁵⁵ Further linking the kings of Macedonia and Phrygia is the cult of Dionysos: Alexander modeled his conquest of Asia after Dionysus' own mythical conquest and may have been thought of as his son: at all

³⁵¹ Berndt-Ersöz 2006.

³⁵² See *RE*, s.v. 'Midas' for sources.

³⁵³ The name Marsyas is also a traditional Macedonian name: the name was born by two Macedonian historians; for the *u* stem type, compare the ethnonym Φλέγυες, also located in the North Aegean.

³⁵⁴ Pseudo-Plutarch, *De Fluviiis* 7.1; Hyginus, *Fabula* 191; Claudian *Against Eutropus* 255-268.

³⁵⁵ Kallisthenes *FGrHist* 1 24 F 56

events, the young conqueror styled himself as the new Dionysus³⁵⁶; not only was the Phrygian king famous for his encounter with Silenus, Midas was also remembered for having had asses' ears, an animal associated with the god.³⁵⁷ I would further suggest the possibility that the connection of Dionysus to Phrygian kingship lies in the name *Otreus*, co-king of the Phrygians in the *Iliad*: Φρύγας ἀνέρας αἰολοπόλους / λαοὺς Ὀτρῆος καὶ Μυγδόνοος ἀντιθέοιο (3.186-187). According to Theognostus *Can.*13, the name of the Homeric Phrygian king meant 'mule': ὄτρεὺς ὁ ἡμίονος (cf Hesychius ὄτρεα: ἡμίονος).

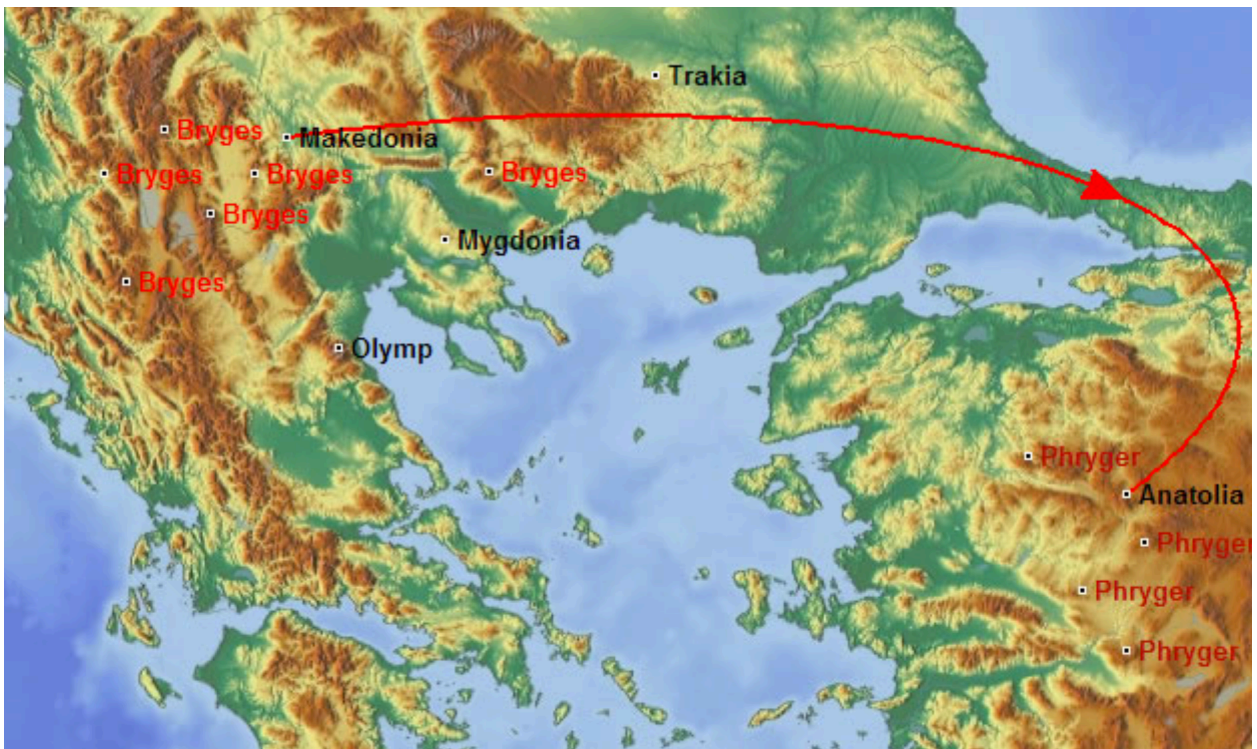


Figure 10: map of Brygia and Phrygia. Migration of the *Bhruges from Macedonia to Asia Minor: missing on the map is Mount Bermion, legendary home of king Midas, also missing is Edessa in the Thermaic gulf between Mygdonia and 'Olymp' on the map. Mygdonia too had been Phrygian territory. Map courtesy of makedon.eu³⁵⁸

³⁵⁶ Greenwalt 1994:3-8; Stähli 1999.

³⁵⁷ Dionysos retrieved Hephaistos from Hades on an ass. Asses and Dionysos were both associated with sexual potency. For sources, see *RE*.

³⁵⁸ Map courtesy of <http://makedon.eu/bilder/2012/11/Bryges-Phryger-Expansion-von-Makedonien-nach-Anatolien.jpg%20> - accessed 2011/06/2014.

The migration of the Phrygians into Anatolia was not a one-time event at the end of the Bronze Age, but rather a process, which lasted several centuries with successive waves from the 12th century BCE to the early archaic period of Greece³⁵⁹: the Phrygian migrations inscribe themselves within a massive influx of several populations from the Balkans, which unfolded over many centuries, hence the duplication of tribal names on both sides of the Dardanelles: the Anatolian Bithynians and the North Aegean Thuni,³⁶⁰ the Balkanic Maedi and the the Maedibithynians³⁶¹; as often recognized, the *Iliad* itself knows of Mysians both in northwest Anatolia and of their kinsmen further north in European Mysia located in modern Romania.³⁶² As Haas suggested, the last major major wave may be dated to the 9th century BCE when the first Phrygian tumuli, with clear counterparts in Macedonia and the south Balkans first appear: this last wave is likely to have brought in king Midas and his followers.³⁶³

³⁵⁹ Neumann 1988:16; Vassileva 2005:231-232 the occurrence of early Iron Age coarse handmade pottery at a number of sites in central Anatolia has generated opposition to the traditionally assumed ‘Phrygian’ label for this pottery. It has recently been suggested that this handmade repertoire should be related to the Kaska people, the traditional northern enemies of the Hittites (Genz 2000:40)...The scepticism has affected the interpretation of the later Phrygian pottery from Bogazkoy and has prompted the definition ‘pottery of the Phrygian period. However, the Phrygian epigraphic data, and the evidence provided by the Assyrian cuneiform texts on Phrygian activity in eastern and southeastern Anatolia, should not be completely ignored. Borza 1992:65 dates the last or only (he does not clarify) Phrygian migration from Macedonia to Anatolia around 800 BCE.

³⁶⁰ Herodotus 7.75 Οὔτοι δὲ διαβάντες μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην ἐκλήθησαν Βιθυνοί, τὸ δὲ πρότερον ἐκαλέοντο, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, Στρυμόνιοι, οἰκούντες ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι· ἐξαναστῆναι δὲ φασι ἐξ ἠθέων ὑπὸ Τευκρῶν τε καὶ Μυσῶν.

³⁶¹ Theodossiev 2008:432 “it is not surprising that a beehive tomb consisting of long *dromos* and burial chamber dated to the 4th century B.C. was excavated near Kutlucha in Western Bithynia. The monument is perhaps the best synchronous parallel to the Thracian domed tombs and could be considered as an excellent proof of the cultural interaction and ethnic relationship between ancient Thracians and Bithynians, as is recorded in numerous written sources.”

³⁶² *Iliad* 13, Kirk commentary. Delev 2007:5 notes the preclassical presence of Edonians at Antandros. Papazoglou 1979:64 believes in a connection between the Phrygians and the Edonians who are present in Macedonian Mygdonia in the late archaic and early Classical period.

³⁶³ Haas 1970. While I agree with the significance of the first appearance of the Phrygian tumuli in Anatolia as an important *terminus ante quem* for the arrival of Phrygian populations in Anatolia, I am less inclined to

2.1.2. ‘Phrygian’ Φρύγες, Βρύγες, Βρίγες, Βρυγοί

The Herodotean claim that the Macedonians called the Phrygians *Briges* as long as they dwelled in Europe and *lived among the Macedonians* (σύνοικοι ἦσαν Μακεδόσι: 7.73), but renamed them Phrygians when they crossed over into Asia (μεταβάντες δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην ἅμα τῇ χώρῃ καὶ τὸ οὖνομα μετέβαλον ἐς Φρύγας) is to be reinterpreted in several ways: the phi-initial form of the Ph-rygians is not in fact Macedonian at all, but the inherited Greek form of the ethnonym, which reflects an older period in history (anywhere from the Submycenaean to the Archaic period) when the Macedonians and/or Phrygians had preserved the voiced aspirate Indo-European plosive **bh*, which in Greek evolves to *ph*. As the Anatolian Phrygians became differentiated from their European counterparts, the Greeks ossified the phi-initial form and reserved it to the former even after the original aspirated **bh* in early Phrygian (and)/(or) Macedonian had evolved to unaspirated **b*: several Anatolian Phrygian tribes, e.g. the Ἀλλόβρυγες (Charax *fr.* 59) and the Βέβρυκες, a reduplicated form of the variant Βρύκες ‘Phrygians’ show that *B*-initial forms were the endonymic initial of the name in both Europe and Asia. A small minority of skeptics have cast doubts on whether the *Briges* / *Brugoi* and the *Phruges* are related, for the trivial reason that, bilabials aside, either the vocalic root or the ending differs: but it has been convincingly suggested that Archilochus’ bawdy fragment 42 ὥσπερ ἀλῶι βρῦτον ἢ Θρέϊζ ἀνήρ / ἢ Φρυξ ἔβρυξε³⁶⁴. κύβδα δ’ ἦν πονεομένη (“Just as a Thracian man or a Phrygian would gulp down beer to the sound of the flute, she kept

support his contention of the existence of two separate Phrygian languages, one from northwestern Anatolia, which is supposedly closer to Macedonian, and the other from greater Phrygia (in the highlands of Anatolia), which is closer to Greek.

³⁶⁴ See Edmonds 1931, *fr.* 32 for the original reading ἔβρυξε attested in all of Athenaeus’ manuscripts, which sometimes unfortunately appears as ἔμυξε in a number of modern editions, following Wilamowitz’s emendation (Bowie 2012:18).

going at it, bent forward”) masks an original ὥσπερ ἀλῶι βρῦτον ἢ Θρέϊξ ἀνήρ / ἢ Βρῦξ ἔβρυζε³⁶⁵. κύβδα δ’ ἦν πονεομένη, thus enabling a triple *br*- alliterative bridge spanning βρῦτον, Βρῦξ and ἔβρυξε, and extending to κύβδα via *b*-. It is unclear whether Archilochus’ *Βρύγες were European, Anatolian or arguably undifferentiated: Archilochus’ Thasos was very close to Mount Athos, near which Βρύγοι would later decimate under the cover of night the fleet of Mardonius (Herodotus 6.44). At the same time, Thasos’ very proximity to Chalcidike and Macedonia could have familiarized the Ionian colonists with local accounts of the near-identity and/or common origins of the European *Βρύγες/ Βρύγοι and the Anatolian Φρύγες, in which case the distinction would be negligible.

To be sure, a variety of ancient sources confirm the wide presence of Herodotus’ B-initial Phrygians north of Greece, covering not only the enlarged kingdom of Macedonia under Philip the Second, but even Epirus to the west: in the *Telegony*, Odysseus marries Kallidike the queen of the Thesprotians and leads her people to war against the *Brygoi*.³⁶⁶ As we explore common features to the Phrygians/Brygians and the Macedonians, it is noteworthy that even where the geographical spread of the European Phrygians exceeds the boundaries of Macedonia proper, i.e. in Epirus proper, one also finds the ancestral land of the Macedonians, as embodied by the mythical wanderings of the Temenid brothers: Aeropos, Gauanes and Perdiccas had fled there from Argos.³⁶⁷

³⁶⁵ See Edmonds 1931, *fr.* 32 for the original reading ἔβρυξε attested in all of Athenaeus’ manuscripts, which sometimes unfortunately appears as ἐμυξε in a number of modern editions, following Wilamowitz’s emendation (Bowie 2012:18).

³⁶⁶ Eugammon of Cyrene in Proclus *Chrestomathia* 318 γαμεῖ (315) Καλλιδικὴν βασιλίδαν τῶν Θεσπρωτῶν. ἔπειτα πόλεμος συνίσταται τοῖς Θεσπρωτοῖς πρὸς Βρύγους, Ὀδυσσεῶς ἡγουμένου.

³⁶⁷ According to Herodotus 8.137, Aeropos, Gauanes and Perdiccas fled to Illyria, which included much of Epirus.

2.1.2. Homeric Mygdon: an ethnonym from Macedonia

Let us now turn to *Iliad* (3.185-187), in which Priam describes the dyarchy of his Phrygian neighbors:

ἔνθα ἶδον πλείστους Φρύγας ἀνέρας αἰολοπῶλους
λαοὺς Ὀτρῆος καὶ Μυγδόνοιο ἀντιθέοιο,
οἳ ῥα τότε ἔστρατόωντο παρ' ὄχθας Σαγγαρίοιο·

Then I saw the innumerable Phrygian men with swift steeds
The legions of Otreus and Mygdon / “the Mygdonian” equal to the gods
Who then were arrayed by the banks of the Sangarios

The Homeric personal name *Mygdon* is formally an ethnonym, “the Mygdonian.”³⁶⁸ Such an interpretation can be secured from a consideration of 1) the frequency of ethnonymic names in the *Iliad*; 2) the attestation of an *ethnos* known as the *Mygdones* in various parts of Anatolian Phrygia, in particular the northwest³⁶⁹; corresponding territories known as Mygdonia in said land and also Macedonia located between the rivers Axios and Strymon: πέραν Ἀξιοῦ μέχρι Στρυμόνος τὴν Μυγδονίαν καλουμένην³⁷⁰; 3) the pattern of either an old king or a dead king bearing the ethnonym of the corresponding land.

The first criterion, the frequency of ethnonymic names in the *Iliad*, can be illustrated with the following examples: *Teukros*, the brother of Telamonian Ajax, is “the Teucrican,” an ancient population in the Troad³⁷¹; *Aineias*, the son of Aphrodite, is the eponym of a tribe, the *Aineioi*, cf. Hipponax *fr.* 72 Ῥῆσος, Αἰνειῶν πάλμυς; *Troilos* (*Iliad* 24.257) is “the little Trojan” or simply “the Trojan” if one assumes a Carian, Lydian or

³⁶⁸ Petrova 1997:161

³⁶⁹ Strabo 7.3.2 Μυγδόνες καὶ Βέβρυκες καὶ Μαιδοβίθυνοι καὶ Βίθυνοι καὶ Θυνοὶ...οὗτοι μὲν οὖν τελέως ἐκκλειόπασι πάντες τὴν Εὐρώπην.

³⁷⁰ Thucydides 2.99

³⁷¹ Kallinos of Ephesos quoted by Strabo 13.1.48 τοῖς γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Κρήτης ἀφιγμένοις Τεύκροις (οὗς πρῶτος παρέδωκε Καλλίνος ὁ τῆς ἐλεγείας ποιητής; Herodotus 5.13; 5.122; 7.20; 7.43; most famously, though much later, Vergil, *Aeneid*, and his *Teucrici*.

Lycian reading; a character named *Tros* slain by Achilles is simply ‘the Trojan’ (Τρῶα δ’ Ἀλαστορίδην: 20.460); the son of Priam *Lykaon*, despite its superficially Greek etymology reminiscent of the Arcadian king, reads in Luwian as “the Lycian” or “Lykaonian,” an ethnonym in central Anatolia directly inherited from the Bronze Age *Lukka*³⁷²; Δρύοψ at *Iliad* 20.455 is the eponym of the Dryopes; *Asios* is ‘the Asian’ (2.837); the Trojan *Gorgythion* (*Iliad* 8.302) is the hypocoristic form of a tribe in the Troad, the *Gergithes* in Herodotus 5.122: ὅσοι τὴν Ἰλιάδα νέμονται, εἶλε δὲ Γέργιθας τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας τῶν ἀρχαίων Τευκρῶν.

We will skip the second criterion, owing to the length of the argument, and first illustrate the third criterion, the pattern of either an old king or a dead king bearing the ethnonym of the corresponding land. The tomb of king *Ilos* “the Ilian” / “the Trojan” is shown in the *Iliad* (11.371; 24.349); Another dead king Dardanos is the eponym of an Illyrian tribe, which is likely to have entered Asia Minor *before* the end of the Bronze Age³⁷³; we saw above Lykaon the son of Priam, whose name is formally an Anatolian ethnonym “the Lycaonian” / “the Lycian,” but one must also take into account an older *Lykaon*, father of the northern Lycian archer Pandaros. As we shall see, among all ethnonymic names, the personal name *Dardanos* is perhaps the closest typological parallel to the Phrygian king *Mygdon*, in that a) they are both dead or old from the standpoint of the narrative present of the poem; b) although *Mygdon* and *Dardanos* are ethnonyms, they are both associated with *ethne* etymologically distinct from their own

³⁷² Palmer 1996:20; Bryce 1992:121; Jenniges 1998:41; Yakubovich 2008:172.

³⁷³ The *Drdny* among those who fought at the battle of Kadesh (1274 BCE) are most likely precursors to the Dardanoi of the *Iliad* (Wainwright 1961). King Alaksandu of Wilusa, mentioned in the Hittite records, is generally recognized as a distant historical model for Alexander (Paris) from Ilios (Troy) (Thomas & Conant 2007:33-34; Rose 2013:32)

names: *Mygdon* + the Phrygians; *Dardanos* + the Trojans (Priam's ancestor); c) the corresponding territories of Mygdonia and Dardania are both duplicated on either side of the Hellespont like the European and Anatolian Mysians, also mentioned in the *Iliad*.³⁷⁴

The second criterion in defense of interpreting the name of the Phrygian king Mygdon as “the Mygdonian” is indeed the attestation of Mygdonia(s) and Mygdonians in several parts of Anatolia and Macedonia. Second chronologically to Homer, Hekataios mentions Mygdonia as a territory as a region in Bithynia.³⁷⁵ In addition to this more famous Mygdonia in Anatolia, another Mygdonia is also located further south in Pisidia, as attested by an inscription from ca. 250 BCE³⁷⁶: the region is linked archaeologically and mythologically to the Phrygians.³⁷⁷ The point of origin of these Anatolian Mygdonias is the region located in Macedonia.

2.1.4. Μυγδόνες = Syncopated *Μακεδόνες

I submit that the Macedonian Μυγδονία and the Μυγδόνες are old syncopated variants of Μακεδόνες and Μακεδονία, just as the Herodotean Μακεδνοί, ‘proto-Dorians’, seems to reflect yet another syncopated form, in the third syllable instead of the second. By way of introduction, it is important to keep in mind that the ethnonym ‘Macedonian’ was notoriously multiform and was surrounded by a variety of

³⁷⁴ Strabo's commentary (7.3.2) on the first few lines of book 13 of the *Iliad*: οὔτοι μὲν οὖν τελέως ἐκλελοίπασι πάντες τὴν Εὐρώπην, οἱ δὲ Μυσοὶ συνέμειναν. καὶ Ὅμηρον (10) δ' ὀρθῶς εἰκάζειν μοι δοκεῖ Ποσειδῶνιος τοὺς ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ Μυσοὺς κατονομάζειν (λέγω δὲ τοὺς ἐν τῇ Θράκῃ) ὅταν φῆ „αὐτὸς δὲ πάλιν τρέπεν ὅσσε φαιινῶ, „νόσφιν ἐφ' ἵπποπόλων Θρηκῶν καθορώμενος αἴαν „Μυσῶν τ' ἀγχεμάχων.“ ἐπεὶ εἶ γε τοὺς κατὰ τὴν (15) Ἀσίαν Μυσοὺς δέχοιτό τις, ἀπηρητημένους ἂν εἶη ὁ λόγος.

³⁷⁵ Strabo 12.3.22; 12.4.4; 12.8.10-11; Sallust *Hist.* 3 fr. 70 (Delev 2007:6).

³⁷⁶ Calder 1912:80, cf. Bousdroukis 2004:39.

³⁷⁷ Bousdroukis 2004:39.

etymological synonyms and quasi-synonyms: 1) Μακέται / Μακέτης; 2) Μακηδών; 3) Μακεδνοί ‘proto-Dorians’; 4) μηκεδανός ‘long’; 5) Μάγνητες ‘Magnesians.’³⁷⁸ The change from Makedonia to Mygdonia would thus be one among many.

Statistical Argument

The sound structures of Makedonia and Mygdonia, 1) whose territories are either contiguous geographically or overlap, are exceptionally similar, in terms of 2) the number of their consonants, 3) the nature of their consonants, 4) the distribution of their consonants, 5) the distribution of their vowels and 6) their stress pattern?

To put it differently, what are the odds that European *Mygdonia* is either contiguous or a part of *Macedonia*, considering that

- a) 3 of their 4 consonants are exactly the same (*m, d, n*)?
- b) appear in the same sequence?
- c) The only dissimilar consonants *k/g* have the same point of articulation (guttural), are both plosives and fit exactly into the parallel distribution of consonants of *Makedonia* and *Mygdonia* = *M-k/g-d-n*: they are the same, except for voice, so that 4 of 4 consonants of Mygdonia and Macedonia have the same point of articulation and manner of articulation *in the same sequence*: 1) *m*, 2) *k/g*, 3) *d*, 4) *n*?
- d) the stress pattern is the same (Μακεδονία vs. Μυγδονία;) and is theoretically favorable to the syncopation of one of the previous vowels?

Mygdonia, as first defined in the 5th century BCE by Herodotus and Thucydides, had not always been a dominion of the Argead Macedonians, but was conquered by them in the

³⁷⁸ Magnes and Makedon are brothers in the *Catalogue of Women*. For their belonging to the same root, see Sakellariou 2009.

early 5th century. While this to some would invalidate the etymology Mygdonia = Macedonia, in the present opinion, this does not the least weaken the argument for two important reasons: 1) as we will argue, a distinction must be made between the *Argead* kingdom, which identified itself as Macedonian, and the territory of Macedonia, the size and definition of which could vary immensely; 2) there are proven instances of contiguous regions, which are also etymological doublets: *Gascony* in southwestern France (Latin *Vasconia*) is an etymological doublet of the smaller *Basque* country south of it: although Basque has not been spoken in most of Gascony for many centuries, its name indicates that speakers of this linguistic isolate had once extended as far as Bordeaux, a hundred miles or so north of the Basque country. *Dutch* in English refers to speakers mostly located in a small country along the opposite shores of the North Sea, the Netherlands, despite the fact that the ethnonym used to encompass a much larger territory, which included Germany: *Deutsch*. Just as Gascony once encompassed the contiguous Basque country but no longer does, it is argued that Mygdonia in the proto-Phrygian period denoted the entire territory of Macedonia: in effect, Mygdonia and Macedonia are phonetic variants of the same territory.

That Mygdonia should be to Macedonia what the Basque country is to Gascony is not merely a clever exercise in hunting down similar toponymic patterns around the world: according to Kleidemos,³⁷⁹ *Maketia* was a synonym of Macedonia as a whole (ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ὅλην Μακεδονίαν Μακετίαν οἶδεν ὀνομαζομένην Κλείδημος). But according to Marsyas, *Maketia* was originally the Upper Macedonian region of Oresteia (λέγεται δὲ καὶ Μακεδονίας μοῖρα Μακετία, ὡς Μαρσύας πρῶτον Μακεδονικῶν „καὶ τὴν Ὀρεστείαν δὲ Μακετίαν λέγουσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Μακεδόνοϛ“). It is almost universally agreed

³⁷⁹ cf. Herodian 3,2:547

that *Makedonia* and *Maketia* are cognates with different suffixes. We will return to the historical background of this internal analogy: Μυγδονία is to Μακεδονία what Marsyas' Μακετία is to Μακεδονία: a part of the whole. Similarly, it is proposed here that Μυγδονία had also once been to Μακεδονία what Kleidemos' Μακετία was to Μακεδονία: a cognate synonym. If Maketia could have been both a region of Macedonia and the whole of Macedonia, so could Mygdonia have been not only a region of Macedonia but also at one point the whole of Macedonia.

As we zoom out into the other Mygdonia in Bithynia, an ethnonymic / toponymic pattern becomes observable: just as *Macedonia* was associated with the two synonyms or regions of *Mygdonia* and *Maketia*, so was the Bithynian Mygdonia associated with what could be phonetic variants of the *Makedones* and the *Maketai*: according to Callistratus and Ptolemy, the Μοκκαδηνοί lived in the territory of Bithynian Mygdonia with Silandos as their metropolis³⁸⁰ and there was also a city named Μόκατα in this other Mygdonia³⁸¹: to the European triad 1a) *Mygdonia*, 2a) *Makete*³⁸² and 3a) *Makedones* would correspond the Bithynian 1b) *Mygdonia*, 2b) *Mokata* and 3b) *Mokkadenoi*.³⁸³ Furthermore, an

³⁸⁰ Kallistratos FHG IV 355 fr. 6 and Ptolemy 5.2.27; Leschlhorn 1993:321.

³⁸¹ Callistratus in Herodian 3,1.390.18: Μόκατα πόλις Βιθυνίας, ὡς Δομέτιος Καλλίστρατος ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἡρακλείας τετάρτῳ.

³⁸² Or *Maketia* / *Maketis*.

³⁸³ The η in Μοκκαδ-η-νοί could be one of many vocalic variants attested in synonyms and close cognates of Μακεδ-ό-νες: besides ό, there is also α, as in μηκεδ-α-νός 'long' and zero, as in μακεδνός 'tall'; in light of the productivity of the toponymic suffix -ηνοί in Western Asia Minor, e.g. Περγαμ-ηνοί, it is possible that the suffix in Μοκκαδηνοί is the result of analogy and masks an earlier form whose suffix might have had the same vowel as either Μακεδ-ό-νες or perhaps rather μηκεδ-α-νός. The gemination in Μο-κκ-αδηνοί could be expressive, as shown by the cognate Μο-κ-αδηνή and conversely the optional gemination of Μάκεττα 'female Macedonian', cf. Herodian 3,2.547.27 Μακέτης Μακεδόνιος και Μακέτις γυνή και Μάκεσσα ἐπιθετικῶς, ὡς Ἡρακλείδης, και Μάκεττα διὰ δύο ττ και δι' ἑνός τ. Alternatively, the gemination in Μο-κκ-αδηνοί could be viewed as compensatory gemination for what could have originally a long vowel in the first syllable. The Urform could have been *Μᾱκεδᾶνοί, cf. Attic-Ionic μηκεδανός 'long'. Thus, *Μᾱκεδᾶνοί → *Μακκεδᾶνοί → (dialectic) *Μοκκαδᾶνοί → (analogy) Μοκκαδηνοί. Alternatively, the collation of the Hesychian Ὀδωνίς· ἡ Θάσος τὸ πάλαι with the Ionicized 5th century attested Ἡδωνοί

inscription at Usak, which is located in the third Mygdonia—in (Anatolian) Pisidia—refers to the deme of Μοκαδηνή. Both of these Anatolian Mygdonias were areas with high concentrations of Phrygians, as evidenced by inscriptions and material evidence.³⁸⁴ Wherever Mygdonias are found, Makedones / Mokkađanoi are found. These correlations are interesting because they lend some support to the argument that Mygdonia was a variant of Macedonia; what is more, the vowel *o* in *Mokkađanoi* and *Mokata* bridges the vocalic gap between the *a* of *Makedones* and the *u* of *Mugđones*.

Mygdonia, in the Classical period, represents a region in Eastern Macedonia. The North Aegean was a region of considerable migratory instability: the movement of populations, whether self-initiated or forced from the outside, gave rise to toponymic peculiarities whereby a toponym, which had originally been named after an *ethnos* in said territory, was no longer there. For instance, as we learn from Thucydides, the Pierian gulf was so named because a Pierian *ethnos* once inhabited the region. In the historical period, however, there were no Pierians in the Pierian gulf: they had been forcefully removed by the Argead Macedonians to the region below the Pangaion mountain range (Thucydides 2.99.3). Similarly, Bottia(ia)³⁸⁵ used to be the land between the rivers Echedoros and Haliakmon: but the Bottians too were removed by the Macedonians and resettled in Chalcidike where a new *Bottike* was named after them.³⁸⁶ In like manner, I propose that

suggests the possibility a regional mutation from long *ā* (**Āđōnes*) to long *ō* (**Ōđōnes*, which eventually shortens to *ō* in unstressed position, hence Hesychian Ὀδωνίς. So that the pathway could have also been **Mākeđānoí* → (dialectic) **Mōkeđānoí* → **Mokkađānoí* → (analogy) Μοκαδηνοί.

³⁸⁴ Mitchell 2013:170.

³⁸⁵ The name varies between Βοττία, Βοττιαία and Βοττιαίς as early as the Classical period (see *RE*, s.v. ‘Bottia’).

³⁸⁶ Thucydides 2.99 Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Περδίκκου πατήρ καὶ οἱ πρόγονοι αὐτοῦ, Τημενίδαι τὸ ἀρχαῖον ὄντες ἐξ Ἄργους, πρῶτοι ἐκτίσαντο καὶ ἐβασίλευσαν ἀναστήσαντες μάχη ἐκ μὲν Πιερίας Πιέρας, οἱ ὕστερον ὑπὸ τὸ

Mygdonia, whose territory either approximated that of Bottia (Herodotus) or ranged from the Lydias river all the way to the Strymon, was historically the last politically independent region of the Bryges, or Proto-Phrygians, whose larger territory once included all of ancient Macedonia all the way to Epirus. Mygdonia was the name given to ‘Macedonia’ = the Pindus mountain range + adjacent territories, as long as the Proto-Phrygians were dominant in the region. Prior to the emigration of the Phrygians from Macedonia, it is highly conceivable that the region was multi-ethnic, but it is difficult to know how those interethnic boundaries were drawn: much of what was considered proto-Phrygian could have included tribes, which were later identified as Macedonian; the designation ‘Phrygian’ and ‘Macedonian’ could have also originally been synonyms for similar or identical tribal confederations. By way of analogy, ‘Danaan’, ‘Achaean’ and ‘Argive’ are three synonyms of ‘Greek’ in epic poetry; but in the Classical period, ‘Achaean’ becomes restricted to certain parts of Greece (the northern Peloponnese, parts of Magna Graecia and Phthiotid Achaia), as does ‘Argive’, i.e. mostly the inhabitants of the Argolis or Argos within the Argolis.

2.1.4.1. The Estuary Valley of the Thermaic Gulf: A Generator of Macedonias

According to both Herodotus and Thucydides, the Axios river in the Thermaic Gulf was the western boundary of Mygdonia. Before attempting to explain, at least in part, why such a relatively small area as the Thermaic Gulf generated so many synonyms for ‘Macedonia’ as a whole via a *kat’ exochen* synecdoche, the pattern must at first be

Πάγγαιον πέραν Στρυμόνος ὄκησαν Φάγρητα καὶ ἄλλα χωρία (καὶ ἔτι καὶ νῦν Πιερικὸς κόλπος καλεῖται ἢ ὑπὸ τῷ Παγγαίῳ πρὸς θάλασσαν γῆ), ἐκ δὲ τῆς Βοττίας καλουμένης Βοττιαίουσ, οἱ νῦν ὄμοροι Χαλκιδέων οἰκοῦσιν· τῆς δὲ Παιονίας παρὰ τὸν Ἄξιόν ποταμὸν στενήν τινα καθήκουσαν ἄνωθεν μέχρι Πέλλης καὶ θαλάσσης ἐκτῆσαντο, καὶ πέραν Ἄξιου μέχρι Στρυμόνος τὴν Μυγδονίαν καλουμένην Ἡδῶνας ἐξέλασαντες νέμονται. ἀνέστησαν δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς νῦν Ἑορδίας καλουμένης Ἑορδούς, ὧν οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ ἐφθάρησαν, βραχὺ δὲ τι αὐτῶν περὶ Φύσκαν κατόκηται, καὶ ἐξ Ἀλμωπίας Ἀλμωπας.

plainly articulated and seen for what it is: as many as three small areas *within* the fluvial valley of the Thermaic Gulf could be used more loosely as synonyms for all of Macedonia: 1) *Emathia*, 2) *Ichnaia* and 3) *Bottia(ia)*.

Situated between Pieria on the one hand, the Thracians' mountains and Mount Athos on the other hand, the *Iliad*'s placement of *Emathia* matches the Thermaic Gulf, with which Ptolemy also agrees (3.12.36); and yet the geographical range of *Emathia* can also extend to the whole of Macedonia.³⁸⁷ The original, restricted meaning of *Emathia* is further evidenced by the former name of Thessalonike having been 'Emathia', as brilliantly demonstrated by Papazoglou³⁸⁸: Thessalonike had been located in the Thermaic Gulf and came about as a result of synoecism of several pre-Hellenistic towns, including *Aineia* whose eponym the Dardanian Aineias is proudly proclaimed on local archaic coins from the 6th century BCE.³⁸⁹

Just as *Emathia* had been a) a city in the Thermaic Gulf, b) could denote the small region of the Thermaic Gulf and c) could denote by extension all of Macedonia, so was

³⁸⁷ *RE*, s.v. 'Emathia', cf. Strabo 7.1.11 Ὅτι Ἡμαθία ἐκαλεῖτο πρότερον ἢ νῦν Μακεδονία.

³⁸⁸ Papazoglou 1988:196-197 "Que Thessalonique s'appelait autrefois Ἡμαθία, nous l'apprenons d'abord du chroniqueur byzantin Zonaras (XIIe s.): Θεσσαλονίκην ἐπολιόρκουν· (les Goths) ἢ πάλαι μὲν Ἡμαθία καλεῖσθαι λέγεται, Θεσσαλονίκη δὲ μετονομασθῆναι, ainsi que des listes des villes qui ont changé de nom. Le témoignage de ces auteurs tardifs ne prend de valeur que lorsque des textes anciens viennent à leur appui. L'opinion courante, selon laquelle Ἡμαθία ne serait qu'une épithète donnée à Thessalonique en tant que ville principale de la Macédoine ne tient pas compte du fait qu'une ville nommée Emathie est attestée par des auteurs anciens. Ainsi, nous lisons chez Strabon (frag. 11 E): Ὅτι Ἡμαθία ἐκαλεῖτο πρότερον ἢ νῦν Μακεδονία. ἔλαβε δὲ τοῦνομα τοῦτο ἀπ' ἀρχαίους τινὸς τῶν ἡγεμόνων Μακεδόνας. ἦν δὲ καὶ πόλις Ἡμαθία πρὸς θαλάσση. La dernière proposition pourrait être une interpolation et avoir trait à Emathie-Oisyme de la Pierie thrace. Mais comme il s'agit d'un fragment de *l'építome Vaticana*, il est possible que la donnée soit authentique. L'ancienne ville d'Emathie, homonyme de la région – τῷ ἔθνει ὁμώνυμος – comme l'a noté Siméon le Magistre – ne pouvait se trouver qu'en Macédoine propre, voire sur son littoral (πρὸς θαλάσση). L'existence d'une vieille ville du nom d'Emathie est attestée indirectement par le périple dit de skymnos, qui nous dit que la ville d'Oisyme en Pierie avait reçu le nom d'Emathia d'après la ville macédonienne (Pas. -Scymn. 657: ἀπὸ τῆς Μακέσσης Ἡμαθίας τε λεγομένη). L'authenticité du passage de Strabon trouve une confirmation dans la notice suivante d'Étienne de Byzance: Ἡμαθία, πόλις καὶ χωρίον. ἢ νῦν Μακεδονία. καὶ Ἡμαθίς ἡ χώρα. Le contexte ne permet pas de penser à Emathia-Oisyme d'au-delà du Strymon.

³⁸⁹ See Papazoglou 1988:191ff.

Ichnai a) a city in the Thermaic Gulf and c) was the derivational basis for a synonym for Macedonia as a whole: *Ichnaia*: Ἰχναίη: ἡ Μακεδονία³⁹⁰; the note in Stephanus of Byzantium Ἰχναίην χώραν· τὴν Μακεδονίαν, ἔνθα τὸ μαντεῖον ὁ Ἀπόλλων κατέσχε, καὶ τιμᾶται Ἰχναίη Θέμις provides the beginning of an explanation for the connection between the city *Ichnai* and the greater region of Macedonia: Ἰχναῖος / Ἰχναίη was a regional cult title of several gods, in particular Apollo and Themis, which extended from Thessaly to northwestern Anatolia. 6th century BCE archaic coins at *Ichnai* show the Macedonian sunburst, as well as a *footprint*, which is a visualization of the cognate lexeme ἶχνος ‘track’, ‘footstep’.³⁹¹

Finally, Herodotus alone provides a clear definition of the boundaries of Bottia(ia) within the fluvial valley of the Thermaic Gulf: it was located between the Axios river to the east (7.123-124) and includes the cities of Pella and *Ichnai*; to the west, the Lydias and Haliakmon separated it from the land of Macedonia proper (7.127).³⁹² But Justin’s epitome of Trogus, which itself drew heavily on Greek historians like Theopompus and Ephorus, reports an enlarged, possibly poetic definition of Bottia, in which it is equated with Macedonia as a whole, in the time of the ‘Pelasgians’.³⁹³

Thus, the propensity of the Thermaic Gulf region to produce such scalable Macedonias as ‘Emathia’, ‘Ichnaia’ and ‘Bottia’, is an independent factor, in and of itself,

³⁹⁰ Suidas, s.v. ‘Ἰχναίη’; Pseudo-Zonaras s.v. ‘Ἰχναίη’.

³⁹¹ Svoronos 1919:52.

³⁹² Hdt 7.123-124 τὸν Ἄξιον ποταμόν, ὃς οὐρίζει χώραν τὴν Μυγδονίην τε καὶ Βοττιαίδα, τῆς ἔχουσι τὸ παρά θάλασσαν, στεινὸν (124.) χωρίον, πόλεις Ἰχναί τε καὶ Πέλλα.

³⁹² Herodotus 7.127 ἀπὸ Θέρμης πόλιος καὶ τῆς Μυγδονίης μέχρι Λυδιέω τε ποτα-μοῦ καὶ Ἀλιάκμονος, οἱ οὐρίζουσι γῆν τὴν Βοττιαίδα τε καὶ Μακεδονίδα

³⁹³ Justin 7.1.1-3: Macedonia ante a nomine Emathionis regis, cuius prima uirtutis experimenta in illis locis extant, Emathia cognominata est. Huius sicuti incrementa modica, et ita termini perangusti fuere. Populus Pelasgi, regio Bottia dicebatur.

for considering the past extensibility of Mygdonia, also located in the Thermaic Gulf, to the entire Macedonian territory. Our earliest sources, Herodotus and Thucydides, do not in fact agree on the eastern and western boundaries of Mygdonia: according to Herodotus, Mygdonia was apparently a tiny stretch of land running from the Axios river on its western boundary to Chalastra, Sindos and Therme on its eastern boundary (to be synoecized into Thessalonike), with the river Eche(i)dorus running through it, and Crestonia to the north of Mygdonia.³⁹⁴ To Thucydides (and later Strabo and Herodian), however, Mygdonia was approximately three times larger, stretching from the aforementioned Axios to the west, in agreement with Herodotus, but stretching much further to the east—the Strymon river (πέραν Ἀξιοῦ μέχρι Στρυμόνος τὴν Μυγδονίαν καλουμένην: 2.99.4). Before delving further into the prehistory of the Thermaic Gulf, which will lead us to consider the former dominion of the Paeonians and Brygians, let us return to a linguistic analysis of Mygdonia vis-à-vis Macedonia.

How early the phonetic shift Μακεδόνες < Μυγδόνες occurred and in what language(s) the change occurred is unknown: but the attestation of *Mygdon* in the *Iliad* provides a *terminus ante quem* of 700-650 BCE; conceivably the shift would have occurred anywhere in the three centuries or so prior; did the shift occur in Old Phrygian itself? Was it in Old Macedonian? Is it even fair to distinguish the two in this early period, lacking a synchronous control in Macedonian? Did the evolution of *Makedones* occur in a third language with which the ancient Macedonians and Phrygians were in close contact, such as Paeonian and/or Thracian? This too remains a viable possibility in light of the fact that ethnonyms can be transferred from older, indigenous populations who are associated with the territory, which the new masters of the land (Phrygians

³⁹⁴ Herodotus 7.123 & 7.124

and/or Macedonians) then appropriated. The analogy of Achaia and the Achaeans is telling because most linguists are agreed that Achaia and the Achaeans are not Greek names and originally denoted an indigenous population in the Aegean that preceded the arrival and ascendancy of the Greek-speaking populations in the Bronze Age.³⁹⁵ As we shall see, the known or inferable linguistic groups in Macedonia during the EIA may have included Macedonian /, Phrygian, Thracian, Etruscan, Illyrian and possibly Greek and Anatolian. Any of these languages could have impacted the shift. It is also important to emphasize that the ethnic and linguistic boundaries of the EIA may not have been the same as in the Classical period: at a time when the Argead Macedonians may have been a much weaker and smaller group, if it existed at all, was there already a distinct Macedonian identity in either an ethnic or linguistic sense? If a large Macedonian *ethnos* existed before or beyond the then-embryonic Argeads, what percentage were the Argead Macedonians among all those who identified as ‘Macedonian? How did they relate to the proto-Phrygians? We will argue that the Proto-Phrygians and Proto-Macedonians, in this early time period, were hardly differentiated from one another, culturally and linguistically. Within this context, we can re-assess the relation of the Greeks to the Macedonians and Phrygians by triangulating the three.

2.1.4.2. Syncope *-ked- > -gd- (Makedones* > *Mugdones*)**

To get from *Ma-ked-ones* to *My-gd-ones*, two changes must be factored in: 1) the consonantal shift of *-ked-* to *-gd-*, which involves *syncope*, and 2) the shift from *a* to *u* via *o*.

³⁹⁵ Sakellariou 1977:231-240

Syncope is a universal phenomenon: in the case of ancient Greek, two entire books have been dedicated to the topic.³⁹⁶ Some languages are more prone to syncope than others; some dialects are more prone to syncope whereas the more prestigious language may not be; the frequency with which syncopated forms occur in a given language may also vary from one period to another. With these important caveats in mind, we can further investigate the linguistic milieu in which the proposed syncope *Μυγδονία* > *Μακεδονία* occurred.

The lacunose and postclassical evidence of ancient Macedonian qualifies the relevance of retrojecting syncope to an earlier unattested state of the language set in the 8th/7th century BCE. Nonetheless, the possibility remains that some of the extant instances of syncope in Macedonian date back centuries. Keeping these things in mind, the earliest instance of syncope in Macedonian may in fact occur as a loanword among two Athenian playwrights of Old Comedy, Hermippus and Aristophanes, in which the name of the red-cap bird *κεβλήπυρις* [sources] matches the word for ‘head’ in Macedonian, as quoted in Callimachus *fr.* 140, e.g. *κεβλή*, versus Greek *κεφαλή*.³⁹⁷ One may also adduce the 4th/3rd century BCE inscription *Bernika*, short for *Berenike*.³⁹⁸

The evolution of the original syllable *-ke-* of *Ma-ke-donia* into the *-g(e)-* of *My-g-donia* readily lends itself to two mutually non-exclusive scenarios, which are both well-attested regionally: a) either as a result of contiguity with the voiced *-d-* of **Μακ-δονία* → **Μαγ-δονία* following syncope or b) as the result of intervocalic voicing, which is

³⁹⁶ Lobeck, *Pathologiae Graeci sermonis elementa*, 1862; Szemerényi, *Syncope in Greek and IE and the nature of IE accent*, 1964.

³⁹⁷ Aristophanes, *Birds* 303; Hermippus 72

³⁹⁸ Hatzopoulos 1996:236. The earliest inscription of BEPNIKA, i.e. SEG XXXV 798, was found at Aigeai; the two other ones from from the 1st century BCE and 3rd century CE were found in Cyrene (SGDI 4847, 14 and SEG IX 182, 20, see LGPN).

characteristic of the phonology of ancient Macedonian, as demonstrated by Hatzopoulos, e.g. διγαία = δικαία.³⁹⁹

It is highly significant that the local topography of Mygdonia, which stretched east to west from the Axios to the Strymon rivers according to Thucydides,⁴⁰⁰ evinces a toponym with the same *k/g* alternation as we propose for *Makedonia* and *Mygdonia*: *Crestonia*, whose inhabitants were the *Crestonians*, was a region in northern Mygdonia⁴⁰¹ or immediately north of Mygdonia: the *G-* initial variant *Grestonia* is extant as early as Thucydides, e.g. Γρηστωνίαν at 2.99 and 2.100. Alternatively, Herodotus attests 1.57 Κρηστῶνα and 5.4 Κρηστωναίων. The *G-* initial form is also attested later, notably in Herodian, in whose account the eponym Mygdon is the father of Grastos: Τίρσαι πόλις Μυγδονίας τῆς ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ ἀπὸ Τίρσης μιᾶς τῶν θυγατέρων Γραστοῦ παιδὸς Μυγδόνοϋ “Tirsai, a city in Mygdonia, the one in Macedonia, named after Tirse, one of the daughters of *Grastos*, the son of *Mygdon*.”⁴⁰² We may further collate Aristotle’s Κραστωνία⁴⁰³ and Stephanus of Byzantium’s Γρηστωνία, Γράστου and Γραστῶνες.⁴⁰⁴ Insofar as the Thucydidean Γρηστωνίαν is a *terminus ante quem* for the alternation of

³⁹⁹ Hatzopoulos 1987 “Artémis Digaia Blaganitis en Macédoine.”

⁴⁰⁰ Thucydides 2.99.4 πέραν Ἄξιου μέχρι Στρυμόνος τὴν Μυγδονίαν καλουμένην.

⁴⁰¹ Some sources placed *Krestonia north of Mygdonia*, not in Mygdonia proper. But as we shall see, the difference is trivial in light of our overarching argument that Mygdonia had once been synonymous of Makedonia, a territory of considerable size.

⁴⁰² Theopompus, Jacoby *fr.* 237a.3 Γραιστωνίαν; Herodian 3,1.267.13; cf. Herodian 3,1.217.6 Γραστός παῖς Μυγδόνοϋ, ἀφ’ οὗ Γρηστωνία χώρα Θράκης; Herodian 3,1.92.20 Παρθενόπολις Μακεδονίας πόλις ἀπὸ τῶν θυγατέρων Γραστοῦ τοῦ Μυγδόνοϋ υἱοῦ; Herodian 3,1.217.6 Γραστός παῖς Μυγδόνοϋ, ἀφ’ οὗ Γρηστωνία χώρα Θράκης.

⁴⁰³ Aristotle *Mirabilium auscultationes* 842a.15

⁴⁰⁴ Stephanus of Byzantium s.v. Γρηστωνία.

unvoiced and voiced plosives in ancient Macedonian,⁴⁰⁵ it is theoretically possible (though not necessary for our hypothesis) that this idiosyncratic *k/g* alternation facilitated the first step *Makedonia* à **Magedonia* in the Homeric or pre-Homeric transformation of *Makedones* into *Mygdones*.

To repeat, in the scenario whereby the voicing of *Makedonia* should be post-Homeric, the *g* in *My-g-donia* is still readily explainable as a phonotactic outcome of syncope whereby unstressed *e* drops out = Μακ(ε)δονία: the resultant unvoiced-voiced cluster *kd* being inherently unstable, the consonantal sequence further shifts to either a) the voiced cluster *-gd-* or b) the unvoiced cluster *-kt-*, hence either **Magdonia* or **Maktonia*. By way of illustrating the latter scenario, Neumann has demonstrated that Apollo's cult title *me-ko-to* in the Cypriote syllabary stands for *mektos* and is a syncopated form of **megistos* 'the greatest'⁴⁰⁶: following the extrusion of **-is-* from **meg-is-tos*, the resultant unstable **meg-tos* is prone theoretically to evolve to either voiced **megdos* or unvoiced *mektos*, which is the case here.

The unvoiced variant Μυχθονία of Μυγδονία, attested by Stephanus of Byzantium (Μυγδονία, μοῖρα Μακεδονίας. καὶ ἕτερα Φρυγίας τῆς μεγάλης. ἀπὸ Μυγδόνοϋ... λέγεται καὶ Μυγδόνιος καὶ Μυγδονία. ἐλέγετο καὶ Μυχθονία) can be regarded as an outgrowth of the alternative, syncopated cluster *kt* of **Maktonia*, unvoiced outcome of Μακ(ε)δονία: the variant Μυχθονία is further compatible with a

⁴⁰⁵ Hatzopoulos 1987 & 2007.

⁴⁰⁶ Neumann 1973:159 "Wir müssen dann 'innere Kürzung' voraussetzen, wie sie sich gerade an Namen und Titeln in vielen Sprachen häufig eingestellt hat. Sie entsetzt beim schnellen Sprechen (sog. 'Allegroform'). Die nächste Parallel zu dem Superlativ μέκτος bietet das Vorderglied des kyprischen PN *a-ra-to-wa-na-ka-so* Ἀρτοφάναξ ICS 196a1, wo Ἀρτο- zweifellos aus Ἀριστο- gekürzt ist. Vergleichbar sind ferner *a-sa-tow-ana-ka-so* Ἀστοφάναξ (mit einem eteokyprischen Kasus-oder Ableitungssuffix *-oko-*) ICS 195 und *a-sa-ta-ko-ra* Ἀστογόρας ICS 418. See also Kaczyńska 2001:265 who shows that the toponym *luktos* stands for *lukistos* 'the highest'.

reconstructed, unsyncopated sequence **-ked-* vis-à-vis the voiced cluster *gd* of Μυγδονία.

The variant Μυχθονία could presuppose an older form **Μοχτονία*: this in turn would stem from an earlier **Μοκτονία* < **Μακτονία* < *Μακδονία*, which would be the immediate outcome of a syncopated form *Μακ(ε)δονία*. The original syncopated cluster *kd* in **Μακ-δονία*, uniting unvoiced and voiced consonants, has two possible outcomes: 1) *-gd-* or 2) *-kt*. Μυγδονία and Μυχθονία would thus be the two terminal stages of these parallel evolutions.

According to the 4th/3rd century BCE author Douris of Samos, *Magdis* was a mythical ‘Thracian’ who invented his unsyncopated namesake the *magadis*, which is a widely-attested string or flute instrument: Δοῦρις δ’ ἐν τῷ περὶ Τραγωδίας ὠνομάσθαι φησὶ τὴν μάγαδιν ἀπὸ Μάγδιος Θρακὸς γένος.⁴⁰⁷ Just as a kind of lyre was known to the Greeks as φοῖνιξ “the Phoenician” (φοίνικα δὲ τὸ ὄργανον Ἔφορος καὶ Σκάμων ἐν τοῖς Περὶ Εὐρημάτων III ὑπὸ Φοινίκων εὐρεθὲν ταύτης τυχεῖν τῆς προσηγορίας),⁴⁰⁸ Μάγδις and μάγαδις could be syncopated and dialectic variants of Μακέτις, which is a clearly-

⁴⁰⁷ Douris FHG II 486 in Athenaeus 14.40. Athenaeus dedicates many paragraphs to discussing the μάγαδις: it was a string or flute instrument, which was perceived as either Phrygian, Lydian or ‘Thracian’ in origin. It is attested as early as Alkman μάγαδιν δ’ ἀποθέσθαι (fr. 91 B). Its foreign appearance is played up in Sophocles’ play *Thamyras* (fr. 219 N), the mythical ‘Thracian’ bard: πηκταὶ δὲ λύραι καὶ μαγάδιδες / τὰ τ’ ἐν Ἑλλησι ξόαν’ ἤδυμελῆ “Well-crated lyres and *magadides* / Which to the Greeks are sweet-sounding wooden talismans.” ‘Thracian’ was a blanket term used by the Greeks for the various populations of the North Aegean without necessarily meaning Thracian in the ethnic sense of the word: *Iliad* 23.807-808 φάσσανον ἀργυρόηλον / καλὸν Θρηϊκίον, τὸ μὲν Ἀστεροπαῖον ἀπηύρων is the earliest instance for this regional, non-ethnic use, as Asteropaios’ sword at the funeral of Achilles is described as ‘Thracian’, despite the fact that its owner Asteropaios is Paionian, who are distinguished from the Thracians in the rest of the poem. One could argue that Asteropaios’ sword was Thracian in a literal sense, that is to say that he wielded a specifically Thracian (as opposed to other Paionian swords, which might have been crafted in Macedonia). But the synecdochic use of ‘Thracian’ in Homer for regions from the north Aegean, as evidenced by the formula “winds from Thrace.” Pieria was a region of Macedonia, which was associated with Orpheus and musical inspiration. I take it that μάγαδις the instrument was a dialectic variant of Μακέτις and arguably meant “the Macedonian instrument.”

⁴⁰⁸ Ephoros and Skamos in Athenaios 40 p. 637 B; also Herodotus 4.192, cf. West 1992:59 “We know the names of a number of other lyre-type instruments that cannot be defined more closely. There was one called *phoinix* or *phoinikion*, presumably of Phoenician provenance, first mentioned by Alcaeus. Herodotus remarks that the horns of the Libyan antelope are used for the arms of the *phoinix*, which suggests Carthage as one place of manufacture.”

attested, albeit lesser-known synonym of ‘Macedonian’ (fem.)⁴⁰⁹: ‘Thrace’ and ‘Thracian’ could be used loosely in a non-specific sense by the ancient Greeks to refer to the various populations of the North Aegean, whether Thracian or not: Macedonia, in particular the eastern regions, e.g. Pieria, were frequently referred to as ‘Thrace’. Like *Orpheus* and the pseudo-Thracian *Thamyris*, whose names are associated with entire regions in the North Aegean (*Orbelia* and *Athamania* respectively⁴¹⁰), the musical instrument *Μάγδις / μάγαδις readily lines up with Μακέτις “the Macedonian” (fem.), pursuant to the occasional *a* for *e* attested in ancient Macedonian⁴¹¹ and the

⁴⁰⁹ Herodian 3,2.547.26 Μακέτης Μακεδόνιος και Μακέτις γυνή και Μάκεσσα ἐπιθετικῶς, ὡς Ἡρακλείδης, καὶ Μάκεττα διὰ δύο ττ καὶ δι’ ἑνὸς τ. Despite its feminine ending, the eponym *Magdis* is described as male in Athenaeus’ discussion because mythical Thracian bards were by default male, e.g. the Homeric *Thamyris* or *Orpheus*: formally, Μάγδις is simply the syncopated form of μάγαδις, which is clearly feminine in gender.

⁴¹⁰ To *Orpheus* corresponds the *Orbelos* mountain range and the adjacent region of *Parorbelia*, cf. Pomponius Mela 2.16: “*Montes interior adtollit Haemon et Rhodopen et Orbelon, sacris Liberi patris et coetu Maenadum, Orpheo primum initiante, celebratos*”; to the Thracian bard *Thamyras*, also known as *Thamyris* corresponds immediately the Boeotian guild *Thamyridai* (Wilson 2008) who are functionally equivalent to the *Homeridai* of Chios (Nagy personal communication 11/20/2013). But ultimately, the Boeotian *Thamyridai* are to be placed further north and associated etymologically with another Boeotian mythical figure *A-thamas* (whereby *A-* has a copulative/intensive force, cf. ἀτενής ‘stretched’, ‘intense’, ‘stubborn’, root **ten* ‘to stretch’). Homer does not call *Thamyras* ‘Thracian’ without reason: in their ethnogenesis, the Boeotians, as we know them, included not only the well-known ‘Aeolic’ component, but also other *ethne*: their namesake proper the *Boiotes* were originally a *non-Aeolic* ethnos (Buck 1910:3) who hailed from the distant Boion mountain range, much farther to the north. That being said, *Thamyris* and *Athamas* are not Thracian in origin: they are cognate with the Greek θαμέες ‘crowded’: θάμυρις itself is a Boeotian noun, which means ‘festival’ or ‘assembly’: πανήγυρις, σύνοδος, ἢ πυκνότης τινῶν (Hesychius). The cognate Ἄ-θάμας is the eponym of the Epirote / Paeonian ethnos Ἄθαμᾶν(τ)ες / Ὀδόμαντοι (see below), whose name could be translated as “the Federated,” “the United ones” and is comparable to Cyrenean (Doric) θαμάκης: σύμβιος ‘companion’, ‘partner’. A small ethnos of the same root, located in the vicinity of Mygdonian Kalindoia, was Θαμίσκια (Papazoglou 1988:217). Presumably, the *Boiotes* were among the early Epirote/Paeonian “Federated tribes” Ἄθαμᾶν(τ)ες / Ὀδόμαντοι before they merged with the Aeolic natives of their future homeland in Boeotia. The semantics of the name would compare with the Paeonian *Eordoi* who, Hatzpoulos judiciously points out, are also attested as the *Eortoi* in Herodian 3,2.508.19: Ἔορτος ἢ Ἐορδός Μακεδόν: derivation from the root found in Greek ἑορτή ‘festival’ approximates Boeotian θάμυρις ‘assembly’. As we will argue, the language of the Ἄθαμᾶν(τ)ες / Ὀδόμαντοι would have been most closely related to ancient Macedonian, which in turn belonged to the same IE subgroup as Greek (‘Greco-Phrygian’ or ‘Hellanic’), though proto-Athamantic, like proto-Proto-Thessalian, was not Greek in the strict sense of the word.

⁴¹¹ For instance, Macedonian καλαρρύγαί: besides κελάρύζω (Hoffmann 1906:241); Macedonian *a* for Greek *e* may have been more common than the surviving lexemes and toponyms attest, in light of the spelling of the Macedonian month Ἀρτεμίσιον, which precisely (and probably artificially) matches the

unvoiced/voiced alternation of intervocalic plosives, which Hatzopoulos has shown to be another trait of ancient Macedonian: *διγαία* = *δικαία*; *Βορδῖνος* = *Πορτῖνος*, etc.⁴¹² On the strength of the Macedonian type *λευγαία* = Greek *λευκαία*⁴¹³ and the ethnicization of instruments (e.g. *φοῖνιξ*) and musical modes (Lydian, Phrygian, Dorian, etc.⁴¹⁴) in ancient Greek, it is proposed in this paper that *Μάγδις* / *μάγαδις* (fem.) = *Μακέτις* “Macedonian” (fem.) could have literally been “the Macedonian [instrument],” thus potentially providing a missing link between the *Μυγδόνες* / **Μυχθόνες* and the *Μακέτιδες* / *Μακεδόνες*.

By collating the three parallel forms 1) *Μακεδονία*, 2) *Μυγδονία* and 3) *Μυχθονία*, and potentially the fourth and fifth parallel forms *μάγαδις* / *Μάγδις* and *Μοκκαδηνοί*,⁴¹⁵

we arrive at this synopsis:

Μακεδόνες → 2a) **Μακδόνες* → 3a) **Μαγδόνες* → 4a) **Μογδόνες* → 5a) *Μυγδόνες*
 (**Μαγεδόνες*⁴¹⁶)

Attic form: as Hoffmann 1906:100-101 points out, the Doric form *Ἄρταμίτιος*, which is attested as far north as Delphi, may have been the earlier (or oral) form of the Macedonian month. It is also possible that *a* may represent an original different *-a* stem vowel that competed with *-e*, considering the variety and productivity of the synonyms for ‘Macedonian’: the 6th century BCE PN *Μακύτας*, which was found at Tanagra in Boeotia (LGPV ID V3b-30062, vol. 3b = *EA* 1896, p.244), could represent a variant of the ethnonymic PN *Μακέτας* ‘Macedonian’ in light of the toponym *Μηκύ-βερνα*, which was located in Chalcidike. I would also like to emphasize that the *k/g* alternation may not be exclusively Macedonian, but could have been an areal phenomenon that extended to ancient Paeonian, whose former territory included much of lower Macedonia. Proof that the *k/g* alternation is an areal phenomenon lies in the fact that it is also attested in Thessaly, especially northern Thessaly, see Hatzopoulos 1987 & 2007.

⁴¹² Hatzopoulos 1987:407. The difference in accent between *Μάγδις* / *μάγαδις* (first syllable) and *Μακέτις* (second syllable) is unproblematic because accentual patterns can vary from dialect to dialect, e.g. the recessive Aeolic within Greek. It is also conceivable that a third language mediated the transmission of *Μάγδις* / *μάγαδις* into Greek, e.g. Paeonian.

⁴¹³ Hatzopoulos 1987.

⁴¹⁴ cf. Pindar *Nemean Ode* 4.45 *Λυδία σὺν ἀρμονία μέλος*.

⁴¹⁵ Population of Bithynian Mygdonia in Phrygian-speaking area. See earlier discussion.

Μακεδόνες → 2b) *Μακδόνες → 3b) *Μακτόνες → 4b) *Μοχτόνες → 5b) *Μυχθόνες
*Μοχθόνες⁴¹⁷

*Μᾱκεδᾶνοί → *Μακκεδᾶνοί → *Μοκκᾶδᾶνοί → Μοκκαδηνοί⁴¹⁸
(Μηκεδανοί⁴¹⁹) (Μωκεδᾶνοί⁴²⁰)

Μακέτις → 2b) μάγαδις → 3b) Μάγδις

Μακεδονία → 2a) *Μακδονία → 3a) *Μαγδονία → 4a) *Μογδονία → 5a) Μυγδονία
(*Μαγεδονία)

Μακεδονία → 2b) *Μακδονία → 3b) *Μακτονία → 4b) *Μοχτονία → 5b) Μυχθονία
*Μοχθονία

We saw earlier how the local topography of Mygdonia in Macedonia, as exemplified by the 5th century-attested *k/g* alternating forms *Crestonia* / *Grestonia*, provides evidence for the idiosyncratically Macedonian voicing of unvoiced plosive consonants, which *can* explain the voicing of *Makedonia* into **Mag(e)donia*, a putative first step to *Mygdonia*. The alternative explanation, voicing through *syncope*, is also discernible in the local topography of Mygdonia: alongside the standard form Ἐχέδωρος, attested as early as Skylax (Ἐχέδωρος ποταμὸς),⁴²¹ Herodotus 7.124 attests what appears to be an aphaeretic variant of the same Mygdonian river: ποταμὸν Χείδωρον, ὃς ἐκ Κρηστωναίων ἀρξάμενος ῥέει διὰ Μυγδονίης χώρας “the river Cheidoros, which starting from the territory of the

⁴¹⁶ Step 2 *Μακδόνες is unnecessary if Hatzopoulos’ observation of intervocalic voicing in Macedonian took place early enough.

⁴¹⁷ An alternative to the unmediated shift from 3b) *Μακτόνες to 4b) *Μοχτόνες could have been 3b) *Μακτόνες evolving directly to 4c) *Μοχθόνες if the language mediating or influencing the change was Etruscan. Although far-fetched *prima facie*, we will provide evidence for the plausibility of this scenario.

⁴¹⁸ The shift from -ᾶνοί to -ηνοί would be due to analogy with the Περγαμ-ηνοί type. See earlier discussion.

⁴¹⁹ μηκεδανός ‘long’ (Attic-Ionic) is a long-grade doublet of Μακεδνός and Μακέδων.

⁴²⁰ As discussed elsewhere in this paper, the collation of the Hesychian Ὀδωνίς· ἡ Θάσος τὸ πάλαι with the Ionicized 5th century attested Ἥδωνοί provides evidence for a regional mutation from long *ā* (**Ādōnes*) to long *ō* (**Ōdōnes*, which eventually shortens to *ō* in unstressed position, hence Hesychian Ὀδωνίς.

⁴²¹ Skylax 66.7, Strabo 7a.1.21, Apollodoros *Library* 2.114.3

Crestonians flows the land of Mygdonia.” Although the converse invention of a folk-etymological Ἐχέδωρος “Gift-Bringer” on the basis of an original Χείδωρος cannot be ruled out, the richness of the river in gold, as shown by both numismatic and literary evidence,⁴²² suggests rather that Ἐχέδωρος is the older form, whereas Χείδωρος exhibits secondary aphaeresis in which loss of the initial vowel Ἐ- correlates with the lengthening of the accented syllable –χέ- of Ἐ-χέ-δωρος, hence Χείδωρος. The authenticity of the aphaeretic form Χείδωρος, attested in several Herodotean manuscripts and unduly emended to *Echedoros or *Echeidoros in several modern editions, is vouched for by an ethnonym from the same region, the *Tyntenoi*, whose name is attested on 6th century BCE coins found near the lower Strymon: Toynbee 1969 and Hammond 1994 have persuasively argued that they are to be identified with the Ἀτιντᾶνες, an Epirote tribe.⁴²³ Like the Herodotean *Cheidoros* vs. standard *Echedoros*, *Tyntenoi* is arguably an aphaeretic form of **Atyntānoi*.

Such a correlation is characteristic of the historically-attested replacement of a pitch accent by a stress accent. Thus, the local topography of Macedonian Mygdonia provides internal parallels for both vocalic loss and voicing of unvoiced plosives, both of which are changes potentially linking Macedonia and Mygdonia.

After Macedonian itself, as seen above, Old Phrygian would be the next suspect for the shift Μακεδονία → Μυγδονία. Syncope is uncommon in Old Phrygian: *kermo[s]*

⁴²² Errington 1990:265 citing Gaebler *Antiken Münzen Nord-Griechenlands*, vol. 3, pt. 2, 148-53 with Tafel XXVIII and Hammond, *History*, 1, 12f. 2, 70f. (Echedoros as a source of metals); cf. *Etymologicum Magnum* Ἐχέδωρος: Ποταμὸς Μακεδονίας, ὁ πρότερον Ἰδωνὸς καλούμενος· ὁ ἔχων (φησι) δῶρα· χρυσοῦ γὰρ καταφέρων ψήγματα, οἱ ἐγχώριοι ἀρύονται, δέρματα αἰγῶν κείραντες καὶ καθιέντες εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ. What is more, the credibility of the etymological reading Ἐχέδωρος ‘Gift Bringer’ is further supported by the attestation of its two compound roots in Phrygian, *Eg(e)*- ‘hold’, ‘have’ and *dadon* ‘they gave’: Ἐχέδωρος could be the Hellenization of a Proto-Phrygian / Proto-Macedonian **Eghédōros*.

⁴²³ Toynbee 1969:101 and Hammond 1994:426. The coins read TYNTENON, presumably standing for gen. pl. Τυντῆνων.

= Greek κέραμος.⁴²⁴ There is another remarkable example in the most famous Old Phrygian inscription, the so-called Midas Monument (Yazilikaya), whose dating is estimated between the 7th and 6th century BCE,⁴²⁵ the word *lawagtaei* “army/people leader,”⁴²⁶ which is not necessarily a loanword from Mycenaean, as Neumann 1988:16, de Graaf 1989:154. *et al.* have proposed, but could be an inherited cognate, as Brixhe 1990:74ff, Brixhe 2004b, 780 and Hajnal 1998:65ff have argued. Whichever side is correct, Phrygian *lawagtaei* compares in case and number with Pindaric dative singular λαγέτα, (*Pythian* 4.107) and instantiates the syncopation of *-e- between -g- and -t-: *lawag(e)taei*.⁴²⁷ It is an interesting coincidence, though by no means conclusive, that the only instance of syncope I have found in Old Phrygian involves the almost same phonetic velar-vowel-dental cluster -ked- (*Makedonia* vs. *Mygdonia* / *Mychthonia*) and *-get- (**lāwagetāi* vs. *lawagtaei*) with the same vowel -e- and a difference in voicelessness between the first and second consonant.

Be that as it may, one must keep in mind the aforementioned caveats: we do not know how representative the Old Phrygian found on inscriptions from the 9th to the 5th

⁴²⁴ Orel 1993:63.

⁴²⁵ Munn 2006:77.

⁴²⁶ See Parvulescu on *populus*, *popular*.

⁴²⁷ Lejeune’s hypothesis, cited by Brixhe, that letter /g/ in the inscription *Midai : lawagtaei : wanaktei*, could represent a syllabic *ge* and thus read as *lawa-ge-taei*, is ingenious, but the phrasal structure in which the word appears makes it unlikely: the juxtaposition of syncopated *lawa-gt-aei* with *wana-kt-ei* allows their two velar-dental clusters to alliterate (-gt- and -kt-), not to mention the possibility that *lawa-gt-aei* and *wana-kt-ei* might have both been isosyllabic (trisyllabic) if, as I suggest, the final -ei of *lawa-gt-aei* represents the artificial combination of the phonemic and phonetic realizations of the glide in the final diphthong of *lawagt-aei*: one would have expected the dative singular spelling **lawagtai*. But *a + *i* combined may have evolved to an unstressed, more open glide in Old Phrygian, similarly to what happened in Latin, in which the diphthong [āi] evolving to the shorter and more open [ai] resulted in the coextensive evolution of graphic /AI/ in Archaic Latin to graphic /AE/ in Classical Latin: the final -aei in Old Phrygian *lawagt-aei* would thus be a graphic anachronism juxtaposing the new outcome of the diphthongal glide /e/ with the old outcome of the diphthongal glide /i/ (hence *a-ei*) by analogy to the more closed dative singular -i ending of consonantal stems. On whether the Phrygian *lawagtaei* is native or ‘borrowed’ from Greek, see section “the Linguistic Status of Paeonian: the Hellenistic Lagid Dynasty and Phrygian Lawagtaei.”

centuries BCE was among all the dialects and languages spoken by the Phrygians of Balkanic origin: the testimony of Armenian shows that inscriptional Old Phrygian was not the only language spoken by the Phrygians at the time, as the linguistic ancestors of the Armenians had been proto-Phrygians too, evolving separately over the centuries as the Phrygians of Eastern Anatolia⁴²⁸: and yet, although proto-Armenian is attested much later, it does not seem to derive from the variety of Old Phrygian attested in the inscriptions of the preclassical period⁴²⁹; we can be quite certain that Daco-Mysian and

⁴²⁸ Kretschmer 1896:208; Meillet 1936:11; Jensen 1959:1 Pasdermajian 1962:23; Georgiev 1966:168; Diakanoff 1984:104. Somewhat comparable is Hittite and Luwian in the Bronze Age: although Hittite (Nešili) was used throughout the empire as an official language, Luwian too was used and may have been the native tongue of more Anatolians than Hittite, which seems to have been influenced itself by Luwian.

⁴²⁹ Matzinger 2005:385 goes as far as to claim that Phrygian and Armenian are not closely related, dismissing out of hand Herodotus and Eudoxus' testimonies about the proximate kinship between the Phrygians and the Armenians (p 375), while at the same time placing Phrygian and Armenian within the same IE subgroup "balkanindogermanisch," in which he also includes Greek, Albanian and Tocharian (!). Matzinger's conclusion and methodology are dubious: he arbitrarily selects 17 phonetic, grammatical and lexical features (p 383), which will support whichever initial bias or preconceptions of his about the connections or lack thereof between said languages; and then adduces his results to support his preconceptions. As Matzinger himself however concedes "die hier angeführten Übereinstimmungen können freilich nur als eine vorläufige Auflistung angesehen werden, da sich bei weiterer Forschung sicher noch weitere Gemeinsamkeiten der 'balkanidg.' Sprachen ergeben werden. Bei der Auswertung des Phrygischen und des Tocharischen fällt auf, dass sie nur wenige positive Einträge zu verzeichnen haben. Dies spricht nicht gegen eine Zugehörigkeit der beiden Sprachen zur 'balkanidg.' Gruppe. Die geringe Zahl an Gemeinsamkeiten wird dadurch erklärbar dass... das Phrygische nur fragmentarisch überliefert ist." Among all the languages listed by Matzinger, Phrygian is indeed the least documented and least deciphered. Thus, his negative conclusion about mostly negative data is a priori meaningless, especially when he deliberately excludes from his 17 criteria such features as mentioned by Kretschmer, whom he quotes in a footnote as the first representative of those supporting a special connection between Armenian and Phrygian; Kretschmer writes: 'das Phrygische unterscheidet wie das Armenische *a, e, o, ... skr. a, gr. α, lat. en* im Armen. wie im Phryg. durch *an* vertreten wäre" (1896:209). Why not include any of these two criteria among his 17? Matzinger is all the more misleading because a) he is comparing two languages that are attested in non-overlapping time periods: it is obvious that over time, fewer grammatical and lexical features will be shared by the two; b) especially in the case of Armenian, it is well-known that by the time our earliest texts are extant, the 5th century CE, Armenian has undergone massive phonetic, lexical and grammatical changes as a result of substratal and adstratal contact with Urartian, Iranian and the Caucasian languages: undoubtedly, Armenian would have been a considerably more conservative language, had Xenophon written an account of it in the course of his expedition. But Matzinger takes stock, for instance, of the different Phrygian and Armenian treatments of the inherited IE long *ē*, which becomes *ā* in Phrygian, but *ī* in Armenian, using Phrygian *mātār* 'mother' [7th century BCE] and Armenian *mayr* (**māθīr*) [5th century CE] as an example (p. 377); should we use the same line of reasoning, Aeolic and Doric *mātēr* could not be closely related to the μήτηρ of Emperor Justinian (*Novellae* 11.6), which he would have enunciated as *mītir*. That Matzinger should draw five circles on p. 382 representing Armenian, Albanian, Greek, Phrygian and Tocharian, in whose middle he places Greek, as if Greek were a central hub through which the four other languages connect to each other, should not surprise: Greek is the best attested and

Thracian too were spoken by a number of Phrygians, in light of the historical, onomastic and linguistic evidence of a Thracian adstrate in Phrygian (and ancient Macedonian too for that matter⁴³⁰) and regions of northwestern Anatolia named after Thracian tribes, e.g. Bithynia; in all likelihood, some of the Phrygians of Balkanic provenance also spoke varieties of proto-Macedonian, proto-Paeonian and even Proto-Etruscan. We are therefore justified in suspecting that any of these other dialects⁴³¹ and languages could have mediated the syncopation of *Makedones* into *Mygdones*. Let us turn to them briefly. South of Macedonia, Aeolic, in which syncope is well-attested. Writes García Ramón⁴³²:

Syncope is doubtlessly attested in Thessalian, as is shown by clear, although infrequent, instances of the non-notation of non-initial vowels. Some instances of this phenomenon have been known for a long time, without having been consequently evaluated: this is, for instance, the case of (a) (gen.) ἀστέρας LAR 3.27 (beside orthographic ἀριστερας 20), the proper names with Ἀστο (:Ἀριστο, e.g. Ἀστοκραταις, Ἀστομαχειος MPS 2.21/2, Ἀστοκλεα.19/20, but Ἀριστο[κ]λεας, Ἀριστιουνειος, (B) the place name Λα(σ)α(:Λάρισα, e.g. Λασσαν LAR 5.12), gen.pl. Λασσαιουν.24 (but (Λ)αρισαιουν. 17) and Λασαιουν LAR 4.1,6.7, (c) the god's name Ἀπλουν, (dat. ἈπλΟνι, Ἀπλωνι, gen. Ἀπλουνος *passim*, month name Ἀπλουνοιο), patron. Ἐπικρατιδαίς MATR. 11, Παρμονι]δαίς. 18 (:αίος, beside Πε]δδαιεας. 16). The existence of syncope is beyond any doubt proven after the attestation of ξενδοκοι MATR. 19 (: Att. ξενοδόκοι) and clearly points to the existence of a word initial stress in Thessalian, as proposed by John Chadwick (1992).

most documented among all the five. Matzinger has fallen into the usual trap of extrapolating a hierarchy of relations on the basis of a quantitative analysis that fails to factor in the wildly differing sample sizes of the several languages. On the contrary, rather than adjusting for the quantitative and chronological asymmetries, Matzinger very carefully selected 17 features that made such an underrepresented language as Phrygian seem even more underrepresented than it actually is, and infer from his tendentious methodology that he knows better than Herodotus, Eudoxus and all the modern scholars who have picked up on their cues.

⁴³⁰ *zemos* 'man' in Phrygian might be an example of a Thracian loanword, if it is not a natural affricate of Phrygian which arises through contact with frontal vowels. The very name of the Phrygians in Asia Minor shows a tendency for *g* to yield *k*, thus the very ethnonym of the Phrygians shows a variety of *k* forms, e.g. *Brukeis*, *Brekun* in Neo-Phrygian, *Berekynthian*; a number of Macedonian words too show the same *Lautverschiebung*, e.g. Macedonian ἄρκον *arkon* 'leisure, idleness' versus Greek ἀργόν (see Ködderitzsch 1985:21); *ai* evolves to *ā* in Macedonian, e.g. ἄδῆ 'clear sky' or 'the upper air' = Attic αἰθήρ, just as IE *ai* evolves to *ā* in Daco-Mysian, see Georgiev 1983; Duridanov 1986.

⁴³¹ Proto-Armenian, Proto-Macedonian and Proto-Paeonian could all have been so close to Phrygian in the 9th/8th century BCE that one can reasonably contemplate the scenario of their having been dialects of each other.

⁴³² García Ramón 2011:128

As with Macedonian, our even smaller Thracian corpus dates for the most part to the late Hellenistic and Imperial periods, thus qualifying their relevance to earlier times: the names that have been preserved go back for the most part to the postclassical period. Some of the cases of syncope, noted by Georgiev (1983:1166), however, could date back. Examples: Ζβερ-θουρδος the name of a deity, “Lightning Holder”, akin to Lithuanian *žiberỹs* ‘light, torch’ and *turėti* ‘have, hold’; Ζυμδρηνος = Zimidrenus; *Pulpu-deva* is a Greco-Thracian/Dacian compound, which is equivalent to Φιλιπό-πολις.

By the 6th century BCE, the *Edones* are the main occupants of Macedonian Mygdonia: they typify the aforementioned *Thracian adstratum* in the Macedonian and proto-Phrygian populations of the North Aegean. Although most modern commentators classify the *Edones* as ‘Thracian’, perhaps on the basis of Herodotus 7.110, the characterization is rather one-sided and misleading because the culture and most likely language, as can be inferred from the material evidence and the majority of personal names,⁴³³ suggest rather that the Edones were Paeonians at large with a Thracian superstratum, hence the royal name *Getas*.⁴³⁴ But the majority of the Edonians would have been Paeonian and Paeonian-speaking: the 8th-6th centuries BCE low tumuli erected on pit graves found at Sedes near Therme in Mygdonia are very similar to the

⁴³³ Papazoglou 1979:164-165: “La Macédoine orientale (Bisaltie, Odomanique, Edonide, Sintique) est la seule région de la Macédoine où l’onomastique indigène domine en dehors des grands centres urbains (Amphipolis, Philippos). Nulle part ailleurs on ne rencontre une telle quantité et diversité de noms indigènes. Ici on peut affirmer sans recherches spéciales que le peuplement autochtone s’était conservé jusqu’à l’époque impériale. Mais justement ici plus qu’ailleurs il n’est pas toujours aisé de faire le départ entre ce qui est autochtone, disons edonien, et ce qui est thrace. Non seulement parce que le mélange des deux nations y était plus intense, mais surtout parce que les Thraces avaient de toute évidence absorbé et assimilé assez d’éléments édoniens.” Certifiably genuine Thracian names, such as *Sadokos*, are rare in Argead Macedonia (Papazoglou 1979:168).

⁴³⁴ Svoronos 1919:50 “c’est ce qui explique la présence dans un peuple Peonien du nom thrace de *Getas*, que porte le roi qui frappe les monnaies que nous avons.”

mortuary practice of the Agrianes, who were Paeonians.⁴³⁵ These burial practices “show the local

Mygdonian ethnicity of the buried people at Therme”: Theodossiev 2000:200. Moreover, the eponym Edonos was the son of Paion.⁴³⁶

The proclivity of Etruscan for syncope is well-known (Wallace 2008:37ff; Rix 1968:217; Ribezzo 1932:74). My inclusion of (proto-) Etruscan among the linguistic candidates for mediating the syncope of *Makedonia* into *Mygdona/Mychthonia* may elicit a smirk of disbelief among some readers. But the chances of Etruscan having once been spoken around several parts of Macedonian Mygdonia in the 9th/8th centuries BCE or a little earlier by a significant minority of Etruscan speakers are in fact rather high. Herodotus identifies contemporaneous ‘Pelasgians’ on *Lemnos*, as well as their kinsmen

⁴³⁵ Thucydides 2.96.3 Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ Λαιαίους καὶ ἄλλα ὅσα ἔθνη Παιονικὰ

⁴³⁶ Stephanus of Byzantium, s.v. Βιστωνία, see Svoronos 1919:49. Pliny identifies the *Mygdones*, the inhabitants of Macedonian Mygdonia, which was situated at the heart of the former Edonian kingdom, as a Paeonian population. Delev 2007:2 wants the Edonians to be Thracian and does not envisage the likelier scenario of a Thracian superstrate with a Paeonian majority. But the alternative scenario of the Edonians having had a strong, perhaps majority-Paeonian component, albeit led by a Thracian aristocratic warrior elite, could solve Delev’s frustration with Herodotus failing to mention the Edonians at a point in his narrative when we would have otherwise expected him if the Edonians had indeed truly and simply been Thracians: “it is most annoying that Herodotus omits the Edonians from his account of the expedition of Megabazus against the Strymonian Paeonians, which followed shortly after the departure of Hisiaeus for Myrcinus. A number of other tribes are mentioned in his text, both Paeonian and Thracian, but not the Edonians, and the geography of the area makes it impossible for them to have escaped the events unaffected.” If, however, Herodotus knew of the hybrid identity of the Edonians and knew of the strong Paeonian element among the Edonians, he would not have had to mention the Edonians, for he would have counted them among the Strymonian Paeonians. The other passage in which Herodotus lists the Edonians as among the Thracian tribes could simply be a *kat’ exokhen* reflection of the Thracian superstratum among the Edonians. Again, Papazoglou stresses (1979:166) that Edonian onomastics are for the most part *not* Thracian, but the relative cultural and geopolitical successes of the Edonians led to the diffusion of their own onomastics to neighboring Thracians in the Propontis and northwestern Anatolia, to such an extent that names often taken to be Thracian are in fact Edonian: “Le nom Kotys ne pourrait être séparé de la divinité édonienne Kotys, Kotys, Koto, Kotyto, si bien que cet anthroponyme qui est un des plus fréquents dans le monde thrace n’est pas thrace d’origine mais édonien (cf. Detschew; Georgiev, *Trakite I tehnijat ezik* 1977, p 222.”

from the city of *Creston*⁴³⁷ in ‘Thrace’, which was located *right above* Macedonian Mygdonia: the Crestonians were supposedly descendants of Lemnians who in turn had come from Lemnos. Concurrently, Thucydides identifies Herodotus’ Pelasgians on Lemnos with the Tyrsenians (4.109.4 Τυρσηνῶν), also agreeing that they had come from Attica and did *not* speak a Greek language. The identification of the Tyrsenians with the Pelasgians is also extant in Hellenikos (τοὺς Τυρρηνοὺς ... Πελασγοὺς πρότερον καλουμένου⁴³⁸).

Thucydides states, in no uncertain terms, that Tyrsenian was spoken at Akte in Chalcidike—located *right below* Macedonian Mygdonia—during the Peloponnesian war in the 5th century BCE: they were the descendants of ‘Tyrseno-Pelasgian’ refugees from Athens and *Lemnos*.⁴³⁹ In other words, Thucydides and Herodotus say that Mygdonia was surrounded to the south *and north* by speakers of Etruscan. The scenario of Etruscan spoken in the northern hinterland of Macedonian Mygdonia, away from the sea, is of

⁴³⁷ Creston in Crestonia / Grastonia. Creston was in Crestonia, which was itself a region in northern Mygdonia. A minority of scholars, on the basis of Dionysius of Hallicarnassus’ reading of Herodotus, emend *Creston* to *Cortona* in Etruria (Italy), but this emendation is unacceptable, see Sakellariou 1977:88; a city of *Tirsai* was located in Crestonia, is to be likened to the *Tyrs-enoī* without the ethnonymic suffix – *enoī*. Thus, ‘Tirsai’ was “the City of the Tyrsenians” (Wikén 1937:132). *Crestonia* fell under Thracian sway in the 6th or 5th century BCE, but Herodotus distinguishes the Crestonians from the Thracians at 5.4 and 8.115-116. He also seems to distinguish Crestonia from Paionia at 7.124 and 8.115-116, whereas Thucydides 2.99 makes it clear that the Crestonians differ from the Macedonians. Thus, by elimination, the Crestonians being neither Thracian, Macedonian and arguably Paionian, the identification of their ethnicity with the Tyrsenians is very appealing. At the same time, Herodotus distinguishes Paionia from Crestonia but never draws a distinction between Crestonians and Paeonians; moreover, Herodian associates the eponym *Grastos* with a father *Mygdon*. Because the voicing of unvoiced plosives is uncharacteristic of Etruscan and given the historical Paeonian background of Mygdonia, a Paeonian adstratum is likely to have been part and parcel of the classical Crestonians and responsible for the alternative form *Grestonia(ns)*: despite the scarce evidence, Macedonian and Paeonian are likely to be very closely related and shared many phonetic features (see below).

⁴³⁸ Hellenikos F1a4F.4

⁴³⁹ Thucydides 4.109. ἔθνεσι βαρβάρων διγλώσσων, καί τι καὶ Χαλκιδικὸν ἐνὶ βραχί, τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον Πελασγικόν, τῶν καὶ Λημόν ποτε καὶ Ἀθήνας Τυρσηνῶν οἰκησάντων

⁴³⁹ Thucydides 4.109.

peculiar interest because it may suggest that either proto-Etruscan had once been one of the indigenous languages of the region or that Etruscan settlements from the sea had taken place several centuries before their explicit presence there in Herodotus' day and age.⁴⁴⁰ Inscriptions on Lemnos from the 6th century BCE match up with the ethnographic consensus between Thucydides and Herodotus according to whom the early inhabitants of Lemnos spoke a non-Greek language: the inscriptions on the island are an unmistakable early form of Etruscan. The historical danger of Tyrsenian piracy in the Aegean sea⁴⁴¹ is distilled in the *Homeric Hymn to Dionysus* (Τυρσηνοί: line 8), in which Tyrsenian sailors make an attempt at seizing the god.

The identification of the name of a Lemnian chieftain, which is inscribed on one of the Etruscan texts of the island, as a common Illyrian name⁴⁴² speaks to the close connections between Lemnos and the Balkans to the north, which would have included the regions around European Mygdonia. Moreover, the inhabitants of Lemnos are called *Sinties* in Homer: their non-Greek speech, about which Herodotus leaves no ambiguities, is already explicit in *Odyssey* 8.294, in which they are called Σίντιας ἀγριοφώνους.

A scholiast to Apollonius of Rhodes identifies the Sinties as Tyrsenians,⁴⁴³ who are equated by Sophocles with the Pelasgians (Radt *fr.* 270 Τυρσηνοῖσι Πελασγοῖς), and

⁴⁴⁰ We will glimpse into the possible historical background of proto-Etruscan presence in the North Aegean when we address the legend of Aineias. Suffice it to say, that despite the division among experts on whether the linguistic ancestors of the Etruscans came from the Aegean or were merely descendants of the indigenous Villanovan civilization in northern Italy, some very serious scholars like Horsfall from the former group support the migration theory from the North Aegean. I also support it.

⁴⁴¹ The location of the Tyrsenian pirates in the Homeric Hymn is left unspecified, but most commentators take it that it was somewhere in the Aegean, probably the North Aegean, with which Tyrsenian piracy and Dionysus are commonly associated (cf. Evelyn-White's Loeb commentary).

⁴⁴² Ribezzo 1931:73, cf Heurgon 1988:16.

⁴⁴³ Scholiast on Apollonius of Rhodes I 608: κραναὴν Σιντηίδα Λῆμινον ἴκοντο] ἐπιθετικῶς Σιντηίς ἢ Λῆμινος· Τυρσηνοὶ γὰρ αὐτὴν πρῶτοι ὠκῆσαν βλαπτι- κώτατοι ὄντες. ἢ τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων

further identical to the Etruscans according to Herodotus and Thucydides. Beloch has therefore reasonably concluded that the Lemnian ethnonym *Sinties* were originally from *Sintike*, which is a region between Thrace and Macedonia to the north of Crestonia, in which the town of *Sintia* is located⁴⁴⁴: presumably, the city of *Sindos* located nearby in Mygdonia proper is a slight phonetic variant of the same tribal name: its greater proximity to the sea suggests that the region may have also been called *Sint-/Sind-* after the presumably Etruscan-speaking population also found on Lemnos.⁴⁴⁵ Stephanus of Byzantium, correspondingly, says that the Macedonian city of Aiane was founded by Tyrsenians Αιανή, πόλις Μακεδονίας, ἀπὸ Αἰανοῦ παιδὸς Ἐλύμου, τοῦ βασιλέως Τυρρηγῶν, μετοικήσαντος εἰς Μακεδονίαν. τὸ ἔθνικὸν Αἰαναῖος: this is significant,

οἰκισθεῖσαν; Hellenicus (in schol. *Odyssey* 8.294) describes the Sinties as ‘Thracians’. This could be construed in a variety of ways: a) the Sinties were Thracians from Thrace and were distinct from Herodotus’ and Thucydides’ Tyrsenians (/Pelasgians); b) the Sinties were heterogenous: some of them came from Thrace and spoke Thracian; others could have been Etruscans, wherever they came from, Thrace, Lemnos, Attica, etc.; c) as is often the case, ‘Thracian’ here could be used here geographically, not ethnically, in which case the Sinties, or at least some of them, could be Etruscans from Thrace, Thracians from Thrace or a mix of different populations from Thrace; d) Hellenicus or the scholiast claiming they are citing Hellenicus is wrong. I believe c) is the correct answer: to be clear, I do not believe, as Heurgon does, that the Sinties differ from Thucydides’ and Herodotus’ (Pelasgian/) Tyrsenians: rather, Hellenicus’ account speaks to trading and possibly political bonds between the Lemnians and populations in Thrace of mixed origin, Tyrsenian, Thracian and possibly other ethnicities as well. I follow, to a great extent, Katicic 1976:69-70, 77-80 in his extensively argued hypothesis that the mythologized Pelasgians originally hailed from the North Aegean and that the *Palestinians* and *Peleset* in the Egyptian Bronze Age records are the same as the *Pelasgoi*, whose original name would have been the *Pelastoi*, as it appears among a number of scholiasts: the folk etymological association with *pelagos* the sea would have led to the hybrid form *Pelasgoi*. The name of the river Strymon was also known as the *Palaistinos*: historically, the region of the Strymon was a point of arrival and departure for great migrations, as attested by a Thracian population in Anatolia known as the *Strymonioi*: the Anatolian *Strymonioi* would thus be synonyms of the *Peleset* / *Philistines*. The Thucydidean, Herodotean and Sophoclean association of the Tyrsenoi with the Pelasgoi speaks to the North Aegean as the original habitat of the Etruscans, which is Beekes’ latest impressive and elaborate contention: I essentially agree with Beekes, except that he confines their homeland to what is later known as Mysia and the Anatolian Dardanelles: in my opinion, said Greek accounts seem to indicate that their early homeland might have included pockets of population from the Anatolian North Aegean all the way to the Thracian and Macedonian North Aegean. Together with early Proto-Paeonian and possibly Proto-Thracian populations, they conducted sea raids in the Mediterranean from Israel all the way to Italy, which is where many of them ended up settling and fusing with the local populations.

⁴⁴⁴ Beloch 1912:52

⁴⁴⁵ Apollonius of Rhodes 4.179 Καλλίστη, παίδων ἱερὴ τροφὸς Εὐφήμοιο· οἱ πρὶν μὲν ποτε δὴ Σιντηίδα Λῆμνον ἔναιον, Λήμνου τ’ ἐξελαθέντες ὑπ’ ἀνδράσι Τυρσηνοῖσιν (1760) Σπάρτην εἰσαφίκανον ἐφέστιοι· ἐκ δὲ λιπόντας.

because if it contains a historical kernel, it would pertain to a third of the early Macedonian federation of three Upper Macedonian tribes: the *Elimiotes* (besides the Lynkestai and Orestai or Argead Macedonians). The town of Elimia in Macedonia was also said to have been founded by Tyrsenians, see *ibid.*, s.v. *Elimia*.⁴⁴⁶

On the combined strength of the archaeological evidence and the consensus between the two ancient Greek historians, one can thus deduce that an early form of Etruscan was also spoken in the immediate regions surrounding Mygdonia, Herodotus' Creston to the north, the region of which is called Crestonia [variants Crastonia, Grastonia] and Thucydides' Chalcidike to the south. Moreover, I would suggest that some of the Bottiaioi of Bottia, located to the west of Mygdonia and to the east of Midas' Mount Bermion, may have once spoken an Etruscan dialect as well. According to Aristotle,

τοὺς παῖδας ὑπὸ τοῦ Μίνω, ἀλλὰ θητεύοντας ἐν τῇ Κρήτῃ καταγηράσκειν· καὶ ποτε Κρήτας εὐχὴν παλαιὰν ἀποδιδόντας ἀνθρώπων ἀπαρχὴν εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀποστέλλειν, τοῖς δὲ πεμπομένοις ἀνα- μειχθέντας ἐκγόνους ἐκείνων συνεξελεθεῖν· ὡς δ' οὐκ ἦσαν ἱκανοὶ τρέφειν ἑαυτοὺς αὐτόθι, πρῶτον μὲν εἰς Ἰταλίαν διαπερᾶσαι κάκεϊ κατοικεῖν περὶ τὴν Ἰαπυγίαν, ἐκεῖθεν δ' αὖθις εἰς Θράκην κομισθῆναι καὶ κληθῆναι Βοττιαίους· διὸ τὰς κόρας τῶν Βοττιαίων θυσίαν τινὰ τελοῦσας ἐπάδειν· ἴωμεν εἰς Ἀθήνας.⁴⁴⁷

The [Athenian] youths were not slain by Minos, but spent the remainder of their days in slavery in Crete; that the Cretans, in former times, to acquit themselves of an ancient vow which they had made, were used to send an offering of the first-fruits of their men to Delphi, and that some descendants of these Athenian slaves were mingled with them and

⁴⁴⁶ It is beyond the scope of this paper to defend the notion that the linguistic carriers of Etruscan came from the Aegean, rather than from northern Italy, but there are in my mind many reasons to support it [very admirable and comprehensive defense by Beekes; see also Papazoglou 1979:154-155; Horsfall, Georgiev 1984, X author of the most extensive up-to-date etymology of Etruscan, Adrados]. Regardless of where the Etruscans ultimately came from, they are ubiquitously attested in the North Aegean by serious, reliable sources. The *Homeric Hymn to Dionysus*, in which Dionysus is taken captive by Tyrsenian pirates, may be one of our earliest literary attestations. The unusual high frequency of metronyms in Macedonia (Papazoglou 1979:168-169), which are rare among all of its immediate neighbors with strong patronymic traditions (Greece, Illyria and Thrace), could potentially be attributed to an Etruscan adstratum in Macedonian society. For metronyms in Etruscan, cf. Toifelhardt 2010. I found out, after the possibility of considering an Etruscan substratum in Macedonian, that Thumb 1902:166 and Fraenkel 1956:84 had independently suggested it.

⁴⁴⁷ Aristotle *fr.* 43 in Plutarch, *Theseus*.

sent amongst them, and, unable to get their living there, removed from thence, first into Italy, and settled about Japygia; from thence again, that they removed to Thrace, and were named Bottiaean; and that this is the reason why, in a certain sacrifice, the Bottiaean girls sing a hymn beginning Let us go to Athens.

The association of the Bottiaioi with long-distance travel, to or from Crete, to southern Italy in Iapygia (Apulia), is difficult to separate from the long-distance travel of the Etruscans, whatever the initial point of departure may have been (the North Aegean or North Italy): even if some of the Bottiaioi may not have been Etruscan—probably Paeonian,⁴⁴⁸ others might have been.

The adumbration of Tyrsenian sailors in Bottia facilitating joint ventures with Paeonian-speaking populations to Crete may gain support from the inclusion of Pelasgians among the populations in Crete according to the *Odyssey*. As has been noted by several scholars, Paionia and Crete share several specific toponyms, e.g. Europos, Idomene, Gortyn(ia), Atalante.⁴⁴⁹ Contextualized within the Thucydidean and Herodotean claims that the Bottiaioi's immediate neighbors in Crestonia and Chalcidike too had come from Athens *and yet were not Greek*, one can reasonably make the case that at least some of the Bottiaioi themselves were close kinsmen of the Etruscan/Pelasgian Crestonians, (non-Greek) Chalcidikans and non-Hellenic inhabitants of Attica.⁴⁵⁰ Herodotus further states that the inhabitants of Plakie and Skylake in the Propontis spoke the same language.

⁴⁴⁸ The name itself Bottiaioi is not Etruscan, but is common in the Balkans at large.

⁴⁴⁹ Flensted-Jensen 1995:109ff; Oberhummer (*RE*), s.v. 'Axios'.

⁴⁵⁰ The notion that non-Hellenic-speaking populations may have lived in Attica in the EIA may seem counterintuitive at first blush, since archaeologically Attica seems fully integrated in the Mycenaean world. There are two explanations, however, for supporting the scenario of non-Hellenic-speaking populations in Attica: 1) there had always been a Tyrsenian substratum in Attica, even during the Bronze Age. The uniformity of the Linear B records could mask a greater linguistic diversity in Mycenaean Greece, as attested by the numerous non-Greek personal names attested in Linear B; b) by the end of the Bronze Age,

Earlier, we traced an evolutionary scenario for the shift from *Makedonia* to *Mychthonia*, which is an alternative name of Mygdonia attested by Stephanus of Byzantium:

Μακεδονία → 2a) *Μακδονία / → 3a) *Μαγδονία → 4a) *Μογδονία → 5a) Μυγδονία
*Μαγεδονία

Μακεδονία → 2b) *Μακδονία → 3b) *Μακτονία → 4b) *Μοχτονία → 5b) Μυχθονία
*Μοχθονία

The syncopated form Μυχθονία, attested by Stephanus of Byzantium, may be a peculiarly Etruscan form whereby 3b) *Μακτονία could have evolved directly to 4b) *Μοχθονία: Etruscan is prone to aspirate unvoiced foreign loanwords and pronounce *a*'s in a rounded manner, in such a way that their potential role as mediators of the ethnonym *Mak(e)dones* could have resulted in the shift *a* → *o* in *Makedones*: thus, **Mokhthones*.⁴⁵¹

In our discussion of Etruscan as a serious candidate for mediating the syncopation of *Makedones* into *Mygdones*, we mentioned Herodotus' allusion to the Pelasgian/Tyrsenian city of *Kreston*,⁴⁵² which was conceivably located in the eponymous *Krestonia*, located in northern Mygdonia or to the north of Mygdonia. Whereas syncope is characteristic of Etruscan and may have plausibly facilitated the evolution of the parallel unvoiced form Μυχθονία, the voicing of unvoiced plosives is atypical of

the vast majority of the indigenous populations of Greece might have been fully Hellenized, but with the arrival of new populations from the north of Greece, pockets of non-Greek-speaking populations may have thrived in various parts of Greece, including Tyrsenian populations in Attica. For the presence of non-Greek populations in Attica, see also Ephorus *fr.* 119.118 Jacoby ἡ δ' οὖν Βοιωτία πρότερον μὲν ὑπὸ βαρβάρων οἰκεῖτο Ἀόνων καὶ Τεμμίκων, ἐκ τοῦ Σουνίου πεπλανημένων.

⁴⁵¹ Wallace 2008:33 “the claim that the vowel *a* was rounded helps make sense of the spelling of osme early Ionawords from Italic. Etruscan scribes choose to spell the Italic diphthong /ow/ in the name *loucios* as *au*, e.g. Etruscan *lavcie*”; hence, the evolution of Old Etruscan *amake* into *amuce* and finally *amce* (see Zavaroni 2001).

⁴⁵² Herodotus 1.57 ἦντινα δὲ γλῶσσαν ἴεσαν οἱ Πελασγοί, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως εἰπεῖν. εἰ δὲ χρεόν ἐστι τεκμαιρόμενον λέγειν τοῖσι νῦν ἔτι εὐοῖσι Πελασγῶν τῶν ὑπὲρ Τυρσηνῶν Κρηστῶνα πόλιν οἰκεόντων, οἱ ὄμουροι κοτὲ ἦσαν τοῖσι νῦν Δωριεῦσι καλεομένοισι (οἴκεον δὲ τηνικαῦτα γῆν τὴν νῦν Θεσσαλιῶτιν καλεομένην) , καὶ τῶν Πλακίην τε καὶ Σκυλάκην Πελασγῶν οἰκησάντων ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ

Etruscan phonology: accordingly, if Etruscan may have influenced the loss of the second vowel in *Mak(e)donia*, it cannot have supported or enabled the parallel, voiced outcome *Μυγδονία*: on the contrary, it would have opposed it. Thus, ancient Macedonian proper, as seen above, and/or the elusive, closely-related language of the Paeonians, whose territory extended over Mygdonia before the advent of Macedonian hegemony, are the likeliest candidates for mediating at least the final stages of the transformation of *Makedonia* into *Mygdonia*.

Finally, the occurrence of massive syncope in Lydian⁴⁵³ may not be irrelevant to the proposed transformation of the *Makedones* into the *Mygdones*. Herodotus famously wrote that ‘Lydia’ was the original homeland of the aforementioned Etruscans (Tyrsenians), a case which Beekes 2003 forcefully made: his extensive argumentation is persuasive, except for the fact that the homeland of the proto-Etruscans may not have been confined to northwestern Anatolia, the original homeland of the proto-Lydians, but may have also have extended to the North Aegean in Thrace and eastern Macedonia.⁴⁵⁴ Beekes, Adrados and Woudhuizen have pointed out a number of compelling linguistic features tying Etruscan to the Anatolian languages.⁴⁵⁵ If a counter-invasion of Macedonia and northern Greece by mixed Phrygians and Lydians had occurred sometime in the EIA, as some ancient sources and modern scholars plausibly claim,⁴⁵⁶ it is not inconceivable

⁴⁵³ Melchert 1994:373ff; Melchert 2003.

⁴⁵⁴ Unless one should conceive of Tyrsenian presence in Macedonia as a result of the Phrygian – Lydian counter-invasion from Anatolia: together with the Phrygians and Lydians, proto-Tyrsenians from northwestern Anatolia would have come along and settled in Macedonia either by land or sea.

⁴⁵⁵ Beekes 2003; Adrados 1989; Woudhuizen 1991. That Anatolian languages had once been spoken in Greece as well is Palmer’s hypothesis, which is supported by a number of modern scholars as well. This is not to say, as Adrados does, that Etruscan is an Anatolian language. I do not believe that, far from it.

⁴⁵⁶ Herodotus, Ephorus, Lycophron; Hammond, Samsaris, see subsequent discussion.

that the phonetic mutation of *Makedonia* into *Mygdonia* was partially conditioned by a Lydian-speaking environment.⁴⁵⁷ Although far from certain and not my preferred scenario, the phonetic shift may have even occurred on Anatolian soil and then been re-exported to Macedonia and applied only to the region of Macedonia, which the mixed Anatolian Phrygians and Lydians would have readily controlled, i.e. the lowlands of Macedonia = Μυγδονία.⁴⁵⁸

2.1.4.3. Areal Vocalic Shift *a > o > u* (**Makedones* > **Mokdones* > *Mugdones*)

2.1.4.3.1. *a > o*

Whatever language(s) mediated the evolution of Makedonia into Mygdonia, it is likely to have been an areal phenomenon, which would have affected several related or unrelated languages in the region of Eastern Macedonia. The double shift *a à o à u* may seem like many steps, but the probable kinship between Macedonian ἄδδαι ‘poles of a chariot’⁴⁵⁹ and Aeolic ὕσδος ‘branch’ (cf. the intermediary Attic form ὄζος) shows how such wide-ranging shifts were possible in the same region. The first and second steps, *a* to *o* and *o* to *u* are both attested in Aeolic, which shares a northern border with Macedonia: linguistic and historical ties unite the two regions, notably the migration of the proto-Magnesians from Pieria to Magnesia and numerous isoglosses. Step 1 *a* to *o* is well-attested in Aeolic:

⁴⁵⁷ We will examine some of the evidence for Lydian influence on Macedonia later, e.g. the insertion of king Kroisos in the genealogy of the Macedonian kings.

⁴⁵⁸ As we will later see, the possibility also remains that the smaller region in Lower Macedonia named *Krousis* stems from *Kroisos*, a famous Lydian king. It is unclear whether *Kroisos* is a native Anatolian term or a loanword so the evidentiary value of *Kroisos* is questionable. For sources of a counter-migration from Anatolia to Macedonia, cf. Ephorus F 2a,70,F fr. 104 τοὺς Ἰδαίους Δακτύλους γενέσθαι μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἴδιον τὴν ἐν Φρυγίαι, διαβῆναι δὲ μετὰ Μυγδόνοιο εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην.

⁴⁵⁹ Kokoszko & Witzak 2009:19

e.g., ὄν- for ἀν(ά)-, e.g. Aeolic ὀμμένω for ἀναμένω; Aeolic κοθαρός for καθαρός.⁴⁶⁰ In Magnesia, the name of the town Ὀρμένιον (*Iliad* 2.734) alternates with Ἀρμένιον.⁴⁶¹

To the east of Mygdonia, outside of Aeolis located south of it, the local toponymy attests the same shift *a* to *o*: Αἰσύμη alternates with Οἰσύμη. Located in Eastern Paeonia, the town of Aisyme is mentioned at *Iliad* 8.305 (τόν ῥ' ἐξ Αἰσύμηθεν ὀπυιομένη τέκε μήτηρ).⁴⁶² Elsewhere in Greek literature, the same town is known as *Oisyme*, as in Thucydides 4.107, Scylax *Perieg.* 67.4, Athenaeus 1.56.27 and Stephanus of Byzantium: Οἰσύμη, πόλις Μακεδονίας... ταύτην Αἰσύμην Ὅμηρος ἔφη. We must also include the Paeonian Ὀδόμαντοι, whom Toynbee (1969:22 & 101) persuasively equated with the Epirote Ἀθαμᾶνες.⁴⁶³ Unbeknownst to Toynbee, the original manuscript of the Hesychian gloss to βαθάρα reads Ἀθαμᾶντες instead of the customary Ἀθαμᾶνες attested elsewhere, which editors have introduced into the text (Witzak 1995:85). Given the variability of the names of Epirote tribes and the *Athamant*- stem in Athamas (cf. the Ἀθαμάντιον

⁴⁶⁰ Buck 1910:18

⁴⁶¹ Helly 2004:298

⁴⁶² For the ethnicity of Oisyme, see Samsaris 1986:133-134

⁴⁶³ We will address the question of ethnogenesis later: as Toynbee notes, to a Greek theta regionally corresponds a *d*, as in *dorax* 'spleen' = Greek *thorax*; the endings *-oi/-es* readily change in Northwestern Greece and the *o/a* alternation is not uncommon either), for the former type, cf. the variant forms of the Epirote *Atintanes* reported by Merleker 1852:7: Ἀτιντᾶνες, Ἀτιντάνες, Ἀτιντάνιοι and Ἀτιντανοί: the *Atintanoi* themselves must be the same as the Τυντηνοί, only known from archaic coinage near the mouth of the Axios (Svoronos 1919:46-48), which is precisely what Svoronos and Toynbee 1969:101 proposed. Demonstrably, the *Athamanes* live in the neighborhood of Dodona; Herodotus 5.15.3 & 5.16 characterizes the *Odomantoi* as a Paeonian tribe. The *Athamanes/Odomantoi* connection is very interesting because the mythological *Helle*, who gave her name to the Hellespont, is the daughter of *Athamas*, whom several scholars agree is the eponym of the Epirote tribe: Macan 1908:293; Toynbee 1969:22; Phylactopoulos 1975:37 (vol. 2); West 1985:67. The migration of the Proto-Boeotians from the vicinity of Mount Boion in Epirus (Buck 1910:3) and of the Proto-Thessalians from Thesprotia in Thessaly (Herodotus 7.176) would explain how the eponym of an Epirote tribe became a mythical king of Boeotia or Thessaly. *Helle* is formally the feminine singular of the *Helloi*, located at Dodona according to the *Iliad* and Pindar. It so happens that Eratosthenes (3rd century BCE) says that after *Helle* fell into the Hellespont, Poseidon rescued her and became the father of Paion, eponym of the Paionians (Ποσειδῶν δὲ σώζει τὴν Ἑλλην καὶ μιχθεὶς ἐγέννησεν ἐξ αὐτῆς παῖδα ὀνόματι Παίονα:19).

πεδίων in Pausanias 9.24.1), however, it is best to view Ἀθαμᾶντες as a genuine variant of Ἀθαμᾶνες, thus representing the missing link between Ἀθαμᾶνες and Ὀδόμαντοι. The more precise Ἀθαμᾶντες / Ὀδόμαντοι alternation bespeaks the same regional shift from *a* to *o*.

One can also compare the small region immediately adjacent to Macedonian Mygdonia, i.e. Βοττιαία, with the sacred burial mound / hill of Βατίεια near Troy: Ἔστι δέ τις προπάρσιθε πόλιος αἰπεῖα κολώνη / ἐν πεδίῳ ἀπάνευθε περιδρομος ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα, / τὴν ἦτοι ἄνδρες Βατίειαν κικλήσκουσιν, / ἀθάνατοι δέ τε σῆμα πολυσκάρθμοιο Μυρίνης (*Iliad* 2.810-813). The toponym is to be associated with sacred personal name, such as *Baton*,⁴⁶⁴ which is frequently found in European Dardania, the North Aegean and Asia Minor. The *o*- variant of *Bottia*, in light of the other areal mutations *a* à *o* and *o* à *u*, may suggest that *Bottia* itself stems perhaps from an earlier **Battia*.⁴⁶⁵ To Macedonian κομμάραι ‘shrimp’⁴⁶⁶ corresponds Greek κάμματος; to the Macedonian month Γορπιαῖος corresponds Greek καρπός (for the semantics, cf the German cognate *Herbst* ‘Autumn’).

The Homeric place name Ὀλιζῶν (*Iliad* 2.717), located in the northernmost tip of Thessaly on the border with Macedonia, according to Helly,⁴⁶⁷ is of great interest because he persuasively demonstrates, using a variety of arguments,⁴⁶⁸ that Ὀλιζῶν is cognate

⁴⁶⁴ Katicic 1972

⁴⁶⁵ Arkwright 1918:58-59.

⁴⁶⁶ κομμάραι ἢ κομάραι· καρίδες. Μακεδόνες (Hesychius).

⁴⁶⁷ Helly 2004:280ff

⁴⁶⁸ Helly 2004:280-298

with Macedonian ἄλιζα “white poplar,”⁴⁶⁹ both of which are most likely of Thracian origin.⁴⁷⁰ The corresponding ethnonyms, the Thracian Ὀλιζῶνες⁴⁷¹ and the Paphlagonian Ἀλιζῶνες (*Iliad* 2.856) in Anatolia, who are otherwise described as Bithynian,⁴⁷² bespeak the same *a* / *o* alternation. The Ὀλιζῶν / ἄλιζα connection shows how vowel *a* in Macedonian can alternate with a regional *o* involving words of the same root.

As a final note, keeping in mind that the Macedonian Mygdonia of the classical period was surrounded to the north and south by Etruscan-speaking populations, it is noteworthy that the mediation of Etruscan in the transmission of Greek θρίαμβος to Latin *triumphus*,⁴⁷³ resulted in the shift from *a* to *u*, as well as the devoicing of *b* into *p*: both of these phonetic phenomena connect *Makedonia* and outcome 2 *Mychthonia*.

2.1.4.3.2. o > u

Brixhe 1999:46-49 notes the tendency in Macedonian inscriptions for the alternation between *o* and *u*, as in the name of the month Αὐδυναῖος, also attested as Αὐδοναῖος, even syncopated Αὐδναῖος: this triple variation in the name of a Macedonian month encompasses two of the three changes separating *Mygdonia* from *Makedonia*.

⁴⁶⁹ ἄλιζα: ἡ λεύκη τὸ δένδρον. Μακεδόνες: Hesychius. This gloss has been also been interpreted as referring to a disease affecting trees, but I rely on Helly (see previous footnote) and others who have refuted this interpretation.

⁴⁷⁰ Budimir 1934:281-282; Macedonian was not a Thracian language, though it can be taken for certain that it was influenced by Thracian: ἄλιζα has to be an example of a Thracian loanword because the original intervocalic *s* does not disappear, as it does in Greek, Macedonian and Phrygian. For examples of dendronymic loanwords, cf. French *hêtre*, “beech,” from Frankish *haistr*.

⁴⁷¹ Helly 2004:291-292 on the Suda entry Ὀλιζῶνες: ἔθνος Θρακικόν and Stephanus of Byzantium on the juxtaposition of Olizon #2 to the Thracian city of Pityeia (2.717) in Mysia: Ὀλιζῶν, πόλις Θεσσαλίας. Ἐκαταῖος Εὐρώπη. κλίνεται δὲ διὰ τοῦ ω καὶ ὀξύνεται „καὶ Πιτύειαν ἔχον καὶ Ὀλιζῶνα (15) τρηχειάν“. ὀξύνεται δὲ πρὸς ἀντιδιαστολὴν τοῦ „λαοὶ δ’ ὑπ’ ὀλιζόνες ἦσαν“. ὠνομάσθη δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ μικρὰ εἶναι. Olizon is a *uaria lectio* of Tereia.

⁴⁷² Herodian 3,2.350.11.

⁴⁷³ Ernout & Meillet 1985, s.v. ‘triumphus’.

Admittedly, these forms range from the Hellenistic to the Imperial period, but similar instances of syncope in Macedonian could date back. Brixhe further notes that this old areal shift *o* à *u* continues remarkably to this day in a number of modern dialects in northern Greece, including Macedonia and Thessaly, where τὸν, for instance represents τὸν. Even much earlier though, in Mygdonia proper, the *o/u* alternation is discernible in the very name of its southwestern district, which Herodotus calls *Krossa(ia)* = χώρα Κροσσαίη (7.123.12), whereas Thucydides et al. refer to it as *Krousis* = ἐκ τῆς Κρουσίδος γῆς (2.79.4), cf. Herodian Κροῦσις ὁ Μυγδόνοϋ υἱός, Κρουσίς μοῖρα τῆς Μυγδονίας “Krousis the son of Mygdon, Krousis is a part of Mygdonia” (3,1.102.10).

In the region surrounding Mygdonia, not far south, Mount Olympus stands out and is worth scrutinizing. The namesake is also found in several Phrygian-speaking regions of Anatolia, notably in association with the satyr Marsyas and king Midas,⁴⁷⁴ which is not to say that the Greeks themselves are responsible for the name of the five Olympoi found in Anatolia: the highest Mount Olympus in Anatolia is the one in Bithynia, which is also the closest geographically to the Macedonian Olympus among the four other Anatolian Mount Olympoi. A pattern unites these two superlative Olympoi: a territory known as Mygdonia is located near both of them: Ὀλυμπος τοιόσδε, περιουκείται δὲ πρὸς ἄρκτον μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Βιθυνῶν καὶ Μυγδόνων, “Olympus, around whose northern side dwell the Bithynians and the Mygdonians.”⁴⁷⁵ Oberhammer reasonably suggests that the Phrygians exported the name with them, as they migrated

⁴⁷⁴ Nollé 2006: 57-59

⁴⁷⁵ Strabo 12.8.10

from Macedonia to Asia Minor across the Hellespont,⁴⁷⁶ just as a third Mount Olympus in Elis, not far from the Olympic games, was most likely caused by the migration of the Proto-Eleans, who were newcomers from the Pindus in the northwestern Peloponnese.⁴⁷⁷ A multitude of duplicated toponyms and oronyms are found in both Elis and northern Thessaly: an Ossa, a Peneios, an Enipeus, a Pamisos and a Iardanos, which are clearly modeled after their namesakes in northern Thessaly⁴⁷⁸; “die nicht nur etymologische Nähe zwischen dem thessalischen Olymp und Olympia, wo die Wettkämpfe zu Ehren des olympischen Zeus stattfanden, spricht für sich.”⁴⁷⁹

Mount Olympus is of interest here because its most compelling etymology parallels the proposed shift *a à o à u*, which occurred in *Makedonia* < *Mygdonia*. The folk-etymology “Very Luminous,” as attested by Aristotle (Ὀλυμπον δὲ οἶον ὀλολαμπῆ)⁴⁸⁰ et al.⁴⁸¹, is likely to be accurate,⁴⁸² even if several scholars have proposed more imaginative etymologies or concluded with greater skepticism that the origin is ‘pre-Greek’ and thus inscrutable. While Greece is notorious for a multiplicity of pre-

⁴⁷⁶ Oberhummer 1937:98 – typical of his time and still commonly believed by modern scholars, Oberhummer erroneously refers to Phrygian as the “Thrako-phrygische Sprachgruppe” (cf. Rosen 1978), although no linguists nowadays believe in a Thracio-Phrygian unit (e.g. Neumann 1988:4): as I have repeated in this essay, Thracian and Phrygian are only distantly related through IE and differ in many key features (see Brixhe, Holst, Georgiev). On the other hand, Phrygian and Greek belong to the same IE subgroup.

⁴⁷⁷ The Elean dialect is the only northwestern Greek dialect in the Peloponnese: the preposition ἐν + accusative, for example, can be used with verbs of motion, as in Northwestern Greek (and Latin *in*): Bechtel 1921:35. It is equivalent to standard Greek εἰς

⁴⁷⁸ Yalouris, *RE* XVIII 3 (1949) 295f. s.v. Pamisos; *RE* IX 1 (1914) 748f. s.v. Iardanos. Oberhummer 1937:93 “die Bezeichnung nur aus Thessalien nach Elis übertragen sein.” Also Heiden 2003:187-189.

⁴⁷⁹ Heiden 2003:189; also Siewert 1991:65-69.

⁴⁸⁰ Aristotle, *De Mundo* 400a.8

⁴⁸¹ Plut. *vit. Hom.* 2.95, Tzetz. *Epex.* II. 81,18, Serv. *Virg Aen.* 4,270.

⁴⁸² Grasberger 1888:176 “*Olympos*...die Wurzel λαμπ—, λαμπάς, λαμπρός, λαμπτήρ "der Glänzende, der Schneeberg, Leuchtenberg." Pape-Benseler 1875, s.v. ‘Olympos’: "Leuchte, Leuchtenberg, Lichtenberg”;

Greek toponyms, e.g. Corinth and Parnassus, not all toponyms have to be pre-Greek (e.g. Pylos and Megalopolis), especially place names in northern Greece, in which the linguistic carriers of proto-Mycenaean Greek (2100-1700)⁴⁸³ and later Doric (1200-800) had first settled, coming from the Balkans. If by pre-Greek, Phrygian, Proto-Macedonian or Paeonian are meant, we are dealing with the same linguistic subgroup: Greco-Phrygian, which we will develop in the latter section of this paper; the specific, linguistic prehistorical background of the region of Mount Olympus is seldom taken into account by the majority of skeptics whose sole objection is the mere fact that if a toponym is pre-Greek, “it could have meant anything and is beyond scrutiny.”

This facile observation, however, ignores Georgiev’s analysis of Greek toponymy, which reveals in fact an interesting paradox: most of the place names in classical Greece are non-Greek (e.g. *Athens*, *Asopos*, *Taygete*), but regions in the northern fringes of Greece, Epirus in particular, concentrate a higher number of Greek-sounding toponyms, e.g. *Keraunia* and *Phyllis*.⁴⁸⁴ Even if one still maintained that toponyms in the North Aegean *could* be neither Greek nor a closely related language, the likeliest linguistic candidates left attest the same IE root **lap*.⁴⁸⁵

⁴⁸³ For the latter date of 1700 BCE, see Hammond 1967.

⁴⁸⁴ Georgiev 1966:180; Katicic 1976:122 “some of the Greek etymologies proposed by Georgiev for Epirotic geographic names may be disputable. But the mere fact that it is possible to find Greek explanations for almost all of these names remains highly significant.” I want to emphasize that the higher frequency of Greek-sounding names in the northern fringes of Greece does *not* necessarily imply that the Greek-sounding toponym had spoken a strictly-speaking *Greek* dialect: it could have been proto-Phrygian, Macedonian or Paeonian, all of which are closely related to Greek (the ‘Greco-Phrygian’ subgroup of IE).

⁴⁸⁵ The only main other contenders for the etymology of *Olympos* would be Anatolian and Thracian, since Anatolian toponyms are attested in much of Greece (Palmer 1965:321-357) and late Bronze Age Thracian presence is attested in the Northern Aegean (see Best & De Vries 1989): it so happens that the IE root **lap* of Greek *λάμπω* is attested in Anatolian and Baltic, the latter of which appears to be the closest relative of Thracian, if not in the same IE subgroup to which Thracian belonged. Although the paucity of Thracian inscriptions precludes an in-depth survey of its vocabulary, enough is known of Thracian to compare it to Baltic: Holst 2009:66 writes “wurde oft gesagt, [Thrakisch] 'stehe dem Balto-Slawischen nahe' oder sogar

Typologically, the common interpretation “Very Luminous” / “Ablaze,” which Aristotle spells out = Ὀλυμπον δὲ οἶον ὀλολαμπῆ, is frequently attested for mountains, in particular high and/or sacred mountains.⁴⁸⁶ Semantically too, the meaning matches the poetic description of Mount Olympus in early Greek poetry, as in the Homeric formula αἰγλήεντος Ὀλύμπου “effulgent Olympus” at *Iliad* 1.153, 13.248 and *Odyssey* 20.103.⁴⁸⁷ Formally, the match is quasi perfect: the only anomaly, which seems to have given pause to most scholars in approving the most obvious and immediate interpretation, is the unusual ablaut *a* to *u* via *o*, as in λαμπάς versus Ὀλυμπος.⁴⁸⁸ Nevertheless, it can be readily accounted for: the first step *a* to *o* has already been shown above: to Macedonian *a*, as in the Macedonian gloss ἄλιζα “white poplar,” can correspond a regional *o*, as in ἄλιζα’s etymological cognate Ὀλιζῶν(ες), alternating with Ἀλιζῶνες, which is attested in the surrounding Aeolic and Thracian⁴⁸⁹ spheres.

spezieller dem Baltischen. Aus Duridanov (1985) und anderen Quellen gewinnt man jedoch den Eindruck, dass dies noch untertrieben ist. Thrakisch *ist* eine baltische Sprache. Nicht Nähe zum Baltischen, sondern Zugehörigkeit ist das, was hier konstatiert werden muss.” The IE root **lap* of Greek λάμπω is attested in both Latvian *lāpa* ‘Fackel, Flamme’ and Hittite *lap-zi* ‘glühen’, *lap-nu-zi* ‘in Glut versetzen, anfachen’ (Frisk 1960, s.v. λάμπω). Thus, the IE root **lap* of Ὀλομπος / Ὀλυμπος (for the *o/u* alternation, see *infra*) has the highest degree of probability, whether the root should be presumed to be Greek, Phrygian, Macedonian, Paeonian, Thracian or Anatolian. We will deal with the prefix *O-* below.

⁴⁸⁶ For instance, Mount Kilimanjaro, the highest mountain in Africa, means “Shining Mountain’ in Swahili (Aleshire 2009:100).

⁴⁸⁷ Pape-Benseler 1875 s.v. ‘Olympos’.

⁴⁸⁸ For example, Oberhammer 1938. We will deal with the initial *O-* in a moment.

⁴⁸⁹ The etymology of ἄλιζα is Thracian, so it seems (by elimination and its phonetic structure), in which the initial vowel might have originally been *a* (IE **o* à Thracian *a*) and the original intervocalic *-s-* does not undergo changes to **h* and zero: if this is the case, the coloration *o* could represent an Aeolicism, as Helly suggests. This is a possibility, but it does not impose itself, as alternative theories are possible and even more probable: 1) the alternatively-named *Oisyme* / *Aisyme*, which was a Thasian (Ionian) colony from the mid 7th century BCE in the North Aegean between the Strymon and Nestos rivers, is outside of Aeolis: the substrate population in and around *Oisyme* / *Aisyme* was either Paeonian, Thracian or most probably a mix of the two, cf. Hesychius Ὀδωνίς· ἢ Θάσος τὸ πάλαι, whose name is obviously related to the Ἡδωνοί (Delev 2007:9). Since Ionic (= Thasian, as represented by inscriptions and Archilochus) does not show any marked proclivity of *a* for *o* and there is no evidence of Aeolic spoken at or around *Oisyme* / *Aisyme*, it is safer to maintain that *a* for *o* in the North Aegean is an areal phenomenon, rather than a specifically Aeolic

The second step *o* to *u* is attested epigraphically at the site of Mount Olympus where several readings attest Ὀλομπος besides Ὀλυμπος⁴⁹⁰; the successive shifts *a* to *o* and *o* to *u* are well attested in Aeolic, which prompted Pape & Benseler to write, s.v. ‘Olympos’: “von λάμπω, äolisch für *a*, mit einem vor der Liquida vorgeschobenen *o*.”⁴⁹¹ One may compare the attested pair Ὀλομπος / Ὀλυμπος with Aeolic γίνυμαi vs. γίνομαι; Aeolic ὄνυμα vs. ὄνομα; Aeolic ὕσδος⁴⁹² vs. ὄζος.

If the Urform of Ὀλυμπος / Ὀλομπος was *Ὀλαμπος, as I contend, the initial *O-* remains to be explained: it can be unproblematically construed as an intensive/copulative prefix, which is attested in ὁ-πατρος “of the same father, ὁ-κέλλω “to run [a ship] aground” (literally “drive completely”). It is very important to keep the following in mind: typologically, although prefixes that are copulative (‘sameness’ or ‘togetherness’) may seem to differ on a semantic level from prefixes that are intensive (‘very X’), typologically the same prefixes serve *double duty* and will exhibit both intensive and copulative meanings, e.g. *com-* in Latin, *sam-* in Sanskrit.⁴⁹³ It is for this reason that one is justified in pairing the copulative value of ὁ-πατρος “of the same father” with the intensive value of *Ὀ-λαμπος “Very Luminous”: the latter is equatable with the semantic

phenomenon: several languages and dialects in the region, e.g. Aeolic, Paeonian, Thracian and possibly ‘East Macedonian’ (if Hammond is correct to differentiate a “West Macedonian’ from an ‘East Macedonian’ dialect) are likely to have been affected by this phonetic tendency. Moreover, the Thracian ethnonym Ὀλιζῶν(ες) does not necessarily represent an Aeolic rendition of an endonymic *Ἀλιζῶν(ες): it could potentially indicate that short *a* could mutate to *o* in some Thracian dialects, just as Ur-Greek *a* could mutate to *o* in certain Greek dialects, such as Aeolic and Arcado-Cypriote, and even further to *u*, e.g. Arcadian ὕν = ἄν(ἄ), thus achieving the double vocalic shift seen in Μυγδόνες vis-à-vis Μακεδόνες.

⁴⁹⁰ CIG III ADD.3846Z 31. IV 8412, cf. RE s.v. Olympos; Pape-Benseler 1875 s.v. ‘Olympos’

⁴⁹¹ Buck 1910:18. Other instances of the rounding effects of *m* on *a* (*ma-* → *mo-*) are μολάχη and μολόχη-η (*Epigr.Gr.*1135 (Naples, vase) for μαλάχη; also μοκκόνωσις : περιφρονεῖς, *Blaes.3.* besides μακκοῶω; μοσσύνειν, akin to μασσῶσθαι βραδέως, Hesychius.

⁴⁹² Sappho 54.

⁴⁹³ For *o-*, see Helly 2004:277.

and morphological structure of the intensive περι-λαμπής “very luminous.” Although this prefix *o-* is uncommon in our Greek lexical corpus, it bears emphasizing that the majority of the extant words with this prefix are archaic and are therefore likely to have been more productive in the prehistory or early history of Greek and closely related languages.⁴⁹⁴ Significantly, this prefix *o-* appears to be attested in our small lexical corpus of ancient Macedonian: ὑετής: ὁ αὐτοετής, Μαρσύας, whereby **o-* unsurprisingly mutated to *u-*. Hoffmann, among others, rightly take this Hesychian gloss as an indication that ὑετής ‘of the same year’ is Macedonian because the two ancient authors Marsyas of Pella and Marsyas of Philippoi (it could be either of them) were Macedonian and both wrote a history of Macedonia⁴⁹⁵ with explicit references to Macedonian vocabulary:

Da in den Μακεδονικά eines der beiden nationalmakedonischen Historiker, die den Namen Μαρσύας führten, makedonische Worte gebraucht wurden, so darf die zwischen ὑεστάκα· ἱματισμός und ὑετίς· ὑδρίς in der verstümmelten Form ετης überlieferte Hesychglosse ὁ αὐτοετής· Μαρσύας ziemlich sicher den Makedonen zugewiesen werden.⁴⁹⁶

Macedonian ὑετής is clearly akin to Homeric ὀέτεας, which occurs in the Catalogue’s description of Admetus’ extraordinary mares (*Iliad* 2.763-765):

Ἴπποι μὲν μέγ’ ἄρισται ἔσαν Φηρητιάδαο,
τὰς Εὐμηλος ἔλαυνε ποδώκεας ὄρνιθας ὧς
ὄτριχας οἰέτεας σταφύλη ἐπὶ νῶτον ἔϊσας· (765)

The juxtaposition of ὀέτεας to another lexeme with the same rare prefix *o-* (ὄτριχας) and their common ascription to the mares of Eumelos—grandson of the eponym of *Pheres*, which is located in the future Thessaly to the south of Macedonia—reinforce the case that

⁴⁹⁴ I am putting off, in the present section of this paper, the details of the question of the origin of Greek and its relation to Macedonian and other languages of the south Balkans, notably proto-Phrygian, Macedonian and Paeonian. As we shall see, however, they were very closely related, beyond the mere fact that they were all IE languages: they belonged to the same subgroup within IE.

⁴⁹⁵ Errington 1990:224-225.

⁴⁹⁶ Hoffmann 1906:66

the prefix *o-* was areally productive in the North Aegean⁴⁹⁷: *Iliad* 2.765 would thus have been a partially Ionicized rendition of an originally Aeolic line. The combined evidence of Macedonian ὑετής with the Homeric (*qua* Aeolic) usage of the intensive/copulative prefix *o-* corroborate a prefixal reading of the *O-* in Ὀλυμπος / Ὀλομπος.

Toponymic evidence in the same region as Mount Olympus may augment this lexical evidence for the prefixal value of *O-*: without saying a word of Ὀλυμπος / Ὀλομπος, Helly recently drew attention to the north Thessalian toponym Ὀμόλη, which is strategically located in the valley facing the slopes of Mount Ossa—a key passageway for invasions and traffic of all sorts⁴⁹⁸: he parses it as Ὀ-μόλη and adjoins προμολή “foot of a mountain” and μέλλω, originally ‘to go’ (cf. βλώσκω > * μλώσκω): hence, his translation for Ὀ-μόλη “which has the same mountain slope” (“qui a le même versant”⁴⁹⁹). The three other leading etymologies (against which Helly argues) are 2) Ὀ-μόλη, West Aeolic variant of Ἀμαλή “the Soft/Pleasant place”; 3) *Ὀ-μόλη, West Aeolic variant of Ὀμαλή “Even / Harmonious”⁵⁰⁰ and 4) *Ὀμό-λη⁵⁰¹ and thus associated with the cult of Zeus Homoloios, the Thessalian month Homoloion and the Macedonian month

⁴⁹⁷ *Iliad* 2.765

⁴⁹⁸ McAlister 1976, s.v. ‘Homolion or Homole’: “It was the city of Magnesia (and Hellas) farthest N, at the borders of Macedonia, situated on the slopes of Ossa where the Peneios emerges from the Tempe gorge (Strab. 9.443; Scylax 33; Steph. Byz. s.v. ὀμόλιον). It lay on a route to Thessaly from Macedonian Dium (Livy 42.38) and controlled both the E end of the Tempe pass and the N end of a more difficult route which led around the shoulder of Ossa, along the E coast of Magnesia, and back between Ossa and Pelion into the interior of Thessaly.”

⁴⁹⁹ Helly 2007:277 (“qui a le meme versant,” qui est évidemment la caractéristique principale du contrefort qui enveloppe l’Ossa du Sud-Ouest au Sud-Est. Graninger 2011:104 “Helly identifies Homole as a spur on the southern slopes of Ossa, not the northern as it is often regarded, and sees in the word Homole a reference to the topography of the region. It is that part of southern Ossa ‘which has the same slope’

⁵⁰⁰ Fowler 2013:61-62: according to Istros, the month of Homoloion was connected with Aeolic ὄμολος with τὸ ὀμνητικόν, denoting peace and harmony.

⁵⁰¹ Helly 2007:274-275

Lōios (in Helly’s view, a secondary folk-etymological association). Whichever etymology and translation is correct,⁵⁰² for our purposes it is sufficient to observe that three of the four posit the prefix **o-*, which statistically would translate to a 75% chance that Ossa’s Ὀ-μόλη near Mount Ὀλομπος has the same prefix as Mount Ὀ-λομπος. The statistical probability further increases if one conceives of the emergence of toponymic nomenclature as the negotiated sum result of all the reconcilable interpretations, which enable a toponym to crystallize: as is well-known, toponyms may vie with competing synonyms, e.g. *Maketa* and *Makedonia*, *Ilios* and *Pergamon*, *Acheloios* and *Thoas*: whatever initial meaning may have been given by its first users may not be the same meaning given by its subsequent and possibly more numerous users, without whose acquiescence the selected toponym may never have gained currency and fallen victim to more successful synonyms. A hermeneutic negotiation in the fixation of Ὀμόλη (Ὀ-μόλη times 3 and Ὀμό-λη times 1) seems particularly compelling. Since three of the four most viable etymologies of Ὀμόλη involve the prefix *o-*, one can reasonably conclude that the prefixal reading of Ὀ-μόλη at the very least informed its development. The geographical proximity of Ὀμόλη to Ὀλομπος, which superimposes itself on a Macedonian-Aeolic *Sprachbund*⁵⁰³ where *o-* was a productive prefix, validates the adduction of *Ὀλαμπος, Ὀλομπος and Ὀλυμπος as a dialectic and diachronic model for the vocalic shifts that turned Μακεδονία into syncopated *Μογδονία and Μυγδονία.

Selection of key examples illustrating the regional shift *a > o > u*

⁵⁰² In the case of the mountain *Ὀμόλη and the city of the same name, I favor Helly’s etymological parsing, in which he recognizes the prefix *o-* and the root **mel* ‘to go’, but I prefer a different semantics: rather than “of the same slope,” I favor the primary meaning “Access Point” or “Juncture,” cf. Latin *aditus*, *coetus*. The area was a major traffic zone, north to south and east to west.

⁵⁰³ Not to mention other regional languages, such as Paeonian and Brygian, which are very likely to have shared the same prefix.

Μακεδονία → (*Μακδονία → *Μαγδονία →) *Μογδονία → Μυγδονία

πελιγᾶνες = πελιγόνες⁵⁰⁴

*Ὅλαμπος → Ὅλομπος [attested] → Ὅλυμπος

Αἰσύμη → Οἰσύμη

Ἀθαμᾶν(τ)ες = Ὀδόμαντοι (< **Adhamantes*)

Βατίεια = Βοττία

Κροσσαίη Κροῦσις

θρίαμβος à *triumphus*

The shift from *o* to *u* is also extant in the Samothracian inscription analyzed by Brixhe 2006:133 whereby the Greek name Ὀνησος is rendered as υνεσο-. It could be ascribed to a Thracian and/or Paeonian adstrate.

Conclusion on the linguistic milieu for the shift *Makedonia* à *Mygdonia/Mychthonia*

Although it is not possible to know which language(s) incubated the transformation of *Makedonia into Mygdonia, their phonetic structures are so similar that the derivation of the latter from the former has a high degree of probability. Since Mygdonia is located at a crossroads of civilizations, Macedonian, Paeonian, Aeolic, Tyrsenian and Thracian, it is also possible that any of these languages contributed to the formation of the name either in succession or through the formation of a creole. In his extensive study of the Thessalian *a/o* alternation, Helly observes that the same phenomenon in Macedonia and parts of Thrace nearby and thus pleads in his conclusion in favor of an areal phenomenon (2005:305):

⁵⁰⁴ Strabo 7a.1.2 κατὰ Θεσπρωτοῦς καὶ Μολοττοῦς... καθάπερ καὶ παρὰ Μακεδόσι· πελιγόνας γοῦν καλοῦσιν ἐκεῖνοι τοὺς ἐν τιμαῖς. Hesychius, s.v. πελιγᾶνες; Roussel uncovered an inscription found at Laodikeia On The Sea: δεδόχθαι τοῖς πελιγᾶσιν; a corrupt passage in Polybius whereby ἀδειγᾶνας = πελειγᾶνας, which is attested on an inscription at Dion in Macedonia. See Hatzopoulos 1998:1196.

Un certain nombre d'anthroponymes et de toponymes, tels ceux que j'ai examiné ci-dessus, présentent des formes alternantes en /o/ et /a/, que ce soit dans le thessalien lui-même ou entre le thessalien et les parlers des Macédoniens ou des Thraces, des populations avec lesquelles ils avaient, comme on l'a vu à plusieurs reprises dans cette étude à propos des noms d'Aloion ou d'Olizon et des gloses qu'on peut en rapprocher, plus que des rapports de voisinage amicaux ou hostiles, mais en vérité bien une réelle cohabitation.

Thus, the king of Phrygia in the *Iliad*, *Mygdon*, “the Mygdonian” / “the Phrygian,” is arguably the earliest reference to the Macedonians in Greek literature. The Homeric name, in and of itself, exemplifies the historical value of the *Iliad*: a significant portion of the Phrygians had come from Macedonia.

2.1.5. The Macedonian ‘Mygdones’ and the Mygdonia of Macedonia

Two additional pieces of evidence suggesting that Mygdonia in Europe was once considerably larger than what it became in the 5th century BCE can now be adduced: the sheer small size of the region makes it difficult to believe that so many Phrygians in different parts of Anatolia could claim a Mygdonian identity without the original territory, whence they came, being of a certain size. Furthermore, the absence of a politically independent (European) Mygdonian ethnos in the European Mygdonia of the classical period is reminiscent of 5th century Bottia and Pieria having no ethnic Bottiaians and Pierians in them: the original inhabitants had been forcibly removed by the Argeads (2.99). In their repeated references to Mygdonia, Herodotus and Thucydides never mention any ‘Mygdonian people’ in it: in fact, when a population is mentioned there, it is the *Edones*, apparently a Paeonian population with a Thracian superstratum.⁵⁰⁵ When Strabo speaks of Mygdones, he mentions them as a subgroup of the Edones (Strabo 7.1.11):

⁵⁰⁵ See *supra*. Theodossiev, in his otherwise highly admirable and informative works *The Dead with Golden Faces* 1998 & 2000 on the existence of a cultural koine uniting the various populations of the North Aegean, speaks of the European Mygdones as if they were a distinct *ethnos*. There is no hard evidence for this, however.

Ἴδωνοὶ δὲ καὶ Βισάλται τὴν λοιπὴν (10) μέχρι Στρυμόνος· ὧν οἱ μὲν αὐτὸ τοῦτο προσηγορεύοντο Βισάλται, Ἴδωνῶν δ' οἱ μὲν Μυγδόνες οἱ δὲ Ἴδωνες οἱ δὲ Σίθωνες.

Edono*i* and Bisaltai occupied the rest [of Lower Macedonia] as far as the river Strymon: the Bisaltai were called Bisaltai, whereas the Edonoi were either called ‘Mygdones’, Edones and Sithones.

Strabo uses two different nominative plurals for the Edonians: in this context, Ἴδωνοὶ is used as a broad ethnic term, which subsumes Ἴδωνες, Σίθωνες and Μυγδόνες. Since the latter two the Sithones and Mygdonians are clearly territorial names, i.e. Sithonia (the peninsula in Chalcidike) and Mygdonia, it follows that Strabo’s Μυγδόνες are not a distinct *ethnos* but merely the name given to Edonians who happen to live in the territory known as Mygdonia where they seem to have represented the majority of the population in the Classical period.⁵⁰⁶ Similarly, the Edonians are the only *ethnos* in Mygdonia mentioned by Thucydides (τὴν Μυγδονίαν καλουμένην Ἰδῶνας ἐξελάσαντες: 2.99).

No wonder, Strabo meant so in a territorial sense: because the Edones occupy Mygdonia, the Edones living there are Mygdones in a territorial sense, not in an ethnic sense, though. Numerous authors have characterized the Edones as Thracian, which is only partially true, as stated above. Part of the confusion may be traced to Strabo himself whose use of the term ‘Thracian’ is inconsistent: whereas ‘Thracian’ for Strabo tends to be used in a territorial sense = any ethnic group living in the north Aegean shores of Thrace, he sometimes uses in a more specific ethnic sense. Sometimes, it is not clear whether Strabo meant it both ways: when he characterizes the Phrygians / Brygians as a “Thracian *ethnos*” (καὶ αὐτοὶ δ' οἱ Φρύγες Βρίγες εἰσὶ, Θράκιόν τι ἔθνος: 7.3.2), it is certainly false linguistically, accurate geographically (the Northern Aegean and Anatolia) and only partially true culturally, as we will see below.

⁵⁰⁶ The town of Physka in Mygdonia was also inhabited by Eordoi (Thucydides 2.99.5 quoted by Fowler 2013:99-100).

It is only by cross-checking data from other authors and archaeological evidence when it is available that we can determine what Strabo meant: the regional, not ethnic or political meaning ‘Thrace’, as applied to the entire North shore, has much to do with the East Ionian point of view: the center of preclassical Greek civilization and literature being East Ionia, with the major metropoleis Miletus, Ephesus and Smyrna, to them the North Aegean was the Northeast Aegean from the point of view of continental Greece: ethnically, the evidence suggests that the northeast Aegean (the Ionians’ north Aegean) was indeed occupied by Thracian populations.⁵⁰⁷ As is typical in geographical synecdoches, the meaning ‘Thracian’ gradually extended to the rest of Thrace, despite the fact that only a few Thracian populations were located there.⁵⁰⁸ It is therefore important to be cautious in interpreting the Homeric data, which embraces an East Ionian point of view, when it describes the North Aegean, especially the northwest Aegean as ‘Thracian’.

The closest thing that comes to an ethnic description of the Mygdonians (in Macedonia) is Pliny 4.10.17, who categorizes them as a Paeonian people, *ad hoc amne Paeoniae gentes Paroraei, Eordenses, Almopi, Pelagones, Mygdones*. Pliny’s account, though late, is very interesting for several reasons: in conjunction with the onomastic data of the inhabitants of Mygdonia, which has shown that few of the names are Thracian, but rather local or comparable rather to names in Paeonia, Macedonia and the regions to the northwest, Pliny’s account suggests that many locals in Macedonian Mygdonia had always been linguistically Paeonian, not Thracian. This would also make sense if the

⁵⁰⁷ Georgiev notes the distribution of the characteristically Thracian compound toponyms ending in *-dava*, *-para* and *-bria* is limited to the north-east Aegean, cf Papazoglou 1979:169.

⁵⁰⁸ Papazoglou 1977:80. On the potential for ‘Thracian’ to be geographic rather than ethnic, see also Bousdroukis 2004:36.

Paeonians had dominated the Axios valley as independent polities from the 8th to the mid 6th century BCE: they are in the region, according to the Iliadic account and continued to hold sway until the Argeads to the East, Thracians to the Northwest and Persians to the East whittled away at their politically independent territories. When a Thracian/Edonian martial elite at some point carved out a kingdom, which was centered on what was later known as Mygdonia between the Axios and Strymon rivers, the influx of the Thracians had never become the majority. Centuries later in Pliny's own day and age, the Edonian ascendancy had dissolved and presumably whichever Thracian elements the Edonians had contributed to the inhabitants of Mygdonia, they were not strong enough for the surviving *Mygdones*—the inhabitants of Macedonian Mygdonia—to be classified as 'Thracian' by Pliny: rather, they were Paeonian. Concurrently, Strabo's statement *μάλιστα λέγονται Μυγδόνες οἱ περὶ τὴν λίμνην [Βόλβην]* (7a.1.36) may reflect Paeonian cultural traits, as the Paeonians were famous as lake dwellers.⁵⁰⁹

The discrepancy between the existence of a European territory known as Mygdonia and the lack of a European Mygdonian polity may suggest that there once was a Mygdonian ethnos in Europe and that it either migrated elsewhere, which is certainly the case with the Phrygian migration(s) into Asia Minor between the end of the Bronze Age and the 9th century BCE or the ethnos disintegrated and was absorbed by new invaders. Both scenarios are likely true: most Mygdonians / Phrygians emigrated to Asia Minor and those left behind were absorbed by their neighbors, Paeonians, Thracians and finally Macedonians.

2.1.6. The territory of Macedonia / Orestis before the Argeads: of Highlands and Mountains

⁵⁰⁹ Herodotus 5.16; Diogenes Laertius 9.84.

One might object on historical grounds, that both Herodotus' and Thucydides' Macedonian Mygdonias, which were restricted either to the northeastern Thermaic Gulf or extended eastward to the Strymon, were originally not a part of Macedonia before the late 6th and mid 5th century BCE, therefore Mygdonia could not have originally been the same as Macedonia: let us now come to grips with the original distinction between the territory of Mygdonia and the earlier territory of the Argead Macedonians.

Despite the fact that earlier we laid emphasis on the proclivity of the fluvial valley of the Thermaic gulf to generate synonyms of Macedonia, i.e. 'Emathia', 'Ichnaia' and 'Bottia', three factors have led to the widely-held supposition, to which I subscribe, that Macedonia meant "Highland"⁵¹⁰ and that the Macedonians were therefore "the Highlanders"⁵¹¹:

- 1) Thucydides implies that the Macedonians proper came from the Highlands (ἐπάνωθεν 2.99.2), in opposition to the populations from the plains of Lower Macedonia.⁵¹² Specifically, the native Macedonian historian Marsyas describes *Oresteia* as the original Macedonia: τὴν Ὀρεστέϊαν δὲ Μακετίαν λέγουσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Μακεδόνοϋ.⁵¹³ Also known as *Oresteia*, Ὀρεστεία simply translates as "Mountain-land."⁵¹⁴ It is widely held that the 'Argive' pedigree of the *Argeads* stems from origins not in the Peloponnese, but rather from the *Argos* in Orestis

⁵¹⁰ Abel 1847:97; Hoffmann 1906:259; Rosen 1978:4; Borza 1992:70.

⁵¹¹ Katicic 1976:102-103

⁵¹² Thucydides 2.99.2 τῶν γὰρ Μακεδόνων εἰσὶ καὶ Λυγκησταὶ καὶ Ἐλιμιῶται καὶ ἄλλα ἔθνη ἐπάνωθεν: the last adverb is translated by Marchant 1891 as "Highland"; thereafter, he lists the populations which the Macedonians / Highlanders conquered: Bottiaioi, Almopes, etc. See Zahrnt 1984:341.

⁵¹³ Marsyas in Herodian 3,1.289.4

⁵¹⁴ Strabo 7.326.329, Pliny NH 4.10.35, Curtius 4.13.28, Solinus 9.3ff, Appian *Syr.* 63, Palaephatus 19 P 27f, see *RE* s.v.Orestai; also Fick 1905:150; Rosen 1978:4-5; Errington 1986:12.

- (*Argos Orestikon*).⁵¹⁵ Even Epirus further to the west attests an indigenous ‘Argive’ ethnonym, the Ἄτερ-ἀργῶν (gen. plur.),⁵¹⁶ the significance of which we will return to.
- 2) The substantive Μακεδνοί, described as proto-Dorians by Herodotus,⁵¹⁷ is also a Homeric adjective that means ‘tall’, in reference to trees, *cf.* the cognate μακρός⁵¹⁸: the homeland of the *Makednoi* was located in the same general region as that of the early Upper Macedonians: the northern Pindus Mountain range.⁵¹⁹
- 3) The Macedonians’ close kinship with the *Magnesians* (**Mak-nētes*⁵²⁰) in Thessaly, as attested by exclusive festivals and non-Greek phonetic features peculiar to Macedonian and Phrygian.⁵²¹ Here again, we find the same root **Mak-*

⁵¹⁵ For example, Errington 1986.

⁵¹⁶ Cabanes 1976:561.

⁵¹⁷ Herodotus 8.137 & 1.56. See Katicic 1976:102-103; Restelli 1969:818.

⁵¹⁸ Odyssey 7.106 οἷά τε φύλλα μακεδνῆς αἰγείροιο

⁵¹⁹ Ködderitzsch 1985:20.

⁵²⁰ Sakellariou 2008, s.v. ‘Magnésiens’; Hatzopoulos 2003:214.

⁵²¹ For the religious festival of the Hetaireideia, which was common to the Macedonians and the Magnesians = Athenaeus 2,2.108; see Mari 2011:456; Lake *Boibe* = lake *Phoibe* (Fick 1914:71). On the basis of inscriptions, it is often assumed that Magnesians’ primary language was Aeolic Greek, though as Borza remarks [inscriptions often hide a vernacular of which there are sometimes no or little traces in inscriptions]: over the centuries, the Magnesians may have gradually changed their dialect, but a Macedonian-like language spoken by Magnesians, is likely to have been in use until the 7th century BCE and perhaps later (cf Hesiod *fr.* 7 MW, Makedon and Magnes as non-Hellenic brothers). The name of Achilles’ horse Balios, as Athanassakis demonstrated 2002:1-11, is phonetically non-Greek, but is the Magnesian / Macedonian / Phrygian counterpart of the Greek Phalios, literally “a horse with a white speck on the head” (Balios and Phalios = both from Hellanic **Bhalios*). Athanassakis labels Balios as ‘Illyrian’, which remains a possibility, but defining what is Illyrian and what the Illyrian language(s) was or were, remains frustratingly elusive: (Papazoglou 1979:155-156, Holst X]. If Hamp (IF, 81 [1976]:44 cited by Blazek 1999:192) is correct in interpreting the Illyrian personal name *Neunt(i)us* as “the Ninth [son]” (cf Latin Sextus, etc.), the failure of the IE laryngeal to vocalize would indicate that Illyrian is not Greco-Phrygian. Another indication that Illyrian is an independent IE language is the treatment of intervocalic s, which disappears in Hellanic (Greco-Phrygian), but not in Illyrian on the basis of the transparently IE

I would add a fourth and fifth factor:

- 4) The instability of the ethnonym ‘Macedonian’ and the attestation of the name under a variety of forms suggests that **Mak-* was not semantically fossilized and hence opaque, but rather semantically transparent for quite some time, or else there would not be so many synonyms and para-synonyms for ‘Macedonian’: besides Μακεδών, also Μακηδών, Μακεδνός, μηκεδανός, Μακετούν,⁵²² Μακέτης and Μάγνητες (**Mak-nētes*⁵²³). *Maketia* denoted originally the territory of Macedonia in Oresteia, according to Marsyas: καὶ τὴν Ὀρεστείαν δὲ Μακετίαν λέγουσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Μακεδόνος.
- 5) Fick’s seldom quoted Greek cognate περιμήκετος “very high,” “very tall,”⁵²⁴ which presents the advantage over the rare adjective μακεδνός of specificity, scale and early dating: whereas ‘trees’ are the largest item, to which *makednos* is applied in our earliest texts,⁵²⁵ περιμήκετος describes mountains in our earliest texts: *Odyssey* 6.103 applies the latter to Mount Taygetus, *Odyssey* 13.183 to ὄρος ‘mountain’.

Illyrian name *Vesclaves* from **Wesuklewes* “Whose glory is good”: unless it could be proven that the syncopated form dates back to IE times and was then fossilized, the Illyrian form is incompatible with Greco-Phrygian **Wehuklewes*, cf. Cypriote *e-u-ke-le-we-se* = Εὐκλεφής (Egetmeyer 2010:350) from the cognate IE form **h₁suklewēs*. Similarly, Illyrian *sabaium* ‘a type of beer’ (St Jerome Comm. In Isai. 7.19 and Amm. Marcel. 26.8.2 *sabaiarius* “beer drinker” *Sabaiarius*. Est autem sabai ex ordeo vel frumento, in liquorem conversis, paupertinus in Illyrico potus, cited by Džino 2010:71), from IE **sap* / **sab*, hence Latin *sapa* “sap, juice,” Old Icelandic *safi* ‘tree juice’ (Pokorny page 880), confirms that Illyrian is genetically distinct from Greek, Macedonian and Phrygian.

⁵²² Tataki 1995:108

⁵²³ *Catalogue of Women*, fr. 7.2 υἷε δῶω, Μάγνητα Μακηδόνα θ’ ἰππιοχάρμην, / οἱ περὶ Πιερίην καὶ Ὀλυμπον δῶματ’ ἔναιον. See Sakellariou 2008, s.v. ‘Magnésiens’.

⁵²⁴ Fick 1905:150. The Doric equivalent is περιμάκης [ā].

⁵²⁵ μακεδνός is applied to a tree in the *Odyssey* (7.106) and in the scholiast to Nicander 473a; to spoils in Hesychius σκῦλα μ.; Lycophron alone uses μακεδνός on a larger scale, applying it to valleys (νάπαι) at 1273, thus “deep valleys.”

If originally ‘Macedonia’ denoted the vast highlands of the Pindus mountain range, as evidenced by the equation Ὀρεστεία = Μακετία, and yet could have included by extension the lowlands of Pieria as early as the late 6th century BCE *Catalogue of Women*,⁵²⁶ so could Mygdonia have originally represented the highlands of the Pindus before being applied by extension to the northwestern part of the Thermaic gulf and the lowlands of lakes Koroneia and Bolbe further east. Just as the semantic expansion of Macedonia into the eastern lowlands was linked to the political expansion eastward of the Argeads, it is here argued that the semantic expansion of Mygdonia—dialectic variant of Macedonia—was linked to the expansion eastward of the Argeads’ predecessors, the Phrygians and Pelagonian Paionians, from the highlands of Macedonia into the lowlands of the Thermaic Gulf and further east.

2.1.7. Βρύγης ἔθνος Μακεδονικόν: “the Brygians are a Macedonian ethnos”

This statement, made by Herodian and echoed by Stephanus of Byzantium,⁵²⁷ is quite remarkable, because the longer quote Βρύγης ἔθνος Μακεδονικόν προσεχῆς Ἰλλυριοῖς ὃ καὶ Βρύξ⁵²⁸ sets up an ethnic and arguably linguistic distinction between the Brygians, which he locates in the neighborhood of the Illyrians, and the Illyrians per se: that he should call the Brygians ‘a Macedonian ethnos’ on the very outskirts of Macedonia in the largest sense of the word is rather telling. Even in an Illyrian context, the Brygians are ‘Macedonian’.

⁵²⁶ *Catalogue of Women*, fr. 7.2 υἷε δὲ δῶ, Μάγνητα Μακεδόνα θ’ ἰπποχάρμην, / οἱ περὶ Πιερὴν καὶ Ὀλυμπον δώματ’ ἔναιον. See Sakellariou 2008, s.v. ‘Magnésiens’.

⁵²⁷ Stephanus of Byzantium, s.v. Βρύξ, τὸ ἔθνος, καὶ Βρυῖαι. τοῦ Βρύξ τὸ θηλυκὸν Βρυγίς καὶ Βρυγιγίς ὡς Καδμηγίς. εἰσὶ δὲ Μακεδονικὸν ἔθνος προσεχῆς Ἰλλυριοῖς.

⁵²⁸ Herodian 3,1- 61:20

The Proto-Phrygians or Brygians too came from the highlands of Macedonia: in the preclassical *Telegony*, Odysseus assists the *Thesprotians* against an onslaught of the *Brugoi*: πόλεμος συνίσταται τοῖς Θεσπρωτοῖς πρὸς Βρύγους (fr. 32 B⁵²⁹). The presence of the Brygoi/Bryges in Epirus and the central highlands of Macedonia is well-attested by independent sources: “the Brygian town *Kydrai* in Pelagonia (Strabo 7.7.9) has its parallel in *Kydrada* in Asia Minor.”⁵³⁰ In light of the transparently Brygian cities of Brygias and Brygios in Macedonia (Βρυγίας, πόλις Μακεδονίας. τὸ ἔθνικὸν Βρύγιος. Βρύγιον, πόλις Μακεδονίας. τὸ ἔθνικὸν Βρύγιος καὶ Βρυγιεύς), the large city of Βρυάνιον in Pelagonia (Strabo 7.7.9) and the homonymous Βρυάνιον in southern Epirus (Βρυάνιον· πόλις Θεσπρωτίας⁵³¹) can likewise be interpreted as yet additional etymologically ethnonymic Brygian cities (**Bhruganion*). Pseudo-Scymnus 429-434 also locates Brugoi around Lake Lychnitis (εἰσὶ Βρῦγοι), in the vicinity of which certain motifs on pectorals and diadems dating to the archaic period have been excavated (Trebenishte): as Theodossiev points out, the discovery of the same motifs in Upper Macedonia proper (Elimeia) testifies to the cultural unity of regions occupied by the Brygians and the Macedonians.⁵³²

Moving east to the very edge of the fluvial valley of the Thermaic Gulf, the garden of Midas was located at the foot of Mount Bermion: 8.138 ἄλλην γῆν τῆς Μακεδονίης... πέλας τῶν κήπων τῶν λεγομένων εἶναι Μίδεω τοῦ Γορδίου... ὑπὲρ δὲ

⁵²⁹ Eugammon of Cyrene's *Telegony* in Proclus *Chrestomathia* 318

⁵³⁰ Petrova 1997:162

⁵³¹ Stephanus of Byzantium, s.v. Βρυάνιον. The *Bro(u)soi* in Macedonia (Βρουσίς, μοῖρα Μακεδονίας, ἀπὸ Βρούσου, Ἡμαθίου παιδός. τὸ ἔθνικὸν Βροῦσοι) could also be **Brugoi* whereby the latter yields **Brugoi* < **Brudjoi* < **Brudzoi* < **Bruzoi*.

⁵³² Theodossiev 2000:193-194.

τῶν κήπων ὄρος κεῖται Βέρμιον οὔνομα (Herodotus 8.138). Nearby, in the fluvial valley proper, both the Phrygians and later the Macedonians had their capital: the Phrygians had held sway in their stronghold of Edessa (ᾠκεῖτο δὲ τὸ παλαιὸν ἡ Ἔδεσσα ὑπὸ Φρυγῶν...καὶ τῶν μετὰ Μίδου⁵³³); a little further to the south, the Argeads would later rule from *Aigeai*, which tellingly, was confused with Edessa by several ancient authors,⁵³⁴ despite the fact that the cities of Beroia and Mieza were located in between. It was from this region or possibly a little further to the northeast that Brugoi delivered the first blow on European soil to the Persian forces of Mardonius (490 BCE) in a night attack, injuring Mardonius himself: καὶ σφεῶν πολλοὺς φονεύουσι οἱ Βρύγοι, Μαρδόνιον δὲ αὐτὸν τρωματίζουσι (Herodotus 6.45.3).

It should thus be clear that the geographical distribution of the Argead Macedonians shadowed the geographical distribution of their Brygian predecessors in northern Greece⁵³⁵: spread throughout the northern half of the Pindus all the way to Epirus westward, the Brygians and the Argeads both gradually moved eastward, in different time periods, from the highlands of Macedonia, first into the Thermaic Gulf and then into Mygdonia. Accordingly, several scholars, such as Petrova, have reasonably suggested that a Brygian (proto-Phrygian) substratum played a formative role in the very ethnogenesis of the Macedonians.⁵³⁶

⁵³³ Euphorion in *Schol.* to Clement of Alexandria p 300.23

⁵³⁴ Euphorion in *Schol.* to Clement of Alexandria p 300.23 Καρανός, σύν τισιν Ἑλλησιν ἀποικίαν στειλάμενος, ἐλθὼν εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἐκτίσεν πόλιν: καὶ Μακεδόνων ἐβασίλευσεν καὶ τὴν πρότερον καλουμένην Ἔδεσσαν πόλιν Αἰγᾶς μετωνόμασεν ἀπὸ τῶν αἰγῶν. ᾠκεῖτο δὲ τὸ παλαιὸν ἡ Ἔδεσσα ὑπὸ Φρυγῶν...; Justin 7.1 Urbem Edessam oh memoriam muneris Aegaeas, populum Aegeadas uocauit. 11 Pulso deinde Mida - nam is quoque portionem Macedoniae tenuit.

⁵³⁵ Papazoglou 1979:160

⁵³⁶ Petrova 1997:162.

Before we address the question of language, let us now come to grips with the vast west-to-east overlapping distribution of the Macedonians and Brygians in the highlands of the Pindus. Above, we succinctly posited that ‘Macedonian’ had been a broad term meaning “Highlander,” which the Mycenaeans in the late Bronze Age had used to refer to their unsubdued northern neighbors of the Pindus: *Oresteia* ‘Mountainland’, located in the very heart of the Pindus, is simply a synonym of *Makedonia*, also known as *Maketia* (καὶ τὴν Ὀρεστίαν δὲ Μακετίαν λέγουσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Μακεδόνο⁵³⁷). This can first be verified by collating two separate passages in Strabo with two separate passages in Herodotus’ relating to the bygone Μακεδνοί. In the first passage, Strabo records the view that Upper Macedonia stretched from the Northern Aegean in the east all the way to the Adriatic in the west, *thus encompassing Epirus* (Strabo 7.7.8):

καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ περὶ Λύγκων καὶ Πελαγονίαν καὶ Ὀρεστιάδα καὶ Ἐλίμειαν τὴν ἄνω Μακεδονίαν ἐκάλουν, οἱ δ’ ὕστερον καὶ ἐλευθέραν: ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ σύμπασαν τὴν μέχρι Κορκύρας Μακεδονίαν προσαγορεύουσιν, αἰτιολογοῦντες ἅμα ὅτι καὶ κούρη καὶ διαλέκτῳ καὶ γλαμῦδι καὶ ἄλλοις τοιοῦτοις χρῶνται παραπλησίως

And indeed Lynkos, Pelagonia, Orestis and Elimeia they used to be called upper Macedonia, and later “free Macedonia”: and some characterize the entire territory all the way to Corcyra as Macedonia, adducing at once the similar usage in hairstyle, dialect, dress and other features

In a latter section of this paper, we will examine the role of Epirote tribes, amongst whom we should count the Brygians, in the ethnogenesis of the Macedonians. Located right in between Epirus to the west and Upper Macedonia *stricto sensu* to the east, the boundaries of *Oresteia* (a.k.a. Orestis) too were subject to considerable enlargement (Strabo 7.6.1):

Ἡ δ’ Ὀρεστὶς πολλὴ καὶ ὄρος ἔχει μέγα μέχρι τοῦ Κόρακος τῆς Αἰτωλίας καθῆκον καὶ τοῦ Παρνασσῶ. περιοικοῦσι δ’ αὐτοῖ τε Ὀρέσται καὶ Τυμφαῖοι καὶ οἱ ἐκτὸς Ἰσθμοῦ Ἕλληνας οἱ περὶ Παρνασσὸν καὶ τὴν Οἴτην καὶ Πίνδον

⁵³⁷ Marsyas in Herodian *s.v.* ‘Maketia’.

Orestis is of considerable extent; there is in it a large mountain which reaches to Corax of Aetolia and to Parnassus. It is inhabited by the Orestae themselves, by the Tymphaeans, and by Greeks without the isthmus, namely those who also occupy Parnassus, Oeta, and Pindus.

The loose definition of Orestis "Mountainland" is to be taken as primary, not secondary.

Ptolemy 3.12.4.3-4 provides independent evidence for this enlarged definition of Orestis, as he includes Amantia in it (Ορεστίδος Ἀμαντία), which was located in southern Albania.

2.1.8. The Makednoi and the Proto-Dorians

In his *Histories*, Herodotus calls the Macedonians Μακεδόνες (e.g. 7.72) and refers to them on many occasions. In two other instances, he mentions a similar-sounding people, the Μακεδνοί—a people of the past. First Herodotus 1.56:

οἴκεε γῆν τὴν φθιώτιν, ἐπὶ δὲ Δώρου τοῦ Ἑλλήνος τὴν ὑπὸ τὴν Ὀσσαν τε καὶ τὸν Ὀλυμπον χώραν, καλεομένην δὲ Ἰστιαϊώτιν· ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἰστιαϊώτιδος ὡς ἐξάνεστη ὑπὸ Καδμείων, οἴκεε ἐν Πίνδῳ, Μακεδνὸν καλεόμενον⁵³⁸. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ αὐτίς ἐς τὴν Δρυοπίδα μετέβη, καὶ ἐκ τῆς Δρυοπίδος οὕτως ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἐλθὼν Δωρικὸν ἐκλήθη.

[the Proto-Dorian ethnos] used to dwell in the land of Phthiotis, when Doros son of Hellen ruled over *Olympus and Ossa*, which was called Histaiotis; having been expelled from Histaiotis by the Kadmeians, *they dwelled in the Pindus and were called 'Makednoi'*; then again they migrated to Dryopis, and from Dryopis came to the Peloponnese and were called 'Dorian'.

Second, Herodotus 8.43:

οὗτοι Δωρικὸν τε καὶ Μακεδνὸν ἔθνος, ἐξ Ἐρινεοῦ τε καὶ Πίνδου καὶ τῆς Δρυοπίδος ὕστατα ὀρμηθέντες

these populations [the Lakedaimonians, Korinthians, Sikyonians, Epidaurians and Troizenians] were ethnically "Dorian and Makednian," who had originally come from Erineos and the Pindus and later Dryopis

⁵³⁸ In his Loeb translation (1920), Godley translates Μακεδνὸν καλεόμενον as "settled about Pindus in the territory called Macedonian." But surely he is wrong in construing Μακεδνὸν καλεόμενον as an accusative = the location where the Proto-Dorians settled. Rather, Μακεδνὸν καλεόμενον must be a nominative that stands for an implicit ἔθνος, which is then explicit in the next sentence. Contra Godley, Pierre-Henri Larcher translates the passage as "ils allèrent s'établir à Pinde, et furent appelés Macednes (1802). Concurrently, Strassler also takes Μακεδνὸν καλεόμενον as a nominative, although he translates Μακεδνὸν more loosely as 'Macedonian': "and settled in Pindus, where they were called Macedonians" (2009:32).

It is clear from Herodotus 7.72 that the phrase Δωρικόν τε καὶ Μακεδόνων in Herodotus 8.43 does not literally mean that the Spartans, Corinthians, etc. are a composite of two originally distinct *ethne*, ‘Dorians’ on the one hand and ‘Makednoi’ on the other hand: rather, Δωρικόν τε καὶ Μακεδόνων represents a diachronic hendiadys whereby Δωρικόν is the name of the Dorians *after* they crossed into the Peloponnese (Πελοπόννησον ἔλθόν: 1.56) and Μακεδόνων is the *former* name of the Dorians when they used to dwell in the Pindus, which is a piece of information also retained by Pindar, *Pythian* 1.65-66 Δωριεῖς...Πινδόθεν ὀρνύμενοι.

The quadruple collation of Strabo 7.6.1, Strabo 7.6.1, Herodotus 1.56 and Herodotus 8.43 supports several conclusions: 1) the Makednoi were the common ancestors of both the Peloponnesian Dorians and the future Macedonians, who stayed behind; 2) the Pindus habitat of the Makednoi, literally ‘Tall ones’, justifies the more precise and contextual translation ‘the Highlanders’, which is the same as the variant Μακεδόνες and immediately comparable to Ὀρέσται ‘the Mountaineers’. Keeping in mind that the geographical range of the Brygoi or Proto-Phrygians matched from east to west that of the Makednoi and Macedonians/Orestai, one should give some credence to the hypothesis, first proposed by Müller, that *Bruges* is from the IE root **bheregh-* = **bhreg-/*bhergh-* ‘high’, ‘lofty’,⁵³⁹ hence the Celtic ethnonym *Brigantes*, Old Church Slavonic *Brega* ‘slope’, German *Berg* ‘mountain’, Armenian *barjr* ‘high’, Greek πύργος ‘tower’ and φύρκος⁵⁴⁰ ‘wall’.

⁵³⁹ Müller 1844:228. IE root **bheregh-* / **bhreg-* ‘Hoch’, ‘Erhaben’ (Pokorny s.v. *bheregh*).

⁵⁴⁰ The uncommon Greek word φύρκος (Doric φοῦρκος) is glossed as τεῖχος by Hesychius; the next Hesychian lemma φυρκτηλίται is glossed as τειχηῖρες ‘fortified’. Thucydides 5.49.1 preserves Φύρκος as the name of a fort (“the Fort”) in Elis: Ἡλεῖοι κατεδικάσαντο αὐτῶν φάσκοντες <ἐς> σφᾶς ἐπὶ Φύρκον τε τεῖχος ὄπλα ἐπενεγκεῖν καὶ ἐς Λέπρεον αὐτῶν ὀπίτας ἐν ταῖς Ὀλυμπιακαῖς σπονδαῖς ἐσπέμψαι “the

Thus, the *Bruges*, the *Makednoi* and the *Orestai* (= the Upper Macedonians) could have been synonyms for the same people(s) inhabiting the Pindus mountain range: the ‘Highlanders’ (*Makednoi* / *Makedones* / *Mugdones*) / ‘Mountaineers’ / (*Orestai* / *Bruges*). The geographic extent of *Oresteia* / *Orestis* was indeed very vast and appears to cover what *Macedonia* / *Mygdonia* / *Brugia* once covered.⁵⁴¹ Like ‘Macedonian’, ‘Phrygian’ would have also had a connotation of loftiness and most likely effulgence.⁵⁴² At the end of the end of the Bronze Age and in the EIA, Ὀρέσται, Φρύγες, Μακεδνοί and Μακεδόνες could have been mutually interchangeable ethnonyms all meaning ‘Mountainmen’ used more or less indiscriminately by the Mycenaean to designate their northern neighbors whose mountainous habitat made political control of the area very difficult to achieve.

The gradual adoption of these exonyms by the locals would have been facilitated by a) the close linguistic affinities between Proto-Greek and the majority of the languages/dialects of the Highlanders (a point to which we will return) and b) the potentially meliorative connotation of the meaning ‘high’, ‘tall’, ‘mountain’: although it would have referred originally to the mountainous habitat of the inhabitants, by

Eleians, that laid to their charge that they had put soldiers into the fort of Phyrcon and into Lepreum in the time of the Olympic truce.”

⁵⁴¹ The ethnonym *Armenoi*, whom Herodotus and Eudoxus describe as subset of the Phrygians, might have had the same or very similar semantics as *Makedones*, *Orestai* and *Phruges*: it could be construed as a regional variant of the Greek participle *ormenos* ‘Rising’, ‘Risen’, ‘Tall’. See Kretschmer 1896 and Helly 2005.

⁵⁴² There is also the opposite possibility that **Bhruges* was originally an endonym with an approximate meaning “the Lofty, Refulgent ones” whereby the separate IE roots **bheregh-* ‘high’ and **bhreg* ‘to shine’ (hence *birch* in English) merged in Phrygian. The Greeks would have then associated *Phruges* folk etymologically with φρύγω ‘roast’, ‘parch’; φρυκτός ‘fire-brand’; among the few *ethne* mentioned in the *Iliad* whose territories overlap those of Epirus and Macedonia, two of them happen to contain roots that are associated with fire: the *Aithikes* at *Iliad* 2.744 and the *Phlegyes* at 13.202. Ridgeway 1910:509 and Wilamowitz 1931:52 identified the latter as Thracian whereas Leaf 1892:231-232 places their homeland near Thrace, whether Thracian or not. The *Aithikes*, *Phlegues* and *Phruges* might have been variants of the same or closely-related populations.

metonymy it readily acquires a connotation of nobility and loftiness: this is all the more probable if the Macedonian words for ‘great’ and ‘greatness’ were the same as Phrygian *mekas*⁵⁴³ and *makedos* = Greek μέγας and μέγεθος⁵⁴⁴: the occasional *Lautverschiebung* in Phrygian,⁵⁴⁵ as seen above, in which IE *g* could change to *k*, is also extant in Macedonian, e.g. Macedonian ἀρκόν⁵⁴⁶ = Greek ἀργόν ‘idle’.

Accordingly, the identical consonantism of Phrygian (and Macedonian?) *makedos* ‘greatness’ / *mekas* ‘great’ and inherited μακεδνός ‘long’, ‘high’ + cognates could have reinforced the diffusion of the latter Μακεδνοί, Μακεδόνες, etc. through the positive connotation ‘great’: thus, the Macedonians may have perceived their own ethnonym not only as “the Highlanders,” but also “the Great ones.”

To return to Herodotus’ peculiar use of the Μακεδνόν ethnonym, he never calls the Argead Macedonians *Makednoi*, nor the *Makednoi* Macedonians. There is also a chronological divide: the *Makedones* are a population of the present from the point of view of Herodotus, whereas the *Makednoi* are a population of the past, who antedate the migration of the Proto-Dorians/Makednoi into the Peloponnese. At the same time, while the very same commentators strictly equating the Makednoi with the Macedonians blur these noteworthy distinctions, they correctly point out that the geographical and linguistic overlap of the Makednoi and Makedones warrants the assumption that the Makedones were a branch of the larger preclassical Makednoi. The Herodotean distinctions between

⁵⁴³ Blazek 1999:18.

⁵⁴⁴ Phrygian *makedos* = Greek μέγεθος (Haas 1970:46).

⁵⁴⁵ Experts on Old Phrygian are divided as to whether *Lautverschiebung* in Phrygian were systematic or rare (in favor: Lubotsky; against: Brixhe). My own opinion is that it is occasional, but neither systematic nor rare.

⁵⁴⁶ ἀρκόν· σχολήν. Μακεδόνες (Hesychius).

Makednoi and *Makedones* notwithstanding, it would be extreme and misguided to deny both linguistic and ethnic connections between the two, as a minority of scholars have.⁵⁴⁷

The most reasonable interpretation is that Herodotus uses the ethnonym *Makednoi* as a synonym of ‘Proto-Dorian’—the ancestors of both the future Peloponnesian Dorians and the Macedonians, “those left behind.”

2.1.9. Cultural Homogeneity in Macedonia and the southern Balkans:

The characteristic *kausia* hats of the Macedonians are in fact a Paeonian invention: as Klinkott points out, the earliest depictions of the *kausia* on 6th century BCE coins are Paeonian, not Macedonian mints, which do not show Macedonians with *petasoi/kausiai*. In the late 6th and early 5th century BCE, Mygdonia, northern Macedonia and eastern Thrace were still ethnically Paeonian for the most part at the time of Persian occupation.⁵⁴⁸ Theodossiev’s recent research has demonstrated a material *koine* in terms of archaeological evidence ranging from Paeonia and Thrace in the north to Boeotia and

⁵⁴⁷ For instance, Hall 2001:173, fn6, misrepresents Gindin 1983, as Hall alludes to “*linguistic* [my emphasis] problems in relating the ethnika *Makednoi* and *Makedones* (Gindin 1983).” The etymological connection between *Makednoi* and *Makedones* is completely irrelevant, however: it is the same as asking whether the Homeric ‘Danaans’ and Homeric ‘Achaeans’ are linguistically related: linguistically, they are clearly unrelated, whereas ethnically they are the same. Linguistically, in fact, Gindin does seem to say that *Makedones* and *Makednoi* are partially related, but only indirectly through Indo-European: he contends that the Macedonian ethnonym is Thracian and contains the IE root **mak* ‘high’ ‘long’ and that *makednos* is Greek, but ultimately, by means of a different derivational process, stems from the same IE root **mak*. Gindin does not clarify the extent to which the *Makednoi* and the *Makedones* are ethnically related in the historical period: it is not the focus of his study. Gindin does seem to argue that originally the two were different *ethne*, as he says that the *Makednoi* were Dorians whose name resulted from the Hellenization of the indigenous ethnonym ‘Makedonia’ and *Makedones* into ‘Makednos’. Gindin leaves it unclear whether his originally Greek Dorian *Makednoi* fused with his original Thracian natives of Macedonia, although it seems very likely that he makes this assumption. Thus, from Gindin’s point of view (which I only partially accept), the Macedonians would be part Dorians. Hall goes on to object “Herodotus nowhere shows the Macedonians exploiting the theme of common Dorian ancestry to emphasize their kinship with other Greeks.” Why would he have to? Absence of evidence is not evidence of absence. Further, “the Macedonian rulers’ Heraclid ancestry attached them to the Achaean, rather than the Dorian, *Stamm*.” But as Hall himself rightly demonstrated in another work, Herakles came to represent the Dorian *Stamm* in Herodotus’ day and age. That Herakles was originally *not* a Dorian hero has nothing to do with the reality that he was later considered to represent Dorian identity, as the Dorian elite appropriated Achaean identity.

⁵⁴⁸ See above, concerning the Paeonian ethnicity of the Edonians, a Thracian superstrate notwithstanding.

Epirus in the south for the period running from the 6th century BCE to the 5th century BCE: the use of golden masks and miniature iron wagons in the grave of elites.⁵⁴⁹ The star of Vergina or Macedonian sunburst was first depicted on Paeonian coins and artefacts before they became first attested on Macedonian coins: the star of Vergina itself is to be subsumed under the preponderance of explicit Sun worship among the various populations of the North Aegean, whether they were linguistically related or not: the Macedonians, the Paeonians and the Thracians.⁵⁵⁰

Transhumance played a significant role in connecting the North Aegean shores of Pieria to the Adriatic shores of Epirus.⁵⁵¹ Griffith convincingly argued that the large territory of the shadowy, patronymic-less Achaean leader Gouneus in the *Iliad*,⁵⁵² ranging from the stream of the Peneios—the traditional boundary between Thessaly and Macedonia in the east to Dodona in the west, was conditioned by the transhumant lifestyle of many of its inhabitants, which continues to this day in northern Greece.⁵⁵³ The founding myth of the Argeads whereby the three sons of Temenos Gauanes, Aeropos and Perdikkas herded the livestock of an unnamed king reflects the former pastoral life of the early Macedonians in the highlands.⁵⁵⁴

⁵⁴⁹ Theodossiev 1998; 2000:189-190.

⁵⁵⁰ Svoronos 1918-1919:1-24; Gaebler 1935:55-57 in Theodossiev 2000:200, also among the Macedonians; see Greenwalt 1993 'A Solar Dionysus'; for the Paeonians, Maximus of Tyre *Dial.* 2.8.

⁵⁵¹ Malkin 2001:198-199.

⁵⁵² Kirk 2004:236 notes the oddity of Gouneus being given no patronymic.

⁵⁵³ Griffith 1989:241-245. For transhumance in other ancient societies, e.g. the Apennines in central Italy, see Dench 1995:111-153 (Chapter 3 'Mountain Society').

⁵⁵⁴ Cabanes 1998:97. Also page 101: "le Pinde, qui n'est pas une barriere, mais plutot un trait d'union." See also Palavestra 1984:65-66

The transhumance factor could also resolve in part the problem of dating the penetration of the Argead Macedonians into the Thermaic Gulf where their first capital Aigeai was located; it could also in part resolve the question of the late 6th century BCE *Catalogue of Women* placing the homeland of the Macedonians and Magnesians around Pieria and Mount Olympus (M-W *fr.* 7.2-3). Although the bulk of the early Macedonians came from the inner highlands (τῶν γὰρ Μακεδόνων εἰσὶ καὶ Λυγκησταὶ καὶ Ἐλιμιῶται καὶ ἄλλα ἔθνη ἐπάνωθεν: Thucydides 2.99.2), transhumance could account in part for their presence early on in the southeastern part of the fluvial valley of the Thermaic Gulf and further south in Pieria: their early presence north of Mount Olympus would thus not invalidate the cogent evidence for their early presence in the highlands, and vice versa.

2.2. Linguistic Homogeneity: the case for a separate Indo-European Greco-Phrygian unit: ‘the Hellenic group’

2.2.1. Determining the Status of Ancient Macedonian by Triangulating it with Phrygian and Greek.

In linguistic terms, the origins of the Macedonians are fraught with controversy. Two major problems at hand are 1) our limited data on Macedonian and 2) defining Greek linguistically. The first problem is subdivided in three problems: 1.1) our word hoard of Macedonian totals less than 200 words⁵⁵⁵; 1.2) the value of Macedonian personal names attested from the 5th and 4th century onward; 1.3) the value of inscriptions found in Macedonia, which are mostly written in Attic Greek, though the most famous one among them, the Pella curse tablet, is written in Doric Greek: do these inscriptions genuinely reflect the vernacular spoken in Macedonia? As Blažek notes (2005:23),

⁵⁵⁵ Ködderitzsch citing Schwyzler I 69, Neroznak 1978:168 counts 153.

The recent discovery of a ‘Macedonian’ malediction inscription on the lead table from the 4th cent. BC found in Pella (Dubois 1995; Hajnal 2003, 123-24) represents no proof, it is simply written in Greek with numerous Doricisms. Some vacillations in vocalism could perhaps be interpreted as an influence of Macedonian, but it is all.

Blažek, nevertheless, puts Greek and ancient Macedonian in the same IE subgroup, with which I am in complete agreement.⁵⁵⁶ On the one hand, excessive Hellenocentrism and the desire to attribute exclusively to the Greeks the legacy of Philip II and Alexander the Great have led to a mostly unconscious distortion and interpretation of the admittedly limited, albeit illuminating data concerning the language of the ancient Macedonians. On the one hand, this Greek camp minimizes the differences between Greek and Macedonian and classifies the latter as a “geographically isolated, deviant Greek dialect.”

⁵⁵⁶ On the unreliability of the Attic (Doric & Aeolic recessive) inscriptions in Macedonia, see Katicic 1976:108. On the unreliability of the mostly Doric mid 4th century BCE Pella curse tablet, Borza 1992:305; *pace* Brixhe 1999:51ff and Dubois whom he cites, the gamma in the parsible lexeme ΔΑΓΙΝΑ cannot be credibly edited to a pi (*ΔΑΠΙΝΑ), so as to turn it into an idiosyncratically Macedonian equivalent of the Greek ταπεινή ‘poor’. In the tablet’s clear context of magic, the otherwise unattested ΔΑΓΙΝΑ is to be rather construed as a cognate of the rare word δαγύς “wax doll, used in magic rites, puppet,” (Theocritus 2.110). That genuinely close Macedonian constructions underlie several aspects of the text is very plausible, but the systematic presence of Greek unvoiced aspirate plosives, as in καταγράφω and παρθένων where one would expect, at the very least occasionally, *b* and *d*, gives away the artificial nature of the text. Moreover, judging from our corpus of explicit Macedonian lexemes, the inherited diphthong **ai* had become *ā* in Macedonian, e.g. ἀδῆ (οὐρανός. Μακεδόνες -Hesychius) = Greek αἰθήρ; and yet, the Pella curse tablet systematically preserves them: παρκαττίθεμαι, δαίμοσι, γυναίκα, γάμαι, συνκαταγράφαι and γενέσται. Moreover, Pella, the city in which the curse tablet was found, although it was the capital of Macedonia, had been so only since 399 BCE and was originally *not* located in Macedonia proper, but rather in Paionia according to Thucydides 2.99.4: τῆς δὲ Παιονίας παρὰ τὸν Ἀξιὸν ποταμὸν στενὴν τινα καθήκουσαν ἄνωθεν μέχρι Πέλλης; according to Herodotus, on the other hand, Pella was located in the neighboring *Bottia* / *Bottia(ia)*, as Herodotus records (7.124): Βοττιαίδα, τῆς ἔχουσι τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν, στεινὸν χωρίον, πόλιες Ἴχνηαι τε καὶ Πέλλα. It is uncertain how early *Bottia(ia)* retained its independence or autonomy, but a *terminus post quem* might have been 470 BCE according to Edson and Hammond (in Zahrnt 1984:358, fn104, who cites their dissenting views). Pella becoming the capital of the Argeads would be somewhat comparable to Constantinople becoming the capital of the Ottomans, not long after they had conquered it, renaming it Istanbul in the process, just as the Argeads too changed the name of the city, which they had conquered (Πέλλα: .ῆ δὲ Μακεδονίας Βούνομος τὸ πρότερον ἔκαλεῖτο: Steph. of Byz). Alexander I of Macedon, nicknamed the ‘Philhellene’, wanted his new capital to be eclectic, and as is well-known, immigrants from all over Greece flocked to the city, and swelled the number of Macedonians and indigenous Bottiaians who had not been expelled a century prior (see earlier discussion on the Bottiaians), not to mention Paeonians. Without a doubt, Greek was promoted as a language of culture and writing. Judging from the Phrygian corpus, in which such basic Greek-sounding words—also found in the curse tablet—as Phrygian *panta* = Greek πάντα and Phrygian *knaiko* = γυναϊκός (= exclusive Greco-Phrygian *-ik* extension), there can be no doubt that the Macedonian vernacular template hiding behind the text would have been quite similar, assuming for the sake of the argument that the writer is native Macedonian.

The problem with this view is its myopic approach, which for the most part looks at Greek and Macedonian only, and fails to carefully examine the testimony of Phrygian in all its revealing details: in essence, most champions of “the pro-Greek side” avoid any systematic analysis of the linguistic relation between Macedonian and other south Balkanic languages, or if comparisons are drawn, they involve isolated, *ad hoc* examples meant to reduce the similarities between Macedonian and any potentially-related Balkanic language to the status of mere, lexical ‘borrowings’.

On the other hand, some scholars in the ‘anti-Greek camp’ insist that the early Macedonians were originally not Greek at all, but became gradually Hellenized, first beginning with the aristocracy: this was obviously the case with the Odrysian Thracians.⁵⁵⁷ It is unfortunate that neither side has attempted to contextualize the relation between Greek and Macedonian by triangulating the differences and similarities between them with a *third*, control language, with which Greek and/or Macedonian is demonstrably closely related.

As stated above, the limited data we have on Macedonian, less than two hundred glosses according to the most conservative definition of what fits the label ‘Macedonian’, plays a major part in the controversy, allowing various theories to thrive.

Owing to the limited data available on ancient Macedonian, while it is not entirely possible to escape the interconnected dangers and rewards of the readily manipulated term ‘speculation’, we can safely triangulate Macedonian with 2) Greek, for which we have neither dearth of vocabulary nor of grammar, and 3) *Phrygian*, Greek’s proven closest relative.

⁵⁵⁷ Loukopoulou 2011:472-473.

Greek is often classified as its own separate group within Indo-European, but it rests mostly on superficial, phonetic criteria: the Indo-European voiced aspirate plosives **bh*, **dh* and **gh* evolve to **ph*, **th*, and **kh* in Mycenaean Greek, but remain **bh*, **dh* and **gh* in Proto-Phrygian until the end of the Bronze Age or even later, until merging in part with the original **b*, **d*, and **g*, which had not been subjected to the *Lautverschiebung* *p*, *t* and *k*.⁵⁵⁸

Aside from the treatment of the IE aspirates plosives, the only notable difference with Greek are the Phrygian middle-passive endings in *-r* (as in Italic, Venetic and Hittite). The example of Tocharian shows, however, that one language having *-r* middle-passive endings and another language having *-ai* middle passive endings, as Greek does, is no impediment to their being very closely related because Tocharian has *both* *-r* and *-ai* endings in its verbal system.⁵⁵⁹ But these differences within the verbal system should be contextualized within the greater similarities of the verbal systems of Greek and Phrygian as a whole, which remain nonetheless closer to each other than to any other IE language, with the exception of Armenian—a language which belongs to the same Greco-Phrygian subgroup. The active perfect of the basic verb *ekh-* in Greek, *eg-* in Phrygian ‘hold’ (IE **segh*) represents an exclusive Greco-Phrygian isogloss: as Orel 1993:61 points out, no other IE language than Phrygian provides an exact doublet to the

⁵⁵⁸ This partial *Lautverschiebung* also occurs in Macedonian, e.g. *arkon* ‘idle’ **awergon*.

⁵⁵⁹ I quote Hewson's description of Tocharian (1997:134-135): "The mediopassive system of Tocharian uses the *r*-suffixes in the present, found also in Anatolian (and Phrygian) in the East, and Italic and Celtic in the West. The mediopassive suffixes of the aorist are like those familiar from the Hellenic and Indo-Iranian branches... We may notice the obvious similarity between Tocharian *-mar* and Latin *-mur*, Tocharian *-tär* and Oscan *-ter*, on the one side, and Tocharian *-mai* and Ancient Greek *-mai*, Tocharian *-te* and Ancient Greek (secondary) *-to* (both from PIE **-to*) on the other side." Greek and Phrygian would thus differ in that they generalized either the *-r* or the *-ai* endings, despite the fact that the proto-language had both.

Greek ἔσθηκε = Phrygian *isgeiket*, both of which presuppose an earlier Greco-Phrygian **esghēket*, which is otherwise unattested among other IE languages.

2.2.1.1. How close Greek and Phrygian really are

Thus, Greek and Phrygian are so close that they should be considered to belong in the same Indo-European subgroup and would hardly have been differentiated in the early 2nd millennium BC. Asseverates Neumann, a leading expert in Phrygian:

Mehrere Jahrhunderte vor und wohl auch noch nach 2000 [emphasis mine] vor Chr. Geb. müssen die Vorfahren der Phryger zusammen mit den Vorfahren der späteren Hellenen und der Makedonen im Süden des Balkans in engstem räumlichen, nachbarlichen Kontakt gestanden haben.⁵⁶⁰

The alternative assumption that the Proto-Phrygians are identical to the bearers of the Lausitz culture who arrived in Macedonia from central Europe (south Poland / Hungary) at the end of the Bronze Age⁵⁶¹ cannot be accurate: Phrygian and Greek are too narrowly linked linguistically in order to allow such a recent migration into the south Balkans.⁵⁶² Rather, the Gava type pottery found in central Europe and the south Balkans at the end of the Bronze Age must point to another group, most likely Mysian,⁵⁶³ but also possibly Illyrian or Thracian: these originally non-Phrygian newcomers appear to have fused with the seemingly larger mass of Proto-Phrygians / Proto-Macedonians: from what it seems,

⁵⁶⁰ Neumann 1988:5; cf. Lubotsky 2013 (private communication); Rau 2010:173 "Pre-Proto-Greek...the phonological and morphological innovations that seem to characterize Greek, Armenian, and Phrygian. This last set of innovations probably took place in the third millennium once the ancestors (or, possibly, ancestor) of these languages were in the Balkans"; Holst 2009; Blažek 1999:16-21; Orel 1993:60; Hammond 1991:669: "It is by no means impossible that we shall one day be able to speak of 'Greco-Phrygian'; Neumann 1988; Haas 1970.

⁵⁶¹ Assumed by Gimbutas 1965:325,334; Hammond 1972:407-416; Petrova 1998:45; Borza 1992:64.

⁵⁶² See Neumann 1988:6.

⁵⁶³ The *Mushki*, whom the Assyrians confront at the start of the 12th century BCE, are later identified by most scholars with the Phrygians (Bryce 2012:40; Van Dongen 2013:51). Accordingly, it is very likely that the Mushki are the same as the Mysians who are located not only northwestern Anatolia (Mysia), but also Romania, as alluded to at the beginning of book 13 of the *Iliad*. Also Hellanikos (in Herodian 3.1.296.29) ἀπὸ Μακεδόνος τοῦ Αἰόλου, ὡς Ἑλλάνικος ἱερείων τρίτη τῶν ἐν Ἄργει «καὶ Μακεδόνος τοῦ Αἰόλου οὕτω νῦν Μακεδόνες καλοῦνται, μόνοι μετὰ Μυσῶν τότε οἰκοῦντες.

they adopted the language of the indigenous Proto-Phrygians and at the same time infused it with new words and possibly a few grammatical features.⁵⁶⁴

Examples of Phrygian and Greek isoglosses:

agarittoi dat. sg. ‘unmerciful’ = ἀχαρίτω⁵⁶⁵

ai ‘if’ = Doric & Aeolic αι; Attic-Ionic ει

upsodan ‘from above’⁵⁶⁶ = ὑπόθεν

de = δή

xeuna ‘guest’, ‘stranger’⁵⁶⁷ = ξένη (Attic), ξέννη (Aeolic), **xenwā* (Linear B⁵⁶⁸).

oiwos ‘one’ = οἴφος ‘one’ (Cypriote and Linear B⁵⁶⁹); Attic-Ionic οἶος ‘alone’

*deos*⁵⁷⁰ ‘god’ = θεός (**dhesos*, not **deiws*!—as in Latin *deus*⁵⁷¹)

⁵⁶⁴ Whether Messapic belongs to the Greco-Phrygian group or to a separate IE group altogether, its treatment of Grassmann’s law is in all likelihood related (areal linguistics? Mysian adstrate?) to the same treatment, which is discernible in a number of Macedonian words, as Huld 1995:153-154 persuasively argued. For example, Messapic *pid-* stems from IE **bheidh-* (versus *πειθ-* in Greek) whereby IE aspirate + aspirate yields Messapic voiceless + voiced (versus voiceless + unvoiced in Greek), just as IE aspirate + aspirate yields Macedonian voiceless + voiced in κόμβους ‘teeth’ (= Greek γόμφους) or κάναδοι (= Greek γνάθοι). Phrygian attests a similar devoicing, but it appears to have been more extensive than in Messapic and Macedonian, yet not as systematic as some linguists have claimed: a Thracian adstrate is a very reasonable factor in this case, as has often been suggested.

⁵⁶⁵ Examples *passim* from Blazek 2005:21 and Orel 1993.

⁵⁶⁶ Lubotsky 1993

⁵⁶⁷ Brixhe 79

⁵⁶⁸ Linear B **xenwā* inferable from Linear B personal name *ke-su-nu-wo* = *Xenwōn* (Woudhuizen 2009:191).

⁵⁶⁹ Kahane 1997:128 “Linear-B (PY Ta 641): *o-wo-we*, *ti-ri-o-we*, *qe-to-ro-we* (*oiwoves*, *triowes*, *qetrowes*, one-eared, three-eared vessels, etc.).”

⁵⁷⁰ See Lubotsky 2004 “The Phrygian Zeus and the problem of the ‘Lautverschiebung’”: he shows that the Phrygian *deos*, long thought to be from the separate IE root **dei* (hence Latin *deus*), is actually from **dhesos*, the same as the Greek θεός. The closest morphological and semantic cognate is Armenian *di-k*, ‘gods’ which shows the long-grade form *dhēs-*.

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ens / is ‘into’ = εἰς (Attic-Ionic⁵⁷²), ἐνς (Argolic & Cretan⁵⁷³)

kakos ‘bad’ & *kakoō* ‘maltreat’⁵⁷⁴ = κακός & κακῶ

eiroi ‘children’ = Thessalian ἑρέας (Hesychius ἑρέας· τέκνα. Θεσσαλοί).⁵⁷⁵

oro g.s. = Greek ὄρος ‘mountain’

eugi- ‘prayer’ = εὐχή

awtai fem. dat. sg.⁵⁷⁶ = ἀυτῆ (Attic-Ionic); αὐτῆ (Doric / Aeolic)

eg- ‘have’ = ἔχ- (**segh*)

ke (optative particle) = κε (Aeolic & Cypriote), κᾶ (Doric)

knaikan ‘woman’ (acc. sg.) = γυναῖκα

One notes how some Phrygian forms are closer to archaic Greek dialects, Linear B and Cypriote, like the Phrygian preposition/preverb *pos* ‘for’, ‘toward’ = Arcado-Cypriote πός, Linear B *po-se* (= *pos*); whereas others evince areal affinities with Macedonian and Northern Greek (Thessalian), Phrygian *die* = Thessalian ζε-, Macedonian σε- (as in Σέλευκος “Very White/Gleaming”); or the apocope of Phrygian adverbial prepositions *ap-* = ἀπ(ό), also attested in Thessalian.

It is little wonder that Socrates, in Plato’s *Kratylos*, remarked upon the striking similarity between Greek and Phrygian vocabulary in the *Kratylos*, “such as ‘water’,

⁵⁷² Blazek 1999:21

⁵⁷³ For example, IC IV 75 Gortyna: ἐλευθέρο ὄττ’ ἐνς πόλεμον

⁵⁷⁴ See Brixhe 2007 for *kakos* ‘bad’ and *kakoō* not being Greek loanwords, but rather native Phrygian: Phrygian deadjectival verbs of the type *kakoō* are productive in Phrygian. See also Neumann 1988:13.

⁵⁷⁵ Cf. Homeric ἔρνος ‘sapling’, figuratively ‘child’.

⁵⁷⁶ Orel 1993:62

‘dogs’ and many other words’: καὶ τό γε “ὔδωρ” καὶ τὰς “κύνας” καὶ ἄλλα πολλά.⁵⁷⁷

Neumann discusses an example of a productive suffix shared by Greek and Phrygian:

Gemeinsam bewahrt sind auch mehrere Nominalsuffixe. Vier von ihnen greifen wir hier heraus: erstens das Suffix *-ejo-*, das der sogenannten „Stoffadjektive“. Über dessen griechische Verbreitung haben zuletzt E. RISCH in: Fs. L. R. PALMER, 1976, 309-318 und KILLEN gehandelt. Primär bildet es Adjektiva zu Materialbezeichnungen (Typ *ku-pa-ri-seja* / *kuparissejal* „aus Zypressenholz“), RISCH zeigt aber, daß es seit mykenischer Zeit auch an PN angetreten ist: *pe-ri-qa-te-jo* (zum PN *peri-qa-ta* / *periquontās*) usw. In literarischer Zeit ist es in dieser Verwendung besonders im nordgriechischen Thessalischen beliebt, wo es zahlreiche Patronymika bildet. Aber auch die hohe Sprache der Tragödie kennt diese Adjektiva noch, vgl. Euripides, Iph. Taur. 1: ὁ Ταντάλειος; und 5: τῆς Τυνδαρείας. Dieser Bildungstyp läßt sich auch im Phrygischen nachweisen: *Agipeia* (G-135), wohl etwa „Tochter des *Agip(p)os*“ (zu diesem PN vgl. S. 21), *lagineios* (G-110), *k+ ianaveyos* (M-02), *voineios* (G-145) neben *voines* (G-129) usw. Auch die *matar kubileya* (W-04 und B-01) ist hier wohl anzuschließen als „die zum Berg (**kubelo-* o. ä.) gehörende“, die μήτηρ ὄρεία.⁵⁷⁸

The suffix **-dhmo-* is an instance of a unique suffix shared by Greek and Phrygian, as in

Greek σταθμός ‘station’ and Phrygian *στοδομος, inferable from the ethnonym

Στοδμηνός.⁵⁷⁹ Proportionately to the attested vocabulary in Phrygian, the latter shares

more exclusive isoglosses with Greek than any other language.⁵⁸⁰ Greek and Phrygian

grammar share more exclusive innovations than any other widely-documented Indo-

European language. Quantitatively, Greek shares the most lexical isoglosses with

Armenian, which Herodotus defines as an offshoot from Phrygian.⁵⁸¹

⁵⁷⁷ Plato, *Kratylos* 410.

⁵⁷⁸ Neumann 1988:7

⁵⁷⁹ Neumann 1988:13 citing Zgusta, KON § 1256.

⁵⁸⁰ With the possible exception of Armenian, which belongs to the same group as Greek and Phrygian (Rau 2010:173).

⁵⁸¹ Herodotus 7.73.7. A remarkable Greco-Armenian isogloss is also of a grammatical nature: the Greek οὐ / οὐκ are unmatched among all the other IE languages, which instead have *ne holding the same function, except Armenian, whose etymological and semantic cognate is oc’: Cowgill 1960 reconstructs a common innovation shared by Greek and Armenian, which originally from the the syntagm *Aoyu kwid* “ever” (quoted by Holst 2009:94). Another Greco-Armenian exclusive innovation in Clackson 1994:178: Greek and Armenian alone among IE languages form the present tense of the verb from the root **wes-* ‘clothe’ by the addition of a **new/nu* suffix. Ein anderes Beispiel is Greek μαραινῶ (**nj*) “ich vernichte” arm. *meranim* “ich sterbe”: latin *morior*, etc (in Holst 2009:88)

Jeremy Rau brought to my attention a cogent piece of evidence for postulating a unified Greco-Phrygian subgroup within Indo-European: the unique treatment of word-initial, preconsonantal laryngeals in Phrygian and Greek. Whereas in other Indo-European languages, such laryngeals evolve to zero, in Greek and Phrygian, they evolve to vowels, e.g. IE **Hnomn* yields English *name*, Latin *nomen*, Sanskrit *nama*, versus Greek ὄνομα, Phrygian *onoman*, Armenian *anun*.

It is important to keep in mind that a Greco-Phrygian unit does *not* imply a Balkanic unit: Thracian belongs to a different group within IE,⁵⁸² as shown, inter alia, by its standard retention of initial *s-* (e.g. the hydronym *Sermē*, akin to Sanskrit *sarma-* ‘stream’⁵⁸³), in contrast to Greco-Phrygian, in which initial *s-* evolves to *h-* or zero (psilosis). Illyrian too does not belong to the same linguistic group as Greek and Phrygian, since it retains initial *s-*, as does Thracian, e.g. Illyrian *sabaium* a ‘type of beer’, akin to Latin *sapa* ‘sap’, ‘juice’, Old Icelandic *sefi*.⁵⁸⁴

With these things in mind, we can return to the question of the linguistic status of Macedonian through our proposed triangulation. If:

- A) Greek and Phrygian demonstrably constitute their own unified subgroup within IE, and

⁵⁸² Papazoglou 1979:156.

⁵⁸³ Georgiev 1983:1158.

⁵⁸⁴ Illyrian *sabaium* ‘a type of beer’ (St Jerome *Comm. in Isai.* 7.19 and Amm. Marcel. 26.8.2 *sabaiarius* “beer drinker” *Sabaiarius*. Est autem sabai ex ordeo vel frumento, in liquorem conversis, paupertinus in Illyrico potus, cited by Džino 2010:71, from IE **sap / *sab*, (Pokorny page 880), confirms that Illyrian is genetically distinct from Greek and Phrygian. Another example would be the Illyrian name *Vescleves* from **Wesuklewes* “Whose glory is good”: unless it could be proven that the syncopated form dates back to IE times and was then fossilized, the Illyrian form is incompatible with Greco-Phrygian **Wehuklewes*, cf. Cypriote *e-u-ke-le-we-se* = Εὐκλεφεῖς (Egetmeyer 2010:350) from the cognate IE form **h₁suklewēs*.

B) the Phrygians departed from Macedonia through successive waves between the end of the Bronze age⁵⁸⁵ to the 8th century BCE--several centuries after

Mycenaean Greek and Phrygian became differentiated, the case can be made that: ...The countless Macedonian-Greek isoglosses⁵⁸⁶ are not so much an indication that Macedonian is a Greek *dialect* in the sense that it stems from Mycenaean Greek,⁵⁸⁷ but rather that Proto-Greek and Proto-Macedonian are two separate languages *within the same IE subgroup as Phrygian*. Or to put it differently and rather simplistically, it is fair to say that Macedonian is a Greek dialect *only if one posits at the same time that Phrygian too is a 'Greek' dialect*. Any serious debate on the linguistic relation of Macedonian to Greek should take into account the contextualizing control of Phrygian.

The 'deviant' phonetics of Macedonian vis-a-vis Greek, e.g. *Ber(e)nike* vs. *Pherenike*, is not so much a deviation in the sense that Macedonian *b* stems from *ph*, as

⁵⁸⁵ Even possibly before the collapse of the Hittite empire. We will get to this later in our discussion.

⁵⁸⁶ The total number of Macedonian-Phrygian isoglosses are few in comparison to the Greek-Phrygian isoglosses because of the paucity of vocabulary, which is ascertainable as Macedonian or Phrygian. That being said, we will note that *ber-*, 'to bear', is the same in Macedonian (Βερενίκη) as in Phrygian (αββερετ, Brixhe 2008:77) versus Greek *pher-*. Among spatial adverbs and prepositions, both Phrygian and Macedonian have preserved IE **ad* (hence English *at*, Latin *ad*), as illustrated by Phrygian '*ad-daket*' = formally Homeric θῆκε (Latin *ad-ficiat*) and a Hesychian gloss ἄδδεε, "hurry up!" (*ἐπείγου*), which Hoffmann (1906:270) plausibly ascribes to Macedonian.

⁵⁸⁷ Mycenaean presence in the southern part of Macedonia is attested, notably at Agios Dimitrios on the northern flank of Mount Olympus: Eder 2006. But the material culture in late Bronze Age Macedonia shows that Mycenaean influence was modest at best. Eder continues: "Very much in contrast to the Mycenaean uniformity of the south, a high degree of variability in pottery production and consumption characterises the Late Bronze Age in Macedonia. Mycenaean pottery was at least from LH IIIA part of the local pottery repertory, but forms only a small percentage (5%) of the whole pottery assemblage. But this is only true for Mycenaean decorated pottery, whereas unpainted Mycenaean pottery or cooking vessels were almost never integrated into Macedonian pottery traditions... Apart from these pottery classes which illustrate the strong influence from the south, a variety of unpainted handmade wares of local and Balcanic traditions was in use in Late Bronze Age Macedonia. These include bowls with wishbone handles, amphorai with conical necks, incised globular kantharoi and pyraunos-cooking pots, just to recall some of the more widely distributed shapes. In contrast to the celebrated koiné on the southern Greek Mainland during the Mycenaean period of LH IIIA and B, contemporary Macedonian societies made use of a larger variety of pottery wares and shapes than ever before. These differences in the range of pottery classes in use in Macedonia on the one hand and the more southern mainland on the other hand indicate that during the Mycenaean palatial period these regions were separated by different eating and drinking habits, and that differences existed in respect to social contexts of how and when which types of pots were used."

some scholars have claimed,⁵⁸⁸ but rather that Macedonian evinces an independent treatment of the inherited IE **bh*, which happens to be the same treatment as in Phrygian (**bh* → *b* instead of *ph*),⁵⁸⁹ and of every other Indo-European language in the area.⁵⁹⁰ Last but not least, proto-Greek itself in its prehistory had voiced aspirates: the tenet “Macedonian was an old Greek dialect that was left behind” is true, but only in a limited (and potentially misleading) sense, because the linguistic ancestors of the Macedonians had never left the homeland from which the linguistic ancestors of the Mycenaeans themselves had originated, before descending into Greece in the first half of the second millennium BCE. Thus, both diachronic and areal factors conspire to recommend the unmediated evolution IE **bh* > Macedonian *b*.

2.2.1.2. Discussion of Macedonian Lexemes

As an introduction to our discussion of Macedonian lexemes, it may be well to begin with an important excerpt from Curtius Rufus 6.9.35, which makes it clear that Philotas, a Macedonian general of Alexander the Great, distinguishes Macedonian speech from Greek speech on the basis of intelligibility:

“Praeter Macedonas,” inquit, “Plerique adsunt, quos facilius quae dicam percepturos arbitror, si eadem lingua fuero usus qua tu egisti, non ob aliud, credo, quam ut oratio tua intellegi posset a pluribus.”

⁵⁸⁸ Hatzidakis cited by Hatzopoulos & Hatzopoulos 1987 & 2013:215; rebuttal in Brixhe 1999:52-62. Hatzopoulos cites the name *Drebeleos* as an example of a Macedonian name, which allegedly stems from Greek *Trepheleos*. Although *Drebe-* is most certainly related to Greek *τρέφω*, it is much likelier that the initial *D-* of *Δρεβέλαος* had never been in its history a characteristically Greek *T-*, but rather had remained *D-*, directly from an IE **Dh-*: the very same root is attested in Macedonian’s closer relative, Phrygian – *dreg-* = IE **dhreghw-*. For the Macedonian treatment of the IE voice aspirates, also see Haas 1970:45, Witzak 1995:85-90.

⁵⁸⁹ Chantraine, “La langue des macédoniens et leur onomastique,” *BSL*, 1966:158. Neumann 1988:6: “Mit den Makedonen teilen die Phryger die Durchführung des Lautwandels "Media aspirata zu Media", vgl. spätphrygisch *βερε-* "tragen" mit dem makedonischen PN *Βερε-νίκη*.”

⁵⁹⁰ IE **bh* > *b* in Thracian, Illyrian and Messapic (except in cases of Grassmann’s law, see Huld 1995).

Along similar lines, *PSI XII 1284* details the necessity of a Macedonian interpreter in the army of the Greek-speaking Eumenes to the Macedonian army, which they are about to confront.⁵⁹¹

Hatzopoulos 2007 lists Macedonian βαλακρός⁵⁹² among the lexical examples that resemble Greek “not only in their root, but also in their derivational process.” In his view, βαλακρός (= Greek φαλακρός) and similar Macedonian words, which match the twofold criteria of root similarity and derivational similarity, support the notion that they are specifically Greek in origin, not merely close cognates of Greek: instead of stemming directly from an earlier **bhalakros*, Hatzopoulos argues that Macedonian βαλακρός would have undergone *three* additional phonetic steps: 2) **phalakros* (= Greek φαλακρός), 3) **falakros* and 4) **valakros*. This “hardly economical” model, as Brixhe objected,⁵⁹³ is hardly credible. Most damningly, Hatzopoulos makes no mention of Messapic *balakra*, which matches Macedonian *balakros* in its consonantism even more closely than the Greek *phalakros*: and yet, Messapic too matches Greek and Macedonian not only in its root, but also derivational suffix.⁵⁹⁴

⁵⁹¹ Εὐμένης δέ, ὡς τήν τε ζύγκλησιν τοῦ ξυνασπισμοῦ τῶν Μακεδόνων πυκνήν κατεΐδεν... πέμπει αὐθις Ξεννίαν ἄνδρα μακεδονίζοντα τῆ φωνῆ, φράσαι κελεύσας... See Bosworth’s commentary 2011.

⁵⁹² Plutarch, *Aetia* 292e. Μακεδόνες ‘Βίλιππον’ καί ‘βαλακρόν’ καί ‘Βερονίκην’ λέγοντες

⁵⁹³ Brixhe 1999:58. In full disclosure, although in his earlier work, Brixhe argued that the Macedonian treatment of the IE aspirate plosives evolved directly from the IE voiced aspirates, he has recently somewhat altered his position (Brixhe 2008), on the basis of the Pella curse tablet, now arguing that Macedonian genuinely evolved said series into *either* unvoiced aspirates (as in Greek) *or* voiced unaspirates (as many idiosyncratically Macedonian glosses indicate). I agree with the old Brixhe, not the new Brixhe.

⁵⁹⁴ Huld 1995. The linguistic status of Messapic is uncertain: though often considered to be Illyrian, the Illyrian elements in Messapic could be adstratal, not fundamental; ‘ninth’ in Messapic seems to show the same rare vocalization of the initial, pre-consonantal laryngeals. Huld and Blazek tentatively suggest that Messapic could belong to the same group as Greek, which is not to say that Messapic *balakra* stems from an earlier φαλακρός! Rather, Messapic *balakra*, Macedonian βαλακρός and Greek φαλακρός all stem from a proto-form **bhalakros*.

Nor is his adduction of the post-Mycenaean Macedonian ethnic personal name Βέτταλος “the Thessalian” = Boeotian Φέτταλος, both from **G^{wh}e-* in the first syllable, any indication whatsoever that the Macedonian form Βέτταλος must rest on an earlier transitional form Φέτταλος (rather than a transitional **Bhettalos*, as I would suggest, as would have Meillet and Chantraine), on the invalid grounds that this Macedonian PN attests a different treatment of IE **g^{wh}e-* than Phrygian, which turns it into *ge-*: as Hatzopoulos himself points out, the Boeotian ethnic personal name Φέτταλος ‘Thessalian’ is not *the* only Greek outcome of IE **g^{wh}e-*, since Attic attests a *different* treatment = Θετταλός, whereby **g^{wh}e-* evolves to *the-*, not *phe-*⁵⁹⁵; Thessalian itself attests the variants Πετθαλοί and Φεθαλοί. Moreover, Indo-European labiovelars may sometimes lose their labial feature in Thessalian without losing their occlusive point of articulation, as it is often the case in Phrygian, e.g. Thessalian κις < IE *q^wis* > Attic τικς; further, the correspondence Boeotian πρισγη(ι)ες = πρέσβυς shows that the second part of the compound once started with *g^w* (> *g/b*).

That such undoubted Greek dialects as Ionic and Aeolic should attest different treatments of initial IE **g^{wh}e-* (*the-* and *p(h)e-* respectively) shows that it is theoretically possible for a linguistic subgroup, to which both Macedonian and Phrygian had belonged, to manifest different treatments of initial **g^{wh}e-*, i.e. *be-* and *ge-* respectively.

Furthermore, it is uncertain that *ge-* is the only Phrygian outcome of IE **g^{wh}e-*: Haas

1970:55-57 has defended quite cogently the derivation of Phrygian *bennos*, cf. dialectic

⁵⁹⁵ Hatzopoulos 2007:172 is wrong to assume that there is a unitary Greek treatment of IE **ghwe-* and that Phrygian, ‘*unlike Greek*’, lost its labial feature without leaving a trace of it: “en phrygien, contrairement au grec, les labio-velaires ont perdu leur appendice labial sans en conserver aucune trace.” The Attic form Θετταλός and the Ionic form Θεσσαλός, like Phrygian *germos* ‘warm’ (= Attic θερμός) > IE **ghwermos*, have lost their labial features as well: the aspiration, to be sure, is preserved, but it is not an idiosyncratic trace of the original labio-velar because Attic and Ionic *th-* can also stem from IE **dh-* besides **gwh-* (e.g. Greek θεός < **dhesos* [not **gwhesos*], hence Phrygian *deos*, which represents one of many exclusive Greco-Phrygian isoglosses, see Lubotsky 2004).

bennen! ‘salve’, from IE **g^{wh}en-* ‘to thrive’, hence also Greek εὐθενέω, in which case IE **g^{wh}e* - could also yield Phrygian **be-*.⁵⁹⁶

It is also uncertain whether the PN Βέτταλος reflects *the* Macedonian rendition of Thessalian Φεθαλός and Πετθαλός: just as Thessalian itself shows several phonetic treatments for the ethnonym ‘Thessalian’, so may Macedonian have had several treatments for it, one of which could be Βέτταλος. As suggested by Hammond, several varieties of Macedonian may have existed.⁵⁹⁷ Be that as it may, a Macedonian gloss like γοτάν ‘swine’⁵⁹⁸ has been given several etymologies, the most convincing one of which—**g^woton* ‘livestock’⁵⁹⁹—conforms with the ‘Phrygian’ treatment of IE **g^{w-}*, albeit unaspirated, yielding *g-*, which merges in Phrygian with the outcome of its IE aspirated counterpart **g^{wh}* - (**g^w* and *g^{wh}* > Phrygian *g-*): Macedonian γοτάν ‘pig’ from **g^woton*, cognate with Greek βοτόν ‘livestock’ (sheep, bovine, horses, etc., cf. αἰγιβότης, συβώτης

⁵⁹⁶ Despite progress in Phrygian linguistics, not enough is known to determine how many dialects there may have been: if it is accepted that Armenian is a Phrygian dialect, we would have at least two dialects. The existence of different Phrygian dialects could account for the possibility of different phonetic outcomes.

⁵⁹⁷ Hammond 1994:131-142 envisages an Epirote branch of Macedonian and an Aeolic branch of it. While I certainly adhere to the scenario of Sprachbund confluence and freely admit the existence of Aeolicizing features in ancient Macedonian, as I have shown in the current paper, I deem Macedonian to be its own (related to Greek) language. While I do agree with Hammond that Epirote and Macedonian were extremely close and may be considered to have shared the same language (together with Paeonian), I conceive of Epirote as distinct from Doric (Peloponnesian) Greek.

⁵⁹⁸ Hesychius γοτάν· ὄν. Μακεδόνες

⁵⁹⁹ For a similar semantic development from general to specific, cf Modern Greek ἄλογο ‘horse’ from ἄλογον ‘one without reason and/or speech.’ Hoffmann 1906 improbably reads the tau of γοτάν as a digamma, ignoring Lithuanian *guotas* ‘herd’ (not necessarily of cows), which Chantraine lists as a cognate of βοτόν. Even Kalléris’ arbitrary claim (1954: 139-141) that Macedonian γοτάν is merely a graphic distortion of Greek βοτόν has at least the merit of recognizing the semantic and morphological connection of Macedonian γοτάν ‘pig’ and Greek βοτόν ‘livestock’. The final alpha in γοτάν could either be 1) a feminine, accusative singular, in which case ‘sow’ would be an appropriate translation; or 2) an improperly (anachronistically) accented neuter, nominative singular masking the enunciation [gótan]: one might assume the late development in Macedonian of a recessive accent and the reduction to schwa of unstressed syllables, hence the innovative spelling with final alpha representing the schwa < earlier *o*. Along similar lines, Thessalian orthography shows the alternative, final spelling –εC for –οC, which some scholars have assumed masks a reduced schwa pronunciation of the final, unstressed vowel (see García Ramón 2011:128).

= Linear B gen. plur. *sug^wotāōn*, ἵπποβώτης, etc.) and the verb βόσκω: “s’applique le plus souvent au petit bétail, à des porcs.”⁶⁰⁰

The readiness with which Macedonians adopted official Greek names in the strict sense of the word, e.g. *Archelaos*, etc., is not so much an indication that Macedonians were Greeks *stricto sensu*, and spoke a Greek dialect, as an indication that they were subsumed under the same Greco-Phrygian group: to claim that Macedonian is a Greek dialect would amount to saying that Scythian is a Persian dialect on the grounds that Scythian onomastics are very similar to Persian when in fact it is more accurate to say that Scythian and Persian onomastics are very similar because the two languages are both part of the Indo-Iranian linguistic group, on an equal footing. While allowing for the creation of some late Macedonian calques of Greek models,⁶⁰¹ many seemingly Greek names among the Macedonians should mask indigenous counterparts, e.g. *Philippos* for *B(h⁶⁰²)ilippos*; *Archelaos* for **Arg(h)ela(w)os*, in light of Phrygian *argou* = Greek ἀρχή.⁶⁰³

Combined with the lexical and geographical criteria, proof that Macedonian belongs to this Greco-Phrygian subgroup lies in the gloss ἀβροῦτες⁶⁰⁴ “eyebrows,”

⁶⁰⁰ Chantraine, s.v. βόσκω, p 186, right column.

⁶⁰¹ Hatzopoulos 2007:163 citing opinions expressed by Brixhe, Panayotou and G. Bonfante.

⁶⁰² I provide the aspiration in parentheses to represent a preclassical period in Macedonian, two *terminus ante quem*’s would be 1) the deaspiration of **B(h)ruges*, whose aspirated Greek counterpart *Phruges*, must have crystallized at a time when proto-Phrygian had retained its aspirates (1000 BCE?) and 2) the deaspiration of the Epirote **B(h)aiakes* = Greek *Phaiakes*: the latter group being, to the best of my knowledge, less widely-scattered and less well-known than the Phrygians, certain regions of the Pindus (in the west?) must have retained their voiced aspirates longer than in other areas, presumably here 800 or even 700 BCE.

⁶⁰³ Woudhuizen 2009:183 & 212, citing the dedicatory inscription NPhr-98 from the Museum of Dorylaion.

⁶⁰⁴ Following Masson 1995:231-239, several modern commentators emend ἀβροῦτες (also as ἄβροτες) to *ἀβροῦφες, assuming that Macedonian had preserved the digamma and that Cyril’s alternative spelling

cognate with Greek ὄφρυες, both from laryngeal-initial IE **Hbhru-*: as in the case of English *name* versus Greek *onoma* and Phrygian *onoman*, Macedonian uniquely attests a ‘prothetic’/laryngeal-derived vowel before the bilabial, unlike the vast majority of other IE languages, which have zero. Unless the following toponym is Paeonian,⁶⁰⁵ the name *Ana-draimos*, which is an alternative name of the Greek *Ennea Hodoi* “the Nine Ways” (also known as Amphipolis, Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀμφίπολις, πόλις Μακεδονίας κατὰ Θράκην, ἢ τις Ἐννέα ὁδοί ἐκαλεῖτο. Ἀμφίπολιν ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ καὶ Ἀνάδραϊμος), would also show that Macedonian is a Greco-Phrygian language: Blažek analyzes *Ana-* in *Anadraimos* as stemming from **an[n]a-*, ultimately **Hnwn-* ‘nine’. Here again, the initial laryngeal is vocalized, as in Greek *ennea* (**h1nnewn*) and Armenian

abrotēs suggests that an original digamma was later misspelled with a digamma, resulting in Hesychius’ putatively hypercorrective *abrotēs*. Masson convincingly demonstrated in his article that tau is an attested, albeit rare palaeographical variant of beta or gamma for the transcription of the rarescent sound *w* in ancient Greek. Brixhe 1997 accepts Masson’s emendation without providing an explanation for it; Helly 2004:295-296 accepts it too, citing as support Cyril’s alternative spelling ἄβροτες alongside ἄβροῦτες, assuming that the latter form accumulates two competing transcriptions of the digamma, upsilon and tau respectively. This, however, is pure conjecture: other explanations for the ἄβροτες / ἄβροῦτες alternation are equally possible, notably a dialectic or diachronic *o / ou* alternation, for which there is ample evidence in Macedonian epigraphy, see any of Hatzopoulos’ numerous studies. The major weakness in Masson’s argument is that he provides no examples whatsoever of Macedonian glosses or names in which the digamma is either masked by a palliative consonant or is reconstructible through various linguistic methods. There is no evidence for the preservation of the digamma in Macedonian (Ködderitzsch 1985:32-33). The quadruple, cumulative evidence that *Edessa* stems from **Wedessa* pleads against the reading **ἄβροῦτες*. Ködderitzsch (1985:35) persuasively defends the *-t-* in ἄβροῦτες and posits a nominative singular **abro:s*, which stands for an earlier **abrons*, ultimately IE **h3bhrnt-*, hence Latin *frons / frontem* “forehead” (cf poetic English *brow*). Masson’s digammic reading of ἄβροῦτες goes back to Kretschmer 1906, but a defense of reading the tau literally is even older, going back to Fick 1874, which was later endorsed, *pace* Kretschmer, by Meillet (sources in Masson 1995) and Chantraine, who rightly places the Macedonian ἄβροῦτες between the dental-extended forms *brvat-* of Avestic and *brūd* of Middle Irish, s.v. ὄφρυς.

⁶⁰⁵ Herodotus [surce] mentions Brygians in the area of Amphipolis who had attacked the invading forces of Mardonius. This was also Paeonian territory (Herodotus 5.1; Strabo 7a.1.43), until it became Macedonian in the mid 5th century BCE. In light of the preservation of the digamma in Phrygian, the name is likely to be Paeonian or Macedonian or Paeonian-Macedonian if the two peoples shared the same language or were slight variants of the same language: the Macedonians and the Paeonians were neighbors or historically their territories overlapped a great deal: the disappearance of the digamma is palpable in the remains of both languages.

inownk' (**h1newn*), in contrast with English *nine*, Latin *nouem*, Tocharian *nu*.⁶⁰⁶ Unlike Macedonian, Illyrian and Thracian do *not* show the same treatment of the initial, preconsonantal laryngeals, whereby H- evolves to the standard zero attested in the other IE languages, with the partial exception of Anatolian.⁶⁰⁷ Thus, while Macedonian certainly attests some lexical borrowings from both Illyrian and Thracian, which is illustrative of areal linguistics, Macedonian within IE is genetically distinct from the two and must be subsumed under the Greco-Phrygian group.⁶⁰⁸ It is important to desist from the old-fangled habit of lumping all of the Balkanic languages together.

2.2.1.3. Macedonian treatment of the Indo-European Laryngeals vis-à-vis Greek and Phrygian

A peculiarity of Macedonian vis-à-vis Greek and Phrygian must be explained, however: whereas Greek and Phrygian vocalize h1, h2 and h3 to *e*, *a* and *o* respectively, Macedonian vocalizes all three laryngeals to *a-*, as seen above.⁶⁰⁹ The only linguistic group in which the three laryngeals escape regular reduction to zero (as in English *name*,

⁶⁰⁶ Blazek 1999:191. The second element in Ana-*draimos* = Ἐννέα ὁδοί would stem from **dramyos* <**drmyos*, according to Georgiev 1977:24-25 (*Trakite i lexnijat ezik*) cited by Blazek. Duridanov LB 31 (1988) 1-2, 60 agrees, apparently Brixhe & Panayotou as well (1994:199), whom they quote.

⁶⁰⁷ In Anatolian, the situation is a little more complicated: Kloekhorst 2006:1995 cites Hittite *li(n)k-* = Greek ἐλέγχω and Hittite *nakki* = Greek ἐνεγκεῖν as examples for the loss of initial h1 in Hittite; on the other hand, Kloekhorst 2006:88 cites Hittite *aniya* as an example of initial, preconsonantal h3 laryngeals yielding *a-* in Hittite, thus *aniya* > *h3n-ye/o*, zero-grade root before the *-*ye/o-* suffix; similarly, Hittite *arta* 'he stands', Kloekhorst derives from *h3r-tó*. Very rarely, initial, pre-consonantal laryngeals may also be vocalized in Latin, e.g. *h2g-tos* < *actus* < *āctus*: Meiser 1998:106; but such examples can be restorations due to analogy with full-grade forms, e.g. *agō* < *h3eg-*.

⁶⁰⁸ Georgiev 1966:289 also believes in a Greco-Phrygian unit, though he places the period of linguistic unity a thousand years before I do.

⁶⁰⁹ Possible additions could be the Hesychian gloss ἄβεις· ἔχεις 'vipers', whereby *abeis* would correspond etymologically to Greek ὄφεις. Cited by Blazek 2005:24. The form could potentially be Illyrian or Thracian, but given the significantly higher explicit number of Macedonian over Illyrian and Thracian glosses in Hesychius' lexicon, *abeis* is much likelier to be Macedonian. Also Macedonian ἄδδα 'poles of a chariot' could be akin to Greek ὄζος 'branch', Armenian *ost*, German *Ast*. It would appear that Messapic too, like Macedonian, changes initial preconsonantal laryngeals to *a*, indiscriminately (Huld 1995).

Sanskrit *nama-*) is Anatolian.⁶¹⁰ Because geographic, lexical and toponymic considerations disallow us from separating Macedonian from Greek and Phrygian, this Macedonian treatment of the initial, pre-consonantal laryngeals may be accounted for as a relatively late feature of Macedonian, in which polysyllabic words with word-initial **e-* and **o-* tended to merged with **a-*, regardless of whether **e-* and **o-* stemmed from IE preconsonantal laryngeals *or* prevocalic laryngeals.

I noticed that no words, explicitly described as Macedonian in ancient Greek sources, begin with either *ἐ-* or *ὀ-*, in contrast to *ἄ-*, which raises the possibility that some of the Macedonian glosses beginning with an alpha could have arisen from older forms with initial *ἐ-* or *ὀ-*. By way of illustration, I would submit that the Hesychian gloss ἄδισκον ‘porridge’ (κυκεῶνα. Μακεδόνες), which has been given no etymology to the best of my knowledge, stems from an earlier form **ἔδισκον* whereby **ἔδ-* ‘to eat’ is the root and *-ισκον* is a diminutive, hypocoristic suffix⁶¹¹: ‘porridge’ being a simple, basic food could claim the most elementary root **ed-* ‘to eat’, just as Latin *pānis* ‘bread’ is from the basic root **pā-* “feed on,” which is also found in the verb *pāscor*. Similarly,

⁶¹⁰ See the penultimate footnote.

⁶¹¹ At first blush, the idiomatic combination of κυκεῶνα with the verb πίνω ‘to drink’ in Greek, with respect to the Hesychian gloss ἄδισκον· κυκεῶνα. Μακεδόνες, might seem to clash with the proposed etymology ἄδ-ισκον = ‘ed-ible’, since drinking involves absorbing liquids and eating absorbing solids, but in fact the obstacle is only apparent because ancient Greek conventionally extends the verb ‘drink’ to consumable items that are semi-solid or semi-liquid, such as porridge or soup, e.g. καὶ τοῦ ζωμοῦ πινέτω (Hippocrates *De mulierum affectibus I-III* 217.35); δὸς πιεῖν τὸν ζωμόν (Pseudo-Galen *De remediis parabilibus III* 14.560.2); the *kykeon*, which Achilles and Nestor are expected to ‘drink’ (πινόμενα: 11.641) in the *Iliad* is a mix of wine, barley and grated cheese. In colloquial modern American English, there is a hesitancy as to whether ‘drink soup’ or ‘eat soup’ is more proper, although traditionally the proper construction is ‘eat soup’; whereas in French *mange ta soupe!*, not **bois ta soupe!*, is clearly the traditional construction. An alternative, plausible etymology to Macedonian ἄδ-ισκον would also lead back to an earlier **ἔδ-ισκον*, and perhaps further to **ἔτ-ισκον*: a connection to the Greek ἔτνος ‘thick soup made with peas or beans’. The root of ἔτνος is obscure, but as Chantraine acknowledges, the suffix *-vo* is common (in Greek and IE), so that the root **ἔτ-* of **ἔτ-voς*, whatever it meant (‘pre-Greek’ **et-* = IE **ed-*?) could match semantically and phonetically the **ἔδ-* of Macedonian ἄδ-ισκον, since intervocalic unvoiced plosives (e.g. *t*) can become voiced in Macedonian (e.g. *d*): Hatzopoulos 1987.

Macedonian ἀ-λίη ‘boar’ (κάπρος. Μακεδόνες) probably stems from the late IE color root **ol-/*el-* ‘brown’, ‘red’, which yields Greek ἔ-λαφος ‘deer’, ἐ-λλός ‘fawn’.⁶¹²

Just as the Greco-Phrygian unit can be advantageously triangulated with the poorly-attested language of the Macedonians in order to shed light on the nebulous identity of the third party, the same Greco-Phrygian unit can also be advantageously triangulated with another poorly attested language of the same region: Paeonian.

2.2.2. Paeonian:

2.2.2.1 Introduction: the Paeonians

Paeonians are of critical importance to this investigation because they bridge the gap in several ways between the Macedonians and the Phrygians: it was probably in one of their dialects, which was very closely related to Macedonian, that the shift **Makedonia* > *Mygdonia* took place. As soon as the proto-Phrygians or **Bhruges* supposedly lose their political clout in the territory of the future kingdom of Argead Macedonia (10th or 9th century BCE?), the name ‘Paeonian’ (Παίονες) suddenly appears and is associated with the dominant ethnos that is left behind in the northern and northwestern Aegean, as is apparent in the testimonies of the *Iliad*, Strabo and scattered data in Herodotus and Thucydides.⁶¹³ In the *Iliad*, the territory of the Axios river, which lies at the heart of the future Macedonian kingdom, belongs to the Paeonians (2.849; 16.288; 21.141).

⁶¹² The proposed shift word-initial **e-* and **o-* becoming Macedonian **a-* in Macedonian is, as stated above, a tendency, not a rule: ἰν δέα· μεσημβρία. Μακεδόνες shows the preposition **en* evolving to *in* in Macedonian. This different model could be reconciled with the proposed model if 1) one posited a sub-rule in which the evolution to word-initial *a-* would only affect polysyllabic words or 2) we are dealing with different Macedonian dialects, which is also quite conceivable since ancient Macedonia undoubtedly encompassed very closely related languages: the varieties of Epirote and Paeonian spoken in ancient Macedonia were arguably perceived as Macedonian dialects.

⁶¹³ The Herodotean and Thucydidean references to the geography of the Paeonians are as follows: Herodotus 5.62.11 Λειψύδριον τὸ ὑπὲρ Παιονίης τευχίσαντες; Herodotus 5.98.24 Δορίσκον ἐκόμισαν·

The superlative strength of their hero Asteropaios, the only one with the distinction of shedding Achilles' blood in the *Iliad*, most likely reflects in epic fashion the statement found among Greek chroniclers that Paeonia had previously been the superpower of the northern Aegean, whose forces from near the Strymon river (ἀπὸ Στρυμόνος Παίονες) would later threaten the Samian colony of Perinthus along the Sea of Marmara at the very gates of Asia Minor (Herodotus 5.1). Significantly, *Mygdonia* was an alternative name given to the city of Perinthus,⁶¹⁴ thus reinforcing the connection between the Paeonians and (Macedonian) Mygdonia and further reinforcing the connections between the Phrygians and their Homeric king Mygdon with the Paeonians, successors of the Proto-Phrygians in late Geometric / early Archaic Macedonia. Two synoptic passages on the Paeonians in Strabo, 7a.1.38 and 7a.1.41, are especially useful:

Τοὺς δὲ Παίονας οἱ μὲν ἀποίκους Φρυγῶν οἱ δ' ἀρχηγέτας ἀποφαίνουσι, καὶ τὴν Παιονίαν μέχρι Πελαγονίας καὶ Πιερίας ἐκτετάσθαι φασί· καλεῖσθαι δὲ πρότερον Ὀρεστίαν τὴν Πελαγονίαν

Some declare that the Paeonians are a colony of the Phrygians, others that the Phrygians are a colony of the Paeonians, and they say that Paeonia used to reach as far as Pelagonia and Pieria.

ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ πεζῇ κομιζόμενοι ἀπίκοντο ἐς Παιονίην; Herodotus 5.1. ἀπὸ Στρυμόνος Παίονες; conquer the Perinthians on the Propontis; 5.13 ἡ Παιονίη ἐπὶ τῷ Στρυμόνι ποταμῷ πεπολισμένη; Herodotus 5.16 Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸ Πάγγαιον ὄρος καὶ Δόβηρας καὶ Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ Ὀδομάντους καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν λίμνην τὴν Πρασιάδα οὐκ ἐχειρώθησαν ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ Μεγαβάζου; Herodotus 8.115 ἐν Σίρι τῆς Παιονίης; Thucydides 2.96.3 ἀνίστη δὲ καὶ Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ Λαιαίους καὶ ἄλλα ὅσα ἔθνη Παιονικὰ ὧν ἦρχε καὶ ἔσχατοι τῆς ἀρχῆς οὗτοι ἦσαν· μέχρι γὰρ Λαιαίων Παιόνων καὶ τοῦ Στρυμόνος ποταμοῦ, ὃς ἐκ τοῦ Σκόμβρου ὄρους δι' Ἀγριάνων καὶ Λαιαίων ῥεῖ, [οὔ] ὠρίζετο ἢ ἀρχὴ τὰ πρὸς (5) (4.) Παίονας αὐτονόμους ἦδη. Thucydides 2.99.4 τῆς δὲ Παιονίας παρὰ τὸν Ἀξιὸν ποταμὸν στενήν τινα καθήκουσαν ἄνωθεν μέχρι Πέλλης καὶ θαλάσσης ἐκτήσαντο, καὶ πέραν Ἀξιοῦ μέχρι Στρυμόνος τὴν Μυγδονίαν καλουμένην Ἠδῶνας ἐξελάσαντες νέμονται.

⁶¹⁴ Tzetzes *Chiliades* 3.100.815 Πέρινθον, τὴν πρόην Μυγδονίαν; Scholia in *Chiliades* 3.815 Πέρινθος Μυγδονία πρότερον ἐκαλεῖτο. Since Herodotus relates that the Samian colony of Perinthus had been wiped out and replaced by Paeonian invaders from the Strymon river, it is likelier that Tzetzes or Tzetzes' source confused the chronology on the name of the city of Perinthus: rather than 'Mygdonia' being the original name of Perinthus, it was probably renamed 'Mygdonia' by the local Paeonians, once they had conquered and settled the city. The two names would have coexisted side by side for centuries until the chronology on the name of the city could no longer be accurately identified.

καὶ πάλαι καὶ νῦν οἱ Παῖονες φαίνονται πολλὴν τῆς νῦν Μακεδονίας κατεσχηκότες, ὡς καὶ Πέρινθον πολιορκῆσαι, καὶ Κρηστωνίαν καὶ Μυγδονίδα πᾶσαν καὶ τὴν Ἀγριάνων μέχρι Παγγαίου ὑπ' αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι.

In the past, as in the present, the Paeonians seem to have controlled much of the present territory of Macedonia, since they besieged Perinthos, and seem to have possessed Crestonia, all of Mygdonia, the territory of the Agrianes as far as the Pangaion.

In our earlier discussion about the geographical range of the Brygians (proto-Phrygians) and Macedonians in northern Greece, we made the observation that the names ‘Macedonian’ and ‘Phrygian’ overlap east to west in Upper Macedonia, as they also overlap in the Thermaic Gulf where the Argeads had their capital at Aigeai whereas the Phrygians had once had their capital at Edessa. We had also observed that Orestis/Oresteia and *Maketia* ‘Macedonia’ were synonyms according to the Macedonian historian Marsyas and argued that *Orestai* ‘Mountaineers’, *Makedones* ‘Highlanders’ and *B(h)ruges* ‘Mountainmen’ were originally mutually interchangeable designations for various, shifting, closely-related populations in the Pindus mountain range.

For the Paeonians too, the same distribution in both the highlands of Macedonia and the eastern lowlands is observable: Strabo indicates that Pelagonia too, located in the northern Pindus, was Paeonian territory; elsewhere in a contiguous commentary on the Homeric eponym Πηλεγών and his son the Paeonian hero Asteropaios in the *Iliad*, Strabo says that the Paeonians used to be called “Pelagonians” (οἱ γὰρ Παῖονες Πελαγόνες ἔκαλοῦντο: 7a.1.39; Strabo further reveals that Pelagonia used to be called *Orestia*: καλεῖσθαι δὲ πρότερον Ὀρεστίαν τὴν Πελαγονίαν.

This is an interesting revelation because 1) in yet another passage Strabo reports the belief that the territory of Orestis, also called Orest(e)ia by various ancient authors, extended as far south as northern Aetolia: in other words, Orestis could be the same as what it meant lexically: ‘the mountains’ = the vast mountain range of the Pindus; 2)

dovetailing the statement that Pelagonia used to be called Orestia, which can be taken *lato sensu*, Strato states in another passage that some Paeonians were located in the vicinity of Dodona (1.2.20: τοῖς Παιίοσι τοὺς ὁμόρους Δόλοπας καὶ Σελλοὺς περὶ Δωδώνην), that is to say, some tribes considered to be Paeonian also inhabited central Epirus.⁶¹⁵

The ethnonym Πελαγόνες given to the Paeonians of Upper Macedonia, is reminiscent of the word for ‘the dignitaries’ or ‘nobles’ among the Macedonians and Epirotes = πελιγόνες,⁶¹⁶ also attested as the πελιγᾶνες and πελειγᾶνες⁶¹⁷ (Hatzopoulos 1998:1196): here again, the alternating *a/o* vocalisms, πελιγ-ό-νες vs. πελιγ-ᾶ-νες, parallel the proposed outcome M-υ-γδόνες from M-α-κεδόνες. It is conceivable that, just as the Proto-Phrygians and Argead Macedonians had come from the highlands of the Pindus, so had Paeonia’s warrior elite come from the same highlands, hence the name Πελαγόνες, arguably ‘the Sires’, ‘les Seigneurs’, etymologically ‘the Seniors’ = Strabo 7a.1.2 πελιγόνας γοῦν καλοῦσιν ἐκεῖνοι τοὺς ἐν τιμαῖς, καθὰ παρὰ Λάκωσι καὶ Μασσαλιώταις τοὺς γέροντας “[the Epirotes and Macedonians] call the ones held in honor ‘Peligones’, which means ‘the elderly’ among the Laconians and Massaliotes.”

A similar idea is expressed in the reference to Upper Macedonia, whence the ruling Argeads had hailed, as “Free Macedonia” (τὴν ἄνω Μακεδονίαν ἐκάλουν...καὶ

⁶¹⁵ Elsewhere in this paper, I provide independent evidence for Strabo’s placement of Paeonians in the vicinity of Dodona.

⁶¹⁶ Strabo 7a.1.2 κατὰ Θεσπρωτοὺς καὶ Μολοττοὺς... καθάπερ καὶ παρὰ Μακεδόσι· πελιγόνας γοῦν καλοῦσιν ἐκεῖνοι τοὺς ἐν τιμαῖς

⁶¹⁷ Hesychius, s.v. πελιγᾶνες; Roussel uncovered an inscription found at Laodikeia On The Sea: δεδόχθαι τοῖς πελιγᾶσιν; a corrupt passage in Polybius whereby ἀδειγᾶνας = πελειγᾶνας, which is attested on an inscription at Dion in Macedonia. See Hatzopoulos 1998:1196.

ἐλευθέραν: Strabo 7.7.8).⁶¹⁸ In summary, just as the proto-Phrygians and Macedonians seem to have arisen from the highlands of Upper Macedonia and spread eastward into the lowlands of the Thermaic Gulf and Mygdonia, so may have the Paeonians themselves originated from the same highlands and spread eastward.

A significant portion of the population in Argead Macedonia (καὶ πάλαι καὶ νῦν οἱ Παῖονες φαίνονται πολλὴν τῆς νῦν Μακεδονίας κατεσχηκότες⁶¹⁹), perhaps close to half, may have been Paeonian⁶²⁰: Hammond’s tentative “East Macedonian dialect” may in fact have been Paeonian. The debt, which the Macedonians owe the Paeonians, is palpable in a number of a number of ways: the most common predecessor in the late archaic period of the Vergina sun or Macedonian star is most commonly depicted on Paeonian coinage.⁶²¹ The earliest Macedonian coinage, first minted by Alexander I, imitated Paeonian models.⁶²² Similarly, the idiosyncratic ‘Macedonian’ *kausia* first appeared on earlier Paeonian coins (Klinkott 2001:130).

2.2.2.2. The Linguistic Status of Paeonian: the Hellenistic *Lagid* Dynasty and Phrygian *Lawagtaei*

The recoverable scraps of the Paeonian language, as inferable mostly from onomastics and toponymy,⁶²³ can be gainfully triangulated with Greek and Phrygian, just

⁶¹⁸ The connection between ‘old’ and ‘free’ may also be seen in the semantic evolution from IE **ger-* ‘old’ to Germanic **kerlaz*, hence Old Norse *karl* ‘old man, man’, Old English *ceorl* ‘free man’, Frankish / French personal name *Charles*.

⁶¹⁹ Strabo 7.a.1.41

⁶²⁰ Papazoglou 1979:164-165.

⁶²¹ Svoronos 1919:18

⁶²² Svoronos 1919:28-29

⁶²³ There are limitations and qualifications to evaluating toponyms and onomastics as indicators of linguistic status, since names and place names can belong to previous population groups. But as Georgiev,

as earlier we triangulated and illuminated the status of Macedonian through the prism of the Greco-Phrygian linguistic unit.

By way of introduction, the brotherly relation between the eponyms Aitolos, Epeios and Paion in Pausanias 5.1.4-5 seem to imply that Paeonian was closely related to Aetolian and Epeian. He says that their eponym Paion was Aitolos' and Epeios' brother.⁶²⁴

γενέσθαι δ' οὖν φασιν αὐτῷ Παίονα καὶ Ἐπειόν τε καὶ Αἰτωλὸν καὶ θυγατέρα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς Εὐρυκύδαν. ἔθηκε δὲ καὶ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ δρόμου τοῖς παισὶν ἀγῶνα Ἐνδυμίων ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ ἐνίκησε καὶ ἔσχε τὴν βασιλείαν Ἐπειός· καὶ Ἐπειοὶ πρῶτον τότε ὧν ἦρχεν ὠνομάσθησαν. τῶν δὲ ἀδελφῶν οἱ τὸν μὲν καταμείναι φασιν αὐτοῦ, Παίονα δὲ ἀχθόμενον τῇ ἥσση φυγεῖν ὡς πορρωτάτω, καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ Ἄξιου ποταμοῦ χώραν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Παιονίαν ὀνομασθῆναι.

So they say that [Endymion] begot three children on Eurykyda, Paion, Epeios and Aitolos, as well as a daughter. He organized a race for his children in Olympus to determine who would be leader: Epeios won and held the kingship. And the Epeioi who ruled at the time were so named after him. Among his two brothers, one of them stayed there, so they say, but Paion, being upset over his defeat, fled as far as possible, to the region beyond the Axios, where Paionia was named after him.

Complementarily, Livy 31.29 could write *Aetolos Acarnanas Macedonas, eiusdem linguae homines*: although Livy does not comment on the language of the Paeonians, he does mention the language of the Aetolians, whose eponym Aitolos is the brother of Paion according to the aforementioned Pausanias 5.1.4-5. Put together, this could imply that Paeonian too belongs to the same linguistic unit as Livy's Aetolian, Acarnanian and Macedonian. Furthermore, according to Hesiod and/or Pherecydes (ὡς Ἡσίοδος καὶ

cited elsewhere in this paper, showed, the Greek-sounding toponyms are paradoxically higher on the northern fringes of Greece than in Greece proper, with mostly pre-Greek toponyms: Pre-Greek names like *Athens* or *Corinth* are, incidentally, considered Pre-Greek because either their phonetics or morphology does not match the phonetics or morphology of Greek. The following examples are thought to be Paeonian, based on Classical accounts of territories and *ethne* associated with Paeonians: the working assumption is that they are Paeonian if the morphology and/or phonetics match what we know of Greek, Phrygian and Macedonian, all of which are close cognates (= all part of the IE Greco-Phrygian or 'Hellanic' group).

⁶²⁴ See Svoronos 1919:29.

Φερεκύδης εἰρήκασιν⁶²⁵), Poseidon rescued *Helle* after she fell into the Hellespont and became the father of Paion (Ποσειδῶν δὲ σώζει τὴν Ἑλλην καὶ μυχθεῖς ἐγέννησεν ἐξ αὐτῆς παῖδα ὀνόματι Παίονα), eponym of the Paionians.⁶²⁶

The Lagids or future Ptolemies of Egypt, owe their name Λᾶγος to Λάαγος, “people/army leader” (Masson 1993:158), which is akin to Cypriote *Lawagos*, Phrygian *lawagtaei*, Pindaric *lageti*, Mycenaean *lawagetas*⁶²⁷: although Masson cites the name of the Lagids as an example of Macedonian onomastics, it is more accurate to categorize Λάαγος as an exemplum of Paeonian onomastics because Ptolemy and the Lagids were explicitly Eordians⁶²⁸:

Πτολεμαῖον δὲ Λάγου καὶ Πειθῶνα Κρατεῦα Ἑορδαίους
- Arrian *Anabasis* 6.28.4

εἷς μὲν ἐγὼ [Π]τολεμαίου ὁμώνυμος, ἐκ Βερενίκας / υἱ[ός], Ἑορδαία γέννα
- Posidippus, *Epigram* 88

The Eordoi are explicitly characterized as a Paeonian ethnos by Pliny: *Paeoniae*: *Paeoniae gentes Paraxiaei, Eordenses, Almopi...*(4.35).⁶²⁹ The Eordian (= Paeonian) name and title Λάαγος reinforces Brixhe’s contention that the Phrygian *lawagtaei* is a native, not borrowed Phrygian title: at the very least, Eordian Λάαγος supports the notion that a cognate **lawagos* existed in Phrygian and facilitated the alleged adoption of Mycenaean *lawagetas*, if borrowing there had a been, an assumption I call into question

⁶²⁵ In Eratosthenes, *Catasterismi* 1.19.

⁶²⁶ Eratosthenes (19.) Κριοῦ. Οὗτος ὁ Φρίξον διακομίσας καὶ Ἑλλην· ἄφθιτος δὲ ὢν ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ Νεφέλης τῆς μητρὸς· εἶχε δὲ χρυσοῦν δοράν, ὡς Ἡσίοδος καὶ Φερεκύδης εἰρήκασιν· διακομίζων δ’ αὐτοὺς κατὰ τὸ στενότατον τοῦ πελά- (5) γους, τοῦ ἀπ’ ἐκείνης κληθέντος Ἑλλησπόντου, ἔρριψεν αὐτὴν [καὶ τὸ κέρας ἀπολέσας]—Ποσειδῶν δὲ σώζει τὴν Ἑλλην καὶ μυχθεῖς ἐγέννησεν ἐξ αὐτῆς παῖδα ὀνόματι Παίονα.

⁶²⁷ Also summary in Masson 2002, s.v. “Macedonian language” (in Hornblower & Spawforth).

⁶²⁸ cf. Lane Fox 2011:370.

⁶²⁹ There is no reason to disbelieve Pliny: Thucydides 2.99.4 includes the Eordoi among the populations under attack by the early Argead Macedonians, as a consequence of which many of them emigrated from Eordia.

in light of the evidence discussed. Another relevant potential Greco-Phrygian isogloss, which to my knowledge, has seldom been cited thus far,⁶³⁰ is Mycenaean *du-ma*, "the name of a high-ranking office with regional authority (sometimes translated "supervisor")"⁶³¹ vs. Hekabe's brother Δύμας, king of the Phrygians at *Iliad* 16.718-719 (αὐτοκασίγνητος Ἐκάβης, υἱὸς δὲ Δύμαντος, / ὃς Φρυγίη ναίεσκε ῥοῆς ἔπι Σαγγαρίοιο) and Phrygian *duma* "religious community."⁶³² The Dorian *phyle* of the Δυμᾶνες, with its Northwestern ethnonymic suffix - ἄνες, seems like a telling missing link between the Greek and the Phrygian. Thus, *lawagetas* / *lawagtaei* and *du-ma* / *duma-* are two Greco-Phrygian isoglosses that are specific to high-ranking hierarchic titles among the Greeks and the North Hellanes (Phrygians, Paeonians and Makednians/Proto-Dorians).

The Paeonian Dionysus *Dyalos* "the Raging one," Δύαλος· ὁ Διόνυσος, παρὰ Παίωσιν (Hesychius), immediately compares with Greek θύω "to rage" (IE root **dhū-*), *Thyoneus* "the Raging one," an epithet of Dionysus,⁶³³ the Θυιάδες, 'the Bacchants,' and significantly Θυία, the mother of the eponymous Makedon in the *Catalogue of Women*: Μακεδονία ἡ χώρα, ἀπὸ Μακεδόνοιο τοῦ Διὸς καὶ Θυίας.⁶³⁴ With a short *ū*, the ethnonym Δυέσται (also Δοεσσοί),⁶³⁵ who controlled the silver mines at the Paeonian stronghold of

⁶³⁰ In the course of my research, I found out that Fauth 1989 had already independently compared the Mycenaean and Phrygia data: Fauth 1989: "Mykenisch *du-ma*, phrygisch *dum-*." *Historische Sprachforschung* 102, 187-206, quoted by Lubotsky 1997:10 (New Phrygian inscription No. 48: palaeographic and linguistic comments).

⁶³¹ Nakassis 2013:37

⁶³² Lubotsky 1997:10.

⁶³³ For the semantics of *Thyoneus*, cf. Dionysus' synonymous epithet Μαινόλης; Thyoneus in Horace *Odes* 1.17.23; Statius *Silvae* 5.265.

⁶³⁴ Stephanus of Byzantium, s.v. Μακεδονία.

⁶³⁵ Strabo 7.7.8: καὶ τὰ ἀργυρεῖα τὰ ἐν Δαμαστίῳ, περὶ ἃ Δυέσται συνεστήσαντο τὴν δυναστείαν. Δοεσσοί, attested in an inscription found in Epirus.

Damastion, match the mythological personal name Θυέστης and the Greek verb θύω, in the sense of ‘sacrifice’ (Fick 1914:120 and Restelli 1969:820). The Paeonian personal name IKKOTIMOC⁶³⁶ “horse honor,” which is equivalent to the Greek *Hippotimos*, compares with dialectic Aeolic *ikkos*,⁶³⁷ Mycenaean *i-qo = (h)ikkwos*, the Tarentine (Doric) PN *Ikkos*,⁶³⁸ and shows the same vocally anomalous Greek outcome *(h)i-* of late IE **e-(kwos)*.

The Paeonian place name *Dysoron* “the Bad Mountain,” which is an actual mountain, should have the same meaning as it has in Greek; the likelihood that *Dysoron* to mean is further borne out by the attestation of Phrygian *oro* (gen. sing.) ‘mountain’.⁶³⁹ The long *ō* of Δύσ-ωρον (Herodotus 5.17.10) has counterparts in Theocritus ὄρεος (*Idyll* 1.77 & 4.35), Homeric οὔρεα, Ωρείθουα “the Mountain Rager” and the *Parōraioi*, the name of an Epirote tribe: Ὀρέσται Παρωραῖοί τε (Strabo 7.7.8). The name of a Paionian king *Lukkeios*, whatever it meant, matches the name ΛΥΚΚΕΙΗ of a Macedonian woman⁶⁴⁰; the extremely common Macedonian name *Manta/Manto* is reminiscent of the name given to a Paeonian by Herodotus 5.12.5: Μαντύης.⁶⁴¹

It is impossible to determine with certainty whether the names of the Hellenistic, Paeonian kings *Agis*, *Ariston* and *Leon* are native or adopted prestigious Greek names.

⁶³⁶ Plassart 1921:17.

⁶³⁷ Herodian 3,2.548: ἵκκος...οἱ Αἰολεῖς

⁶³⁸ Plato, *Protagoras* 316d.

⁶³⁹ Orel 1993:63.

⁶⁴⁰ Papazoglou 1979:164.

⁶⁴¹ Papazoglou 1979:161-162.

But the collation of the latter Λέων⁶⁴² with the compound Paeonian royal names Αὐτολέων, attested in Plutarch and Polyaeus (Ἀρίστωνα τὸν Αὐτολέοντος πρὸς Παίονα),⁶⁴³ versus Αὐδολέων, attested in Diodorus and ΑΥΔΩΛΕΟΝΤΟΣ on Paionian coins and a dedication found at Delphi,⁶⁴⁴ suggests that Paionian shared with ancient Macedonian the same, occasional voicing of intervocalic, unvoiced stops, hence $t > d$, cf. Macedonian διγαία = Greek δικαία⁶⁴⁵: an arguably Paeonian toponym, *Creston(ia)*,⁶⁴⁶ shows the same voiced softening as early as Thucydides: Γρηστωνίαν (2.100.4) vs. Herodotus 7.124.8 Κρηστωνικῆς.

It also suggests, more importantly, that the alternating morpheme Αὐτο-/Αὐδο-/Αὐδω- (which is parsible on the strength of the *simplex* Λέων, borne by a Paionian king⁶⁴⁷) was meaningful in the Paionians' native tongue or else the Paionian king would have spelled his name as Αὐτολέων on his coins and his dedication at Delphi: instead, king Audoleon chose to spell his name as Αὐδωλέων, rather than Αὐτολέων, which reinforces the notion that his name was not an artificial, Hellenizing name, meant to impress, first and foremost, an international Philhellenic community, but was rather

⁶⁴² Pausanias 10.13.1 ... βίσωνος δὲ ταύρου τῶν Παιονικῶν χαλκοῦ πεποιημένην κεφαλὴν Δρωπίων Λέοντος ἔπεμψεν ἐς Δελφοὺς βασιλεὺς Παιόνων...

⁶⁴³ Plutarch, *Pyrrhus* 9.2.2 Αὐτολέοντος τοῦ Παίωνων βασιλέως; Polyainos, *Strategemata* 4.12.3 Ἀρίστωνα τὸν Αὐτολέοντος πρὸς Παίονα.

⁶⁴⁴ Diodorus 20.19.1 Αὐδολέοντι τῷ Παίωνων βασιλεῖ; for Paionian coins and bronze statue found at Delphi, see Merker 1965:51 and Bousquet 1952:136-140.

⁶⁴⁵ On the phenomenon in Macedonian, see Hatzopoulos 1987.

⁶⁴⁶ Crestonia used to be located in Paionia above or in the region Mygdonia, cf. Strabo 7a.1.4 ἐκτέταται δὲ καὶ μέχρι Στρυμόνος ἢ Παιονία; Herodian 3,1.92.2 Γραστοῦ τοῦ Μυγδόνοιο υἱοῦ; Pliny 4.17 *Paeoniae gentes: Paroraei, Eordenses, Almopi, Pelagones, Mygdones...*

⁶⁴⁷ For the Paionian king Λέων, see Pausanias 10.13.1 ... βίσωνος δὲ ταύρου τῶν Παιονικῶν χαλκοῦ πεποιημένην κεφαλὴν Δρωπίων Λέοντος ἔπεμψεν ἐς Δελφοὺς βασιλεὺς Παιόνων... and Bousquet 1952:136-140.

intended for a Paionian readership: Αὐδω-λέων was arguably the indigenous Paionian equivalent to the Greek Αὐτολέων "der *echte* Löwe," "the True Lion."⁶⁴⁸

The likelihood that *Audo-* was a variant of *Auto-* 'itself', 'very', 'true' in Paionian gains support from a) the existence of a Paionian toponym Αὐδάριστος,⁶⁴⁹ which can arguably be parsed as Αὐδ-άριστος, "the Very Best" (= Greek *Αὐτ-άριστος) in light of the Paionian personal name Ἀρίστων, given to two members of the royal family, one of whom was the father of Audoleon, the other one being Audoleon's son⁶⁵⁰; b) the abundantly-attested adjective/pronoun *awtos* (nom. sg.), *awtun* (acc. masc. sg.), *awtai* (dative fem. sg.) in Phrygian itself⁶⁵¹: this isogloss, which was hitherto deemed to be exclusively Greco-Phrygian, could now be deemed to be exclusively Greco-Phrygo-Paionian.⁶⁵²

⁶⁴⁸ The name Αὐτολέων "True Lion" is of course attested in Greece as well: it was borne, notably, by the legendary, preclassical leader of the Crotonians (Photius 186.133b.14). The early popularity of the royal/heroic name 'Lion' in the North Aegean is evidenced by the Lapith leader *Leonteus* in the *Iliad* (e.g. 2.745): no other character in the *Iliad* contains the root of Λέων, despite the fact that lions are common in Homeric similes and metaphors.

⁶⁴⁹ Ptolemy 3.12.31, cf. Pliny 4.35 *Audaristenses* and the name Ἐυδαρισταῖος Παίων on an epitaph with a slightly different initial diphthong; see Papazoglou 1988:327.

⁶⁵⁰ Heckel 2008:246

⁶⁵¹ Neroznak 1992: 277; Brixhe 2008:72.

⁶⁵² Merker proposed, alternatively, that the Αὐτο-/Αὐδο-/Αὐδω- in *Autoleon/Audoleon* stems from the root of Greek αὐδή 'voice', thus his interpretation "Lion-Voiced" (1965:39). Several objections can be raised against this hypothesis: a) there is not a single, reliable example in the vast LGPN database of *Audo-/Auda-* ever functioning as a compound element in a name: one inscription, which reads Τέρπ[?]υ[?]α has been reconstructed as Τερπ[α]ύ[δ]α, but Τέρπ[ο]υ[σ]α has also been proposed (TAM V (1) 659, 2 = LGPN ID V5a-53451); the few extant names with the same sound structure are all uncompounded: an Αὐδαός existed at Messene in the 2nd-3rd century CE (SEG XLI 366A, LGPN ID V3a-21474); there is one Αὐδτος one at Andros (IG XII (5) 731) and another at Hadrianoi in Asia Minor (IHadrian 5, 5); b) on the other hand, *Auto-* is widely attested in the LGPN database. Two observations are in order: i) in all the instances of -λέων as the second element of a compound name in LGPN, the connective vowel between the first and last element of the compound is always *short*, whether it is *omicron* or any other vowel: ii) Αγρ-ο-λέων, Αριστ-ο-λέων, Αρκ-ο-λέων, Βουκ-ο-λέων, Γοργ-ο-λέων, Δαμ-ο-λέων, Δειν-ο-λέων, Ερμ-ο-λέων, Ιππ-ο-λέων, Νικ-ο-λέων, Παντ-ο-λέων, Τιμ-ο-λέων, Χαρ-ι-λέων, Αργ-ι-λεωνίς, Αντ-ι-λέων, Δα-ι-λέων, Εὐρ-υ-λέων, Ιασ-ι-λέων, Παντ-α-λέων; the only exception is Χαμαι-λέων, but here the first element is clearly deadverbial (χαμαί 'on the ground'). The general rule of a short connective vowel in compounds is not just

One must also consider the following Paeonian toponyms: such place names as Ἰχναί, Εὐρωπός and Ἀταλάντη allowed Beloch to conclude that the Paeonians spoke ‘Greek’.⁶⁵³ Before continuing on with our analysis, it is necessary to address an oft-abused counter-argument to the value of place names: there are many instances of place names in Greece, as in the United States, whose etymologies differ from and pre-date the language spoken by the occupants of said territory in the subsequent period: for instance, Κόρινθος in Greece, a non-Greek name; *Massachusetts*, in the United States, a non-English, non-Indo-European toponym. Undoubtedly, caution must be exercised in adducing the value of place names.

It would be foolish and extreme, however, to disregard them altogether: there are also many instances, in which the last, known occupants of a territory were responsible

Greek: it is also de rigeur in the other Indo-European languages: even if one were to posit an Illyrian origin or influence on Αὐδωλέων, cf. the *uncompounded* name Αὐδᾶτα of an Illyrian princess in the 4th century BCE, the long connective vowel of Αὐδ-ω-λέων remains problematic from the point of view of Indo-European linguistics, as short connective vowels are the norm in the compounds of Indo-European languages dating to antiquity, including Illyrian, from what we can infer of Latin transcriptions of the (uncommon) Illyrian compound names, e.g. *Scen-o-barbus*, with presumably a short *o*: the infrequency of compound names in Illyrian (as opposed to Thracian where compounds are quite common), incidentally, speaks against the putative Illyrian origin of Audoleon, even if one can legitimately suppose that the Illyrian root of Αὐδᾶτα exerted a perceptible influence on the Paionian’s choice for the official spelling of his name. The long ω of inscriptional Αὐδ-ω-λέων thus remains a mystery: another attested Paionian compound name found at Delphi, ΙΚΚΩ-ΤΙΜΟC = Greek ΙΠΠΩ-ΤΙΜΟC shows the regular short connective omicron, which one would have expected to find in Audoleon’s inscriptions, otherwise spelled as Αὐτ-ο-λέων and Αὐδ-ο-λέων by Plutarch, Polyaeus and Diodorus. One possible motivation for the spelling Αὐδ-ω-λέων is that Audoleon was very much attached to the proper pronunciation of his name and wanted to induce readers of his name to pronounce the vernacular *d* by precluding the unconscious pictographic reading *Αὐδο-λέων = substandard for Αὐτο-λέων, hence a Hellenized, hypercorrect pronunciation Αὐτολέων attested by Plutarch and Polyaeus. Thus, the omega in inscriptional Αὐδω-λέων could be an instance of “pictographic dissimilation”: in Audoleon’s day and age, 315-286 BCE, the shift from a pitch to a stress accent in Greek was already underway from circa 350 BCE (Horrocks 2009:165), so that inherited graphic ο’s and ω’s no longer stood for short and long vowels: they were short if unstressed and long if stressed: thus, many speakers in the Hellenistic period would have pronounced ἄνθρωπος as “ἄνθρωπος.” Likewise, the first (and second) omega in Αὐδωλέων is unstressed and therefore may have stood for a short ο: the main *raison d’être* of this ω may have been to pre-empt the hypercorrect pronunciation Αὐτο-λέων, which the phonetically accurate Αὐδο-λέων, extant in Diodorus, was prone to induce. Αὐδωλέων, on the other hand, is two steps removed from the Greek counterpart Αὐτολέων, and is therefore less likely to fall prey to pictographic analogy and phonetic butchering.

⁶⁵³ Beloch 1912:70.

for creating the names of the places where they lived, either choosing to disregard the older indigenous name or not knowing what it was. Thus, the Native American toponyms in Massachusetts, such as the name of the state itself or the town of Agawam, are surrounded by an even higher proportion of English place names, e.g. Boston (a town in Lincolnshire, England) or Springfield. An *ad hoc* approach that takes multiple factors into account is most judicious. Georgiev makes this interesting observation: although pre-Greek toponyms are commonplace in Greece proper, Greek-(sounding) toponyms are much more common in the northwestern and northcentral regions that are peripheral to Greece, i.e. Epirus and Macedonia. This correlation follows the migration route of the Indo-European speakers of proto-Greek in the Middle Bronze into Greece, which happens again in the EIA with the so-called ‘Dorian’ migrations. Accordingly, Paeonian place names should not be cavalierly dismissed as devoid of value.

The two Paeonian cities of *Eidomene*⁶⁵⁴ (Thucydides 2.100) and *Alkomenai*, also known as *Alalkomenai* (Strabo 7.7.9),⁶⁵⁵ are formally substantivized middle perfect

⁶⁵⁴ Εἰδομενή also spelled Ἰδομενή was located in the Macedonian region known as Amphaxitis, which was explicitly Paeonian according to Strabo *fr.* 11 and Pliny: Παίονες δὲ τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἄξιόν ποταμὸν καὶ τὴν καλουμένην διὰ τοῦτο Ἀμφαξιτίτιν; Pliny 4.35 *Paeoniae gentes Paraxiaei Eordenses Almopi*. See Papazoglou 1988:176-180.

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⁶⁵⁵ Strabo 7.7.9 locates Alalkomenai in Pelagonia, which elsewhere he states is Paeonian: ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι τοῦτοις· τρίπολις γοῦν ἢ Πελαγονία ἐλέγετο, ἧς καὶ Ἄζωρος ἦν, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἐρίγωνι πᾶσαι αἱ τῶν Δευριόπων πόλεις ᾤκητο, ὧν τὸ Βρυάνιον καὶ Ἀλαλκομεναὶ καὶ Στύβαρα. Similarly, these Deuriopes in Pelagonia are a Paeonian population according to Livy 39.53.14 *oppidum in Deuriopo condere instituit - Paeoniae ea regio est*. Papazoglou 1988:303: the name given to one of the trierarchs of Alexander the Great, Peithon Krateua Alkomeneus, characterized as Macedonian (as opposed to Greek: Arrian *Ind.* 18.6), shows that the city of *Alkomenai* existed in the Classical period. R. Lane Fox 2011:370 is troubled by the alleged conflicting ethnicities of this Peithon from Alkomenai: whereas Justin describes him as "Illyrian," Arrian 6.28.4 describes him as Eordaeus. Writes Fox: "The answer, I suggest, is that by origin he was indeed an Illyrian, a man from Alkomenai near Styberra. He was given a second home in Macedonian Eordaea by Philip and because of that home (not because of Alkomenai) was classed as a Makedon..."

passive participles ending in *-menos* (from IE **mh1nos*), interpretable respectively as “Worth Knowing/Seeing” (IE root **weid*) and “Protected Places” (IE root **h2elk*); the Paeonian toponyms *Eidomene* and *Al(al)komenai* also exist in Greece: εἰδομένη, moreover, is also lexically extant as a middle passive participle in Greek, i.e. *Iliad* 2.179-180: Ἀθήνη / εἰδομένη κήρυκι; *ἀλαλκόμενος is indirectly attested via derivational place

...Alkomenai remained Illyrian under Philip and Alexander and the actual Macedonian boundary stopped south of it." Like the label ‘Thracian’, the label ‘Illyrian’ can be misleading, however, because it can often refer in the North Aegean to an adstratum or a superstratum in a population, which is otherwise Epirote or Paeonian in the linguistic and cultural sense. It would indeed appear that an Illyrian adstratum or superstratum was a component among the Pelagonian Derriopes, but culturally and linguistically, the Derriopes would have been mostly Paeonian: this conclusion emerges from Papazoglou’s extensive survey of Derriopan toponymy and epigraphy (1988:294ff): “Le fait que le nom Derriopes est porté par une tribu de Dalmatie (Ptol. 2.16.5) a donné lieu à une hypothèse selon laquelle les Derropes seraient une tribu illyrienne qui soumit la couche "pélagonienne" de la population et lui imposa son nom. D'autres historiens soutiennent l'origine grecque des Derriopes, tirant principalement argument du toponyme Alalkomenai. Quoi qu'il en soit, une chose est certaine: à l'époque romaine la Derriopos apparaît comme une contrée hellénique, la plus hellénique des régions de la Macedoine septentrionale. Je dis "hellénique" et non "hellénisée" parce que je ne pense pas que l'état que nous dessinent les inscriptions puisse s'expliquer par l'influence que le monde grec exerçait sur la Derriopos dès l'époque classique à travers les relations commerciales (et politiques probablement aussi)... Pour la grécité de la société derriope, voir plus bas.” By ‘Greekness’, Papazoglou means what we would call in this paper ‘Greco-Phrygian’, as she seems to include the Paeonians among the Hellenic populations, with which I disagree only in a technical sense, if we allow for the phonetic peculiarities of Paeonian, Macedonian and Phrygian. Rather than positing that Peithon from Alkomenai was labeled Eordaeian by Arrian, implicitly by adoption, based on the hypothesis that he had moved further south to the territory classically defined as ‘Eord(a)ia’, I would posit that the indigenous population in Derriopos, where Alkomenai was located, could claim an Eordaeian identity, since 1) the Eordaeians were Paeonians, Pliny 4.17: *Paeoniae gentes: Paroraei, Eordenses, Almopii, Pelagones*: 2) Alkomenai was in Paeonian territory (Livy 39.53.14 *oppidum in Deuriopo condere instituit - Paeoniae ea regio est*) and 3) there is evidence that the territory of Eord(a)ia was once much larger than it was later defined to be, probably following the conquests of the Argead: Amyros was a city, formerly inhabited by Eordi, which was either located in Thessaly’s Dotion plain or much further to the northwest: Ἄμυρος, πόλις Θεσσαλίας... ἄδηλον δὲ τὸ Ἡσιόδειον „Δωτίῳ ἐν πεδίῳ πολυβότρουος ἀντ’ Ἀμύροιο“... Εὐπόλις δὲ Ἀμύρους αὐτοὺς λέγει, πλησιοχώρους τῆς Μολοτίας. ... Σουίδας δ’ ἐν ταῖς γενεαλογίαις @1 (89.) ὅτι οὗτοι ἐκαλοῦντο Ἐορδοί. Whether this Eordaeian Amyros was located near Molossia or in the middle of Thessaly, the implications of this passage are clear: Eord(a)ia used to be much larger than it was later known to be and could have easily encompassed Peithon’s city of Alkomenai in Derriopos. I agree with Lane Fox that Peithon’s native city cannot be used to determine the northern frontiers of Philip’s kingdom. But Arrian does not rank Peithon among the Macedonians because Philip supposedly gave him a new home in Eordaea *stricto sensu*: he is called ‘Macedonian’ because 1) he fights in the army of Alexander the Great, 2) is not Greek (he is Eordaeian) and 3) he is from the north Aegean. By elimination, he is ethnically ‘Macedonian’: there are no examples of specific individuals in Alexander’s army a) from the North Aegean, b) *outside* Argead Macedonia and c) Non-Greek, to prove that Arrian’s use of ‘Macedonian’ is political (= under Argead control) as opposed to regional *lato sensu*. A close scrutiny of Arrian shows that, although he does include the great Thracian, Illyrian and Paeonian supra-ethne among the troops of Alexander the Great (and Darius), many of whom would have hailed from territories outside the control of Philip II, Arrian never names any individuals fighting for Alexander as ‘Thracian’, ‘Illyrian’ or ‘Paeonian’: it cannot be systematically assumed that named individuals leading Thracian, Illyrian or Paeonian contingents belong to the same ethnicity because Agathon, who leads the Thracians, is thought to have been ethnically Macedonian: οἱ Θραῖκες, ὧν ἦρχεν Ἀγάθων (Arrian, *Anabasis* 1.14.3).

names and cult titles, e.g. *Iliad* 5.908 Ἀλαλκομενήϊς Ἀθήνη. This morpheme *-menos* is a grammatical shibboleth of Greco-Phrygian⁶⁵⁶: Phrygian *tetikmenos* corresponds to Greek δεδειγμένος (Lubotsky 2004:5).

Paeonian also passes the other laryngeal-initial preconsonantal test for being classified as Greco-Phrygian: the important river name *Erigon*, which flows through its territory,⁶⁵⁷ is known nowadays as *Crna* in modern (Slavic) Macedonian, which translates as “the Black river,” cf. the Turkish name of the same river = *Karasu*, which also means “the Black river.” Accordingly, Georgiev 1961:30, Duridanov 1968:782 and Ködderitzsch 1985:22 have persuasively proposed that *Erigon* is a suffixed derivative of IE **h1regwos* “darkness,” hence Sanskrit *rājah* ‘darkness’ vs. Greek Ἐρεβος and Armenian *erek*. “The initial, *e-*’s of Greek Ἐρεβος and the Paeonian hydronym Ἐρίγων, missing in Sanskrit *rājah*, is a unique Greco-Phrygian vocalization of word-initial IE laryngeals.⁶⁵⁸

One can also arrive at the same classification of Paeonian by elimination: it cannot be argued that Paeonian was a Thracian language because the short IE vowel *o* remains *o* in Paeonian (as in Greek), e.g. μόναπος ‘bison’,⁶⁵⁹ unlike Thracian, where it becomes *a* (Duridanov 1975:23-24). Similarly, Paeonian cannot have been Illyrian either, because the latter preserves initial IE **s-* and does not vocalize initial, preconsonantal

⁶⁵⁶ Brixhe 2008:72. Neumann 1988:10.

⁶⁵⁷ Strabo 7.7.9 ἡ Πελαγονία ἐλέγετο, ἧς καὶ Ἄζωρος ἦν, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἐρίγωνι πᾶσαι αἱ τῶν Δευριόπων πόλεις ᾤκητο, ὧν τὸ Βρυάνιον καὶ Ἀλαλκομεναὶ καὶ Στύβαρα.

⁶⁵⁸ Ködderitzsch 1985:25.

⁶⁵⁹ Aristotle *Historia animalium* Bekker 630a.20.

laryngeals.⁶⁶⁰ Last but not least, is the likelihood that Armenian is an offshoot of Paeonian,⁶⁶¹ which together with Phrygian is Greek's proven closest, linguistic relative.

2.2.3. 'Hellanic' = 'South Hellanic' (Greek) + 'North Hellanic' (Phrygian, Macedonian, Paeonian + Armenian, Epirote)

2.2.3.1. Introducing a neologism for a linguistic unit

Thus, its *Restsprache* status notwithstanding, one can reasonably posit that Paeonian is to be subsumed under the same IE subgroup as Macedonian, Phrygian and Greek,⁶⁶² which I have heretofore referred to as Greco-Phrygian. I propose, henceforth, an alternative unhyphenated name for this group: *Hellanic*, a modification of Merker's (1965:35) and Blažek's (2005:15) ambiguous designation 'Hellenic', in which they meant to include Paeonian together with Greek. Greco-Phrygian is useful cognitively for showing that Greek within IE is less isolated than one might otherwise think, but the obscurity of Phrygian studies, I am afraid, will doom 'Greco-Phrygian' to oblivion

⁶⁶⁰ Illyrian *sabaium* 'a type of beer' (St Jerome Comm. In Isai. 7.19 and Amm. Marcel. 26.8.2 *sabaiarius* "beer drinker" *Sabaiarius*. Est autem sabai ex ordeo vel frumento, in liquorem conversis, paupertinus in Illyrico potus, cited by Džino 2010:71), from IE *sap / *sab, hence Latin *sapa* "sap, juice," Old Icelandic *safi* 'tree juice' (Pokorny page 880), confirms that Illyrian is genetically distinct from Paeonian, Greek, Macedonian and Phrygian. As far as laryngeals are concerned, Pokorny reasonably derives Illyrian *lembus* 'a small, light and maneuverable warship' (cf. Polybius 2.10.3 Ἰλλυριοὶ ζεύξαντες τοὺς παρ' αὐτῶν λέμβους) from the same root as Greek ἐ-λαφρός = IE *h1-legwh-*; Lubotsky's and Starostin's expanded online version of Pokorny's *Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, accessed 04/26/2014, also suggests plausibly that the Illyrian ethnonym *Liburni* is traceable to IE **h1-leudh*, which gives rise to the Greek ἐ-λεύθερος. Appian *Illyrica* 2 attributes Illyrian origins to the Paeonians. The idiosyncratic lateness of his testimony, though, lies in the fact that Appian lists several Celtic tribes among the Illyrians, which is evidence for a later period in history when certain Illyrian and Celtic tribes came together. Furthermore, as Katicic 1976:177 points out, Appian may have been influenced by his confusing the *Paionians* with the *Pannonians*, whom he also enlists in the genealogy (Ἀνταριεῖ δὲ αὐτῷ Παννόνιον ἡγοῦνται παῖδα ἢ Παίονα γενέσθαι), which undermines his credibility. While undoubtedly certain elements in Paeonian toponymy (-*estos* endings) and onomastics (king *Langaros*) point to an Illyrian adstratum, which is also attested in Epirus, they are not enough to make Paeonian Illyrian at base. At their core, the Paeonians were close kinsmen of the Macedonians and Phrygians, for which we propose the name "North Hellanes."

⁶⁶¹ Discussed elsewhere in this paper, see Soultanian 2004 & Redgate 2007.

⁶⁶² Petrova 1997:160; Pajakowsky 1984:201-209.

among the greater community of classicists and historians: *Hellanic* is admittedly a Hellenocentric synecdoche, but the use of the term impels readers and scholars to be aware of the immediate linguistic and cultural matrix out of which Greek and the Greeks emerged: linguistically and to a certain extent culturally, the Phrygians, the Paeonians, the Macedonians and even the Armenians, were the Greeks' most immediate kinsmen. Another term for this group, 'Paleo-Balkan' is ill-fitting, because it can encourage the belief that languages like Thracian and Illyrian were part of the same family, even though they were not. Use of the term *Hellanic*, as applied conjointly to Greek, Phrygian, Armenian, Macedonian and Paeonian, will invite scholars, I hope, to investigate synoptically the common heritage and common features of said languages and cultures.

2.2.3.2. Helloi, Hellopia, Hellespont and Hellānes

Moreover, the Doric and Aeolic Greek form of 'Hellenic' = 'Hellanic' or Ἑλλᾶνικᾶ, was the older form, since *Hellas* was once restricted in the compositional period of the *Iliad* to a region in Thessaly (*Iliad* 2.683). But, as we shall see, the very ethnonym *Hellene*, was not originally Greek per se, but rather North Hellanic: the suffix -*ānes* of Ἑλλ-ᾶνες is a common suffix among the populations of Epirus and northern Aetolia, e.g. *Atintanes*, *Eurytanes*, *Ainianes*. It resurfaces in the name of one of the three Dorian *phylai*, the Δυμᾶνες.⁶⁶³ The Proto-Thessalians themselves, as opposed to the native *perioikoi*, whose Aeolic dialect the Proto-Thessalians ended up for the most part

⁶⁶³ Hammond 1932:156-157 "Prehistoric Epirus and the Dorian Invasion").

adopting,⁶⁶⁴ were EIA migrants from Epirus and the area around Dodona: there, the *Iliad* 16.234 speaks of the *Helloi*,⁶⁶⁵ who are formally the unaugmented counterparts of the *Hellānes*.

Thus, to the north Aetolian Εὐρυτᾶνες (Thucydides 3.94.5) corresponds their mythical eponym, the simplex Εὐρυτος, mentioned at *Iliad* 2.730 & 2.596⁶⁶⁶; to the *Ainianes* corresponds the Thessalian and Trojan rivers *Ainios* near Mount Ossa and the Troad, also eponym of a Paionian slain by Achilles⁶⁶⁷: the Dardanian hero *Aineias*, numismatic hero of the city of *Ainos* in Macedonia, is a near-identical eponym of the *Ainianes*, after whom the North Aegean *Aineioi* were named, cf. Hipponax *fr.* 72.7 Ἰλίου πύργων / ἀπηναρίσθη Ῥῆσος, Αἰνειῶν πάλμυς “among the towers of Troy, Rhesos, lord of the Aineioi, was (slain and) stripped of his arms.”⁶⁶⁸ The correctness of this derivation *Helloi* > *Hellānes* is borne out by the alternative name of the region of Dodona: it is

⁶⁶⁴ See Helly 2007 and subsequent discussion. As is well-known, ethnonyms and their linguistic affiliations can change: the *Bulgurs* were a Turkic-speaking nation, but the modern *Bulgarians* speak a Slavic language.

⁶⁶⁵ Ἑλλοί / Σελλοί, depending on the manuscript, cf ὄς vs. σῶς ‘pig’. The alternation initial *s-/h-* is not a hallmark of a foreign language, but is a well-attested subpattern in ancient Greek, whereby the initial IE cluster **sw-* has two possible outcomes in pre-psilotic Greek: 1) *h(w)-* or 2) *s-*: to the latter type belongs Attic σιγή ‘silence’ (Urgreek **swīgā*, cognate with German *schweigen*).

⁶⁶⁶ Ἀριστοτέλης φησὶν ἐν Ἰθακησίων πολιτείᾳ Εὐρυτᾶνας ἔθνος εἶναι τῆς Αἰτωλίας ὀνομασθὲν ἀπὸ Εὐρύτου παρ’ οἷς εἶναι μαντεῖον Ὀδυσσεύος: Schol. vet. (cod. Marc. 476) ad Lycophr. Alex. 799 +Tzetz. ad Lyc. p. 790 Müller, s.v. ‘Εὐρύτου’. For the connection between the Eurytanes and Eurytos, mythical king of Oichalia, also see Woodhouse 1897:306; *RE*, s.v. ‘Eurytanes’; Antonetti 1990:84.

⁶⁶⁷ Steph of Byz. s.v. ‘Ainios’; Strabo 13.603; *Iliad* 21.210: 21.210-211 Αἴνιον.../ κ’ ἔτι πλέονας κτάνε Παίονας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς.

⁶⁶⁸ Compare Knox’s translation: “he was slain, Rhesus, the shah (*palmys*) of the Aeneans.” Bethe 1902:9 “Niemals verdunkelt worden aber ist die thrakische Heimat des Rhesos. Da Hipponax ihn Fürsten der Ainier nannte, so muss man ihn damals doch in eben dieser Gegend bei dem äolischen Ainos gedacht haben.” The Hellenic *Ainianes* must be the counterparts of the non-Hellenic *Aineioi*, attested in Hipponax. The common origins of the *Ainianes/Aineioi* are uncertain: North Hellenic, Dardanian, Thracian? Strabo preserves an account of an early detachment of Ainianes who had, according to legend, accompanied Jason and the Argonauts to Armenia where some of the Ainianes settled in the region called Ouitia (Strabo 11.7.1).

Hellopia according to Hesiodic *fr.* 240 M-W (ἔστι τις Ἑλλοπία πολυλήϊος... ἔνθα δὲ Δωδώνη τις ἐπ' ἔσχατιῇ πεπόλισται).

The formal feminine singular Ἑλλάσποντος or Ἑλλῆς (πόντος), which is also mentioned in the *Iliad* (e.g. 1.935), is technically the sea or passage of “the female [ethnic] Hellos,” Athamas’ daughter *Hellē* in Greek mythology: this early cognate of *Hellān*, like the *Helloi* of Dodona, also points to a northern region. At an earlier stage, alternatively, *Hellā*, like her own father *Athamas* (cf. the ethnos of the *Athamanes*), could have been an ethno-geographical designation rather than a mythological figure (who could embody the mythologization of some former geopolitical reality), since the feminine of deadjectival substantives can be used to form ethnic territories, e.g. Θράκη “Thrace” = feminine of Θραξ ‘Thracian’; thus, the fossilized Ἑλλάσποντος could have originally been “the sea (or passageway) of the land of the Helloi.”

These putative Helloi of the Hellespont would have originated from the larger Pindus and belonged to the same group as Herodotus’ prehistoric *Makednoi*, undifferentiated ancestors of the (non-Aeolic) proto-Thessalians, the Phrygians and the Macedonians.⁶⁶⁹ The migration route of these early Helloi from or near Epirus to the Troad would parallel that of the *Ainianes*, some of whom end up in eastern Anatolia, in the vicinity of the Armenians: Strabo attributes their migration to the prehistoric time of Jason and the Argonauts.⁶⁷⁰ In the Catalogue of Ships, the *Ainianes* are a Thessalian contingent fighting on the side of the Achaeans (*Iliad* 2.749) and yet Hipponax *fr.* 72 has

⁶⁶⁹ As we shall see, Helle’s father *Athamas* was originally the eponym of the Epirote/Paeonian *Athaman(t)es* /*Odomantoi*: the proto-Boeotians, like the proto-Thessalians, were a miscellany of non-Aeolic Epirote tribes whose emigration as a minority into the future land of Boeotia was still within living memory in the 5th century BCE.

⁶⁷⁰ Strabo 11.7.1 & 11.14.14

the alternate form *Aineioi* fighting on the side of the Trojans (Ῥῆσος, Αἰνειῶν πάλμυς “Rhesos, king of the Aineioi”).

It is worth considering the possibility that *Hellos*, on which the extended *Hellān* is based, stems from an earlier **Helyos*, in light of στέλλω < *stelyō* or ἄλλος < **alyos* and the productivity of the morpheme **-yo* in the formation of ethnonyms, e.g. Λύκιοι ‘Lycians’, Σαλαμίνιοι ‘Salaminians’. This being the case, one could attach the Homeric personal names Ἐλενος and Ἐλένη to the same root **hel-* and suggest that these might have originally been either ethnonyms or cult titles. In light of the early alternation Ἐλλοί / Σελλοί, the ultimate IE root must be **swel* ‘to burn, ‘to shine’, hence σέλας ‘brightness’, σελήνη ‘moon’.⁶⁷¹

The association of the Trojan Helenos with Epirus could reflect an earlier stage in history (12th / 11th century BCE?) when the *Helloi* and even the *Hellānes* were not yet Greek, but still Makedonian (North Hellanic) in speech. The standard account that Helenos migrated to Epirus from Troy *after* the Trojan war could be an attempt to reconcile local pre-Homeric traditions of an Epirote non-Greek speaking *Hel-e-nos*, quasi eponym of the **Hel-yoi* (>*Helloi*) with East Aeolian / East Ionian epic. Indeed, it appears to be more than a passing coincidence that the Trojan Helenos ends up in the same region where the local *Helloi* of Dodona are located. Moreover, the semantics of **h(w)el* = ‘blaze’, cf. ἔλη / εἶλη, γέλαν (i. e. φέλαν): ἀύγην ἡλίου, approximates the semantics of neighboring tribes

⁶⁷¹ Other cognates ἔλη / εἶλη “heat of the sun,” γέλαν (i. e. φέλαν): ἀύγην ἡλίου (Hesychius). The alternative evolution of initial IE **sw* to Greek *s*, rather than *h(w)*, has been analyzed by Lejeune 1972:135 Lejeune indicates: “dès l’indo-européen, un groupe **sw-* tendait à se simplifier soit en **s-* soit en **w-*” Aux approches de l’époque historique, digamma se serait amuï dans ce groupe initial, ainsi réduit à *s-*: par exemple dans sélas qu’on rapproche de sanskrit svargáh ‘ciel’ dans sélma ‘tillac’ (hom eússelmos) qu’on rapproche de viel-haut-allemand (vha) swelli, dans somphós “poreux” qu’on rapproche de vha swamb ‘éponge’, ou dans les noms du silence *sīgáō*, *siōpáō*, *sōpáō* (cf *swīgēn*, gothique *sweiban*).”

in the region in / near Epirus, the Homeric Αἴθικες (*Iliad* 2.704) and Φλέγνες (*Iliad* 13.302), from the roots of the verbs αἴθομαι 'to blaze' and φλέγω 'to burn'.

2.2.4. Epirote and north Aetolian (“Northwestern Greek”): Close to Greek, but Not Greek

Pace Dosuna et al., I side with Blažek 2005:15-33 and Witczak & Kokoszko 2009:9-26 who consider the Epirote dialects (“Northwestern Greek”), to which Proto-Thessalian⁶⁷² would have belonged, not to have been Greek per se, but rather very closely related to Greek—and even more closely related to Phrygian and Macedonian⁶⁷³: Blažek places Epirote in the same ‘Hellenic’ subgroup as Macedonian, Phrygian, Greek, Paionian and Armenian, which I propose should be amended to ‘Hellanic’ in order to formalize the close kinship between them while at the same time disambiguating the stemmatic equality between the sister languages within this linguistic unit. A feature, which is common to the North Hellanic languages, is the longer retention of IE **bh*, **dh* and **gh*, which in South Hellanic (Greek) evolved to **ph*, **th*, and **kh* as early as the Linear B evidence of the Bronze Age. Eventually in the EIA and possibly as late as the Hellenistic period in some areas, North Hellanic dialects lose their aspiration and yield *b*, *d* and *g*: for instance, the Tymphaian (Epirote) personal name Ἀμβίλογος,⁶⁷⁴ which is

⁶⁷² “Proto-Thessalian” is the Epirote dialect of the EIA Proto-Thessalians of Epirus prior to their migration and settlement in Thessaly.

⁶⁷³ As we shall argue, the Doric inscriptions found in Hellenistic Epirus are mostly the product of Corinthian colonization, with scattered traces of an indigenous Epirote overlay, not the reflect of genuine Epirote speech, cf. Plutarch’s account of the early 4th century BCE Molossian king Thar(r)yp(a)s, *Pyrrhus* 1.4-5: Θαρρύπαν πρῶτον ἱστοροῦσιν Ἑλληνικοῖς ἔθεσι καὶ γράμμασι καὶ νόμοις φιλανθρώποις διακοσμήσαντα τὰς πόλεις ὀνομαστὸν γενέσθαι.

⁶⁷⁴ LGPN V3b-6810 3b 1 Ἀμβίλογος [m.] Aiginion ii-iii AD IG IX (2) 325 b, 6 (Φλ. Ἀμβίλογος: s. Ἐπάγαθος).

attested at Aiginion,⁶⁷⁵ is the North Hellanic counterpart of Greek Ἀμφίλοχος (= Urhellanic **Ambhiloghos*).

2.2.4.1. Homeric *Phaeacians* = Epirote *Baiakes*

The characteristic Epirote *b* for Greek *ph* is attested early on and must have been pronounced **bh* till at least the 8th / 7th century B.C.E, since the Homeric *Phaiakes* (Φαίηκες) are the mythologization of the early Epirote **Bhaiakes*,⁶⁷⁶ as can be inferred from Hecataeus of Miletus: Βαίακη· πόλις τῆς Χαονίας. Ἑκαταῖος.⁶⁷⁷ Chaonia faced Corcyra, whence the early Chaonian **Bhaiakes* / *Phaiakes* “the Dusky ones” (cf. Kretschmer 1896:281) occupied the island prior to the advent of the Corinthians. The extremely close kinship between the Macedonians and the Epirotes can be inferred from their origins in Orestis, whose alternative name was *Maketa*⁶⁷⁸: in our earliest source, Hekataios, the Orestai are a Molossian tribe,⁶⁷⁹ though later they are described as

⁶⁷⁵ McAlister 1976, s.v. Aiginion.

⁶⁷⁶ Toynbee 1969:115. He also cites the Epirote city of *Byllis* and the *Bulliones* “on the River Aaos, just beyond the north-western extremity of Epirus, spelled with the distinctively Macedonian B in place of the normal Greek PH.”...the equivalent of ‘Phyllis’, meaning ‘Leafy’.” Tartaron 2004:5 notes the similarity between the *Odyssey*’s description of the Acheron and the local landscape in Thesprotia.

⁶⁷⁷ Stephanus of Byzantium, s.v. Βαίακη, Hekataios fr. 104 in Stephanus of Byz. s.v. Βαίακη (Βαίακη· πόλις τῆς Χαονίας. Ἑκαταῖος). There is a common misperception among classicists that the otherworldliness of Phaeacia and the Phaeacians in the *Odyssey* is irreconcilable with a specific geographic and historical model, hence the supposition that Thucydides’ reference to a sanctuary of the Phaeacians on Corcyra must be a posthomeric appropriation by local populations of a mythical population completely fabricated by Homer [examples]. This could not be farther from the truth. Firstly, the otherworldliness of the Phaeacians is no refutation of historical Phaeacians, as the Egyptians too in the *Odyssey* are just as otherworldly [quote: all the men are the disciples of Paion]. A hundred and fifty years before Thucydides, Alcaeus made the same identification (Garvie 1994:19): “the most plausible, and the most ancient, identification of Scheria, which appears already in Thuc. 1.25.4, is with Corcyra, the modern Corfu. It seems to go back at least as far as Alcaeus (*fr.* 441 Voigt), who evidently told of how Phaeacians sprang from the blood of the castrated Uranus, no doubt with reference to the earlier name of the island, Drepane or ‘Sickel’ (cf. a.r. 4.984-92). At 3.70.4 Thucydides mentions a *temenos* of Alcinous on Corcyra. Hellanicus (FGrH 4 F 77) said that Phaiax was the son of Poseidon and Corcyra.

⁶⁷⁸ Herodian 3,1.289 καὶ τὴν Ὀρεστείαν δὲ Μακετίαν λέγουσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Μακεδόνοιο.

⁶⁷⁹ Hekataios in Stephanus of Byzantium.

either Macedonian or Epirote: this fluctuation suggests that the Epirotes were as close to the Macedonians as the Flemish were to the Dutch.⁶⁸⁰

Culturally and linguistically, the Macedonians and their North Hellenic kinsmen the Paeonians were most closely related to the Epirotes. Brygoi too are attested in northern Epirus and archaeological evidence suggests similar burial practices and pottery in a wide geographical swath running from lower Macedonia to Epirus.⁶⁸¹ The distinction between the two is so thin that, according to Strabo, Macedonian encompassed Epirus territorially, linguistically and culturally, running from the Aegean sea in Lower Macedonia to the Ionian sea facing Italy:

καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ περὶ Λύγκων καὶ Πελαγονίαν καὶ Ὀρεστιάδα καὶ Ἐλίμειαν τὴν ἄνω Μακεδονίαν ἐκάλουν, οἱ δ' ὕστερον καὶ ἐλευθέραν: ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ σύμπασαν τὴν μέχρι Κορκύρας Μακεδονίαν προσαγορεύουσιν, αἰτιολογούντες ἅμα ὅτι καὶ κουρᾶ καὶ διαλέκτῳ καὶ χλαμύδι καὶ ἄλλοις τοιούτοις χρῶνται παραπλησίως⁶⁸²

And indeed Lynkos, Pelagonia, Orestis and Elimeia they used to be called upper Macedonia, and later “free Macedonia”: and some characterize the entire territory all the way to Coreyra as Macedonia, adducing at once the similar usage in hairstyle, dialect, dress and other features

A number of scholars have appreciated the significance of this passage and cited it *inter alia* as evidence for an Epiro-Macedonian unit.⁶⁸³ Among the isoglosses, we may compare Macedonian δρᾶμις ‘bread’ with Athamanian Epirote⁶⁸⁴ ΔΡΑΜΙΚΕΣ ‘bread’.⁶⁸⁵

⁶⁸⁰ Restelli 1969:824 “una netta separazione tra popolazioni epirotiche e macedoni non esisteva.”

⁶⁸¹ Petrova 1997:162-163 “Parallels could be made between the tumulus C in Vergina and the tumulus in Vajze (Albania) in the common way of burying with circular rings of stones and the finds of swords, Catling type II group I and the iron sword from 1120-1100 BC, as well as the iron sword with a fish tail... The vessels in a shape of a kanthros with two handles rising above the rim are related to the area of southeastern and southern Albania.”

⁶⁸² Strabo 7.7.8

⁶⁸³ Kokoszko & Witzak 1991:43-46

⁶⁸⁴ Hekataios of Miletus describes the Athamanes as an Epirote tribe (*fr.* 119). Strabo too categorizes the Athamanes as Epirotes, adding that they are barbarians: ὅπου γε καὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ παρόντι Ἑλλάδος ἀναντιλέκτως οὔσης τὴν πολλὴν οἱ βάρβαροι ἔχουσι, Μακεδονίαν μὲν Θρᾶκες καὶ τινὰ μέρη τῆς

Macedonian ἄσπιλος ‘torrent’ (χειμάρρους) with Athamanian Epirote ἀσπάλους ‘fish’ (τοὺς ἰχθύας).⁶⁸⁶ We can also cite πελίας (fem. acc. plur.) and πελίους (masc. acc. plur.) with the meaning ‘gray-haired’ in Epirus and Macedonia, which semantically matches the *o*-grade πολίας and πολίους in Greece.⁶⁸⁷ Hesychius lists Epirote ἀδρία, ‘fine weather, open sky’ and Macedonian ἄδραια, which are the equivalents of Greek αἰθρία.

An early mythical Macedonian king, *Tyrimmas* is also the name of the king of the Thesprotians according to Sophocles⁶⁸⁸; similarly, *Amyntas* is a common royal name in both Epirus and Macedonia.⁶⁸⁹ The first mythical king of Macedonia, according to Marsyas, Theopompus et al. was *Karanos*⁶⁹⁰: he was either the brother or the son of the mythical ‘Argive’ king Pheidon: as cogently argued by Abel and von Gutschmid, this Argive king is none other than the prototypical Thesprotian king Pheidon, whom

Θετταλίας, Ακαρνανίας δὲ καὶ Αἰτωλίας [τὰ] (30) ἄνω Θεσπρωτοὶ καὶ Κασσωπαῖοι καὶ Ἀμφίλοχοι καὶ Μολοττοὶ καὶ Ἀθαμᾶνες, Ἡπειρωτικὰ ἔθνη (7.7.1).

⁶⁸⁵ Athenaeus 2,1.25.34 ἔστι δὲ καὶ παρὰ Μακεδόσιν ἄρτος δράμις καλούμενος; Athenaeus 3.80.38 ΔΡΑΜΙΚΕΣ δὲ ... παρ’ Ἀθαμᾶσιν ἄρτοι τινὲς οὕτως καλοῦνται.

⁶⁸⁶ Hesychius, s.v. ἄσπιλος and ἀσπάλους.

⁶⁸⁷ Toynebee 1969:114 for sources. The name of the mythical Phrygian figure *Pelops* “the Gray-haired man,” “Ancestor,” was most likely North Hellenic and was introduced into the Peloponnese with the Makednoi’s / Dorian migration.

⁶⁸⁸ Von Gutschmid 1867:132. “Hieraus geht hervor, dass Tyrimmas ein Name der Epeirischen Sage war und in der Makedonischen Stammtafel nur das Epeirische, durch Oresten und Elimioten vertretene Element Obermakedoniens darstellen kann”: von Gutschmid 1867:128. Daubner 2003:183 “So spricht alles dafür, daß Tyrimmas ein Name aus der epirotisch-makedonischen Heldensage ist.” Greenwalt (whom Daubner cites) believes that the Ptolemaic author Satyros made Tyrimmas the third mythical king of Macedonia after Karanos and Koinos in order to legitimate the ancestry of the Ptolemies in Egypt, whatever the exact genealogical connection was. Be that as it may, Daubner 2003:181-186 convincingly connects the worship of *Tyrimnos* at Thyateira in Asia Minor—a Macedonian colony—to solar mythology in the Herodotean account of the three Temenids Perdikkas, Aeropos and Gauanes (cf. Greenwalt 1994). This would further cohere with Neumann’s postulation of a form *Τυριμένης underlying Τυρίμμας (Neumann 1988:15). The otherwise etymologically isolated name *Tyro*, at home in Elis, is from the same root, as Neumann suggests citing Pokorny *IEW* 1083.

⁶⁸⁹ Rosen 1978:17.

⁶⁹⁰ Marsyas in Justin 7.1; Theopompus in Diodorus 7.17 and Synkellos p. 262; Livy 45.9.3.

Odysseus meets in the *Odyssey*.⁶⁹¹ On a linguistic level, Epirote and Macedonian use the same and/or very similar ethnonymic suffixes: as painstakingly documented by Kretschmer, *Chaōn* alternates with the vocally contracted **Chōnedōn* and **Chōnetās*, which is reconstructible from Messapic inscriptions, whereby **Chōnedōn* parallels *Makedōn* and *Chōnetās* parallels *Maketās*.⁶⁹²

2.2.4.2. The Macedonian Temenid Gauanes, Eponym of the Epirote ethnos Chaones

Correspondingly, the *Chaones*, one of the largest Epirote tribes, must be the Hellenization of the **Ghawones* or rather the **Ghawanes*,⁶⁹³ of which the mythical Macedonian Temenid *Gauanes*, the brother of Perdikkas and Aeropos, is, I propose, the

⁶⁹¹ The claim, apparently fabricated by Alexander I, eager to prove his Greek pedigree in order to compete in the Olympic games, that the Macedonian kings were Temenids from Argos in the Peloponnese, was predicated on 1) the existence of a homonymous *Argos* in Oresteia (= Upper Macedonia), whence the Macedonian *Argeadai* had actually hailed (Marsyas) and to which they owed their name (cf. Appian); the toponym *argos* (IE root **arg* ‘to shine’) is well attested throughout the Aegean and is the semantic equivalent of English *glade* / French *clairière*: any bright, flat settled place. 2) the existence of an ethnos known as the *Ater-argoi* in Epirus (Robert 1940) suggests similarly that there were **Argoi* in Upper Macedonia. In support of this hypothesis are the following arguments: A) Karanos, literally “the Leader” is a doublet of Perdikkas in the story of Perdikkas and his two brothers: the aforementioned Gauanes and Aeropos. Though allegedly from Argos in the Peloponnese according to Herodotus, they arrive circuitously into Macedonia and the gardens of Midas via Illyria: *Argos Orestikon* is on the way from ‘Illyria’ = Epirus to Lower Macedonia. In light of the massive, cumulative evidence that much of the early nobility of Argead Macedonia came from Epirus and Oresteia, it would have been easy for political reasons to claim that their ur-Argos was the one in the Argolid rather than the one in the highlands of Macedonia. B) in the Herodotean account, Perdikkas is a goatherd; similarly, according to Marsyas’ et al. a goat guided Karanos to the site where he was to found his kingdom: *Aigeai*, “the goat place” according to the folk etymology. *Karano* meaning ‘goat’ in Cretan, which had close ties with Lower Macedonia in prehistoric times via the Bottians, justifies the assumption that the name of the Macedonian king was also construed as ‘the Goat king’ besides ‘Leader’. C) the sojourn of the three Temenids in *Illyria* in the Herodotean account is equivalent to the early mythical Macedonian king Δεάβoλς, which is equivalent to the toponym Devol pass in southern Albania, south of Lake Ohrid, on the border between Epirus and Illyria (von Gutschmid 1893:68). See Abel 1854:100-108 & von Gutschmid 1893:75-77.

⁶⁹² Kretschmer 1896:284: “Die Erweichung der Tenuis in Μακεδών, Μακεδνός durfte mit dem Accentwechsel zusammenhangen; ein analoges Verhältnis beobachteten wir im Messapischen: *Xonetihhi* (Fabretti n. 2995 4. 5), Gen. Sg. des Patronymikons *Xonetthes* = *Xoneties* läßt einen von Xōν nabgeleitenten Namen **Xωνέτας* erschliessen, zu welchem sich mess. *Xonedon* (Gen. *Xonedas* Fabr. 2995 3) verhält, wie Μακεδών zu Μακέτας; vgl. ferner *Baledonas* neben *Baletihhi*.”

⁶⁹³ For the loss of the digamma, cf Iaones from **Iawones*, hence Pali *Yavana* ‘Greek’.

formal eponym⁶⁹⁴: it was to ‘Illyria’ that the three sons of Temenos had fled from Argos, according to Herodotus 8.137, which I here re-quote:

τοῦ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου τούτου ἑβδομος γενέτωρ Περδίκκης ἐστὶ ὁ κτησάμενος τῶν Μακεδόνων τὴν τυραννίδα τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. ἐξ Ἄργεος ἔφυγον ἐς Ἰλλυριοὺς τῶν Τημένου ἀπογόνων τρεῖς ἀδελφοί, Γαύνης τε καὶ Ἀέροπος καὶ Περδίκκης, ἐκ δὲ Ἰλλυριῶν ὑπερβαλόντες ἐς τὴν ἄνω Μακεδονίην ἀπίκοντο ἐς Λεβαίην πόλιν.

⁶⁹⁴ The second *a* in *Gauanes* vis-à-vis **Ghawones* = “the Chaonian” can be readily accounted for either 1) by analyzing the second *a* in *Gauanes* as an instance of regressive assimilation, as seen in the name of the prototypical Macedonian king: *Karanos* ‘the Leader,’ from **Koiranos* via *Korannos* (attested), which may have directly influenced the evolution of a putative **Ghawones* to *Gauanes*; or) *Gauanes* stems from a parallel form **Ghawanes* “the Chaonian,” which is also credible in light of the high frequency of the *-anes* suffix in northwestern Greece. It is even likelier that *Chaones*, rather than stemming from **Ghawones*, stems from **Ghawanes*, the perfect match for the Temenid *Gauanes*: the *o* in *Chaones* may result from a fusion of the earlier cluster **wa* in **Ghawanes*, as is the case with the Anatolian *Lukaones* from Luwian **Lukawanni* (Palmer 1996:20; Yakubovich 2008:172; Jenniges 1998:41). The ending *-es* of *Gauanes* is unproblematic, as it is a common variant of the suffix *-eus* (Wackernagel 1916:160 and Rau 2008:180), which is precisely attested as a substantival derivative of Chaon: Χαόνιος. λέγεται καὶ Χαονεύς (Herodian 3.2.882.21). It may also be that an elusive town referred to as Χήν represents a parallel evolution of **Ghawan* (> **Khawan* > **Khaan* > **Khān* > *Khēn*) and might have originally been a Chaonian settlement. My hypothesis is based on the collocation of Χήν with two geographical names, which point to the same general direction: 1) Χήν is the place of origin of *Myson*, literally ‘the Mysian’ (Μύσων ὁ Χηνεύς), one of the seven sages according to Plato (*Protagoras* 343a) et al.; 2) this very same “Mysian, the man from Chēn” is also said to be the son of Strymon (Μύσων Στρυμώνος) according to Sosikrates *FHG* iv.502 and Hermippus *FHG* iii.39, which is formally the name of the great river in the north Aegean. Although the European Mysians were located for the most part in the modern territory of Bulgaria, a notice in the Suda may indicate that some Chaonians had also moved east (Θράκης δὲ ἔθνος οἱ Χάονες), which agrees with Strabo (7.1.11) who says that some Epirotes had settled in Emathia (Lower Macedonia): κατεῖχον δὲ τὴν χώραν [Emathia] ταύτην Ἠπειρωτῶν τινες. Conversely, Herodotus and Lycophron write that the Mysians had overrun all of the North Aegean down to the river Peneios at one point [Euphorion in Scholia in Clement of Alexandria p 300.25 <ὁ> Καρανός, σὺν τισιν (20) Ἑλλησιν ἀποικίαν στειλάμενος, ἐλθὼν εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἔκτισεν πόλιν καὶ Μακεδόνων ἐβασίλευσεν καὶ τὴν πρότερον καλουμένην Ἑδεσσαν πόλιν Αἰγᾶς μετωνόμασεν ἀπὸ τῶν αἰγῶν. ὤκειτο δὲ τὸ παλαιὸν ἢ Ἑδεσσα ὑπὸ Φρυγῶν καὶ Λυδῶν καὶ τῶν μετὰ Μίδου διακομισθέντων εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην. ταῦτα Εὐφορίων ἱστορεῖ ἐν τῇ Ἰστίᾳ (25) καὶ τῷ Ἰνάχῳ]. It is unclear where Chēn was located: in Thessalian Oita, Laconia or Crete. Any of these places, however, had settlements at one point from Epirus, either through the EIA migration of the *Makednoi* or Proto-Dorians into Thessaly, Laconia and Crete. It is known, furthermore, that the Chaones had been sea-faring, as evidenced mythologically not only by the mythical Phaeacians (Chaonian *Baiakes*) but also historically by Chaonian settlements in southern Italy in the EIA under the variant syncopated name *Chones* (Kretschmer 1896:284). Then, we have the statement that the Iapyges in southern Italy—neighbors of the Italian Chones—further migrated to Bottia, which had been under Paeonian control at some point in the Geometric period. Hammond 1979:30, building upon von Gutschmid’s suggestion (1867:112) that *Gauanes* represented Macedonian Elimeia whose chief city *Aianes* was founded by a Tyrsenian named *Elymas*, argued that somehow the name *Gauanes* comes from the root of *Aianes*. While a folk etymological influence is possible, this is impossible formally. The most viable cognate of *Chaones* and Macedonian *Gauanes* is Laconian χᾶός (also χᾷος / χᾷώτερος / χᾷσιος) = “noble, genuine, good”; cf. Theocritus 7.5 χαιοὶ οἱ ἐπάνωθεν “the good men of olden time.” Thus, the Chaones probably advertised themselves as “the Noble ones.”

Just as the Greeks tended to lump most of their northeastern neighbors together as ‘Thracians’, they also tended to lump most of their northwestern neighbors together as ‘Illyrians’, despite the fact that many of the alleged Illyrian tribes were in fact not Illyrian, but rather North Hellanic, a certain degree of admixture notwithstanding.⁶⁹⁵ As the eponym of one of the largest Epirote tribes (the other two being the Molossians and the Thesprotians), which is also deemed by its fellow Epirotes as “the most bellicose,”⁶⁹⁶ Gauanes “the Chaonian” represents by synecdoche the Epirote element among the Macedonians, which is exactly the conclusion reached by von Gutschmid (...“des Epeirotischen Gauanes”), using completely different arguments.⁶⁹⁷

My proposed eponymous reading of *Guauan-es* = *Chaon-eus* receives additional support from the structural fact that his brother Aeropos was an ethnonym as well:

Ἀέροπες· ἔθνος, Τροιζῆνα κατοικοῦντες. καὶ ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ γένος τι. καὶ ὄρνεά τινα.⁶⁹⁸

⁶⁹⁵ Crew 1984:284 "Inscriptional evidence of the Chaones is lacking until the Hellenistic period; but Ps-Scylax, describing the situation of c. 380-360 put the southern limit of the Illyrians just north of the Chaones, which indicates that the Chaones did not speak Illyrian." Evidence of clear linguistic distinction between Epirote, which is very closely related to Macedonian, and Illyrian is illustrated by Polybius 28.8.9 who specifies that a Macedonian ambassador needed an interpreter, Pleuratos, to negotiate with the Illyrian king Genthios at Skodra. A likely lexeme of Illyrian origin is γράβιον ‘torch’ = Greek, but originally Macedonian, Athenaeus 15.57.16 Ἀμερίας δὲ γράβιον τὸν φανόν; φανόν. Σέλευκος δὲ οὕτως ἐξηγεῖται ταύτην τὴν λέξιν· ‘γράβιον ἐστὶν τὸ πρίνινον ἢ δρύινον ξύλον, ὃ περιεθλασμένον καὶ κατεσχισμένον ἐξάπτεσθαι καὶ φαίνειν τοῖς ὁδοιποροῦσιν. See Restelli 1969:820.

⁶⁹⁶ Thucydides 2.81.4: οἱ δὲ Χάονες... ἀξιούμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκείνη ἡπειρωτῶν μαχιμώτατοι...

⁶⁹⁷ Von Gutschmid 1867:129.

⁶⁹⁸ Hesychius. See Rosen 1978:16. Ethnonyms ending in *-opes* are common in northern Greece and Epirus. There is no incompatibility, however, between ἀέροψ ‘bee-eater’ (a bird) and the ethnonym, the missing link being the use of a bird as a totemic ethnonym. This double duty is illustrated by an ethnonym in the region known as the *Dryopes* who might have been the “Woodpecker people,” δρύοψ (if Δρύοψ was not an exonym that might have meant ‘woodsman’ or “People from the Wilderness”). This avian and totemic interpretation coheres with the common derivation of the other Temenid *Perdikkas* from πέρδιξ ‘partridge’. That two of the three Temenids, *Perdikkas* and *Aeropos*, whose names later became the names of historically attested Macedonian kings, should not surprise in light of the synonymy of an unidentified small bird with the word for king in Eleian: τρίκκος· ὀρνιθάριον ὁ καὶ βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ Ἡλείων (Hesychius). Usually unexplained by commentators, I would suggest a link of the name *Perdikkas* / πέρδιξ ‘partridge’ (cf. Hoffmann 1906:131; Katicic 1976:113, Masson 1993:160, etc.) with solar mythology, given the sacredness of sunlight in the foundation myth of the Argeadai and the very cults of the Argeadai (see

Among the many arguments in favor of identifying the Elimiotēs with a) the Temenid Gauanes and b) the northwestern Epirote (Chaonian) element in the original Argead Macedonians is Ptolemy 3.12.4.3-4: he states that Bullis, located in southern Albania, belonged to the Elimiotēs (Ἐλιμιωτῶν Βουλλίς). But much closer to the political Macedonia of the classical period, Elimeia is also located along the banks of the Haliakmon river behind Mount Olympus and above Perrhaebia, thus illustrating the vast distances characteristically covered by transhumant societies.⁶⁹⁹

That Epirus was not considered to be Greek is shown by the very role of Tharyps / Tharypas in his desire to Hellenize the region:

ἐκ τούτου δὲ καὶ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐν Ἠπειρῷ τιμὰς ἰσοθέους ἔσχεν, Ἄσπετος ἐπιχωρίῳ φωνῇ προσαγορευόμενος. μετὰ δὲ τοὺς πρώτους τῶν διὰ μέσου βασιλέων ἐκβαρβαρωθέντων καὶ γενομένων τῇ τε δυνάμει καὶ τοῖς βίοις ἀμαυροτέρων, Θαρρύπαν πρῶτον ἱστοροῦσιν Ἑλληνικοῖς ἔθεσι καὶ γράμμασι καὶ νόμοις φιλανθρώποις διακοσμήσαντα τὰς πόλεις ὀνομαστὸν γενέσθαι.⁷⁰⁰

Impugning the late date of Plutarch's account is misguided.⁷⁰¹ There is nothing in the narrative that smacks of accidental or deliberate anachronisms. All Plutarch had to do was rely on his earlier literary sources. The Molossian Philhellene *Tharyps* (with variants

Greenwalt, 1994 "A Solar Dionysus and Argead Legitimacy:" in Greek mythology, Daedalus spitefully pushed his nephew *Talos* also known as *Perdix*, "Partridge" off a roof to his death: the famous inventor was jealous of his nephew's own inventions. The story is structurally similar to the sun-melted waxen wings of Daedalus' son Icarus whose death in turn is reminiscent of Phaethon's own death. It so happens that the name of Daedalus' nephew *Talos* meant 'Sun': τάλῶς· ὁ ἥλιος (Hesychius), cf. ἀνα-τολή, 'sunrise'. Talos turned into a partridge after his death, explicitly because the bird builds its nest in the ground and avoids heights unlike other birds, remembering its past misfortune (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 8.236). Quails, with similar nesting habits, clearly have associations with the sun, e.g. *Ortygie* "Quail island" in the *Odyssey*, which is located above the "turning places of the Sun" (Ὀρτυγίης καθύπερθεν, ὅθι τροπαὶ ἠελίοιο: 15:404). For an extensive commentary on the topic, see Gresseth's excellent article "the Myth of Alcyone," *TAPA* 1964.

⁶⁹⁹ For transhumance in other ancient societies, e.g. the Apennines in central Italy, see Dench 1995:111-153 (Chapter 3 'Mountain Society').

⁷⁰⁰ Plutarch, Pyrrhus 1.3-5

⁷⁰¹ Thus, Malkin 2001:209, fn 48.

Tharrypas, Tharrytas and Tharybas) is often interpreted as Illyrian in origin, but it can be readily analyzed as the partially Hellenized Epirote equivalent of Greek *Θαρρόψ / *Θαρσόψ “Daring in appearance,” being most closely related to the the Paeonian ethnonym *Derrones* and Macedonian theonym Δάρρων, which Hesychius defines as a Macedonian deity who was prayed to on behalf of the sick (Μακεδονικὸς δαίμων, ᾧ ὑπὲρ τῶν νοσοῦντων εὐχονται). The native form of the name was probably **D(h)arrups*.⁷⁰²

2.2.4.3. The “Northwestern Greek” koine : An Epigraphic Mirage

Usually described as ‘northwestern Greek’, the label can be misleading in that it arbitrarily creates a double standard between the Epirotes and and Macedonians on the one hand and the Brygians and Phrygians on the other hand, all of whom belong to the same group : there is a common misperception, even among the best linguists, that the Greek inscriptions found in Epirus show that a ‘northwestern Greek dialect’, ‘a variety of Doric’, was the main vernacular spoken there. Thus, Dosuna in his 540-page study *Los dialectos dorios del noroeste* (1985), spends no more than 1.5 a page (pp 18-19) discussing the view held in this paper “para algunos especialistas, este dialecto habría sido una importación reciente introducida a través de las diversas colonias doricas fundadas en Epiro durante la época arcaica y, por lo tanto, no representaría la lengua propiamente epirota.” He summarily rejects ancient Greek accounts, which describe the language of the populations in the region as speaking a Barbaric language. Buck sounded a more cautious note:

⁷⁰² As Svoronos 1919:21 brilliantly points out, the Paeonian identity of the *Derrones* is corroborated, *inter alia*, by the fact that *Darron* was a healer god, just as *Paion*, eponym of the Paionians, was a healer god. The objections of Hatzopoulos 1998:1200 against the obvious connection between the Paeonian *Derrones* and the Macedonian deity Δάρρων (“on est alle jusqu’a y reconnaître le dieu de la peuplade – pourtant non macedonienne – des *Derrones*”), which is typical of his agenda of erecting a Berlin wall between Macedonians and any of their non-Greek neighbors, cannot be taken seriously.

Only Phocian, Locrian and Elean are known to us as distinct dialects of Northwest Greek. Of others which presumably belong here we have practically no material from a time when they retained their individuality. In Aetolia, for example, before the rise of the Northwest Greek *koine* there was undoubtedly a distinct Northwest Greek dialect, probably most nearly related to Locrian, but of this pure Aetolian we have no knowledge. Of the speech of Aeniania and Malis previous to the Aetolian domination we have no remains. It is natural to suppose that Northwest Greek dialects were once spoken also in Acarnania and Epirus. But here the influence of the Corinthian colonies was strong from an early period, as shown by the use of the Corinthian alphabet in the few early inscriptions; and in later times, from which nearly all the material dates, the language employed is not the Northwest Greek *koine*, but the Doric *koine*, like that of the contemporaneous inscriptions of Corcyra. Hence the actual material from Acarnania and Epirus is more properly classified with Corinthian.⁷⁰³

Toynbee shares the same view that the Corinthian variety of Doric Greek was the principal template within which the Northwest Greek koine of epigraphy evolved, and this koine was eventually adopted as the official language of Epirus as well as of Akarnania and of Aetolia.⁷⁰⁴ While Buck is to be praised for emphasizing the Corinthian connection of Epirote inscriptions, his honest supposition that a northwestern Greek ‘dialect’ was spoken there requires some qualifications.⁷⁰⁵

If we turn to Thucydides 2.68.5-6, as we must,⁷⁰⁶ the Athenian historian describes the account of the foundation of Amphilochean Argos by Amphilocheus the son of Amphiaraios and goes on to write: ἡλληνίσθησαν τὴν νῦν γλῶσσαν τότε πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀμπρακιωτῶν ξυνοικησάντων· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι Ἀμφίλοχοι βάρβαροί εἰσιν “then at first the Amphilocheians were Hellenized linguistically from their cohabitation with the Ambraciotes; the other Amphilocheians are Barbarians.” It is inconceivable that Thucydides would have characterized the language of “the other Amphilocheians” as non-

⁷⁰³ Buck 1910:10

⁷⁰⁴ Toynbee 1969:113

⁷⁰⁵ Skepticism that Greek inscriptions in Epirus reflect the vernacular also expressed by Crossland 1982:840.

⁷⁰⁶ Dosuna, unsurprisingly, minimizes “the accounts of ancient Greek writers.”

Greek (i.e. the majority of the population in the region other than the Hellenized city itself, which is clearly implied here⁷⁰⁷) if the language, which they spoke even approximated the inscriptions found in the region: from the context, it is clear that the variety of Greek spoken by the urban Amphilocheians is the variety of Doric Greek which the Corinthian colonists brought with them to the region⁷⁰⁸: one can also concessively surmise that the variety of Doric Greek spoken by those who were bilingual in Amphilocheian Argos was influenced by their vernacular North Hellanic (Macedonian) language.

This passage, Thucydides 2.68-56, is very important, because it disarms critics of the claim that the barbaric label given to the Epirotes and many Aetolians by their Greek neighbors is merely a matter of lifestyle and culture and not of linguistics; nor can it be vaguely imputed to “a thick, rustic accent” or *‘patois’*. As Kokoszko & Witczak write, “the very term Ἠπειρος / Doric Ἄπειρος ‘the continent’ betrays this perspective, which is an external perspective: that of the Corinthian colonists of Ambracia, Corcyra and Apollonia. The populations on the continent or inland were lumped together as ‘the Continentals.’”⁷⁰⁹

Thucydides never calls the Doric Greek of the Corinthians and Spartans ‘barbaric’ or non-Greek and he clearly understood the Lakedaimonians in their own vernacular. Earlier than Thucydides, Hekataios of Miletus also labeled the very same Amphilocheians as barbarians, together with the Thesprotians, Molossians, Athamanes, the Macedonians,

⁷⁰⁷ Cf. Strabo 3.4.3 ... πόλεις αὐτόθι, τὴν μὲν καλουμένην Ἑλληνας τὴν δὲ Ἀμφίλοχοι...

⁷⁰⁸ Restelli 1969:829.

⁷⁰⁹ Kokoszko & Witczak 1991:41; cf. Malkin 2001:194.

parts of Thessaly, Acarnania and Aetolia.⁷¹⁰ It so happens that the name Ἀμβίλογος⁷¹¹ is attested at Aiginion on the border between Epirus and Thessaly, which according to Strabo belonged to the Tymphaioi⁷¹²: he, together with Hekataios, Thucydides and Strabo, ranked the Tymphaioi among the barbarians.⁷¹³ As noted by Hatzopoulos,⁷¹⁴ Ἀμβίλογος is the equivalent of the Greek Ἀμφίλοχος. Regardless of whether the name borne by said individual was meant to be ethnic or caused by other factors, there can be little doubt that the majority of Thucydides' non-Hellenized Amphilocheians referred to themselves in their vernacular as the *Ἀμβίλογ-, just as the Hellenized Ἐγγελάνες masks an indigenous Ἐγγελάνες [eŋg(h)elānes].⁷¹⁵

The vast habitat of the Pindus mountain range was propitious not only to a distinct 'mountain lifestyle' and mountain culture, as documented by Cabanes' numerous works on the topic, it was also propitious to the formation of a distinct linguistic unit, over which the Mycenaeans had little control: it is ironic that Miltiades Hatzopoulos, one of the most talented and prolific champions of the narrowly-defined Greek identity of the ancient Macedonians, should have recently acknowledged the viability of "l'hypothèse de

⁷¹⁰ Hekataios *fr.* 115a [τὴν] πολλὴν οἱ βάρβαροι ἔχουσι Μακεδονίαν μὲν Θρᾶκες καὶ τινα μέρη τῆς Θετταλίας, Ἀκαρνανίας δὲ καὶ Αἰτωλίας <τὰ> ἄνω Θεσπρωτοὶ καὶ <Κ>ασσωπαῖοι καὶ Ἀμφίλοχοι καὶ Μολοττοὶ καὶ Ἀθαμᾶνες, Ἠπειρωτικὰ ἔθνη.

⁷¹¹ LGPN V3b-6810 3b 1 Ἀμβίλογος [m.] Aiginion ii-iii AD IG IX (2) 325 b, 6 (Φλ. Ἀμβίλογος: s. Ἐπάγαθος).

⁷¹² McAlister 1976, s.v. Aiginion.

⁷¹³ The only lemma attributed by Hesychius to the Tymphaioi is Δειπάτυρος: θεὸς παρὰ Στυμφαίοις: the closest morphological cognate of the second element is Messapic *Damatura*, see De Simone 1976:361-366.

⁷¹⁴ Hatzopoulos 2007:170.

⁷¹⁵ Mnaseas in Stephanus of Byzantium, s.v. Ἐγγελάνες and Ἐγγελεῖς respectively.

l'adstrat brygien," as he envisages "the survival of pockets of Phrygian speakers in Macedonia, *especially in the mountainous regions* [my emphasis]."716

It is the contention of this paper that Hatzopoulos' concessive scenario of a mountainous habitat fostering the preservation of Phrygian in a putatively Greek-speaking environment⁷¹⁷ occurred, with one proviso, on a much larger scale than he imagined, covering not solely Macedonia proper, but the entire Pindus, including Epirus to the west, the northern half of Aetolia to the southwest and the outer highlands of Thessaly⁷¹⁸ to the south: in substance, the regions outside the control of the Bronze Age Mycenaeans. The larger area, which is traditionally labeled 'northwestern Greek' was in fact Phrygian-Macedonian (North Hellanic) and included Paeonia north of Macedonia proper, extending geographically eastward along the North Aegean with intermixed areas of Thracian. The collation of Livy 31.29 and Pausanias 5.1.4 allows us to conclude that the vernacular hiding under the Hellenizing inscriptions were variants of the same North Hellanic speech.⁷¹⁹

And yet alternatively, a number of scholars have thought that the Epirotes spoke an Illyrian language: but as Kokoszko & Witczak point out, Pseudo-Skylax, Pseudo-

⁷¹⁶ "Des poches de brygien ont dû subsister, surtout dans les régions montagneuses": Hatzopoulos 2007:162 quoting from an earlier letter to Brixhe, dated 10/07/1987.

⁷¹⁷ With the assumption that the Proto-Macedonians and Proto-Phrygians were distinct groups and that the former were 'Greek' conquerors and the latter natives.

⁷¹⁸ Only Thessaly's northwestern highlands and some northern pockets would have spoken non-Greek vernaculars: the vast majority of Thessalians from the early Classical period on spoke Thessalian, as we know it, an undoubtedly Greek dialect, which was mostly descended from Mycenaean Greek, plus a northwestern adstrate (Helly and Garcia-Ramon), which I argue in this paper belongs to the same linguistic subgroup as Macedonian and Phrygian = North Hellanic.

⁷¹⁹ Restelli 1969:824 also correctly significance of Livy's statement *Aetolos, Acarnanas, Macedonas, eisudem linguae homines*, to the extent that he understands the passage as indicating that the language spoken in this region is distinct. He errs, however, in positing Illyrian as their common language.

Skymnos and Strabo differentiated them from the Illyrians (as well as from the Thracians).⁷²⁰ There can be little doubt that Illyrian exerted an influence on ancient Epirote, but a synopsis of the evidence indicates that Illyrian was just that—an influence, or at best a minority dialect in certain regions, not the basic core of what can be reconstructed of the ancient Epirote dialects. Georgiev’s 1966 analysis of Epirote toponyms, though not subject to alternative interpretations in certain cases, lend themselves to Hellanic etymologies:⁷²¹ thus, *Athamanes* = copulative prefix ἄ + θαμέες ‘crowded’, *Keraunia* = κεραυνός ‘thunderbolt’.

We can also cite an additional reason for considering Epirote Hellanic, though not unassailable when taken in isolation: firstly, as we probe the early history of Greek in the Bronze Age under the political / cultural *koine* of the Myceneans, it would be improbable that their immediate neighbors in the southern Balkans to the north, whence their linguistic ancestors came in successive waves up until 1700 BCE or so, developed such a radically distinct language that any putative survival of said languages would manifest itself as the representative of a completely separate IE group⁷²²; conversely, it is very rare for such tight and well-defined cultural and political *koines* as those of the Mycenaean to be linguistically isolated from other *ethne*. Take the Persian empire, for instance: not all the speakers of the Iranian languages were part of the Persian empire—the Scythians were Iranian-speaking and yet did not share in the political and cultural *koine* of the

⁷²⁰ Kokoszko & Witczak 1991:43

⁷²¹ Georgiev 1966:180; Katicic 1976:122 “some of the Greek etymologies proposed by Georgiev for Epirotic geographic names may be disputable. But the mere fact that it is possible to find Greek explanations for almost all of these names remains highly significant.”

⁷²² Hammond makes a similar argument in 1967:424, except that he assumes that the language spoken there was so close to Mycenaean Greek that it should be considered ‘Greek’. As I argue in this paper, the gist is perhaps correct, but it is misleading and has led to systemic misinterpretations and fallacies as to what linguistic features should be considered Greek or not, e.g. the treatment of the IE aspirate plosives.

Persians, related though they were linguistically and even culturally on certain levels. The (proto-) Epirotes, the Brygians, the Macedonians and the Paeonians would have all been the Mycenaean's immediate neighbors; they also lived in a zone whence they Mycenaean had gradually migrated centuries earlier, unlike, for instance, the region of Anatolia which was further separated by the barrier of the sea; *Sprachbund* zones involving the northern half of the Mycenaean kingdom(s) would also reinforce linguistic contact with said North Hellanes and slow the rate of linguistic differentiation. Last but not least, the explicit kinship of Epirote and Macedonian, for which there is slightly more lexical evidence than there is for Epirote, further supports its Hellenic nature.

2.2.5. North Hellenic (= Makedonian / Proto-Doric) Penetration of South Hellenic: The Formation of Aeolic and Doric Greek

2.2.5.1. Introduction: Dodona

One might still object that Epirus must have been Greek, despite the frequent characterization of the Epirotes as Barbarians because the religious site of Dodona was Panhellenic. One may even point to Mycenaean artefacts found in some scattered areas of Epirus and to what appears to have been a Mycenaean trading post at Xylokastron.⁷²³ Eder's study of Mycenaean seals, which I cited earlier, again states that Epirus, and consequently the site of Dodona, at the end of the Bronze Age, vis-à-vis Mycenaean Greece, "appears part of a different world"⁷²⁴—not just from the perspective of

⁷²³ Tartaron 2004:5 "These manifestations of Mycenaean interest are believed to be relics of a time when merchants plied an Adriatic sea route from southern Greece to the Ionian coast, continuing north into the Adriatic region, and west to Italy."

⁷²⁴ Eder 02/10/2014, private communication.

Mycenaean seals, but also in most aspects of material culture.⁷²⁵ The archaeology shows that Dodona becomes an important regional pilgrimage center in the 8th century BCE.

The reasonable conclusion to draw is that the cult of Dodona spread to many parts of Greece *only after* the Makednoi/Proto-Dorians migrated into what once was Mycenaean Greece in the EIA: the non-Aeolic Proto-Thessalians⁷²⁶ and the non-Aeolic Proto-Boiotians (cf. Βοιωτοὶ πολεμοῦμενοι ὑπὸ Αἰολέων ἔλαβον χρησμόν, εἰ δεῖ πολεμεῖν⁷²⁷) were originally from the Pindus Mountain ranges before descending onto the plains of Thessaly and Boeotia where they encountered the indigenous Achaean populations, a majority of whose linguistic features they ended up adopting, while infusing some features of their own language traditionally labeled ‘northwestern Greek’, but in fact independent from Greek: the fusion of the two produced the mostly Aeolicized Thessalian dialects, as convincingly argued by Garcia-Ramon 1975 and Helly 2007.⁷²⁸ Some of the highlanders from the Pindus, whom Herodotus calls Makednoi (1.56 & 8.43) crossed into the Peloponnese where their name was changed to ‘Dorians’.

⁷²⁵ Parke 1967:97; Dieterle 2007: 15 “Das Vorkommen mykenischer Keramik...in geringer Anzahl.” Simon 1985:16 “Dodona war, wie die Ausgrabungen ergaben, von der mykenischen Kultur unberührt geblieben.” In the period running from 1200 to 700 BCE, there is little archaeological evidence of contact between Dodona and southern Greece: Dakaris 1971:17f (cited in Dieterle 2007:16).

⁷²⁶ See Helly 2007.

⁷²⁷ Βοιωτοὶ πολεμοῦμενοι ὑπὸ Αἰολέων ἔλαβον χρησμόν Scholiast on Clement Alexandria p 300.25; cf Eustathius on *Odyssey* 5.408 ὕστερον δὲ Αἰολεῖς ἐκβαλόντες αὐτοὺς [= Βοιωτούς]. Scholiast on Clement Alexandria p 300.25; cf Eustathius on *Odyssey* 5.408 ὕστερον δὲ Αἰολεῖς ἐκβαλόντες αὐτοὺς [= Βοιωτούς]. Buck 1910:3 “if we credit the statement of Thucydides that the Boeotian invaders were from Arne, whence they had been driven by the Thessalians, we should recognize in these Boeotians, not a part of the old Aeolic population of Thessaly, but a tribe of West Greek invaders from Epirus (cf. Mt. Boeon), like the Thessalians who forced them onward. The Aeolic element is to be ascribed rather to the tribes, or some of them, comprising the early stratum, as for example the Minyans of Orchomenos.”

⁷²⁸ In fairness to Garcia-Ramon and Helly, none of them explicitly say (nor seem to assume) that the ‘Northwestern’ element in classical Thessalian and Boeotian is not a Greek dialect (‘northwestern Greek’): this is the argument I’m making (Epirote was closer to Macedonian and Phrygian than it was to Greek; all three are subsumed under the ‘Hellanic’ umbrella). My point is that Garcia-Ramon and Helly concur that classical Thessalian and Boeotian are the fusion of originally two distinct speeches.

To be clear, Garcia-Ramon and Helly do not exactly claim what I claim: that the group, which they call “Northwestern Greek,” spoke non-Greek languages that were closely related to Greek; but they do claim that the variety of their putative Greek exhibited idiosyncratic features, which later became recessive in Boeotian and Thessalian, e.g. Boeotian φίκατι = Attic εἴκοσι. That some Epirotes spoke Greek is a certainty, but the Greek spoken in Epirus must have involved *diglossia* till at least the end of the Hellenistic period, if not later: Greek either as a second language or that of a segment of the elite, in particular that of the Molossian elite, which must have maintained family and commercial ties with the elites of Thessaly and the Peloponnese, in particular Corinth and Argos.⁷²⁹ The popularity of the *Nekromanteion* by the Acheron river in Epirus, near the ancient city of Ephyra, was dependent on the Peloponnesian Dorian families and leading families in Thessaly remembering the location of the land of their ancestors in Epirus: the land of the ancestors is conceptualized as “the land of the dead.”⁷³⁰

The earliest evidence for this is in fact the *Iliad*, in which *Thessalos* is the only son of Herakles mentioned in the epic poem besides the Rhodian *Tlepolemos*. Eponym though he is of Thessaly, we know from elsewhere that the territory which later corresponds to his name corresponds to ‘Pelasgian Argos’ and includes Phthia and Hellas in the restricted sense of southern Thessaly. But this Heraklid Thessalos has a son

⁷²⁹ Thus Malkin 2001:201 “we know that the Molossians spoke Greek: this is the language in which Pindar sang to them and in which their inscriptions were written.” I do not disagree. But the Molossians’ speaking Greek must be in the context of bilinguality whereby Greek was a language of culture, literature and prestige whereas their native Epirote was closer to Brygian, Macedonian and Paeonian (North Hellenic) than it was to Greek (South Hellenic), though ultimately all were part of the Hellenic group within IE. Malkin concedes 2001:201 “with all this in mind, we are still not sure whether Greek was an elite or the common Molossian language, and even if it was the latter, whether the Molossians were recognized accordingly as Greeks (Thucydides, we have seen, thought that they were not).

⁷³⁰ See elsewhere our discussion of “Phthia, Land of the Dead.”

Pheidippos (2.679) who lords it over the islands of Nisyros, Crapathus, Casus, Cos and the Calydnian islands, all of which are clearly Doric islands, characterized by unmistakable Doric linguistic features and Doric customs.

It has been shown that Thessalos' son Pheidippos is the same mythical figure as the hypocoristic form *Pheidon*, the king of the Thesprotians in the *Iliad* who controls access to Dodona and shows Odysseus the way there (*Odyssey* 14.314-330). As the Thesprotians and related tribes of the Pindus moved into Thessaly, Boeotia and the Peloponnese, they spread the cult of Dodona to the Greek regions, which they had conquered. An early study of dedications at Dodona shows strong provenience from said regions, and a proportionately smaller representation of dedications from regions, which had not received a substantial adstratum from the highlands of the Pindus, notably more southern regions, such as Attica.⁷³¹ It has baffled many a commentator how and why Achilles' territory may be called 'Pelasgian', despite the fact that the Pelasgians fight on the side of the Trojans in the *Iliad*. Although Hammond is one of many scholars who indiscriminately ranks the Epirotes among the speakers of ancient Greece, he rightly unravels the 'Pelasgian enigma' from the standpoint of the *Iliad*, as he concludes that they must be the proto-Dorians.

The Homeric Pelasgians⁷³² are the Herodotean *Makednoi* or Proto-Dorians: their presence at Dodona is a strong indicator for this: their Homeric territory includes Epirus,

⁷³¹ Parke 1967; Boardman & Hammon 1982:272-273; Dieterle 2007.

⁷³² Not to be confused with the Herodotean Pelasgians, who seem to represent a different ethnos, proto-Etruscans. The irreconcilability of the Homeric and Herodotean Pelasgians has been a big part of the problem in attempting to understand who or what the Pelasgians might have represented, something which I have struggled with myself for quite some time.

as evidenced by Dodona and the kingdom of Gouneus.⁷³³ The *Helloi* of Dodona are inseparable from *Hellas* in southern Thessaly, where Anthela and Delphi are located, the birthplace of the Delphic Pylaeon Amphictyonic league. Originally, just as *Hellas* was geographically restricted, so was *Hellene* ethnically restricted. Elsewhere in Greek literature, mythologized (unhistorical) Pelasgians represent the autochthonous inhabitants of various parts of Greece, with a geographic range much larger than in the *Iliad*. We will get to these different uses of the term ‘Pelasgian’ later.⁷³⁴

Myres, in his extensive study of the Pelasgians, convincingly argues that they were originally connected with populations in the North Aegean, though he did not conclude that they were specifically Proto-Dorians.⁷³⁵ The Homeric use of ‘Pelasgian’ is more peculiar and idiosyncratic. The *Iliad*’s association of Dodona with the Pelasgians—and the general territory of Achilles must be collated with Aristotle’s statement in *Meteorologica* 352a-b, according to whom the region around Dodona and the river Acheloius was the oldest region of Greece.⁷³⁶ A number of scholars have claimed that Aristotle’s statement harks back to the Middle Bronze Age (2100-1700) when the Proto-Mycenaeans first descended upon Greece from Albania and Epirus.⁷³⁷ But the assumption

⁷³³ A close scrutiny of the Catalogue of the Ships shows that Phthia represents not only Achilles’ kingdom but also the other kingdoms to the north. The followers of Protesilaos are described as *Phthioi* at one point and a Hesiodic fragment says that *Phthia* extended to the Peneios river, which encompasses many of the other Thessalian contingents besides Achilles’ Myrmidons.

⁷³⁴ See section “Achilles the Pelasgian.”

⁷³⁵ Myres 1907:170-225.

⁷³⁶ ὥσπερ ὁ καλούμενος ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος κατακλυσμός· καὶ γὰρ οὗτος περὶ τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν ἐγένετο τόπον μάλιστα, καὶ τούτου περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὴν ἀρχαίαν. αὕτη δ’ ἐστὶν ἡ περὶ Δωδώνην καὶ τὸν Ἀχελῷον· οὗτος γὰρ πολλαχού τὸ ρεῦμα μεταβέβληκεν· ᾧκουν γὰρ οἱ Σελλοὶ ἐνταῦθα καὶ οἱ καλούμενοι τότε μὲν Γραικοὶ νῦν δ’ Ἕλληνας.

⁷³⁷ Sakellariou 2009. I say in passing that I have a great amount of respect for Sakellariou’s scholarship and extraordinary comprehensiveness: I owe tremendously to his monumental research. But I cannot accept 1) the reason-defying early dates for his reconstructions of proto-Greek *ethne*, nor 2) the scenario of their

that Aristotle's earliest Greece in the region of Dodona remembers a migration into Greece that took place 1500 years before his time is absurd: the limited use of writing and the interposition of centuries of illiteracy make it impossible that such a distant event could be remembered.⁷³⁸

Aristotle, however, could remember, closer in time, events from the EIA and early Archaic period, the process of which started at the end of the Bronze Age: the great Dorian migrations into Greece from precisely the region of Dodona, the Pindus mountain range. The *Hellānes* were originally a Proto-Doric tribe, one of Herodotus' *Makednoi*: they were non-Greek in the sense that they were mostly non-Mycenaeans and their language was more conservative than that of Greek proper) since they still pronounced their *ph's, th's and kh's* as *bh's, dh's and gh's*,⁷³⁹ as in Indo-European, for quite some time, before later changing them to *b's d's and g's* at some time in the Classical period it seems; a significant minority of the Makednoi also included proto-Illyrians,⁷⁴⁰ proto-Mysians/Thracian and probably proto-Etruscan speakers.

2.2.5.2. Lexical and Grammatical idiosyncrasies of Proto-Doric / Makednian

But at the same time, those originally called *Helloi / Hellānes* can be considered 'Greek' in two ways: 1) their future fusion with the descendants of the Mycenaeans led to the formation of the new Greek ethnos as we know it; and 2) despite their distinction

existence in the Bronze Age, in most cases. 3) I also have issues with his rigid Hellenocentrism, which on multiple occasions leads him to arbitrarily favor Greek origins over other origins; 4) his overreliance on Homer and absolute faith that whatever Homer says is gospel and represents a Bronze Age capsule.

⁷³⁸ Raaflaub 1998.

⁷³⁹ Not to mention the grammatical features that are well-known in most grammar books: 3rd person plural in *-onti*, 2nd person singular *tu*, etc.

⁷⁴⁰ The Pelasgian hero *Teutamos*, also already noted by Myres, is a well attested Western IE root found in Illyrian, e.g. the Illyrian queen *Teuta*. The name occurs once in Linear B, but said individual may have been an early migrant into Greece. Many names in Linear B are clearly non-Greek (García Ramón 2008).

from the Mycenaeans, the majority of the Makednians / proto-Dorians would have spoken North Hellanic dialects, that is to say the same larger IE Hellanic group as Greek, which is South Hellanic. North Hellanic would have included Proto-Thessalian, Brygian, Macedonian, Paeonian, etc.⁷⁴¹ What is classified as ‘Doric Greek’ / ‘Western Greek’ or ‘Peloponnesian Greek’ is predominantly South Hellanic and only recessively North Hellanic: despite the historicity of a Dorian migration into the plains of Thessaly and further into the the Peloponnese between 1200 and 800 BCE, the majority of the population in the Peloponnese remained indigenous (descendants of the Mycenaeans) and it was their language that made a greater final contribution to the formation of Doric Greek than that of the Makednoi themselves, e.g. retention of Mycenaean *ph*’s, *th*’s and *kh*’s. The situation is perhaps analogous to the contribution of Old Nordic to Modern English vocabulary and grammar: although the Germanic component of English remains mostly West Germanic (Anglo-Saxon / Old English), the Viking invasions in Medieval England and Danelaw resulted in a significant minority of North Germanic elements in English, not only lexical elements, e.g. *wrong*, *get*, *husband*, but also grammatical elements, e.g. *they*, *with*, *till*.

Be that as it may, a minority of distinctly North Hellanic features in the new dialect made their way into Doric and Aeolic Greek: *-nti* ending for the 3rd person plural present indicative, τοί (nominative plural) = οἱ / οἳ, and ἐν + accusative = εἰς + accusative, are among the most well-known, but we could also cite the distinctly non-

⁷⁴¹ I list and differentiate Proto-Thessalian, Brygian, Macedonian and Paeonian anachronistically, on the basis of their future differentiation. There is inadequate linguistic data to know the extent to which they were divided, if at all, at the end of the Bronze Age: around 1000 BCE, Macedonian and Phrygian might have been the same language. They might have remained mutually comprehensible, despite differentiation, for hundreds of years later. In fact, it is very likely that the pockets of surviving *Brugoi* in Macedonia spoke dialects that areally converged with Macedonian, while the varieties spoken across the Dardanelles diverged further.

Greek (= non-South Hellanic) βερνώμεθα “let us cast lots,” Laconian for Attic κληρωσώμεθα, cognate with Greek φέρω = IE **bher*: in his informative study of Greek dialects, Blumenthal ascribes an Illyrian origin to βερνώμεθα, but most of his forms could more simply be North Hellanic⁷⁴²; thus, the Doric conjunction ἄβαλε ‘if only’ (Alcman, Callimachus, etc.) is equivalent to Attic ὄφελεν⁷⁴³; Laconian βαγαρόν ‘warm’, glossed as χλιαρόν by Hesychius, is immediately akin to Phrygian βέκος ‘bread’, further to Greek φώγω⁷⁴⁴ (and even further to English *bake*); Laconian δίζα = Attic αἶξ ‘goat’, cannot be south Hellanic in light of its German cognate *Ziege* ‘goat’.⁷⁴⁵

Among the early mythical figures of Sparta, distinctly North Hellanic names are attested: Οἶβαλος, the grandfather of Helen, Castor and Pollux, is literally ‘the Copulator’, contextually ‘the Progenitor’ = Greek οἶφω; Hesychius ὠβάλλετο·διωθεῖτο; the Lakedaimonians associated Oibalos with Poseidon *Genethlios*, “Poseidon the Progenitor.”⁷⁴⁶ His name is immediate cognate with *Kor-oibos*, who is 1) a mythical

⁷⁴² Hesychius: βερνώμεθα· κληρωσώμεθα. Λάκωνες (536.) ; cf Hesychius †βερρέαι· κληρῶσαι; see Blumenthal 1931:169.

⁷⁴³ Blumenthal 1931:171. Late IE **obhel-*; Linear B *o-per-o* (Frisk, s.v. ὀφείλω & ὀφέλλω).

⁷⁴⁴ Lubotsky 2004:230; Blumenthal 1931:175 accounts for the vocalic change by comparing Greek λαγαρός versus λήγω.

⁷⁴⁵ Blumenthal 1931:174. Blumenthal identifies these as Illyrian, which is not impossible, but they might as well be North Hellanic (Macedonian, Paeonian or Phrygian).

⁷⁴⁶ Pausanias 3.15.10 οὐ πόρρω Ποσειδῶνός τε ἱερόν ἐστι Γενεθλίου καὶ ἡρῶα Κλεοδαίου τοῦ Ὑλλου καὶ Οἰβάλου. See Blumenthal 1930:8 “idg. **oibh-* "future". Von ausserordentlicher Bedeutung ist die namenlose, aber sicher lokalisierbare Glosse ὠβάλλετο·διωθεῖτο, über deren obszönen Sinn es für den keiner Worte bedarf, der sich der theräischen Felsinschriften erinnert. Literarische Provenienz wird dadurch gesichert, dass sonst sicher nicht die 3. P.S. des Imperfektums überliefert wäre. Da das Wort, wie der Vergleich mit gr. οἶφω * lehrt, die Vertretung *bh > b*, zeigt, da ferner die Dorier das echt griechische Wort οἶφω besaßen, so ist kaum ein Zweifel möglich, dass *οἰβάλλω eines der offenbar in dieser Sphäre besonders zahlreichen messapischen Worte der tarentinischen Phylakes, mithin illyrischer Herkunft war. Das Denominativum *οἰβάλλω setzt aber ein Nomen *οἰβαλος voraus, wie αἰκάλλω "schmeicheln" zu Hes. αἰκάλος· κόλαξ gehört. Auch das Griechische hat zu dem Stamme οἶφ- Bildungen mit l-Suffix: οἶφόλης· ὁ μὴ ἐγκρατής, ἀλλὰ καταφερής πρὸς γυναῖκα. Die Bedeutung von *οἰβαλος wäre etwa "fututor", oder in nicht obszönem Sinne "Erzeuger". Nun erscheint aber dieses Wort als Name des alt-einheimischen lakonischen Heros Οἶβαλος, der als Vater des Tyndareos und seiner Brüder galt, ja als Stammvater der

figure involved in the mystical phallus of Dionysus,⁷⁴⁷ whom Fabricius (*RE*) associates with 2) the son of the Phrygian king Mygdon in the saga of the Trojan war. Oibalos' bride the naiad Βάτεια⁷⁴⁸ belongs to a group of names that are common in Macedonia and Dardania (European and Anatolian), including Troy⁷⁴⁹; their son Τυνδάρεως, whose etymology should not be formally separated from that of the Aetolian hero Τυδ-εύς, has

Lakonen überhaupt angesehen wurde (viele Belege bei Robert *Griech. Myth.* II 332 Anm. 3), so dass die Burg von Tarent bei den lakonischen Kolonisten aus der lebendigen Verehrung der archaischen Zeit noch den Namen *Oebalia* trug (Krahe ZONF V 18).” Blumenthals' etymology of Oibalos is received favorably by Katicic 1972:116-117.

⁷⁴⁷ Scholiast in Lucianum 187, see Fabricius (*RE*), s.v. 'Koroibos'. There are other Koroiboi in Greek history, the earliest one of whom is the Elean athlete Koroibos, stadion victor at the first Olympic Games in 776 BCE. The name was originally Makedonian, but gradually spread to Ionian areas as well, such as Athens.

⁷⁴⁸ Pseudo-Apollodorus *Library* 3.123; similarly, the Cyrenean Battians, named after the semi-mythical king *Battos*, clearly stems from the same proto-Doric root, *pace* Masson 1976, who defends the etymological connection to the homonymous βάττος 'stutterer', which is also a name attested in several parts of Greece. That several among those appearing as *Battos* in the epigraphic corpus were named so on the basis of a peculiarity in their speech is very likely; that a royal name borne by several Cyreneans owe their name to such an unflattering etymology much less convincing. Masson is right to interpret the first meaning of the Hesychian gloss Βάττος: βασιλεύς, τύραννος: Λίβυες, not so much as an indication that the indigenous Libyans called their kings 'Battos' as an indication that the Cyreneans themselves called their kings 'Battos', adducing Chamoux, *Cyrene*, p 36, who shows that many of the Hesychian lemmata indicating Libyan words are in fact Cyrenean Greek words. But Masson puts an overly restricted interpretation on the connection of the title 'Battos', as he posits that it was merely a reflection of the fact that several kings in Libya bore the name Battos, not that Battos meant what Hesychius actually indicates: king, *turannos*. But this explanation is ill-founded for three reasons: 1) *Bato* was a name borne by several Dardanian kings and was also a personal name in the Balkans and Anatolia Phrygia, see Kretschmer 1896:245-246; Akwright 1918:59; Katicic 1972:105-128; Sasel Kos 1993:124 ;1918:59; Livy 31.28 (Illyrian king); leader of the Daisitiates in Strabo 7.314; a tomb of Anchises in the Peloponnese is mentioned by Pausanias 8.12.8; a mountain was named after him (καὶ τὸ ὄρος τοῦτο ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀγχίσου καλοῦσιν Ἀγχισίαν); 3) the Cyreneans were Dorians; unmistakable non-Greek onomastics and lexemes of Balkanic origin (whether North Hellenic or Illyrian) are extant in Doric Greek, as Blumenthal painstakingly documented. A mythical Bato was Amphiaros' charioteer who founded Arpuia in Illyria among the Encheleai, a tribe associated with a ruling family at Thebes (πόλις ἐν Ἰλλυρία παρ' Ἐγγελέαις, εἰς ἣν Βάτων ὁ Ἀμφιαράου ἡνίοχος μετὰ τὸν ἀφανισμὸν αὐτοῦ ἀπόκησε: Stephanus of Byz. S.v. Ἄρπυια); the same Bato was said to be Amphiaros' relative and had a hero shrine in Argos (Pausanias 2.23.2); for the symbolic role of charioteers as emblems of sovereignty, cf. Oinomaos' charioteer *Myrtilos*, whose name was a Bronze Age inheritance from the Hittite royal name *Mursilis* (Dale 2011). The κολώνη of Battieia at Troy also known as Myrine (*Iliad* 2.813) must have served as a race course since it is described as περίδρομος and burial mounds of dignitaries were frequently used as landmarks for race courses. The god-given name of Battieia, *Myrine*, variant of μυρσίνη 'myrtle', thus forms a triptych with 2) Amphiaros' charioteer/kinsman *Battos* and 3) Oinomaos' charioteer *Myrtilos*.

⁷⁴⁹ Diodorus Siculus 4.75.1 Τεύκρου δ' ἐγένετο θυγάτηρ Βάτεια· ταύτην δὲ Δάρδανος ὁ Διὸς γήμας...

no lexical cognate in Greek: the root is attested, however, within the Hellenic group, by Armenian *t'ndam* ‘I am shattered’⁷⁵⁰ [from IE **tu(n)d* ‘to thrust’, ‘to smite’ > Latin *tundo*, Sanskrit *tudati*, etc.], hence the original meanings of Τυνδ-άρεως and Τυδ-εύς: “the Striker.”

Apropos of the Argive festival *Daulis*, Chantraine comments:

La glose d’Hscyh. Δαῦλις· ἑορτὴ ἐν Ἄργει [μίμημα τῆς Προίτου πρὸς Ἀκρίσιον μάχης], dont le consonantisme ne serait pas grec, mais répondrait à celui de Κανδαύλης... Dérivation d’un thème en –i- qui se trouve attesté dans l’épithète méonienne d’Hermès chez Hipponax (3 Masson Ἑρμῆ κονάγγα, μηιονιστὶ Κανδαῦλα) Κανδαῦλα (vocat.), qui équivaut selon le poète à κονάγγης “étrangleur de chiens”, cf. aussi la glose Κανδαύλας· Ἑρμῆς ἢ Ἡρακλῆς (Hscyh.).⁷⁵¹

That *Daulis* was also a city in Phokis, which Thucydides associated with the ‘Thracian’⁷⁵² king Tereus (Thucydides 2.29.3), further supports Chantraine’s interpretation of *Daulis* as an originally non-Greek name. Chantraine further compares *Daulis* with the Hesychian lemma Θάυλια· ἑορτὴ [Ταραντῖνοι] ἀχθεῖσα ὑπὸ Κτεάτου· παρ’ ὃ καὶ θαυλίζειν λέγειν τοὺς Δωριεῖς.⁷⁵³ The cult of Zeus *Thaulios* in Thessaly,⁷⁵⁴ together with Θάυλιος ἢ Θαῦλος· Ἄρης Μακεδόνιος, suggests that the late Bronze Age / EIA immigrants who exported this cult to Greece, still pronounced the inherited aspirate IE *dh* of the root (**dhau-* ‘to press’, ‘to choke’⁷⁵⁵), hence the Hellenized outcome Θau- besides the voiced, deaspirated Δau-, also in Greece. The Phrygian δάος ‘wolf’ (ὑπο Φρυγῶν λύκος: Hesychius), Crestonian and Boeotian god *Kandaon* and the probably syncretistic

⁷⁵⁰ de Vaan 2008:634

⁷⁵¹ Chantraine 1966 s.v. Θάυλιος.

⁷⁵² See elsewhere for the *latus sensus* of ‘Thracian’ in ancient Greek, which could have encompassed a variety of linguistically unrelated or only distantly related (at the IE level) populations of the North Aegean.

⁷⁵³ Chantraine 1966 s.v. Θάυλιος.

⁷⁵⁴ *SEG* 40 484

⁷⁵⁵ Pokorny, s.v. ‘dhau’.

Maeonian *Kandaules*⁷⁵⁶ manifest dialectic cognates of the Makednian / proto-Doric branch (= ‘North Hellanic’).

This Argive festival Δαῦλις, which celebrated the fight between the twin brothers Akrisios and Proitos, is interconnected with yet another Makednian name: the twins’ father *Abas* is the eponym of the *Abantes*, a population, which Aristotle describes as ‘Thracian’. As discussed elsewhere, the Epirote *Amantes*, known to Antigonus, Apollonius of Rhodes and the lexicographers, are the same as these Abantes (Ἀμαντία Ἰλλυριῶν μοῖρα πλησίον Ὠρικοῦ καὶ Κερκύρας, ἐξ Ἀβάντων τῶν ἀπὸ Τροίας νοστησάντων ὤκισμένη, κατὰ βαρβαρικὴν τροπὴν τοῦ β εἰς μ ἐλέχθη παρὰ Ἀντιγόνῳ ἐν Μακεδονικῇ περιηγήσει).⁷⁵⁷ At the end of the Bronze Age or in the EIA (ca. 1100-850 BCE), the *Abantes* had left their homeland in Epirus and moved south into central Greece (hence Abai in Phokis; the Abantes in Euboea) and even further south into the Argolid, as

⁷⁵⁶ In the past few years, Anatolianists (such as Yakubovich 2008:115) tend to dismiss the Phrygian etymology ‘dog strangler’ of *Kandaules*, proposing alternatively an Anatolian protoform **hantawa-*, meaning ‘king’ and that Lydian Κανδάυλης represents an adjectival derivative of this noun. While the evidence for this is convincing—the name of the last Heraclid Lydian king might easily have been a phonetic transcription of the Lydian word for ‘king’, the alternative evidence for ‘dog strangler’ is equally strong and cannot be so lightly dismissed: besides Hipponax’ equation of Κανδάυλης with κυνάγλης, which naysayers have had trouble to refute, other than with contrived arguments, one also has to reckon with *Kandaon*, which is an epithet of Ares in Crestonia (which was in / near Macedonia) and was also an alternative name of Orion in Boeotia (scholiast to Lycophron 328). *Kandaon* is also an epithet of Ares in Lycophron 938. It so happens that *Thau-lios* was the name of Ares in Macedonian (Θαύλιος ἢ Θαῦλος Ἄρης Μακεδόνιος; Hesychius), which is arguably a late Hellenizing form of an earlier *D(h)aul(i)os*. Thus, that Ares in the Macedonian region was both *Thau-lios* (**Dhau-lios*) and *Kandaon*, suggests that the parsing *Kan-daon* is correct and rests on an earlier **Kan-dhawon* “dog strangler,” the latter element of which contains the same root as **Dhaw-lios*. *Thaul(i)os* and *Kandaon*, on the European side, are gods; *Kandaules*, in Asia Minor, is either a god (Hipponax), a hero (Hipponax) or a king (Herodotus). Thus, one either has to admit that the semantically diverse *Kandaules’es* in Asia Minor also have diverse origins (Phrygian and Anatolian) or that a certain degree of cross contamination occurred. Accordingly, a “king *Kandaules*” could be considered to be an instance of etymological syncretism or polygenesis whereby both an Anatolian **hantawa* is a reasonable etymon to posit, but so is the Phrygian theophoric etymon “dog strangler,” insofar as a) kings were generally a model modeled after certain gods; b) Phrygian and Lydian culture & onomastics interpenetrated each other in spite of their dissimilar origins (Arkwright 1918, Luke & Roosevelt 2009:2).

⁷⁵⁷ Antigonus *fr.* 3 = Stephanus of Byzantium, s.v. Ἄμαντες; cf. *Etymologicum Magnum* s.v. Ἄμαντες Οἱ περὶ Ἐλεφήνορα μετὰ Τροίας ἄλωσιν διέβησαν εἰς τὴν ἠπειρον, καὶ ὄκησαν παρὰ τὰ Κεραῦνια ὄρη· ἔκτισαν δὲ Εὐβοίαν. Ὅθεν Ἄβαντες ἐκλήθησαν. Ἐν ὑπομνήματι Λυκόφρονος. Καὶ κατὰ μεταφορὰν, Ἄμαντες. Apollonius of Rhodes 4.1214-1215 κεῖθεν δὲ Κεραῦνια μέλλον Ἀμάντων / οὔρα.

part of the Dorian migrations. Those that were left behind in Epirus came to be known as the Amantes, following a *b/m* regional shift, which is characteristic of the North Aegean. But in the extant Peloponnesian Argos-centric mythology, the points of departure and arrival are reversed: Abas is presented as a ‘native’ of Argos—in the Peloponnese, from there he founds Abai in Phokis; the Abantes from Euboea get shipwrecked in Epirus after the Trojan war.

2.3. Troy, Macedonia and Epirus: Cultural, Historical and Mythical Ties

In the previous section, “the Case for a Separate Indo-European Greco-Phrygian unit: ‘the Hellanic group’,” we cursorily surveyed the cultural and historical background of the linguistic relations in the North Aegean. In this section, the cultural and historical connection will take center stage.

2.3.1. The River King among the Macedonians, Paeonians, Trojans and Phrygians

A noteworthy feature interconnecting the Paeonians with the Macedonians and the Phrygians is the metonymic association of rivers with sovereignty. The Argead kings of Macedonia would sacrifice to an unknown river on a regular basis and regarded it as “their savior” (ὡς σωτήρι): we know this from an aetiological tale in Herodotus. As the three legendary sons of Temenos, Perdikkas, Gauanes and Aeropos fled from the cavalry of an unnamed king by whom they had been hired somewhere in the Pindus, the water levels of a river suddenly began to rise as soon as the three brothers, founders of the future Argead kingdom, had crossed it, cutting off the king’s chase and saving the lives of the Temenids (Herodotus 8.138):

Ποταμὸς δὲ ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ χώρῃ ταύτῃ, τῷ θύουσι οἱ τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν <τῶν> ἀπ’ Ἄργεος ἀπόγονοι <ὡς> σωτήρι· οὗτος, ἐπεὶτε διέβησαν οἱ Τημενίδαι, μέγας οὕτω ἐρρήθη ὥστε τοὺς ἰππέας μὴ οἴους τε γενέσθαι διαβῆναι. Οἱ δὲ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς ἄλλην γῆν τῆς Μακεδονίης οἴκησαν πέλας τῶν κήπων τῶν λεγομένων εἶναι Μίδεω τοῦ Γορδίου, ἐν τοῖσι φύεται αὐτόματα ῥόδα, ἐν ἑκαστον ἔχον ἑξήκοντα φύλλα, ὁδμῇ τε ὑπερφέροντα τῶν ἄλλων

There is a river in this region, to whom the descendants of these men from Argos sacrifice as their savior: as soon as the Temenids had crossed the river, it suddenly rose to great heights so that the horses of the pursuers could no longer cross. Having arrived in the other land of Macedonia, they settled near the so-called gardens of Midas the son of Gordion, in which roses grow on their own, each one having sixty petals, their fragrance surpassing others.

This special affinity of Macedonian kings with a sacred river is a regional phenomenon and arguably a North Hellenic cultural trait: that the Homeric leader Asteropaios of the Paionians is the offspring of the river Axios (*Iliad* 21.157: αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ γενεὴ ἐξ Ἀξιοῦ εὐρὺ ῥέοντος) and also dies in another river (the Scamander) should be tied in with a) the historical account according to which Audoleon, another Paeonian king in the 4th/3rd century BCE, had himself and his treasures buried in a river (θησαυροῦς...ποταμοῦ κάτωθεν κεκρυμμένου⁷⁵⁸) after his death, b) that Paeonians sank their dead in lakes,⁷⁵⁹ c) Paeonian kings were inaugurated by means of a ritual baptism in a river.⁷⁶⁰

The Paeonian river *Astibos* is noteworthy for its cultural ramifications as it interconnects the Paionians with the Macedonians and the Phrygians: Paeonian heirs to the throne were ritually baptized in this river and inaugurated as kings. As Merker 1965:37 points out, the hydronym *Astibos* matches Greek ἄστιβος “untrodden, holy”⁷⁶¹

⁷⁵⁸ Diodorus in Tzetzes *Chiliades* 6.53

⁷⁵⁹ Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae philosophorum* 9.84 θεοὺς τ’ ἄλλοι ἄλλους ἡγοῦνται· καὶ οἱ μὲν προνοεῖσθαι, οἱ δ’ οὐ. θάπτουσι δ’ Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν ταρι- χεύοντες, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ καίοντες, Παῖονες δ’ εἰς λίμνας ῥιπτοῦντες

⁷⁶⁰ Merker 1965:48 citing Polyainos 4.12.3. See also Macurdy 1925:86.

⁷⁶¹ Not included in the Liddell & Scott (*LSG*), but clearly attested in Antipater of Sidon and Hesychius. The root is στειβῶ “to tread on,” “to stamp on.”

formally and contextually. Attested in Hesychius (ἀστίβους· ἀπατήτους), the single example of its use by Antipater of Sidon associates the Greek lexeme with an aquatic setting: ἐς ἐρημαίην ἄστιβον ἡίονα “onto the solitary, untrodden shore,”⁷⁶² as does the sacred Paeonian river *Astibos*: τὸν Ἀρίστωνά ἔλουον τὸ βασιλικὸν λουτρὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀστίβου ποταμοῦ καὶ τὴν τράπεζαν τὴν βασιλικὴν παρέθηκαν κατὰ τὸ πάτριον ἔθος, “Ariston [the Paeonian heir to the throne] having been baptized as a king in the river Astibos, they set the royal table in accordance with ancestral custom.”⁷⁶³ The more common doublet ἀστιβῆς ‘untrodden’ also means ‘holy’, as in Sophocles, *Oedipus at Colonus* ἀστιβῆς ἄλσος (126) “untrodden / holy grove.”⁷⁶⁴

Moving to Phrygia, an affluent of the Sangarios river, near which king Midas ruled,⁷⁶⁵ was called *Souberis*, also known as *Hieronpotamon* or *Hieros flumen*, the “Sacred River.”⁷⁶⁶ Whereas the Paionian Asteropaios was the offspring of the river Axios, Midas was sometimes said to be the father of the river Sangarios.⁷⁶⁷ Another river, the Pactolus, is the river in which king Midas supposedly washed off the curse of his golden touch, hence the river’s high gold content.⁷⁶⁸ According to Claudian, who makes no mention of Midas’ curse, it is the frequent bathing of the king in the springs of Kelainai, whence the four great Anatolian rivers the Sangarius, the Gallus, Marsyas and

⁷⁶² Antipater of Sidon, *Anth. Gr.* 7.745

⁷⁶³ Polyaeus, *Strateg.* 6.10

⁷⁶⁴ Meaning #2 in *LSG*.

⁷⁶⁵ Pausanias 1.4.5

⁷⁶⁶ Kretschmer 1939:258 plausibly suggests that the indigenous name of the river, *Souberis*, is cognate with Armenian *surb* ‘pure’.

⁷⁶⁷ *Etymologicum Magnum* Σάγαρις: Ποταμὸς Φρυγίας· ἀπὸ Σαγάριδος τοῦ υἱοῦ Μίδου.

⁷⁶⁸ Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 11; Hyginus 191; Fulgentius 2.10.

Maiandros arise, which explains the glittering appearance and high gold-content of all four rivers.⁷⁶⁹ Keeping in mind that a Paeonian king is said to have been buried with his treasures in one of Paionia's riverbeds, one cannot help noticing the similarity with Midas' bathing in the Pactolus or the spring of other great rivers and the resultant richness in gold of the water. A son of king Midas is said to have perished by throwing himself and his horse into the source of the great Maeander, just as the Paionian hero Asteropaios dies in a river in the *Iliad*. Another son of king Midas, Lityerses, is said to have died near the aforementioned springs of Kelainai, also known as “the spring of Midas” (Xenophon, *Anabasis* 1.2.13 κρήνη ἢ Μίδου καλουμένη τοῦ Φρυγῶν βασιλέως).⁷⁷⁰ Just as the affluent of the Sangarios was “the sacred river” (*Hieronpotamon*), an affluent of the river Maeander was also known as the river *Midas*, the former name of the river Marsyas.⁷⁷¹

⁷⁶⁹ Claudian, *Against Eutropius* 259-261 *quattuor hinc magnis procedunt fontibus amnes / auriferi; nec miror aquas radiare metallo, / quae totiens lavere Midan.*

⁷⁷⁰ Vassileva 1997:13.

⁷⁷¹ Marsyas the satyr and Midas appear in several accounts together. Marsyas is also the name of the Macedonian historian *Marsyas*, of Aristocratic extraction (brother of Antigonos the One-Eyed, see Berve 1926:247-248). the widespread claim that Midas has to be an Anatolian name, related to the name Mita, is extreme. While X has convinced me that there is an Anatolian, pre-Phrygian element in the myth of king Midas and the Gordian knot and while Mita may have existed as a name in Bronze Age Anatolia, these plausible explanations are not incompatible with the likelier scenario of syncretism between a Brygian name and an Anatolian name, to which both parties in the early period of their coming together, could have related to the augustness of the name: Μίδων Μήδης, are also Paeonian names (Papazoglou 1979:164); Woudhuizen points to the Linear B and Homeric stronghold of Μίδεια (=2.507, cf. Yanakieva and Vassileva 1993:45) and the very name Midas, with a long iota, may very well be a dialectic variant of Me:das, “the ruler” and/or “the planner” (which is what traditional kings often did). The legendary migration of the Homeric hero Diomedes from Aetolia, which was a border zone between the highlands of the Pindus mountain range (Macedonia / Orestis) and Mycenaean Greece and whose father Tydeus was still characterized as mixobarbaros by Euripides [+ statement of Thucydides], to the Argolid, arguably encapsulates the memory of the Dorian Makednoi from the Pindus immediately to the north of Aetolia (hence the Hesiodic characterization of Pleuron as Makednos Pleuron) to Argos in the northern Peloponnese. At first, I was inclined to dismiss out of hand the claim made by Macedonian kings that they came from Argos in the Peloponnese. Although I still believe that the claim is literally fictitious and is an opportunistic abuse of the Argeads' historical provenience from the other Argos in Orestis (= Argos Orestikon, cf. Rosen 1978:9; Errington 1986:12; Vasilev 2011:77, Hall 2003:168 & Appianus *Syriacia* Ἄργος τὸ ἐν Ὀρεστείᾳ ὅθεν οἱ Ἀργεάδαι Μακεδόνες), I am now inclined to entertain the possibility that the actual Temenids in the Argolid still remembered and propagated the memory of their origins from the land

It was at a spring, either at the very same Kelainai in lower Phrygia or at the garden of Midas in Macedonia's Mount Bermion, that king Midas allegedly captured Silenus,⁷⁷² hence the characterization of Midas in *R.E.* as a *Quelle-Dämon*. Edessa, the only city in Macedonia, which is explicitly associated with king Midas, and which is located in the vicinity of the garden of Midas near Mount Bermion, has been convincingly traced to **Wedessa*, “the Watery place.”⁷⁷³

of the Makednoi further north and might have known that their Homeric hero Diomedes was also worshipped as a hero in that region: hence 1) the existence of a ‘Thracian Diomedes’ with man-eating mares [see X and Y for the doubleness of the two Diomedes] and 2) the Ibycus-starting evidence for Diomedes immortalizing journey on mythical islands of the coast of central Illyria. Remarkably, one particular account, Pseudo-Scymnus 429-434, places the final resting place of Diomedes in lake Lychnitis (lake Ohrid), which is precisely where Brygian tribes are attested: τὴν Λυχνίτιν λεγομένην. Προσεχῆς δὲ νῆσός ἐστιν, οὗ φασίν τινες ἐλθόντα Διομήδην ὑπολιπεῖν τὸν βίον· ὅθεν ἐστὶ Διομήδεια ταύτη τοῦνομα. Ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτους εἰσὶ Βρυγιοὶ βάρβαροι. Thus, Diomedes (Doric Dio-medas) would be an extended theophoric variant of the royal Phrygian name Midas. Both figures might ultimately descend from the same royal, Greco-Phrygian prototype.

⁷⁷² Aristotle in *Plutarch Consolatio ad Apollonium* 115b-7; Theopompus FHG I 289;

⁷⁷³ **wedu* was the Phrygian ford for ‘water’: βέδου[= φέδου] μὲν γὰρ τοὺς Φρύγας τὸ ὕδωρ φησὶ καλεῖν (Clement of Alexandria 5.8.46.4). Koine Greek, being digamma-less, often transcribes and original **w* with betas, c.f. βρόδον in our manuscripts of Sappho 68.2 = φρόδον (= Liddell & Scott). See Toynbee 1969:68; Ködderitzsch 1985:33,37, also Kretschmer 1896:286; Papazoglou 1988:128 (also cites Tomaschek, *die alten Thraker* II, 2, 5); Bernard 1995:388-393. Bousdroukis 2004:59; Edessa < **Wedessa* < **Wedesyā* (for the *-essa* morpheme, cf. Μακέτης Μακεδόνιος καὶ Μακέτις γυνὴ καὶ Μάκεσσα ἐπιθετικῶς, ὡς Ἡρακλείδης, καὶ Μάκεττα διὰ δύο ττ καὶ δι’ ἐνὸς τ. = Herodian 3,2.547.26). Non-linguistic factors bear out the reconstructed meaning ‘Watertown’ for Edessa. Edessa was so famous in antiquity for its waterfalls (and still to this day) that the second Edessa in Mesopotamia was named so by the Macedonians because its waterfalls reminded them of those of Edessa in Macedonia: Ἐδεσσα, πόλις Συρίας. διὰ τὴν τῶν ὑδάτων ῥύμην οὕτω κληθεῖσα. ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ (Steph. Of Byz. s.v. ‘Edessa’). Furthermore, on the basis of the triple duplication of 1) the garden of Midas, 2) the spring of Midas and 3) the capital of Midas in both Anatolia and Macedonia, one can posit that the attested garden/spring/capital of Midas in Anatolia is likewise duplicated in Macedonia: in Anatolia, the spring(s) of Midas were said to have been the spring(s) of Kelainai; Kelainai is also said to have been b) the garden of Midas and c) the capital of Midas. Insofar as 1) the garden of Midas, according to Herodotus 8.138, was located in the area of Mount Bermion and 2) the capital of Midas was Edessa, which is located at the foot of Mount Bermion, it follows that 3) the spring of Midas was located in/near Edessa. Accordingly, *Wedessa* ‘the Water place’ is a very fitting name for what would also have been the Macedonian Spring of Midas. Justin’s confusion, incidentally, of Edessa and Aigeai, the old capital of the Macedonians, is readily accounted for in terms of the Argeadai replicating the geographical symbols of power of the former Phrygian ascendancy: although Aigeai is decisively not the same as Edessa (Hammond 1972:157-158; Hall 2014:104-106), they are still located close to each other (25 miles), as Abel already pointed out in the mid-19th century: “nach Ptolemäos [III, 13] waren Edessa und Aegä zwei verschiedene Punkte und es ist dieß sehr wahrscheinlich; als die Begräbnisstadt der Könige, das makedonische Persepolis wird immer Aegä, nie Edessa genannt. Jedenfalls aber müssen wir beide in die nächste Nähe setzen (1847:114): both are located at the northern and southern tips of the Mount Bermion mountain range respectively. 25 miles’ distance is not ‘far’, *pace* Hatzopoulos 2003: 205, 210 who speaks of “distant Edessa.” Comparable is the foundation of *Baghdad* in 762 C.E. by the Arab

We need not expatiate on the connection between rivers and sovereignty at Troy here, which are obvious in the metonymic bonds associating Hektor with the river Skamandros, for which see section “the Maiandros: Greatest River of Ionia.”

2.3.2. Gold-laden Midas at Home in Mieza, Macedonia

Fredricksmeier and Vassileva noted the parallels in the reputation for gold and fabulous wealth of the Phrygians (in the figure of king Midas) and the Paeonians⁷⁷⁴: as they point out, incredible though it may be *prima facie*, Midas is said to have derived his wealth from the mountains near Mount Bermion—in Macedonia:

ὥς ὁ μὲν Ταντάλου πλοῦτος καὶ τῶν Πελοπιδῶν ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ Φρυγίαν καὶ Σίπυλον μετάλλων ἐγένετο· ὁ δὲ Κάδμου [ἐκ τῶν] περὶ Θράκην καὶ τὸ Παγγαῖον ὄρος· ὁ δὲ Πριάμου ἐκ τῶν ἐν Ἀστύροις περὶ Ἄβυδον χρυσείων, ὧν καὶ νῦν ἔτι μικρὰ λείπεται. πολλὴ δ' ἡ ἐκβολὴ καὶ τὰ ὀρύγματα σημεῖα τῆς πάλαι μεταλλείας· ὁ δὲ Μίδου ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὸ Βέρμιον ὄρος· ὁ δὲ Γύγου καὶ Ἀλυάττου καὶ Κροίσου ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν Λυδία καὶ τῆς μεταξὺ Ἀταρνέως τε καὶ Περγάμου πολίχνη ἐρήμη ἐκμεταλλευμένα ἔχουσα τὰ χωρία.

...just as the wealth of Tantalos and of the Pelopids came from the mines around Phrygia and Sipylos, so did the wealth of Kadmos come from the region of Thrace and Mount

Abassids, some 21 miles away from the then-desolate site of *Ctesiphon*, which had been the former capital of the Persian Sassanid empire (itself the site of Seleukia, former capital of the Seleukid empire) and the largest city in the world a century prior: “But most significant is that [the new site of Baghdad] was next to the Sassanid capital of Ctesiphon-Seleucia...The gigantic Caliphal palace, with an immense throne room modeled after the Sassanid palace of Ctesiphon”: Glassé 2008:81. One also notes the parallelism between the Garden of Midas in the Herodotean account playing a central role as the epicenter whence the three Temenids build their new kingdom and on the other hand Caranus in Justin’s account (Caranus first mentioned in 4th century BCE author Marsyas of Pella) who founds Aegeai / Edessa [sic] on the basis of oracular goats (Greek αἴγες) fleeing a *rainstorm* and leading him to the right place for founding the city from which he can build his future kingdom: *urben Edessam non sentientibus oppidanis propter imbrium et nebulae magnitudinem gregem caprarum imbrem fugientium secutus occupavit... crescentique regno valida incrementorum fundamenta constituit* (Justin 7:1). The goat element in the myth is clearly folk-etymological (though not itself without cultural merits) whereas the water element speaks to the semantic near-identity of (**W*)*Edessa* = ‘Water place’ and *Aigeai* = αἴγες· τὰ κύματα. Δωριεῖς (independently attested in Artemidorus 2.12; akin to αἰγιαλός ‘shore’, cf Frisk and Chantraine). Justin’s confusion of Edessa and Aigeai was prompted by the Argeadai’s emulation of their Phrygian predecessors in terms of 1) the association of the capital of the paradigmatic Phrygian kingdom with something conspicuously aquatic in the landscape and 2) geographic proximity to the Bermion mountain range, which Herodotus explicitly associates with a) the Garden of Midas and b) the epicenter for the expansion of the new Argead kingdom. The frequent depiction of a goat on the coins of Edessa in the Roman imperial period would serve double duty: 1) the perpetuation of a common pre-Argead symbol on coins in the area and 2) related to the former, the association of goats with impetuous streams, as argued by Chrysotomou: correspondingly, the stream *Skirtos* near Edessa in Mygdonia has associations with torrents and goats (cited in Bousdroukis 2004:75).

⁷⁷⁴ Vassileva 1997:12.

Pangaion; that of Priam from the gold mines in Astyroi around *Abydos*, of which there is little left nowadays. here the amount of earth thrown out is considerable, and the excavations are signs of the mining in olden times; and the wealth of Midas derives from Mount Bermion. and that of Gyges and Alyattes and Croesus from those Lydia and from the region between Atarneus and Pergamum, where is a small deserted town, whose lands have been exhausted of ore.

In this particular fragment of Callisthenes,⁷⁷⁵ the ethnicity of king Midas is left unspecified, unlike Herodotus et al. who call him Phrygian: perhaps, Callisthenes, who was intimately familiar with Macedonia and accompanied Alexander the Great on his expeditions, knew of a local ‘Paionian’, perhaps even a ‘Macedonian’ Midas: it is notable that in his list of legendary, rich men from the past, Tantalos is associated with the riches of Phrygia and is often said to be Phrygian himself; the mentioning of Gyges, who is Lydian, seems to imply that each of Callisthenes’ paragons of wealth belong to ethne that all differ from one another; we will later address the question of Kadmos’ ‘Phoenician’ birth and account for the complementary claim that he migrated in his old age to Illyria among the Enchelanes or alternatively in the northeast Aegean, Samothrace. Insofar as Callisthenes’ list of paragons of wealth associates each exemplum with a specific ethnicity, it is permissible to suggest that his Midas cannot have been Phrygian since Tantalos occupies the Phrygian position: this leaves us with either Paeonian or even Macedonian. Whereas the Paionian or Macedonian ethnicity of king Midas can thus be inferred from Callisthenes’ account, the wealth of the regional Paionians too was legendary, as we learn from Callisthenes’ uncle Aristotle:

Περὶ Παιονίαν λέγουσιν, ὅταν συνεχεῖς ὄμβροι γένωνται, εὕρισκεσθαι περιτηκομένης τῆς γῆς χρυσὸν τὸν καλούμενον ἄπυρον. λέγουσι δ’ ἐν τῇ Παιονίᾳ οὕτω χρυσιζειν τὴν γῆν ὥστε πολλοὺς εὕρηκεναι καὶ ὑπὲρ μνᾶν χρυσοῦ ὀλκήν. τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ τινὰ φασιν εὐρόντα ἀνενεγκεῖν δύο βώλους, τὸν μὲν τρεῖς μνᾶς ἄγοντα, τὸν δὲ πέντε· οὓς φασιν ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης αὐτῷ παρακεῖσθαι, καὶ ἐπ’ ἐκείνων πρῶτον, εἴ τι ἐσθίει, ἀπάρχεσθαι⁷⁷⁶

⁷⁷⁵ Callisthenes in Strabo 14.5.28

⁷⁷⁶ Aristotle, *De Mirabilibus Auscultationibus* 45.

In Paeonia they say that when showers of rain fall continuously, as the soil melts away, gold is found called unfired gold. They say that in Paeonia the ground is so full of gold that many have found more than a mina's weight. They say that one man found two lumps and took them to the king, one weighing three minae and one five; these were laid by him on the table, and, if he ate anything, he first poured a libation on these.

Moreover, we learn from Callisthenes that king Priam derived his wealth from the town of Ἄβυδος, located north of the Troad along the Dardanelles: this is interesting because, as reported above by Strabo, a city with almost the same name, Ἀβυδών, was the chief city of the fabulously wealthy Paionians along the Axios river in the Thermaic Gulf according to Strabo: this Ἀβυδών, he says convincingly, is the same as the Homeric Ἀμυδών.⁷⁷⁷

What is most intriguing is the active memory of king Midas at an epichoric level in the 4th century Macedonia of Alexander the Great. As Fredricksmeier and Roller have forcefully argued,⁷⁷⁸ the collective memory of king Midas in Macedonia was a local legend, which the Argeads most likely cultivated⁷⁷⁹: the garden of Midas as the epicenter from which the Argead Macedonian expanded their kingdom, the memory of Edessa in Macedonia having been a residence of king Midas, Alexander's interest in the Gordian knot or the Phrygians' singular interest in inviting Alexander to the Gordian knot, to which they had apparently never invited any other conqueror before the arrival of the Macedonians—the Cimmerians, the Lydians and the Persians (Roller 1984:270). The memory of king Midas could not have been preserved if the last Phrygian emigration

⁷⁷⁷ Strabo 7a.1.20 ὁ δὲ Ἀξιὸς ἐκδίδωσι μεταξύ Χαλάστρας καὶ Θέρμης· ἐπίκειται δὲ τῷ ποταμῷ τούτῳ χωρίον ἐρυμνόν, ὃ νῦν μὲν καλεῖται Ἀβυδών, Ὅμηρος δ' Ἀμυδῶνα καλεῖ, καὶ φησι τοὺς (20) Παίονας ἐντεῦθεν εἰς Τροίαν ἐπικούρους ἔλθειν „τηλόθεν ἐξ Ἀμυδῶνος ἀπ' Ἀξιοῦ εὐρυρέοντος [*Iliad* 2.849 & 16.288] “ κατεσκάφη δ' ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀργεαδῶν.

⁷⁷⁸ Fredricksmeier 1961:164-168; Roller 1984:262.

⁷⁷⁹ Cf. Munn 2006:72.

from Macedonia had been the end of the Bronze Age.⁷⁸⁰ How could the Macedonians have remembered king Midas as king of the Phrygians in Macedonia four centuries earlier, considering that a) Macedonian society was still far less literate than their Greek relatives to the south and b) the Paeonians had occupied Macedonia in the interim for two centuries or so?

Let us now come to grips with the origins of the name *Midas*: was it Hellenic or Anatolian? Or both? Before attempting to answer the question, one must first observe that the names Μίδων (Polybius) and Μήδης (early 2nd century CE) are extant in Macedonia: the former Μίδων was given to a man from Beroia in Macedonia,⁷⁸¹ a city which was once part of Paionia (τῆς Παιονίας, ἐν οἷς καὶ πόλεις ἀξιόλογοι Ἔδεσσα καὶ Βέροια)⁷⁸²; the latter Μήδης, which could be a hypercorrect Atticization of an indigenous *Μίδας,⁷⁸³ was found at Palatiano, near Kilkis in Macedonia, in a family *heroon* with five statues of his family, including that of his father *Patraos*,⁷⁸⁴ which was also the name of a Paionian king.⁷⁸⁵

Some Anatolianists claim that Midas is a native Anatolian name because the similar-sounding *Mita* is attested in Bronze Age Turkey, including the eastern regions. A

⁷⁸⁰ Haas 1970:36: es konnten Jahrhunderte vergangen sein, ehe die Einwanderer aus Makedonien ein festgegründetes Reich und die Möglichkeit geschaffen hatten, königliche Grabanlagen monumentaler Art auszuführen. Wieviel Jahrhunderte? Gegen einen allzu hohen Ansatz spricht, dass Herodot noch die Überlieferung von der Wanderung der [Nordost-] Phryger aus Makedonien nach Kleinasien aus schriftloser Zeit zu Ohren kam.

⁷⁸¹ Polybius 27.8.6

⁷⁸² Diodorus 31.8.8

⁷⁸³ By the 2nd century CE, Attic η was pronounced *i*. See Horrocks 2010.

⁷⁸⁴ SEG XXVII 287; Papazoglou 1979:164. For the morphology of the name *Patraos*, compare *Oinomaos*.

⁷⁸⁵ Papazoglou 1979:164; for the *heroon*, see Daehner 2007:93-94; Fejfer 2008:124.

contemporary of the Hittite king (1370-1355 BC),⁷⁸⁶ a certain *Mita* was king of Pakhuwa, a city located in eastern Anatolia, west of the upper Euphrates.⁷⁸⁷ This single example, at best, supports the scenario of possible syncretism between an ‘indigenous’ Anatolian name and a Phrygian (Hellanic) name. Even in this time period, despite Robbins’ protests,⁷⁸⁸ it cannot be ruled out, as Barnett points out, that early Phrygians (or more broadly Hellanes) had made it into eastern Anatolia.⁷⁸⁹ Moreover, it cannot be ruled out that the origin of this *Mita* of Pakhuwa is neither Phrygian nor Anatolian, but Indo-Aryan, since the upper Euphrates had fallen under the political or cultural sphere of the Mitanni: *Mita*- ‘established’, ‘firm’, ‘measured’, ‘moderate’ produces productive compounds in Sanskrit onomastics, *Mitajñu* “Having firm knees”, *Mitavāc* ‘Of moderate speech’, *Mitadhvaja* ‘With a Strong Banner’.⁷⁹⁰ *Mita* may have been the shorthand form of a longer Indo-Aryan compound name in Bronze Age eastern Anatolia. Third, the near homonymy of this single Bronze Age *Mita* in eastern Anatolia with the Phrygian Midas could be fortuitous (which is not to say that the 12th century *Mita*, king of the Mushki in 8th century BCE Assyrian records is also fortuitous: this *Mita*, as most commentators

⁷⁸⁶ Robbins 2001:175.

⁷⁸⁷ Barnett 1967:5 says it was probably located in the vicinity of the modern-day town of Divriği, Turkey.

⁷⁸⁸ Robbins 2001:175.

⁷⁸⁹ Barnett 1967:5 calls them ‘Thraco-Phrygian’. The *Drdny*, conceivably Dardanians, were Hittite allies at the battle of Kadesh (1274 BCE). Although Giorgadze 1961 (quoted by Singer 2007:175) contends that the *Kaska*, the Hittites’ enemy to the north, were from the Caucasian mountains and spoke a Kartvelian language, it is equally possible that they could have been early Phrygians or Thracians from the Balkans, as Rostislav Oreshko suggested to me (personal communication 01/05/2014). The suffix *-ška* is frequently attested in territories with which the *Kaska* are associated, e.g. *Tatiška*, *Duduška*, *Muniška*, *Karikuriška*, *Zianteška*, and of course, the name *Kaška* itself (quoted by Singer 2007:175): while this suffix could be of Kartvelian origin, it is also attested in the Indo-European languages: in Greek, it produces diminutives and ethnonyms in Italic, Indo-Iranian and arguably North Hellanic if the name of the *Pelasgoi* indeed stems from *Pelag-skoi*, “inhabitants of the πέλαγος,” [plain/sea], as posited by Kretschmer 1896.

⁷⁹⁰ Monier-Williams 1872, s.v. ‘mita’.

agree, must be a transcription of a Phrygian Midas and the Mushki are equivalent to the Mysians).

But the IE root **med-*, from which Midas seems to derive, is very basic and universal: ‘to take measures’, hence secondarily ‘to rule’ in Greek μέδω ‘I rule over’, substantive μέδων ‘ruler’, cf. Oscan *meddix* ‘magistrate’. In the Hellenic group, the root comes as both **med* and long-grade **mēd*, both of which are productive, e.g. Λαο-μέδων besides Διο-μήδης. As for the ending *-as* of *Mid-as*, it is very common in Macedonian, e.g. Περδίκκ-ας, one of the legendary founders of the Argeads; Γαιτέ-ας; Πτολέμμ-ας, etc.⁷⁹¹; similarly, *-as* is common in Paionian onomastics, e.g. Paionian *Did-as*.⁷⁹²

Thus, the name ‘Midas’ can simply be explained as an indigenous Hellenic name: “the Ruler,” with the hypocoristic suffix of the type found in *Perdikk-as*. The shift *e* to *i* in **Medas* > *Midas* is attested regionally, e.g. Macedonian *iv* ‘in’,⁷⁹³ from **ēv*; the Paeonian personal name *IKKOTIMOC*⁷⁹⁴ “horse honor,” which is equivalent to the Greek *Hippotimos*, compares with dialectic Aeolic *ikkos*,⁷⁹⁵ Mycenaean *i-ḡo* = (*h*)*ikkwos*, the Tarentine (Doric) PN *Ikkos*,⁷⁹⁶ and shows the same vocally anomalous Greek

⁷⁹¹ Γαιτέας in Masson 1998:117; as for Περδίκκας and other examples, except *Midas*, which of course he does not mention, Masson 1993:160 writes: “dans une liste de prêtres de Kalindoia, SEG XXXVI, 626 (IVa), on trouve plusieurs noms macédoniens typiques, certains rares ou nouveaux. A la l. 25, après un Κερτίμμας et un Φιλώτας, on rencontre un Πτολέμμας, inconnue auparavant. En le comparant au nom de femme Πολεμμά qui est usité en Béotie, on le définira aisément comme un nouveau diminutif de la même série, caractérisé par le redoublement expressif du *-m-* et un élargissement en *-ā*. Comme il s’agit d’un élément simple (non composé), on peut rapprocher aussitôt le nom macédonien ancien et typique Περδίκκας, constitué sur *πέρδιξ* “perdix.”

⁷⁹² Papazoglou 1979:162.

⁷⁹³ Hesychius *iv* δέα· μεσημβρία. Μακεδόνες.

⁷⁹⁴ Plassart 1921:17.

⁷⁹⁵ Herodian 3,2.548: ἴκκος...οἱ Αἰολεῖς

⁷⁹⁶ Plato, *Protagoras* 316d.

outcome (*h*)*i*- of late IE **e*-(*kwos*); the shift *e* > *i* occurs sporadically in Aeolic and Ionic, e.g. Aeolic ἰστία,⁷⁹⁷ Ionic ἰστίη ‘hearth’ vs. Attic ἐστία (Urgreek **westiā*); Aeolic (Homeric) πίσυρες ‘four’ vs. Attic τέσσαρες.

Similarly, the city of *Mideia*, whose first iota is short like the short iota in Midas, is named as a city in Boeotia in the Catalogue of Ships (*Iliad* 2.507: οἱ τε πολυστάφυλον Ἄρνην ἔχον, οἱ τε Μίδειαν); another *Midea* was also one of the largest cities of the Mycenaeans in the Bronze Age where royal tombs have been found. As Brooks 2008:168 notes, Midea “was the first home of Atreus and Thyestes. When the myths speak of Sthenelos inviting his brothers-in-law to rule at Midea, we should perhaps think of this in terms of mediaeval feudalism, where baronies are granted to powerful junior members of a family to be held in fief to a king.” Presumably, these Mycenaean and EIA *Mide(i)a* sites owed their names to some connection to a local or regional ruler, or possibly ‘council’. Similarly, there was a Μιδάειον in Anatolia, which is first mentioned by Hellenicus, and associated with king Midas on 2nd century CE coins.⁷⁹⁸

The city of Μίεζα in the Thermaic Gulf valley, at the foot of king Midas’ Mount Bermion in Macedonia, had once literally been “the City of Midas [= the Ruler]” and is arguably a phonetic doublet of Homeric Μίδεια “Rulerville” through these steps: *Μίδεια > *Μίδια > *Μίδυα > Μίζζα > Μῖζα > Μίεζα.⁷⁹⁹ Two principal reasons underlie my claim:

⁷⁹⁷ Buck 1910:21

⁷⁹⁸ Steph. of Byz.: Μιδάειον, πόλις Φρυγίας. Ἑλλάνικος ἐν δευτέρῳ Δευκαλιωνείας, καὶ Μιδάιον λέγεται. τὸ ἔθνικόν Μιδαεῖς. ἔστι καὶ Μιδαῖεύς, καὶ Μιδήιον. Midas on coins of Midaion: Borg 2004:27.

⁷⁹⁹ Alternatively, one could propose this chain: *Μίδεια > *Μίεδια [ε metathesis] > Μίεδυα > Μίεζα. A third phonetic pathway is conceivable: not enough is known about the phonology of ancient Macedonian to decide which one is correct. For the similarity of the treatment of *-ia* ending words in Macedonian to its treatment in Aeolic, cf the nearby Macedonian city of Κύρρος, from *κύριος ‘in power’.

- a) Fredricksmeier's cogent case for his identification of Mieza with the legendary spring where Midas captured Silenus:

...Alexander [the Great] resided at the *nymphaeum* (the sanctuary of the Nymphs) near Mieza (Plutarch 7.4). Mieza lay on the eastern foothills of the Bermium range to the north of Beroea. These facts in combination surely place the *nymphaeum* in or very near the gardens of Midas. (Plutarch [*Alexander* 7.4] comments on the natural beauty of the *nymphaeum*; Herodotus describes the natural splendor of the gardens. In these gardens Macedonian legend had it that Silenus was captured. The association between *sileni* and nymphs was very close, particularly in the North Aegean area; the *sileni* were the nymphs' natural companions and suitors, eager and persistent; they haunted the same localities. A likely spot, therefore, to look for and find Silenus was at the abode of the nymphs. Now there was at the *nymphaeum* a cave and near by a spring. This cave was well known down into Christian times. According to Virgil (*Buc.* 6.13) the capture of Silenus took place in a cave, and (6.20f) a water nymph then came upon the scene of the capture. The scholiast (*Serv. Comm in Verg. Buc.*) comments (on 6.13) that this story about Silenus was said not to have been invented by Virgil, but to have been taken from Theopompus. It is evident, therefore, that, according to Theopompus, Silenus was captured in a cave. But the historian also has the capture take place by a spring (Frag. 75a), and he actually calls (Frag. 75c) Silenus "the son of a nymph." These facts in combination, while not amounting to definitive proof, do at least create the very real possibility that the *nymphaeum* where Alexander studied was the very spot where legend had it that Midas, or his shepherds, captured Silenus. In this connection it is noteworthy that Aristotle, who was with Alexander at the *nymphaeum* (Plutarch, *loc. Cit.*), wrote a long account of the conversation which supposedly took place between Midas and Silenus after the latter's capture (frag. 44 R).

I would add that Theagenes, *fr.* 7, who says that *Beres* was the father of Mieza, the eponym of the city, shows that a folk etymological connection existed between Mieza and the *Bermion* mountain range in the outskirts of the town (Μιέζα, πόλις Μακεδονίας... ἀπὸ Μιέζης θυγατρὸς Βέρητος τοῦ Μακεδόνοϋ).

- b) an unusually high concentration of toponyms in the Thermaic gulf valley with etymologies connected to sovereignty and political supremacy.

The former Paeonian identity of Macedonian Mygdonia, as stated by Strabo,⁸⁰⁰ allows us to examine the region *Krousis*, whose eponym was a son of Mygdon: Κρουσίς, μοῖρα τῆς

⁸⁰⁰ Strabo 7a.1.41: Ὅτι καὶ πάλαι καὶ νῦν οἱ Παίονες φαίνονται πολ- λὴν τῆς νῦν Μακεδονίας κατεσχηκότες, ὡς καὶ Πέρινθον πολιορκῆσαι, καὶ Κρηστωνίαν καὶ Μυγδονίδα πᾶσαν καὶ τὴν Ἀγριάνων μέχρι Παγγαίου ὑπ' αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι.

Μυγδονίας. Στράβων ἑβδόμη. ἡ γενικὴ Κρουσίδος. ἀπὸ Κρούσιος τοῦ Μυγδόνοιο υἱοῦ.⁸⁰¹

Von Gutschmid made the tantalizing suggestion that *Krousis* is a phonetic evolution of *Kroisis*, the eponym of which *Kroisos* and *Kroises* are attested as the grandfather of Karanos, the founding dynast of the Macedonian Argeads.⁸⁰² According to Hellanicus 1a4F 31, Aineias migrates after the fall of Troy to Pallene in Chalcidike where is welcomed by his staunch allies the *Krousaioi*.⁸⁰³

As late an author as Diodorus characterizes Edessa (and Beroia)—the former capital of the Phrygian capital of king Midas—as city located in the territory of Paeonia (τῆς Παιονίας, ἐν οἷς καὶ πόλεις ἀξιόλογοι Ἔδεσσα καὶ Βέροια),⁸⁰⁴ despite centuries of occupation by the Macedonians: this raises the probability that the Paeonians styled themselves as the heirs of the Phrygians and mediated the Phrygian heritage of the Macedonians. Thus, Herodotus' account that the Paeonians claimed to be colonists of the Trojan *Teukroi* gains a certain degree of credibility, as it implies ancient connections with the populations in Asia Minor across the Dardanelles. The frequency of Silenus depicted on Paeonian coins⁸⁰⁵ must be the mythical and cultural backdrop for the legend of the capture of Silenus in the garden of Midas around Mount Bermion in the Herodotean account.

2.3.3. Emathia(ns): Macedonia(ns) in the Trojan War?

⁸⁰¹ Stephanus of Byzantium, s.v. Κρουσίς.

⁸⁰² Von Gutschmid 1893:68. For the evolution of *oi to u in Macedonian, cf. the Hesychian gloss ὑετής: ὁ αὐτοετής, Μαρσύας; this putatively Macedonian ὑετής is cognate with Homeric οἰέτας, acc. pl., (ἔτος).

⁸⁰³ Hellanicus 1a4F 31 τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους παῖδας Αἰνεΐας παραλαβὼν καὶ τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὰ ἔδη τῶν θεῶν, ἐπειδὴ παρεσκευάσθη τὸ ναυτικὸν αὐτῷ, διαπλεῖ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐπὶ τῆς ἔγγιστα κειμένης χερρονήσου τὸν πλοῦν ποιούμενος, ἢ πρόκειται μὲν τῆς Εὐρώπης, καλεῖται δὲ Παλλήνη. ἔθνος δ' εἶχεν αὐτὴν Θράκιον σύμμαχον, Κρουσαῖον καλούμενον, ἀπάντων προθυμώτατον τῶν συναραμένων αὐτοῖς τοῦ πολέμου.

⁸⁰⁴ Diodorus 31.8.8, cf. Duridanov 1975:21.

⁸⁰⁵ Svoronos 1919:79 *et passim*.

Mygdonia, which in the Classical period is circumscribed to Eastern Macedonia, is implicitly associated with territories allied to Troy in the *Iliad* through the eponym *Mygdon*, king of the Phrygians. As we have argued, *Mygdonia* is a syncopated form of *Macedonia* and used to cover the same larger geographic range as Macedonia and the Pindus mountain range under the earlier ascendancy of the *Bryges* / Proto-Phrygians. In our discussion below, we will see that the Homeric Paionia, defined by the course of the Axios river, included Mygdonia, as defined above. Here again, we find the same region and corresponding ethnonym associated with the Trojans. The Homeric *Iliad* associates a third name with Macedonia or a region in/near Macedonia: Emathia (*Iliad* 14.225-232:

Ἥρη δ' ἀΐζασα λίπεν ρίον Οὐλύμποιο,
 Πιερίην δ' ἐπιβᾶσα καὶ Ἥμαθίν ἔρατεινήν
 σεύατ' ἔφ' ἵποπόλων Θρηκῶν ὄρεα νιφόνετα
 ἀκροτάτας κορυφάς· οὐδὲ χθόνα μάρπτε ποδοῖν·
 ἐξ Ἀθόω δ' ἐπὶ πόντον ἐβήσετο κυμαίνοντα,
 Λῆμμον δ' εἰσαφίκανε πόλιν θείιοιο Θόαντος.
 ἔνθ' Ὑπνω ζύμβλητο κασιγνήτῳ Θανάτοιο
 ἔν τ' ἄρα οἱ φῦ χειρὶ ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζεν·

A cartographic visualization of Hera's flight shows a slightly curved flight across the Northern Aegean:

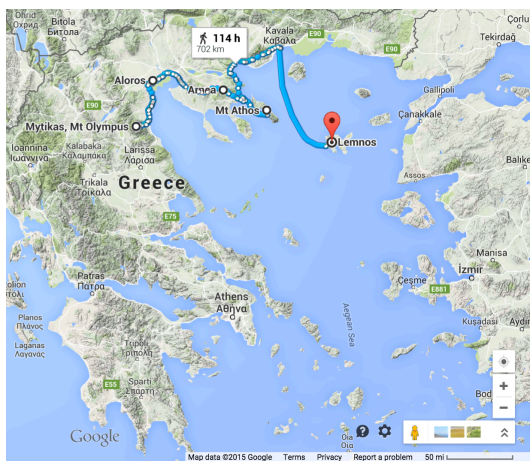


Figure 11: Hera's Trajectory (*Iliad* 14.225-232). On this map, 'Mt Olympus' is Mount Olympus; 'Olimpiaki Akti' is Pieria; 'Aloros' approximates the territory of 'Emathia' (Macedonia elsewhere in poetry); 'Arnaia' approximates the Thracian mountains; 'Mount Athos' is Mount Athos; 'Lemnos Island' is Lemnos.

Among all the places Hera visits, Pieria, Emathia, the snowy mountains of the Thracians, Athos and Lemnos, only the snowy mountains of the Thracians (Θρηκῶν ὄρεα νιφόεντα), which are located in the middle of Hera’s itinerary, are given an ethnic label—a non-Greek label. And yet, the inference can be drawn that none of the other territories are Greek / Achaean either: Thoas on Lemnos is half-Greek through his father Jason, but the reference to his mother Hypsipyle is an explicit reminder that the island was still inhabited by the mostly, non-Greek speaking *Sinties* (*Iliad* 1.594; *Odyssey* 8.294), whose subsequent presence is verified by the 6th century inscriptions in a proto-Etruscan dialect.⁸⁰⁶ Mount Athos, which the poet seems to playfully connect with the Lemnian Thoas (14.229-230 ἐξ Ἀθόω δ’ ἐπὶ πόντον ἐβήσετο κυμαίνοντα, / Λῆμνον δ’ εἰσαφίκανε πόλιν θείοιο Θόαντος) is also described by Herodotus and Thucydides as partly inhabited by Etruscan (= Tyrsenian/Pelasgian) populations alongside Thracian and Greek (Chalchidian) populations. If we date the major compositional period of the *Iliad* to the 8th/7th century BCE, it would correspond to the inception of the first Eretrian and Chalchidian colonies there among still mostly non-Greek populations. Accordingly, the reference to “Thracian Athos” in the Homeric Hymn to Apollo (line 33) cannot be taken in all likelihood as a mere geographic descriptor (Thracian territorially, not ethnically).

Emathia, ‘the sandy shore,’ was the former name of Macedonia according to Strabo 7a.1.11 (Ἡμαθία ἐκαλεῖτο πρότερον ἢ νῦν Μακεδονία).⁸⁰⁷ In Latin poetry, the adjectival derivative is a synonym of ‘Macedonian, hence *Emathius dux* = the Emathian

⁸⁰⁶ There is no merit to the objection made by some commentators that the Sinties could not have been Etruscan because Homer does not call them ‘Tyrsenoi’. Etruscan-speaking populations could have borne a variety of ethnonyms.

⁸⁰⁷ cf Pseudo–Scymnus Geogr., *Ad Nicomedem regem*, vv. 1–980; also Aristonicus καὶ Ἡμαθία τὸ πρότερον ἢ Μακεδονία ἐκαλεῖτο. . Aristonicus on *Iliad* 14.226.

leader = Alexander the Great (*Ov. Trist.* iii. 5, 39). The name clearly speaks to an Ionic perspective and an Ionic nomenclature, not a local perspective, because the sandy shores of Macedonia would have been more familiar to Ionian navigators (in particular Euboean, see Gimatzidis 2007) than any other region of Macedonia.⁸⁰⁸ It would be absurd for Macedonians, most of whose territory was inland and in the highlands, to call their own territory “Sandland.” Confirmation for this synecdoche lies in Strabo’s specification that Emathia is also a city [in Macedonia] by the sea (ἦν δὲ καὶ πόλις Ἡμαθία πρὸς θαλάσση).⁸⁰⁹ Thus, Emathia would have originally represented Bottia and Mygdonia, the lowlands of Macedonia.

Establishing a chronology of the ethnic occupation of Emathia is difficult to establish: no label is given to the Iliadic Pieria, but Strabo 7.8 asserts that it had been Thracian before the Argeadai took their territory over: Θρακῶν δὲ Πίερες μὲν ἐνέμοντο τὴν Πιερίαν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Ὀλυμπόν... Τούτων δὲ πάντων οἱ Ἀργεάδαι καλούμενοι κατέστησαν κύριοι καὶ Χαλκιδεῖς οἱ ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ.⁸¹⁰ On the other hand, the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* places the Macedonians and Magnesians in Pieria and around Mount Olympus, which could be reconciled with Strabo’s account in several ways, as we shall below. At the same time, the existence of a Pierian town known as *Akesamene*, which Theagenes traces to a founding hero *Akesamenos*,⁸¹¹ may put Pieria in the

⁸⁰⁸ For the typology of foreign lands called “Sandy land,” which are discovered by sea, cf the name of the land of the Phaeacians, *Scherie*, literally ‘Shoreland’ or *Akte* ‘the Coast’.

⁸⁰⁹ Cf. Herodian Ἡμαθία πόλις καὶ χώρα ἢ νῦν Μακεδονία.

⁸¹⁰ Helly also considers the earliest datable population of Pieria to have been Thracian (2007:199-200).

⁸¹¹ Stephanus of Byzantium: Ἀκεσαμεναί, πόλις Μακεδονίας, ὡς Θεαγένης. κτίσμα Ἀκεσαμενοῦ, ἐνὸς τῶν ἐν Πιερίᾳ βασιλευσάντων.

Paeonian sphere in the compositional period of the *Iliad* since the father of the Paeonian hero Asteropaios is named Akessamenos (*Iliad* 21.141).

As far as the saga of the Trojan war is concerned, the eponym *Emathion* occurs in five different narratives: in all five, Emathion is Trojan or a Trojan ally, not an Achaean. In two (arguably three) of the five, the connection with Emathia (= Eastern Macedonia) is made, e.g. schol. *Hesiod. Theog.* 985: Ἡμαθίωνα, ἀφ' οὗ ἡ Μακεδονία Ἡμαθίη.⁸¹² In the Hesiodic *Theogony*, Emathion is the son of Dawn and Tithonos whose antiquity is vouched for by his embeddedness in Homeric formulaic diction: Ἡὼς δ' ἐκ λεχέων παρ' ἀγαυοῦ Τιθωνοῖο / ὄρνυθ' (*Iliad* 11.1-2). Tithonos, whose name could be Paeonian, may mask a form **Dhidhonos*, “the Shining one,”⁸¹³ is the brother of king Priam. According to Dionysius of Chalcidike, whose birthplace might indicate his knowledge of local Macedonian lore, Emathion is a Trojan survivor of the war and emigrant to Italy⁸¹⁴: he will become the father of *Rhomos*, eponym of Rome; In the *Aeneid*, Emathion is a Trojan companion of Aeneas (9.571ff); in Quintus of Smyrna, Emathion is a Trojan too. Finally, Emathion is the brother of Dardanos according to Nonnus.⁸¹⁵

The skeptic might object that the name Emathion ‘Sandman’, except in the first instance, is too generic and vague to be associated with the coast of Macedonia, despite

⁸¹² Also Melisseus *fr.* 1 in Schol to *Hesiod. Works & Days*, see below.

⁸¹³ Paeonian personal name *Didas* (Papazoglou 1979:162) from **Didhas* < **Dhidhas*. Wüst (*RE*), s.v. ‘Tithonos’: auf eine indog. Wurzel *didhi* ‘leuchten; danach wäre also T. = Partizip *didhyana* ‘der Leuchtende’”; cf Eos’ other son in the *Theogony* Phaethon; ‘shining’ names are typologically common, cf. *Lucius*, and here contextually appropriate. That *Lamos* “Torch man” is another brother of Tithonos (Λαομέδων δ' ἄρα Τιθωνὸν τέκετο Πριάμῳν τε: *Iliad* 20.237) strengthens the case that his name means something like ‘Radiant’.

⁸¹⁴ See Horsfall 2008 on the credibility of a segment at least of the future Etruscans migrating out of the Aegean to their future homeland.

⁸¹⁵ Nonnus, *Dionysiaka* 3.195 Δάρδανος, Ἡμαθίονος ἀδελφεός.

the Iliadic identification of Emathia with Eastern Macedonia. In his *Delphica*, however, the otherwise unknown ancient author Melisseus [in Schol Hesiod *Works and Days* 1], is very specific:

Πιερία πρότερον ὑπὸ Πιέρου κτισθεῖσα τοῦ Μεθώνης ἀδελφοῦ, πατὴρ δὲ Λίνου, Πιερία ἐκέ- κλητο· ὕστερον δὲ Λύγκος ἐκλήθη, ἧς καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔσχεν Ἀέροπος, ὁ πρεσβύτατος τῶν Ἡμαθίωνος παίδων

Pieria, once founded by Pieros the brother of Methone, also the father of Linos, thus came to be called ‘Pieria’: later it was called ‘Lynkos’, because Aeropos ruled over it, the oldest among the sons of Emathion.

Aeropos is one of the founding Temenid brothers of the Argead kingdom, according to Herodotus: he has been identified with the leading genos of the *Lynkestai* given the attestation of the name among them.⁸¹⁶ While this instance of the Macedonians appropriating the Greeks’ exonym for their land and their eponym does not prove that the early Macedonians identified themselves with Troy and its allies, it certainly raises the possibility that some of them did: since the oldest instances of Emathion are Trojan in the literature, i.e. Homer, and even the epichoric literature (Dionsysius of Chalcidike) echo the Trojan affiliation of Emathion, it is difficult to imagine that such Macedonians could have blithely ignored the Trojan affinities of Emathion and Emathia, especially since their western neighbors in Epirus were associated with the Trojans Helenus and Andromache. Several towns in Eastern Macedonia were thought to have been founded by Trojans: Aiane by Aineias, mentioned, as always in Stephanus of Byzantium,⁸¹⁷ but also confirmed by 6th century BCE coins of the city,⁸¹⁸ in which Aineias is shown carrying

⁸¹⁶ 1992:84; Vasilev 2011:8

⁸¹⁷ Stephanus of Byzantium, s.v. ‘Aiane’.

⁸¹⁸ Head 1911:214

his father. 5th century coins from the same city refer to Aineias as their oikist.⁸¹⁹ In Livy's own time, the city continued to celebrate Aineias as their hero.⁸²⁰ An *Ilion* in Macedonia, the namesake of Troy, was supposed to have been founded by the Priamid Helenus.⁸²¹

2.3.4. Hesiodic Macedonians in Pieria and Olympus

Melisseus' interconnection of Emathia (= Lower Macedonia) to Lynkos (= Upper Macedonian Lynkestis) and Pieria (= Lower Macedonia) takes us to Hera's initial trajectory in the *Iliad*: from Olympus to Pieria. Could it be that in Homeric times (8th-7th century BCE), Pieria was Greek? Euboean trading posts are attested, in Pieria, e.g. at Methone,⁸²² so it is reasonable to posit that a minority of the population had spoken Greek, which is not the same as saying that the population at large was Greek. This possibility of a minority of Greeks in Pieria is enhanced by the evidence that three centuries earlier at the end of the Bronze age, the northern slopes of Mount Olympus were the northern boundaries of the Mycenaean world, as shown by the discovery of 18 seals in the cist tomb cemeteries near Agios Dimitrios.⁸²³ The standardization of Mount Olympus as the seat of the gods in archaic Greek poetry, admittedly, may owe to the collective memory of the former northern extent of the Mycenaean world.

⁸¹⁹ Head 1879:41f, see Egan 1974.

⁸²⁰ Livy 40.4.9 proficiscuntur ab Thessalonica Aeneam ad statum sacrificium, quod Aeneae conditori cum magna caerimonia quotannis faciunt quoted by Egan 1974:44.

⁸²¹ Samsara 1986:135; Steph. of Byz. s.v. Ilion: Ἐλένου κτίσμα; cf Servius on *Aeneid* 1.242, according to which the Trojan prince Helenus settles in Macedonia after the Trojan war, and rules the land (quoted by Leake 1835:177).

⁸²² See Gimatzidis *The Northwest Aegean in the Early Iron Age* (2007).

⁸²³ Borza 1992.63-64

Like all boundary zones, however, even in Mycenaean times, the absence of any major large settlements (the Pherai region in Thessaly = Eder], the vast distance from the nearest large Mycenaean settlements in Thessaly and a south to north Mycenaean corridor 40 km wide from the coast for a length of ca. 100 km, suggest that the collapse of the Mycenaean kingdom(s) led to the rarefaction of the then qualified-Mycenaean culture⁸²⁴ and language and the absorption of any surviving Mycenaean elements in the larger mass of the (cognate) Balkanic populations nearby, many of whom represented in all likelihood a significant portion of the original Mycenaean outpost.⁸²⁵

Closer to Homer chronologically than the end of the Bronze Age, Hesiodic fragment, from the *Catalogue of Women*, locates the eponyms of the Macedonians and the Magnesians around Pieria and Mount Olympus. It is of the utmost significance because 1) it is the earliest unsyncopated attestation of the ethnonym ‘Macedonian’ in Greek literature and 2) it is the earliest attestation in Greek literature as to whether the Macedonians were considered to be Greek or not.

Μακεδονία ἢ χώρα ὠνομάσθη ἀπὸ Μακεδόνοιο τοῦ Διὸς καὶ Θυίας
 τῆς Δευκαλίωνος, ὡς φησὶν Ἡσίοδος ὁ ποιητής·
 Ἥ δ’ ὑποκυσαμένη Διὶ γείνατο τερπικεραύνῳ
 υἷε δύο, Μάγνητα Μακεδόνα θ’ ἵπποχάρμη,

οἱ περὶ Πιερίην καὶ Ὀλυμπον δώματ’ ἔναιον.
 Macedonia the region was named after Macedon the son of Zeus and Thyia,
 Daughter of Deukalion, as Hesiod the poet says
 “Impregnated by Zeus, rejoicing in the lightning bolt,
 She gave birth to two sons, Magnes and Makedon, delighting in horses,
 Whose abodes were around Pieria and Olympus

⁸²⁴ Bennet 2013:245; Eder 2006:113-131 and Borza 1992:72-73 on the heterogeneity of cultural artefacts in Pieria and southeastern Macedonia at the end of the Bronze Age.

⁸²⁵ Eder 2006:113-131.

These lines may date to the 7th or 6th century BCE.⁸²⁶ It is also unclear whether the narrator intended a) the Macedonians to have dwelled around Pieria and the Magnesians around Olympus,⁸²⁷ b) the other way around [Hammond O. I 430] or c) the two populations were hardly differentiated from each other at this point in time, their different names are an anachronism, which is a result of their different migrations in the future and therefore both Pieria and Olympus were the homes of both the Macedonians and the Magnesians. It is also unclear how it is to be reconciled with Thucydides' statement that the Argead Macedonians expelled the Pierians from Pieria as they expanded.⁸²⁸

As many scholars have noted, the Macedonians and the Magnesians are denied a Hellenic pedigree through the fact that they are not the sons or offspring of Hellen, eponymous ancestor of all the Hellenes: Deucalion is the father of Hellen, so Hellen cannot be the ancestor of the Macedonians and Magnesians according to this early

⁸²⁶ See Stiewe 1962:291ff and 1963:1ff and Merkelbach 1968:133-155

⁸²⁷ Thus, Rosen 1978 takes these lines chiasmatically, suggesting that the poetic voice meant to say that the Macedonians were in Pieria and the Magnesians in Olympus

⁸²⁸ Thucydides 2.99.3: Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Περδικκού πατήρ καὶ οἱ πρόγονοι αὐτοῦ, Τημενίδαι τὸ ἀρχαῖον ὄντες ἐξ Ἄργου, πρῶτοι ἐκτίσαντο καὶ ἐβασίλευσαν ἀναστήσαντες μάχη ἐκ μὲν Πιερίας Πίερας. How can one reconcile the Thucydidean statement whereby the Macedonians had expelled the Pierians from Pieria, after which they resettled east in Pieris, located east of Mygdonia], with the Hesiodic statement that the Macedonians and Magnesians came from Pieria and Mount Olympus? One solution is to suggest that the Pierians were ethnically or linguistically Macedonian, yet either unconnected politically with the Argead Macedonians or undifferentiated from them at a time that preceded the rise of the Argeads. Another solution is to suggest that the territory had changed hands many times in the centuries covering the Geometric to the Classical period. Zahrt 1984:351 interprets the placement of Makedon and Magnes in Pieria and Olympus as an early reference to the early conquests of the Argead Macedonians. This is only a possibility. The earliest unambiguous occupation of coastal Macedonia by the Argeads is ca. the mid 480's when Amyntas offers Anthemous to Hippias, tyrant expelled from Athens; another early source ca. 470 BCE, as can be inferred from Thucydides 1.137 who says that Pyna belonged to Themistocles' Macedonian contemporary Alexander [Πύδναν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου]; another early indication of Argead Macedonia's eastward expansion is Hecataeus of Miletus FGrHist 1 F 145: river Lydias is Macedonian, references in Zahrt 1984:351-352. Our second source after Hesiod to provide clues regarding the identity of the Pierians is Herodotus who mentions them among 'Thracian' tribes, which most scholars construe as implying that they were a Thracian tribe. In Apollonius of Rhodes, Pieria is 'Bistonian' (Πιερὴ Βιστωνίδι), a Thracian tribe.]. And yet, in the mid 6th century and earlier, the Pierians might have been Paeonian, if we are to rely on Strabo 7a.1.38 τὴν Παιονίαν μέχρι Πελαγονίας καὶ Πιερίας ἐκτετάσθαι φασί.

testimony.⁸²⁹ This is made all the more clear through the contrast attested in another Hesiodic fragment whereby Hellen is indeed the father of Doros and Aiolos and the grandfather of Ion and Achaios (Hesiod, M-W *fr.* 9.1 & 10a.20-24). It is beyond the scope of this investigation to discuss at length the surprising claim that the Magnesians were not originally perceived as Greek: suffice it to say that the Hellenicity of other populations on the northern periphery of Greece was questioned by ancient Greek sources.

If indeed the Macedonians and Magnetes were originally the same tribe, then some significance could be attached to their fighting in the Trojan war on the Greek side (*Iliad* 2.756-759). This fact, undoubtedly, must be conceded. At the same time, it is equally significant that the Magnesians do *not* appear outside of the Catalogue of Ships: nowhere else do they or their nonentity leader Prothous reappear. The non-Homeric accounts, similarly, have little to add.⁸³⁰

It should not be controversial that the vast majority of early Greek texts consider the Macedonians to be non-Greek⁸³¹: Hellanicus of Lesbos who makes Macedon the son of Aiolos is an exception. It is not the purpose of this paper to discuss all the evidence. Suffice it to cite Badian on this important observation, which he makes: the fact that even such pro-Macedonian advocates as Isocrates should claim in the early 4th century that the

⁸²⁹ Hall 2003:169 “although Deucalion’s paternity of Thuia made the latter Hellen’s sister, Macedon was not himself descended directly from Hellen, thus excluding the Macedonians from the Hellenic genealogy.” Likewise, Helly 2007:203 “dans le fragment 7 (Merkelbach-West), Magnès et Makédon sont présentés tous deux comme fils de Zeus et de Thuyia, soeur d’Hellen (donc non grecs).”

⁸³⁰ See *RE*.

⁸³¹ Borza 1992:96, cf. Hornblower 2005:390-391: “I suggest that Thucydides’ view was not absolutely rigid or consistent. If he had to choose between saying whether Macedonians were Greeks or barbarians, he would say they were barbarians.”

Argead kings, one of whom had such trouble being admitted to the Olympic games by the Hellenodikoi, “were Greeks lording it over a barbarian population” (*Philippus* 106-1 08) speaks volumes as to the common perception in Attica as to the Hellenicity of the Macedonians. That Alexander I chose the title Philhellene is an unmistakable corroboration of perceiving himself and his people as non-Greek, i.e. separate from the southern Greeks.

2.3.5. The Homeric eponyms Pelagon & Pelegon in relation to the Pelagones, the Paeonians and the Macedonians

Be that as it may, the coastal Macedonian lowlands had been controlled by the Paeonians before they had been controlled by the Argead Macedonians,⁸³² hence Polybius’ alternative statement that Emathia was the old name of Paeonia, τὴν νῦν μὲν Ἡμαθίαν, τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν Παιονίαν (23.10.4), which is credible because Lower Macedonia had once belonged to the Paeonians. Would this mean that the Homeric Emathia was implicitly Paeonian, even Brygian, rather than Macedonian? Not necessarily: one’s answer depends on the limited data at hand and how ethnic identity is defined. On the one hand, the *Iliad* also knows of a territory referred to as Paionia,⁸³³ but here chooses to call

⁸³² Strabo 7a.1.43 delineates the territory of the Paeonians at their greatest expanse: Ὅτι καὶ πάλαι καὶ νῦν οἱ Παῖονες φαίνονται πολλὴν τῆς νῦν Μακεδονίας κατεσχηκότες, ὡς καὶ Πέρινθον πολιορκῆσαι, καὶ Κρηστωνίαν καὶ Μυγδονίδα πᾶσαν καὶ τὴν Ἀγριάνων μέχρι Παγγαίου ὑπ’ αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι. Also Strabo 7a.1.36 ἐντὸς δὲ τοῦ Στρυμόνος πρὸς αὐτῷ μὲν τῷ ποταμῷ ἢ Σκοτοῦσσα ἔστι, πρὸς δὲ τῇ λίμνῃ τῇ Βόλβῃ Ἀρέθουσα. καὶ δὴ καὶ (25) μάλιστα λέγονται Μυγδόνες οἱ περὶ τὴν λίμνην. οὐ μὲν- νον δ’ ὁ Ἀξιὸς ἐκ Παίωνων ἔχει τὴν ῥύσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Στρυμών· ἐξ Ἀγριάνων γὰρ διὰ Μαίδων καὶ Σιντῶν εἰς τὰ μεταξὺ Βισαλτῶν καὶ Ὀδομάντων ἐκπίπτει. E. (37.) Ὅτι ὁ Στρυμών ποταμὸς ἄρχεται ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὴν Ῥοδόπην Ἀγριάνων. Pliny 4.17 describes the Paeonian populations: *ab hoc amne Paeoniae gentes: Paroraei, Eordenses, Almopi, Pelagones, Mygdones.*

⁸³³ *Iliad* 17.350 & 21.154

Emathia by its name rather than ‘Paionia’.⁸³⁴ *A priori*, this neither proves nor disproves the ethnic makeup of Emathia, since Emathia could potentially designate a region of Paionia or even a region of Paionia with a Macedonian population. Even if Bottia and the western part of Mygdonia (= Emathia) had not been conquered by the Argead Macedonians until the mid 6th century BCE, a non-Argead Macedonian population, defined either emically or etically, could have occupied Emathia: the account of Temenids chasing the Pierians out of Pieria (Thucydides 2.99.3) could just mean that differences in political and economic interests framed the outbreak of hostilities, just as the Corcyraeans chased the Corinthians out of their island, a colony of the latter though they had been.

The precedence of Mygdonia and the prehistoric existence of *Makednoi* in the vast Pindus mountain range suggest that ‘Macedonian’ denoted a vast territory in northern Greece and connoted closely-related populations who for the most part spoke north Hellenic (such as ‘Brygian’) languages: from the moment a tribe / *genos* rose high enough in power and started absorbing rival tribes in the region, it is conceivable that the new, larger political unit would choose an all-encompassing designation based on the territory, to which all co-opted tribes could relate: the territory of Macedonia where they all lived. Thus, among the three founding tribes of Argead Macedonia, the Orestai, Lynkestai and Elimiotas, all three could refer to themselves as ‘Macedonian’ because the larger territory in which all three lived, was Macedonian, a non-political designation in the beginning. Conceivably, many other autonomous pre-Argead tribes in the region also identified as ‘Macedonian’, in the territorial sense of the word.

⁸³⁴ According to Polybius 24.8, Emathia was once known as Paionia, cf. Livy XL, 8 in *Emathiam quae nunc dicitur, quondam appellata Paeonia est*. See Svoros 1919:30.

The argument could also be advanced that the difference between the Macedonians and Paeonians was irrelevant in Homeric times (8th century BCE) because 1) the tribes of which Argead Macedonia were composed had not yet federated and 2) the future Argead Macedonian *ethnos*, which was originally composed of three main tribes = the Orestai, the Lynkestai and the Elimiotas, included from the outset a significant Paeonian component. The very heartland of early Argead Macedonia, *Maketa* = *Orestis* had once been Paeonian territory:

τὴν Παιονίαν μέχρι Πελαγονίας καὶ Πιερίας ἐκτετάσθαι φασί· καλεῖσθαι δὲ πρότερον Ὀρεστίαν τὴν Πελαγονίαν, τὸν δὲ Ἀστεροπαῖον, ἓνα τῶν ἐκ Παιονίας στρατευσάντων ἐπ’ Ἴλιον ἡγεμόνων, οὐκ ἀπεικότως υἱὸν λέγεσθαι Πηλεγόνοιο, καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς Παίονας καλεῖσθαι Πελαγόνους.⁸³⁵

They say that Paionia once extended as far as Pelagonia and Pieria: Pelagonia used to be called Orestia. Asteropaios, one of the leaders who had fought at Troy, was certainly said to be the son of Pelegon, for the Paionians themselves were called Paionians.

If one looks a map of Paionia, Pelagonia is the most mountainous part of Paionia and represents the northern part of Orestis proper in classical times. In another passage (7.7.8), Strabo says that Pelagonia was part of the original, ‘free’ (Upper) Macedonia: τὰ περὶ Λύγκων καὶ Πελαγονίαν καὶ Ὀρεστιάδα καὶ Ἐλίμειαν τὴν ἄνω Μακεδονίαν ἐκάλουν, οἱ δ’ ὕστερον καὶ ἐλευθέραν. This is significant because it would imply that there literally was a Paeonian component among the founding Argeadai: Strabo’s aforementioned Homeric figure Pelegon is not the only thinly-veiled eponym of the Pelagones and Pelagonians in the *Iliad*⁸³⁶: there is also Sarpedon’s companion *Pelagon* (ἰφθιμος Πελάγων, ὃς οἱ φίλος ἦεν ἑταῖρος: 5.694), who is clearly another thinly-veiled

⁸³⁵ Strabo 7a.1.38

⁸³⁶ For Asteropaios’ father Pelegon as eponym of the Pelagones, see Hammond 1972:297.

eponym of the Pelagones.⁸³⁷ Here again, we find the Macedonians drawn into the Trojan sphere, via the Pelagonian element among their core ethnic components.

2.3.6. Troy and Epirus

Now, we find again in Epirus the same Trojan affinities as we found with Macedonian Emathia. The Molossian princess Olympias, the mother of Alexander the Great, claimed descent from Dardanos, the Stammvater of the Trojans, through Helenos.⁸³⁸ The Chaones are associated with the Trojan Helenus in Apollodorus *Epitome* 6. Teucer of Cyzicus regarded Helenus as the founder of Buthrotum (FgrH 274 F 1), cf Euripides *Andromache* 1243-1251 and Theopompus FGrH 115 5 355.⁸³⁹ Such accounts presumably go back to the Epic Cycle. Molossian kings also claim descent from Achilles' son Neoptolemos through his union with the Trojan princess Andromache. Helenos is further associated with Thesprotia in Epirus, through his son Kestrinos, eponym of the Kestrinos river: the older name of the river, the *Kadmos* and the local Καμμανοί (*Καδμανοί) underpin the

⁸³⁷ We will return to Sarpedon's companion *Pelagon* under section Asteropaios, Sarpedon's Paionian Doppelgänger: A Paionian Component among the EIA Lycians." See my MA thesis "the Mitoses of Achilles." I will summarize some essential points: though at first blush, one might object that Pelagon's association with the Lycian Sarpedon reduces the likelihood that he represents the Pelagones fighting at Troy as Trojan allies, on the contrary, there are many reasons to believe that Pelagon does stand for the European Pelagones: 1) In the multiformity of the Trojan war, Sarpedon himself had associations with the European shores of the Northern Aegean, as evidenced by the "Sarpedonian rock of Thrace" (Σαρπηδονίαν πέτραν) in Hellanicus 1a4F.94.7 and Pherecydes in Schol Apoll 1.211, which is also alluded to in the *Cypria*. 2) the context in which Pelagon acts as Sarpedon's physician is one which conjures up the far north, with the blast of the Boreas participating in Sarpedon's recovery from his thigh wound (πνοιῆ Βορέαο: 5.696); 3) the very fact that Pelagon acts as Sarpedon's physician connects with Pelegon—the father of Asteropaios, because Pelegon is in turn the son of *Akessamenos* (21.142), literally 'the Healer', which is an appropriate name for a theophoric ethnos, the Paiones, named after the Healer god *Pai(e)on*.

⁸³⁸ Tzetzes on Lycophron 1439.

⁸³⁹ Malkin 2001:202-203.

connection of the Trojans to the Theban Kadmeioi—non-Achaean from the point of the *Iliad*—whose eponym Kadmos migrates to Epirus at the end of his life.⁸⁴⁰

Helenos, the Trojan prince, is also said to have founded a new Troy in Epirus, as popularized by Vergil's *Aeneid*, whose sources, however, are much older (3.333-336):

Morte Neoptolemi, regnorum reddita cessit
pars Heleno qui Chaonios cognomine campos
Chaoniamque omnem Troiano a Chaone dixit
Pergamaque Iliacamque iugis hanc addidit arcem

Upon the death of Neoptolemus, a part of the kingdom
Was given to Helenus who named the Chaonian fields
And all of Chaonia after the Trojan Chaon
Even the land of Pergamon, and built a fortress of Ilion upon the hills

Epigraphic evidence shows that a *Pergamos*, an *Ilion* and a land of *Pergamia* did exist in Epirus as well as an ethnos *the Pergamioi*.⁸⁴¹ The presence of *Brugoi* in Epirus, whom Odysseus fights in the *Telegony* (πόλεμος συνίσταται τοῖς Θεσπρωτοῖς πρὸς Βρύγους, Ὀδυσσεῶς ἡγουμένου),⁸⁴² is interesting for several reasons: 1) the equivalence or metonymic equivalence between Trojans and Phrygians in northwestern Asia Minor is reflected by the original *ethnos* in Epirus, against whom a Homeric hero such as Odysseus is pitted against; 2) the historicity of *Brugoi* in Epirus should caution the modern reader against the hasty conclusion that the 'Trojanness' of Epirus is 'derivative' and secondary to the Trojans in Asia Minor: rather, it is more appropriate as a working model to posit historical, Proto-Phrygians and Phrygians encircling the Greeks to the north and east in the EIA and preclassical period: each Greek region, initially, had its

⁸⁴⁰ Stephanus of Byzantium Καμμανία, μοῖρα Θεσπρωτίας. μετωνομάσθη δὲ Κε- στρινία. ἐξ ἧς Κάδμος ὁ ποταμός. Κεστρίνος δὲ κτίσμα. Κεστρίνου τοῦ υἱοῦ Ἑλένου τοῦ Πριαμίδου. οἱ οἰκίτορες Καμμανοί, ὡς τῆς Καμμανίας. For a discussion of the Kadmeioi, see our section 'Kadmos the Phoenician'.

⁸⁴¹ Cabanes 2002:61-66, Trojan Pergamioi found in epigraphy, see inscription of Passaron, see Robert, *Hellenica I* (1940), p 95-105

⁸⁴² Eugammon of Cyrene's *Telegony* in Proclus *Chrestomathia* 318

Trojans, until the ascendancy of Ionian epic and the hierarchic harmonization of a Panhellenic epic around it.

Aside from the Macedonian-like eponyms Mygdon and Emathion—Trojan allies, there are no Macedonians shown fighting beside the Greeks in the Trojan War. In like manner, there are no Epirotes or major Epirote tribes shown fighting in the Trojan war beside the Greeks.⁸⁴³ One could note, however, a brief reference in the *Iliad* to the *Aithikes* (2.744), to whose territory Perithoos and the Lapiths had driven the Centaurs, away from Mount Pelion:

ἦματι τῷ ὅτε Φῆρας ἐτίσατο λαχνήεντας,
τοὺς δ' ἐκ Πηλίου ὄσε καὶ Αἰθίκεσσι πέλασσεν

on that day when he punished the hairy beasts
And expelled them from Pelion, driving them to the land of the Aithikes.

If the Lapiths, whose heroes Polypoites and Eurypylus do fight on the Achaean side in the *Iliad* and indeed do play a non-negligible role in the narrative, expel the Centaurs to the land of the Aithikes, their land must be considered foreign and wild. Strabo lists the Aithikes among other Epirote tribes (7.7.8). Marsyas described the Aithikes as barbarians: ἔθνος...βάρβαρον.⁸⁴⁴ The D scholiast on the passage and Eustathius described them as either a Thessalian ethnos bordering Epirus, or alternatively a

⁸⁴³ An exception could arguably be made for the shadowy figure *Gouneus*, whose vast transhumant territory, ranging from northern Thessaly in the northeast to Dodona in the northwest, would have definitely covered Epirote tribes. But *Gouneus* is a nobody who makes a single appearance in the Catalogue of Ships and reappears nowhere else in the *Iliad*, or the *Odyssey* for that matter. Outside of Homeric poetry, we have very little information about him (see *RE*). In my dissertation, I discuss at length the *raison d'être* of *Gouneus* in the *Iliad*, and more generally the *raison d'être* of all the other Thessalian contingents : ultimately, they provide riddling information on the identity and role of Achilles and the Myrmidons in the poem. *Gouneus* may even have a connection to the aforementioned Macedonian Temenid *Gauanes* ‘the Chaonian’. But it is beyond the frame of this paper to discuss the intricate process by which the Proto-Dorians / *Makednoi* fused with the descendants of the Mycenaeans to produce a new civilization, whose former disparate elements had not yet completely gelled in Thessaly’s liminal territory.

⁸⁴⁴ In Stephanus of Byzantium: Μαρσύας δὲ μέσον τῆς Τυμφαίας καὶ Ἀθαμανίας κεῖσθαι φησι τὴν χώραν. τὸ δὲ ἔθνος [ἐπεικῶς] παράβολόν τε καὶ βάρβαρον καὶ ληστείας ἐπεικῶς προσκείμενον.

Macedonian or a Perrhaebian ethnos: Αἰθικες δὲ Θετταλικὸν ἔθνος ὑπερκείμενον τῆς Ἠπειροῦ, κατὰ δὲ τινὰς Μακεδονικόν, κατὰ δὲ ἑτέρους Περραιβικόν. This statement is interesting because it could imply one of three things: 1) if the Aithikes were a Thessalian ethnos, not all of Thessaly was considered Greek/Achaean; we note that the Magnesians, close kinsmen of the Macedonians, are given three lines in the Catalogue of Ships. But the Iliadic Catalogue of Ships is generally thought to have belonged to a different compositional tradition⁸⁴⁵ than the remainder of the *Iliad*, which was the work of Homer and/or the *Homeridai*, who completely ignore the Magnesians.⁸⁴⁶ 2) If the Aithikes were considered Epirote, then the Hellenicity of the Epirotes is in question. 3) If the Aithikes were considered a Macedonian ethnos, then here again we have an instance of yet another allusion that the ancient Macedonians were not considered Greek by their Greek neighbors to the south.

Thucydides considers the Thesprotians, Molossians, Chaones and Atintanes barbarians (1.48; 2.68). As Malkin points out “Thucydides is very explicit in distinguishing, within the same coalitions, Greeks from Epirote barbarians: Cnemus the Lacedaemonian had with him Greeks from Ambracia, Anactorium, and Leucas; as barbarians he had Chaones, Thesprotians, and Molossians.”⁸⁴⁷ Only the Amphilocheians Argives are Greek because they have been ‘Hellenized’ (ἡλληνίσθησαν: 2.68) by Corinthian colonists. Thucydides was not alone in placing Epirus outside of Greece: so

⁸⁴⁵ Giovannini 1969 suggested that the Catalogue of Ships was based on the records of the Amphictyonic league, of which the Magnesians were a member.

⁸⁴⁶ Jacoby “Homerisches II: Die Einschaltung des Schiffskatalogs in die Ilias,” *SBBerl* (1932) 572-617; Page, *HHI* 133ff quoted by Stanley 2014:315, fn61; Sergent 1979:76; Loftson 1981:136; Vermeule 1984:91; Anderson 1995 fn14.

⁸⁴⁷ Malkin 2001:197.

did Hekataios before him, as well as Pseudo-Skylax, Pseudo-Skymnos and Strabo.⁸⁴⁸ The standard view that the native tongue of the Epirote and north Aetolian populations were Greek dialects, referred to as “Northwestern Greek,” should either be forsaken or the definition of what ancient Greek meant should be broadened to include such languages as closely-related Phrygian (where **bh > b*), which sprung from the same region.

The irrelevant evidence for the Hellenicity of the Northwestern Greek *koine* of epigraphy should be kept strictly apart: it is mostly attributable to Corinthian colonization and influence. Similarly, the present section argues that it is misguided to ascribe the barbarity in ancient Greek sources of the Epirotes and some Aetolian tribes to lifestyle and culture alone: the indigenous languages spoken there were North Hellanic,⁸⁴⁹ but were closer to ancient Phrygian, Macedonian and Paeonian than to Greek proper (= South Hellanic). At the same time, it is unlikely that the majority of the tribes in Epirus and northern Aetolia spoke Illyrian dialects, as some have thought,⁸⁵⁰ although it is very reasonable to assume that Illyrian, owing to geographic proximity, wielded an appreciable influence on the North Hellanic languages of the region.

2.3.7. Paeonians in Anatolia: from Troy to Armenia

2.3.7.1. Maeonia and Paeonia

⁸⁴⁸ Hekataios *fr.* 26 Jacoby: the Epirus-Aetolia border of Ambracia and Amphilochians is the region where Herakles defeated the mythical Geryones, according to Hekataios the logographer. Geryones and his Erytheia are at the ends of the earth according to other sources. Epirus outside of Greece: also Pseudo-Skylax 26, Pseudo-Skymnos (443-444 Ἐπειτα Θεσπρωτῶν τε καὶ τῶν Χαόνων ἔθνη κατοικεῖ βάρβαρ’) and Strabo 7.7.1

⁸⁴⁹ as defined elsewhere.

⁸⁵⁰ For instance, Blumenthal 1930.

The name of Maeonia, home of the Maeonians, Trojan allies (*Iliad* 2.866), is sometimes equated with the Bronze Age land of *Masa* in the Hittite records.⁸⁵¹ As a believer in the potential polystemmaticity of words and places, my interest is not to refute this claim, but rather to reconcile it with another etymon, which Arkwright proposed in 1918: *Māioniā* is a cross between the Bronze Age *Māsa* and **Baionia*, which is a North Aegean variant of **Paioniā*.⁸⁵² Although the initial consonants of Maionia and Paionia are two steps removed from each other phonetically, as discussed elsewhere, the two idiosyncratic shifts $p > b$ and $b > m / m > b$ and are well attested in the North Aegean, early on.

Macurdy further contends that the implicit equation of the Anatolian Maeonia with the Macedonian Paeonia gains support from the exclusive ascription, among Homeric ethne, of the epithet ἵπποκορυστής “marshaller of chariots / horses” to Paeonians and Maeonians: Μήονες ἵπποκορυσταί (*Iliad* 10.431); Παίονας ἵπποκορυστᾶς (16.287 & 21.205).⁸⁵³ This is not to deny that many Maeonians probably spoke Lydian, one of the indigenous heirs to the Bronze Age Anatolians: the *Gygaeen* lake (*Iliad* 2.865 & 20.391), the ancestor of Maeonian kings, is clearly akin to the Hittite *huhha* ‘grandfather’, ‘ancestor’ and thus epitomizes a certain degree of continuity with Bronze Age Anatolia.

But *Mesthles*, the leader of the Maeonians (Μήοσιν αὖ Μέσθλης τε καὶ Ἄντιφος ἡγησάσθην: 2.864) epitomizes a countervailing discontinuity with the indigenous heritage because the name originated in the region of Macedonia where the names

⁸⁵¹ Notably Beekes 2002.

⁸⁵² Arkwright 1918:62

⁸⁵³ Macurdy1925:28

Mestula and the simplex *Mestos* are popular.⁸⁵⁴ So is the Maeonian Βῶρος (*Iliad* 5.44) most likely akin to the Phrygian personal name *Boras* / *Boriskos*, as Arkwright suggested,⁸⁵⁵ since another Βῶρος also makes an appearance as the husband of Peleus' daughter Polydora (16.177). In other words, Maeonia came into existence in the EIA in part through the influx of a Paeonian adstratum migrating from Macedonia into western Anatolia. To an appreciable extent, Maeonia was another Paeonia in Asia Minor. We provide additional evidence for the derivation *Maionia* < *Paionia* under section “Boeotians (*Pai-ōtoi) as Hellenized Paeonians (Pai-ones)” in our discussion of the Kadmeian Haimonid Μάϊων, a god-like seer at Thebes.

2.3.7.2. The Armenian Endonym *Hayk* ‘Armenian’ < **Pai-*, ‘Paionian’

When the last major Phrygian wave migrated to Anatolia in perhaps the 9th or 8th century BCE, the emigrants were surely linguistically heterogeneous, albeit closely related for the most part: as we argued earlier, ‘Old Phrygian’, as evidenced by the inscriptions in Western Anatolia between the 8th and 5th century BCE *cannot* have been the only language or only dialect spoken by the Phrygians: surely, many Phrygians would have spoken other languages and dialects, in particular proto-Macedonian⁸⁵⁶ and proto-Paeonian: the most extraordinary manifestation of a Paeonian component among the Old Phrygians is the Armenian endonym for themselves, *Hayk*, ‘Armenian’. In his three

⁸⁵⁴ Arkwright 1918:61; Papazoglou 1979:165.

⁸⁵⁵ Arkwright 1918:51. *Bhōros* seems to be further cognate with the Greek φῶρ ‘thief’, even ‘a kind of bee’ (extended *o* grade of IE **pher* ‘bear’, ‘carry’), possibly an honorific title for a kind of ruler, cf. English *baron*, from the same IE root. It is tempting to surmise that this Βῶρος, Peleus’ son-in-law according to the *Iliad*, was perceived as a dialectic variant of Πύρρος, the name of Achilles’ son.

⁸⁵⁶ The primary reason for assuming that many Old Phrygians included Macedonian speakers is simply the fact that the geographical range of the proto-Phrygians and Macedonians overlapped extensively. Anatolian toponyms, specifically associated with the Phrygians, such as *Mokkadene*, *Mokata* and the Phrygian ethnonym *Mokkadenoī* may be additional clues.

volume *Pre-history of the Armenians* (2003-2004), Gabriel Soutanian titled his first chapter “the Paeonians”: in it, he convincingly argues that *Hayk*, the indigenous Armenian word for ‘Armenian’ stems from **Paion(es)*, “Paeonian,” in keeping with the phonetic rule **p < h* in Armenian, e.g. *hayr* ‘father’ < **patīr* < **patēr*. Despite the fact that *Hayk* ‘Armenian’ had thitherto been given a variety of other etymologies, Soutanian’s identification of the proto-Armenians with the Paeonians has been received favorably by Redgate.⁸⁵⁷

For instance, the 7th century CE word for ‘bison’ in Armenian, *bonos*, reported by Anania Shirakatsi, is very similar to the Paeonian βόνασος and μόναπος (typical North Aegean b/m alternation).⁸⁵⁸ Armenian and Phrygian happen to be Greek’s proven closest relatives,⁸⁵⁹ a fact which resonates with Eudoxus’ assessment (*fr.* 279), matching that of Herodotus a century earlier,⁸⁶⁰ that the Armenians were originally Phrygian emigrants who spoke a language that still resembled Phrygian: Ἀρμένιοι δὲ τὸ μὲν γένος ἐκ Φρυγίας, καὶ τῆ φωνῆ πολλὰ φρυγίζουσι (*fr.* 279).⁸⁶¹

To Soutanian’s argument that the Armenian *Hayk* ‘Armenian’ stems from the same root as the ethnonym Παίων, one may add the following piece of evidence: *Ainios*

⁸⁵⁷ Redgate 2007:173 (review of Soutanian 2003-2004): “agreeing with those scholars who on linguistic grounds identify the speakers of proto-Armenian, whose own name for themselves was *Hay*, with the second-millennium BC Paeonians in the Balkans, he constructs with some plausibility the history of their migration to Anatolia.”

⁸⁵⁸ Soutanian 2003:25. For Greek attestations of ‘bison’ in Paeonian, see Aristotle *HA* 498B31; 630a20.

⁸⁵⁹ For Armenian, see Eric Hamp's numerous works on the topic, including "On the Helleno-Armenian shared lexicon" (1983); also Meillet 1908; Pedersen 1924; Holst 2009. *Pace* Clackson 1992 & Martirosyan 2014.

⁸⁶⁰ Herodotus 7.73 Ἀρμένιοι δὲ κατὰ περ Φρύγες ἐσεσάχατο, ἐόντες Φρυγῶν ἄποικοι "the Armenians were armed like Phrygians, being Phrygian settlers."

⁸⁶¹ In another extensive footnote, we address Matzinger’s recent attempt at disproving Herodotus’ and Eudoxus’ claims that Armenians were originally Phrygian settlers.

is one of the *Paeonian* victims of Achilles at *Iliad* 21.210. As we shall see, Achilles' Paeonian victim is ultimately the eponym of the *Ain(e)ioi*. At first blush, Ainos might simply mean the "inhabitant from the city of Ainos" on the basis of Ainos being the hometown of the Thracian leader Peiros (Πείρωσ Ἰμβρασίδης ὃς ἄρ' Αἰνόθεν εἰληλούθει: 2.844). But Ainos, the name of the city is in fact an ethnonym, just as the city of Abai in Phokis corresponds to the ethnonym of the Abantes / Amantes, the range of which far exceeds the city (from Epirus to Euboea); likewise Hyampolis in Phokis is the city of the non-Greek ethnos of the Hyantes⁸⁶²: the ethnos gave its name to the city and not the other way around. As discussed elsewhere, 1) the Dardanian hero Aineias is himself the eponym of the Aineiioi, cf. Hipponax *fr.* 72.7 Ἰλίου πύργων / ἀπηναρίσθη Ῥῆσος, Αἰνειῶν πάλμυς "among the towers of Troy, Rhesos, lord of the Aineiioi, was (slain and) stripped of his arms"⁸⁶³; 2) the Achaean contingent of the *Ainianes* at *Iliad* 2.749, which is the northernmost among all the Achaeans in the Catalogue of Ships, are one of several Makedonian (proto-Dorian) tribes that had crossed over to the side of the Achaeans. In light of the productivity of the ethnic suffix *-ānes* in Epirus and northwestern Greece, cf. the Aetolian Εὐρυτᾶνες (Thucydides 3.94.5), the Achaean ethnonym *Ainiānes* (*Eniēnes* in Homeric Greek) is a suffixed variant of the *Aini(e)oi*, who fight on the side of the Trojans, cf. the homeland of the *Hellānes* in Dodona vs. the *Helloi*, also at Dodona.

⁸⁶² Hekataios *FGrH* 1F119.

⁸⁶³ Compare Knox's translation: "he was slain, Rhesus, the shah (*palmys*) of the Aeneans." Bethe 1902:9 "Niemals verdunkelt worden aber ist die thrakische Heimat des Rhesos. Da Hipponax ihn Fürsten der Ainier nannte, so muss man ihn damals doch in eben dieser Gegend bei dem äolischen Ainos gedacht haben." The Hellenic *Ainianes* must be the counterparts of the non-Hellenic *Aineiioi*, attested in Hipponax. The common origins of the *Ainianes/Aineiioi* are uncertain: North Hellenic, Dardanian, Thracian? Strabo preserves an account of an early detachment of Ainianes who had, according to legend, accompanied Jason and the Argonauts to Armenia where some of the Ainianes settled in the region called Ouitia (Strabo 11.7.1).

Remarkably, Strabo preserves an account of an early detachment of Ainianes who had, according to legend, accompanied Jason and the Argonauts to Armenia where some of the Ainianes settled in the region called Ouitia (Strabo 11.7.1):

μέρος καὶ τῶν Ἀρμενίων... Αἰνιάνας δ' ἐν τῇ Οὐιτία τειχίσαι πόλιν ἣν Αἰνιάνα καλεῖσθαι, καὶ δεῖκνυσθαι ὄπλα τε Ἑλληνικὰ ἐνταῦθα καὶ σκεύη χαλκᾶ καὶ ταφάς

Elsewhere, Strabo says that the Armenians came from Thessaly in the time period of Jason the Argonaut, which is a roundabout way of saying that the putative migration of the Armenians out of Thessaly preceded the Classical and Hellenistic periods of Greece. Strabo reports that two Thessalians in the army of Alexander the Great thought that traditional Armenian clothing was Thessalian and that the Armenians had come from Thessaly: καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα δὲ τὴν Ἀρμενιακὴν Θετταλικὴν φασιν... Ἄρμενος ἐξ Ἀρμενίου πόλεως Θετταλικῆς, ἣ κεῖται μεταξὺ Φερῶν καὶ Λαρίσης ἐπὶ τῇ Βοίβῃ (Strabo 11.14.12). Since Ainianes end up in Armenia and their migration, according to Strabo, is very ancient, and since Achilles tends to kill eponyms, such as the Paeonian warrior *Ainios*, one can infer that the presence of Ainianes in or near Armenia corroborates Soutanian's contention that the linguistic carriers of proto-Armenian were Paeonians.

Armenian, which is attested more than a thousand years later than Phrygian, is different enough from it as to exclude the scenario that Armenian stems from Old Phrygian, while at the same time Armenian holds a record, in total quantitative terms, of isoglosses and even similarities in derivational morphology among all Indo-European languages. Phrygian, whose corpus is much smaller, though large enough to draw meaningful conclusions, is also very close to Greek. The proposition that Armenian should be a direct descendant of Paeonian is therefore plausible, especially as we shall see, considering the enormous size the Paeonian ethnos must have once had at the end of

the Bronze age and until the late archaic period of Greece, in light of their vast diffusion not only in other parts of Anatolia, as in the Troad (the *Teucrians*) and Maeonia nearby, but also Epirus (the *Athamanes*) and Central Greece (such as the proto-Boeotians⁸⁶⁴).

2.3.7.3. A Paeonian Component among the EIA Lycians: the Case for the Paeonian Asteropaios as Sarpedon’s Doppelgänger

2.3.7.3.1. Introduction

In our section “A Fluvial Triangulation sanctioned by Zeus: Mythical Troy, Lycia and Historical Ionia,” we saw how the *Iliad* interconnects the Skamandros river with the Ionian Maiandros, which is also a Lycian river in that its spring is located in the greater Lycia and is notionally the same as the Lycian *Xanthos*, whose Lycian endonym *Arñna* simply means ‘spring’; further, the poem establishes a tacit parallel between the Trojan’s river divine name Xanthos, the only son of Zeus among rivers, and Sarpedon, the only living son of Zeus in the *Iliad*. The tomb of Glaukos, co-king of the Lycians and Sarpedon’s functional *therapon*, is located at the spring of the great Ionian river Maiandros, to which the local Trojan river Ska-mandros is assimilated in the poem: an Ionian attending a Homeric performance would visualize descriptions of the Scamander river through the prism of their own Maeander.

Asteropaios’ taking a stand against Achilles in book 21 is in the context of the latter’s carnage inflicted upon the Trojans: their innumerable corpses slow the flow of the river Xanthos / Skamandros. Despite or because of Asteropaios’ emphatic descent from the Paionian river Axios, the Trojan Xanthos chooses him to be the recipient of his quasi-magical powers, as the sacred river transfuses “strength into his heart” (μένοϋ δέ οἱ ἐν φρεσὶ θῆκε / Ξάνθος; 21.145-146). Asteropaios must be very special because at no other

⁸⁶⁴ See section Boeotians (**Pai-ōtoi*) as Hellenized Paeonians (*Pai-ones*).

moment in the monumental poem does a mortal receive the prerogative of the Xanthos' divine potentiation, except Hector once, in a more subtle allusion.⁸⁶⁵

Following a climactic confrontation, in which the best of the Achaeans himself lost some blood (σύτο δ' αἶμα κελαινεφές: 21.167), the son of Peleus mocks his opponent's fluvial ancestry:

‘κεῖσ’ οὕτως: χαλεπόν τοι ἐρισθενέος Κρονίωνος ἰ
παισὶν ἐριζέμεναι ποταμοῖό περ ἐκγεγαῶτι.
φῆσθα σὺ μὲν ποταμοῦ γένος ἔμμεναι εὐρὺν ῥέοντος
, αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ γενεὴν μεγάλου Διὸς εὐχομαι εἶναι.⁸⁶⁶

“Lie there, for it is hard to vie with the children of the mighty
Son of Kronos, even though you are descended from some river,
You claimed to be the offspring of a wide-flowing river,
But I boast descent from great Zeus.”

One of the great ironies in Achilles' statement is that he himself has strong associations with water through his mother Thetis and, as a surprised scholiast to *Iliad* 19.186 points out, Achilles himself is the descendant of a river on his father's side—the Asopos (ἀλλὰ καὶ Αἴγινα Ἀσωποῦ).⁸⁶⁷ Another great irony is that Achilles is about to be miserably put to flight by an actual son of Zeus—and a river at that: the Xanthos; and finally to be slain by another son of Zeus: Apollo.⁸⁶⁸ Adding to these ironies, *Asteropaios* is a title of

⁸⁶⁵ As we discussed earlier. I duplicate here the passage in which an unconscious Hector, knocked out by Ajax, is revived by the waters of the Xanthos (*Iliad* 4.433-436): Ξάνθου δινήεντος, ὃν ἀθάνατος τέκετο Ζεὺς / ἐνθά μιν ἐξ ἵππων πέλασαν χθονί, καδ δέ οἱ ὕδωρ / χεῦαν: ὃ δ' ἀμπνύνη καὶ ἀνέδρακεν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν “Of the swirling Xanthos, whom deathless Zeus begot, Where they lifted him from his chariot to the ground, And poured water down on him: he breathed again and looked up with his eyes.”

⁸⁶⁶ *Iliad* 21.184-187.

⁸⁶⁷ I thank Thomas Figueira for this observation: see Figueira 2012 *The Aiakidai, the Herald-less War, and Salamis*.

⁸⁶⁸ A dying Hector prophesies to Achilles (*Iliad* 22.359-360): “the day is near when Paris and Phoebus Apollo destroy (verb in the plural: ὀλέσωσιν) you, brave though you are, before the Western [‘Scaean’] gates”: ἤματι τῷ ὅτε κέν σε Πάρις καὶ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων / ἐσθλὸν ἐόντ' ὀλέσωσιν ἐνὶ Σκαίῃσι πύλῃσιν.

Zeus⁸⁶⁹ and would unmistakably remind the audience of the god's thunderbolt, cf. *Zeus Asteropetes*, e.g. *Iliad* 7.443 οἱ δὲ θεοὶ παρ Ζηνὶ καθήμενοι Ἀστεροπητῆι “and the gods sitting by ‘Zeus the Thunderbolter’.”⁸⁷⁰

Despite his Paionian identity, I submit that Asteropaios is a disguised double of the Lycian Glaukos—the ancestral king of the Ionians.⁸⁷¹ The evidence is based on a confluence of eight factors:

- 1) the structural identification of Asteropaios with Glaukos in book 12 of the *Iliad*, which is also the book in which the Lycians take the lead and merge out of the Trojan mass.
- 2) The Paeonian's unique sanctification by the divine Xanthos in the *Iliad*, as described above;
- 3) The juxtaposition of Asteropaios' duel with Achilles to the moving scene in which the latter had just slain *Lykaon*, whose name is an unacknowledged loanword from Luwian meaning ‘Lycian’.
- 4) The *eleven* days, which Lykaon had enjoyed at Troy since his escape from Lemnos and Asteropaios' statement to Achilles that this was his *eleventh* day at Troy
- 5) The Paeonian's cultic connection to Zeus *qua* Asteropaios;
- 6) Strabo's *uaria lectio* to the *Iliad's* description of the waters of the river Axios being the most beautiful on the face of the earth whereby the passage should be re-read as: the Axios *whose spring* is the most beautiful on the face of the earth.”

⁸⁶⁹ In a *uaria lectio* to Cornutus *De Natura Deorum* 9, cf Shannon 1975. There were many titles of Zeus with the same root formation: ἄστραπαῖος, ἀστράπιος, ἀστερωπός (see Liddell & Scott).

⁸⁷⁰ For an extensive discussion of Achilles' confrontation with Asteropaios, see the improved and extended version of my MA thesis *the Mitoses of Achilles* (www.academia.edu).

⁸⁷¹ On doubles in Homer, see Nickel 2002:216 "Not infrequently Homer presents his audience with doublets of his principal hero." Also p 222: "For example, in the *Odyssey*, the doublets Melanthius and Melanthe each rebuke Odysseus on two separate occasions. Each time, a subsidiary aspect of one of the poem's most important themes is developed: how the hybris of the suitors has infected even some of the household slaves. But these four scenes of reproach are also structurally important, for they are used as chronological markers in the narrative. Melanthius attacks Odysseus at the beginning of his first day in the palace. Melanthe's first attack takes place at the end of the first day. Her second attack is placed at the beginning of the first night in the palace, and Melanthius' second attack at the beginning of the second day.25 In this way, the doublets themselves serve a double function: they are used to organize a lengthy and complex narrative; at the same time, they underline important themes in the development of the narrative. Numerous character doublets like Melanthius and Melanthe occur in the *Odyssey*, with each pair playing a role in the structure and development of the narrative. In addition to Melanthius and Melanthe, we find Mentos and Mentor, Demodocus and Phemius, Circe and Calypso, the Cyclopes and the Laestrygonians, Eumaios and Philoiteus, Eurycleia and Eurynome, Amphinomus and Leodes, and Antinoos and Eurymachus.”

- 7) A substantial Phrygian population had settled in the hinterland of the Maiandros at the end of the Bronze Age and their presence in Lycia proper is attested by onomastics. Significantly, Paeonian is a Phrygian dialect.
- 8) The alternative local name of the Lycian river Xanthos—*Sibros*—was also Phrygian in origin (not Lycian proper). It follows that the Lycian *ethnos* included a Phrygian-Paeonian adstratum.
- 9) According to one source, the Lycian river Xanthos was named after the son of a certain *Lapaion*, the first syllable of which in Greek happens to be a rare intensive prefix, hence the possibility of perceiving Xanthos' father as 'the great Paionian.'

2.3.7.3.2. Asteropaios' First Appearance in the *Iliad* in book 12—as a Lycian.

Sarpedon's *aristeia* takes place toward the end of book 12 of the *Iliad*, as he takes the lead in attacking the wall of the Achaeans, which they were compelled to build in the absence of Achilles from the battlefield. 'Trojan' (Τρῶες) is often used as an indiscriminate term for the mass of Trojans and their allies in the poem, which is sometimes accompanied by the name of their allies, e.g. Τρῶες καὶ Λύκιοι καὶ Δάρδανοι ἀγχιμαχηταί.⁸⁷² Among the Trojan and their allies, there are no instances in the *Iliad* of an ethnic group in the plural⁸⁷³ on the offensive *without* the explicit participation of the Τρῶες. Except in book 12. When Sarpedon and Glaukos finally lead the attack on the wall of the Achaeans, no Trojan or ethnicity allied to the Trojans is mentioned (12.417-420):

οὔτε γὰρ ἴφθιμοι Λύκιοι Δαναῶν ἐδύναντο
 τεῖχος ῥηξάμενοι θέσθαι παρὰ νηυσὶ κέλευθον,
 οὔτε ποτ' αἰχμηταὶ Δαναοὶ Λυκίους ἐδύναντο
 τεῖχος ἄψ ὤσασθαι...

for neither the mighty Lycians could break
 the wall of the Danaans to make a path to the ships
 neither could the Danaan spearmen ever
 Push them away from the wall...

⁸⁷² *Iliad* 8.173.

⁸⁷³ One may find Trojan ally individuals on the offensive, in which their ethnonym appears in the singular, e.g. 4.520 in which Peiroos the captain of the Thracians lead the attack. But we never find "the Thracians" attacked in the plural.

This passage, like others in book 12, is exceptional in terms of neither Τρῶες, nor Trojan allies explicitly participating in the attack.⁸⁷⁴ And yet toward the beginning of book 12, Sarpedon was supposed to have led not solely the Lycians, but also *the other Trojan allies*: Hector and Polydamas had agreed to divide the forces of the Trojans and their allies into separate groups (12.101-104):

Σαρπηδῶν δ' ἠγήσατ' ἀγακλειτῶν ἐπικούρων,
 πρὸς δ' ἔλετο Γλαῦκον καὶ ἀρήϊον Ἀστεροπαῖον·
 οἱ γάρ οἱ εἴσαντο διακριδὸν εἶναι ἄριστοι
 τῶν ἄλλων μετὰ γ' αὐτόν· ὃ δ' ἔπρεπε καὶ διὰ πάντων.

Sarpedon led the highly-renowned allies,
 And he chose Glaukos and war-like Asteropaios as his second-in-command
 For they seemed to be decisively the best
 Of all the others, at least after himself: for he outshone all of them.

Eleven books have passed without a single mention of Asteropaios. This is the very first time the offspring of the great Paeonian river makes an appearance in the *Iliad*. When he does so, he and Glaukos appear together on the very same line (Γλαῦκον καὶ ἀρήϊον Ἀστεροπαῖον), preceded by Sarpedon alone in the line above. But apart from this single mention in book 12, the shadowy figure of Asteropaios disappears and does not reappear until book 17, in which his name occurs for the second time—again in conjunction with Glaukos, only one line apart from him in a list of Trojan allies.⁸⁷⁵ What became of

⁸⁷⁴ At the end of book 12, Hector irrupts into the scene, but not until Sarpedon had heaved down a battlement and “created a path for many” (τεῖχος ἐγυμνώθη, πολέεσσι δὲ θῆκε κέλευθον: 12.399)—one of my favorite quotes.

⁸⁷⁵ *Iliad* 17.216-218:

⁸⁷⁵ Μέσθλην τε Γλαῦκόν τε Μέδοντά τε Θερσίλοχόν τε

⁸⁷⁵ Ἀστεροπαῖόν τε Δεισήνορά θ' Ἴππόθοόν τε

⁸⁷⁵ Φόρκυν τε Χρομίον τε καὶ Ἐννομον οἰωνιστή

⁸⁷⁵ *Iliad* 17.217; 17.351-352.

Asteropaios in book 12? One might have expected the offspring of the river to have appeared side by side with Sarpedon and Glaukos assaulting the wall of the Achaeans, but he does not: the only assailants are Sarpedon, Glaukos and “the great *ethnos* of the Lycians” (τὸ δ’ ἰθὺς βήτην Λυκίων μέγα ἔθνος ἄγοντε: 12.330).

The suggestion that Asteropaios is a stand-in for the Lycian co-ruler arises from the structural parallel between book 12—his first appearance—and book 17—his second appearance, in which he appears twice in the same book: first, one line apart from Glaukos (17.216-218); second, in a context in which Asteropaios mourns the death of his Paionian co-ruler Apisaon (17.350-351):

ὅς ῥ’ ἐκ Παιονίης ἐριβόλακος εἰληλούθει,
καὶ δὲ μετ’ Ἀστεροπαῖον ἀριστεύεσκε μάχεσθαι.

[Apisaon] who had come from deep-soiled Paionia,
And was the best at fighting after Asteropaios.

Whereas the offspring of the river is characterized as the best after Sarpedon—in a tie with Glaukos—in book 12, Asteropaios is described as the best in book 17, in the context of another binary comparison with his own compatriot. Asteropaios won’t reappear in the text until his confrontation with Achilles in book 21. In book 12, there was a clear attempt on the part of the Homeric narrator to obfuscate Asteropaios’ covert Lycian identity with the wording of line 12.101: Σαρπηδῶν δ’ ἠγήσατ’ ἀγακλειτῶν ἐπικούρων “Sarpedon led the highly-renowned allies,” (followed by 12.102: πρὸς δ’ ἔλετο Γλαῦκον καὶ ἀρήϊον Ἀστεροπαῖον), but it partly fails because the third group into which Hector

and Polydamas had split the Trojan forces also included a Trojan ally—Asios, an ally from Arisbe—only six lines above.⁸⁷⁶

Moreover, when the offspring of the river makes his first appearance in the middle of the *Iliad*—line 12.101 “Sarpedon chose Glaukos and war-like Asteropaios to be his second-in-command,” his ethnic identity is left unspecified. From the point of view of the previous eleven books, he is a total and complete stranger: he might as well be Lycian like Sarpedon and Glaukos. The apparent contradiction provided by the explicit inclusion of the Trojan ally Asios in another division of the Trojan forces is not really a contradiction if by Σαρπηδῶν δ’ ἠγήσατ’ ἀγακλειτῶν ἐπικούρων the narrator cleverly meant to say that *the Lycians* are *the* great allies of the Trojans. This is precisely what book 12 forcefully illustrates: “the great *ethnos* of the Lycians” (Λυκίων μέγα ἔθνος) single-handedly tear down the battlement of the Achaeans, as Sarpedon “makes a path for many”: τεῖχος ἐγυμνώθη, πολέεσσι δὲ θῆκε κέλευθον (12.399). Hector can then lay waste and the Trojans reappear in the narrative. Thus, by grouping Asteropaios together with Sarpedon and Glaukos in book 12 and by leaving his ethnicity unspecified, the text makes the subtle suggestion that he is Lycian. Several commentators on this passage bluntly characterize Asteropaios as ‘Lycian’.⁸⁷⁷ But he cannot be shown to appear fighting by their side because he represents one of them: all it takes is a single line in book 12 to suggest that Asteropaios is Sarpedon’s covert *therapon*. He disappears as soon as he appears: (12.101-104):

Σαρπηδῶν δ’ ἠγήσατ’ ἀγακλειτῶν ἐπικούρων,

⁸⁷⁶ 12.95-96: τῶν δὲ τρίτων Ἔλενος καὶ Δηϊφῶβος θεοειδῆς / οὔτε δὴ Πριάμοιο: τρίτος δ’ ἦν Ἄσιος ἦρωες. Asios is also mentioned in the Catalogue of Ships with his own contingent, right above the contingent of the Pelasgians.

⁸⁷⁷ Gladstone 1876:814; Powell 2013:408

πρὸς δ' ἔλετο Γλαῦκον καὶ ἀρήϊον Ἀστεροπαῖον·
οἱ γὰρ οἱ εἴσαντο διακριδὸν εἶναι ἄριστοι

2.3.7.3.3. The juxtaposition of Asteropaios' Duel with Achilles to the death of Lykaon

We may now move on to factor three: the juxtaposition of Asteropaios' duel with Achilles to the moving scene in which the latter had just slain *Lykaon*. This son of Priam is linked to Asteropaios in three immediate ways: first and foremost, Lykaon and Asteropaios are the only figures of any significance among Achilles' numerous victims whom the text associates with the river Xanthos in book 21: Lykaon and Asteropaios alone are given elaborately limned scenes involving a dialogue with Achilles.

Second, the fluvial son of Zeus (the Xanthos) decides to intervene only after Achilles tosses Lykaon's corpse into his waters and brags that the river god cannot stop him: ὄρμηεν δ' ἀνὰ θυμὸν ὅπως παύσειε πόνοιο / δῖον Ἀχιλλῆα “he pondered in his heart how *he* should stop resplendent Achilles from his labor” (21.138-139). He does so vicariously, at first, through Asteropaios: μένος δέ οἱ ἐν φρεσὶ θῆκε / Ξάνθος “Xanthos transfused strength into his heart” (21.145-146).

Third, there is a statistically significant numerological bond between the two: after Lykaon had escaped bondage and returned to Troy, he was able to enjoy the company of his *philoī* for eleven days (ἔνδεκα δ' ἡμέρα: 21.45); Asteropaios tells Achilles this is his eleventh day at Troy (21.156). There are only six references to number eleven in the entire *Iliad*⁸⁷⁸: the third one, in book 5, are the eleven beautiful, newly-made chariots in the halls of another Lykaon—the father of *the northern Lycian* Pandaros who comes to Troy's rescue (5.194).

⁸⁷⁸ In the Catalogue of Ships, Eumelus comes to Troy with eleven ships; Achilles tells Odysseus that he captured eleven cities in the Troad; Hector is buried on the eleventh day after Achilles agrees to a truce with king Priam.

As I will demonstrate, as already suggested by Leaf in 1912⁸⁷⁹ and Wathelet in 1988,⁸⁸⁰ the Iliadic name Lykaon, which is attributed to two characters in the Iliadic text, is an unmistakable ethnonym, which has been hiding in plain sight, in part because we have been trained to think of Lykaon as a Greek name, as in the name of the prototypical Arcadian king (to whom we will return). A close analysis of the *Iliad* reveals that the Homeric narrator knew that Lykaon simply meant “the Lycian” in Ionia and Asia Minor, and that he intended his audience to know that his onomastic ascription to the two Iliadic Lykaones was deliberate and very meaningful with respect to the structure of the text. While Lykaon in the Greek mainland was mostly dissociated from any ethnic group other than indirectly the Arcadian ethnos, in the Anatolian mainland, including Ionia, matters were different.

Before discussing the text, the following background information is necessary: the *Lukka* were a bellicose population in the late Bronze Age whose vast territory included southwestern and central Anatolia: following the migration into Anatolia of foreign populations, in particular the Phrygians, their territory fragmented into two parts: in the southwest, the Lycians as we know them in Classical Greek sources occupying ‘Lycia’; and the Lykaones (Λυκάονες) in central Anatolia occupying what is known as Lykaonia (Λυκαονία).

The Greeks referred to the descendants of the southern *Lukka*, who were closer in space to them than the Lykaones, as the Λύκιοι: this is an archaic designation because the Lycians of the southwestern homeland had ceased to call themselves *Lukka* in the Classical period: instead, they referred to themselves as *Trmilli*. Only their northern

⁸⁷⁹ Leaf 1912:181

⁸⁸⁰ Wathelet 1988:722 (vol. 1)

brethren had preserved their original endonym inherited from the Bronze Age: as is universally acknowledged, Λυκάων “Lykaonian” goes back to Luwian **Lukawanni*, the basic adjective / substantive for “inhabitant of Lukka,” “belonging to Lukka,” in which the productive suffix *-wanni* also shows up in other Anatolian ethnonyms, e.g.

Kataon(es) or *Bagadaon(es)*.⁸⁸¹

As is often the case in ancient philology, Lykaonia and the Lykaones suffer from the paucity of our sources, Xenophon being the first to mention them among the *ethne* having made up Croesus’ army: ...Κίλικας πάντας καὶ Φρύγας ἀμφοτέρους καὶ Λυκάονας καὶ Παφλαγόνας καὶ Καππαδόκας....⁸⁸² Exegetes of early Christianity are also familiar with these direct heirs of a great Bronze Age people: in *Acts* 14, Paul of Tarsus narrates his peregrination to Lycaonia where he seeks to convert the native speakers of Lycaonian: ... τὰς πόλεις τῆς Λυκαονίας...τὴν φωνὴν αὐτῶν Λυκαονιστὶ λέγοντες (11-12).

But there can be no doubt that the ethnonym and the corresponding land with which they were associated were extant no later than the 11th century BCE and would have been known to the Greek-speaking populations of Asia Minor no later than a century or two later, as an increasing number of migrants settled on the coast and intermarried with autochthons speaking Anatolian languages.

The suffix *-ia* in Lykaon-ia, is a Greek appendage to the ethnonym: thus, from a Greek perspective, the people/land Λυκάων / Λυκαονία is subsumed under the same

⁸⁸¹ Palmer 1996:20 “This name patently goes back to *Lukkawanna-, an ethnic adjective based on Lukka.” Bryce 1992:121 the name Lykaonia is a Hellenized derivative of Luwian *Lukawani-, literally “inhabitant of Lukka. Yakubovich 2008:172: Lycaonia can be straightforwardly derived from Luv. *lukka-wani- ‘inhabited by Lukka’ or ‘belonging to Lukka’ (Jenniges 1998:41). “I suggest that the etymology of Lycaonia may reflect the invasion of the Lukka people that marked the end of pax hethitica in the southern part of Bronze Age Anatolia.

⁸⁸² Xenophon *Anabasis*. 1.2.19, 3.2.23; *Cyropaidia* 6.2.20

name formation as Παιών / Παιόνια “Paionian / Paionia” or Ἴων (Ἰάων) / Ἴωνία (Ἰαονίη) Ionian / Ionia. Without even discussing the Iliadic evidence, it is highly likely that part of what helped the Greeks to preserve the term *Lukioi* for the Lycians of southwestern Anatolia in the Classical period was their knowledge that another related population in Asia Minor continued to use the similar-sounding inherited ethnonym Λυκάων in the singular / Λυκάονες in the plural, since the Lycians proper used the endonym *Termilli*.

In books 4 and 5, the ascription of the name *Lykaon* to Pandaros’ father in the *Iliad* is very appropriate from the standpoint of the performance setting of the *Iliad*: very frequently referred to by the stand-alone patronymic Λυκάονος ἀγλαὸς υἱός, which is commonly translated as “the glorious son of Lykaon,” Pandaros represents what many scholars have referred to as the poem’s “northern Lycians,” hailing all the way from Zeleia north of Troy. While there is no historical plausibility to their ever having been Lycians north of Troy,⁸⁸³ from the Ionian point of view the Λυκάων / Λυκάονες are indeed located to the northeast (but to the southeast from the vantage point of Troy). The northern Lycian Pandaros and his patronymic Λυκάων, literally “the Lykaonian” or “Northern Lycian,” are a perfect match geographically and semantically for Lycia’s northeastern kinsmen in Λυκαονία “the land of the Lukka.” With respect to patronymics, several names of heroes in the *Iliad* are ethnonyms: Teukros—Ajax’s brother—is undoubtedly an ethnonym too,⁸⁸⁴ as is Aineias himself.⁸⁸⁵

⁸⁸³ Lipiński 2006:38

⁸⁸⁴ Attested in Callinus and Herodotus, cf Vergil’s *Teucri*.

⁸⁸⁵ Cf Kullmann 2002 on Hipponax fr. 72.7 Πῆσος, Αἰνειῶν πάλλμυς “Rhesos, king of the Aineioi.” Aineias looks like a Greek name and was certainly Hellenized. In But as Kullmann points out his Dardanian identity connects him to the the Balkanic Dardanoi, variously described by ancient sources as either a Thracian or Illyrian tribe.

More importantly, old men or ancestral figures are often given eponyms, such as “Tros” or “Ilos,” mythical ancestral kings of Troy. In like manner, Pandaros refers to his father as γέρων αιχμητὰ Λυκάων, which one is justified in translating as “the old spearman ‘the Lykaonian’ / ‘northern Lycian’.” (5.197). In his illuminating commentary on the *Iliad*, Eustathius makes it clear that Strabo and Arrian interpreted Lykaon precisely this way⁸⁸⁶:

φησί, Λύκιοι οἱ περὶ Ζέλειαν, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ Λυκάων ἀρχηγὸς αὐτῶν καὶ Ἀπόλλων αὐτόθι τιμᾶται Λυκηγενῆς. Λέγει δὲ καὶ Ἀρριανὸς οὕτω· «Ζέλεια ἢ καὶ Λυκία καὶ ὁ Ἀπόλλων ἐπὶ τῆδε τῆ Λυκία Λύκιος. διὸ καὶ Πανδάρου πατὴρ Λυκάων (15) οὐ πόρρω τοῦ τοιοῦτου ἔθνους πεσόντος τοῦ ὀνόματος.

Strabo says that those living around Zeleia are Lycians, on account of which Lykaon is their founding eponym and Apollo is honored there as *Lykegenes*. And so does Arrian say: “Zeleia is a Lycian city and Apollo in this part of Lycia is “Lycian”; for this reason, Pandaros’ father is Lykaon because the name is not unrelated to the Lycian *ethnos*.”

In his commentary on Dionysius Periegetes 857, Eustathius implies that he agrees with Strabo and Arrian in interpreting the first Iliadic Lykaon this way, as did Walter Leaf a century ago and Paul Wathelet in 1988; he also shows that whereas a modern mind is inclined to deny the archetypal Lycianness of the name Lykaon on the grounds that an Arcadian Lykaon also existed, an ancient mind could simply connect the two without necessarily being ‘confused’ by the various mythological homonyms:

[ἴδριες ἐν πολέμοισι Λυκάονες ἀγκυλότοξοι]: “Ὅτι τοὺς Λυκίους πρὸς θάλασσαν εἶπεν εἶναι, διαστελλῶν πρὸς τοὺς Λυκάονας, οὓς Λυκάονας πρὸς ἀνατολὴν λέγει ὡς ἠπειρώτας μέσσην χθόνα οἰκεῖν, καὶ ἀγκυλοτόξους ἐπονομάζει, καὶ ἴδριας ἐν πολέμῳ καλεῖ. Λέγονται δὲ Λυκάονες ἀπὸ Λυκάονος τινὸς Ἀρκάδος, πόλιν αὐτόθι κτίσαντος, κατὰ χρησμὸν, ἐπὶ ἐμφανείᾳ λύκου ἀκάμαντος φέροντος ἐνὶ γναθμοῖς «ἀνδρομένη παλάμην, τό ῥα οἱ τέκμηρεν Ἀπόλλων.»

[skilled in wars were the Lykaones with curved bows]: because he said that the Lycians lived by the sea, differentiating them from the Lykaones whom he says dwell inland in the middle of the continent and describes them “with curved bows” and calls them “skilled in war.” But they say that the Lykaones are named after the Arcadian Lykaon, from a city which he founded there, pursuant to an oracle, as he carried in his jaws “a human hand in the shape of a tireless wolf, which is what Apollo indicated to them.”

⁸⁸⁶ Eustathius 1.555

Emperor Justinian would also trace Lykaonia to the Arcadian Lykaon.⁸⁸⁷ Conversely, it is unsurprising that late sources report that Arcadia itself was also known as Lykaonia⁸⁸⁸: although the antiquity of the myth of the Arcadian king Lykaon certainly played a role in the late attestation for this alternative name of Arcadia, knowledge of a Lykaonia in Anatolia is very likely to have played a role in the creation of this apparently secondary synonym.⁸⁸⁹

In like manner, I will demonstrate that the *Iliad* associates the second Lykaon son of Priam with both the Lycian eponym—like the other Iliadic Lykaon “the Lycian,” Pandaros’ father—and with the Arcadian Lykaon: as recognized by Wathelet, their shared features are reflexes of ancient rites of passage: a) crossing a body of water, b) nudity, c) resurrection, c) Demeter and the primordially of cereals, among others.⁸⁹⁰

For our present purposes and from the vantage point of the performance context of the *Iliad*, what the Arcadian Lycaon and the Priamid Lycaon have in common is their ethnic association with *autochthonous populations*: Arcadian Lycaon is the son of

⁸⁸⁷ Justinian *Novellae* 196: Λυκάονι γὰρ τῶ πρώην Ἀρκαδίας τῆς ἐν Ἑλλάδι βεβασιλευκῶτι ...ταύτη τε δοῦναι τὴν αὐτοῦ προσηγορίαν Λυκαονίαν τε ἐξ αὐτοῦ καλέσαι τὴν χώραν.

⁸⁸⁸ Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *AR* τὸ δὲ τῶν Οἰνώτρων γένος Ἀρκαδικὸν ἦν ἐκ τῆς τότε μὲν καλουμένης Λυκαονίας, νῦν δὲ Ἀρκαδίας; Stephanus of Byzantium s.v. *Arkadia* ἐκλήθη δὲ καὶ Παρρασία καὶ Λυκαονία. οἱ δὲ καὶ Γιγαντίδα φασὶ καὶ Ἀζανίαν καὶ Πανίαν. Ἴππυς δὲ ὁ Ῥηγῖνος λέγεται πρῶτος καλέσαι προσελήνουσ τοὺς Ἀρκάδας.

⁸⁸⁹ An alternative hypothesis would postulate that Lykaonia as a synonym of Arcadia goes back to the Bronze Age. The slave trade and the forced mass migration of populations from Anatolia to Greece is well-documented: Mycenaean ships were frequently used in raiding expeditions overseas for the sake of importing human labor, see Cesarano 2008 *Mycenaean Corsairs: A Reassessment of Late Helladic III Piracy*. The legend according to which the walls of Tiryns had been built by Cyclopes from Lycia (Strabo 8, p 372; Apollodorus 2.2.1) may preserve the memory of the employment of Anatolian laborers and architects in the construction of the citadel’s massive walls.

⁸⁹⁰ Wathelet 1988:727-734. We will examine the initiatic aspects of the encounter between the Priamid Lykaon and Achilles in our chapter “Trojans *qua* Othered Ephebes.” For the derivation of the myth of the Arcadian Lykaon from a rite of passage, see also Jeanmaire 1939: 558-563

Pelasgos (υἱεῖς ἐξεγένοντο Λυκάονος ἀντιθέοιο (1) ὃν ποτε τίκτε Πελασγός Hesiod M-W *fr.* 161), eponym of the Pelasgians, one of the primordial populations of the Aegean.⁸⁹¹

The Arcadians were reputed to have been the oldest inhabitants of Greece and to have inhabited the land even before the moon was formed, hence their moniker προσέληνοι.⁸⁹²

The autochthonous label shared by the Arcadians and the Leleges is further indicated by the figure of the mythical king *Ankaios*, who is either the father of the Arcadian Agapenor in the Catalogue of Ships (2.609) or king of the Leleges on Samos according to Asios. Telephus, king of the Mysians in the Trojan War saga, exemplifies the othering, foreignizing quality of the label “old population” in Greek epic and unites the “old populations” of Greece with “the old populations” of Anatolia: his label Ἀρκασίδης, attested in both Archilochus and Hesiod,⁸⁹³ underpins the transferability of Arcadian identity onto Anatolian identities, which is ‘indigenous’ from a Greek point of view. It is no accident that the Arcadians make a single appearance in the *Iliad*, i.e. in the Catalogue of Ships, which a number of critics, including myself, would argue belonged originally to a different compositional school than the Homeric school. The Arcadians’ immediate descent from the Pelasgians,⁸⁹⁴ Trojan allies in the *Iliad*, prevented them from

⁸⁹¹ Asios *fr.* 7 in in Pausanias 7.4.1.

⁸⁹² Aristotle *fr.* 591 Schol. in Apollon. Rh. 4, 264 p 494; Plutarch, *Aetia Romana et Graeca* 282A

⁸⁹³ Archilochus *fr.* 1.5 (see Kullmann 2012:16); Hesiod *fr.* M-W 165.8.

⁸⁹⁴ To be clear, Arcadians descend from Pelasgians only in the Hesiodic account, not in the Homeric account. As I argue in the conclusion to the present dissertation, I argue that the emerging Greek identity of the 8th/7th century BCE was inherently mixed: ‘Greek’ then meant a balance of 1) Mycenaean elements, linguistically and culturally, inherited from the LBA; and 2) what I refer to as ‘Makednian’ / proto-Dorian elements, inherited from the EIA migrants from Epirus and Macedonia. Any population in Greece which had an excess of the one original group or the other tended to be perceived as ‘less Greek’ than the standardized mix. Because the Arcadians are ‘Mycenaean-heavy’, they are foreignized to a certain extent (an opposite example of ‘Makednian-heavy’ ethnos are the Locrians—they too are to a certain extent foreignized among the Achaeans).

featuring prominently in an Achaean coalition in the rest of the monumental poem: counterintuitively, Achaeanness came to be associated with “New Greece” rather than “Old Greece.”⁸⁹⁵

Lycaon is unique among the sons of Priam in that his Trojan identity is qualified by his his Lelegian pedigree through his mother, which he impresses on Achilles (*Iliad* 21.84-88):

...μινυνθάδιον δέ με μήτηρ
γείνατο Λαοθόη θυγάτηρ Ἄλταο γέροντος
Ἄλτεω, ὃς Λελέγεσσι φιλοπτολέμοισιν ἀνάσσει
Πήδασον αἰπήεσαν ἔχων ἐπὶ Σατνιόεντι.
τοῦ δ' ἔχε θυγατέρα Πρίαμος, πολλὰς δὲ καὶ ἄλλας·

My mother gave birth to me to live a short life,
Laothoe the daughter of old Altes
Altes, who rules among the war-loving Leleges
Whose daughter Priam married, and many others;

Among ancient Greek sources, the Pelasgians and the Leleges are the two most frequently cited representatives of the indigenous populations of the Aegean. Their names appear in the *Iliad* on the same line in a passage listing the allies of the Trojans: καὶ Λέλεγες καὶ Καύκωνες δῖοί τε Πελασγοί (10.429), whereby the Kaukones, like the Leleges and the Pelasgians, are also ‘old’ populations native to both Greece and Anatolia. It is widely admitted that the Leleges do not generally represent a specific ethnicity, but rather a nonspecific multitude of indigenous populations.⁸⁹⁶

⁸⁹⁵ In Apollodorus *Library* 3.8.1, the many sons of Lycaon include cities and regions of Arcadia; also included are ethnonyms associated with marginal, ultimately ‘old’ populations of the Aegean: Kaukon, Thesprotos, Makednos, Teleboas, Phthios and Lykios. Kaukon is the only ethnonym originally located in the Peloponnese, but they are an ancient (and *Iliadic*) population, of which there are only traces in the Classical period. Lykios literally “Lycian” also harks back to the Arcadian Lykaon; the remainder, Thesprotos, Makednos, Teleboas and Phthios denote northern Greek populations. In my last chapter “the ethnicization of ancestry,” I argue that this passage in Apollodorus is valuable because it collocates the two ancestral *ethne* of the Ionians (“Old Greece”) and the Dorians (“New Greece”).

⁸⁹⁶ Lately, Rumscheid 2005:173-193 “die Leleger: Karer oder Andere?”

The Anatolian etymology of the Leleges, akin to Hittite *lulahi*,⁸⁹⁷ which is a derogatory onomatopoea meaning ‘Barbarian’, underscores the performance setting of the Homeric poem in Asia Minor. Miletus itself had also been known as *Lelegis*.⁸⁹⁸ Thus, the inherent foreignness of Lykaon—literally “the Lycian”—is reinforced and made explicit by the Lelegian identity of his mother and maternal grandfather. Just as the Arcadians and their primordial king Lykaon represent autochthonous populations in the Peloponnese, Lykaon’s genealogical line miniaturizes the story of the Lycians: in the broad, archaic sense of the word, the Lycians / **Lukawanni* represent the various autochthonous populations of the southern half of Anatolia.

But in spite of the nonspecificity of the Lelegian label in terms of an ethnic label, the term carries specific negative connotations, as it refers to formerly hostile populations that have been defeated and are in the present socially or politically subject populations of the Greeks: thus, Herodotus says that the Carians had been known as “Leleges” when they used to be subjects of king Minos: τὸ γὰρ παλαιὸν ἐόντες Μίνω κατήκοοι καὶ καλούμενοι Λέλεγες (1.171). Thus, one never encounters in Greek myth any triumphant Leleges, only of defeated, runaway Leleges. For example, none of the Iliadic Leleges are ever described as killing or putting to flight the Danaan invaders: on the contrary, Aineias recounts how a ruthless Athena had urged Achilles to slay the routed “Trojans—and Leleges”—of the Troad⁸⁹⁹; Agamemnon dispatches a Lelex aptly named *Elatos* “Routed”

⁸⁹⁷ Dowden 2002:58

⁸⁹⁸ Eustathius ad Dionys. Perieg. 823.16-17: Μίλητος πόλις Ἰώνων ἐπιφανής. Ἐκλήθη δέ ποτε καὶ Λελεγίς

⁸⁹⁹ *Iliad* 20.94-95 Ἀθήνης, ἧ οἱ πρόσθεν ἰοῦσα τίθει φάος ἠδ’ ἐκέλευεν ἔγχεϊ χαλκείῳ Λέλεγας καὶ Τρῶας ἐναίρειν.

(cf. ἐλαύνω⁹⁰⁰); Locrian Ajax strikes down the Lelex Satnios (14.443); Lykaon's own maternal brother Polydoros, the youngest son of king Priam and grandson of the Lelegian king Altes, does not wield any weapon on the battlefield when his life is cut short by Achilles: he merely shows off his excellence at running.⁹⁰¹ All of the Iliadic Leleges are characterized by their being victims in the absolute sense of the word, as they are never shown trying to fight back (e.g. with a missed spear throw or rousing speech).

Thus, whereas Glaukos and Sarpedon in the *Iliad* represent the noble, aristocratic, integrated and socially dominant Lycian component in Ionian society, the Priamid Lykaon “the Lycian” represents the other defeated, demoted and helpless ‘Lycian’/ Lelex (= Anatolian) segment in Ionian society. Lykaon's helplessness in the presence of Achilles is a metaphor for the helplessness of many Anatolians in the face of Achaean brutality.

Accordingly, when Achilles returns to the battlefield, he slays a higher-than-average number ethnoyms or ethnonymic figures in book 20: besides the Lelegian brothers Lykaon and Polydoros, he slays *Dryops* at 455, eponym of the Dryopes, legendary enemy of the Dorians;⁹⁰² *Dardanos* at 460; Achilles' victim Iphition (382) from the Gygaian lake is not an eponym, but he clearly embodies the threat of Lydian (Maionian) might.⁹⁰³ Significantly, the only Trojan besides Lykaon in book 20 who

⁹⁰⁰ *Iliad* 6.33; the lexeme ἐλατός is attested in Greek as an adjective, ‘beaten’ technically applied to metals. The passage does not state that Elatos is Lelex, but it does state that he is from Pedasos, which is a Lelegian stronghold, in the *Iliad* (and in the *Cypria*).

⁹⁰¹ *Iliad* 20.409-411: πόδεσσι δὲ πάντας ἐνίκα (410) δὴ τότε νηπιέησι ποδῶν ἀρετὴν ἀναφαίνων θῦνε διὰ προμάχων

⁹⁰² See Fowler 2013: 100-103 (vol. 2).

⁹⁰³ See Stecchini (accessed 12/12/2013): <http://www.metrum.org/gyges/homgyg.htm>

clasps Achilles' knees by the river and begs him for mercy bears the most generic ethnonym: his name is simply *Tros*, "the Trojan": Τρῶα δ' Ἀλαστορίδην, ὃ μὲν ἀντίος ἦλυθε γούνων (20.463): only seventy five lines separate Achilles' merciless killing of *Tros* "the Trojan" from the first mention of Priam's son *Lykaon* "the Lycian" at 21.35. The former clasping the knees of Achilles prefigures the latter's clasping the very same knees: the only Trojans to have clasped Achilles' knees in the *Iliad* are ethnonyms: *Tros* "the Trojan" and *Lykaon* "the Lycian."⁹⁰⁴

In the excerpt which follows, I argue that the meaning of *Lykaon* as "the Lycian" is further activated in a *double entendre* (21.122-132):

ἔνταυθοῖ νῦν κείσο μετ' ἰχθύσιν, οἳ σ' ὠτειλὴν = 2nd pers. sing.
 αἴμ' ἀπολιχμήσονται ἀκηδέες: οὐδέ σε μήτηρ = 2nd pers. sing.
 ἐνθεμένη λεχέεσσι γοήσεται, ἀλλὰ Σκάμανδρος
 125οῖσει δινήεις εἴσω ἄλός εὐρέα κόλπον:
 θρόσκων τις κατὰ κῦμα μέλαιναν φρῖχ' ὑπαῖξει
 ἰχθύς, ὃς κε **φάγησι Λυκάονος ἀργέτα δημόν.** = 2nd pers. sing. replaced by *Lykaon's name*
 φθείρεσθ' εἰς ὃ κεν ἄστν κιχέιομεν Ἴλιου ἱρῆς = 2nd pers. plur.
 ὑμεῖς μὲν φεύγοντες, ἐγὼ δ' ὄπιθεν κεραῖζων. = 2nd pers. plur.
 οὐδ' ὑμῖν ποταμός περ εὐρροος ἀργυροδίνης = 2nd pers. plur.
 ἀρκέσει, ᾧ δὴ δηθὰ πολέας ἱερεύετε ταύρους,
 ζωοὺς δ' ἐν δίνησι καθίετε μώνυχας ἵππους

Now lie there among the fish which will lick up
 Your wound and your blood, indifferent: and your mother
 Will not mourn you placed on a bier, but the Skamandros
 Will carry you, swirling, into the wide bosom of the sea:
 Some fish amid the waves will dart up beneath the dark ripple
 And **eat the shining fat of Lykaon / shining people of the Lycian.**
May you all perish until we reach the city of holy Ilios
As you all flee, as I cut you down from behind
 Nor will the fair-flowing, silver-eddying river
 Protect you, to whom you have been sacrificing many
 Live bulls for a long time and casting single-hooved horses in his eddies.

⁹⁰⁴ One should keep in mind that even the Arcadian template for the Trojan *Lykaon* attracts ethnonyms, as the Arcadian *Lykaon* is himself the son of Pelasgos according to Hesiod. In Apollodorus *Library* 3.8.1, the many sons of *Lykaon* include cities and regions of Arcadia; also included are ethnonyms associated with marginal, ultimately 'old' populations of the Aegean: *Kaukon*, *Thesprotos*, *Makednos*, *Teleboas*, *Phthios* and *Lykios*. *Kaukon* is the only ethnonym originally located in the Peloponnese, but they are an ancient (and *Iliadic*) population, of which there are only traces in the Classical period. *Lykios* literally "Lycian" also harks back to the Arcadian *Lykaon*; the remainder, *Thesprotos*, *Makednos*, *Teleboas* and *Phthios*.

While there is only one other occurrence of the formula ἀργέτι δημῶ “shining fat” at *Iliad* 11.818,⁹⁰⁵ we note that the partially homophonous and quasi-synonymous “fat land,” πίονι δήμῳ, occurs six times in the poem, whereby the original text would not have shown the different accents of δῆμος “land/people” and δημός “fat.” In four of these six occurrences, the “fat land” is Lycia: Λυκίης ἐν πίονι δήμῳ “in the fat land of Lycia”⁹⁰⁶; in four of these six occurrences, the grammatical syntax is the same: genitive singular + subject ἃ Λυκάονος ἀργέτα δημόν “Lykaon’s / the Lycian’s shining fat / people = Λυκίης ἐν πίονι δήμῳ “in Lycia’s fat land.” Regardless of the position of the accent, the *demos* in both Λυκάονος ἀργέτα δημόν and Λυκίης ἐν πίονι δήμῳ also occur in the same metrical position: the last foot of the dactylic hexameter. Despite their different meanings, δῆμος “land/people” and δημός “fat” attract the same sememes: the notion of abundance and, importantly for our argument, the fact that they can both be eaten in epic diction. Alongside *Iliad* 22.501 ἔδεσκε καὶ οἰῶν πίονα δημόν “he ate the rich fat of sheep,” one also finds the Hesiodic δημοβόρος βασιλεὺς “people-eating king” at *Iliad* 1.231, a slur which Achilles hurls at Agamemnon.

The amphibology φάγησι Λυκάονος ἀργέτα δημόν /δῆμον “eats the shining fat of Lykaon/the Lycian” or “eats the shining people of the eponym ‘the Lycian’” is further justified by the attestation of the construction hero + *demos* at *Iliad* 2.547 δῆμον Ἐρεχθῆος μεγαλήτορος “the land of great-hearted Erechtheus” as a paraphrase for Attica and the people of Athens. Three additional pieces of evidence bear noting: 1) Achilles

⁹⁰⁵ ἄσειν ἐν Τροίῃ ταχέας κύνας ἀργέτι δημῶ “to satiate in Troy swift dogs with shining fat.”

⁹⁰⁶ 16.437: θεῖω ἀναρπάξας Λυκίης ἐν πίονι δήμῳ; 16.514 κλυθὶ ἄναξ ὅς που Λυκίης ἐν πίονι δήμῳ; 16.673: θήσουσ’ ἐν Λυκίης εὐρείης πίονι δήμῳ, 16.683 κάτθεσαν ἐν Λυκίης εὐρείης πίονι δήμῳ. Not Lycia, but Maionia and Boiotia: 5.710: ναῖον Βοιωτοὶ μάλα πίονα δῆμον ἔχοντες; 20.385 Τμῶλῳ ὕπο ἰχθυόεντι Ὑδης ἐν πίονι δήμῳ;

didn't have to say Lykaon's name: he could have kept using the second person singular (*"eat *your* shining fat/people"), as he did in the lines above at 122 (σ') and 123 (σε); moreover, line 127 φάγησι Λυκάονος ἀργέτα δημόν represents a turning point in that Achilles abruptly switches to the *second person plural* in the next few lines: with his altered address φθείρεσθ' (128), ὑμεῖς (129), ὑμῖν (130), Achilles explicitly voices a death wish for all the Trojans. In other words, Λυκάονος ἀργέτα δημόν functions as a ritual synecdoche for all the Lycians / Trojans: the floating body of Lykaon "the Lycian" embodies the bodies of all the Trojans / Lycians before him. Amid all the corpses choking the river, the floating body of Lykaon is the last straw that breaks the camel's back, as it triggers the Skamandros' decision to intervene, at first vicariously through Asteropaios' intervention.

2.3.7.3.4. *Aia*, the Cosmic Spring of the Axios and the Lycian Spring of the Maiandros: King Midas, Glaukos and Asteropaios

The Lycian river Xanthos is to Lycia what the Axios river is to Paionia: each river defines, through formulaic iteration, each country. Moreover, the *Iliad* emphasizes Asteropaios' descent from the river Axios. How, then, could Asteropaios be connected to a river in Europe and to a river in Anatolia, the Lycian river Xanthos, or the springs of the Maiandros, as we saw earlier? In the same way as king Midas has a spring and garden in both Macedonia and Anatolia. The Lycian river Xanthos, *Arñna* in Lycian, means simply 'the Spring'. Correspondingly, Strabo 7a.1.23-23a reveals in a *uaria lectio* to *Iliad* 2.850 that what was superlatively beautiful about the Axios river was not the river itself, which he says, was known for being muddy, but the spring *Aia* whose waters mingled with the great river at the Paionian stronghold of Amydon:

ἐπίκειται δὲ τῷ Ἀξιῷ ποταμῷ χωρίον, ὅπερ Ὅμηρος Ἀμυδῶνα καλεῖ, καὶ φησι τοὺς Παίονας ἐντεῦθεν εἰς Τροίαν ἐπικούρους ἐλθεῖν „τηλόθεν ἐξ „Ἀμυδῶνος ἀπ' Ἀξιῷ

εὐρυρέοντος.“ ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ ὁ μὲν (10)Ἀξιὸς θολερός ἐστι, κρήνη δέ τις ἐξ Ἀμυδῶνος ἀνίσχουσα καὶ ἐπιμιγνυμένη αὐτῷ καλλίστου ὕδατος, διατοῦτο τὸν ἐξῆς στίχον „Ἀξιοῦ, οὗ κάλλιστον ὕδωρ „ἐπικίδναται Αἴαν“ μεταγράφουσιν οὕτως „Ἀξιοῦ, ᾧ „κάλλιστον ὕδωρ ἐπικίδναται Αἴης.“ οὐ γὰρ τὸ τοῦ Ἀξιοῦ ὕδωρ κάλλιστον τῆς πηγῆς ἐπικίδναται, ἀλλὰ τὸτῆς πηγῆς τῷ Ἀξίῳ.

And on the Axios River lies the place which Homer calls Amydon, saying that the Paionians went to the aid of Troy from there, "from afar, out of Amydon, from wide-flowing Axios." But since the Axios is muddy and since a certain spring rises in Amydon and mingles "the most beautiful water" with it, therefore the next line, "Axios, whose water most beautiful is spread o'er Aia," is changed to read thus, "Axios, o'er which is spread Aia's most beautiful water"; for it is not the "most beautiful water" of the Axios that is spread over the face of the earth, but that of the spring o'er the Axios.

This spring Aia is not any kind of spring, but rather a cosmic spring by the river Ocean, as we can gather from Mimnermos West *fr.* 11 and 11a:

οὐδέ κοτ’ ἄν μέγα κῶας ἀνήγαγεν αὐτὸς Ἴησων
ἐξ Αἴης τελέσας ἀλγινόεσσαν ὁδόν,
ὕβριστῆι Περίηι τελέων χαλεπῆρες ἄεθλον,
οὐδ’ ἄν ἐπ’ Ὀκεανοῦ καλὸν ἴκοντο ῥόον.
(11a.) Αἰήταο πόλιν, τόθι τ’ ὠκέος Ἡελίοιο
ἀκτίνες χρυσ<έω>ι κείαται ἐν θαλάμῳ
Ὀκεανοῦ παρὰ χεῖλος, ἴν’ ὄτχετο θεῖος Ἴησων.

Circe's Αἰαίη νῆσος 'the Aiaian island' in the *Odyssey* (10.135, 11.70, etc.) is near the dancing places of the sun (12.3-4). Circe's brother *Aietes* simply translates as "the Man from Aia." Before becoming a suppletive of *gaia* in Homeric poetry, *aia* had a more specialized meaning 'Auroral', as Watkins and West have argued: *h2eus-s-ih2* "dawn-like" > *awh-ya* > *haw-ya* > *hayya* East Greek psilosis Αἴα. Applied to the land, *Aia* would be "the Land of Dawn"; applied to a mythical spring, *Aia* would be "the Spring of Dawn." In keeping with Strabo's *uaria lectio*, which reveals a mythical spring *Aia*, whose beautiful waters mingle with that of the Paionian Axios, the 5th century BCE poet Antimachus knew of a spring in Macedonia called Aia.⁹⁰⁷ The territories of Macedonia and Paeonia overlap.

⁹⁰⁷ Stephanus of Byz., s.v. Αἴα: ἔστιν Αἴα καὶ Μακεδονίας πηγὴ, ὡς Ἀντίμαχος ἐν Θηβαίδι.

As discussed earlier under 1.1.6.9 “The Lycian River Xanthos: *The Spring*,” the same cosmic geography is attached to the Lycian Xanthos, *Arnna* ‘spring’ in Lycian: Leto taking her infants Apollo and Artemis to Lycia, for the main purpose of bathing the divine twins in its *springs*, as related by Menekrates of Xanthos; Lycia being a haunt of monsters such as chimaera, in the *Iliad*’s otherwise de-emphasis of supernatural elements. These two polarizing extremes suit regions at the ends of the earth.

Asteropaios is a ritual substitute of Glaukos and thus a double of Sarpedon himself. Like Sarpedon, who has explicit ties to Thrace according to Simonides and Apollodorus, which are even alluded to in the *Iliad* in his association with not only Asteropaios but also his physician Pelagon, Asteropaios bridges the gap between northern Greece and Anatolia in the reverse direction when he becomes a Lycian in book 12 and is juxtaposed to Priam’s son *Lykaon* ‘the Lycian’ in the shared context of the fight against Achilles in the river. The history and the legends of the Phrygian king Midas himself dovetail with the legends of the Lycian(s) Glaukos and Asteropaios: the fabulous beauty of Midas’ garden and spring, either located in Macedonia (Herodotus 8.138 & Bion *FHG* II 19) or at/near the springs of the Maiandros (Hdt. 7.26.1 & Xenophon, *Anabasis* 1.2.13) match the superlative beauty of Asteropaios’ auroral spring *Aia* in Paionia, whose territory is the same as the future Macedonia of king Midas.

Given the geographical overlap of the affluent Glaukos and the tomb of Glaukos located at the springs of the Maiandros and Midas’ extensive ties to the same area, including via Midas’ only named sons Ankhynos and Lityerses who died there,⁹⁰⁸ we can

⁹⁰⁸ Athenaios 10.8.1 Λιτυέρσας δὲ ἦν μὲν υἱὸς Μίδου νόθος, Κελαινῶν δὲ τῶν ἐν Φρυγίᾳ βασιλεῦς, ἄγριος ἰδέσθαι καὶ ἀνήμερος ἄνθρωπος, ἀδηφάγος δ’ ἰσχυρῶς. λέγει δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ Σωσίθεος ὁ τραγωδιοποιὸς ἐν δράματι Δάφνιδι ἢ Λιτυέρσα οὕτως (p. 639, 6 N).

conclude that Midas, Glaukos and Asteropaios are multiforms of the same Phrygian-Paeonian / 'neo-Lycian' prototype. Midas and the Lycian co-rulers Glaukos and Sarpedon are further united by the topos of wealth, in particular gold: the exchange with Diomedes in book 6 of the *Iliad* shows that Glaukos' armor was made of gold, presumably like that of Sarpedon.⁹⁰⁹ Last but not least, Sarpedon has the same close relation to Zeus as Midas does: the former is the only living son of Zeus in the *Iliad* whereas Midas owed his accession to the throne to the will of Zeus, as epitomized by the aetiological legends of the Gordian knot.⁹¹⁰

2.3.7.3.5. Substantial Phrygian Settlements in the Hinterland of the Maiandros

Although Aelian is the first ancient author to state that Phrygians (= Mygdonians) were among the local populations at the time of the Ionian colonization of the southern half of the coast of Anatolia (Νηλεὺς δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίαν ἀφίκετο, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ᾤκισε Μίλητον, Κᾶρας ἐξελάσας καὶ Μυγδόνας καὶ Λέλεγας καὶ ἄλλους βαρβάρους⁹¹¹), his data concurs with everything else, including the Homeric data.

An aetiological tale on the cult of Artemis at Miletus, recounted by Plutarch (*Mulierum virtutes*, s.v. 'Pieria' = 253f.9), may be of great antiquity because it involves the son of Neleus, the mythical oikist of Miletus (10th century BCE). According to this vignette, the second king of Miletus Phrygios "the Phrygian," the son of Neleus, wishes to marry Pieria, the daughter of Iapygia and Pythes from Myous nearby. Unlike the

⁹⁰⁹ So was the armor of the leader(s) of the Carians from Miletus at the end of the Catalogue of Ships: insofar as 'Lycian' in Homeric parlance was a generic designation for 'southern Anatolians' in general and to a certain extent Anatolians in general, the Carians were once considered to be a subtype of Lycian, to whom they were in fact linguistically and culturally related. Thus, the Carian Amphimachus or Nastes, slain by Achilles in his golden armor in the river, is an epicchoric variant of the Lycian rulers Glaukos and Sarpedon.

⁹¹⁰ See in particular Fredricksmeier 1961:160-168 "Alexander, Midas, and the Oracle at Gordium."

⁹¹¹ Aelian, *Varia Historia* 8.5.8.15

historical Thettalos, the son of Peisistratos, whose name is not an ethnic affiliation but a manifestation of Peisistratos' sympathies for Thessaly, the ethnonym "Phrygios" the Phrygian is part of a mythical tale of foundation and is therefore not comparable to the 'Thettalos' model: unlike the ethnonyms of historical figures, ethnonyms in myth advert either to a certain involvement of said *ethnos* in the historical background of the myth, as embodied by the ethnonymic figure. Thus, three of the five characters in Plutarch's aetiological tale on the cult of Artemis at Miletus, Phrygios, Pieria, and Iapygia, are unmistakable ethnonyms or ethnic toponyms: Phrygios "the Phrygian" marries Pieria "the Pierian" the daughter of Iapygia, a territory in southern Italy originally colonized by transplants from northern Epirus in the Submycenaean period.

In terms of linguistic evidence, Arkwright's work makes it clear that not all Lycian and West Anatolian names in the Classical and Postclassical periods are traceable to Anatolian onomastics, in the Indo-European taxonomic sense of the word: a substantial minority are from Northern Greece and the Balkans, matching common names found among the Macedonians, Paeonians and Phrygians.⁹¹² Phrygian, Paeonian, Macedonian and Armenian belong to the same linguistic group within IE as Greek does.⁹¹³

2.3.7.3.6. *Sarp-edon*, "the Man of the River *Sirb-is*, Paeonian / proto-Armenian endonym of the Greek *Xanthos* / Lycian *Arñna*?"

Of particular interest is the *third* name of the Lycian river Xanthos, which we already said is attested as *Arñna* in Lycian epigraphy, literally "the Spring." Besides Xanthos and *Arñna*, a *Sibros* / *Sirbis* is also attested by Herodotus' contemporary and relative Panyasis *fr.* 23 and Strabo 14.3.6 who says that it is the former name of the river

⁹¹² Arkwright, W. "Lycian and Phrygian Names," *JHS*, 1918:45-73.

⁹¹³ Merker 1954; Blažek 2005.

Xanthos: ὁ Ξάνθος ποταμός, ὃν Σίρβιν ἐκάλουν τὸ πρότερον. If Xanthos is the Greek name of the river and *Arñna* the Lycian name of the river, then what language spoke those who called it Sibros/Sirbis?

Kretschmer had already persuasively argued that it was the Phrygian name and that the Armenian *surb* ‘pure’ was related: “der Flußname Sibros für das Eindringen phrygischer Volkselemente in Lykien zeugt.”⁹¹⁴ The name of another river in Anatolia the *Souberis* is also known in Greek as *Hieronpotamon*.⁹¹⁵ The likelihood that *Sirbis/Sibros* was the name given to the Xanthos by Phrygian / Paeonian / proto-Armenian speakers (recent migrants from Northern Greece) lies in the fact, not mentioned by Kretschmer, that the nasal *m* variant *Sirmis*, reported by Eustathius ad *Il.* 12.313, is an extremely frequent allophone of *b* among languages of the southern Balkans and the eastern half of Anatolia, e.g. the deity *Bendis* also known as *Mendis*.⁹¹⁶

Our earlier discussion in chapter 1 about the implicit, sacred connection in the *Iliad* between Sarpedon and the river Xanthos makes it very likely that *Sar-pedon* and the similar-sounding *Sirb-is*, are related and would have been perceived as cognates by Paeonian speakers (proto-Armenian), whatever the original meaning(s) was/were.⁹¹⁷ The

⁹¹⁴ Kretschmer 1939:101

⁹¹⁵ Kretschmer 1939:258-259.

⁹¹⁶ See Carnoy 1959 "Echanges Thraco-Phrygiens entre B et M."

⁹¹⁷ Among the competing theories for the meaning of the root **sarp*, I am partial to the following one: it originated in the Middle Bronze Age (ca. 1800 BCE) and is an early loanword from a Semitic language, such as Assyrian. Forbes 1964:240 "The Cappadocian tablets call refined silver *kaspum şarrupam* (261) and this addition to the word *kaspu* (silver) is derived from a verb *şurupu* to refine, smelt (262) (compare also the Arabic *şarîf* for pure silver). If the word *şarpu* is used a synonym of *kaspu* it may have been intended to denote ‘refined metal’ (or metal obtained by smelting).” The English *silver*, and Slavic cognates, may be borrowed from the same source (Vennemann 2003:346). In terms of religion and myth, the Semitic root generates *Sarpanitu*, the mother goddess and consort of the god Marduk in Babylon. A hill named *Sa-ra-pe-da* is attested in Bronze Age Pylos. The toponym *Sybrita* in Crete, which was famous in antiquity for its silver mines and silver coins, may have meant “the ‘Refined Silver place’” (Fick in

likelihood that the pair Sarpedon / Sirbis originated in Paeonia (Macedonia) is further enhanced by the fact that two other mythical Sarpedons, besides the Lycian Sarpedon, are located outside of Anatolia, in Crete and Thrace.⁹¹⁸ The latter, with a population of Pelasgians according to the *Odyssey* (19.177), served as a launchpad whence a substantial number of Paeonians set out further to Lycia. Hence the account reported by Herodotus et al that Lycians originated in Crete⁹¹⁹: by that, what was meant, was the Paeonian adstratum, which conceivably represented a significant component of the EIA Lycian warrior elite. This explanation presents the advantage of accommodating the linguistic evidence that Lycian *per se* was more or less native to southwestern Anatolia. The Sarpedonian Rock of Thrace is known in archaic Greek poetry and the Cretan Sarpedon is also pre-Classical.⁹²⁰

A new etymology for Sarpedon will hereby be set forth: insofar as *Sarpedon* and the river *Sirbis*, erstwhile synonym of the Lycian river Xanthos (ὁ Ξάνθος ποταμός, ὃν Σίρβιν ἐκάλουν τὸ πρότερον: Strabo 14.3.6), are inseparable, a clue to the meaning of their root may be uncovered in the epithet, which Panyassis *fr.* 18 Matthews & *fr.* 23 Bernabé ascribes to the Lycian river, with his metathesized variant *Sibros*: Σίβρωι ἐπ' ἄργυρέωι ποταμῶι βαθυδιήεντι. As X suggested, ἄργυρέωι 'silver(y)' could function as

Kretschmer 1939:259). The Hittite *Sarpa*, which designates a kind of wooden seat or throne with encrusted precious metals (Freu & Mazoyer 2010), is perhaps relevant. Conceivably, the word **sarp*- "refined silver," or perhaps "refined metal" more generally, had spread to the Aegean from the Levant and Eastern Anatolia before or at the end of the Bronze Age. Semantically and morphologically, *Σαρπ-ηδών* would thus parallel *Χαλκ-ηδών*: "the Silver-like" besides the "Bronze-like" (cf. *ἀνθηδών* 'the bee', the flowery one', Damocr. ap. Gal. 14.91; Ael. *NA* 15.1; *EM* 108.43; what is more, both are toponyms in the North Aegean; Greek nouns in *-ηδών* have been analyzed by Nussbaum 1999).

⁹¹⁸ Hellanikos *fr.* 94 *Σαρπηδόνα... τινὰ Θράϊκα*; also *τὴν Σαρπηδονίαν πέτραν τῆς Θράϊκης* (Simonides in scholiast to Apollonius of Rhodes 1.211-215c); Pherekydes *fr.* 104.

⁹¹⁹ See our discussion elsewhere of the ties between Paeonia and Crete, *passim*, notably "Lycians and Crete."

⁹²⁰ See *RE*.

a gloss and translation of Σίβρωι “the Silver river”; the fact that ἀργύρεος seldom applies to rivers in Greek literature (unlike ἀργυροδίνης) suggests that this usage of ἀργύρεος is marked and distinctive. One may further suspect that Panyassis is playfully alluding to the meaning of *sibros* in his collocation Σίβρωι ἐπ’ ἀργυρέωι because he engages in another play on words in the following line by characterizing one of the three sons of the Sibros (which are the names of major locations in Lycia) as ξάνθος “blond,” “yellow,” which is otherwise the Greek translation of the *Sibros*:

Σίβρωι ἐπ’ ἀργυρέωι ποταμῶι βαθυδινήεντι·
τῆς δ’ ὀλοοῖ παῖδες Τλωῶς † ξάνθος Πίναρός τε
καὶ Κράγος, ὄς...

As Matthews observes in his Brill commentary, "Panyassis may be showing his acquaintance with both names by cleverly using the adjective ξάνθος, which, although not a direct reference to the river, must inevitably suggest it to Greek ears." If *Sibros* meant ‘Silver’ and ξάνθος is the Greek translation, the pattern emerges that both denote bright, luminous colors, ‘silver’ and ‘golden’ respectively. Among the competing theories for the meaning of the root **sarp* (hence, *Sarp-edon*, *Sirb-is* / *Sirm-is* / *Sibr-os*), the following one has much to recommend it: it originated in the Middle Bronze Age (ca. 1800 BCE) and is an early loanword from a Semitic language, such as Assyrian:

The Cappadocian tablets [ca. 19th century BCE] call refined silver *kaspum šarrupam* (261) and this addition to the word *kaspu* (silver) is derived from a verb *šurupu* to refine, smelt (262) (compare also the Arabic *šarīf* for pure silver). If the word *šarpu* is used a synonym of *kaspu* it may have been intended to denote ‘refined metal’ (or metal obtained by smelting).⁹²¹

⁹²¹ Forbes 1964:240

The English *silver*, and Slavic cognates such as Russian *serebro*, may be borrowed from the same source.⁹²² In terms of religion and myth, the Semitic root generates *Sarpanitu*, the mother goddess and consort of the god Marduk in Babylon. A hill named *Sa-ra-pe-da* is attested in Bronze Age Pylos. The toponym *Sybrita* in Crete, which was famous in antiquity for its silver mines and silver coins, may have meant “the “Refined Silver place””.⁹²³

Geographically close to the Thracian Sarpedon, the Larisaeon clan of the Σαρβύδαι in northern Thessaly is the closest in form to a ‘native’ synonym of the Lycian river Xanthos, the Σίρβις.⁹²⁴ Conceivably, the protoform **sarp-* “refined silver” had spread to the Aegean from the Levant and Eastern Anatolia *before* or *at the end of* the Bronze Age. Thus, the Paeonians in northern Greece would have already adopted the word before even the great migration period at and after the end of the Bronze Age: *Sa-ra-pe-da* at Pylos and *Sybrita* in Crete may suggest that the new technical term *sarp(u)* “refined silver,” of Semitic origin, had already become pan-Aegeanized, just as Linear B *ku-ru-so* > χρῦσός is a Semitic loanword (cf. Akkadian *hurāšu*), which displaced the native, isometric, similar-sounding and semantically broader γλωρός (Hellanic **ghlouros*), cf. Phrygian γλουρός· χρυσός, γλούρεα· χρύσεια. Φρύγεες (Hesychius).

Semantically and morphologically, Σαρπ-ηδών would thus parallel the Megarian colony of Χαλκ-ηδών on the Bosphorus: “the Silver-like” besides the “Bronze-like” (cf. ἀνθηδών ‘the bee’, the flowery one’, Damocr. ap. Gal. 14.91; Ael. *NA* 15.1; *EM*

⁹²² Vennemann 2003:346.

⁹²³ The Hittite *Sarpa*, which designates a kind of wooden seat or throne with encrusted precious metals (Freu & Mazoyer 2010), is perhaps relevant. Fick in Kretschmer 1939:259.

⁹²⁴ Lochner-Hüttenbach quoted by Neumann 1962:374: apparently, the Σαρβύδαι, attested at Larissa in northern Thessaly, were either a πάτρα or a φράτρα.

108.43)⁹²⁵; what is more, both *Sarpedon* and *Chalkedon* are toponyms in the North Aegean, in Thrace and Bithynia respectively. This interpretation receives further support from a fragment of Antimachus, who says that Solymos, the eponym of the [Carian] Solymoi, is the son of Zeus and *Kalchedonia*: οἱ Σόλυμοι ὠνομάσθησαν ἀπὸ Σολύμου τοῦ Διὸς καὶ Καλχηδονίας.⁹²⁶

The Solymoi were neighbors and rivals of the Lycians in southeastern Anatolia. At *Iliad* 6.204, Sarpedon's brother Isandros gets killed in battle by the Solymoi. Herodotus 1.173 identifies the erstwhile Solymoi to his contemporary Milyans, who spoke an Anatolian language that is closely related to Lycian. The geographical, linguistic and cultural overlaps between the Lycians and the Solymoi warrant special consideration to the pattern of Σαρπ-ηδών and Καλχ-ηδονία sharing the same suffix, intertwined with a connection to Zeus and sovereignty in a southeastern Anatolian ethnos: the former is the son of Zeus, leader of the Lycians, whereas the latter is the mother of the leader of the Solymoi, whose father is also Zeus. The derivative Σαρπηδονία, moreover, is also attested, as both an adjective and noun, e.g. μεταξὺ τῆς Κέρνης καὶ τῆς Σαρπηδονίας.⁹²⁷ Whereas the one was “Bronze Land,” the other one could have been “Silver Land.” The thematization of metal in the armor exchange between Sarpedon’s cousin Glaukos and Diomedes, gold for bronze, in *Iliad* book 6, may lend further credence to this interpretation, since Glaukos and Sarpedon are co-rulers of the Lycians.

⁹²⁵ Greek nouns in -ηδών have been analyzed by Nussbaum 1999

⁹²⁶ Antimachus quoted by the scholiast to *Odyssey* 5.283.

⁹²⁷ Palaephatus, *De Incredibilibus*, 31.

That the Paionian Asteropaios should have been a covert double of the Lycian co-rulers Sarpedon and Glaukos, and thus an emblem of ‘Lycian’, i.e. southwestern Anatolian might, is compatible with the account, which is explicit in Herodotus and implicit in the *Iliad*,⁹²⁸ that the Lycians came to Lycia from Crete. No linguists believe that this is historically plausible in the linguistic sense of the word because Lycian is an Anatolian language, with strong affinities to Luwian. On the other hand, old accounts of ‘Lycian’ emigration from Crete gain in credibility if by ‘Lycian’ one understands a Paionian adstratum or superstratum in the ethnogenesis of the EIA Lycians: there are coeval connections between Paionia and Crete, as evidenced by the putative Cretan origins of the Bottiaians (Aristotle *fr.* 43 in Plutarch, *Theseus*) in Paionia and the shared toponymy of Crete and Paionia.

2.3.7.3.7. Conclusion

The Phrygians in Asia had certainly become a polyethnic, multicultural society made up of both indigenous Anatolian elements inherited from the Bronze Age and elements from Macedonia and other parts of the Balkans, the more recent Thracians and Mysians.

Representative of the former element, Burke 2001:255–261 persuasively argued that elements in the legend of the Gordian knot are traceable to an Anatolian myth and the name *Mitta* relates to it; Phrygian painted pottery shows mixed influences, which are both Anatolian⁹²⁹ and from the south Balkans⁹³⁰; among all the Anatolian populations, the

⁹²⁸ See section “Lycians and Crete.”

⁹²⁹ Roller 2009:19-38; Van Dongen 2013:53-54; DeVries & Rose 2013:191 *Man with lion at Delphi* “several features of the figureine are attested throught the Syro-Hittite realm: teh combination of short tunic and long mantle appear in late 8th century Neo-Hittite sculpture, as does the open arm ring worn just above the lion tamer's elbow.”

⁹³⁰ On the mixed origins of the archaeological evidence, Petrova 1998:49 “the appearance of the Phrygian painted pottery was certainly influenced by the east Anatolian pottery in the Alsar IV style, with elements

proto-Lyadians are likely to have made the greatest contribution to the new Phrygian identity in Asia Minor. One can imagine the early Phrygian kings as cognizant of both their Macedonian and Anatolian legacies.⁹³¹

The Thracians and Mysians, originally non-Hellanic, seem to have made an impact on the phonology, the culture and religion of both the Macedonians who stayed behind in Macedonia and the Phrygians in Anatolia: the cult of the Great Mother seems to have a strong Thracian component⁹³² as well as an Anatolian substratum; the partial *Lautverschiebung*,⁹³³ which is attested not only in Phrygian, but also in Macedonian,⁹³⁴ also seems attributable to a Thracian adstratum. The name given to the Phrygians by the Assyrians, *Mushki*,⁹³⁵ seems to underpin a Mysian element among the Phrygians.

of the fauna and flora, and the old Anatolian tradition (Akurgal, 1955:1-18; Young 1968:231-241; Barnett 1975:426-427), but also the geometric matt painted pottery from the Balkan Brygian areas as a western element (Andrea, 1985: T. I-XVI, XXIV-XXIX, XXXI-XXXV; Prendi 1966: T. XXVII-XXIX; Heurtley, 1939: 227-229, 252; Garasanin, 1982: T. CX). Karamitrou-Mentessidi 2007: "Most of the find-spots [for matted-painted ware] are concentrated in Western Macedonia (45 in the Kozani prefecture alone), especially along the river Aliakmonas (Haliakmon), spreading into Epiros and Albania as far as Korçë and sporadically into south-western Albania (the tumuli in the Drin valley), Pelagonia, Central Macedonia as far as the river Strymon, and south into Thessaly, Elasson, and Marmariani – a dissemination which is presumably due to the constant movement of pastoral populations." But Vassileva 2005:232, following Sams 1994:134-5 says evidence not valid.

⁹³⁰Phrygian geometric painted pottery, which shares basic decoration from both styles, (Sams, 1994: 1, 2, Figs. 24-44, 62-65), appears in the eighth century BC, corresponding to the last wave of the migrations of the Bryges from the Balkans.)

⁹³¹ For a Mughal analogy, cf. Wescoat 1999:126: "Akbar, although not a great garden builder, promoted syntheses of Hindu, Muslim, and Timurid traditions in art and architecture as well as constructive engagement with foreign cultures."

⁹³² Roller 2002.

⁹³³ Lubotsky and Woodhouse in favor; Brixhe and X against it. In agreement with X, there is evidence for both views and it is best to avoid any generalizing, reductive statements about the devoicing of certain consonants.

⁹³⁴ Ködderitzsch 1985:26; Duridanov 1976

⁹³⁵ Van Dongen 2013:51.

Despite the elusiveness of what Illyrian was and who the Illyrians were, sheer geographic proximity and some characteristic place names and toponyms in Macedonia make it likely that they too contributed to the formation of the Macedonian *ethnos*, although one must be cautious in not attributing to the Illyrians what was more often Epirote: their vernacular, although difficult to recover, has the highest probability of having been very similar to that of the Macedonians and Paeonians until at least the 2nd century CE and possibly till the end of antiquity or the early Byzantine period.⁹³⁶

The linguistic carriers of Armenian, for their part, who had left northern Greece sometime before or slightly after the end of the Bronze Age, underwent massive phonetic and lexical changes under the influence of Caucasian and Iranian and languages and cultures⁹³⁷: although modern Armenian does not sound like Greek at all, it is clearly genetically Hellenic and the only Hellenic language other than Greek spoken to this day.⁹³⁸

⁹³⁶ Livy 31.29 says that Macedonian, Epirote and Aetolian were “men of the same language” (*Aetolos, Acarnanas, Macedonas, eiusdem linguae homines*): Pausanias says that the eponyms of Paeonia, Aetolia and Elis were brothers. In and of itself, this lends credence to the hypothesis, articulated in this paper, that Macedonia = “the Highlands” was originally a broad geographical term for the vast Pindus mountain range in Northern Greece, a term Mycenaeans would have given to their northern neighbors (and kinsmen) = Herodotus’ *Makednoi*, of which there is arguably a trace in the Hesiodic characterization of Pleuron as *Makednos*, either denotatively or connotatively. I cite the analogy of spoken Phrygian in Anatolia, which is attested as late as the 7th century CE: there, the population had been bilingual (Phrygian and Greek) for almost a thousand years, as attested by numerous bilingual inscriptions (Brixhe 2013:55-69), and yet Phrygian survived all this time. On ancient Epirote, see Blažek 2005.

⁹³⁷ See lately Holst 2014 *Sanische historische Lautlehre*.

⁹³⁸ It is unclear, as Holst has argued (2009:51-59), whether Albanian too belongs to the same family. More research is needed. If it is the case, Albanian would have to be neither primarily Illyrian, a non-Hellenic language, nor primarily Thracian and Dacian, also non-Hellenic languages, which might have been actually belonged to the Baltic-Slavic group, as Holst has also argued, 2009:66: “Über diese [thrakische] Sprache wurde oft gesagt, sie “stehe dem Balto-Slawischen nahe” oder sogar spezieller dem Baltischen. Aus Duridanov (1985) und anderen Quellen gewinnt man jedoch den Eindruck, dass dies noch untertrieben ist. Thrakisch ist eine baltische Sprache. Nicht nah zum Baltischen, sondern Zugehörigkeit ist das, was hier konstatiert werden muss.”

But the linguistic carriers of the Phrygian language and much of its aristocratic warrior elite came from Macedonia and are best regarded as proto-Macedonians,⁹³⁹ as epitomized by the Homeric king *Mygdon* and the Phrygian synonym or ethnic subgroup *Mygdones*: the later Argead Macedonians who had stayed behind in Macedonia followed different paths.

Macedonians remained linked to their Phrygian kinsmen in Asia Minor through shared cultural and linguistic features. The inclusion of two symbols of Phrygian power in the founding myth of Macedonia highlights, on the part of some Macedonians at least, a desire of continuity between the early Phrygians and the Macedonians: 1) explicitly, the official choice of the garden of Midas as the epicenter from which the legendary Temenid brothers conquered and created a new Macedonian kingdom; 2) between their departure from Illyria and arrival at the Garden of Midas, the sojourn of the three brothers in *Lebaia*, which has persuasively identified with *Alebaia*, happens to be an important site for the autochthonous Mother of the Gods, which even Hatzopoulos apparently concedes had once been a Phrygian cult of the Great Mother.⁹⁴⁰ Writes Petsas, the excavator of the site of Leukopetra at Alebaia = Lebaia:

“Comme Fanoula Papazoglou et moi-même l'avons soutenu, il y a une parenté évidente entre les traditions religieuses de la Phrygie et des populations préhelléniques de la Macédoine. La Mère des Dieux Autochtone, Déméter, Artémis Agrotéra, Artémis Digaia, Artémis Gazoritis et Blouritis, Némésis, Ennodia, Pasikrata etc., ainsi que Zeus Hysistos ou Dionysos ou toute autre hypostase divine intermédiaire, pourraient n'être que des *interpretationes graecae* d'une Grande Déesse, Πορνία Θηρῶν, matronale et virgine à la fois, et de son parèdre, connus en Phrygie sous les noms de Cybèle et

⁹³⁹ Petrova 1997:159: “the Paeones and the ancient Macedonians were related to the Bryges who were the basic substratum of the ethnic structure of those two communities.”

⁹⁴⁰ Hatzopoulos 2003:209; Petsas 2000:28-29; Papazoglou 1979:168-169. “La Grande Déesse des populations préhelléniques avait un parèdre masculine, à la fois époux et fils, qui apparaît tantôt sous les traits de Dionysos et tantôt sous les traits de Zeus.” Correspondingly, the Phrygian Mother too has a male parèdros, son or consort, with close ties to the king (see Roller and Lanzellotti).

d'Attis. Cependant, la superposition géographique de l'aire de diffusion de ces cultes et des consécrationes qui leur sont attachées avec l'ancien pays des Brygiens-Phrygiens ne laisse guère de doute que dans ces *interpretationes graecae*, aussi bien que dans des *interpretationes asiaticae* telles que Syria Parthénos ou Ma, **il ne faut pas voir simplement l'invasion tardive de cultes orientaux mais aussi la résurgence de pratiques religieuses des populations préhelléniques que la conquête macédonienne avait pendant longtemps occultées.**[bold mine]⁹⁴¹

So does the incidence of the Gordian knot: as Roller suggests, had Alexander the Great not been Macedonian, the local Phrygians and/or the Macedonians themselves would have shown no interest in the Gordian knot, which prior conquerors had left undisturbed. Alexander the Great would have been the local Phrygians' new Midas, whose capital had once been, so the legend goes, in Edessa, Macedonia. As noted already by Grace Macurdy in 1918 and others before her, before the discovery and interpretation of the Hittite reference to king *Alaksandu* of Wilusa, the traditionality of the royal name *Alexandros* among the kings of Macedonia areally matches the prominence of the Trojan prince *Alexandros* in the Trojan war saga, which justifies the notion of a common "North Aegean onomastics"⁹⁴².

⁹⁴¹ Petsas 2000:35.

⁹⁴² Rosen 1978:19. The popularity of Trojan (/ and) Phrygian names in Macedonia underpins this conclusion [the 4th century BCE Macedonian historian Marsyas is North Hellanic: attested in Phrygia, the satyr Marsyas, also river Marsyas, associated iwth king Midas; the name of the Macedonian historian Marsyas is all the more significant because he was aristocratic birth, see Berve 1926:247-248; also Zahrt 1986: 326] Priamos, Hector: Samsaris 1986:135; Also Gygaia in Argead family (Papazoglou 1979:166). Rosen is of the opinion points to non-Greek / pro-Trojan sympathies, which I believe partly explains the popularity of the names. A common North Aegean heritage (north Hellanic) could be another, which might have no direct connection with the saga of the Trojan war. Without addressing king Alaksandu of Wilusa, Zahnrt 367 objects to Rosen's line of thought by countering that the name Alexandros is also attested as the name of Thessalian kings (Polyaenus 6.10), as a Spartan leader in the days of Epameinondas (Diodorus 15.64.2) and as the name of a "pre-Dorian" deity in the Peloponnese. The Thessalian and Peloponnesian instances are two separate cases: the former instantiates an areal phenomenon whereby Thessaly being on the northern borders of what is technically south Hellanic exhibits features in common with the North Hellanic subgroup: if we are to probe into the ethnogenesis of the Thessalians, the Thessaloi / Petthaloi proper came from Epirus [Herodotus 7.176] and were, in all likelihood, North Hellenes, until they merged with the perioikoi, many of whom spoke a language inherited from Mycenaean Greek (Garcia-Ramon 1975; Helly 2007). As for the single Peloponnesian Alexandros, it could be interpreted in various ways: a) an archaic relic from the Mycenaean world or b) a Doric name which the Makednoi / Proto-Dorians had taken with them as they moved south

Priam's daughter *Kassandra* has a name that is the feminine of *Kassandros*, a well-known Macedonian name, which has interested several scholars. Hoffmann ([1906] pp 119-120) shows in his study of the Macedonians that Wilamowitz has been unfortunate in his choice of names employed to illustrate his theory that the royal house of Macedon in its eagerness for Greek culture adopted Greek heroic names in order to make a link with the past and the early Greek tradition. It is rightly pointed out by Hoffmann that the Macedonians would not have given their heirs the names of Alexander and Cassander in memory of the effeminate and unfortunate Paris and the unhappy prophetess of woe, *Kassandra*.⁹⁴³

Undoubtedly, the name *Kassandros* is attested in Linear B.⁹⁴⁴ But that is not the point.

Over the centuries, the name became regionalized and restricted for the most part to the North Hellanes and henceforth had North Aegean resonances.

Along similar lines, Macurdy points out that *-koon* names in the *Iliad* and Trojan war literature in general are *all* Trojan,⁹⁴⁵ e.g. *Demokoon*, *Laokoon*, *Koon*, *Deikoon*, *Laokoon*, *Hippokoon*, despite the fact that the root is clearly the same as archaic Greek κοέω "I perceive," cf. Anacreon 4.14 σὺ δ' οὐ κοεῖς. She suspects that the popularity of the root is due to an Anatolian substrate **kau*, as attested in Lydian *kaves* 'priest', which is not a Greek loanword, but an independent inheritance of the IE root **keu*, as in Latin *caueo*, English *show*. This would thus be an instance of linguistic convergence: a root, which becomes rare and archaic in the rest of the Hellenic sphere, is preserved on the margins in part because the substrate language of the region (Anatolian or possibly Thracian) preserved the same root in their own separate IE language. But unbeknownst to Macurdy, what she does not point out is that the same root is also attested in Macedonian, i.e. κοῖος 'number' (Athenaeus 10.455e) and Samothracian Κοίης / Κόης,⁹⁴⁶ priest in the

⁹⁴³ Macurdy 1925:71.

⁹⁴⁴ Garcia-Ramon 1992; Wathélet 2009.

⁹⁴⁵ Macurdy 1925:74

⁹⁴⁶ Brixhe 2006:126-146 on pidgin language spoken on Samothrace on the basis of inscriptions

mysteries of Samothrace (Hesychius). The particular semantic development of the root of *-koon* in Macedonian strongly suggests that it is not a loanword from Greek but a genuine Macedonian lexeme.⁹⁴⁷

It is not just Trojan personal names that are Greek-sounding in the *Iliad*: even the names of regions near the Troad, such as *Adrasteia* (2.827 Οἱ δ' Ἀδρήστειάν τ' εἶχον...), are Greek-sounding: while one can readily conceive of an oral poet making at least some ad hoc attributions of Greek-sounding personal names to Trojans, it is more difficult for an oral poet to make up arbitrarily the name of an entire region without there being an old, indigenous tradition behind it. Herodotus attributes the very same name formation to the mythical Phrygian prince *Adrastos*: Γορδίεω μὲν τοῦ Μίδεω εἰμὶ παῖς, ὀνομάζομαι δὲ Ἄδρηστος (1.35.13).

On the basis of Herodotus famously writing οἱ δὲ Φρύγες, ὡς Μακεδόνες λέγουσι, σύνοικοι ἦσαν Μακεδόσι (7.73) “the Macedonians say that the the Phrygians once lived *peacefully* among them,”⁹⁴⁸ together with the apparent desire on the part of the Argeads to style themselves after the great kingdom of their emigrant kinsmen, it is difficult to dismiss the notion that many Macedonians, up until the conquests of Alexander the Great and even perhaps later, did not sense distinct affinities with the Phrygians of Greek epic and tragedy: the Trojans (οἱ Φρύγες) *per se* or a Trojan ethnos so closely related to the Phrygians that their leadership is half Phrygian.⁹⁴⁹ In fact, “eighth-century Greek tumulus

⁹⁴⁷ This peculiar semantic development is comparable to English *reckon*, originally ‘count’ (cf. German *rechnen*), but secondarily also ‘think’.

⁹⁴⁸ My translation. Borza translates σύνοικοι as “lived peacefully with”.

⁹⁴⁹ See earlier discussion page on why the communis opinio is wrong about assuming that the ethnonym Phryges, as a strict synonym of ‘Trojan’ in the saga of the Trojan War is ‘late’ or post-Homeric: 1) typological grounds: the Greeks are given three names, Achaeans, Danaans and Argives, so in theory the Trojans too should be given synonyms or near synonyms. Homer partially does the with the ethnonym

burials of the Troad were inspired by Phrygian burial types."⁹⁵⁰ Distinct cultural traits, e.g. the practice of polygamy in Macedonia, Paeonia,⁹⁵¹ mythical Troy and Phrygia versus monogamy in Greece, would encourage pro-Trojan sympathies in earlier times in the aristocracy, which prior to the Macedonians' familiarity with Greek epic, would have manifested itself merely through awareness of cultural and economic ties with Asia Minor.

Thus, Pindar would have refrained from describing his patron Alexander I of Macedon as Ὀλβίων ὁμώνυμε Δαρδανιδᾶν "of the same name as the one among the fortunate Dardanids" (= the Homeric Paris Alexander), had Macedonians not perceived affinities with the Dardanians, Trojans and Phrygians.⁹⁵² Accordingly, 8/9 earliest occurrences of the personal name Ἐκτώρ in the historical period are located in Macedonia and the North Aegean (*LGPN*).

Dardanoi; in the Epic Cycle, Teukroi is yet another synonym, which one may posit on the basis of a collation of Herodotus (2.114 Ἦκει ξεῖνος [= Ἀλέξανδρος], γένος μὲν Τευκρός), historiographical accounts and Vergil, epigone of the Epic Cycle (Horsfall 2008). As Rhys Carpenter persuasively argued, "the false landing" of the Achaeans in Telephus' Mysian kingdom of Teuthrania south of the Troad and off of Lesbos was originally a competing Trojan War, in which a number of key figures have duplicates in our Iliad and other accounts of the Trojan War, so that 'Mysian' too is likely to have been another synonym for 'Trojan' in several early poetic traditions. Why Homer and the Homeridai used such terms for 'Trojan' and excluded others may be attributed to a myriad other factors than chronology, but the very concept of multiformity and the notion that the Trojan war stands for all the wars the expansionist Greeks fought against their neighbors in Asia Minor (and their northern Balkanic neighbors) renders the idea absurd that the epic tradition is entirely or even mostly dependent on the siege of a single fortified city near the northerneastern tip of the Aegean (Raaflaub 1998). Note that even from the standpoint of the Iliad, the Phrygians are Trojan allies and princes Alexander and Hector are half-Phrygian through their mother Hekabe [source]. In other accounts of the Trojan war whose allegedly later date with Homer in terms of content should be revised [Burgess], Skamandros is literally a Phrygian prince, founder of Troy [Pseudo-Plutarch, De Fluviis]. I repeat Kullmann's observation [source]: the eponym Dardanos as Urvater of the Trojan royal family, together with the Trojan Dardanians and Aineias, are clear indications that the Trojan leadership, from the point of view of epic, is Balkanic in origin (on Homer's awareness of transcontinental migrations between Europe and Asia (Minor), cf. his allusion to the migration of the Europeans Mysians into Anatolian Mysia at the start of book 13.

⁹⁵⁰ Van Dongen 2013:57; Işık 2004 & 2008

⁹⁵¹ Herodotus 5.16.2.

⁹⁵² Pindar, *Encomia* fr. 120; cf. Rosen 1978:19.

Similarly, a tedious, genealogical list of Macedonian kings describes Karanos—the very founder of the Macedonian Argeads—as the grandson of an otherwise unknown *Kroisos* (εἶναι Κάρανον Ποίαντος τοῦ Κροίσου),⁹⁵³ after which the region *Krousis* in Macedonian Mygdonia may have been named.⁹⁵⁴ There is every reason to believe that this Macedonian Kroisos, in light of our earlier discussion, ties in indirectly or directly with the famous Lydian king Kroisos. In reference to this genealogy, Hoffmann, an exponent of the strictly-defined Greek identity of the Macedonians, exclaims “wie Kroisos unter die Griechen kommt, ist unverständlich.”⁹⁵⁵ Aside from Anatolian Aeolis and Macedonia, Macedonia was closer geographically to the Phrygian kingdom than the rest of Greece and could have thus experienced a greater cultural influence from the Phrygian renaissance in the 9th century BCE and later.⁹⁵⁶

The Phrygo-Macedonian bond is not to dismiss the Greco-Macedonian bond, over which so many critics have fought. Scholars who have wished to demonstrate the Hellenicity of the Macedonians by pointing out how many common features were shared by the Thessalians and the Macedonians should start looking further out for members of the Hellenic family. Strabo 11.14.12 recounts how two Thessalians in the army of

⁹⁵³ Syncellus, *Ecloga Chronographica* 316.14; Porphyrius, *Chronica* 1.1.34; though late, the antiquity of such traditions must hark back to a time that antedated the Macedonians’ desire to be recognized and classified as Greeks, see Abel and von Gutschmid.

⁹⁵⁴ Von Gutschmid 1893:68. Steph. of Byz. speaks of the similar-sounding Krousius: Κρουσίς, μοῖρα τῆς Μυγδονίας. Στράβων ἐβδόμη. ἡ γενικὴ Κρουσίδος. ἀπὸ Κρούσιος τοῦ Μυγδόνοιο υἱοῦ; Herodian 3.1.102.10 Κροῦσις ὁ Μυγδόνοιο υἱός, Κρουσίς μοῖρα τῆς Μυγδονίας.

⁹⁵⁴ Von Gutschmid 1893:68.

⁹⁵⁵ Hoffmann 1906:127.

⁹⁵⁶ Sams 2013:66: “the presence of patterned pebble mosaic floors, as best seen in the main room of Megaron 2, had been a remarkable phenomenon for erstwhile 8th-century Gordion (Young 1965). Now as a developed art of the 9th century, the early patterned mosaics of Gordion stand fully unparalleled for their time and become all the more remarkable as distant precursors to those of later Greece.”

Alexander the Great thought that the traditional clothing of the Armenians was

Thessalian and that the ancestors of the Armenians had emigrated from Thessaly:

Ἀρχαιολογία δέ τις ἐστὶ περὶ τοῦ ἔθνους τοῦδε τοιαύτη· Ἄρμενος ἐξ Ἀρμενίου πόλεως Θεσσαλικῆς, ἣ κεῖται μεταξύ Φερῶν καὶ Λαρίσης ἐπὶ τῇ Βοίβῃ, καθάπερ εἴρηται, συνεστράτευσεν Ἰάσονι εἰς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν· τούτου φασὶν ἐπώνυμον τὴν Ἀρμενίαν οἱ περὶ Κυρσίλον τὸν Φαρσάλιον καὶ Μήδιον τὸν Λαρισαῖον, ἄνδρες συνεστρατευκότες Ἀλεξάνδρῳ· τῶν δὲ μετὰ τοῦ Ἀρμένου τοὺς μὲν τὴν Ἀκιλισηνὴν οἰκῆσαι τὴν ὑπὸ τοῖς Σωφηνοῖς πρότερον οὔσαν, τοὺς δὲ ἐν τῇ Συσπιρίτιδι ἕως τῆς Καλαχηνῆς καὶ τῆς Ἀδιαβηνῆς ἔξω τῶν Ἀρμενιακῶν ὄρων. καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα δὲ τὴν Ἀρμενιακὴν Θεσσαλικὴν φασιν, οἷον τοὺς βαθεῖς χιτῶνας οὓς καλοῦσιν Θεσσαλικούς ἐν ταῖς τραγωδίαις, καὶ ζωννύουσι περὶ τὰ στήθη καὶ ἐφαπτίδας, ὡς καὶ τῶν τραγωδῶν μιμησαμένων τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς... Τὸν δὲ Ἀράξην κληθῆναι νομίζουσι κατὰ τὴν ὁμοιότητα τὴν πρὸς τὸν Πηνειὸν ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἄρμενον ὁμωνύμως ἐκείνῳ· καλεῖσθαι γὰρ Ἀράξην κάκεῖνον διὰ τὸ ἀπαράξαι τὴν Ὅσσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὀλύμπου ῥήξαντα τὰ Τέμπη.

There is an ancient story of the Armenian race to this effect: that Armenus of Armenium, a Thessalian city, which lies between Pherae and Larisa on Lake Boebe, as I have already said, accompanied Jason into Armenia; and Cyrsilus the Pharsalian and Medius the Larisaean, who accompanied Alexander, say that Armenia was named after him, and that, of the followers of Armenus, some took up their abode in Acilisenê, which in earlier times was subject to the Sopheni, whereas others took up their abode in Syspirtis, as far as Calachenê and Adiabênê, outside the Armenian mountains. They also say that the clothing of the Armenians is Thessalian, for example, the long tunics, which in tragedies are called Thessalian and are girded round the breast; and also the cloaks that are fastened on with clasps... It is thought that the Araxes was given the same name as the Peneius by Armenus and his followers because of its similar to that river, for that river, too, they say, was called Araxes because of the fact that it "cleft"³³ Ossa from Olympus, the cleft called Tempê.

Prefigured in 11.4.8 (Λέγεται δ' Ἰάσονα μετὰ Ἀρμένου τοῦ Θεσσαλοῦ κατὰ τὸν πλοῦν τὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς Κόλχους ὀρμῆσαι μέχρι τῆς Κασπίας θαλάττης “ it is said that Jason sailed to Colchis with Armenos the Thessalian, as far as the Caspian sea”), such an account could be unusually revealing since it was already known how similar the Thessalians were to the Macedonians: there must have been something strikingly similar about the accoutrement of the Armenians to that of the Thessalians for such a statement to be made.⁹⁵⁷

⁹⁵⁷ See Kretschmer 1896:209 and Helly 2004.

The triangulation of the undeniable Greco-Phrygian linguistic unit is the context within which one must place Macedonian: aside from the small community of linguists, the scholarly community has only had a vague and misguided understanding of the linguistic connection between the Greeks and their northern neighbors: the idea that the Illyrians, the Macedonians, the Paeonians, the Phrygians and the Thracians were related to the Greeks, in the loose sense that they too spoke Indo-European languages, but with no specific connection to Greek other than the trivial fact that they borrowed from each other a few words and customs. This vague way of thinking must be forsaken: one cannot indiscriminately lump all of Greece's northern neighbors together: Illyrian and Thracian, although they are IE, are *not* closely related to Greek.⁹⁵⁸ On the other hand, Phrygian, together with Armenian and inferentially Macedonian and Paeonian, belong to the same IE subgroup as Greek and remained hardly differentiated until tentatively about 1500 BCE.⁹⁵⁹ Conjointly with this linguistic bond, one must also appreciate the numerous

⁹⁵⁸ Borza associates the Phrygians archaeology with an influx of immigrants from the central European (Poland) Laurentz culture at the end of the Bronze Age. On linguistic grounds, this is very unlikely because Phrygian is Greek's closest relative by all accounts: the vast distance separating the northern borders of the Mycenaean kingdom from Poland makes it unlikely that 1) a geographical Greco-Phrygian continuum could have existed and 2) that Phrygian could have evolved so quickly to resemble Greek to such a degree that mutual intelligibility of the two languages around 1200 BCE is conceivable. It is far likelier that the linguistic carriers of the Laurentz culture in the Northern Aegean were Thracian: Thracian's closest relative is Baltic-Slavic (Duridanov 1985 quoted by Holst 2009:665). Holst most recently averred "Holst 66: Über diese [thrakische] Sprache wurde oft gesagt, sie "stehe dem Balto-Slawische nahe" oder sogar spezieller dem Baltischen. Aus Duridanov (1985) und anderen Quellen gewinnt man jedoch den Eindruck, dass dies noch untertrieben ist. Thrakisch ist eine baltische Sprache. Nicht Naeh zum Baltischen, sondern Zugehörigkeit ist das, was hier konstatiert werden muss." (2009:66). The presence of Laurentz culture in Macedonia and Epirus may be attributed to a Thracian adstratum or possibly Illyrian adstratum, the status of which remains uncertain.

⁹⁵⁹ See Neumann 1988:6 "mehrere Jahrhunderte vor und wohl auch noch nach 2000 vor Ch. Geb. [underline / italics mine] müssen die Vorfahren der Phryger zusammen mit den Vorfahren der späteren Hellenen und der Makedonen im Süden des Balkans in engstem [underline / italics mine] räumlichen nachbarlichen Kontakt gestanden haben." For matching archaeological evidence, there is a continuity in tumuli burials from the early Bronze Age up to the Iron Age II in the southwestern Balkans, where a later concentration of the Bryges is supposed: Petrova 1998:47 citing Prendi 1966:255-280; Andrea 1985:218-228; Bodinaku 1982:42-101; Garasanin 1982:723-726; Garasanin 1988:81-144. Areal linguistics must have

cultural bonds tying specifically Greece, Paeonia, Macedonia and Phrygia together. More scholars, it is hoped, will become cognizant of this new paradigm and start referring more frequently in their publications to ‘Greco-Phrygian’ or even better ‘Hellanic’. And yet, the memory of Hellanic unity can be glimpsed in the kingdom of Pelasgos in Aeschylus’ *Suppliant Women*, which included not only Greece proper south of the Peneios, but also the river Strymon, the future Macedonia, ancient Paionia also known as Pelagonia,⁹⁶⁰ and Dodona (251-258):

ἔμοῦ δ’ ἄνακτος εὐλόγως ἐπώνυμον
γένος Πελασγῶν τήνδε καρποῦται χθόνα·
καὶ πᾶσαν αἴαν ἧς δὴ ἄγνός ἔρχεται
Στρυμών, τὸ πρὸς δύνοντος ἡλίου, κρατῶ·
(255) ὀρίζομαι δὲ τήν τε Περραιβῶν χθόνα
Πίνδου τε τᾰπέκεινα Παιόνων πέλας
ὄρη τε Δωδωναῖα· συντέμνει δ’ ὄρος
ὕγρας θαλάσσης. τῶνδε τᾰπὶ τᾰδε κρατῶ.⁹⁶¹

Of all the region through which the pure [255] Strymon flows, on the side toward the setting sun, I am the lord. There lies within the limits of my rule the land of the Perrhaebi, the parts beyond Pindus close to the Paeonians, and the mountain ridge of Dodona; the edge of the watery sea borders my kingdom. I rule up to these boundaries.

Regardless of the actual etymologies, a close scrutiny of our ancient sources points to the perception of the adequation between the mythologized Pelasgoi, the historical Pelagones and the socially hierarchic *Peliganes* of ancient Epirus and Macedonia.

Such a new paradigm will lead to new paths in discovery and research, for instance at it pertains to epic poetry: if the Greeks and the Trojans are so similar, it is because the Greeks and the Phrygians were so similar in many ways, no matter whether one traces the Trojan war to the LBA, EIA or early Archaic period. It is no coincidence

played a role in common innovations and slowing down the rate of divergence between south Hellanic (Greek) and north Hellanic (Macedonian and Phrygian).

⁹⁶⁰ Strabo 7a.1.38, *Iliad* 21.141.

⁹⁶¹ See Svoronos’ commentary 1919:29.

that king Midas, who was celebrated on a Phrygian inscription as *lawagtaei* and *wanax*, was the first ‘Barbarian’ to have made a dedication at Delphi.⁹⁶² The saga of the Trojan War was, to a certain extent, an intra-Hellanic war.

2.3.8. The Hellenization of Makednians: Dubious Achaeans and Achaeans in the Making:

2.3.8.1. Boeotians (*Pai-ōtoi) as Hellenized Paeonians (Pai-ones)

2.3.8.1.1. Evidence for Homeland of the Boeotians in the *Boion / Poion* Mountain Range in Epirus

"The Boeotians' name comes from the name of the Boion mountain in the Pindus range; the same range was the cradle of the Makednians, ancestors of both the Macedonians and of a part of the Dorians."⁹⁶³ The pre-classical Boeotians or proto-Boeotians were not Aeolians, nor did they speak Aeolian: traditionally classified as ‘northwestern Greek’, in the early stages of the language, proto-Boeotians were proto-Dorians a.k.a Makednians, close kinsmen of the Paeonians, Phrygians and Molossians. In fact, the present dissertation submits that they are Hellenized Paeonians on the basis of linguistic, historical and cultural considerations. Although our earliest sources in the early 5th century BCE place the earlier homeland of the Boeotians in Thessaly (e.g. Thucydides 1.12), from which they were later expelled by the Thessalians, at yet an earlier stage their homeland should be sought further to the north and the west in the mountains, as we shall

⁹⁶² See DeVries & Rose 2013:189-200 “The Throne of Midas? Delphi and the Power Politics of Phrygia, Lydia, and Greece.”

⁹⁶³ Sakellariou 1986:137 (Brill: *The End of the Early Bronze Age in the Aegean*).

see. Although no explicit sources say so, such a conclusion can be secured through a collation of linguistic, toponymic and mythological data.

Before the *Boiotoi* fought the native Greek Aeolian speakers of Thessaly (ἐκβαλόντες τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς οἱ Αἰολεῖς⁹⁶⁴), their original homeland was the *Boion* / *Poion* mountain range (Sakellariou 2009; Bubenik 2000:439). Strabo defines *Boion* either more narrowly as a mountain region between Epirus and Macedonia or as a vaster region approximating the Pindus Mountain range ranging from Macedonia to Aetolia.⁹⁶⁵ Robert J. Buck (not to be confused with the following Carl Darling Buck, author *inter alia* of *Greek Dialects*) finds the connection between the *Boiōtoi* and *Boion* in Epirus ‘dubious’,⁹⁶⁶ deriding C.D. Buck who “conjectures that the mountain gave its name to the tribe.” Elsewhere, R.J. Buck quips:⁹⁶⁷ “Why not Boion in Doris for that matter?”

R.J. Buck’s alleged counter-example of Boion in Doris is absurd, because it is only a small town: it is therefore unimaginable that it should have given its name to such a large *ethnos* as the Boeotians. The *Boion* to the northwest, on the other hand, is mistranslated by R.J. Buck as a mere ‘mountain’: it is not.⁹⁶⁸ The Epirote / Macedonian *Boion* is an entire mountain range, which is given two definitions by Strabo: according to his second, looser definition, Boion is even tantamount to the vast Pindus mountain range stretching all the way to Aetolia. In fact, R.J. Buck’s misuse of the town of Boion in the

⁹⁶⁴ Zenobius 3.87.11.

⁹⁶⁵ Strabo 7.7.9 & fr. 6

⁹⁶⁶ Buck 1986:269

⁹⁶⁷ Buck 1979:82fn2

⁹⁶⁸ ὄρος in Greek may mean both ‘Berg’ and ‘Gebirge’. For the size and extent of Boion, see Oberhammer (*RE*), s.v. ‘Boion’.

Dorian Metropolis proves the opposite of what he sought to deride: the proximity of a stream *Pindos*, next to the town *Boion*, not to mention a homonymous town Pindos, according to some authors, such as Strabo,⁹⁶⁹ seems rather to prove that the toponymy in the smaller-scale landscape of Doris in southern Thessaly was *named after the earlier and must vaster* homeland of the proto-Dorians in the much larger Pindus and Boion mountain ranges, further north. The small towns and river of Boion and Pindos in Doris are microscopic duplicates, as it were onomastic memorials, of the proto-Makednians' / proto-Dorians' original homeland further north: their closer location to the Peloponnese made it easier for their Dorian descendants in the Peloponnese to maintain ties with what once was a stopover region in the migration route of the Makednians southward.

As Sakellariou 2009 rightly points out, Boeotia and Epirus share a number of early ties. To begin with, the very ethnonymic suffix of the Boeotians, *-ōtos*, is characteristic of the northwest: “the Apodōtoi⁹⁷⁰ are one of three peoples in post-Volkerwanderung western and central Greece--the other two being the Thesprōtoi and the Boiōtoi—whose ethnika have the un-Greek termination *-ōtoi*” (Toynbee 1969:105-106). Another is to the sanctuary of Dodona in Epirus, at which site Boeotian dedications early on, in the archaic period, feature prominently.⁹⁷¹ Dodona had been a regional site of worship, before it became Panhellenized. The EIA emigration of such Northwestern

⁹⁶⁹ Strabo 9.4 μέσοι Δωριεῖς· Οὔτοι μὲν οὖν εἰσιν οἱ τὴν τετράπολιν οἰκήσαντες, ἣν φασιν εἶναι μητρόπολιν τῶν ἀπάντων Δωριέων, πόλεις δ' ἔσχον Ἐρινεὸν Βοῖον Πίνδον Κυτίνιον· ὑπέρκειται δ' ἡ Πίνδος τοῦ Ἐρινεοῦ, παραρρεῖ δ' αὐτὴν ὁμώνυμος ποταμὸς ἐμβάλλων εἰς τὸν Κηφισσοῦν οὐ πολὺ τῆς Λιλαίας ἄπωθεν, cf. Skymnos 593 Δωριεῖς μικρὰς πόλεις, Ἐρινεὸν Βοῖόν τε καὶ Κυτίνιον, ἀρχαιοτάτας ἔχουσι Πίνδον τ' ἐχομένην, ἃς Δῶρος Ἕλληνας γενόμενος ᾤκισεν. Also see Sakellariou 1990:155.

⁹⁷⁰ Cf Thucydides 3.94.5 Ἀποδωτοῖς, ἔπειτα δὲ Ὀφιονεῦσι καὶ μετὰ τούτους Εὐρυτάσιν, ὅπερ μέγιστον μέρος ἐστὶ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν, ἀγνωστότατοι δὲ γλῶσσαν καὶ ὠμοφάγοι εἰσὶν

⁹⁷¹ Cf. Ephorus in Strabo 9.2.4.

populations as the proto-Thessalians and proto-Boeotians was a decisive factor in the spread of the cultic significance of Dodona.

Duplicate toponymy between Thessaly and Boeotia is well-known, but it also binds Boeotia and Epirus: for instance, *Graia* in Epirus, which gave the Romans their name for the Greeks, *Graeci*, is otherwise found only in Boeotia (Ὠρωπὸν τὴν γῆν τὴν Γραϊκὴν καλουμένην⁹⁷² Another piece of evidence is the attestation for several populations in ancient Boeotia with the characteristic northwestern – *ikes* suffix, notably the Τέμμικες, whose ethnonym compares directly with the Homeric *Aithikes* (*Iliad* 2.744), located on the slopes of the Pindus.⁹⁷³ The *Aithikes* / *Temmikes* is a particularly close match because the *ī* in both cases is long.⁹⁷⁴ The significance of the Boeotians to their preclassical history is such that Thebes itself had once been known as “the Temmikian city,” (Τεμμίκιον ἄστυ).⁹⁷⁵ Lycophron in his *Alexandra* refers to the Boeotians as the *Temmikes*, and *Temmikia* once was a synonym of Pelasgia.⁹⁷⁶ We will return to the significance of the *Temmikes* when we discuss “Kadmos the ‘Phoenician’” below, but it is worth pointing out at this point that they were described as barbarians by Hekataios *fr.* 119 Jacoby.

Classical Boeotian, as we have it, is a mix of Aeolic and (North)West ‘Greek’ features, as traditionally referred to: we have already called into question the propriety of

⁹⁷² Thucydides 2.23.3; Ὠρωπὸν τὴν γῆν τὴν Γραϊκὴν καλουμένην; *Iliad* 2.498 2.498 Θέσπειαν Γραϊάν τε καὶ εὐρύχορον Μυκαλησσόν; & Lycophron 645 Γραϊαν ποθοῦντες καὶ Λεοντάρνης πάγους.

⁹⁷³ Cf. Bonfante 1941:8; Sakellariou 1958:375.

⁹⁷⁴ Bonfante 1941:8.

⁹⁷⁵ Menelaos *fr.* 552 Θηβαΐδος α'

⁹⁷⁶ Nikolaos in Stephanus of Byzantium, s.v. Ἀρκαδία: Τεμμικία. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Πελασγία, ὡς Νικόλαος πέμπτη.

defining these northwestern dialects as ‘Greek’: to repeat, although the dialects of Epirus and northern Aetolia are ultimately closely related to Greek (within the larger Greco-Phrygian or ‘Hellanic’ group), they are closer to Macedonian and Phrygian than they are to Greek proper, in that the IE voiced aspirates had never become unvoiced as in Mycenaean and Classical Greek: the unvoiced aspirates of Classical (Hellenized) Boeotian owe their voicelessness to the Aeolic component (of Mycenaean origin) of their dialect. Be that as it may, we may list some examples of northwestern features: ἐμίν for ἐμοί, κα for Attic ἄν / East Aeolic κε and ρίκατι for εἴκοσι.⁹⁷⁷

Hatzopoulos 1987:407 is very correct to point out that the unvoiced variant Ποῖον of Βοῖον at Strabo 7.7.9 (πλησίον δ’ ἤδη τῆς τε Μακεδονίας καὶ τῆς Θετταλίας περὶ τὸ Ποῖον ὄρος καὶ τὴν Πίνδον Αἰθικές) inscribes itself within the Macedonian pattern of 1) the alternation of *unaspirated* voiced and unvoiced stops in Macedonian, e.g. *dikaia* / *digaia*,⁹⁷⁸ and 2) the high antiquity of the phenomenon (proven *terminus ante quem* in the early 5th century BCE). This early sound change could potentially have started centuries earlier: for our purposes, it would have to have started no later than the 8th century BCE, three centuries earlier. This raises the distinct possibility that the ethnonym Βοιωτοί is an idiosyncratic rendition of an older *Ποιωτοί “those from the *Poion* mountain range.”

It so happens that 1) the Παῖονες (the Paeonians) are attested in the very same mountain range, 2) the interchangeability of *a* and *o* is another regional idiosyncrasy (see below⁹⁷⁹), so that the Βοιωτοί < *Ποιωτοί may ultimately stem from an even older *Παι-

⁹⁷⁷ See C.D. Buck 1955:141 for more examples.

⁹⁷⁸ See Hatzopoulos 1987 “Artémis Digaia Blaganitis en Macédoine” [Greek Ἄρτεμις δίκαια

⁹⁷⁹ Also see our earlier discussion of Μυγδόνες = *Μακεδόνες (**a* > **o* > *u*), which is one of numerous other examples. In Boeotia proper, Fowler 2013:191 views the toponyms *Olm-* / *Alm-* as variants of the same root, Stephanus of Byzantium (s.v.) Ὀλμωνες, κώμη Βοιωτίας, ἀπὸ Ὀλμοῦ τοῦ Σισύφου; (s.v.)

ωτοί, suffixed variant of Παί-ονες, “the Paeonians”; 3) several ethne in the region attest variation in their suffixal formations, such as the ‘Macedonians’: τὸ ἔθνικὸν Μακεδῶν...λέγεται καὶ Μακέτης ἀρσενικῶς καὶ Μακέτις γυνή καὶ Μάκεσσα ἐπιθετικῶς.⁹⁸⁰

Even among the Paeonian ethne, such suffixal variation is discernible, e.g. the Ἀθαμᾶνες⁹⁸¹ who must be the same as the Ὀδόμαντοι,⁹⁸² as persuasively proposed by Toynbee 1969:100-101: here again, one witnesses the *a/o* regional alternation whereby the Hellenized ethnonym Ἀθαμᾶνες must represent early North Hellanic **Adhamānes*, alternating with **Adhamantoi* (> Ὀδόμαντοι); also arguably, the Barbarian ‘Epirote’ Τυμφαῖοι⁹⁸³ are the nasalized variant of the Paeonian Δόβ-ηρες [both **Dhu(m)bh-*]. The inclusion of Paeonian or Paeonian-like populations in Epirus is attested by Eratosthenes⁹⁸⁴ and inferable from the kinship ties between the Paeonians, Aetolians and Epeioi.⁹⁸⁵

Ἄλμος, πόλις Βοιωτίας, ὡς Ἑλλάνικος· καὶ Σάλμιον αὐτὴν φησι κακῶς. τὸ ἔθνικὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἄλμωνος γενικῆς Ἀλμώνιος καὶ Ἀλμωνία.

⁹⁸⁰ Stephanus of Byzantium 428

⁹⁸¹ Hekataios *fr.* 119 = Strabo 7.7.1 καὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ παρόντι Ἑλλάδος ἀναντιλέκτως οὔσης τὴν πολλὴν οἱ βάρβαροι ἔχουσι, Μακεδονίαν μὲν Θρᾶκες καὶ τινὰ μέρη τῆς Θετταλίας, Ἀκαρνανίας δὲ καὶ Αἰτωλίας [τὰ] ἄνω Θεσπρωτοὶ καὶ Κασσωπαῖοι καὶ Ἀμφίλοχοι καὶ Μολοττοὶ καὶ Ἀθαμᾶνες, Ἡπειρωτικὰ ἔθνη.

⁹⁸² Thucydides 7.113.

⁹⁸³ The Tymphaioi are also ranked among the Epirote tribes by Strabo 7.7.8, whom he generally considers barbarian.

⁹⁸⁴ Eratosthenes quoted by Strabo 1.2.20: ... τοῖς Παίοισι τοὺς ὁμόρους Δόλοπας καὶ Σελλοὺς περὶ Δωδώνην μέχρις Ἀχελώου.

⁹⁸⁵ Pausanias 5.1.4 γενέσθαι δ’ οὖν φασιν αὐτῷ Παίονα καὶ Ἐπειὸν τε καὶ Αἰτωλὸν καὶ θυγατέρα ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς Εὐρυκύδαν. ἔθηκε δὲ καὶ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ δρόμου τοῖς παισὶν ἀγῶνα Ἐνδυμίων ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ ἐνίκησε καὶ ἔσχε τὴν βασιλείαν Ἐπειός· καὶ Ἐπειοὶ πρῶτον τότε ὧν ἦρχεν ὠνομάσθησαν. τῶν δὲ ἀδελφῶν οἱ τὸν μὲν καταμεῖναι φασιν αὐτοῦ, Παίονα δὲ ἀχθόμενον τῇ ἡσση φυγεῖν ὡς πορρωτάτω, καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ Ἀξιού ποταμοῦ χώραν ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ Παιονίαν ὀνομασθῆναι.

One may consider the following forms as intermediary parallels to the voiced / unvoiced *Poion* / *Boion* mountain range, bridging the gap between Βοι-ωτός and Παι-ών. An intermediary cognate, in terms of semantics, is the mythical figure of Βοι-ώ: she was the first mythical priestess and female songmaker of Apollo at Delphi, was a local woman (Βοιῶ δὲ ἐπιχωρία γυνή) and had a special connection to the Hyperboreans in her compositions (Pausanias 10.5.7). She is also known to other ancient Greek sources, such as Philochoros *fr.* 207 and Palaiphatos.⁹⁸⁶ It so happens that the aforementioned, idiosyncratic Macedonian weakening of *p* into *b* reached all the way down to the Phocian dialect spoken around Delphi: ... τῷ β χρῶνται Δελφοί... ἀντι τοῦ π· καὶ γὰρ τὸ πατεῖν ‘βατεῖν’ καὶ τὸ πικρὸν ‘βικρὸν’.⁹⁸⁷ Thus, the mythical priestess of Apollo Βοιῶ could stem from an earlier *Ποιῶ, which is only one step removed from *Παιῶ (again, regional shift *a* > *o* also attested, e.g. Locrian κοθαρός = καθαρός). The ethnonym Παιών is theophoric: they are the people of the god Pai(e)on, epiclesis of Apollo in his quality of Healer God. Already in the *Iliad*, the connection between the Paeonians, the Healer god and Apollo is palpable.⁹⁸⁸

Another intermediary between the Βοι-ωτοί and the Παί-ονες is the father of the consummate Achaean archer *Philoktetes*, who is himself another great archer with whom Philoktetes is sometimes confused: *Poias* (Φιλοκτῆτην, Ποιάντιον ἀγλαὸν υἱόν: *Odyssey* 3.190). His name, though reinterpreted as ‘Grassy’ (cf. ποίη), could have originally been an ethnonym “the Paeonian” (**Poiantes* < **Paiantes*) with the ethnonymic suffix *-nt*, cf.

⁹⁸⁶ See Knaack (*RE*), s.v. ‘Boio’.

⁹⁸⁷ Plutarch *Aetia Romana et Graeca* 292e.

⁹⁸⁸ See my MA thesis “the Mitoses of Achilles,” in which I argue that the hypothesis of syncretism between originally two ‘distinct’ gods, Apollo and Pai(e)on is otiose.

the barbarian Ὑάντες in Boeotia,⁹⁸⁹ the aforementioned Paeonian Ὀδόμαντοι, the aforementioned Μάκεσσα “female Macedonian” and...the prototypical Boeotian / Thessalian king *Athamas* (**Adhamants*), formal eponym of the Ὀδόμαντοι / ca. Ἀθαμᾶνες.

According to either Pherekydes or Stesichorus, *Paion*, eponym of the Paionians, is the grandfather of the eponyms Minyas and Orchomenos.⁹⁹⁰ Helly forcefully argued that Philoktetes’ kingdom and its city Methone (*Iliad* 2.716ff), was not the one in Magnesia (which would still fit our argument), but rather further to the north in Pieria in the Macedonian marches.⁹⁹¹ this would be smack in the middle of Paeonian territory, considering the extent southward of the Eordoi, a Paeonian ethnos, all the way to the Peneios.⁹⁹²

⁹⁸⁹ Strabo 7.7.1, cf Pindar ὡς δὲ Πίνδαρός φησιν [F 83] ἦν ὅτε (10) σύας Βοιωτίων ἔθνος ἔνεπον.

⁹⁹⁰ Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodes 1.230: ὁ λαὸς Μινύαι ἐκλήθησαν· ἐκ δὲ Μινύου καὶ Κλυτοδώρας γίνεται Πρέσβων καὶ Περικλυμένη καὶ Ἐτεοκλυμένη, ἐκ δὲ Φανοσύρας τῆς Παιῶνος καὶ Μινύου Ὀρχομενός καὶ Διοχθώνδης καὶ Ἀθάμας

⁹⁹¹ Helly 2004:280-282. ⁹⁹¹ Helly’s identification of Philoctetes’ contingent with Pieria may gain support from two additional arguments: the first one, which I mention in my MA thesis *the Mitoses of Achilles* (2008), involves the identity of Philoctetes as the premier archer of the Achaeans in the *Iliad*: as evidenced by the Scythoid archers of archaic Greek art, there was a tendency in early Greek epic to ethnicize certain fighting techniques. Even before the difficult-to-determine arrival of the Scythians in the south Balkans, skilled bowmen from the northern steppes were already known in Homeric times, as attested by the *Iliad*’s *hippemoloi* and *Abioi* in book 13, the *Odyssey*’s awareness of the *Kimmerians*, not to mention the Scythian names (= north Iranian names) of Alkman’s horses in *fr.* 1 (Zaikov 2004). In the saga of the Trojan war, the most prominent bowmen are Trojan (Paris, Pandaros) and even Teukros, although he fights on the side of the Achaeans, carries an ethnonym which is a synonym of the Trojans (cf. Callinus of Ephesus and Herodotus’ Τεῦκροι, Vergil’s *Teuceri*, etc.). The archer Philoktetes being *the* most valuable archer of the Achaeans would coincide with his realm being the closest to the archers of the steppes. The mythical land of the Hyperboreans could even be projected onto the land of Thessaly, as attested among poets like Pindar, according to Anagnostou-Laoutides 2005:406-407 and De Heer 1969:28ff, even though it is not as far north as Pieria itself. I would advance a second argument in favor of Helly’s identification of Pieria with the kingdom of Philoktetes: the inclusion of a certain *Poias* / *Poianthes* in the early genealogy of the kings of Macedonia. *Poias* is otherwise the name of Philoctetes’ father. As I argue elsewhere (“Boeotians (*Pai-ōtoi) as Hellenized Paeonians (Pai-ones)”), *Poias* is a dialectic variant of **Paianthes* “the Paeonian.”

⁹⁹² Fowler 2013:100.

Four additional factors support the reading Poias “the Paeonian”: 1) Poias and/or his son Philoktetes fit the stereotype of the Paeonian archer. In the *Iliad*, the Paeonians are a people of archers (Παίονες ἀγκυλότοξοι (2.848; 10.428). It may be telling that among the Achaeans in the *Iliad*, the only other living Achaean archer besides the Poiantid Philoktetes is *Teukros*, eponym of the Paeonian/Trojan *Teukroi* (Herodotus 5.13). 2) The two compounds in the name *Philo-ktetes* are also attested in North Hellanic, as attested by a) Macedonian *bil-* = Greek φίλ- (e.g. *Bilippos* = ⁹⁹³), b) the Phrygian optative *ektetoy*,⁹⁹⁴ counterpart of the Greek κτάομαι, and c) the Greek agent noun suffix *-tās* is a shared innovation with Phrygian, as shown by Phrygian *δουμετας* = Greek οικήτης.⁹⁹⁵ Thus, the Greek *Philoktētēs* may genuinely reflect the Hellenization of an early, local North Hellanic figure **Bhiloktētās*. 4) Paeonian and Phrygian kings were known for their love of wealth, and gold in particular.⁹⁹⁶

On the geographical plane, the πεδῖον Ἀθαμάντιον⁹⁹⁷ is to Ἀθάμας what the πεδῖον Ποιάντιον⁹⁹⁸ is to Ποίας. We will return to the prototypical Boeotian / Thessalian king *Athamas* when we get to “Thamyris the ‘Thracian’.” Surveying the attestation for

⁹⁹³ cf. Plutarch *Moralia* 292e ἀντὶ τοῦ φ τῷ β χρῶνται...Μακεδόνες ‘Βίλιππον’ καὶ ‘βαλακρόν’ καὶ ‘Βερονίκην’ λέγοντες.

⁹⁹⁴ *Matar Kubeleya Ibeya duman ektetoy*, see Orel 1997:139-141.

⁹⁹⁵ Neumann 1988:12-13.

⁹⁹⁶ Cf. The legend of king Midas. For the fabulous wealth of Paeonian kings, cf. Aristotle, *Mirabilium auscultationes* 833a Περί Παιονίαν λέγουσιν, ὅταν συνεχεῖς ὄμβροι γένωνται, εὐρίσκεσθαι περιτηκομένης τῆς γῆς χρυσὸν τὸν κα- λούμενον ἄπυρον. λέγουσι δ’ ἐν τῇ Παιονίᾳ οὕτω χρυσί- ζειν τὴν γῆν ὥστε πολλοὺς εὐρηκέναι καὶ ὑπὲρ μνᾶν χρυ- σίου ὀλκῆν. τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ τινὰ φασιν εὐρόντα ἀνενεγκεῖν δύο βόλους, τὸν μὲν τρεῖς μνᾶς ἄγοντα, τὸν δὲ πέντε· οὓς φασιν ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης αὐτῷ παρακεῖσθαι, καὶ ἐπ’ ἐκεί- νων πρῶτον, εἴ τι ἐσθίει, ἀπάρχεσθαι.

⁹⁹⁷ Apoll Rhod. 2.514, Pausanias 9.24.1.: in Thessaly.

⁹⁹⁸ Unknown location: the *Suidas* quoted by Kirsten (*RE*), s.v. Poias.

several other figures with the stem *Poi-* in Thessaly, Radke rejects the Greek etymology ‘grass’: “Der Stamm *Poi-* lässt sich wohl nicht aus dem Griechischen deuten.”⁹⁹⁹ Thus, *Παιωτοί, *Παίαντες and Παίονες may have been interchangeable ethnonyms for the same Paeonian people (hence, the Βοιωτοί and formal eponym Ποίας).

To this list of *Pai-* formations, we may tentatively add the Kadmeian seer Μάϊων, mentioned in the *Iliad* at 4.394 and 4.398: he was among the fifty Kadmeians who set an ambush against Tydeus and the only one whom the victorious Aetolian spared. Carl Robert was of the opinion that Tydeus had to spare Maion because the latter is the eponym of the Maionians and would thus be fated to become the ancestor of this population.¹⁰⁰⁰ I believe that he is on the right track: the Theban Maion becomes prominent in the Theban saga, only eschatologically: later, he is the one who gives Tydeus a proper burial.¹⁰⁰¹ We argued elsewhere, in the footsteps of Arkwright and Macurdy, that the Anatolian *Maionia* and *Maiones* owe their name (at least in part if a syncretistic origin must be conceded) to *Paionia* and *Paiones* via the idiosyncratically regional shift $p > b$, thence $b > m$, which is another regional idiosyncrasy, cf. the ethnos *Amantes* / *Abantes*.¹⁰⁰²

This interpretation would be consistent with the theophoric meaning of the Paiones, people of the god Apollo Pai(e)on, and the proclivity of Paeonian eponyms to be associated with epithets of Apollo: alongside the Kadmeian seer Μάϊων, arguably < *Βαίων < *Παίων, one must also reckon with the feminine doublet Βοιώ, < *Ποιώ <

⁹⁹⁹ Radke (*RE*), s.v. ‘Poianthes’.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Carl Robert quoted by Burchner (*RE*), s.v. ‘Maion’.

¹⁰⁰¹ Pausanias 9. 18. 2

¹⁰⁰² See section “Maeonia and Paeonia.”

*Παιώ, priestess of Apollo at Delphi,¹⁰⁰³ a region known for its *b / p* alternations.¹⁰⁰⁴

Maion was predestined to survive Tydeus' slaughter of the fifty Kadmeian ambushers because Maion (*Βαίων) had arguably once been an early variant of Boeotian (*Βαιωτός)—the population, which was to succeed the Kadmeians in Boeotia: Carl Robert was of the opinion that Tydeus had to spare Maion because the latter is the eponym of the Maionians and would thus be fated to become the ancestor of this population.¹⁰⁰⁵

Significantly, Maion, an eponym, is the son of *Haimon* (Μαίων Αἰμονίδης; *Iliad* 4.394), whose name too is an eponym, that of the *Haimones / Haimonia*, an old name for Thessaly and its inhabitants: Αἰμονία δὲ ἀπὸ Αἴμονος, Θεσσαλία δὲ ἀπὸ Θεσσαλοῦ τοῦ Αἴμονος.¹⁰⁰⁶ The validity of reading Maion's Iliadic father Haimon as the eponym of Thessaly, even from an Iliadic standpoint, is warranted by the internal pattern whereby the Phthian hero Eurypylos is the son of *Eu(h)aimon* (5.76) and Thoas the Aetolian (7.168) is the son of *Andr(h)aimon*. One thus witnesses the great variety of the Paeonian ethnonym, in *Boeotian*, *Poias*, *Boio* and *Maion*.

2.3.8.1.3. Thamyris the Thracian: a crypto-Boeotian

Related to Α-θάμ-αs, the prototypical Boeotian / Thessalian king is the mythical poet Θάμ-υρις, who is characterized as 'Thracian' in Nestor's catalogue entry at *Iliad*

¹⁰⁰³ Pausanias 10.5.7 among other sources.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Plutarch *Aetia Romana et Graeca* 292e.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Carl Robert quoted by Büchner (*RE*), s.v. 'Maion'.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Strabo 9.5.23; also Rhianos *fr.* 30a; Αἰμονία, ἡ Θεσσαλία, ἀπὸ Αἴμονος. Αἴμων δὲ υἱὸς μὲν Χλῶρου τοῦ Πελασγοῦ, πατὴρ δὲ Θεσσαλοῦ, ὡς Ῥιανὸς καὶ ἄλλοι; Dionysius of Halicarnassus 1.17.3 Αἰμονίαν, νῦν δὲ Θεσσαλίαν ὀνομαζομένην; cf Batou of Sinope FHG IV 349. Αἰμονία ἢ Θεσσαλία ἀπὸ Αἴμονος (Herodian 3,1.295.9);

2.595-600: the Muses allegedly maim him (πηρὸν θέσαν¹⁰⁰⁷) for boasting that he could outperform them in song. But the name ‘Thamyris’ is not Thracian at all: rather, it is the Boeotian and more broadly northern Greek¹⁰⁰⁸ noun, θάμυρις, ‘a supra-local gathering and festival’: the cognate θαμυρίδδοντες, Boeotian officials in charge of “communal gathering[s], for supra-local meetings at a religious centre” (Wilson 2009:51), are arguably the Boeotian / Northern Greek counterparts of the Ionian guild the *Homeridai*, back formation from the stem in Achaean ὀμάριον “meeting place of a political league.”¹⁰⁰⁹

The northern Greek (Boeotian, Thessalian and Epirote) prototypical king Ἀθάμας (**Adhamants*) “the One Who Brings Together,”¹⁰¹⁰ underscores the Boeotian indigeneity of the cognate Θάμυρις. As R.J. notes, Athamas’ “legends have much to do with cult practice and the providing of aetiological myths.”¹⁰¹¹ Athamas and Thamyris two were two sides of the same coin: the one represented the political and executive dimension of

¹⁰⁰⁷ The meaning of πηρὸν is uncertain: ‘blind’ and ‘mute’ are two of the leading translations, see Wilson 2009.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Northern Greek: Aeolic & North Hellanic (Epirote & Paeonian). Originally, the socio-political usage of **tham* / **dham* was probably the latter, even though cognates clearly existed in Aeolic (and other Greek dialects), a descendant of Mycenaean, e.g. θαμά ‘frequently’, since the Paeonian *O-dom-antoi* and Epirote *A-tham-anes* are categorized as Barbarian by the majority of ancient Greek authors, which must carry a linguistic connotation.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Frame 2009:633; Durante 1976:195-202 cited by Wilson 2009.

¹⁰¹⁰ Athamas is also the eponym of the Epirote *Athamanes*. On the historical connection between the mythical figure Athamas and the historical Epirote ethnos the *Athamanes* (pace Buck 1979:59), see Curty 1995:103; Braund 1982:351; Macan 1908:293; Toynbee 1969:22; Phylactopoulos 1975:37 (vol. 2); West 1985:67.

¹⁰¹¹ R.J. Buck 1979:58.

Boeotian supra-local gatherings,¹⁰¹² whereas the other represented the poetic and cultural dimension of such gatherings.

Thus, Thamyris and Hesiod, to a certain extent, are closely-related representatives of non-Ionic northern Greek Boeotian poetry and culture.¹⁰¹³ Thamyris and Hesiod, to a certain extent, can be viewed as multiforms of the same archetypal Boeotian poet: the name of ‘Hesiod’, persuasively analyzed as *Hēsi-*, root of ἥμι ‘release’ + *-odos*, root of αὐδή ‘voice’ (and ἀείδω ‘sing’) by Nagy 2009:288-289 “he who emits the voice,” which I would render generically as ‘songmaker’, is no less fictitious or generic than ‘Thamyris’. Just as a *Theogony* was attributed to Hesiod, a *Cosmogony* and/or *Theology* was attributed to Thamyris.¹⁰¹⁴

Boeotia and the pro-Trojan Ares

The majority of critics, with the notable exception of Gebhard in his *RE* entry on ‘Thamyris’, have erred in taking at face value the bard’s putative Thracian ethnicity: rather, I argue that this ethnic characterization is an Ionian jibe directed at Boeotians and other Greeks north of Attica, in which their assimilation to the northern non-Greek Thracians, Trojan allies, carries derogatory overtones. Ares is pro-Trojan in the *Iliad* and hails from Thrace (13.301). And yet at the same time, Ares has an almost-exclusive

¹⁰¹² On the Pan-Boeotian Ur-kingship of Athamas, cf. Pherekydes and Asios, according to whom "Athamas' sons are eponymous heroes or founders of various Boeotian localities: Ptoos of Ptoon; Coronus of Coronea; Schoeneus of Schoenus; Onchestus of Onchestus; Erythrus of Erythrae; and (in later sources) Haliartus of Haliartus, Orchomenus of Orchomenus and Sphingius of Mt. Sphinx": Buck 1979:58-59. Athamas had reportedly ruled from Orchomenos, according to Hellanicus, which is where Hesiod was supposedly buried and where a hero cult of Hesiod was extant: Aristotle, *Constitution of the Orchomenians*; Hesiodic Vita 2.240-247 and Tzetzes *Life of Hesiod* p. 51 quoted by Nagy 2009.

¹⁰¹³ Hesiod’s Boeotian persona is not to deny the Ionic language of his poetry. See footnote #1.

¹⁰¹⁴ Tzetzes *Chiliades* 7.108.92 & Suda 041, cited by Wilson 2009 with correction of Tzetzes citation.

connection in Homer's *Iliad* to Boeotians and northern Greeks alone¹⁰¹⁵: the twins Askalaphos and Ialmenos of Boeotian Orchomenos are the only literal sons of the hated and/or ridiculed god Ares in the *Iliad* (2.512); among the Achaeans, only the Boeotians Ἀρηίλυκος and Ἀρηίθοος¹⁰¹⁶ have the god built into their names; moreover, apart from a single exception, only Achaeans north of Attica in the *Iliad* are ever called ὄζος Ἄρηος.¹⁰¹⁷

2.3.8.1.2. Boeotians: Cannon Fodder of the Achaeans

The *Iliad*'s anti-Boeotian bias is illustrated by the fact that no major hero is Boeotian among the Achaeans while at the same time the Boeotians provide more cannon fodder to the Trojans than any other Achaean ethnos: among the identifiable slain Achaeans, 10 are Boeotian, none of whom play any notable role in the *Iliad*: Oresbios, Menesthios, Askalaphos, Stikhios, Arkesilaos, Prothoenor, Leitos, Klonios, Menesthes, Ankhialos; the second and third ethne with the highest number of casualties trail far behind: the Epeians and Aetolians with 3 slain each.

¹⁰¹⁵ At *Iliad* 13.298-303, Ares and his son Phobos 'Panic Fear' join the fray among the warring Ephyroi and Phlegyans whose ethnic identities are uncertain: Ridgeway 1910:509 and Wilamowitz 1931:52 identified them as Thracians whereas Leaf 1892:231-232 places their homeland near Thrace, whether Thracian or not. They could have been northwestern Greeks or populations closely related to the Macedonians.

¹⁰¹⁶ Ἀρηίλυκος = 7.7-10 together with 2.494 & 2.507; Ἀρηίθοος = 14.450-451 together with 2.494-495.

¹⁰¹⁷ In contrast with the Panhellenic / Panachaeon Homeric formula Δαναοὶ θεράποντες Ἄρηος which is applied to Danaans and Achaeans from all regions and unlike the adjectival epithet ἀρηϊφίλος (as in ἀρηϊφίλος Μενέλαος), which is applicable indiscriminately to a diversity of Achaeans, the alternative formula ὄζος Ἄρηος is restricted to the regions north of Attica: the Myrmidons Automedon and Alkimos at 24.474 ; the Abantian Elephenor at 2.540; the Phthian Podarkes at 2.704; the Lapith Leonteus at 2.745, 12.188 and 23.841; the Pelasgian (arguably in Achilles' territory, *pace* Myres 1907) Pylaios at 2.842. Likymnios too is given the same epithet at 2.663 and could represent an exception because non-Homeric sources associate him with Tiryns, but his filiation is left unspecified in the *Iliad* and the association with the Crypto-Dorian Tlepolemos (Crielaard 2009) and his Phrygian mother (Apollodoros 2.4.5 & Pausanias 3.15.4) may underline affinities with northern Greece.

Although we have been trained to think of Boeotians and Thessalians (the latter never mentioned by Homer) as Aeolic-speaking populations, this was originally not the case: proto-Boeotians and proto-Thessalians were post-Mycenaean populations from northwestern Greece—homeland of the proto-Dorians,¹⁰¹⁸ who came to their future territories of Boeotia and Thessaly where they became superstrata or adstrata among the indigenous Aeolic-speaking populations in the Early Iron Age.¹⁰¹⁹ In Homeric times (late 8th century BCE), ‘Boeotian’ may have still retained this more archaic identification with the proto-‘Dorian’ newcomers from Northwestern Greece.

Why the Muses’ assault on Thamyris should appear in Nestor’s Iliadic Catalogue entry has baffled the scholarly community.¹⁰²⁰ It can be tentatively explained, however, by examining the performance and ethnic contexts of Homeric poetry: at least half of the

¹⁰¹⁸ I resist the newfangled hypothesis of ‘a Dorian mirage’. For adherents of a Dorian invasion / migration in the EIA, see in particular Musti 1991, whose work has remained mostly unchallenged; also Buck 1969; Wyatt 1970; Rubinsohn 1975; Cabanes 1988:100; Eder 1990:207-21; Eder 1998:86ff, 136ff, 195ff; Hajnal 2001:136; Frame 2009:678 fn56; Cartledge 2013:65-87. For the invalidity of the archaeological argument ‘absence of evidence = evidence of absence’, compare the Slavic invasion of Byzantine Greece, which is archaeologically invisible; the invisibility of the Galatian migration to Anatolia: see Bintliff 2002 “Multi-ethnicity and population movement in Ancient Greece: Alternatives to a world of ‘Red-Figure’ people.”

¹⁰¹⁹ It is a little-known fact that proto-Boeotians and proto-Thessalians were originally *non-Aeolic* superstrates (from Northwestern Greece) on an Aeolic population who had arrived in their future homeland in the *post-Mycenaean period*. Herodotus 7.176 Ἰδρυμένην δὲ Φωκίαν τὸ τεῖχος δεισαντες, ἐπεὶ Θεσσαλοὶ ἦλθον ἐκ Θεσπρωτῶν οἰκήσοντες γῆν τὴν Αἰολίδα, τὴν περ νῦν ἐκτέαται; Scholiast on Clement of Alexandria: Βοιωτοὶ πολιοῦμενοι ὑπὸ Αἰολέων ἔλαβον χρησμόν p 300.25; cf Eustathius on *Odyssey* 5.408 ὕστερον δὲ Αἰολεῖς ἐκβαλόντες αὐτοὺς [= Βοιωτούς]. On the possibility that the arrival of the non-Aeolic proto-Thessalians and non-Aeolic proto-Boeotians in Thessaly and Boeotia was not complete until the 8th/7th century BCE, see Helly 2007 “Le dialecte thessalien, un autre modèle de développement.” Over the centuries, the proto-Boeotian and proto-Thessalian newcomers adopted most of the linguistic features of the indigenous Aeolians (roughly descendants of the Mycenaean), even though a significant minority of ‘northwestern Greek’ [proto-Dorian] features were also incorporated in the western Aeolic dialects, as we know them. See the works of Helly 2007; Buck 1979:75-76; Garcia-Ramon 1975. On the kinship of the proto-Dorians (‘Makednoi’) and the Macedonians, see Herodotus 1.56 & 8.43.

¹⁰²⁰ Wilson proposes that the appearance of Thamyris in Nestor’s territory has to do with the nearby site of Andania, one of the largest mystery cults in ancient Greece, where a third *Oichalia* was supposed to have existed: it had been founded by a certain Eurytos, who is the king of Oichalia in the *Iliad*. In the Catalogue entry for Machaon and Podaleirios, however, Oichalia is located on the border between Thessaly and Aetolia. Wilson’s explanation is convincing, but does not exclude my own.

royal families in the cities of East Ionia claimed descent from Nestor's Neleid *genos* from Pylos (cf. Mimnermus *fr.* 9 West & Herodotus 1.147). Wilamowitz and Frame have persuasively argued¹⁰²¹ that the Neleids, ubiquitously attested in Eastern Ionia, were major sponsors of early Homeric performances. That a foreignized poet should appear in the Catalogue entry of the mythical ancestor of Homer's patrons, and moreover be savaged by the Muses, should rouse suspicions that Thamyris and what he stood for represents either a real agonistic threat to 1) Homer and the Homeridai, 2) a threat to Homer's Neleid honorands, or 3) a threat to both.

Among all of the aristocratic *gene*, the Neleids first and foremost typified Ionian identity and were remembered as the leaders who led the post-Mycenaean migration of the Ionians out of the Peloponnese and Attica into the southern half of the Anatolian coast and the islands nearby. The destruction of the majority of Nestor's Neleid family in Pylos by Herakles (*Iliad* 11.690-693) may be plausibly construed as a mythologization of the Submycenaean and EIA invasion of an originally Mycenaean / Proto-Ionian Peloponnese by these Northwesterners, collectively referred to as 'Dorians' in the Peloponnese. A grateful Homer could honor his Neleid patrons by redeeming the memory of their ancestors who had putatively been forced out of the Peloponnese by the newcomers.

The arrival of Thamyris 'the Thracian' in the Peloponnese may typify these unwelcome Dorians, whose identity is riddlingly alluded to in 1) the name of the Pylian town where the Muses stopped Thamyris: Δώριον (*Iliad* 2.594); 2) the name *Eurytos*—

¹⁰²¹ Wilamowitz 1916:305 and Frame 2009:3-4, 17-18, 36-37, 319, 515-586, 782

eponym of the Northwestern Εὐρυτᾶνες¹⁰²²—king of Oichalia, whence Thamyris departed (*Iliad* 2.596).

Nestor's last mentioned town of *Dorion*, to my knowledge, is never construed by modern commentators in any ethnonymic sense, "the Dorian Settlement," but it was by Stephanus of Byzantium and apparently Dikaiarchos, whom he is the first to cite:

Δώριον, [lemma] πόλις μία τῶν τριῶν ὧν Ὅμηρος μνημονεύει „καὶ Πτελεὸν καὶ Ἔλος καὶ Δώριον“· Δικαίαρχος δὲ τέτταρας ταύτας εἶναι φησι, καὶ Πτελέας, οὐ Πτελεὸν τὴν μίαν καλεῖ, κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον τοῦ βίου τῆς Ἑλλάδος βιβλίον „τῶν δ' ἐν τῇ Πελασγιώτιδι χώρα Δωριέων κατοικούντων μέρος τι μετὰ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις τῶν εἰς Κρήτην ψ..... λόμενον αὐτοῦ κ..... ων· τὴν πρότε..... Δωρίδα καλ..... ᾤκισε· κυτι..... ὕστερον οἱ μ..... ἐν Πελοπ..... φ· περι Μεσσηνίην κα- ἀρμονίαν καὶ τῆςρορεῦσαι Δώριον· εἴ οὐ πρῶτον ἐν δελ-στήματι τούτῳρεῦσαι τοὺς ἄλλουςιοι γὰρ ἀφ' ὧνσ ὡς Σουινεὺς τὸ γένος (5)γορίαν εἴ- Δωριᾶνσ Ζεὺς Δωριεῖς δὲ¹⁰²³

An ethnic exegesis of *Dorion* as the ‘Dorian place’ is justifiable on several grounds: 1) Thamyris’ invention of the ‘Dorian mode’ is linked explicitly to the Pylian toponym ‘Dorion’ by two ancient commentators¹⁰²⁴; 2) a spring named *Achaia* existed at Dorion (Ἀχαΐα τε ὀνομαζομένη πηγὴ καὶ πόλεώς ἐστιν ἐρείπια Δωρίου¹⁰²⁵), thus evidencing ethnic consciousness and possibly ethnic tensions in the area; 3) the regionally dominant Spartans had appropriated an old Pre-Dorian cult near Dorion, Andania, as suggested by

¹⁰²² Ἀριστοτέλης φησὶν ἐν Ἰθακησίων πολιτείᾳ Εὐρυτᾶνας ἔθνος εἶναι τῆς Αἰτωλίας ὀνομασθὲν πρὸ Εὐρύτου· Schol. vet. (cod. Marc. 476) ad Lycophr. Alex. 799 +Tzet. ad Lyc. p. 790 Müller, s.v. 'Εὐρύτου'. For the connection between the Eurytanes and Eurytos, mythical king of Oichalia, also see Woodhouse 1897:306; *RE*, s.v. 'Eurytanes'; Antonetti 1990:84. The Eurytanes were the largest Aetolian tribe, according to Thucydides 3.94, and distinguishable by their incomprehensible language and different eating habits: Εὐρυτᾶσιν, ὅπερ μέγιστον μέρος ἐστὶ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν, γνωστότατοι δὲ γλῶσσαν καὶ ὠμοφάγοι εἰσίν. It is thus easy to conceive how they could have inspired the imagination of epic poets in their creation of the eponym and the siege of Oichalia. Alternative Oichalias-with-Eurytos-as-king in Euboea and the Peloponnese are arguably replicas of the west Thessalian Oichalia-with-Eurytos-as-king, which appears in *Iliad* 2.731, within the catalogue entry for Machaon and Podaleirios.

¹⁰²³ Stephanus of Byzantium, s.v. Δώριον.

¹⁰²⁴ Clement of Alexandria 1.16.76; Eustathius *Hom.* 297.38 ad *Il.* 2.594.

¹⁰²⁵ Pausanias 4.33.7

Wilson 2009, renaming it the Karnasian grove; 4) Thamyris' mother Argiope hails from Mount Parnassus,¹⁰²⁶ not Thrace. His father Philammon was said to have been one of the Argonauts, according to Pherecydes and the founder of the Lernaean mysteries in the Argolid in another source. 5) Later in the Catalogue of Ships (2.730), Oichalia, the city from which Thamyris comes, is placed in what later is known as eastern Thessaly, near the border with Aetolia and Epirus.

Thamyris' defeat by the Muses at *Dorion* in Neleid Nestor's territory may be partly elucidated in the following way: though militarily triumphant, the Dorians' cultural and poetic achievements could not compare with that of the Neleid-led Ionians: Homer, I propose, invented this retrojected proto-Ionian / Pylian *revanche* on Dorian aggression, in part to gratify his Neleid honorands, in part to denigrate his contemporary, Boeotian rival, competitive claimant to the Muses. Hesiod and Thamyris, no matter how allegorical or historical a figure they actually were, could serve as multiform representatives, in the past as in the present, of this maligned proto-Dorian not-yet-Aeolicized Boeotian identity from the Ionian, Homeric standpoint.

2.3.8.1.4. Kadmos the 'Phoenician'

Bürchner (1920), Bonfante (1941) and Sakellariou (1990) provide excellent insights into the origins and geographical associations of Kadmos the 'Phoenician'. In the Iliadic account of the Theban war, the defenders of Thebes are referred to as *Kadmeioi* / *Kadmeiones*,¹⁰²⁷ never as Achaeans: only their adversaries, the Argives, are referred to as

¹⁰²⁶ Pausanias 4.33.3

¹⁰²⁷ *Kadmeioi* / *Kadmeiones* (*Iliad* 4.385; 4.388; 4.391; 4.804; 5.807; 10.288; 23.680).

Achaean. Homer thus constitutes a *terminus ante quem* for the non-Achaeanness of a pre-Homeric stratum in the population of Thebes.

This is in keeping with the attestation for non-Greek populations having dwelled at Thebes in the remembered prehistory of Greece: we mentioned earlier Lycophron's and Menelaos' characterizations of Thebes as Τεμμίκιον ἄστυ 'the Temmikian city' and the proto-Boeotian migrants from mythical Arne in Thessaly as the "leaders of the Temmikes" (Ἄρνης παλαιᾶς γέννα, Τεμμίκων πρόμοι: 644). As Bonfante points out, the \bar{i} in *Temm-īkes* is long, as inferable from the metrics of the *Alexandra*; it is also the same ethnonymic suffix as found in Kadmos' *Phoin-īkes*. The only other ethnonyms with the same long \bar{i} are the Epirotic *Aith-īkes*, also mentioned in the *Iliad*, and the Epirotic / Boeotian *Gra-īkes*,¹⁰²⁸ who are matched outside of Epirus only in Boeotia (Thucydides 2.23.3; Ὠρωπὸν τὴν γῆν τὴν Γραϊκὴν καλουμένην) and their Parian colony in Asia Minor. In the *Iliad*, Achilles' foster father *Phoinīx*, who is from Eleon in Boeotia, is formally the eponym of the *Phoinīkes*.¹⁰²⁹ A river *Phoinix* also flowed by Thermopylae located in Locris, to the north of Boeotia.¹⁰³⁰ Such data as local *Temm-īkes* and the formal eponym *Phoin-īks* make it very likely that the 'Phoenician' ethnicity of Kadmos was

¹⁰²⁸ Many sources attest the Epirotic *Graīkes* as the Γραϊκός, but this latter form is likely to be a back formation from the Latin *Graeci* / *Graecōs*. The reconstruction is predicated on a collation of a) the ethnonym *Graikos* (with caveat above) in Epirus; b) the adjectival / ethnonymic / toponymic *Graiks* located in Boeotia (Thucydides 2.23.3; Ὠρωπὸν τὴν γῆν τὴν Γραϊκὴν καλουμένην) and c) Herodian's note that Aeolian Graikes contributed to the formation of the colonization of Parion in Asia Minor: Γραϊκες γὰρ παρ' Ἀλκμᾶνι αἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων μητέρες καὶ παρὰ Σοφοκλεῖ ἐν Ποιμέσιν· εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ Γραϊκες Αἰολέων οἱ τὸ Πάριον οἰκοῦντες (Herodian 3,1.397).

¹⁰²⁹ Bonfante 1941:5.

¹⁰³⁰ Herodotus 1.176, cf. Bonfante 1941:9 "not far from Epirus, near the Thermopylae, there was a river Φοῖνιξ, which bears the name of the Φοῖνικες exactly as the river Καύκων in Achaia bears the name of the Καύκωνες (Fick, BB, XXII [1897], 55)."

authentic and not derivative or fictitious, leaving temporarily aside the question of whether Levantine Phoenicians ever settled in Boeotia.

Before we address the tantalizing question of the Semitic Phoenicians, let us pursue the connection of Kadmos to Epirus and Makedonian territory and see where it will take us. In Epirus, there was 1) a *Phoinike* in northern Epirus near *Bouthroton*, κατὰ Βουθρωτὸν ἢ Φοινίκη (Strabo 7.7.5), where again we find 2) a river *Kadmos* in a region of Thesprotia called *Kammania*:

Καμμανία, μοῖρα Θεσπρωτίας. μετωνομάσθη δὲ Κεστρινία. ἐξ ἧς Κάδμος ὁ ποταμός. Κεστρίνος δὲ κτίσμα Κεστρίνου τοῦ υἱοῦ Ἑλένου τοῦ Πριαμίδου.¹⁰³¹

Sakellariou rightly suggests that the region Καμμανία, through which the river Κάδμος flows, may readily stem from an earlier *Καδμᾶνία, the land of the *Καδμᾶνες,¹⁰³² with the characteristic -ᾶνες ethnonymic suffix of Northwestern tribes (Ἄτιντᾶνες, Εὐρυτᾶνες, etc.). In a complementary manner, the suffix of Βουθρ-ωτόν is also idiosyncratic of the northwest and is otherwise that of the Θεσπρωτοί—and the Βοιωτοί themselves. This onomastic and mythological triangulation *Kadm-*, *Phoinīk-* and *-ōtos* further supports the case for the homeland of the proto-Boeotians in Epirus.

It is precisely to this region that Kadmos is said to depart from Thebes toward the end of his life, to the land of ‘Eel’-men (is himself transformed into an eel according to some accounts): the *Encheleis* / *Enchelānes*, otherwise attested as the arguably endonymic *Engelānes*, with the typical Northwestern *-ānes* ethnonymic suffix and typical North Hellenic voiced plosive *g(h)* = Greek aspirated unvoiced plosive *kh*.¹⁰³³

¹⁰³¹ Stephanus of Byzantium, s.v. Καμμανία.

¹⁰³² Sakellariou 1990:372.

¹⁰³³ Herodotus 5.61 ἐξανιστάται Καδμεῖοι ὑπ’ Ἀργείων καὶ τρέπονται ἐς τοὺς Ἑγγελέας. Mnaseas in Stephanus of Byzantium, s.v. Ἑγγελᾶνες· ἔθνος Ἰλλυρίας, οἱ αὐτοὶ τοῖς Ἑγγελέαις, ὡς Μνασέας ἐν γ τῶν

According to Eratosthenes, the tomb of Kadmos was located near Epidamnos in the vicinity of the river ‘Ajax’ (*Aias*), also known as the *Aoos*.¹⁰³⁴

On the other side of the Pindos and Boion mountain ranges, but still in the Makedonian homeland, Kadmos is also credited with inventing the art of smelting in the Pangaion mountain range.¹⁰³⁵ Thasos, the eponym of the famous peninsula nearby, was Kadmos’ brother according to several sources.¹⁰³⁶ Kadmos’ connection to the more central and eastern Pindus mountain range is crystallized in the following myth: Kadmos departed from Delphi with a cow, which he had purchased from among the herds of a certain *Pelagon* (Πελάγοντος βουκολίους¹⁰³⁷). Among our four sources for this story, Apollodorus 3.4.1 specifies that Kadmos had been in ‘Thrace’ before coming to Delphi. The oracle told him to settle wherever the cow got tired and rested: the future site of Thebes. As noted by Sakellariou 1990:373, this Pelagon is the eponym of the Paeonian¹⁰³⁸ *Pelagones*: Pelagon’s role in the founding of Thebes, through the mediation of his ktistic cow, must speak to the involvement of Paeonian Pelagones in Kadmos’ foundation of Thebes. This too is yet another supporting piece of evidence for the

Περιγηήσεων; Polybius 5.108.8 τῶν δὲ περὶ τὴν Λυχνιδίαν λίμνην Ἐγγελάνας. For other Greek sources, including Euripides, see Bürchner (*RE*), s.v. ‘Kadmos’.

¹⁰³⁴ Eratosthenes *apud* Stephanus Byz. s.v. Δυρράχιον.

¹⁰³⁵ Clement of Alexandria *Strom.* 1.16, cf. Strabo 14.5.28 who says that Kadmos first discovered the gold on Mount Pangaion; quoted by Bürchner (*RE*), s.v. ‘Kadmos’.

¹⁰³⁶ Pausanias 5.25.12, Konon 37.

¹⁰³⁷ Apollodorus 3.4.1; also Pausanias 9.12.1, for other sources and commentary, see Bürchner (*RE*), s.v. ‘Kadmos’ and Sakellariou 1990:373.

¹⁰³⁸ The inclusion of the Pelagones among the Paeonians is extant at *Iliad* 21.141, cf. the genealogy of the Paeonian hero Asteropaios 21.141: *υἱὲ Πηλεγόνοσ· τὸν δ’ Ἀζιδὸσ ἐνρυρέεθροσ γείνατο*; cf. Strabo 7a.1.38 *Τοὺσ δὲ Παίονασ οἱ μὲν ἀποίκουσ Φρυγῶν οἱ δ’ ἀρχηγέτασ ἀποφαίνουσι, καὶ τὴν Παιονίαν μέχρι Πελαγονίας καὶ Πιερίας ἐκτετάσθαι φασί· καλεῖσθαι δὲ πρότερον Ὀρεστίαν τὴν Πελαγονίαν, τὸν δὲ Ἀστεροπαῖον, ἕνα τῶν ἐκ Παιονίας στρατευσάντων ἐπ’ Ἴλιον ἡγεμόνων, οὐκ ἀπεικότωσ υἱὸν λέγεσθαι Πηλεγόνοσ, καὶ αὐτοὺσ τοὺσ Παίονασ καλεῖσθαι Πελαγόνασ.*

derivation of *Boiōtoi* from **Paiōtoi* and the early inclusion of the proto-Boeotians among the Paeonians.

Accordingly, Kadmos' association at the end of his life with the "Eel-men," Ἐγγέλεις / Ἐγγελᾶνες / Ἐγγελᾶνες is very relevant to the end of Asteropaios' life in the *Iliad*, the foremost champion of the Paeonians: after an arduous fight with Achilles, the eels and the fish "attended to him, plucking at the fat around his kidneys (*Iliad* 21.204-205)

τὸν μὲν ἄρ' ἐγγέλυες τε καὶ ἰχθύες ἀμφεπένοντο
δημόν ἐρεπτόμενοι ἐπινεφρίδιον κείροντες,

It bears noting that eels in this passage alone, and no other Iliadic passage, consume human beings. Prior to Asteropaios' death, Lykaon too had been tossed into the river, whereupon Achilles expresses the wish for *fish*—no mention of eels—to consume him: ἐνταυθοῖ νῦν κείσο μετ' ἰχθύσιν, / οἷ σ' ὠτειλήν αἶμα' ἀπολιχμήσονται...ἰχθύς, ὅς κε φάγησι Λυκάονος ἀργέτα δημόν (21.122-127). At *Odyssey* 14.135, fish again are mentioned as eaters of human flesh (ἢ τὸν γ' ἐν πόντῳ φάγον ἰχθύες). Thus, the eels are a singular, meaningful presence at the end of the Paeonian's life. The singularity of their role is further highlighted by the odd use of the verb ἀμφεπένοντο "attended to him": before any grisly clarification is made on the next line of what "attending to" really means, the eels' attendance of Asteropaios, for a moment, seems to represent the hero's considerate servants and companions—just as the Ἐγγελᾶνες attended and served Kadmos. Thus, Kadmos' sojourn among the Eel-people at the end of his life, and even transformation into an eel according to some accounts, is germane to the end of

Asteropaios' life, in which eels are described as "his attendants." In both cases, Boeotian and Paeonian cultic practice lend some credence to the myths.¹⁰³⁹

A little further afield, on the migration route of the Brygians / Phrygians from Epirus and Macedonia to Asia Minor, Kadmos also has a place in Samothrace and the Troad: he abducts and/or marries Harmonia in Samothrace: she is the daughter of Ares and Elektra / Elektryone and the sister of Eetion / Iasion and Dardanos, an important connection to the the Trojan War cycle, to which we will return. Through the medium of the cult of the Kabeiroi, *Kadmos* is also known as *Kadmilos*. Kadmos and his father-in-law Ares are thus two important genealogical lynchpins connecting Troy and Thebes and may account in part for structural and typological features tying the two cities under siege. An un-Hellenized rendition of the ethnonym 'Phoenician' is tentatively identifiable in the name of the son of Paris and Helen, *Bounikos*¹⁰⁴⁰: in the Epic tradition, Paris Alexander travels far afield by sea: all the way to Sidon and the Levant in the *Iliad* (6.290) and to Egypt in the Epic cycle and Herodotus, who probably cites the *Cypria* when he describes Alexander as a 'Teucrian'.

We shall now begin to unravel the mystery—and the chronology—for the existence of two homonymous, yet originally distinct ethne, which the Greeks, at

¹⁰³⁹ For the divine status of certain eels in Boeotia, cf. Euboulos *fr.* 37 Βοιωτῆται παρήσαν ἐγγέλεις θεαὶ quoted by Theodossiev 2000:177 who provides an excellent survey of the worship and legends of eels in Boeotia, Epirus and Illyria. For Paeonia, see our other section "the River King among the Macedonians, Paeonians, Trojans and Phrygians." Also specifically, some Paeonian tribes apparently threw their dead into lakes: θάπτουσι δ' Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν ταριχεύοντες, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ καίοντες, Παῖονες δ' εἰς λίμνας ῥίπτοῦντες (Diogenes Laertius 9.84).

¹⁰⁴⁰ Scholiast to Lycophron 851 Ὅμηρός φησιν Ἑλένην μὴ τεκεῖν υἱόν, ἀλλὰ θυγατέρα τὴν Ἑρμιόνην (δ 12), κατὰ δὲ Δοῦριν καὶ Ἰφιγένειαν ἐκ Θησέως (18615). ἄλλοι δὲ φασὶ καὶ Νικόστρατον τεκεῖν καὶ Αἰθιόλαν ἐκ Μενελάου (sch. D Γ 175), ἐκ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου οἱ πλείους δ' τετοκέσαι Βοῦνικον... The reading "Cow Victor" is very unlikely because it is unattested either in the *TLG* or the *LGPN*. Regarding the thematic / athematic alternation in Βοῦνικος (**Bhoinikos*) / Φοῖνιξ (**Bhoiniks*), such alternations are typical of many North Aegean ethnonyms, e.g. Φρύγες / Βρυγοί, Ἀθαμᾶνες / Ὀδόμαντοι, etc.

different points in history, named Φοίνικες: indigenous, North Hellenic Φοίνικες who originated in Epirus and Macedonia and the more famous Φοίνικες, who already in Homer are synonymous with genuine Semitic-speaking populations from the Levant, Σιδόνες. We shall argue, in agreement with Bonfante, that the indigenous Epirote *Phoinīkes*, counter-intuitively, were the original Phoenicians,¹⁰⁴¹ yet their name and identity became confused with the Levantine Sidonians / Canaans, at some point in the EIA, albeit imperfectly.

The ethnonym Φοῖνιξ = Σιδών is a hapax in the *Iliad*—at 23.743-744 πολλόν, ἐπεὶ Σιδόνες πολυδαίδαλοι εὖ ἤσκησαν, / Φοίνικες δ' ἄγον ἄνδρες ἐπ' ἠεροειδέα πόντον, whereas Σιδών occurs not only in this passage, but also in another passage *without* Φοῖνιξ, at *Iliad* 6.290-291. In the *Iliad* generally, Φοῖνιξ overwhelmingly refers to the king of the Dolopes, Achilles' foster father, who is formally the eponym of the Boeotian Phoenicians, as proposed by Bonfante.¹⁰⁴² The *Iliad* presents contradictory indications of Phoinix's exact provenience, but there is no hint in the poem that he came from overseas: Boeotia, Phokis and Thessaly, depending on the passage, are all implied.¹⁰⁴³ Among the three, Thessaly is noteworthy because Phoinix's putative hometown of Ormenion is near Arne, the mythical city, whence the proto-Boeotians were expelled from Thessaly,

¹⁰⁴¹ Bonfante 1941 “the Name of the Phoenicians” argues that the indigenous Phoenicians of Epirus were Illyrian, but I object, together with a number of scholars that, although certainly there may have been Illyrian populations in Epirus, either linguistically or culturally, and even mixings of population with an Illyrian component, the majority of the Epirote populations were more closely related to the Greeks, as ‘North Hellenes’ or ‘Makednians’. There is also the difficulty of defining ‘Illyrian’: to what extent were the Illyrians, northern neighbors of the Epirotes, Illyrian in the linguistic sense, as subsequently attested by glosses extant especially in Latin literature, from regions further north as Dalmatia?

¹⁰⁴² Bonfante 1941:5.

¹⁰⁴³ See Ziegler (*RE*), s.v. ‘Phoinix’, p 404.

southward to their future Boeotia.¹⁰⁴⁴ On independent grounds, Fowler too concludes that it is likely to be Phoinix's oldest homeland among the three.¹⁰⁴⁵

A key passage in the *Odyssey*, 15.425-427, exemplifies the tacit coalescence of the Epirote Phoenicians and the Canaanite Phoenicians:

ἔκ μὲν Σιδῶνος πολυχάλκου εὖχομαι εἶναι [γυνὴ Φοίνισσ': 15.417],
κούρη δ' εἴμ' Ἀρύβαντος ἐγὼ ῥυδὸν ἀφνειοῖο·
ἀλλὰ μ' ἀνήρπαξαν Τάφιοι ληϊστορες ἄνδρες
ἀγρόθεν ἐρχομένην, πέρασαν δέ με δεῦρ' ἀγαγόντες

The setting is at the “Isle of Syros” or “Syrian island,” near Ortygia with “the turnings of the sun” and a land of plenty (15.403-412): the fabulous quality of the location makes it difficult to map it onto any single real location.¹⁰⁴⁶ On the one hand, the Phoenician woman (γυνὴ Φοίνισσ') signifies her ties to Phoenicia in modern-day Lebanon by saying that she is from *Sidon*, an unmistakable toponym: the ethnonym *Šīdōnīm* was used by the ancient Israelites to describe their northern neighbors, a word which matches the Homeric Σιδόνες. The endonym used by the Semitic Phoenicians for themselves was *Kinahhi* / *Kinahni*, ‘Canaanite’, “Men from the land of Canaan”: it is known to Hekataios of Miletus, who refers to Phoenicia as ἡ Χνᾶ (Hekataios of Miletus *fr.* 21 Jacoby), cf. ὁ Χνᾶς 42, eponym of the same Phoenicians according to *fr.* 2 Philon of Byblos.¹⁰⁴⁷

¹⁰⁴⁴ Ormenion and Arne, in turn, are in the vicinity of *Boibe*, a distinctly North Hellanic toponym (= Greek Φοίβη).

¹⁰⁴⁵ Fowler 2013:326

¹⁰⁴⁶ There was an island of Ortygia off of Syr-acuse in Sicily, which was also known as Trinakie or Thrinakie, the island of the sun. The Syrian island could also be Syros in the Aegean Sea and Ortygia nearby could be the island of Delos, the birthplace of Apollo: Apollo was also said to have been born on Ortygia. Thirdly, the Syrian island sound like Syria in the Levant.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Examples cited by Chantraine, s.v. Φοῖνιξ.

On the other hand, this Phoenician woman claims to be the daughter of *Arybas*, a wealthy man. Despite its superficial and specious resemblance to the word ‘Arab’, Ἀρύβας is clearly a Makedonian name: it is the name borne by 1) a Molossian king, the son of Alketas¹⁰⁴⁸, and 2) a bodyguard of Alexander the Great.¹⁰⁴⁹ And since *Phoinike* was the largest city among the Epirote Chaonians, it is inevitable that the Homeric composer is either playfully or unknowingly confusing Sidonian Phoenicians with the Epirote Phoenicians—in Odysseus’ Ithacan backyard. In Tümpel’s own words, s.v. ‘Arybas’ (*RE*):

Phoiniker aus Sidon, dessen Tochter geraubt und dem Vater des Eumaios in Ithaka verkauft war, Homer Od. XV 426. Wie der Name epeirotisch-molossisch ist (vgl. Arybbas), so ist auch Φοινίκη; hier eigentlich das epeirotische.

Odyssey, 15.425-427 is also illustrative of the functional overlap between Epirote and Levantine Phoenicians, in that the *Taphians* too, a population clearly located in the same region as the Epirote Phoenicians,¹⁰⁵⁰ are known for their sea-faring abilities, as evidenced by the Homeric formula Ταφίοισι φιληρέτμοισιν,¹⁰⁵¹ “oar-loving Taphians.” Hesiod *fr.* 193 M-W Τάφι[ο]ι ναυσικλυτοὶ “Taphians famous for their ships” matches

¹⁰⁴⁸ Photius and *Suda* Ἀρύβας· κύριον. Ἀλκέτου μὲν ἦν υἱός, Μολοττῶν δὲ βασιλεύς. Plutarch, Pyrrhus, Θαρρύπου δ’ Ἀλκέτας υἱός ἦν, Ἀλκέτα δ’ Ἀρύββας, Ἀρύββα δὲ καὶ Τρωάδος Αἰακίδης. Ἀρύββας first attested in lacunose Alkman fr. 152 Page.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Arybbas = bodyguard of Alexander the Great, Arrian 3.5.5. Another ‘Phoenician’, *Phaidimos*, is described as a king (4.617-618 & 15.117-118 Φαίδιμος ἥρωρ / Σιδονίων βασιλεύς): the suffix *-mos* is Greek (the Myrmidon *Alkimos* at *Iliad* 24.575 ἥρωρ Ἀυτομέδων ἠδ’ Ἄλκιμος) and more broadly Hellenic, as attested by the name of the Pelasgian king *Teuta-mos* (ὕτε δὴ Λήθοιο Πελασγοῦ Τευταμίδαο: 2.843) and possibly the ‘Thracian’ king *Rhigmos*, (Ῥίγμον, ὃς ἐκ Θρήκης ἐριβόλακος εἰληλούθει 20.4850), if Von Kamptz is correct to suggest the Greek cognate ῥίγος ‘frost’, ‘cold’ (Von Kamptz 1982:138, cf. Γορδίαμος, Samos C550-540BC AM 58 (1933) p. 26 no. 1; LSAG p. 341 no. 8: *LGPN*). Remarkably, this Phoenician *Phaidimos* has the same suffix as *Kadmos*, and may have had the same meaning as well: *Kad-* in *Kad-mos* may be from the same root as the Greek κέκασμαι “to shine,” “to stand out,” “to excel,” even “to be equipped with,” hence also Κάστωρ. So that Φαίδιμος, king of the Phoenicians at *Odyssey* 15.117, could represent a playful doublet of Κάδμος the Phoenician.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Strabo 10.2.24

¹⁰⁵¹ *Odyssey* 1.181; 1.419

Homeric Φοίνικες ναυσικλυτοὶ (e.g. *Odyssey* 15.415). A signal passage in the *Etymologicum Magnum* identifies the Taphians as “the Upper Phoenicians who had set forth with Kadmos” (αὐτοὶ δὲ τὸ ἀνέκαθεν Φοίνικες τῶν μετὰ Κάδμου σταλέντων).¹⁰⁵² These Taph-ians, formally “Tombers” (cf. τάφος 'tomb', τάφια 'burial place')¹⁰⁵³ are arguably a folk-etymological rendition of the Epirote *Tymph-aioi* and Paeonian *Dob-ēres*: Epirus, through which the river Acheron flows in the *Iliad*, is often portrayed as the land of the Dead in ancient Greek sources.¹⁰⁵⁴

Another sea-faring Epirote population, which is closely related to the Taphians and (native Epirote) Phoenicians are the historically underappreciated oar-loving Phaeacians (Φαιήκεσσι φιληρέτμοισι, *Odyssey* 5.386 = Ταφίοισι φιληρέτμοισιν, *Odyssey* 1.419), whose relative mythologization in the *Odyssey* has obfuscated their historicity. It is inferable, however, on the basis of 1) an actual city of *Baiake*, located in Chaonia, home of the Chaonians, one of the largest Epirote tribes: Βαιάκη· πόλις τῆς Χαονίας (Hekataios *fr.* 104 Jacoby); this *Baiake* is near the city of Φοινίκη, also in Epirote Chaonia; 2) the identification of Scheria, the land of the Phaeacians, with ancient Corcyra, off of Epirus, in a variety of sources (as early as Alcaeus). Even in the *Odyssey*, their mythologization notwithstanding, the statement made by one of the Phaeacians that Euboea is “the furthest of lands” (Εὐβοίης· τὴν γὰρ τηλοτάτω φάσ’ ἔμμεναι: 7.321-322) coheres with the location of Hekataios’ Chaonian Βαιάκη outside of the Aegean—far

¹⁰⁵² *EM* Τάφιοι ληιστῆρες: Τοὺς Ταφίους πρότερον Τηλεβόας φασὶ καλεῖσθαι· κληθῆναι δὲ αὐτοὺς Ταφίους ἀπὸ Τάφου τινὸς βασιλέως· καὶ αὐτοὶ δὲ τὸ ἀνέκαθεν Φοίνικες τῶν μετὰ Κάδμου σταλέντων.

¹⁰⁵³ For evidence of the perception of the Taphians as the tombers, cf. *Myrsilos fr.* 7c: Μυρσίλος δὲ ὁ Λέσβιος Λοκροὺς τοὺς Ὀζόλας τῆς ἔπω- νυμίας τετυχηκένοι, ὅτι τῆς χώρας τῆς αὐτῶν [τὸ ὕδωρ] ὄζει, καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ Ταφίου καλουμένου ὄρους· καὶ ρεῖν αὐτόθεν εἰς θάλασσαν ὥσπερ πῦον, τεθάφθαι δ’ ἐν (5) τῷ ὄρει τοῦτ’ Νέσσον τὸν Κένταυρον, ὃν Ἡρακλῆς ἀπέκτεινεν.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Aidoneus is the king of the Molossians in Plutarch, *Theseus*: his daughter is Persephone. See our section “Phthia, land of the Dead.” Cf. also the Nekromanteion in Epirus, a pilgrimage site for Dorian Greeks as early as the archaic period.

away in the Ionian sea facing Italy; and 3) what could be one of several historical manifestations of the Phaeacians, Taphians and such related populations as the “Epirote Phoenicians” are the Messapian settlements in Italy at the end of the Bronze Age: though often considered to be of Illyrian stock, Huld appears to have uncovered evidence for very close linguistic relations between Greek and Messapic.¹⁰⁵⁵ Like the description of sea-faring Taphians and Phaeacians in the *Odyssey*, the memory of Iapygians traveling from Italy, to Athens, to Bottiaia in Macedonia¹⁰⁵⁶ is probably an accurate account of ‘sea people’ voyages, which started at the end of the Bronze Age and continued in the Early Iron Age.¹⁰⁵⁷

A myth, which at once epitomizes this belief and preserves a historical memory of the descent of the proto-Dorians /Makednians into Mycenaean Greece and the EIA is the account of Taphians stealing the cattle of the Mycenaean Amphitryon and handing them to the care of *Polyxenos* (an epithet of Hades), king of the Eleans.¹⁰⁵⁸ The Taphians later escape by sea. It is well-known that the Eleans were post-Mycenaean newcomers to the Peloponnese and were originally of Makednian stock, and thus kinsmen of the Taphians,¹⁰⁵⁹ before they were Hellenized. But their foreign origins is still remembered by

¹⁰⁵⁵ Huld 2009 “Grassmann's law in Messapic.”

¹⁰⁵⁶ Aristotle *fr.* 43 in Plutarch, *Theseus*.

¹⁰⁵⁷ It is unclear, following Palaima’s objections (1995), whether Pylos was destroyed by attacks from sea attacks, but the possibility cannot be ruled out.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Apollodorus 2.4.6. Also, see previous footnote. Theseus and Peirithoos, in Plutarch, *Theseus*, go to Epirus to attempt to steal Persephone. In Apollodorus’ account (also echoed by other sources), the Taphians steal cattle, but cattle and women in myth are often interchangeable, cf. the Dioskouroi’s and the sons of Aphareus’ dispute over women / cattle, depending on the source.

¹⁰⁵⁹ As discussed elsewhere in this dissertation, cf. Pausanias 5.1.4.

Nestor in whose account his Pylians are the Achaeans, whereas the Eleans / Epeioi are not, in the days of his youth.

It is this Makednian diaspora, which led to the attestation of Kadmos, Epirote Phoenicians and related Pelasgians / Paeonians to Crete,¹⁰⁶⁰ Rhodes and beyond: the coast of Anatolia and even Cyprus, where a Teukrid dynasty takes hold. We argued earlier that the Greek myth of ‘Lycians’ originating in Crete speaks to a proto-Paeonian (“Pelasgian”) component among the EIA Lycians and Carians. Thus, the sea-bound expansion of the Makednians eastward (Epirote Phoenicians and Pelasgians, among others) led to their sharing a common zone of influence with the Levantine Sidonians, hence the potential for confusion between the two from the Greek point of view.

It would appear that the prior coincidental existence of a homonymous or near-homonymous *po-ni-ke* in Linear B, with the restricted meaning ‘palm tree’, *po-ni-ke-jo* ‘palm date’,¹⁰⁶¹ catalyzed the confusion between the early Epirote ethnonym **Bhoinikes* and the Levantine Sidonians, since palm trees and palm dates were associated with the more Mediterranean and subtropical habitat of the sea-faring Semitic-speaking populations. But what is important to keep in mind, as Bonfante 1941 has emphasized, is that one cannot leave the Epirote Phoenicians out of the equation, and go straight from Linear B **b/p(h)o(i)nik(s)*¹⁰⁶² to ‘Phoenician’ *qua* ethnonym, because the suffix *-īkes*

¹⁰⁶⁰ For the connection of Kadmos to the sea-faring proto-Paeonian Pelasgians in the northern Aegeans, see section “Kadmos the Phoenician.”

¹⁰⁶¹ Melena 1975 “‘PO-NI-KI-JO in the Knossos Ga Tablets.’”

¹⁰⁶² The Linear B syllabary makes it impossible to know how exactly their word for palm tree was pronounced because syncretism with the Epirote ethnonym appears to have occurred. A phonetic compromise between the two may have been reached, so that one cannot reconstruct the exact pronunciation of Linear ‘palm tree’ on the basis of classical Greek φοῖνιξ; the Mycenaean form might have been 1) **poniks*, 2) **phoniks*, 3) **poiniks*, 4) *phoiniks*, 5) **boniks* or 6) **boiniks*. As a Mediterranean tree, φοῖνιξ is most likely a loanword from a substrate Mediterranean language (like the multiform ‘laurel tree’,

does *not* produce ethnonyms in Greek (or Semitic languages for that matter), but does in the Pindus region: the *Aithīkes*, the *Temmīkes* and the *Graīkes*.

As for the classical Greek meaning φοῖνιξ *qua* ‘crimson’ (adjective / noun) ‘purple dye’ (noun), it must have arisen from a cross contamination of the ancestral form of Classical Greek φοινός ‘red’¹⁰⁶³ with the sea-faring Epirote ethnos **Bhoinīkes*. Conceivably, the originally Epirote (and/or more broadly Makednian¹⁰⁶⁴) Phoenicians, who had settled in Crete and other parts of the Mediterranean, ended up mediating some of the trade of the purple dye from the Levant; hence, the innovative creation in the EIA of the adjective φοῖνιξ *qua* ‘red’, ‘purple’, literally “the Phoenician [color],” though originally φοινός alone would have had this meaning.

Kadmos and his Phoenicians follow the migration route of the Makednians (Phrygians and proto-Armenians) from Macedonia to Anatolia: just as there were toponyms *Phoinike* and *Kadmos* in Epirus, so were the same toponyms found in Anatolia. A Mount Kadmos and river Kadmos are located deep inside Asia Minor, at a distance from the coastal zone of Aeolian and Ionian colonization, at a crossroads between Lydia, Caria and Phrygia (ὑπέρκειται δὲ τῆς πόλεως ὄρος Κάδμος, ἐξ οὗ ... καὶ ἄλλος ὁμώνυμος τῷ ὄρει: Strabo 12.8.16). The region is otherwise poor in Greek toponyms and it is

δάφνη, δαύχνα, Old Latin *lausus*), probably from Egyptian *bny* ‘date’, *bny.t* ‘date palm tree’ (see Blazek 1990: “Two Greek Words of a Foreign Origin I. ἐλέφας, II. φοῖνιξ”).

¹⁰⁶³ φοινός ‘red’ does not necessarily stem from **ghwen* ‘to smite’, but may equally stem from IE **bhen*, as Chantraine observes, so that the term may have already existed with a labial initial in Mycenaean Greek (perhaps **phonyos*).

¹⁰⁶⁴ It cannot be ruled out that the point of departure of some such Phoenicians and related Makednian populations, among whom Kadmos was a founding hero, departed from the coast of the Aegean in Macedonia, rather than from Epirus. It is important to keep in mind that the transhumant character of a significant segment of these North Hellenic populations may account in part for a certain cultural and linguistic unity for a relatively vast territory west to east, from the Ionian to the Aegean seas (see in particular Griffith 1989:241ff, also Cabanes 1980 & 1988).

improbable that Hellenistic settlers had ever given the name to both the mountain and the river.¹⁰⁶⁵ In all likelihood, the Phrygians or related populations had introduced the name of the mountain and the river to the Anatolian hinterland.

Whereas some of the Makednians headed east and southeast into Thrace and Anatolia, others headed south into Greece and Crete in the Submycenaean period, some through the land route, others through the sea route. Represented in Crete by a) the Pelasgian adstratum mentioned by *Odyssey* 19.177 and b) the Teucrians with ancestral ties to both Troy and Paeonia,¹⁰⁶⁶ it is in Crete that one finds such characteristic Makednian toponyms as *Boibe*,¹⁰⁶⁷ *Gortyn* and *Lethaios* in the same small central region, which are homonymous with the Magnesian *Boibe* (in Hesiod, the eponym Magnes is *not* a son of Hellen), the *Lethaios* in western Thessaly (cf. Λήθαιο Πελασγοῦ φαίδιμος υἱός: *Iliad* 17.288) and the Paeonian *Gortynia* in Macedonia.

The earliest coins of Gortyn, dated to the 5th century B.C.E, feature Europa, *Kadmos' sister*. After she arrives in Crete on the back of a taurine Zeus, she gives birth to such illustrious figures as Minos, Sarpedon and Rhadamanthys, and marries the indigenous king *Asterion* (Hesiod *fr.* 141 MW & Bacchylides *fr.* 12). Europa's ties to Gortyn are so intricate that the alternative name of the city, *Hellotis*, is also an alternative title of Europa: Γόρτυν, πόλις Κρήτης. ... πρότερον γὰρ ἔκαλεῖτο Ἑλλωτίς (οὕτω γὰρ παρὰ Κρησὶν ἢ Εὐρώπῃ).¹⁰⁶⁸ Europa was celebrated during a certain festival, the

¹⁰⁶⁵ Sakellariou 1990:370.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Archaic elegiac poet Callinus of Ephesus (= Strabo 13.1.48) and Herodotus 5.13.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Stephanus of Byzantium: Βοίβη, πόλις Θεσσαλίας. Ὅμηρος „Βοίβην καὶ Γλα- φύρας καὶ ἐυκτιμένην Ἰαωλκόν“. ἔστιν οὖν καὶ πόλις καὶ λίμνη Βοιβιάς, ἀπὸ Βοίβου τοῦ Γλαφύρου τοῦ τὰς Γλαφύρας κτίσαντος. ἔστι καὶ ἐν Κρήτῃ Βοίβη τῆς Γορτυνίδος. καὶ ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ λίμνη Βοίβη.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Stephanus of Byzantium, s.v. Γόρτυν

Hellotia.¹⁰⁶⁹ The only other known place where Hellotis / Hellotia is a cult title of Europa is not in the Levant, but in Corinth, where one of Europa's sisters is named *Kotyto*, the name of a goddess in the North Aegean.¹⁰⁷⁰

In the Hesiodic *Theogony*, Europa is an Oceanid (357). She too consorts with Zeus: their son is *Dodon*,¹⁰⁷¹ the eponym of Dodona, a datum which coheres with the alternative account that Europe, before it became the name of the continent, was “the land of Odysseus,” *χώρα τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως* = Epirus (see Berger's excellent *RE* commentary, s.v. ‘Europe’). In a recent article, D'Alessio provides additional corroborative evidence for the early identification of Epirus with Europe (2004:32):

Kallimachos' Europe [Callimachus *fr.* 630 κρηνέων τ' Εὐρώπη μισγομένων ἑκατόν] must have something to do with Dodona's many springs... In Pindar's text [Pindar *Paian fr.* 70 Ἴς Ἀχελώϊου τὸν ἀοιδότατον / Εὐρωπία κράνα Μέλ[α]ν[ό]ς], the reed [of Orchomenos] is nurtured by the streams of Melas... There is no other mention of an Europa spring near Orchomenos. Pindar is not giving the spring's name; rather, he is saying that the spring derives from Europe. And from Kallimachos we know that Europe was the place, obviously close to Dodona, where a hundred springs mingled. In local cult this was certainly identified with a manifestation of Acheloius, and with the origin of all spring-water... Whoever first used the adjective *πολυπίδακος* at *Iliad* 16.234 [Δωδώνης μεδέων δυσχειμέρου / *πολυπίδακος*, ἀμφὶ δὲ Σελλοῖ] did not do so in order to avoid *δυσχειμέρου*. His reason was the desire to have in this passage an allusion to one of the prominent cultic features of Dodona.

Berger posits that Europa must have been a cult title of *Dione*, Zeus' wife at Dodona, based on the feminine form of the god's cult title, *εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς*, ambiguously “Zeus the Loud-sounding” and/or “Zeus the Wide-Seeing.” Tellingly, *Europos* is also the name of a stream flowing near Mount Olympus, near Macedonia. It is also the name of a city and a

¹⁰⁶⁹ See Berger (*RE*), s.v. ‘Europa’ for sources and an excellent commentary.

¹⁰⁷⁰ See Berger (*RE*), s.v. ‘Europa’.

¹⁰⁷¹ Akestodoros in Stephanus Byz. s.v. Δωδώνη.

region in Macedonia. From Epirus, the geographical meaning of Europe extends to northern Greece and Thrace,¹⁰⁷² and finally to Europe the continent as we know it.

According to epichoric accounts of Europa and Kadmos in Macedonia, the two were natives and did not come from Phoenicia. States Hegesippus of Mekyberna *fr.* 6:

Κάδμος σὺν τῇ μητρὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης Τηλεφάνη ἐπήει πρὸς Ἀθήνας καὶ ἐπυθάνετο
Εὐρώπην ἔχεσθαι ἐν Θράκῃ, καὶ οὕτως ἀφίκετο εἰς τὴν καταντιπέραν ἤπειρον, καὶ ἤρχεν
ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ταύτῃ πάντων. Εὐρώπη [δὲ] τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀπολειφθεῖσα οὐχ ἡ Φοῖνικος, ἀλλ'
ἐπιχωρία τις γυνή, ἀφ' ἧς καὶ ἡ ἤπειρος ἅπασα ἢ πρὸς Βορέαν ἄνεμον Εὐρώπη κέκληται.

Berger further convincingly posits that Europa's alternative cult title *Hellotis* in Crete and Corinth is cognate with *Hellopia*, an alternative name of Epirus according to Hesiod, and Dodona's *Helloi*. In other words, just like her brother Kadmos, Europa too ultimately has her place in the Makedonian homeland, rather than in the land of Canaan.¹⁰⁷³

In post-Homeric literature, Europa is 'Phoenician' and is sometimes described as coming from Tyre, but in the *Iliad*, she is merely the daughter of the eponym *Phoinix* (Φοῖνικος κούρης τηλεκλειτοῖο, ἣ τέκε μοι Μίνων τε καὶ ἀντίθεον Ῥαδάμανθυν: *Iliad* 14.321-322). What is interesting is that the much more prominent Iliadic *Phoinix*, the foster father of Achilles, has two key features in common with Europa, the daughter of the homonymous *Phoinix*: 1) Phoinix, the foster father of Achilles, comes from 'Hellas' at *Iliad* 9.447: οἶον ὅτε πρῶτον λίπον Ἑλλάδα καλλιγύναϊκα. As we have argued elsewhere, *Hellas* originally pointed to the *Helloi* in Epirus and the corresponding

¹⁰⁷² According to Andron *fr.* 1, Europe is the sister of Thrace, and only the *half-sister* of Asia and Libya.

¹⁰⁷³ Europa's mother dies on Thasos, also Makedonian territory: Θάσος, νῆσος πρὸς τῇ Θράκῃ, πόλιν ὁμώνυμον ἔχουσα, ἐνθα Τηλέφη ἢ τῆς Εὐρώπης θνήσκει μῆτηρ (Steph. of Byz.). What is more, a collation of the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* and the epic poet Antimachus seem to preserve an alternative, ancient tradition that the scene of Zeus' lovemaking with Europa was not Crete, but Teumessos in Boeotia. *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 224 Τευμησσὸν λεγεποῖν + Antimachus in Steph. of Byz.: Τευμησσός, ὄρος Βοιωτίας... ὡς Ἀντίμαχος πρώτῳ Θηβαΐδος οὐνεκά οἱ Κρονίδης, ὅσ[τε] μέγα πᾶσιν ἀνάσσει, ἄντρον ἐνὶ σκηνῇ τευμήσατο, τόφρα κεν εἴη Φοῖνικος κούρη κεκυθμένα, ὄφρα ἐ μή τις (5) μηδὲ θεῶν ἄλλος γε παρέξ φράσσαιτό κεν αὐτοῦ.

territory named *Hellopia* in Hesiodic *fr.* 240 MW. This is precisely the root of *Hellotis* / *Hellotia*, the Cretan and Corinthian cult title of Europa. 2) Phoinix, the foster father of Achilles, is cursed with *infertility*, just as Europa, the daughter of the homonymous Phoinix, is married to the Cretan king *Asterion*, who is generally remembered as having died childless: Ἀστερίου δὲ ἄπαιδος ἀποθανόντος Μίνως...¹⁰⁷⁴ If Europa was indeed at Dodona a hypostasis of Dione, the wife of Zeus *Eururopa*, as Berger persuasively argues, her place in the realm of the divine could also have been one in which such incestuous father-husband mergings are more likely to occur (cf. Hera, sister and wife of Zeus).

The genealogy of Europa's husband *Asterion* is germane to the presence of actual Pelasgians on the island (= Makednians / proto-Dorians) on Crete according to *Odyssey* 19.177 (Δωριέες τε τριχᾶϊκες δῖοί τε Πελασγοί): Diodorus Siculus, our only source who lists his genealogy, describes him as the son of *Teutamios*:

Τεῦταμος ὁ Δώρου τοῦ Ἑλληνος τοῦ Δευκαλίωνος εἰς Κρήτην πλεύσας μετὰ Αἰολέων καὶ Πελασγῶν ἐβασίλευσε τῆς νήσου, γήμας δὲ τὴν Κρηθέως θυγατέρα ἐγέννησεν Ἀστέριον.¹⁰⁷⁵

In the *Iliad*, Teutamios is the grandfather of a Pelasgian leader (Λήθοιο Πελασγοῦ Τευταμίδαο: 2.843). The name is still extant in 4th century BCE Macedonia.¹⁰⁷⁶

Ultimately, *Asterion* was a cult title of Zeus at Gortyn in Crete,¹⁰⁷⁷ which makes sense of Minos' patronymic "Minos, the son of Asterion" (Pausanias 2.31.1 Ἀστερίωνα τὸν

¹⁰⁷⁴ Apollodorus 3.8.1 Ἀστερίου δὲ ἄπαιδος ἀποθανόντος Μίνως...See Wagler (*RE*), s.v. 'Asterion'.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Diodorus 4.60.2 Τεῦταμος ὁ Δώρου τοῦ Ἑλληνος τοῦ Δευκαλίωνος εἰς Κρήτην πλεύσας μετὰ Αἰολέων καὶ Πελασγῶν ἐβασίλευσε τῆς νήσου, γήμας δὲ τὴν Κρηθέως θυγατέρα ἐγέννησεν Ἀστέριον. Other manuscripts have *Tektamos* instead of *Teutamios*. Tektamos must either be a dialectic variant of Teutamios, since Andron *fr.* Refers to him migrating with Dorians and Pelasgians from Thessaly to Crete as *Tektaphos* (see Evans 1894:357).

¹⁰⁷⁶ Teutamios, a Macedonian officer (an Argyraspid), e.g. Plutarch *Eumenes* 13.3: περὶ δὲ τούτων καὶ Ἀντιγένει καὶ Τευτάμῳ τοῖς τῶν ἀργυρασπίδων ἡγουμένους ἐγεγράφεισαν.

¹⁰⁷⁷ See Wernicke (*RE*), s.v. 'Asterios'.

Μίνω), despite the fact that Zeus was his actual father, of the patronymic of Herakles, Ἀμφιτροωνίδα. Wagler had already observed that Greek frequently associates the name Asterion with Thessalian figures. Along similar lines, the name of the Cretan Asterion, father of Minos and Sarpedon, may have historical ties with the Paeonian hero *Asteropaios*, who I argue elsewhere in the present study is a covert double of the Homeric Sarpedon—from Crete according to Hesiod et al. As mentioned above and *passim*, a *Gortynia* (and an *Europos*) was an important city in Paeonia / Macedonia. Homer did not invent the name of the Paeonian hero *Asteropaios*: it is very likely to have been a title borne by kings in EIA Paeonia. Moreover, some significance may be lent to *Asterope*, the mother of Peneleos,¹⁰⁷⁸ the chief of the Boeotians in the *Iliad*: I have been arguing this whole time that the Boeotians were originally a branch of the Paeonians.

Sakellariou brilliantly provides a holistic explanation, not only for the various toponyms named ‘Kadmos’, but also for the myth of the *Spartoi* or ‘Sown men’. He draws attention to the significance of the Hesychian gloss κάδμος, which is defined as a lexeme among the Cretans: δόρυ s. λόφος. ἀσπίς s. Κρήτες:

On apprend par une glose d'Hesychius que les Crétois employaient le mot κάδμος dans le sens de δόρυ, λόφος, ἀσπίς. Or, λόφος signifie “élévation de terrain” ainsi que “cimier,” lui aussi objet qui se dresse. L'idée de hauteur se trouve encore liée avec la forme de

¹⁰⁷⁸ Hyginus, *Fabula* 97. Another *Asterope* is a sister of the river god Kebren in the Troad (Apollodorus 3.12.5), another region with a Paeonian component (the Teucrians). An *Asteropeia* is the daughter of the Thessalian Pelias (8.11.3); another the daughter of a Phocian king (Apollodorus 1.9.4). The name of the Boeotian leader Πηνέλεως may stem from *Παιονε-λάφος = “the λάφος of the Paeonians” or “the λάφος of the god Paion,” cf. *Hermolaos Hermesilaos, Diolaos, Theolaos, Damolaos, Xenolaos, Asopolaos*, all in the LGPN. Similarly, the river Peneios, separating Thessaly from Macedonia / Paeonia, could have been “the Paeonian river,” from *Παιονείος. A Thracian / Edonian tribe was named *Panaioi*, Thucydides 2.101: Θράκες, ὅσοι πεδία εἶχον, Παναῖοι καὶ Ὀδόμαντοι καὶ Δρῶοι καὶ Δερσαῖοι; Stephanus of Byzantium Παναῖοι, ἔθνος Ἡδωνικὸν οὐ πόρρω Ἀμφιπόλεως. Because Thucydides juxtaposes the Panaioi and the Odomantoi and categorizes both as ‘Thracian’, one can reasonably object that he is using Thracian *lato sensu*, any tribe to the north that is not Greek-speaking, with perhaps a genuine Thracian component among them. Nevertheless, it is otherwise known, from Herodotus 5.16 that the Odomantoi were actually Paeonian, not Thracian, which agrees with the statement made by Stephanus of Byzantium above that the Panaioi were an Edonian ethnos in the vicinity of Amphipolis. The Edonians, as shown elsewhere in the present study, were a Paeonian-speaking population with a Thracian superstratum.

δόρυ, de même qu'avec celle de bouclier: on rappellera ici que les noms d'Aspis ont été donnés dans l'antiquité à des collines, à des lies, à îles, des promontoires de Crète, nous passons en Illyrie. La légende disait de Cadmos et d'Harmonia que, moits en Illyrie, us auraient été transformés en rochers, que l'on situait sur les rivages de la baie de Cattaro ou du golfe d'Aulon soit au voisinage de l'Aôos ou du Drilon en tout cas au pays des Enchéleis... Sous le nom de Cadmos on connaît enfin un affluent du Thyamis On retrouve donc, en Illyrie et en Epire, le nom de Cadmos lie, d'une part, à des élévations de terrain, d'autre part, à une rivière: exactement comme en Cane. Il en est de même dans les légendes de Thèbes. En effet, le surnom de Κάδμου ποῦς qu'on donnait à l'Ismènos, et le mythe qui faisait sortir cette rivière d'un endroit où le pied de Cadmos se serait enfoncé dans la boue, sont très instructifs. On prêtera aussi quelque attention à la légende connue qui disait des Spartes [Σπαρτοί] qu'ils portaient sur leur corps le signe d'une lance, fait qui rappelle de façon frappante l'emploi du mot κάδμος en Crète, dans le son de δόρυ. Ajoutons, enfin, qu'on attribuait à Cadmos la découverte des mines d'or du mont Pangée 6, ce qui l'associe encore une fois à une montagne. Plusieurs savants favorables à l'origine grecque de Cadmos admettent que ce nom dérive de la racine qui se trouve dans κέκαδμαι, κέκασμαι se distinguer, briller"; Castor, "le brillant"; Skr. çaçaduh, çaçadunah, "se distinguer, exceller, être puissant"; ... Cette étymologie est rejetée par les champions de l'origine non hellénique de Cadmos. Cependant il est bien évident que les notions "se distinguer, exceller" répondent à l'idée de "hauteur, éminence" qu'expriment les mots δόρυ, λόφος, ἀσπίς, en Crète, aussi bien qu'à l'association du nom de Cadmos à des montagnes, en Carie et en Macédoine, à un rocher, en Illyrie, et, partant, à des carrières de pierres, à Thèbes. De même, la notion de "briller" convient à une qualité des lances, des boucliers, des cimiers en métal, de l'eau, d'où l'attribution du nom de Cadmos à des rivières, en Carie, en Illyrie, et son association avec l'Ismènos, à Thèbes... En présence de ces faits, il nous paraît hors de doute que le mot κάδμος est d'origine indo-européenne'.

Within the Hellenic family, one can also cite Armenian *kazm*, 'ornament', 'equipment', which impeccably matches the meanings of the Cretan noun κάδμος 'spear', 'shield', 'crest' and one of the meanings of Greek κέκασμαι, 'to adorn', 'to equip'. Within Greek myth, one may adduce such typological comparanda as the name of Ajax's father, Τελαμών 'Shield Strap', Χρυσάωρ 'Golden Sword', the son of Medousa, and the Paeonian Πυραίχμης 'Spear Point'.

From Crete, the coast of Anatolia, Caria and Lycia, is not far. This is precisely the next step for the early maritime expansion of Makedonian Phoenicians from Crete to Anatolia: Kadmos' nephew Sarpedon, whose name is associated with both Thrace and Crete, is the son of Europa and Zeus according to Hesiod and Bacchylides, migrates with his 'Lycians' = Makedonian Phoenicians from Crete to Lycia. On the southwestern

Anatolian coast, in Ionia formerly Caria from the Iliadic perspective, the town of Priene had also been known as *Kadme* and its inhabitants were Καδμεῖοι according to Hellanikos according to one tradition: *Philotas* was the oikist, the offspring of the Boeotian leader Peneleos in the *Iliad*: λέγεται δ' ὑπό τινων ἢ Πριήνη Κάδμη, ἐπειδὴ Φιλωτᾶς ὁ ἐπικτίσας αὐτὴν Βοιωτίας ὑπῆρχεν.¹⁰⁷⁹ Priene's / Kadme's Boeotian / Kadmeian oikist Philotas is the earliest attestation of the name in Greek history: until the end of the 4th century BCE when the name gradually spreads in popularity to all of Greece and the Hellenistic world in the wake of the conquests of Philip and his son Alexander the Great, Philotas is mostly confined to Macedonia and the adjacent regions.¹⁰⁸⁰ Correspondingly, a shrine known as the Τευτάμειον had been set up in the late 7th/6th century BCE by the local Kadmeians / Prienians, allegedly because it was meant to honor their compatriot Bias, one of the Seven Sages of ancient Greece, whose father was named *Teutamos*.¹⁰⁸¹ The existence of a Pelasgian leader named *Teutamos* in the *Iliad* and of the same name as the father of the first known king of Crete, Minos' step-father support early Makednian presence on the southwest coast of Anatolia. That the Neleid *Aipyros* should have co-founded the city¹⁰⁸² shows how this Makednian component became integrated in the Ionian sphere.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Strabo 14.1.12

¹⁰⁸⁰ Interestingly, the 2nd oldest attestation of the name, according to the *LGPN*, is dated to the 6th/5th century, on a vase found at Sabucina in central Sicily:¹⁰⁸⁰ the ancient fort, in which the vase was found, was settled by colonists from Gela (Orlandini, s.v. 'Sabucina Sicily' in *The Princeton encyclopedia of classical sites*. 1976), whose inhabitants in turn had come from Rhodes and Crete, which is precisely the region, in which we have traced Makednian settlers in the Submycenaean period and after

¹⁰⁸¹ Diogenes Laertius, quoting Heraclitus and Hipponax, *Vitae Philosophorum* 1.88.

¹⁰⁸² Pausanias 7.2.10; Strabo 14.1.12

Of interest, however, is retracing an early period in the EIA, in which sea-borne Makednian immigrants settled on the Aegean coast of southern Anatolia, *prior* to their fusion with and eventual integration in either Greek-speaking or Anatolian-speaking populations: at stake is attempting to account for the transfer of the ethnonym ‘Phoenician’, an originally Epirote / Makednian ethnos, to the Semitic Phoenicians of the Levant. Bacchylides and Korinna are most informative and useful in this regard because they say that Caria and the Carians used to be called ‘Phoenicia’ and ‘Phoenicians’: ἡ Καρία Φοινίκη ἐκαλεῖτο, ὡς παρὰ Κορίννη (*fr.* 27 B) καὶ Βακχυλίδη (*fr.* 53 B).¹⁰⁸³ This is no trivial matter. Undoubtedly, the equation Carians = Phoenicians bridges a critical gap between the Makednian Phoenicians and the Levantine Phoenicians, in that 1) Karia is located right in between and 2), nearby Ionia and the Ionians mediated the early transmission of historiography and poetry. The characterization of the Milesian philosopher Thales as a ‘Phoenician’ (ἀλλὰ καὶ Θαλῆς, ὡς Λέανδρος καὶ Ἡρόδοτος ἱστοροῦσι, Φοῖνιξ ἦν¹⁰⁸⁴), a commonly misunderstood ascription, most likely arises from the patent Carianness (in the linguistic Anatolian sense of the word) of his father’s name Exyames.¹⁰⁸⁵ The description of the kingdom of Lycian Glaukos as Φοίνικος ἔδος “the

¹⁰⁸³ Both cited in in Athenaios 4.174F.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Clement of Alexandria *Stromata* 1.14.62, cf. Herodotus 1.170 Θάλεω ἀνδρὸς Μιλησίου ἐγένετο, τὸ ἀνέκαθεν γένος ἐόντος Φοίνικος.

¹⁰⁸⁵ It is frequently assumed that Thales must have been of Boeotian through his mother (hence the connection to Kadmos and the Phoenicians), since Thales was obviously Carian through his father Examyas. Although Thales may very well have had Boeotian ancestors on his mother’s side, his characterization as a Carian probably has much more to do with the patent Carianness of Thales’ father’s name.

seat of Phoenix” by Quintus of Smyrna 8.106 is surely an archaism that must go back to the likes of Bacchylides and Korinna.¹⁰⁸⁶ Along similar lines, *Iliad* 4.141-142:

Ὡς δ’ ὅτε τίς τ’ ἐλέφαντα γυνὴ φοίνικι μίγη
Μηονίς ἢ ἐ Κάειρα παρήϊον ἔμμεναι ἵππων

As when a woman stains ivory with purple dye [‘the red’ / ‘Phoenician product’]
--A Maeonian or Carian [implicitly Phoenician] woman that is—for it to be the cheek-
ornament of a bridle

This could be a playful adumbration of the arguably more ancient equation of the ethnonym ‘Phoenician = ‘Carian’, since Homer is accustomed to using different synonyms for the same ethnos, e.g. ‘Argives’, ‘Danaans’ and ‘Achaeans’. Like the Epirote Phoenicians, Taphians and Phaeacians, the Carians too were thalassocratic in the EIA.¹⁰⁸⁷ Elsewhere, we discussed the proposition and the evidence for a Paeonian adstratum among the EIA Lycians. The same must also be true of the neighboring Carians, whom Homer does not always differentiate from the Lycians.¹⁰⁸⁸ The Carian coastal town of *Bargylia*, for instance, has parallels only in the Makedonian homeland: *Bargyllon* in Epirus, *Bargala* in Pelagonia and *Bragylos* near the Strymon.¹⁰⁸⁹ The Carian personal name *Boton* has numerous parallels in the southern Balkans.¹⁰⁹⁰ Moreover, the contribution of Kadmeoi and such other arguably related Makedonian ethne as the

¹⁰⁸⁶ Sakellarriou 1990:375.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Herda 2013:434.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Despite some Iliadic references distinguishing the Carians from the Lycians (notably the Catalogue of Ships), I argue in section “Sarpedon: A Milesian Hero” that Homeric Λύκιοι preserves the more archaic Bronze Age meaning of *Lukka*, which was a vaster region that also included Caria.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Bargyllon (Bargullum in Latin) in Epirus: Livy 29.12-13; Bargala in Pelagonia: Hierocles 641; Constantinus VII Porphyrogenitus Imperator Scr. Eccl. et Hist., *De thematibus*, Asia-Europe Europ 2.36. Sources quoted by Arkwright 1918:58.

¹⁰⁹⁰ For other examples, see Arkwright 1918:51-60.

Dryopes, Abantes and the Molossians to the Ionian colonization of Asia Minor¹⁰⁹¹ may have popularized the appellation “Phoenicia” as a synonym of Caria,¹⁰⁹² as we already saw above in the case of the city of Priene. A mythological reflex of this Makednian-Carian connection is Kassiopeia: Kadmos begets the Thracian king Phineus on her, whereas Zeus begets Atymnos on her. Atymnos is the eponym of the Carian town Tymnos.¹⁰⁹³

According to the archaic poet Asios of Samos, the local history of the future Ionian island of Samos begins with a certain *Phoinix*, the formal eponym of the Phoenicians. In the fragment quoted by Pausanias 7.4.1, his ethnicity is left unspecified, but his wife Perimede is the daughter of Oineus and thus must have come from *Aetolia*, the majority of which was Makednian¹⁰⁹⁴: their daughters are the now well-known Europa and the aptly-named *Astypalaia* ‘Old Town’: Φοίνικι ἐκ Περιμήδης τῆς Οἰνέως γένοτο Ἀστυπάλαια καὶ Εὐρώπη. Only later, the locals face an Ionian invasion, after which the island becomes Ionicized. One can readily see how this epichoric pre-Ionian Samian Φοῖνιξ, with his daughter Europa of explicit Aetolian descent, was the eponym of the pre-Ionian Makednian ‘Phoenicians’ of southwest Anatolia. This impression gains in credibility in light of Iamblichos’ account, whose history of Samos begins with Ankaïos, the grandson of Phoinix, according to Asios of Samos: according to Iamblichos, Ankaïos

¹⁰⁹¹ Herodotus 1.146 τῶν Ἄβαντες μὲν ἐξ Εὐβοίης εἰσὶ οὐκ ἐλαχίστη μοῖρα, τοῖσι Ἴωνίης μετὰ οὐδὲ τοῦ οὐνόματος οὐδέν... ἀναμεμίχεται καὶ Καδμεῖοι καὶ Δρύοπες... καὶ Μολοσσοὶ.

¹⁰⁹² cf. Fowler 2013:349 "This means that where any of our stories talk of 'Phoenician' they could in fact mean 'Karian'.

¹⁰⁹³ See Büchner (*RE*) for sources.

¹⁰⁹⁴ See section “Across the Gulf of Calydon: Aetolia and Elis.”

came to Samos from the island of *Kephalenia*,¹⁰⁹⁵ with the characteristic Northwestern ethnonymic suffix *-ānes*, not very far from the arguably original Epirote *Phoinike*. Early accounts of Ankaios would have described him as a Φοῖνιξ, but one from the islands off of Epirus, rather than from the eastern Mediterranean. The Samian evidence thus represents a critical missing link between Makednian and Canaanite Phoenicians.

Another secondarily Ionian (Homeric = Carian) member is Teos, which Anakreon, who hailed from the island, refers to as *Athamantis*, after the eponym Athamas who was the first to settle on the island, with Minyans from Orchomenos according to Pausanias 7.3.6. As discussed elsewhere, the mythical prototypical Boeotian and Thessalian king Athamas is the eponym of the Epirote Athamanes¹⁰⁹⁶ and Paeonian Odomantoi. He embodies the Makednian superstratum among the Aeolicized Thessalians and Boeotians. Only at a later period in history do mythical Ionian figures such as Nauklos the son of Kodros settle peacefully on the island.¹⁰⁹⁷

A third secondarily Ionian (Homeric = Carian) island is Chios. Before it was Ionicized by the hero Hector of Chios, who was later awarded a tripod at the Panionian festival, it was first occupied by Abantes *and* Carians, whom Hector had defeated in battle: ἐπολέμησεν Ἀβάντων καὶ Καρῶν τοῖς οἰκοῦσιν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ (Ion of Chios *fr.* 1). The collocation of Abantes and Carians on Chios *prior* to the Ionicization of the island is very relevant to our argument that Phoenicians were originally a sea-faring Makednian population from Epirus before they eventually became confused with sea-faring

¹⁰⁹⁵ Iamblichus De Vita Pythagorica 2.3.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Fick 1914:70 (“Älteste griechische Stammverbände”).

¹⁰⁹⁷ Pausanias 7.3.6

Canannite Phoenicians because the Abantes, though later present in early Euboea, Phokis and the Argolid, seem to have had their original homeland in Epirus, as we learn from multiple sources, e.g. Proxenos *fr.* 4, and described in Phokis as non-Greek by Aristotle: ἐξ Ἄβας τῆς Φωκικῆς Θρᾶκας ὀρμηθέντας ἐποικῆσαι τὴν νῆσον.¹⁰⁹⁸ An Abantia / Amantia also existed in Epirus. Among the diverse ancestors of the Ionians, which some Ionians seem to be ashamed of,¹⁰⁹⁹ Herodotus names the Abantes first among a long list of ethne (τῶν Ἄβαντες μὲν ἐξ Εὐβοίης εἰσι οὐκ ἐλαχίστη μοῖρα: 1.146), which seems to imply that a significant portion of the coastal areas of Caria may have once had still-un-Ionicized Abantes: soon enough, these immigrant Abantes would have begun mixing with the indigenous Carians, as appears to be the case on early Chios. Inasmuch as these Abantes were of Makednian stock, like the Epirote Phoenicians, and inasmuch as there had been Abantic settlements in Caria in the early EIA, the cultural and linguistic similarities between the Epirote Phoinikes and still-un-Ionicized Abantes, would have contributed to the characterization of Caria as ‘Phoenicia’.

A fourth secondarily Ionian (Homeric = Carian) city in the hinterland of Ionia, whose inhabitants in the Classical period were still considered non-Ionian, is Magnesia on the Maeander: ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ Ἰώνων καὶ Μαγνήτων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ (Herodotus 3.90).

They had come from Magnesia in Thessaly by the Peneios river and Pelion mountain

¹⁰⁹⁸ Aristotle in Strabo 10.1.3. Aiklos and Kothos were two legendary brothers, described as barbarian by Hekataios *fr.* 113 (= Strabo 7.7.1), had their tombs in Chalkis, Euboea (Plutarch 263d *Aetia Romana et Graeca*). Their foundation of *Ellopia* in Euboea sounds like a psilotic doublet of *Hellopia*, another name for Epirus in Hesiod *fr.* 240. That they themselves were not native to Euboea is suggested by the fact that they are also credited with founding Eleutheris in Boeotia (Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἐλευθερίς). The description of Aiklos and Kothos in various sources as either the son or grandson of Ion emblemizes the fusion of Makednian and indigenous Greek elements in the construction of the new Hellenic identity, just as Abas, eponym of the Makednian Abantes, was inserted into the royal line of the Inachids / Danaids at Argos.

¹⁰⁹⁹ As discussed elsewhere, that Elephenor, leader of the Abantes, should be the first Achaeans to die in the *Iliad*, is consistent with the pattern of “new Achaeans,” whose Hellenicity is too recent to be given proper credentials, being readily disposed of, like the Boeotians first and foremost.

range, but it was not a direct crossing of the sea: the Magnesians first went to Crete,¹¹⁰⁰ and from there migrated to the hinterland of what would later become Ionia. The closest river by Magnesia on the Maeander is the Lethaios, which, as Strabo 14.1.39 notes, is the same as the one by Gortyn in Crete. According to Hesiodic *fr.* 7, the eponyms Magnes and Makedon are brothers, but they are *not* sons of Hellen, thus denying their Hellenic pedigree from the Hesiodic point of view. The Magnesians' participation in the Trojan War is restricted to a brief entry in the Catalogue of Ships, which Stählin rightly imputes to a later redaction.¹¹⁰¹ As Hall observes:

The Olympic Games were, as we have seen, explicitly restricted to those who could adduce Hellenic descent and, in fact, the vast majority (91.3 percent) of the Olympic victors recorded for the period 776-475 could claim a direct affiliation to one of the four ethne represented in the pseudo-Hesiodic genealogy. The corollary of this is that there were ethne resident in Greece that could not formally declare a Hellenic affiliation and it is interesting that several of the groups that fall into this category were immediate neighbors of the Thessalians. Such is the case with the Magnesians [aforementioned Hesiod *fr.* 7 quote] Although related to Hellen (his maternal uncle), Magnes cannot adduce strict lineal descent from him and this effectively denies Hellenic ancestry to the Magnesians who, by the later Archaic period, had been brought into a position of dependency upon the Thessalians. It should be no surprise that no Magnesian is credited with an Olympic victory in the Archaic period.¹¹⁰²

It may thus be ironic that a 2nd century CE inscription found at Magnesia on the Maeander proclaims that that “the Magnesians were the first among the Hellenes to have crossed over into Asia”: *πρῶτοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων διαβάντες εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν*.¹¹⁰³ This could either be taken to mean that the Magnesian who wrote this understood ‘Hellene’ in an older sense, which restricted the word to inhabitants of Thessaly and thus the Ionians,

¹¹⁰⁰ Konon in in Photius 186 Bekker page 135b; also Parthenius 5. For other sources, see Kern 1894 *Die Gründungsgeschichte von Magnesia am Maiandros*.

¹¹⁰¹ Stählin (*RE*), s.v. ‘Magnesia’.

¹¹⁰² Hall 2012:607 (“Ethnicity and Cultural Exchange”).

¹¹⁰³ CIA. III 1, 16 = O. Kern *Inschr. v. Magnesia* XVII no. LXV1 quoted by Fick 1918:71

who surrounded the Magnesians on the Maeander, were not true Hellenes; or said Magnesian truly believed and/or relied on local traditions that the foundation of M. on the Maeander was very early and preceded the Ionian colonization.

As discussed elsewhere,¹¹⁰⁴ the local hero of Magnesia on the Meander, *Leukippos*, comes straight from Thessaly in some versions, in others he is *Lycian*—with distant Magnesian / Thessalian ancestry, *à la* Glaukos, co-ruler of the Lycians in the *Iliad*.¹¹⁰⁵ The Lycianness of the Magnesians' hero could either be a reflection of generalizing, hyperbolic Ionian perceptions, “the Magnesians are so different from us, Ionians, that they are like our larger neighbor the Lycians”; or it could be a reflection of Magnesian perceptions: the Magnesians and the Lycians (which could also mean Carian¹¹⁰⁶) had genuinely developed kinship, cultural and possibly linguistic ties.

One can imagine a scenario, in which the first Magnesian settlers in EIA Caria had retained their original Makednian speech upon arrival from Crete, but over the centuries, those of them that stayed closer to the coast, became gradually Ionicized, whereas those who penetrated more inland, eventually became more Carianized / Lycianized—like Sarpedon, himself another immigrant from Crete with ties to Thrace.¹¹⁰⁷ Two accounts in Aelian and Plutarch support the view of early pre-Ionian Makednian presence at Miletus, which may have been part of the same immigration wave that led to the colonization of Magnesia on the Maeander by the Magnesians. Among the

¹¹⁰⁴ See section “The Greater Lycia and the Myth of Leukippos.”

¹¹⁰⁵ See Fontenrose 1981:53.

¹¹⁰⁶ See elsewhere our discussion of Sarpedon.

¹¹⁰⁷ Pausanias 7.3.7 Λυκίων μὲν κατὰ συγγένειαν τὴν Κρητῶν (5) —καὶ γὰρ οἱ Λύκιοι τὸ ἀρχαῖον εἰσιν ἐκ Κρήτης, οἱ Σαρπηδόσι ὁμοῦ ἔφυγον.

ethne which the Neleids and the Ionians clashed with, when they arrived at Miletus, were the Mygdonians, listed in the second position behind the Carians by Aelian: Νηλεὺς δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίαν ἀφίκετο, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ὄκισε Μίλητον, Κᾶρας ἐξελάσας καὶ Μυγδόνας καὶ Λέλεγας καὶ ἄλλους βαρβάρους.¹¹⁰⁸ The Mygdonians and the Magnesians were contiguous in ancient Macedonia. The presence of such indigenous Mygdonians at Miletus may also be linked with Sarpedon, as discussed elsewhere.¹¹⁰⁹

An aetiological tale on the cult of Artemis at Miletus may lend further credence to the hypothesis of pre-Ionian Makednians on the coast of Ionia / Caria. According to Plutarch *Mulierum Virtutes* 253f-254, the second king of Miletus—the son of Neleus, the oikist of Miletus—was named Phrygios “the Phrygian”: τῶν δὲ Νεΐλεω παίδων ὁ δυνατώτατος ὄνομα Φρύγιος.¹¹¹⁰ The Neleid Phrygios wishes to marry *Pieria*, the daughter of *Iapygia* and Pythes from the town Myous, located not far from Miletus, across the Latmian Gulf. Thus, three of the five characters in Plutarch’s aetiological tale on the cult of Artemis at Miletus, Phrygios, Pieria, and Iapygia, are unmistakable ethnonyms or ethnic toponyms: Phrygios “the Phrygian” marries Pieria “the Pierian” the daughter of Iapygia, a territory in southern Italy originally colonized by transplants from Northern Epirus in the Submycenaean period. Pieria and Mount Olympus nearby are the homeland of the non-Hellenic Magnesians and Macedonians according to Hesiod *fr.* 7:

¹¹⁰⁸ Aelian *Varia Historia* 8.5.15.

¹¹⁰⁹ See section “A Paeonian Component among the EIA Lycians: the Case of the Paeonian Asteropaios as Sarpedon’s Doppelgänger.”

¹¹¹⁰ Unlike the historical Thettalos, the son of Peisistratos, whose name is not an ethnic affiliation but a manifestation of Peisistratos’ sympathies for Thessaly, the ethnonym Phrygios the Phrygian is part of a mythical tale of foundation and is therefore not comparable to the ‘Thettalos’ model: unlike the ethnonyms of historical figures, ethnonyms in myth advert either to a certain involvement of said ethnos in the historical gackground of the myth, as embodied by the ethnonymic figure.

υῖε δῶω, Μάγνητα Μακηδόνα θ' ἰππιοχάρμην, οἱ περὶ Πιερίην καὶ Ὀλυμπον δώματ' ἔναιον.

Further south, the mythical Triops, a figure of cult in the Dorian Hexapolis, is described as a Pelasgian from Argos by Diodorus 5.81.2: his son Xanthos is said to have taken possession of a piece of Lycia and ruled their as king, together with other Pelasgians: κατασχὼν μέρος τι τῆς Λυκίας χώρας, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐν αὐτῇ κατοικῶν ἐβασίλευε τῶν συνακολουθησάντων Πελασγῶν. Xanthos could very well be the eponym of the Greek name of the Lycian river / capital Xanthos. His arrival in Lycia from Greece parallels 1) Sarpedon's arrival into Lycia from Crete and 2) Bellerophon's arrival in Lycia from Argos.

Still in Dorian territory, between Caria ('Phoenicia' according to Bacchylides and Corinna) and Crete, adoptive home of Europa, sister of Kadmos 'the Phoenician', lay Rhodes. The two most important oikistic figures for the island are Althaimenes and the Heraklid Tlepolemos. Althaimenes came from Crete, according to Apollodorus 3.12.4 or from Argos, according to Conon, together with Dorians and Pelasgians. Tlepolemos' lineage bears out the native Epirote-Phoenician hypothesis because his mother Astyoche / Astydameia was a Thesprotian princess. Although the name of Tlepolemos' maternal grandfather is not named,¹¹¹¹ Fowler was able to show that it must have been *Amyntor*, the same Amyntor that fathered Achilles' foster father *Phoinix*.¹¹¹² Historically, the royal names Ἀμύντωρ, Ἀμυνάνδρος and Ἀμύντας are mostly North Hellenic: they are very

¹¹¹¹ Fowler 2013:324-325 "in Apollodorus 2.149, after Herakles married Deianeira he assisted her father Oineus in a campaign against the Thesprotians. Herakles captures Ephyra whose king is Phylas "tribesman"; by his daughter Astyoche he fathers Tlepolemos (*Bibl.* 2.166, *Epit* 3.13). This accords with Homer' Catalogue of ships (*Il.* 2.653-60); there, Tlepolemos is the son of Astyocheia from Ephyra by the river Selleeis; *her father is not named.*"

¹¹¹² Fowler 2013:326.

common in Macedonia, Epirus and Athamania. Insofar as mythological figures are often eponyms¹¹¹³ and the original setting of Tlepolemus' maternal ancestry points to Epirus and the vicinity of Epirus,¹¹¹⁴ the resultant fraternal connection between Achilles' foster father Phoinix and Tlepolemos' maternal grandfather lends support to the hypothesis of Tlepolemos' early association with Epirote Phoenicians.

Local Rhodian legends do in fact remember 'Phoenicians' settling on Rhodes (περὶ τῶν κατοικησάντων τὴν νῆσον Φοινίκων), notably one preserved by Ergias FHG IV 405 (3rd century B.C.E) and Polyzelos:¹¹¹⁵ The 'Hellenes' led by Iphiklos besiege a fortress named 'Achaia' at Ialysos in Rhodes. The leader of the besieged Phoenicians is named 'Phalanthos': among the other Phoenicians in the fortress with him, the only ones named are Phakes / Phakas and his daughter Dorkia. The name Φάλανθος is undoubtedly Hellenic: Hesychius glosses it as meaning either 'gray' or 'bald' (φάλανθον· πολιόν· καὶ ἢ Νέστωρος κάρα· οἱ δὲ φαλακρόν). The connection to Nestor transpires in the attestation of a mountain named Φάλανθον in Arcadia, a region, which abuts on Pylos.¹¹¹⁶ Further north, a location named Φαλανθία lies in Thessaly on the border with Aetolia (Ptolemy

¹¹¹³ Stephanus of Byzantium: Ἀμύνται, ἔθνος Θεσπρωτικόν „μένος πνείοντες Ἀμύνται“. καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἑπειρωτῶν πολιτείᾳ.

¹¹¹⁴ The exact location of the Iliadic Amyntor's kingdom is notoriously difficult to pinpoint, as different passages support different locations. As discussed elsewhere, Boeotia, Phokis and Thessaly (near lake Boibe) are the chief candidates. As Bonfante 1941 perceptively contended, the name of Achilles' foster father must be the eponym of local *Phoinikes*. Ultimately, though, Phoinix's association with *Hellas* in the *Iliad*, could point to a population in Epirus, to the northwest of Phokis and Boeotia, and to the west of Thessaly, because of the original connection to Dodona's *Helloi* and *Hellopia*.

¹¹¹⁵ Ergias and Polyzelos in Athenaeus 8.61

¹¹¹⁶ Pausanias 8.35.9. One of the Neleid oikists of Priene was also named *Aipyptos*, whose name is also mentioned in the Catalogue of Ships as the name of an Arcadian leader. *Aipyptos* is otherwise a title of Hermes. Interestingly, Phalanthos is also a title of Hermes in Arcadia (CIA II 3, 1606, see Johanna Schmidt in *RE*, s.v. 'Phalanthos').

3.12.42). Of great interest is Brandenstein's observation of the name *Balethas* in Messapian:

Das Grundwort φαλός· λευκός, ist in beiden Fällen gleich...Die messapische Entsprechung des Wortes, die in Eigennamen *balethas* (nr. 483; m. genit.) und *Baletum* flumen vorliegt (Whatmough *The prae-italic dialects* II 365), weist eher auf einen suffixalen Charakter des zweiten Teiles hin, ebenso die Glosse φάλανθον· πολιόν¹¹¹⁷

As Huld 1995 and Blažek 1999 argue, Messapic may be one of Greek's closest relatives. Spoken in southern Italy, Messapians originated in northern Epirus in the EIA. Once classified as 'Illyrian', Messapic seems rather to show closer affinities to Greek, and yet closer affinities to such North Hellanic languages such as Macedonian and Phrygian. The expansion of the Messapians in Italy may have been part of the original 'Phoenician' diaspora from Epirus. Messapic is thus of great interest to the reconstruction of North Hellanic (Makednian / Proto-Doric) dialects.

The likelihood that Messapic *Balethas* is germane to the Rhodian 'Phoenician' *Phalanthos* is the attestation of the cognate name *Balakra* in Messapic. Messapic *Balakra* is the formal equivalent of the Macedonian personal name Βαλακρός¹¹¹⁸ = Greek φαλακρός 'bald'; Βαλίας (/Βάλιος¹¹¹⁹), the name of Achilles' immortal horse ("the one with a white patch on his forehead"), represents another North Hellanic cognate, the

¹¹¹⁷ Brandenstein (*RE*), s.v. 'Phalanthus'.

¹¹¹⁸ Arrian *Alexandri Anabasis* 1.29.3 ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς συμμάχους ἀντ' ἐκείνου στρατηγὸν Βάλακρον τὸν Ἀμύντου ἐπιτάξας; cf. Plutarch *Aetia Romana et Graeca* 263e χρώνται Δελφοί, καθάπερ Μακεδόνες 'Βίλιππον' καὶ 'βαλακρόν' καὶ 'Βερονίκην' λέγοντες...

¹¹¹⁹ The Homeric manuscripts attest both Βαλίας and Βάλιος as the name of Achilles' horse. I believe Βαλίας is closer to the Thessalian original on the basis of 5th and 4th inscriptions in Thessaly showing the alternative, final spelling -εC for -οC, which some scholars have assumed masks a reduced schwa pronunciation of the final, unstressed vowel (see García Ramón 2011:128).

formal equivalent of Greek φαλιός.¹¹²⁰ In terms of myth, the Rhodian Phoenician Φάλανθος has only other known homonym besides the Arcadian Φάλανθος, eponym of the toponym ὄρος Φάλανθον (Pausanias 8.35.9): the Spartan oikist / cult hero of Tarentum in Apulia—the new territory of the Messapians. Since the Lakonian dialect, despite a preponderance of South Hellenic features (it is Greek), has still preserved lexemes and personal names, which appear to be traceable to its Makednian heritage, e.g. the Spartan prototypical king Οἴβαλος = Greek οἰφόλης,¹¹²¹ it is conceivable that Phalanthos stems from an earlier **Bhalanthos*, which might have been the name originally borne by the Rhodian Phoenician Phalanthos.

Conversely, it is conceivable that the Spartan origins of the Tarentine oikist Phalanthos is a fictitious retrojection promoted by the Spartan component at Tarentum, and originally the name Phalanthos was that of a local Messapian hero / demigod [**Bhalēthōs*], whom the Tarentines appropriated and assimilated to their own Phalanthos. At any rate, the Rhodian Phoenician Phalanthos and the Tarentine oikist Phalanthos must be genetically related because 1) the hereditary priesthood of *Poseidon* at Ialysos in Rhodes—precisely the location where Phalanthos and his Phoenicians were allegedly besieged by Iphiklos—claimed descent from Kadmos the Phoenician (Diodorus 5.58) and

¹¹²⁰ See Athanassakis' excellent discussion "Akhilleus's Horse Balios: Old and New Etymologies," *Glotta* 2002. My only disagreement is his labeling it 'Illyrian'. Although the word may have been the same in Illyrian, since the IE root is widely attested, it is safer to assume that the name of Achilles' horse originated in Magnesia, whose dialect seems to have stayed closer to Macedonian (cf. Hesiod *fr.* 7) and resisted Hellenization.

¹¹²¹ See section "Lexical and Grammatical idiosyncrasies of Proto-Doric / Makednian."

2) the Tarentine Phalanthos is a hypostasis of Poseidon, as documented by Studniczka's extensive study.¹¹²²

Emblematic of the Makednian Phoinikes' sea-faring ability is colonization of Cyrene in Libya, in which Kadmos and his descendants feature prominently. The foundation of the temples of Poseidon and Athena on Thera, the metropolis of Cyrene, were attributed to Kadmos;¹¹²³ Membliaros, a descendant of Kadmos, dwelled on Thera together with Phoenician women when later the Lakonians arrived. Battos, the legendary founder of the Battiad dynasty in Cyrene, first came to Thera from Crete: the ethnos of his genos was Minyan, which is the other Boeotian ethnicity with which Kadmos is sometimes associated, as at Priene in Ionia, also known as Kadme.

Most interestingly, *Euphemus* the mythical Stammvater of Battos, a Cretan by birth, was the son of *Europa*, but she does not come from Phoenicia, but rather from the banks of the Kephissos in Boeotia, and is the daughter of the giant Tityos (Pindar *Pythian* 4.45). This would seem to indicate that even in Crete, a number of locals never believed Europa came from the Levantine Phoenicia. As Studniczka comments, Battos' mythical ancestor Europa "stellt unmittelbar die Verbindung her zwischen der minyschen und jener pseudophönikischen, richtig kadmeischen Besiedlung der Insel."¹¹²⁴

According to legend, the king of Thera *Grinnos*, who was too old, commissioned Battos for the expedition to Cyrene. *Grinnos* and *Battos* are two distinctly non-Greek names. The latter can hardly be ascribed to the Greek noun βάττος 'stammerer':

¹¹²² Studniczka 1890:184ff, *Kyrene, eine altgriechische Göttin*. Also Kingsley 1979:211 "The Reclining Heroes of Taras and Their Cult."

¹¹²³ Theophrastus in scholiast on Pindar, *Pythian* 4.11: ἱερὰν νᾶσον τὴν Θήραν οὐχ ἀπλῶς ὀνομάζει, ἀλλ' ὅτι Κάδμος κατὰ ζήτησιν Εὐρώπης τῆς ἀδελφῆς στελλόμενος προσ-ορμισθεὶς τῇ νήσῳ ἀνέκτισε Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν αὐτόθι, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Θεόφραστος

¹¹²⁴ Studniczka 1890:65-66.

Herodotus 4.155 says that Battos owes his name to the word for ‘king’ among the indigenous Libyans: Λίβυες γὰρ βασιλέα βάπτον καλέουσι. This is unlikely to be the case, however. That being said, Herodotus does put us in the right semantic direction. It is much likelier that Herodotus confused the language of the indigenous Libyans with the Doric dialect of the local Cyreneans. As documented by Katicic 1972:105-128, names with the stem *Bat(t)* / *Bat(t)* are very common in the southern Balkans, ranging from Illyria to Thrace: he characterizes it as a *nomen sacrum* given to leaders and kings. A hill / burial mound *Batieia* at Troy (αἰπεῖα κολώνη... τὴν ἤτοι ἄνδρες Βατίειαν κικλήσκουσιν: *Iliad* 2.811-813) was named after a noble Trojan woman, who had been the wife of Dardanos according to the scholiast to Lycophron 1306.¹¹²⁵ It so happens that mythical Trojan *Antenoridai* accompanied Battos (also known as Aristoteles) to Cyrene, according to Pindar, *Pythian* 5:

Κυράνας ἀγακτιμέναν πόλιν·
 ἔχοντι τὰν χαλκοχάρμαι ξένοι
 Τρῶες Ἀντανορίδαι· σὺν Ἑλένα γὰρ μόλον,
 καπνωθεῖσαν πάτραν ἐπεὶ ἴδον
 ἐν Ἄρει· τὸ δ' ἐλάσιππον ἔθ' νος ἐνδυκέως
 δέκονται θυσίαισιν ἄνδρες οἰχθέντες σφε δωροφόροι,
 τοὺς Ἀριστοτέλης ἄγαγε ναυσὶ θοαῖς
 ἀλὸς βαθεῖαν κέλευθον ἀνοίγων

The name of Battos' cousin and charioteer *Karrhōtos* (*Pythian* 5.26), otherwise unattested, contains the Northwestern suffix *-ōtos*, as in Θεσπρωτός, Βουθρωτός (on the Epirote mainland facing Corcyra) and of course Βοιωτός.¹¹²⁶

In summary, the hypothesis can be set forth that the sea-faring Φοίνικες of Kadmos were closely related to the sea-faring Taphians (and Phaeacians) and originally from Epirus and Macedonia: for the most part, they were of Makednian stock (North

¹¹²⁵ Quoted by Katicic 1972:114.

¹¹²⁶ An Ἐρραφεωτός occurs in Alcaeus fr. 381: Ἐρραφέωτ', οὐ γὰρ ἄναξ ...

Hellanes, though not Greek proper). Some of them crossed directly into Italy and became the Messapians. Many descended upon Mycenaean Greece at the end of the Bronze Age by both land and sea, the so-called Dorian migrations: among them, the Kadmeioi, the Pelasgians, the Abantes and the Athamanians, all eponyms of mythical figures in Thebes, Thessaly, Argos and Euboea. Although conceivably a minority among the Makednian tribes, it would appear that the *Phoinikes* became a generic term among the EIA Greeks for designating the non-Greek (yet mostly North Hellenic) sea-faring populations in the Aegean.

Minos and his Cretan thalassocracy are often thought to represent in Greek myth the glory of the Minoan civilization from the Middle Bronze Age (prior to the advent of the Mycenaeans). But this is impossible, because the constraints of oral transmission and the interposition of several centuries of illiteracy preclude the recollection of a civilization that preceded the early archaic Greeks (8th/7th century BCE) by eight centuries or so. Rather, king Minos, son of Zeus *Asterios* / stepson of Asterion, with his wife Europa, daughter of *Phoinix*, eponym of the Φοίνικες, is much likelier to represent the might of the more recent EIA Makednian Phoenicians (ca. 1100-800 BCE), whose center of power, if ever politically united or not, as found in Greek myth, became *Crete*. It seems more than fortuitous that the only region in which κάδμος survives as a lexeme is Crete. (δόρυ, λόφος, άσπίς: Hesychius, cf. Τελαμών “Shield Strap,” the mythical father of Ajax) The story of Europa’s migration to Crete from abroad has a historical basis, but originally it was not from the land of Canaan—rather, it was from Epirus, which Callimachus *fr.* 630 would describe as “the hundred mingling springs of Europe” (κρηνέων τ’ Εὐρώπη μισγομένων ἑκατόν).

And yet, Europa is deeply rooted in Crete as well—at Gortyn, a name, which contains the stem of Gortynia in Macedonia; the Lethaios river nearby; her festival the Hellotia, also celebrated in Dorian Corinth, the cognate Helloi of Dodona. Europe the ‘Phoenician’ is at home in Crete, where two toponyms *Phoinix* are located, one harbor *Phoinikous*.¹¹²⁷ Likewise, the southeastern coast of Anatolia, *Caria*, where Cretans and explicitly Makednian populations settled (Kadmeioi, Abantes, Magnesians, Pelasgians and Athamanes), was known as ‘Phoenicia’; a little further south, the coast of Lycia is dotted with *Phoinik*- toponyms.

The myth of Minos dying in Sicily and the Messapians of Iapygia (Apulia) being originally shipwrecked Cretans, as reported by Herodotus 7.170, dovetails with Aristotle’s oft-quoted *fr.* 43 interconnecting Cretans in the days of Minos voyaging from Iapygia, to Crete, thence Bottiaia in Macedonia via Athens: the reported Cretan ancestry of the Messapians, surely historically inaccurate in general, is a roundabout way of saying that among the various populations in Crete, as reported in the *Odyssey*, one of them, the historical Pelasgians of Makednian stock, are closely related to the Messapians: both of them originally came from Epirus and Macedonia: EIA trade and colonization movements kept them, to a certain extent, interconnected.

Undoubtedly, the folk etymological connections to 1) ‘palm tree’ (Linear B *po-ni-ke-jo*), which would bring to mind populations from warmer, more southerly regions, as well as 2) the trade in purple dye, much of which came from the Levant, brokered the transition from the evanescent Epirote Phoenicians to Levantine Phoenicians, as the former became absorbed in either 1) the greater mass of the Greek-speaking populations whom they encountered in Greece, Crete and the coast of Anatolia, heirs of the former

¹¹²⁷ *Barrington Atlas*, quoted by Beekes 2004:181 “Kadmos and Europa, and the Phoenicians.”

Mycenaean civilization or 2) the greater mass of the Anatolian-speaking populations in Caria and Lycia. Those who have sought to find historical Levantine Phoenicians in accounts of early Greek myth, are likely to be disappointed. With respect to Herodotus' claim that Phoenicians had once settled on Thasos, Boardman & Hammond 1982:7 aver:

The French excavation of the temple of Heracles at Thasos has produced no evidence for Phoenician foundation. There is none at Thebes except for a hoard of Near Eastern cylinder seals in the Mycenaean Cadmeia. We shall find that the link between Cadmus and Phoenicia is a literary invention contrived after Homer and Hesiod.

At the end of his life, Kadmos, eponym of the Theban Kadmeioi, heads north to Illyria or Epirus where the Chaonian metropolis *Phoinike* is located, a river *Kadmos* and a “land of the **Kadmānes*” = Kammania (Καμμανία, μοῖρα Θεσπρωτίας. μετωνομάσθη δὲ Κεστρινία. ἐξ ἧς Κάδμος ὁ ποταμός¹¹²⁸). Interestingly, Diomedes too goes either to Illyria or Epirus at the ends of his life. A fascinating passage in Pseudo-Skymnos brings Kadmos and Diomedes together in death within a relatively small area in northern Epirus, the environs of lake Lychnitis (429-438), the modern lake Ohrid, one of UNESCO's Cultural and Natural World Heritage Sites:

Ἔχει δὲ λίμνην εὖ μάλ' ἢ χώρα τινά
μεγάλην, παρ' αὐτοῖς τὴν Λυχνίτιν λεγομένην. (430)
Προσεχῆς δὲ νῆσός ἐστιν, οὗ φασίν τινες
ἐλθόντα Διομήδην ὑπολιπεῖν τὸν βίον·
ὅθεν ἐστὶ Διομήδεια ταύτη τοῦνομα.
Ἵπὲρ δὲ τούτους εἰσὶ Βρυῖγοι βάρβαροι.
Πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ δ' ἐστὶν Ἐπίδαμνος, πόλις (435)
Ἑλληνίς, ἣν Κόρκυρ' ἀποικίσαι δοκεῖ.
Ἵπὲρ δὲ Βρύγους Ἐγγέλειοι λεγόμενοι
οἰκοῦσιν, ὧν ἐπῆρξε καὶ Κάδμος ποτέ.

Not only Kadmos and Diomedes are united here, two central figures of ancient Boeotia and Argos, so are the Brygians, ancestral relatives of the Phrygians in Asia Minor: all three stood for North Hellenic populations, which would spread out throughout the

¹¹²⁸ Stephanus of Byzantium, s.v. Καμμανία.

Aegean and greater Mediterranean: Kadmeioi, Phoinikes, Argives, Abantes, Pelasgians and Phrygians. The perception of Epirus as the land of the Dead in ancient Greek myth¹¹²⁹ originated in part in the dim recollection among the Dorian and Aeolian populations of the Makedonian homeland, whence some of their forebears had emigrated.

The myth of a Thracian Diomedes with flesh-eating mares speaks to this memory, as does his ancestor the Argive king Abas, eponym of the Abantes, to which the *Iliad* alludes,¹¹³⁰ as does Pelasgos, king of Argos in Aeschylus' *Suppliants*, whose kingdom extends to the river Strymon. Among the three synonyms for 'Greek' in Homeric poetry, Ἀργεῖοι, unlike Δαναοί and Ἀχαιοί, seems to be post-Mycenaean and probably of Makedonian origin,¹¹³¹ as suggested by the Macedonian *Argeads* and the Epirote *Aterargoi*.¹¹³² Along similar lines, the other frequent destination of Diomedes, after the

¹¹²⁹ See our section "Phthia, land of the Dead."

¹¹³⁰ Kirk 1990:73 comments apropos of *Iliad* 5.148-149: "Diomedes' next victims are Abas and Poluidos; neither recurs, though Abas reminds one of the Abantes of Euboea, and Poluidos of the great Argive seer of that name, cited as father of Eukhenor of Korinthos at 13.663 and 666f...Aristarchus (Arn/A) commented on the coincidence." Strabo 9.5.6 says that it is Abas who chose the name of Achilles' *Pelasgikon Argos* in Thessaly after he had conquered it generations earlier." I provide multiple examples in the present dissertation of the victim-victimizer identification principle, e.g. the Achaean Teukros slaying the Trojan Gorgythoon: although Teukros fights on the Greek side, his name is the eponym of the Trojan *Teukroi*; further, Gorgythoon is the eponym of the Teucric Gergithes. The mirror image principle is glaring.

¹¹³¹ The ubiquitous IE root **arg-* undoubtedly must have existed in Mycenaean Greek, but the ethnonym 'Argive' is unattested. Similarly, the site of Argos in the Argolid is a post-Mycenaean foundation. Drews 1979, "Argos and Argives in the *Iliad*," is certainly right that the Thessalian / Pelasgian Argos is older than the Peloponnesian Argos (albeit wrong about dating the migration of the 'Argives' into the Peloponnese to the Mycenaean period). The suffix *-eios* of Arg-*eios* is also attested in Phrygian (Neumann 1988:7), it is a Greco-Phrygian innovation.

¹¹³² Cabanes 1976:561: ethnonym mentioned in an inscription (... τῶν Ἀτερᾶργων ...) found in the temple of Zeus Areios at Passaron in Epirus. Although it is rather dubious that the Macedonian *Argeadai*, from the start, claimed Temenid ancestry, the name of the gens is certainly indigenous to Macedonia. Furthermore, Shannon 1975:32-52 has shown that 1) the reference to Elephenor's ancestor Chalkodon in the Catalogue of Ships (2.540-541)— the son of the Argive Abas, combined with 2) the exceptional ascription of the noun μελίη *qua* 'ash tree spear' to the Abantes in the Catalogue of the Ships (αἰχμηταὶ μεμαῶτες ὄρεκτῆσιν μελίησι: *Iliad* 2.543), despite the fact that it is otherwise earmarked for the Pelian ash spear of Achilles, suggests that it is motivated by the relation of the Abantes to the eponym *Abas*, the very last Danaid descendant of *Melia* "Ash Tree nymph," the wife of the river Inachos, founder of the Inachid / Danaid dynasty at Argos.

Trojan War, is Daunia (Apulia / Iapygia), where he founds many cities, many of which are *not* Greek foundations, but rather Messapian, e.g. Arpi¹¹³³—in other words probably Makednian: the Messapians were EIA immigrants from Epirus. It is also here that Daunian (non-Greek) maidens worshipped Cassandra.¹¹³⁴

2.3.8.2. Locrians: Ajax the son of (W)ileus “the Trojan

2.3.8.2.1. The Locrian Medon in southern Macedonia

As mentioned on several occasions in the present study, the Locrians are very different from the remainder of the Achaeans: they do not wear the heroic armor, fight with arrows and slingshots and their leader Ajax, the son of (O)ileus is repeatedly denigrated.

Historically, as indicated by the earliest 5th century BCE inscriptions, the Locrians spoke a Northwestern Greek dialect, which one can say is genuinely Greek = South Hellanic (unlike the dialects of the Epirotes and northern Aetolians). Their population arose from a fusion of the descendants of the Mycenaean Greeks and an immigrant Makednian component. Allusion to the latter component among the Locrians is discernible in the choice of making Medon, the son of (O)ileus, one of the leaders to replace Philoktetes as leader of his contingent (Μέδων κόσμησεν Ὀϊλήος νόθος υἱός; *Iliad* 2.727). Philoktetes' kingdom, as demonstrated by Helly 2004:280-282, was the northeasternmost among the Achaean contingents, located in the vicinity of Mount Olympus in southern Macedonia.

¹¹³³ Lo Porto, s.v. 'Argos Hippion or 'Argyrippa' (Arpi) Apulia, Italy', *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites*.

¹¹³⁴ Lycophron 1126-1140. Presence for Diomedes in southern Italy as early as Mimnermos (quoted by Ciardiello 1997:97, *Il culto di Cassandra in Daunia*. «AISS» 14, pp. 81-136. Apulia's name *Daunia* readily compares with the cult of the Argive festival Δαῦλις, the name of which is clearly non-Greek (non-South Hellanic), which celebrated the fight between the twin brothers Akrisios and Proitos, see our section “Lexical and Grammatical Idiosyncrasies of Proto-Doric / Makednian.”

The status of Locrians as archers and of Philoktetes as an archer speaks to the stereotype of the Scythian / Cimmerian archer, located far north: as argued above, Philoktetes' father *Poias* is an epichoric eponym of the Paeonians, also a people of archers, whose territory had encompassed Philoktetes' territory in the prehistory of the region. Philoktetes' absence from most of the fighting at Troy relates to his status as an archer, which is ethnicized as foreign = 'Trojan' / 'Scythoid'.¹¹³⁵ For instance, the archer *Teukros*, eponym of the Trojan Teucrians, is not explicitly Trojan, but his questionable identity is hinted at in his status as a bastard. His Iliadic victim Gorgythion, moreover, eponym of the Trojan *Gergithes*, shows that the Homeric composer knew of Teukros' ethnic affinities with the other side. The recent 'Achaeaness' of the populations on the northern fringes of Greece confers a tinge of embarrassment on their Hellenic / Achaean identity. Hence, the tendency for their negative or problematic portrayal in epic poetry. The association of the Locrian Medon with Philoktetes' territory, Pieria / southern Macedonia, according to Helly, is very interesting because a city in Macedonia was known as *Physkos*: a city of the same name in Locris was significant enough that Locrians were also known as 'Physkians', and the Stammvater of the Locrians was named Physkos.¹¹³⁶

2.3.8.2.2. Abderos the Locrian

Along similar lines, when Herakles sails to Thrace for his eighth labor to fetch the man-eating mares of the Bistonian king Diomedes, he is accompanied by his lover the *Locrian* Abderos (Ἀβδήρω ... Λοκρὸς ἐξ Ὀποῦντος: Apoll. 2.97 quoting Hellanikos), the

¹¹³⁵ See my MA thesis "the Mitoses of Achilles."

¹¹³⁶ Aristotle *fr.* 561 Φύσκοι πρώην, ἀπὸ δὲ Λοκροῦ Λοκροὶ οἱ αὐτοὶ ὠνομάσθησαν; Ῥιανὸς δὲ Φυσκεῆας αὐτοῦς καλεῖ.

eponym of the future city of Abdera, which Herakles is about to found, on the location of Abderos' future tomb. According to Hyginus *Fabula* 31, Abderos was a servant of the Thracian king Diomedes, not an attendant of Hercules. Pindar, *Paean* 2.1–2 (fr. 52b S–M) corroborates the Locrian ethnicity of Abderos, since he has Abderos as the son of Thronia, eponym of Thronion in Locris.¹¹³⁷ There is no evidence, however, that Abdera was founded by Locrians: the evidence rather points to Klazomenai,¹¹³⁸ which in turn has no Locrian connections. Compared to Locrian Medon's Pieria in Macedonia, Abdera, located further east in Thrace, is on the route from Philoktetes' Pierian contingent led by the Locrian Medon to Troy: in fact, Abdera is even closer to Troy than it is to Pieria. The association of the foundation of Abdera with Locrians could either be interpreted as evidence for 1) an unreported foundation from Locris in Greece of Abdera in Thrace, implying co-colonizing Locrians and Klazomenians; or 2) an original settlement of Proto-Locrians. This latter scenario would cohere with the fact that the mythical leader of the Locrians, (O)ἰλέυς= **Wileus* father of Locrian Ajax and Medon, means “the Trojan,” which vests the Locrians with a congenital connection to Troy (let us remember that Agamemon kills a homonymous Trojan named Oileus at 11.93); or 3) 1 & 2 are both correct: although Abderos was originally a proto-Locrian settlement, the Locrians in Central Greece retained commercial and religious ties with their proto-Locrian kinsmen from Thrace; a secondary back-migration to their original homeland, not far from Troy, took place from Locris in central Greece, sometime in the EIA. The custom of the noble

¹¹³⁷ Without specifying Abderos' ethnicity, Ptolemy Chennos describes Abderos as Patroklos' brother, which seems to be based on a genuine tradition because it was not widely known that Patroklos' ethnicity was Locrian: Ptolemy Chennos in Photios Codex 190 Bekker page 150b). Quoted by Gruppe 1906:218.

¹¹³⁸ Fowler 2013:288.

families of Locris sending their maidens to Troy to serve in the temple of Athena, the *terminus ante quem* of which is the late archaic period, may instantiate these unbroken ties.

If the association of the Locrian Medon with Philoktetes' northernmost Achaean contingent reflects the recollection of the homeland of the Proto-Locrians in southern Macedonia, we are halfway between Locris in Greece and Troy in Asia Minor. Although the majority view among modern scholars, as represented by Redfield 2003, is to impute the matrilineal practices of the Locrians in Magna Graecia to contact with indigenous Sicilian cultures, I stand with Gildersleeve 1885:201-202, holding the dissident view that such practices were already native to their Locrian kinsmen in Greece. The hypothesis of an earlier homeland of the Locrians in Pieria is consonant with matrilineal practices attested there, as well as in other parts of southern and eastern Macedonia. These in turn have been analyzed as resulting from cultural ties and population movements from Anatolia to Macedonia.¹¹³⁹

Medon's and Locrian Ajax's father Oileus, also known as Ileos in the majority of ancient non-Homeric sources, such as Pindar, Hesiod, etc., goes back to a protoform **Wileus*, literally 'the Trojan'. The ethnonym is also aptly borne by a Trojan (Οἴληα πλῆξιππον: 11.93) slain by Agamemnon. In a fragment of Hekataios of Miletus, the eponym Lokros is a descendant of Orestheus, not Hellen, who is Orestheus' brother, which thus denies the Locrians a Hellenic pedigree (Hall 2002:27). Orestheus, 'Mountainman', is semantically equivalent to *Makednos* and possibly *Phryx*, and may thus be a broad Greek exonym for the populations living in the vast Pindus mountain

¹¹³⁹ Petsas 2000:35

range. The cultic practice of Locrian maidens sent to Troy to placate the goddess Athena may reflect historical ties between the mythical Trojans and the Makedonian component among the Locrians. If a counter-invasion of Northern Greece by Teucrians and Mysians from northwestern Anatolia had taken place, as Hammond persuasively argues on the testimony of Herodotus and others, the proto-Locrians could be tentatively identified as one of the *ethne* that came from or near the Troad and eventually settled in Locris in central Greece.¹¹⁴⁰

2.3.8.3. Pelops the Phrygian and Non-Achaean Eleans Fighting Against the Youthful Nestor

2.3.8.3.1. Pelops the Phrygian:

The myth of Pelops, who is either described as a Phrygian or a Lydian, may contain a historical kernel, which would fit in with the northern Greek / barbaric-seeming origins of the Eleans in particular and ‘the Makednoi’s / (Proto-) Dorian migrations in general: according to Athenaeus, Phrygians and Lydians accompanied Pelops as he arrived in the peninsula named after him, the Peloponnese (14.21.9 ἀπὸ τῶν σὺν Πέλοπι κατελθόντων εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον Φρυγῶν καὶ Λυδῶν); large tumuli in the Peloponnese, especially in Lakadaimon, were attributed to Pelops’ Phrygian immigration (μάλιστα δὲ ἐν Λακεδαίμονι χῶματα μεγάλα ἃ καλοῦσι τάφους τῶν μετὰ Πέλοπος Φρυγῶν).¹¹⁴¹ These would match the large tumuli found in Phrygia and the southern

¹¹⁴⁰ The first victim of Locrian Ajax in the *Iliad*, the local Lelex Trojan ally Satnios, named after the river Satnioeis in the Troad, runs parallel to Teukros’ victim Gorgythaon, eponym of the Teucrian Gergithes. To the extent that victims sometimes mirror the identity of their victimizer, the antagonism of Locrian Ajax to local Trojan Leleges could reflect historical ties between the two. This reading, though, is not necessary, because of the genericity of the ethnos ‘Lelex’.

¹¹⁴¹ Athenaeus 14.7

Balkans and cohere with the preservation of distinctly Phrygian words in Tsakonian (Tzitzilis 1995:85-88).

Pelops' mythical association with the charioteer *Myrtilos*¹¹⁴² gains significance in light of Dale's demonstration that the Lesbian aristocratic name Myrtilos and the Myrtilion on Lesbos can be traced back to the royal Hittite title *Mursilis* via EIA antecedents.¹¹⁴³

2.3.8.3.2. Paeonians as Apoikoi of the Trojan Teucrians and the Question of a Counter-invasion of Northern Greece by Teucrians and Mysians

The myth of a Phrygian Pelops, 'Phrygian' in the sense of Asiatic Phrygian, may be suspected of being a late invention, which would conform to Jonathan Hall's axiom that it is not so much a founding hero's country of origin from abroad that matters, but rather the arrival from anywhere abroad of the founding hero to his future destination in Greece. Admittedly, there is no decisive evidence that Pelops, a figure of cult in Elis and more broadly the Peloponnese, came from Anatolia, or rather that a particular population, which Pelops stands for in myth, came from Anatolia in the EIA. It is worth considering some of the mythical evidence, however. At the end of our survey, we will conclude that it is possible that a mix of EIA Phrygians and Lydians invaded parts of northern Greece, possibly making incursions into the Peloponnese, without being able, however, to contend that it was the case. But we will argue that the myth of a Phrygian Pelops, at the very least, does point to the recollection of the 'Dorian' migrations from Epirus and

¹¹⁴² Pherekydes *fr.* 93a; Euripides, *Orestes* 991b; Apollonius of Rhodes 1.753ff; Diodorus 4.73.5; Pausanias 2.18.2; Apollodorus 2.6.1

¹¹⁴³ Dale 2011: "Alcaeus on the career of Myrtilos: Greeks, Lydians and Luwians at the east Aegean-west Anatolian interface," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*.

Macedonia, where proto-Phrygian populations are clearly attested, even as late as the Hellenistic period: the Βρύγοι.

Starting with the North Aegean, in the territory of Macedonia, a number of Paeonians claimed, according to Herodotus 5.13, that they were *apoikoi* of the *Teukroi* from the Troad: εἶησαν δὲ Τευκρῶν τῶν ἐκ Τροίης ἄποικοι. The Halicarnassian further asserts at that these Teukroi, together with the Mysians, invaded Thrace and Macedonia all the way down to the Peneios river,¹¹⁴⁴ a traditional boundary separating Macedonia from Thessaly.¹¹⁴⁵ At first blush, such claims may seem fantastical.

But they are very interesting for several reasons: a counter-invasion of Northwestern Anatolians into northern Greece is also reported by Lycophron 1341 and Nicander in Athenaeus 15 p 683b. Aineias' foundation of Aineia in Eastern Macedonia and death there according to some accounts¹¹⁴⁶ did not involve a sea travel according to Conon *Diegesis* 46, but travel by land as can be inferred from the statement that a cow, which the hero later sacrificed to Aphrodite, accompanied him to the Thermaic Gulf.¹¹⁴⁷

¹¹⁴⁴ Herodotus 7.20.2: μήτε τὸν Μυσῶν τε καὶ Τευκρῶν τὸν πρὸ τῶν Τρωικῶν γενόμενον, οἱ διαβάντες ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην κατὰ Βόσπορον τοὺς τε Θρήκας κατεστρέψαντο πάντας καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰόνιον πόντον κατέβησαν, μέχρι τε Πηνειοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ πρὸς μεσαμβρίας ἤλασαν. Historicity of a Teucric invasion of northern Greece defended by Hammond 1972:297-298 and Fowler 2013:100.

¹¹⁴⁵ Lycophron 1341 *And my ancestor I laid waste the plain of Thrace and the country of the Eordi and the land of the Galadraei, and fixed his bounds beside the waters of Peneius, fettering them with a stern yoke laid upon their necks, in battle a young warrior, most eminent of his race;* also Nicander in Athenaeus 15 p 683b.

¹¹⁴⁶ Local account of Hegesippos of Meykberna quoted by DH in Egan 1974: 38

¹¹⁴⁷ Brown 1998:314; Egan 1979:37 on the reliability of Conon preserving ancient local traditions from the Northern Aegean, cf. Egan 1974:39 "[Conon] says that Protesilaos, in attempting to return home from Troy, came to land on the peninsula of Pallene (which, incidentally, is just to the south of Aineia), where he founded the city of Skione. Now everybody knows, on the authority of Homer and the bulk of the other literary evidence, that Protesilaos died at Troy; yet Conon is supported by the coinage of Skione which bears the image and name of Protesilaos." The coins date from approximately 479 BCE, see Seltman 1955:140

Admitting that our data on the Eordoi is limited, Fowler (2013:100) suggests that Herodotus' and Lycophron's accounts of their destruction by the Teucrians and Mysians has a historical basis because the Eordoi appear to have once inhabited a vast area from Amyros in Thessaly (Hekataios fr. 18A) to Eordaia on the eastern edges of Upper Macedonia, until they were again displaced into Mygdonia by the Macedonians (Thucydides 2.99.5). Another seldom-cited source, Ephorus, also claims that (Phrygian) populations from Anatolia crossed into Europe: king Mygdon crossed into Europe and introduced the Idaian Daktyloi.¹¹⁴⁸ The historicity of a Teucrian invasion of northern Greece has been defended by Hammond 1972:297-298 and Fowler 2013:100.

Far from meaning that the Paionians had read Homer and were aficionados of Greek epic poetry, the important claim some of them made to be apoikoi of the Trojan Teukroi may rather represent a renegotiated, diplomatic memory of a war-torn past in which the cultural and linguistic relatives of the Paionians had fought with the cultural and linguistic relatives of the Greeks in Northwest Anatolia. Our earliest source on the origin of the Trojan *Teukroi*, Callinus of Ephesus, places their ultimate origins in Crete (τοῖς γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Κρήτης ἀφιγμένοις Τεύκροις).¹¹⁴⁹ The Bottiaians too, located in Paeonia as discussed earlier, were said to have originated in Crete,¹¹⁵⁰ and they could very well be the missing link between the Paionians and the Teukroi. Their relatively small territory, *Bottia(ia)*, covered most of the Thermaic Gulf, the regional epicenter of Paionian and later (Argead) Macedonian power. The Paionian place names *Idomene*, *Gortyn* and

¹¹⁴⁸ Ephorus in Diodorus 5.64.4 ἔνιοι δ' ἱστοροῦσιν, ὧν ἔστι καὶ Ἐφορος, τοὺς Ἰδαίους Δακτύλους γενέσθαι μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἰδὴν τὴν ἐν Φρυγίαι, διαβῆναι δὲ μετὰ Μυγδόνοιο εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην.

¹¹⁴⁹ Callinus in Heraclides Ponticus fr. 154.6

¹¹⁵⁰ Aristotle fr. 43 in Plutarch, *Theseus*.

Europos, find precise counterparts in Crete and have been linked to the migration of the Pelasgians from the North Aegean to Crete (and beyond¹¹⁵¹): these Pelasgians would have been proto-Paionians or early pre-Homeric Paionians and would have included a mix of Hellanic (Paionian, Macedonian, Phrygian and Greek) and non-Hellanic (Etruscan, Mysian, Illyrian and Lydian) populations.¹¹⁵²

It is unclear how these connections were maintained between ‘Paionians’ in Europe and ‘Phrygians’ in Anatolia. A variety of scenarios are conceivable, including Paeonian kingdom(s) being a vassal state of the Asiatic Phrygians at some point between the 10th and the 8th century BCE, with Edessa in Macedonia having once been one of the places of residence of at least one of the Phrygian kings bearing the royal name ‘Midas’.¹¹⁵³ This would explain why Anatolian personal names, in the linguistic sense of the word, are attested in Macedonia and Thrace: the theophoric name *Torkos*¹¹⁵⁴ (cf. the Hittite storm god *Tarhunt*) and the Paeonian *Pigres* in Herodotus 5.12.5, a common Carian name whose etymology is clearly Anatolian.¹¹⁵⁵ As Papazoglou suggests, this could also explain the popularity of the cult of the Great Mother (Μήτηρ θεῶν θεὰ Μᾶ ἀνεΐκτητος) in Macedonia, as well as the higher-than-average number of metronyms in Macedonia, in contrast with all its immediate Balkanic neighbors, Greeks to the south,

¹¹⁵¹ See Katicic, discussed earlier, on the evidence for connecting the proto-Palestinians and *Peleset* to the *Palaistinos*, alternative name of the Strymon river.

¹¹⁵² Toynbee 1969:124.

¹¹⁵³ Berndt-Ersöz 2008.

¹¹⁵⁴ Gindin 1981 in Greppin’s review 1983:663

¹¹⁵⁵ Shevoroshkin 1978:250: *Pigres* “Fearsome,” Lycian *pixmma*, IE root **bhe(i)-* ‘fear’, ‘awe’.

Illyrians to the northwest, Thracians to the east and northeast, all of whom have strong patronymic traditions.¹¹⁵⁶

2.3.8.3.3. Eleian: A Makednian Adstrate

It is worthwhile repeating and beginning with Pausanias 5.1.4-5, who implies that Eleian, here Epeian, was closely related not only to Aetolian across the Gulf of Calydon, but also further north to Paeonian in Macedonia. Pausanias says that their eponym Paion was Aitolos' and Epeios' brother.¹¹⁵⁷

γενέσθαι δ' οὖν φασιν αὐτῶ Παίονα καὶ Ἐπειόν τε καὶ Αἰτωλὸν καὶ θυγατέρα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς Εὐρυκύδαν. ἔθηκε δὲ καὶ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ δρόμου τοῖς παισὶν ἀγῶνα Ἐνδυμίων ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ ἐνίκησε καὶ ἔσχε τὴν βασιλείαν Ἐπειός· καὶ Ἐπειοὶ πρῶτον τότε ὧν ἦρχεν ὠνομάσθησαν. τῶν δὲ ἀδελφῶν οἱ τὸν μὲν καταμεῖναι φασιν αὐτοῦ, Παίονα δὲ ἀχθόμενον τῇ ἡσση φυγεῖν ὡς πορρωτάτω, καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ Ἀξιοῦ ποταμοῦ χώραν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Παιονίαν ὀνομασθῆναι.

So they say that [Endymion] begot three children on Eurykyda, Paion, Epeios and Aitolos, as well as a daughter. He organized a race for his children in Olympus to determine who would be leader: Epeios won and held the kingship. And the Epeioi who ruled at the time were so named after him. Among his two brothers, one of them stayed there, so they say, but Paion, being upset over his defeat, fled as far as possible, to the region beyond the Axios, where Paionia was named after him.

Complementarily, Livy 31.29 could write *Aetolos Acarnanas Macedonas, eiusdem linguae homines*. We know that the Epeians / Eleians had recently crossed into the Peloponnese from the north and that their dialect is labeled 'northwestern Greek.' Pausanias 51.3-5 clearly says that the Eleians are kinsmen not only of the Aetolians across the Gulf of Calydon (modern Gulf of Patras), but also of the Paeonians by the

¹¹⁵⁶ Papazoglou 1979:168. Although no inscriptions in the Phrygian alphabet, to my knowledge, have been found in Macedonia, the possibility cannot be ruled out that the first script first used by the early Argeadai was a Phrygian script, which subsequently was replaced with the rapidly-expanding Ionic script. This early form of literacy, if it existed among the early Macedonians, would have reinforced their collective memory of the Phrygians in ancient Macedonia. For the extremely early date of the Phoenician-derived Phrygian script (10th century BCE) and its possible, yet uncertain priority over the Greek Phoenician-derived script, see Brixhe & Panayotou 1995:101-114.

¹¹⁵⁷ See Svoronos 1919:29.

Axios river. Hegesander (3rd century BCE) describes the Eleians as βαρβαρότεροι (FHG IV 415), just as Euripides had described the Aetolian Tydeus as μειξοβάρβαρος.¹¹⁵⁸ According to the Homeric commentator Eustathius (1.429), Ἡλεῖοι, βαρβαρόφωνοι ἔκαλοῦντο, ... τίνες ἂν καλοῖντο οἱ Αἰτωλοὶ ἀλλόκοτα λαλοῦντες “the Eleians were called Barbaric-sounding and some would say that the Aetolians spoke a strange language.” The Hesychian lemma βαρβαρόφωνοι reads: οἱ Ἡλεῖοι καὶ οἱ Κᾶρες, ὡς τραχύφωνοι καὶ ἀσαφῆ τὴν φωνὴν ἔχοντες “the Eleians and the Carians are Barbaric-sounding.” Typical of the evolution of IE **bh* > Macedonian *b* (instead of Greek *ph*), Hesychius attests Eleian *bra* ‘brother’ = βρα· ἀδελφοί, ὑπὸ Ἰλειῶν [sic], which immediately compares with Phrygian *brater* (Woudhuizen 2009:184, 202, 215).¹¹⁵⁹

Accordingly, insofar as Pelops was originally a Makednian (North Hellanic) figure, we may re-examine the meaning and etymology of his name. In Epirus and Macedonia, πελ-ίας (fem. acc. plur.) and πελ-ίους (masc. acc. plur.) mean ‘gray-haired’, which semantically matches the *o*-grade πολίας and πολίους in Greece.¹¹⁶⁰ In Greek proper, πελιός means ‘livid’ or ‘dark’, which seems to be a late, semantic innovation in light of the collation of the cognate πολίος ‘gray’, ‘gray-haired’ with Armenian *ali-k* ‘white hair’ and Sanskrit *pálikā* ‘gray’.¹¹⁶¹ The accusative plural form πελείους, which is

¹¹⁵⁸ Euripides, *Phoinissai* 138.

¹¹⁵⁹ In the Hesychian lemma βρα· ἀδελφοί, ὑπὸ Ἰλειῶν, some editors rashly change Ἰλειῶν in the inherited Hesychian manuscript to Ἰλλυρίων (thus, the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*), but such a radical emendation is unjustified and requires many more changes to the text’s Ἰλειῶν than the minimal Ἡλείων, which is endorsed by Frisk 1960, also Oikonomos 1828:22; I and H had the same pronunciation in Greek as early as the Hellenistic period, hence the frequency of misspellings I for H, and vice versa.

¹¹⁶⁰ Toynbee 1969:114 for sources. The name of the mythical Phrygian figure *Pelops* “the Gray-haired man,” “Ancestor,” was most likely North Hellanic and was introduced into the Peloponnese with the Makednoi’s / Dorian migration.

¹¹⁶¹ Frisk 1972, s.v. πελιδνός & πολίος.

attested on Kos and Epirus with the meanings “old men,” “old age” πελείους· Κῶοι καὶ οἱ Ἠπειρῶται τοὺς γέροντας καὶ τὰς πρεσβύτιδας is very enlightening for several reasons: the insularity of Kos, which is located on the periphery of the Doric-speaking territories, has allowed it to preserve a piece of vocabulary, which is traceable to the proto-Doric migrations from Epirus and northern Greece, thus paralleling the birth of the mother of the Rhodian Tlepolemos in Epirus and the doubleness of *Pheidippos*, leader of the Doric hexapolis in the Catalogue of Ships (2.678) and *Pheidon*, king of the Thesprotians in the *Odyssey* (14.316).¹¹⁶² Correspondingly, the Elean, Pan-Peloponnesianized *Pelops* was not the ‘dark-looking’ one, as some have assumed, but rather the ‘Gray-looking’ one, in the sense of “the old one,” as perceptively explained by Kretschmer:

Pelops "der Alte": die Bedeutung 'grau' geht leicht in 'alt' über, vgl. lat. *cānus* grau: osk. *casnar* 'senex'. Pelops heisst der Alte as der Stammvater der peloponnesischen Völker.¹¹⁶³

Undoubtedly, ‘venerable’ was a connotation of ‘old’, as the sense development from Latin *senior* “older” to French *seigneur* ‘lord’ suggests. Pelops thus appears to have been a Makednian (proto-Doric) name and figure of myth. Like the Eleians, he was a newcomer to the Peloponnese. The belief that he hailed from Phrygia or Lydia may arise either from an early awareness of the kinship between the Makednian populations of northern Greece with the closely-related Phrygians of Asia Minor or could reflect the historical kernel of an EIA invasion of Greece by Anatolian Teucrians and/or Mysians, as supported by Hammond et al.¹¹⁶⁴ The Epirote & Macedonian πελῖος ‘gray’ (‘-haired’)

¹¹⁶² Pheidon is the hypocoristic form of Pheidippos, see Höfer, s.v. 'Pheidippos' in Roscher 1902.

¹¹⁶³ Kretschmer 1896:160

¹¹⁶⁴ See elsewhere.

and the Elean Πέλωψ ‘the old man’ dovetail with the Macedonian & Epirote institution of the πελιγᾶνες / πελιγόνες “council of elders,” which spreads to the Hellenistic world after the conquests of Alexander the Great.¹¹⁶⁵

Pelops was most famous in myth for his accession to power by defeating Oinomaos at a chariot race, thereby winning the hand of *Hippodameia*, daughter of Oinomaos. The name of his wife “the tamer of horses” and the equine feat by which he became ruler underpin his association with horses. As king of Pisa in Elis, he is thus associated with an ancient population, the Epeioi, the most common designation for the Eleians in the *Iliad* (Πέλωψ δὲ ἀποθανόντος Οἰνομάου τὴν τε Πισαίαν ἔσχε καὶ Ὀλυμπίαν, ἀποτεμόμενος τῆς Ἐπειοῦ χώρας ὁμορον οὔσαν τῇ Πισαίᾳ¹¹⁶⁶).

We shall now argue that that the ethnonym Epeioi has nothing to do with the Greek ἔπος ‘word’, but rather stems from a homophonous Makednian / North Hellenic word **epos* meaning ‘horse’. A) *Epeios*, the eponym of the Epeians, is remembered as the one who built the Trojan horse (*Odyssey* 8.493); B) the horse theme is also at the heart of Nestor’s narration of the war between the Epeioi and the Pylians: the Epeioi had rustled the Pylians’ horses, hence youthful Nestor’s subsequent counterabduction. Accordingly, F. Robert 1950:181-182, Deroy 1951:423-426, G. Bonfante 1996:111-113, Bader 1999 and Gaitzsch 2011:42 have all posited that the Epeian ethnos owes its name to an alternative name of the horse **epos*, alongside Greek *hippos*, which is either explained as dialectic Greek, Illyrian or the expected Greek descendant of IE **ekwos* (as

¹¹⁶⁵ πελιγᾶνες· οἱ ἐνδοξοὶ· παρὰ δὲ Σύροις οἱ βουλευταὶ (Hesychius), cf. cf. inscription found at Dion in Macedonia: Πελειγᾶνες (Hatzopoulos 1998:1195-1196 – I thank Apostolos Bousdroukis for this reference). Strabo 7a.1.2 Ὅτι κατὰ Θεσπρωτοῦς καὶ Μολοττοῦς τὰς γραιὰς πελείας καὶ τοὺς γέροντας πελίους, καθάπερ καὶ παρὰ Μακεδόσι· πελιγόνας γοῦν καλοῦσιν ἐκεῖνοι τοὺς ἐν τιμαῖς, καθὰ παρὰ Λάκωσι καὶ Μασσαλιώταις τοὺς γέροντας· ὅθεν καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ Δωδωναίᾳ δρυὶ μεμυθεῦσθαι πελείας φασίν. See Cabanes 1980.

¹¹⁶⁶ Pausanias 5.1.7

opposed to *hippos* and its Linear B ancestor *ikkwos*. In his extensive discussion, Leroy also cites: C) the Iliadic *Epeios*, winner of the boxing contest, is given a *mule*, an equid (23.664f); D) according to the scholiast Townl. on *Iliad* 23.665, Epeios was the horse-groom of the Achaeans; D) Epeios was the name of the donkey who carried the water to the sanctuary of Apollo at Karthaia on Keos (*Athenaios* 10.4576; Schol. Townl. on *Iliad* 23.665; Eustathius *Iliad* 1327.57. Correspondingly, the first element *epo-* in the Macedonian PN *Epokillos* (an officer of Alexander the Great) has been convincingly construed as the Macedonian word for ‘horse’ by Kretschmer 1933:120 and Ködderitzsch 1985:31. The latter suggests that the latter element *-killos* = Greek κίλλός ‘gray’ (but κίλλος = ‘donkey’), thus Ἐπόκιλλος ‘Gray Horse’ (or possibly ‘Horse-Donkey’ = ‘Mule’). From the collation of *Epeios* and *Epokillos*, one could infer that **epos* was one word for ‘horse’ in Makednian (= North Hellanic).

2.3.8.3.4. The Olympic Games: “the Eleians’ Passport to Hellenism”

These linguistic and genealogical connections draw attention to the significance of the Proto-Eleians’ toponymic landscape prior to their arrival in the Peloponese. A multitude of duplicated toponyms and oronyms are found in both Elis and northern Thessaly: an Ossa, a Peneios, an Enipeus, a Pamisos and a Iardanos, which are clearly modeled after their namesakes in northern Thessaly¹¹⁶⁷; “die nicht nur etymologische Nähe zwischen dem thessalischen Olymp und Olympia, wo die Wettkämpfe zu Ehren des olympischen Zeus stattfanden, spricht für sich.”¹¹⁶⁸

¹¹⁶⁷ Yalouris, *RE* XVIII 3 (1949) 295f. s.v. Pamisos; *RE* IX 1 (1914) 748f. s.v. Iardanos. Oberhummer 1937:93 “die Bezeichnung nur aus Thessalien nach Elis übertragen sein.” Also Heiden 2003:187-189.

¹¹⁶⁸ Heiden 2003:189; also Siewert 1991:65-69.

Accordingly, Pelops' association with the Olympic games is further telling because the immigrant Eleians are said to have first instituted the games collectively (καὶ τὰς Ὀλυμπιάδας τὰς πρώτας ἐκεῖνοι συνετέλουν¹¹⁶⁹); Idaean Heracles, one of the aforementioned Idaian Dakytloi, is another alleged founder of the games (Strabo 8.3.30), which again points to the Phrygians and Asia Minor. Accordingly, the site of Olympus in Elis may be modeled after the Olympus in Pieria: as the proto-Aetolians migrated south, they may have exported with themselves a sacred site that had once been familiar to them. Similarly, the Phrygians who had left Macedonia also named one of their own high mountains 'Olympus', near modern-day Bursa.¹¹⁷⁰

The creation of the Olympic games was not a Panhellenic creation, but rather a local, Eleian creation, of which the figure *Aethlios*, the common ancestor of the Eleians and the Aetolians, is the symbol.¹¹⁷¹ As Fowler puts it, the creation of the Olympic games "is the Eleians' passport to Hellenism."¹¹⁷² The situation of the Eleians anticipates that of Macedonian kings like Alexander I who wished to prove their Hellenism by competing in the Olympic games (Herodotus 5.22.2). As W. Lindsay Adams demonstrates in his article "Sport and Ethnicity in Ancient Macedonia," Philip the II and his son's frequent involvements in organizing or competing at athletic events in which Greeks and Macedonians came together, either at home or abroad, played an important part in the process of Hellenizing the Macedonians.¹¹⁷³

¹¹⁶⁹ Strabo 8.3.30

¹¹⁷⁰ See Oberhummer (*RE*), s.v. 'Olympos'.

¹¹⁷¹ Pausanias 5.1.2-3

¹¹⁷² Fowler 2013:131, cf. West 1985:141-143.

¹¹⁷³ W.L. Adams 2008:57-78.

2.3.8.3.5. Across the Gulf of Calydon: Aetolia and Elis

As we are about to see, the *Iliad* remembers a time when the Eleians / Epeians were not Greek ('Achaean'). But let us first turn to the question of the Hellenicity of the Eleians' closest relatives across the Gulf of Calydon: the Aetolians. Most telling is Polybius 18.5.4-7, in which the Macedonian ruler Philip V protests to the Romans, as they demand the withdrawal of Philip's Macedonian troops from all of Greece, that Aetolia is outside of Greece, and therefore, he need not withdraw his Macedonian troops from Aetolia:

“πόθεν οὖν ἔξεστι τούτοις ἐγκαλεῖν νῦν, εἰ φίλος ὑπάρχων Αἰτωλοῖς ἐγώ, Προυσίου δὲ σύμμαχος, ἔπραξά τι κατὰ Κιανῶν, βοηθῶν τοῖς αὐτοῦ συμμάχοις; τὸ δὲ δὴ πάντων δεινότατον, οἱ ποιοῦντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐφαμίλλους Ῥωμαίοις καὶ κελεύοντες ἐκχωρεῖν Μακεδόνας ἀπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος· τοῦτο γὰρ ἀναφθέγξασθαι καὶ καθόλου μὲν ἐστὶν ὑπερήφανον, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ Ῥωμαίων μὲν λεγόντων ἀνεκτόν, Αἰτωλῶν δ' οὐκ ἀνεκτόν· ποίας δὲ κελεύετε με” φησὶν “ἐκχωρεῖν Ἑλλάδος καὶ πῶς ἀφορίζετε ταύτην; αὐτῶν γὰρ Αἰτωλῶν οὐκ εἰσὶν Ἕλληνες οἱ πλείους· τὸ γὰρ τῶν Ἀγραῶν ἔθνος καὶ τὸ τῶν Ἀποδοτῶν, ἔτι δὲ τῶν Ἀμφιλόχων, οὐκ ἔστιν Ἑλλάς. ἢ τούτων μὲν παραχωρεῖτέ μοι;”

Many commentators on this passage have focused on the specious rhetoricity of Philip's speech and extrapolated that his account of the majority of the Aetolians being ethnically non-Greek (Αἰτωλῶν οὐκ εἰσὶν Ἕλληνες οἱ πλείους) does not encompass the linguistic criterion of ethnicity and is based rather on their tribal organization and different lifestyle from poleis-dwelling Greeks. But let us remember that Thucydides 2.68 explicitly describes the majority of the Amphiloichians as *linguistically* non-Hellenic: Ἄργος τὸ Ἀμφιλοχικὸν...καὶ ἠλληνίσθησαν τὴν νῦν γλῶσσαν τότε πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀμπρακιωτῶν ξυνοικησάντων· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι Ἀμφιλοχοὶ βάρβαροί εἰσιν. Thucydides 3.94 also states that the speech of the Aetolian Eurytanes, the largest Aetolian tribe, is incomprehensible: Εὐρυτᾶσιν, ὅπερ μέγιστον μέρος ἐστὶ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν, ἀγνωστότατοι δὲ γλῶσσαν.

Along similar lines, if we turn to primordial genealogies, "the Aitolians are clearly un-Hellenic in Hekataios' assessment, which is perhaps due to the admixture of barbarians in the ethnos (Eur. Phoin. 138, Thuc. 3.94, Polyb 18.5.7)."¹¹⁷⁴ To be sure, according to Hekataios, the eponym Aitolos is not a descendant of Hellen. Accordingly, not losing sight of Thucydides' precious testimony, we can approach Livy's quotation of a Macedonian ambassador to the Aetolians, in which 1) he reminds the Aetolians that the Macedonians, the Acarnanians and the Aetolians are "men of the same speech," in clear opposition to the Romans, while adding at the same time that 2) said Macedonians, Acarnanians and Aetolians are all Greek by nature and no matter how often they squabble among themselves,

Aetolos Acarnanas Macedonas, eiusdem linguae homines, leues ad tempus ortae causae diiungunt coniunguntque: cum alienigenis, cum barbaris aeternum omnibus Graecis bellum est eritque; natura enim, quae perpetua est, non mutabilibus in diem causis hostes sunt

On the surface and in isolation from the rest, the final part of this excerpt from Livy 31.29 seems to indicate that the speech of the Aetolians, Acarnanians and Macedonians is simply 'Greek', since he goes on to say that the three ethne are united by their fundamental nature of being Greek, as opposed to the Barbarians, here the Romans. This facile conclusion requires a serious qualification, however, in light of the above, Thucydides' account in particular. Curtius Rufus 6.9.35 too must be brought to bear, as he makes it clear that Macedonian speech and Greek are mutually incomprehensible.¹¹⁷⁵

The Macedonian ambassador's express inclusion of Acarnanian speech in his comparison of Macedonian to Aetolian shows that has in mind a regional, linguistic

¹¹⁷⁴ Fowler 2013:136. Cf Hall 2003:166: "in genealogical trees, Aitolos and Epeios are not descendants of Hellen: "the Aetolians failed to satisfy the genealogical requirement of Hellenic descent."

¹¹⁷⁵ See Bosworth 1978:227-237 ("Eumenes, Neoptolemus and *PSI* XII 1284") and Badian 1982:33-51 ("Greeks and Macedonians" Badian").

phenomenon, since Acarnanian is also located in the same region: Acarnanian, Macedonian and Aetolian are mutually intelligible. Using a modern, politically charged term, the Macedonian ambassador would consider this northwestern speech common to the Acarnanians, Macedonians and Aetolians to be a Greek ‘dialect’, since he clearly asserts that all three are Greek *ethne*, inasmuch as the characterization of two related, albeit mutually incomprehensible languages (without prior training) as ‘dialects’ is an arbitrary, political or sociolinguistic statement: for instance, the difference between “Swiss German” and standard German (Hochdeutsch) is not any less than the difference between Dutch and standard German, and yet some might be inclined to label “Swiss German” a dialect of German while at the same time claiming that Dutch and German are separate languages.

One might object that, many centuries prior, the Aetolians do participate in the Trojan War on the side of the Achaeans. Certainly. Thoas the Aetolian is their leader. The south of Aetolia, in the LBA, was included in the Mycenaean world, as shown by Eder’s study of the presence of Mycenaean seals on its southern coast.¹¹⁷⁶ But Greek (‘South Hellanic’) presence in Aetolia does not exclude North Hellanic (Makednian) presence in Aetolia as well, hence Euripides’ characterization of Tydeus as μειξοβάρβαρος. Aetolia was culturally and linguistically heterogeneous. Let us recall that the speech of the Aetolian Eurytanes, whose territory was the largest in Aetolia, was incomprehensible to Thucydides: Εὐρυτᾶσιν, ὅπερ μέγιστον μέρος ἐστὶ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν, ἀγνωστότατοι δὲ γλῶσσαν (3.94). Concerning the Aetolian Amphilocheians, Thucydides clearly says that, except for the Hellenized city dwellers of Amphilocheian, the remainder of the (Aetolian)

¹¹⁷⁶ Eder 2006:113-131.

Amphilochians are not Greek: ἠλληνίσθησαν τὴν νῦν γλῶσσαν τότε πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀμπρακιωτῶν ξυνοικησάντων· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι Ἀμφίλοχοι βάρβαροί εἰσιν. Correspondingly, the Macedonian-sounding ethnonym Ἀμβίλογος¹¹⁷⁷ is attested at Aiginion on the border between Epirus and Thessaly, which according to Strabo belonged to the Tymphaioi,¹¹⁷⁸ who were ranked among the barbarians by Hekataios, Thucydides and Strabo.¹¹⁷⁹ As Hatzopoulos admits,¹¹⁸⁰ the epigraphically attested Ἀμβίλογος is the equivalent of Greek Ἀμφίλογος.

From the Iliadic perspective, it is important to note, as W. J. Woodhouse does, "The cities of Homeric Aetolia lie all apparently within the same zone,--the maritime plain on the southern side of the Zygos."¹¹⁸¹ This is only a small portion of Aetolia, as classically defined by such 5th century authors as Thucydides. The rest of Aetolia, which would represent perhaps 75-80% of Aetolia, would have also been occupied by city-less Aetolian *ethne*, none of whom are mentioned by Homer, except for the Kouretes, who fight against the 'Aetolians' in the *Iliad*: if Kouretes fight against the Aetolians, they cannot be Aetolian from the Homeric perspective: it would follow that the vast majority of the Aetolian *ethne*, which were city-less, yet occupied the majority of Aetolia, were *not* 'Aetolian' like the Kouretes, from the Homeric perspective. Commenting on the Iliadic occurrences of Aetolians fighting Kouretes, Strabo 10.3.2 insists, unconvincingly,

¹¹⁷⁷ LGPN V3b-6810 3b 1 Ἀμβίλογος [m.] Aiginion ii-iii AD IG IX (2) 325 b, 6 (Φλ. Ἀμβίλογος; s. Ἐπάγαθος).

¹¹⁷⁸ McAlistier 1976, s.v. Aiginion.

¹¹⁷⁹ The only lemma attributed by Hesychius to the Tymphaioi is Δειπάτυρος· θεὸς παρὰ Στυμφαίοις: the closest morphological cognate of the second element is Messapic *Damatura*, see De Simone 1976:361-366.

¹¹⁸⁰ Hatzopoulos 2007:170.

¹¹⁸¹ Woodhouse 1897:133, *Aetolia: Its Geography, Topography, and Antiquities*.

that the Kouretes too are Aetolians, even from the Homeric perspective. If the Kouretes too are Aetolians, they do not participate in the Achaean expedition at Troy.¹¹⁸²

Another important factor, which contributed to the Aetolians' inclusion in the Achaean expedition are the close genealogical ties between the aristocracy of Argos and Aetolia: Diomedes claimed Aetolian descent and is called once 'the Aetolian' in the *Iliad*: Αἰτωλὸς γενεῆν, μετὰ δ' Ἀργείοισιν ἀνάσσει Τυδέος ἵπποδάμου υἱὸς κρατερὸς Διομήδης (23.471-472). It was in the interest of the Argive aristocracy to further the Hellenic / Greek identity of their Aetolian kinsmen. The ascendancy of Argos in the early compositional period of Homeric poetry, which correlates with the prominence of their hero Diomedes in the *Iliad*, must have played a critical factor.

It is noteworthy that, although the Eleioi/Epeioi (both forms are attested, the latter at 11.671) are given an entry in the Catalogue of Ships and fight on the side of the Achaeans, Nestor remembers a time when they had not yet been Achaean-ized. In his description of the war between the Pylians and the Epeians/Eleians, he characterizes the former as *Achaiói* at 11.759-760: αὐτὰρ Ἀχαιοὶ ἄψ ἀπὸ Βουπρασίου Πύλονδ' ἔχον ὠκέας ἵππους "but the Achaeans drove the swift horses back to Pylos from Bouprasion." On the other hand, the Epeioi/Eleioi are never described as *Achaean* in Nestor's narration of the former conflict between the Pylians and the Epeioi. The recent incorporation of the Eleians / Epeians in the Achaean 'ethnos' correlates, as with the Boeotians' own recent incorporation, with their holding 2nd position behind the Boeotians for giving the Trojans the most cannon fodder: Diores (4.517), Amphimachus (13.185) and Otus (15.518). Thus, the *Iliad* may be taken as a witness to a transitional period when the Epeioi /

¹¹⁸² In Apollodorus 1.7.6, Aitolos the son of Endymion slays Phoroneus, an autochthonous primordial figure of the Argolid, and flees to the land of the Kouretes, which is then named Aitolia after himself: ἀντὶ Κουρητίδος Αἰτωλίδα καλεῖσθαι (Conon *fr.* 14, see Brown 1998:126).

Eleians, though Greek in the Trojan war, had once not been Greek when Nestor was young.

Elsewhere, in section “the Carianized Neleids in the Catalogue of Ships,” we mentioned that the names of the Carian leaders, Trojan allies, in the Catalogue of Ships, contain names and genealogies not only of Neleids, the descendants of Nestor who dominate the city states of East Ionia, but *also* of Eleians / Epeians—the not-yet-Achaean foes in Nestor’s youth. It would appear that the Eleians / Epeians and Pyliaus had fused in their overseas endeavors, not only in Ionian Miletus, but also in Magna Graecia.

Herodotus’ unique way of referring to the Ionian Neleids, also known as the Kodrids, as the “Kaukonian Kodrids,” Καύκωνας Πυλίουσ ἀπὸ Κόδρου τοῦ Μελάνθου (1.147) arguably alludes to the eventual fusion of the Pyliaus and Eleians / Epeians, inasmuch as the Kaukonians had been an ancient population in Elis,¹¹⁸³ who were related to the Eleians / Epeians. These Peloponnesian Kaukonians are briefly mentioned in the *Odyssey* when Athena goes to visit the Kaukonians while Telemachus visits Nestor: νῶν· ἀτὰρ ἠῶθεν μετὰ Καύκωνας μεγαθύμους: (*Odyssey* 3.366). In the *Iliad*, the Kaukonians are Trojan allies.¹¹⁸⁴ Strabo 7.3.2 knows of other Kaukonians in northwestern Anatolia and associates them with the Mariandynoi, a tribe which he characterizes as Thracian. Strabo, in the very same passage, says that the Phrygians too are a Thracian tribe, which

¹¹⁸³ Aristotle *fr.* 493 τινὲς δὲ ὅλην μὲν (τὴν νῶν Ἠλείαν) μὴ κατασχεῖν αὐτούς (τοὺς Καύκωνας), δίχα δὲ μεμερισμέ- νους οἰκεῖν, τοὺς μὲν πρὸς τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ κατὰ τὴν Τρι- φυλίαν, τοὺς δὲ πρὸς τῇ Δύμῃ κατὰ τὴν Βουπρασίδα καὶ τὴν κοίλην Ἥλιον· Ἀριστοτέλης δ’ ἐνταῦθα (περὶ Δύμην (5) καὶ Ἥλιον καὶ τὸν Καύκωνα cf. p. 342) μάλιστα οἶδεν ἰδρυ- μένους αὐτούς.

¹¹⁸⁴ *Iliad* 3.366, 10.429, 20.329

linguistically at least, we know is inaccurate. Kretschmer (quoted by Ruge, *RE*, s.v. ‘Kaukones’) more plausibly considers that the Kaukones were a Phrygian tribe.¹¹⁸⁵

3. ANCESTRY AND PRIMORDIALITY

3.1. The Otherworldly Ancestral Lands of the Achaeans

3.1.1. Hades and Nestor’s Swampy Gate: Ancestral Land of the Ionians

The Catalogue of Ships is the first systematic attempt in recorded Greek history at an ethnography of Greece. It was once taken to be a reminiscence of Bronze Age Greece, which while not completely false,¹¹⁸⁶ is mostly outdated: in geopolitical terms, the Catalogue of Ships is much more a reflection of Dark Age, even early Archaic Greece.¹¹⁸⁷

But an optimal exegesis of the Catalogue requires, I propose, another important consideration and qualification: if many toponyms—especially in northern Greece¹¹⁸⁸—are impossible to locate precisely or even locate at all, the reason is not necessarily the loss in transmission of a putative geopolitical reality of 9-7th century BCE Greece, but rather a concern with constructing a symbolically coherent space.

In constructing the Catalogue of Ships, the *Homeridai* meant to represent sacred space as much as, if not more than geographic space: the location where Herakles shot Hades—*Pylos* (*Iliad* 5.393-396)—can certainly map onto the Western Peloponnese, but it

¹¹⁸⁵ The Mariandynoi have a lamentation song for Lityerses, a son of Bormos. Lityerses is otherwise a son of king Midas and Bormos is reminiscent of Mount Bermion in Macedonia, where the gardens of King Midas are located.

¹¹⁸⁶ cf. the association of Mycenae with the leader of the Panachaeon expedition against Troy.

¹¹⁸⁷ Dickinson 1986 “Homer, the Poet of the Dark Age.”

¹¹⁸⁸ Visser 1997.

is first and foremost the mythical Land of the Dead from the standpoint of the (East) Ionians: as Mimnermos indicates in one his poems, Colophon's Neleid oikist hailed from Pylos (Πύλον Νηληϊϊον ἄστυ λιπόντες¹¹⁸⁹), as did the oikists from most other Ionian settlements—also labeled “Neleid.” Nestor's Pylos—the Gates of Hades—may be an example of sacred space and real space overlapping. But one should also consider another type of toponym: 2) the selective inclusion in the Catalogue of otherwise insignificant toponyms: rooted though they may be in historical Greece, toponyms in this third category get pride of place in the Catalogue, less because of their geopolitical importance than owing to the allegorical valence of their names.

It is as if, speaking of California in a U.S. Catalogue of Ships, a modern epic poet were to include five cities, and five cities only: Eureka, Paradise, Fortuna, El Dorado Hills and Palm Springs—without ever saying a word of San Francisco, Sacramento, Los Angeles or San Diego. The aforementioned Eureka, Paradise, Fortuna, El Dorado Hills and Palm Springs are real cities, albeit small: but by putting them together in an imaginary Californian contingent, and omitting the larger, semantically opaque cities, one constructs the coherent theme of a promised land of plenty. But it is at the expense of representing California through the politically, culturally and economically greater significance of the larger cities.

A close analysis of Nestor's territory in the Catalogue of Ships reveals the selection and inclusion of an unusually high proportion of place names associated with Hades and the netherworld. In the *Iliad*, the infernal connotations of Nestor's territory, located in the southeastern Peloponnese, parallels the pervasive otherworldly connotations of Phthia, located in northern Greece from a Homeric perspective: the reason being, Pylos and

¹¹⁸⁹ Mimnermos *fr.* 9 West

Phthia were thought to be the ancestral regions of the major Greek ethne: that of the Ionians and Dorians respectively. Let us now turn to the ‘geographic’ part of Nestor’s entry in the Catalogue of Ships:

Οἱ δὲ Πύλον [Gate] τ’ ἐνέμοντο καὶ Ἀρήνην [sheep/Ares] ἐρατεινὴν
καὶ Θρύον [Reed] Ἀλφειοῦ πόρον καὶ εὐκτιτον Αἰπὸν [Steep]
καὶ Κυπαρισσήεντα [Cyprus tree] καὶ Ἀμφιγένειαν [?] ἕναιον
καὶ Πτελεὸν [Elm Tree] καὶ Ἔλος [Marsh] καὶ Δώριον [the Dorian Place], ἔνθά τε
Μοῦσαι...
ἀντόμεναι Θάμυριν τὸν Θρήϊκα παῦσαν ἀοιδῆς
Οἰχαλίηθεν ἰόντα παρ’ Εὐρύτου Οἰχαλιῆος·
στεῦτο γὰρ εὐχόμενος νικησέμεν εἴ περ ἂν αὐταὶ
Μοῦσαι ἀεῖδοιεν κοῦραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο·
αἱ δὲ χολωσάμεναι πηρὸν θέσαν, αὐτὰρ ἀοιδὴν
θεσπεσίην ἀφέλοντο καὶ ἐκλέλαθον κιθαριστύν·
τῶν αὖθ’ ἠγεμόνευε Γερήνιος ἱππότης Νέστωρ·

The immediate juxtaposition of Pylos “[Cosmic] Gate” to lovely *Arene* in the sense of “Sheep place” (cf ἀρήν) parallels the identification of Pylos in the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* with the location near which Apollo, “hidden in a purple cloud,” seeks another kind of livestock—his shambling cattle (216-217: ἐς Πύλον ἠγαθήν διζήμενος εἰλίποδας βοῦς, πορφυρῆ νεφέλῃ κεκαλυμμένος). With good reason: Hermes had stolen them near Pylos and the Alpheios river on a field of asphodels, *just as the sun was setting*—the temporal framework for the Gates of Hades.¹¹⁹⁰

¹¹⁹⁰ For the identity of the Gates of Hades and the Gates of the (setting) Sun, see Frame 1978. On the cosmic associations of Pylos in *the Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, the relevant passages are provided below: field of asphodels at 344: ἐς ἀσφοδελὸν λειμῶνα; in the following excerpt, it is clear that “the sandy place” is Pylos: ἠέλιος μὲν ἔδυνε κατὰ χθονὸς Ὀκεανόνδε αὐτοῖσιν θ’ ἵπποισι καὶ ἄρμασιν: αὐτὰρ ἄρ’ Ἑρμῆς Πιερίης ἀφίκανε θεῶν ὄρεα σκιάοντα, ἐνθα θεῶν μακάρων βόες ἄμβροτοι αὖλιν ἔχεσκον βοσκόμεναι λειμῶνας ἀκηρασίους, ἐρατεινοῦς τῶν τότε Μαιάδος υἱός, εὐσκοπος. Ἀργειφόντης, πεντήκοντ’ ἀγέλης ἀπετάμνετο βοῦς ἐριμύκους. 75 πλανοδίας δ’ ἤλαυνε διὰ ψαμαθώδεα χώρον. Elsewhere, Pylos is explicitly and formulaically described as “sandy”: ἐς Πύλον ἠμαθόεντα ἐπ’ Ἀλφειοῦ πόρον ἴζον. Apollo is explicit about the location and time of Hermes’ cattle theft at 340-342: κλέψας δ’ ἐκ λειμῶνος ἐμὰς βοῦς ὄχετ’ ἐλαύνων ἐσπέριος παρὰ θῖνα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης, εὐθὺ Πύλονδ’ ἐλάων:

Four other locations in Nestor's territory bear names that are denotative of a marshy landscape: *Thryon* "the Reed Place"; *Kyparisseis* "the Cyprus Tree Place"; *Pteleon* "the Elm Tree Place" and plainly *Helos* plainly "the Swamp." They should first be analyzed collectively. Among natural landscapes, swamps are strongly associated with Hades. The association is transparent in Latin poetry: Vergil, for example, speaks of "the deep swamp of the Cocytus and the Stygian marsh (*Cocytus stagna alta...Stygiamque paludem*)¹¹⁹¹. The transparency of the association in Latin is not a diachronic issue from the point of view of Greek, but rather a linguistic one as we shall see.

The association of swamps with Hades is equally strong in Greek literature, but it is masked and contaminated by the fact that the alternative and more prestigious synonym of ἔλος for describing marshy places, i.e. λίμνη, is polysemic and can also be rendered as "lake" or even "sea." Lakes and large aquatic bodies, in and of themselves, may also harbor otherworldly connotations, albeit in an arguably looser way because their connotative field is larger than swamps and marshes; moreover, lakes and seas, as opposed to marshes, do not exhibit the same inherent negative and unhealthy connotations, so that when lakes or seas are associated with the afterlife or otherworld, it is not necessarily a negative afterlife or otherworld. The lexical setup of Greek is complicated because specific places that are clearly 'marshes' and not melioratively 'lakes' still tend to be called λίμναι, rather than ἔλη for the sake of prestige or as a result of taboo. But the common resultant euphemistic / meliorative use of λίμνη in the sense

¹¹⁹¹ Vergil, *Aeneid* 6.323

of ‘marsh’ is confusing for readers that are unfamiliar with the geography of said body of water: is it a marsh or is it a lake?

Wending our way backward in time and space, the association between swamps and Hades is also attested in Aristophanes’ *Frogs* as they celebrate “Limnaean Dionysus” = “Dionysus in the Marshes”¹¹⁹²—the setting for the god’s departure to the underworld. As Kerényi indicates below, this association of swamps with Hades is not a product of Aristophanes’ invention:

According to Thukydides, the temple of Dionysos Limnaios was situated to the south of the Akropolis and was one of the city’s oldest sanctuaries [...] The place must have been a geological formation characteristic of Greece, the best known example of which is the swamp of Lerna. [...] Dionysos entered into the underworld and returned from it near Lerna; it was a gateway to Hades. The *limnai* of Dionysos must have had the same significance for the Athenians. That is why in Aristophanes the song of the frogs of this swamp accompanied Dionysos on his journey to the underworld, and why at the end of the all-souls-feast of the Anthesteria the people returned once again to this sanctuary of Dionysos.¹¹⁹³

The cult of Dionysus in the Marshes at Athens has every chance of having been conceived of as a passageway to Hades on the strength of the parallel provided by marshy Lerna: attested both in cult and myth, it was a passageway through which Dionysus traveled back and forth.¹¹⁹⁴ The Lernean marsh is independently tied to the

¹¹⁹² Aristophanes *Frogs* 216-218 Διόνυσον ἐν Λίμναισιν ἰαχῆσαμεν, ἡνίχ’ ὁ κραιπαλόκομος τοῖς ἱεροῖσι Χύτροισι

¹¹⁹³ Kerényi 1976:292; cf. Davidson 2009:10.

¹¹⁹⁴ On the death of Dionysus at the Lernean marsh and resurrection therefrom, see Ogden’s fascinating survey in his book *Perseus* 2008:28-29: “It was after returning from his adventures and taking up the kingship of Argos that Perseus had his strangest adventure, possibly, according to one source, in the third-second year of his reign (Apollodorus of Athens FGH 244 fr. 27, of the second century BC). Dionysus attacked Perseus and the Argives with a maenad army, either at Argos or at Delphi, and Perseus defeated it...Perseus even contrived to kill either one or both of Dionysus himself and his bride Ariadne in the attack. Ariadne’s body ended up in a tomb in Dionysus’ temple, but Dionysus himself ended up either in a tomb in Delphi or being thrown into the Lernaean lake in the Argolid. The tradition was an old one. Already on three Attic vases of ca. 500 BC we find Perseus, sword drawn and kibisis hanging from shoulder, flanked by maenads (*LIMC* Perseus nos. 29, 30, 231). A series of red-figure South Italian vases from the earlier fourth century show a humanoid Perseus exhibiting the Gorgon-head to groups of satyrs, Dionysus’ other

underworld through three separate mythologies: not only that of Dionysus, but also those of Herakles and Persephone.

In Heraklean mythology, the killing of the Lernean hydra by the son of Alkmena was of Panhellenic diffusion in archaic Greece: it is commonly depicted in archaic Greek art and may possibly be attested in the Hesiodic *Theogony* et al.¹¹⁹⁵ Despite the fact that the earliest explicit literary evidence for the infernal vicinity of the Lernean marsh is Latin literature—extensively so¹¹⁹⁶—the Morgantina phormiskos dated to 590-570 BCE depicts the Lernean hydra next to a tree and a grid-like gate: Neils persuasively argued that this seems to represent the gates of Hades.¹¹⁹⁷ Thirdly, the Lernean marsh was also known as a location where Hades abducted Persephone.¹¹⁹⁸

favoured companions, who cover their eyes (*LIMC* Perseus nos. 32-5). However, unlike the maenad vases, these can not be linked to the Dionysus episode securely, as they may simply illustrate satyr-plays on the wider Perseus theme. The earliest literary reference to the tradition is to be found in a fragment of the fourth-century (or earlier) poet Dinarchus of Delos preserved by a number of Christian authors. He told that Perseus killed Dionysus and buried him in a tomb next to the golden statue of Apollo at Delphi (*FGH* 399 fr.1). A scholiast to Aratus, which also focuses on Delphi, may write in the wake of Dinarchus. It tells how Dionysus presided over an army of women and men, and so acquired the epithet 'halfwoman' (*mixothe:lys*). He trained Ariadne so that she could lead the female division. They attacked Perseus at Delphi, but he killed them both. The soldiers set up a monument to them in the temple there (Scholiast Aratus *Phaenomena* p. 108, Martin, Salamanticensis 233). The Scholiast to Homer tells that after killing Dionysus, Perseus disposed of the body by a different means, throwing it into the Lernean lake (on *Iliad* 14.319; cf. Eusathius on 14.320). This tradition seems to underpin a rite mentioned by the Argive historian Socrates, who wrote at some point prior to the first century BC: 'The Argives surname Dionysus "Ox-born" (*Bougene:s*). They summon him from the water with trumpets whilst throwing a lamb into the depths for the Gate-keeper. They disguise the trumpets as thyrsi, as Socrates has told us in his *On the sacred*' (Socrates of Argos *FGH* 310 fr. 5 = Plutarch *Moralia* 364f)."

¹¹⁹⁵ *Theogony* 313ff, Alcaeus *fr.* 443, Simonides *fr.* 569, Aeschylus *fr.* 55. Also in several archaic vase paintings, e.g. the Paestan black-figure hydra, c. 6th B.C., J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu

¹¹⁹⁶ Vergil *Aeneid* 6.287ff, Seneca *Hercules Furens* 776ff, Valerius Flaccus, *Argonautica* 3.224, Statius *Silvae* 2.1.228ff & 5.3.260ff

¹¹⁹⁷ Jenifer Neils "the Morgantina Phormiskos" 1992: "One is more at a loss for an explanation and comparanda for the grid-like decoration of the vase's opening. As stated above, it resembles the continuous lattice of the Tampa phormiskos (figs. 10-11), and both could be interpreted as a painted imitation of netting. In keeping with the gaming theme, the 30 squares recall the Egyptian senet board, although the configuration is different and it would be nearly impossible to game on a curved surface. Given its function, it seems most likely that the gridded closure is meant to represent a door or window. Close comparanda in Corinthian vase painting are lacking, but one related representation may hold the clue. On

The third location in Nestor’s territory after Pylos “Gate” and Arene “Sheep place,” is *Thryon* “Reed place,” which is a characteristic site in marshy landscapes. The 5th century BCE painter Polygnotus depicted reeds as an element in the imaginary landscape of the infernal Acheron river, and so may have the 6th century poem *the Minyad*.¹¹⁹⁹

The fourth and sixth locations in Nestor’s territory, *Kyparisseis* “Cypress” and *Pteleon* “Elm” are dendronymic. Inasmuch as two geopolitically prominent cities in Pylian territory are highly unlikely to have been dendronyms—moreover, with the same allusive power, they are prone to evoke the underworld, an impression which is reinforced by their selection, inclusion and juxtaposition in the Neleid’s territory. The thanatic associations of the cypress require no commentary or demonstration here.¹²⁰⁰

For the Pylian place name *Pteleon* “Elm tree,” suffice it to quote Andromache’s father’s burial mound in the *Iliad*. Achilles had slain Eetion (6.414-420):

Ἦτοι γὰρ πατέρ’ ἄμὸν ἀπέκτανε δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς,
 ἐκ δὲ πόλιν πέρσεν Κιλίκων εὖ ναιετάουσαν
 Θήβην ὑψίπυλον· κατὰ δ’ ἔκτανεν Ἠετίωνα,
 οὐδέ μιν ἐξενάριξε, σεβάσσατο γὰρ τό γε θυμῷ,
 ἀλλ’ ἄρα μιν κατέκρη σὺν ἔντεσι δαιδαλέοισιν
 ἦδ’ ἐπὶ σῆμ’ ἔχεεν· περὶ δὲ πτελέας ἐφύτευσαν
 νύμφαι ὄρεστιάδες κοῦραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο.

For indeed my father he slew my father, shining Achilles
 And the city he ransacked of the Kilikians, populous

the well-known siren aryballos in Boston⁴⁶ (fig. 15), the building behind the sirens' cliff has a rectangular, gridded door, while the walls of the building itself are checkered. Since sirens are the "muses of the Underworld," might this building not be Hades itself? If so, one could "read" the grid framed by the Hydra on the Morgantina vase as the entrance to Hades' realm."

¹¹⁹⁸ Pausanias 6.24.7

¹¹⁹⁹ Pausanias 10.28.1

¹²⁰⁰ A good survey and discussion of the cypress’ thanatic associations may be found in Radcliffe G. Edmonds’ 221-236:2010 "The Bright Cypress of the ‘Orphic’ Gold Tablets: Direction and Illumination in Myths of the Underworld."

Thebes the High-gated, down he struck Eetion,
But his corpse he did not strip, for he respected him in his heart,
And incinerated him with his intricately decorated armor
And raised a burial mound: around they planted elm trees—
The nymphs of the mountains, daughters of Zeus the aegis-bearer.

When we get to Protesilaos' contingent in the Catalogue of Ships—the contingent of *the dead leader*—we will notice the same unfortuitous inclusion of a homonymous Phthian *Pteleon* “Elm Tree,” which is juxtaposed to an equally revealing toponym *Antron* “the Cave” (*Iliad* 2.698).

Even Nestor's fifth location, the enigmatic *Aipy* “Steep,” unmasks its otherworldly connotations when juxtaposed to the next entry in the Catalogue of Ships: that of the Arcadians. In their entry, in the same metrical position as in the Pylians'—the very last in the line—reference is made to a “steep mountain” under Mount Cyllene, located by the “Aipyrian tomb” (Οἱ δ' ἔχον Ἀρκαδίην ὑπὸ Κυλλήνης ὄρος αιπὺ / Αἰπύτιον παρὰ τύμβον: *Iliad* 2.603-604), in which the word *αιπὺ* “steep” is repeated side by side, the first one being an attributive adjective of the previous noun, the second one being the attributive adjective of the following noun. In and of itself, the Arcadian entry associates the root of *Aipy* “steep” with a tomb under Hermes' Mount Cyllene “the Aipyrian tomb”: it designates the tomb of a prototypical Arcadian king *Aipytos*, which is also an epithet of Hermes—the Psychopomp god—originally undifferentiated from the prototypical king.¹²⁰¹

Positioned between *Kyparisseis* “Cypress-Place,” *Pteleon* “Elm Place” and the other marshy toponyms *Thryon* “Reed” and *Helos* “Marsh,” *Amphigeneia* “born in both

¹²⁰¹ Sakellariou 2009:235-236.

places” reads as a semantic approximation of ἀμφίβιος “amphibian,”¹²⁰² which is very fitting for a landscape overlapping and mixing two fundamental taxonomic environments: earth and water. *Amphigeneia*, moreover, suits the inherent liminality of *Pylos*—the gates of Hades and mirrors the figurative use, which Plotinus will make of ἀμφίβιος in his discussion of the soul: it is a denizen of *both worlds*, the corporeal and the disincarnate. Like the marshes at Athens whence Dionysus undertakes his katabasis, like the Lernean marsh in the Argolid through which the same god and Persephone go to Hades, Nestor’s own marshy Pylos too is a gateway to the underworld.

This is not to say that none of the toponyms in Nestor’s entry are historical places: some of them, perhaps the majority, may have really existed. It is argued, however, that the Homeric narrator picked and chose toponyms from the Pylia landscape which fit his agenda, namely to portray Pylia territory as land of the dead. To return to a fictitious U.S. Catalogue of Ships, it is as if, in describing the cities in Ohio’s imaginary Catalogue of Ships, one were to say and “Iphicles, son of Opheltos, ruled over the Ohioans / And the goodly cities of *Xenia* with her beautiful women, *Troy* rich in horses, *Euclid* with its deep valleys and lofty *Mentor* where nymphs dance in the woods”: all of these cities, *Xenia*, *Troy*, *Euclid* and *Mentor*, are real cities in Ohio, and one might think, on the basis of this exclusive account, that at one point in history, most of the European settlers in Ohio came from the Aegean since all the aforementioned toponyms are Greek or Aegean; but anyone familiar with the geography of Ohio would know that larger, more important cities in Ohio like Cleveland, Columbus and Cincinnati were deliberately left out because their presence in this imaginary Ohioan entry in the

¹²⁰² In the *Batrakhomyomakhia*, the frogs are characterized as *amphibioi* at line 59.

Catalogue of Ships would dilute the hypothetical argument and narrative that Ohio is a state populated by Greek immigrants. This, I suggest, is what happened in Nestor's Catalogue entry (and to a great extent, in the Thessalian Catalogue entries, as we shall see): the point being, Nestor's Pylian territory is reminiscent of Hades because the Eastern Peloponnese was the land of the Dead from the point of view of the leading families of East Ionia, the distant land over the Aegean sea, whence their ancestors had come.

3.1.2. Phthia, "Land of the Dead": Ancestral Land of the Dorians and East Aeolians

Whereas Pylos and Elis represented the land of the Dead from the Ionian point of view, Northern Greece and Thessaly represented the land of the Dead from the Dorian point of view. Here too, one finds an unusually high concentration of toponyms and names connoting either Hades or primordality in the Catalogue of Ships.

3.1.2.1. The geographical extent of Phthia

Phthia is described in the Catalogue of Ships and elsewhere in the *Iliad* as the land of Achilles. The cognate *Phthioi*, which appears at *Iliad* 13.694-699, are the people of Medon and Podarkes who lead Philoktetes' contingent in his absence: the location of his territory in Thessaly has aroused controversy: the traditional view places Philoktetes' territory in or near Magnesia, but Helly has made the case that it was situated further to the north in Pieria.¹²⁰³ In Hesiod *fr.* M-W 215, Phthia includes the territory in which the Peneios river flows (ἡ' οἷη Φθίηι Χαρίτων ἄπο κάλλος ἔχουσα / Πηνειοῦ παρ' ὕδωρ καλὴ ναίεσκε Κυρήνη), although in the *Iliad* the river Peneios is associated with the territories of the Magnesian leader Prothoos and of Gouneus (of unspecified northern

¹²⁰³ Helly 2004:280-282.

Achaean ethnicity) at 2.757 and 2.752 respectively. A collation of such threefold data permits the conclusion that Phthia in early archaic Greece was once tantamount to all of Thessaly, and arguably Epirus as well, not just Achilles' restricted territory *stricto sensu*, as it appears in the Catalogue of Ships. Despite the Catalogue's differentiation of Achilles' territory from other northern Achaean contingents, the *Iliad* presents evidence for the existence and unity of a larger Phthia that exceeds the boundaries of Achilles' seemingly smaller boundaries in the southern tracts of Thessaly.

It is well-known that Achilles' return to the battlefield is triggered by the death of his *therapon* Patroklos. If one looks at the previous circumstances surrounding Patroklos' initiative to return to battle to fight on Achilles' behalf, what triggered his alarm and sense of commiseration with the Achaeans were the bloody wounds not of geographically random Achaeans, but rather of two particular Achaeans who are both from northern Greece: Achilles' first gesture in resuming communication with the Achaeans is triggered by the sight of a wounded man, whom he thinks is Machaon (11.613-615), as later confirmed by Patroklos: although the Homeric narrator does not say what emotion Achilles felt when he saw the wounded Machaon, it was enough to rouse him out of his aloofness and indifference to the plight of his fellow Achaeans. Machaon comes from eastern Thessaly in the Catalogue of Ships, near the borders with Epirus.

The other north Achaean in question is Eurypylos, upon whom Patroklos takes pity at 11.810-815. At some point in the Submycenaean or early Geometric period, Eurypylos must have been an important Dorian (not Aeolian) hero of Thessaly because, as we shall see, his namesake is already nativized and foreignized as the indigenous king

of Kos in the Catalogue of Ships, whose city an invading Herakles subdues: Kos was one of the poleis of the Dorian Hexapolis in the southeastern Aegean. The other piece of evidence for Eurypylos having once been a multiform of Achilles himself in his capacity as folktale hero associated with Northern Greece is his being the son of *Eu(h)aimon*, or “son of the Good Haimonian,” eponym of yet an alternative name of Thessaly, *i.e. Haimonia*.¹²⁰⁴ In the *Iliad*, *-(h)aimon* is mostly a patronymic, not the name of living heroes, and is mostly associated with northern Greece, e.g. *Andr-aimon*, the father of Aetolian Thoas (2.638) or *Haimon* the grandfather of the Myrmidon Laerkes (17.467). It is worth repeating that the role, which this Phthian Eurypylos plays in bringing Achilles back to battle, speaks to his close connection to Achilles and covert competitor to the hero in terms of representative of Northern Greece.

A third Phthian who rouses Patroklos and Achilles back to battle, albeit dead, is arguably Protesilaos: by slaying his first victim, the aptly-named Pyraichmes “Spear-point” (16.286), Patroklos first saves Protesilaos' half-burned ship (ἡμιδαῆς: 16.294) from total destruction. Thus, the Achaeans whose plight or honor Achilles and Patroklos are most sensitive to, are all Phthians: Machaon, Eurypylos and Protesilaos.

A second and third reason for Homer's awareness of a ‘greater Phthia’ exceeding the boundaries of Achilles' territory and unifying, as it were, all or most of northern Greece, is the greater region's association in the *Iliad* with two non-Achaean ethnicities: 1) with the *Pelasgians*: Achilles' territory, which is also known as Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος (*Iliad* 2.681), implicitly stretches to a Pelasgian Dodona in Epirus¹²⁰⁵; 2) with the

¹²⁰⁴ See *RE* contributor to *Eurypylos*

¹²⁰⁵ See other section.

Paeonians: Achilles' greatest nemesis in the *Iliad*, even before Hector, is the Paeonian leader Asteropaios, the only one to shed Achilles' blood in the monumental poem; similarly, Patroklos' first victim in the *Iliad* is the Paeonian *Pyraikhmes*, whose death triggers the Trojans' flight from the ships of the Achaeans¹²⁰⁶; the aforementioned 'Thessalian' Eurypylos slays a Trojan, the Phasiad Apisaon (11.578): though his ethnicity is never specified, he must be a multiform of the only other Apisaon in the *Iliad*, who is explicitly a Paeonian warrior (17.348-351). Thus, the ethnic pattern that emerges is that Phthians tend to kill Paeonians who are geographically neighbors.

Finally, a northern Greek unity, which probably exceeds the very boundaries of our putative greater Phthia, is discernible in the marked affinity of the god Ares with this region, if one is to include the early Boeotians among the Northern Greeks¹²⁰⁷: the formula ὄζος Ἄρηος is applied almost exclusively to Achaean ethne north of Attica.¹²⁰⁸ In summary, leaving aside the problematic status of the Boeotians (and of the Locrians, whom we will discuss *infra*), the *Iliad's* awareness of the existence of a greater Phthia ranging from Achilles' territory in the south of Thessaly all the way to the territory of

¹²⁰⁶ I will also argue extensively in another chapter that Patroklos' more famous victim Sarpedon, though famously characterized as Lycian, is in fact a crypto-Paeonian, reflecting the historical admixture of a Paeonian component in the warrior elite of EIA Lycia.

¹²⁰⁷ Although Ares undeniably has a strong connection with Boeotia, as Tsagalis recently pointed out (2008), I would be hesitant to include them under the greater Phthians, pending more evidence. A difference between Achilles' Myrmidons and the Boeotians is the latter's tendency to be the cannon fodder of predilection to the Trojans. Among the other Northern Greeks, the Boeotians have particular affinities with the Locrians, in that they are both portrayed rather negatively.

¹²⁰⁸ The Myrmidons Automedon and Alkimos at 24.474 ; the Abantic Elephenor at 2.540; the Phthian Podarkes at 2.704; the Lapith Leonteus at 2.745, 12.188 and 23.841; the Pelasgian (arguably in Achilles' territory, pace Myres 1907) Pylaios at 2.842. Likymnios too is given the same epithet at 2.663 and could represent an exception because non-Homeric sources associate him with Tiryns, but his filiation is left unspecified in the *Iliad* and the association with the Crypto-Dorian Tlepolemos (Crielaard 2009) and his Phrygian mother (Apollodoros 2.4.5 & Pausanias 3.15.4) may underline affinities with northern Greece.

Gouneus in the north and northwest can be posited. Walter Leaf was not far from the truth when he wrote:

681 [in book 2]. It is hardly possible to read this and the the two following lines without feeling that originally Achilles was the leader of the whole of the Thessalians, and that his restriction to three paltry towns in 682 is merely a device to make room for the localization of other Thessalian heroes. As it stands, the effect is almost like ‘all the peoples of Britain, who dwelt in Greenwich and Woolwich and Blackheath, and were named Saxons and English and Danes.’¹²⁰⁹

3.1.2.2. Phthia: the Name

On the verge of his execution in the *Crito*, Socrates has a dream in which he is told that he will arrive in *Phthia* in three days: ὦ Σώκρατες, ἤματί κεν τριτάτῳ Φθίην ἐρίβωλον ἴκοιο.¹²¹⁰ It is generally agreed that Socrates construed *Phthia* etymologically as a metaphor for the land of the dead, which his interlocutor Crito misunderstands literally as Thessaly. Plato was not alone in using an activated meaning of the root *phthi-*: the 5th century Old Comedy poet Strattis made a paronomasia out of Φθιῶτ’ Ἀχιλλεῦ,¹²¹¹ which Matthias Steinhart recently translated as ‘skeleton-thin Achilles’.¹²¹² Following in the footsteps of Kretschmer, Costanzi and Mackie, I propose that Plato’s semanticization of Phthia is prefigured in the Iliadic text itself.¹²¹³ Mackie detailed the

¹²⁰⁹ Leaf 1902:101

¹²¹⁰ Plato, *Crito* 44β “a dream I had a little earlier during this night...I thought that a beautiful and comely woman dressed in white approached me. She called me and said: "Socrates, may you arrive at fertile Phthia on the third day.” λευκὰ ἱμάτια ἔχουσα, καλέσαι με καὶ εἰπεῖν: ‘ὦ Σώκρατες, ἤματί κεν τριτάτῳ Φθίην ἐρίβωλον ἴκοιο.”

¹²¹¹ Strattis in Athenaeus *Deipn.* 12.76.5 Φθιῶτ’ Ἀχιλλεῦ

¹²¹² Steinhart 2007:283-284

¹²¹³ Kretschmer, *Glotta* 1913: 308; Costanzi, *Rivista di Filologia* 1914:537.

tendency of Phthia in the *Iliad* to appear near words of with the same root *φθι.¹²¹⁴

Apropos of Euripides, *Iphigeneia at Aulis*, Mackie 2002:172 further writes:

Agamemnon claimed that Achilles would not set sail with the Achaeans "unless a bride from our family went to Phthia" (εἰ μὴ παρ' ἡμῶν εἴσιν ἐς Φθίαν λέχος, 103). The deceit perpetrated by Agamemnon on Clytemnestra and Iphigeneia is enhanced by the death-association inherent in the name Phthia. In one sense Agamemnon is not "lying" at all about where Iphigeneia is headed. Later in the play Agamemnon uses similar duplicity in response to Clytemnestra's question of whether Achilles will take Iphigeneia to Phthia for their marriage (714). His reply is that "that will be the concern of him who has won her" (κεῖνῳι μελήσει ταῦτα τῷ κεκτημένῳι, 715), referring presumably to Hades. 16 In both these cases Phthia (103, 713) takes on the same sort of strong death association that we find in the later books of the *Iliad*.

Similarly, I suggest, when Achilles tells Agamemnon's embassy that he hasn't made up his mind as to whether to stay on the beaches of Troy or take to the sea the next day and "arrive in Phthia on the third day," the apparent choice he expresses may be a false choice, after all, even when he chooses to stay: the number of days it would have taken Achilles and Patroklos to reach Phthia "Perishland" happens to be the same number of days it takes Patroklos to die: *he dies three days later*. On a metaphorical level, Achilles predicted correctly, albeit unwittingly, the number of days it would take Patroklos to "reach Phthia." And since Thetis and the Nereids mourn the death of Patroklos as if it were Achilles' own death, and Patroklos is, moreover, Achilles' ritual substitute (*therapon*), on a metaphorical level, Achilles too reaches Phthia in three days.

That being said, there are many contrary clues in the *Iliad* to suggest that "deep-soiled Phthia" is just a regular land somewhere in Greece, which would *prima facie* refute the argument that on a certain interpretative level the Homeric Phthia too is the land of the dead. It is arguable, however, that the Homeric presentation of Phthia as a

¹²¹⁴ Mackie 2002:163-173.

regular land somewhere in Greece in an artistic and artful inversion on the part of Homer of what would have been obvious to any Greek in the 8th/7th centuries BCE, just as it was still obvious in the 5th century BCE: to an early Homeric audience, Phthia was a polysemically-charged land of the dead:

1) from the standpoint of the hero cult of Achilles & Patroklos, said heroes were imagined as simultaneously alive in a land of the dead such as Leuke or Elysium; Homer anticipates Achilles' destiny and future home in the land of the dead through the ironic fiction in the present tense of the narrative of its being distinct and diametrically opposite to the afterlife;

2) the cult of Achilles, in particular, had chthonic associations, as documented by Hommel¹²¹⁵; as Αἰακίδης, Achilles partook in the identity of his grandfather, Aiakos, judge of the dead;

3) to Dorians and Aeolians in the East Aegean and the Peloponnese, Northern Greece / Thessaly / Phthia was historically the land of the dead, the land whence a component of their ancestors had migrated generations past. Phthia is to the Dorians what the Western Peloponnese is to the Ionians: the land of origin of their ancestors, hence the reason why both Nestor's Pylian territory and Achilles' greater Phthia (northern Greece) contain a disproportionate quantity of otherworldly associations;

4) in popular imagination, real geography and cosmic geography tend to overlap and blend.

3.1.2.3. The river Styx in Phthia:

¹²¹⁵ Hommel 1983 *Der Gott Achilleus*

The realization that the size of the Homeric Phthia tacitly exceeds northward the boundaries of Achilles' own territory and includes other contingents in Thessaly and Epirus allows us to use other evidence in the Catalogue of Ships for the otherworldly aspects of Phthia. Let us turn to Gouneus' contingent (*Iliad* 2.748-755):

Γουνεὺς δ' ἐκ Κύφου ἤγε δὺω καὶ εἴκοσι νῆας·
 τῶ δ' Ἐνιῆνες ἔποντο μενεπτόλεμοί τε Περαιβοὶ
 οἱ περὶ Δωδώνην δυσχείμερον οἰκί' ἔθεντο,
 οἳ τ' ἀμφ' ἰμερτὸν Τιταρησσὸν ἔργα νέμοντο
 ὅς ῥ' ἐς Πηνεῖδὸν προῖει καλλίρροον ὕδωρ,
 οὐδ' ὄ γε Πηνεῖῶ συμμίσγεται ἀργυροδίη,
 ἀλλὰ τέ μιν καθύπερθεν ἐπιρρέει ἡύτ' ἔλαιον·
 ὄρκου γὰρ δεινοῦ Στυγὸς ὕδατός ἐστιν ἀπορρώξ.

The Homeric Enienes, also known as *Ainians* in non-Homeric sources, are closely associated with Achilles, the Myrmidons and the cult of his son Neoptolemos.¹²¹⁶ Let us also keep in mind that the river Peneios is recognized as a landmark in Hesiod *fr.* M-W 215 of the *Phthian* territory, as discussed earlier (ἡ' οἷη Φθίηι Χαρίτων ἄπο κάλλος ἔχουσα / Πηνεῖοῦ παρ' ὕδωρ καλὴ ναίεσκε Κυρήνη). Elsewhere, at *Iliad* 8.368-369, the selfsame river Styx is explicitly a river of Hades: ἐξ Ἐρέβευς ἄξοντα κύνα στυγεροῦ Αἴδαο, οὐκ ἂν ὑπεξέφυγε Στυγὸς ὕδατος αἰπὰ ρέεθρα. The Iliadic river Styx flowing through the territory of Gouneus' implicitly Phthian contingent is a remarkable corroboration of the present hypothesis that Phthia *qua* land of the dead is operative in our Homeric poem.

Philochorus is the first among several authors to provide a complementary account of Molossia in Epirus, whither Gouneus' aforementioned kingdom stretches

¹²¹⁶ As in Heliodorus' *Aithiopika*, cf. Pseudo-Skymnos 614-617 Τῇ Θετταλίᾳ δ' ἔσθ' ὁμορος Ἀθαμανία, Δολόπων τε Περραιβῶν τε συνορίζοντ' ἔθνη τά τ' Αἰνιάνων, οἵτινες τῶν Αἰμόνων δοκοῦσι Λαπιθῶν Μυρμιδόνων τε γεγενῆσθαι.

(*Iliad* 2.748-755), whose king is none other than Aidoneus: Κόρης ἀρπαγή Περσεφόνης ὑπὸ Αἰδωνέως τοῦ Μολοσσῶν βασιλέως, ὃς εἶχε κύνα παμμεγέθη τὸν λεγόμενον Κέρβερον.¹²¹⁷ We thus witness first-hand the blending of real geography with mythical geography, just as in the *Odyssey*, Egypt, real though a land it is, is turned into a fabulous place (4.229-232):

Αἰγυπτίη, τῇ πλεῖστα φέρει ζεῖδωρος ἄρουρα
φάρμακα, πολλὰ μὲν ἐσθλὰ μεμιγμένα, πολλὰ δὲ λυγρά,
ἰητρὸς δὲ ἕκαστος ἐπιστάμενος περὶ πάντων
ἀνθρώπων· ἧ γὰρ Παϊήονός εἰσι γενέθλης.

Real geography is not incompatible with fabulous geography.

3.1.2.4. Hermes and Phthia

The Iliadic Hermes has a very close connection to the Myrmidons. In the entirety of the poem, the god interacts with mortals in the *Iliad* on three occasions altogether, one in which he impregnates a Myrmidon; another one in which he claims himself to be a Myrmidon; a third one in which he is said to have loved the supposedly Trojan Phorbas and bestowed wealth upon him (Ἴλιονῆα υἱὸν Φόρβαντος πολυμήλου, τὸν ῥα μάλιστα Ἑρμείας Τρώων ἐφίλει καὶ κτῆσιν ὄπασσε: 14.491-492).

At 16.179-186, the god begets surreptitiously Eudoros on Polymele, Achilles' paternal sister:

τῆς δ' ἐτέρης Εὐδωρος ἀρήϊος ἡγεμόνευε
παρθένιος, τὸν ἔτικτε χορῶ καλῇ Πολυμήλῃ
Φύλαντος θυγάτηρ· τῆς δὲ κρατὺς ἀργεῖφόντης
ἠράσατ', ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἰδὼν μετὰ μελπομένησιν
ἐν χορῶ Ἀρτέμιδος χρυσηλακάτου κελαδεινῆς.

¹²¹⁷ Philochorus in Syncellus p. 158. According to Plutarch, *Theseus* 31.4, Theseus and Peirithous went there to abduct Persephone: αὐτὸς δὲ Πειρίθω τὴν ὑπουργίαν ἀποδιδὼς εἰς Ἥπειρον συναπεδήμησεν ἐπὶ τὴν Αἰδωνέως θυγατέρα τοῦ Μολοσσῶν βασιλέως, ὃς τῇ γυναικὶ Φερσεφόνην ὄνομα θέμενος, Κόρην δὲ τῇ θυγατρὶ, τῶ δὲ κυνὶ Κέρβερον. See also Plutarch 1.17.4

αὐτίκα δ' εἰς ὑπερῶ' ἀναβὰς παρελέξατο λάθρη
Ἑρμείας ἀκάκητα, πόρεν δέ οἱ ἀγλαὸν υἱὸν
Εὐδωρον πέρι μὲν θείειν ταχὺν ἠδὲ μαχητήν.

The name of the god appears twice (κρατὺς ἀργεῖφόντης and Ἑρμείας). Hermes' son has the characteristic racing ability of Achilles. At 24.396-399, Hermes claims to be Achilles' *therapon*, the seventh son of the Myrmidon *Polyktor* ("Possessing Many Things"):

τοῦ γὰρ ἐγὼ θεράπων, μία δ' ἤγαγε νηῦς εὐεργής·
Μυρμιδόνων δ' ἔξειμι, πατήρ δέ μοί ἐστι Πολύκτωρ.
ἀφνειὸς μὲν ὄ γ' ἐστί, γέρων δὲ δὴ ὡς σύ περ ᾤδε,
ἔξ δέ οἱ υἴες ἕασιν, ἐγὼ δέ οἱ ἕβδομός εἰμι.

As if the talking name Polyktor were not enough, Hermes specifies that his alleged father is ἀφνειὸς 'rich' at 24.398. Interestingly, Hermes's fictitious Myrmidon father Πολύ-κτωρ echoes morphologically the words Phoinix chooses to describe Achilles' father Peleus: πολλοῖσιν ἐπὶ κτεάτεσσι (9.482). With such a father, Hermes is playfully presenting himself as none other than Achilles himself, as described in alternative accounts of the hero, with which a Homeric audience would have been familiar. According these to alternative accounts, like this Myrmidon Hermes, Achilles himself was a seventh son.¹²¹⁸ This is consistent with Achilles' role as a healer, as already attested in the *Iliad* and archaic Greek art: in folklores from different parts of Europe, the seventh son is a healer.¹²¹⁹ Hermes' statement to Priam that "his father is old, just like

¹²¹⁸ Lycophron, *Alexandra* 177-179 Πελασγικὸν Τυφῶνα γεννᾶται πατήρ, ἀφ' ἑπτὰ παίδων φευγᾶλω σποδομένων μούνον φλέγουσαν ἐξάλυξαντα σποδόν; Ptolemy Chennos in Codex 190 Bekker page 152b Ἐν δὲ τῷ ζ' περιέχεται ὡς Θεόδωρος ὁ Σαμοθράξ τὸν Δία φησι γεννηθέντα ἐπὶ ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας ἀκατάπαυστον γελάσαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τέλειος ἐνομίσθη ὁ ἕβδομος ἀριθμός. Ὡς Ἀχιλλεὺς διὰ μὲν τὸ ἐκ πυρὸς αὐτὸν σωθῆναι καόμενον ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς Πυρίσσοος ἐκαλεῖτο.

¹²¹⁹ See Da Silva 2003 for sources. In Aeschylus, *Hebdomagetes* is an epithet of Apollo, a healer god: Achilles is Apollo's hypostasis (Nagy 2005).

you” (ὁ γ’ ἐστὶ, γέρον δὲ δὴ ὡς σὺ περ ᾗδε) anticipates the final reconciliation between Achilles and Priam, as Achilles realizes that his father Peleus and Priam are alike.

Insofar as the river Scamander across which Hermes accompanies Priam takes on the identity of the river Styx,¹²²⁰ Hermes in this scene manifests his role as Hermes Psychopomp / Hermes Chthonios. At the same time, it is remarkable that, whereas here the Homeric composer playfully identifies the god with a multiform Achilles (the seventh son of ‘Veryrich’, who’s wealthy and old, just like Priam) one of the two other Iliadic passages in which Hermes interacts with mortals is a micronarrative in which the god remains very close to Achilles, notwithstanding in a wholly different context: Hermes impregnates the Myrmidon Polymele at 16.179-186 (who is Achilles’ paternal sister according to Apollodorus, 3.13.8). The same topos of wealth ‘rich in flocks’ (Πολυμήλη) also emerges here and is a common characteristic connecting Peleus “with many possessions” to Hermes, a god of herds.

Iliad 14.491-492 Ἴλιονῆα υἱὸν Φόρβαντος πολυμήλου, τὸν ῥα μάλιστα (490) Ἑρμείας Τρώων ἐφίλει καὶ κτῆσιν ὄπασσε, which represents the third and final example of Hermes interacting with mortals, corroborates the connection of Hermes to wealth. Unlike the two previous examples, Hermes here displays affinities with a Trojan, not a Myrmidon. But Bethe’s general postulation that the Trojan war saga tends to transpose onto the Trojan scene originally epichoric wars in the Aegean (cf. the duel between the Rhodian Tlepolemos and Lycian Sarpedon, geographical neighbors) presents the benefit of qualifying this seeming exception to the proposed pattern of Hermes having special affinities with the Myrmidons: in Greek mythology, Phorbas is essentially a prototypical

¹²²⁰ See Jáuregui 2011 “Priam's Catabasis: Traces of the Epic Journey to Hades in ‘Iliad’ 24.”

Proto-Thessalian hero, as shown by Johanna Schmidt.¹²²¹ Thus, the death of Phorbas by the Boeotian hero Peneleos (this is the only instance of a Boeotian ever killing any Trojan in the *Iliad*¹²²²) is a Trojanizing transposition of an epichoric account originally opposing a Boeotian Peneleos to a proto-Thessalian Phorbas. In support of this argument is Phorbas' description as [Φόρβαντος] πολυμήλου at *Iliad* 14.491, which is the masculine of the name given to the Myrmidon *Polymele*, and also the epithet of the Phthian ruler Phylakos, father of Protesilaos: πολυμήλου Φυλακίδαο (*Iliad* 2.705).¹²²³ The proto-Thessalian Ur-context of the formula Φόρβαντος πολυμήλου “Fodder Rich in Flocks” at *Iliad* 14.491 is further borne out by the account of two brothers *Phorbas* and *Polymelos*, the joint murderers of Ixion's mother—in Thessaly.¹²²⁴ In keeping with this analysis, the distinctly overemphatic Trojanness of the name given to Phorbas' son in the *Iliad*, Ilioneus “the hero from Ilion” (Ἰλιονῆα υἷον Φόρβαντος πολυμήλου: *Iliad* 14.491) seems to be an overcompensatory device to mask the poet's recycling of epichoric material pitting Boeotians to Thessalians. To be sure, the majority of accounts detailing

¹²²¹ Schmidt in *RE*, s.v. ‘Phorbas’. As Schmidt sagaciously suggests, Phorbas' diffusion in Rhodes, Argos and Elis can be explained as proto-Thessalian migrations to those areas. Even the Attic Phorbas, Theseus' charioteer, bespeaks a proto-Thessalian component (albeit a minority component) among the early Athenians: like Theseus himself, who was originally a Lapith (as in the *Iliad* and the Hesiodic *Shield of Herakles*, as pointed out by Sakellariou 2009, s.v. ‘Lapithes’) before he became Atticized as an Athenian hero.

¹²²² Rather, the Boeotians provide the most cannon fodder to the Trojans, see elsewhere.

¹²²³ The Trojan “*Polymelos* the Argead” (Ἀργεάδην Πολύμηλον: *Iliad* 16.417) could be taken to represent a Phrygian/Macedonian component among the early Trojans, as I argue elsewhere. Macedonians, northern neighbors of the Thessalians, share many similarities with each other, as Hatzopoulos makes it clear in his numerous works. In the present dissertation, I argue that the Macedonian / Thessalian overlap arises in part from the fact that the proto-Thessalians, an originally non-Aeolic population, were proto-Dorians, also known as Herodotus' *Makednoi*, before they became Aeolicized in the mid to late archaic period, as they settled in Thessaly where the native inhabitants spoke proto-Aeolic dialects, which were regional offshoots from Mycenaean Greek.

¹²²⁴ Epigram on Apollo's temple in Kyzikos; *Anth. Pal.* 1.3.12 (quoted by Schmidt, *RE* s.v. ‘Phorbas’).

the fate of Peneleos have him slain by the putatively Mysian Eurypylos,¹²²⁵ but again Eurypylos is the name of a major Phthian hero, present in the *Iliad*: Eurypylos' wound moves Patroklos to action.

Thus, Hermes' special affinities with the Myrmidons, as 1) impersonator of a multiform Achilles accompanying Priam across a Stygian Scamander, 2) impregnator of a female Myrmidon, who is Achilles' sister according to alternative accounts 3) patron of a Trojanized proto-Thessalian hero originally at war with the proto-Boeotians, arguably reflect Hermes' and Phthia's common ties to Hades and the fabulous wealth of the beyond.

3.1.2.5. Phthia as Prison

Another infernal feature of Phthia “the Land of Perishment” is the theme of *imprisonment*: this is most apparent in Protesilaos' contingent in the Catalogue of Ships—the contingent of *the dead leader*, whose death from the standpoint of the Iliadic narrative ties in with Phthia as land of the Dead, as we shall see.

Protesilaos' contingent begins with the mentioning of *Phylake* ‘Prison’ (2.695), for which it was famous in the geste of Melampous. The aptly-named Phylake housed the prison in which the seer Melampous was held prisoner for a year for attempting to steal the cattle of the eponym *Phylakos* “Jailkeeper” on behalf of his brother Bias who wished to wed Pero, the daughter of Neleus: the latter promised his daughter Pero to whoever could achieve the feat of stealing Phylakos' cattle. The cattle is guarded by a mysterious dog whom neither men nor beasts may approach.¹²²⁶ Although the myth is

¹²²⁵ Pausanias 9.5.15; Quintus of Smyrna 7.104; Dictys 4.17.

¹²²⁶ Apollodorus 1.98 αὐται δὲ ἦσαν ἐν Φυλάκῃ, καὶ κύων ἐφύλασσαν αὐτὰς οὐδ' οὔτε ἄνθρωπος οὔτε θηρίον πέλας ἐλθεῖν ἠδύνατο.

not recounted in Protesilaos' entry, the separate mention of Protesilaos' grandfather *Phylakos*, "Jailkeeper" supports foreknowledge of it.

Melampous' imprisonment in Phthian Phylake where an unapproachable dog guards Phylakos' cattle is clearly a representation of Hades and Cerberus. The topography of Protesilaos' Phthian territory contains other chthonic names: *Antron* "the Cave" (*Iliad* 2.698) and a toponym *Pteleon* "Elm Tree," also extant in Nestor's own Catalogue,¹²²⁷ is clearly chthonic as well, as demonstrated by Radke.¹²²⁸ The mention of Itonia in the line above (2.697) brings to mind the Pan-Boeotian and Pan-Thessalian cult of Athena Itonia, who was associated with Hades in this cult for some mystical reason: συγκαθίδρυσται δὲ τῇ Ἀθηνᾶ ὁ Ἄιδης κατὰ τινα, ὡς φασι, μυστικὴν αἰτίαν.¹²²⁹ In this context, as Herzog-Hauser 1952 and Mantero 1970 have argued, the description of Itona as μητέρα μῆλων (2.696) can adumbrate the flocks of Hades.¹²³⁰

Protesilaos' Phthian contingent has further ties to Hades through the account of his grieving wife at 2.700-701: τοῦ δὲ καὶ ἀμφιδρυφῆς ἄλοχος Φυλάκη ἐλέλειπτο / καὶ δόμος ἡμιτελής. Both literary and material evidence attest widely to the Orphic love motif between a slain Protesilaos and his grieving newlywed wife Laodameia: he is allowed to return to her from Hades for a day or three hours: upon his departure, she

¹²²⁷ For the chthonic associations of the elm tree, see previous commentary on Nestor's Catalogue Entry.

¹²²⁸ Radke in *RE*, s.v. 'Protesilaos': "Ferner lassen sich der Herdenreichtum des Iphiklos, Vaters des P[rotesilaos], mit dem Herdenreichtum des Hades und die Ulmen am Grabe des P[rotesilaos], die dann nicht vom Namen des von P. in seiner thessalischen Heimat beherrschten Pteleon zu trennen sind, mit den Ulmen am Eingang des Plutoniums bei Kyme (Verg. *Aen.* VI 282) und den sonst zu Hades gehörigen Ulmen (Gruppe a. O. 791) zusammenstellen."

¹²²⁹ Strabo 9.2.29

¹²³⁰ Herzog-Hauser 1952: 472; Mantero 1970:195

commits suicide to join him in Hades, where they continue to make love.¹²³¹ Protesilaos and his wife conform to couples or pairs embodying the cyclical seasonality of life and death in nature, such as that of Adonis and Aphrodite or Demeter and Persephone, who is released from Hades every spring.¹²³²

Although this myth at first blush would seem to refute the present contention that Phthia, hence Phylake, is connected with Hades, insofar Laodameia's abode at Phylake is distinct from Protesilaos' detention in Hades, it is only apparent because in a cyclical system of death – resurrection – death – resurrection, etc., the points of departure are interchangeable, as long as the destination keeps alternating. A hint of this cyclicity in the *Iliad*, as applied to Protesilaos, is discernible in the cyclicity of the theme 'half', as pointed out by Katherine Kretler:¹²³³ at his death, Protesilaos leaves behind "a half-built house" (δόμος ἡμιτελής 2.708) in Phylake "Prison" to his wife; technically ten years later, his surviving ship becomes "half-something" as well, viz. "half-burnt": ἡμιδαῆς δ' ἄρα νηῦς (16.294). The cyclicity of the seasons is also apparent in the reference to the temple of Demeter in Protesilaos' territory (2.696), as noted by Boedeker.¹²³⁴

3.1.2.6. Phthia as Asylum and Hades Polyxenos:

Because of the many people who have died in the recent and distant past, the lord of the underworld is given epithets expressing 'his hospitality' or ability to welcome many people, such as the iterated πολυδέγμων "he who receives many" in the *Homeric Hymn*

¹²³¹ Maclean & Aitken 2005:30 & 61; see also Radke, *RE*, s.v. 'Protesilaos'.

¹²³² See Mantero 1970:201

¹²³³ I thank Katherine Kretler for sending me the extended version of her presentation at the American Philological Association in 2006.

¹²³⁴ Boedeker 2013:367

to *Demeter*, which occurs many times, notably at line 31; or *χαριζομένη πολυδέκτη* “doing a favor to the one who receives many” at line 9.¹²³⁵ Here, the notion of hospitality is of course a euphemism, which out of context has positive connotations. Its connotation thus differs from the previous notion of imprisonment, which is a negatively-expressed aspect of Hades.

More than any other Greek region, Phthia is the land where fugitives flock: among the three fugitives to Phthia, Patroklos, Phoinix and Medon, the first two play a paramount and important role in the *Iliad*. Medon, the least known, is Locrian Ajax’s bastard brother: he fled, of all places, to the aforementioned *Phylake* ‘Prison’, after killing a relative of his stepmother (13.696-697). Little is known of him, except that he dies at Troy at the hands of Aineias (15.332).

More is known of the exile and fugitive Patroklos and Phoinix. The youthful Phoinix, having slept with his father’s concubine, sets out to escape the room where his father had placed guards to watch him (9.478-484):

φεῦγον ἔπειτ’ ἀπάνευθε δι’ Ἑλλάδος εὐρυχόροιο,
Φθίην δ’ ἐξικόμην ἐριβόλακα μητέρα μήλων
ἔς Πηλῆα ἀναχθ’· ὁ δέ με πρόφρων ὑπέδεκτο,
καί μ’ ἐφίλησ’ ὡς εἶ τε πατήρ ὄν παῖδα φιλήσει
μοῦνον τηλύγετον πολλοῖσιν ἐπὶ κτεάτεσσι,
καί μ’ ἀφνειὸν ἔθηκε, πολὺν δέ μοι ὄπασε λαόν·
ναῖον δ’ ἐσχατιὴν Φθίης Δολόπεσσιν ἀνάσσω.

Among the features in this scene involving Peleus giving refuge to Phoinix, several are frequently associated with Hades: 1) the verb ὑπέδεκτο at 9.480, which is akin to Hades’ titles *Polydektes* and *Polydegmon*; the collocation of ὑπέδεκτο and πρόφρων (Πηλῆα

¹²³⁵ See Fontenrose 1978:293.

ἄναχθ'· ὁ δέ με πρόφρων ὑπέδεκτο) is especially cogent because the same collocation occurs in Euripides, *Alkestis* 743-744, in reference to Hermes and Hades as hosts: πρόφρων σε χθονίος θ' Ἑρμῆς / Ἄιδης τε δέχοιτ' (743-744); in an orphic tablet, the initiate asks Persephone to be πρόφρων.¹²³⁶

2) Peleus' wealth and his making Phoinix rich: πολλοῖσιν ἐπὶ κτεάτεσσι, / καί μ' ἄφνειὸν ἔθηκε (9.483), cf. Hades' title Πλουτών¹²³⁷;

3) Phoinix's lordship over the furthestmost region of Phthia among the Dolopes (9.484 ναῖον δ' ἐσχατιὴν Φθίης Δολόπεσσι ἀνάσσων). The Dolopes have mythological associations with the underworld. The eponym Dolops is the son of *Klytos* at *Iliad* 11.302 (Δόλοπα Κλυτίδην): as already noted by Usener 1912:224, Κλυτός "the Famous one" is an epithet of Hades. The correctness of this interpretation is borne out by the fact that this Dolops is juxtaposed on the very same line to *Agelaos* (καὶ Δόλοπα Κλυτίδην καὶ Ὀφέλιον ἠδ' Ἀγέλαον), variant of *Agesilaos*,¹²³⁸ another epithet of Hades.¹²³⁹ Along similar lines, the Argonauts pay homage to the tomb of Dolops in Thessalian Magnesia at Apollonius 1.587: according to the scholiast on the passage, this Dolops was the son of Hermes (ὁ δὲ Δόλοψ Ἑρμοῦ υἱός), a liminal god who travels back and forth between this world and the next.

Patroklos, too, had fled his native Opoeis in Locris for having accidentally killed his playmate over a game of dice. What Patroklos and Phoinix have in common is not only

¹²³⁶ Edmonds 2013:304-305

¹²³⁷ As in Euripides, *Alkestis* 360.

¹²³⁸ Agelaos is to Agesilaos what Aeolic Pratolaos is to Homeric Protesilaos. See elsewhere discussion about Protesilaos.

¹²³⁹ Aeschylus *fr.* 406, Callimachus *Hymn* 5, 130; Hesychius s.v. Ἀγεσίλαος· ὁ Πλούτων.

an exceptionally close connection to Achilles and their having benefited from the hospitality of Peleus, it is also their common role as a *father figure* to Achilles. While this role is well-known in the case of Phoinix, it is not so apparent in the case of Patroklos because of the greater complexity of Achilles' relation to Patroklos. In his article "Patroklos, Achilleus, and Peleus: Fathers and Sons in the 'Iliad'", Robert Finlay is wrong to reject Patroklos' status as Achilles' *alter ego*, but the best points of his contention that Patroklos stands in the shadow of Achilleus' father Peleus deserve to be cited¹²⁴⁰:

Insofar as Patroklos may be said to reflect anyone, it is not Achilleus but his father Peleus, a very significant figure in the *Iliad*, even though he does not himself appear in the poem...Nestor reminds Patroklos that his own father Menoitios had charged him with guiding Achilleus when Odysseus and Nestor came to Peleus' house recruiting for the Trojan war (11.781-790)...Patroklos was much younger than Phoinix yet older than Achilleus; hence he could be both a companion and advisor to the future hero, both older brother and father. Phoinix and Patroklos were sent by Peleus to accompany Achilleus to war, an indication that the latter sorely needed some paternal supervision...Achilleus looked to his older friend to carry out two vital paternal tasks. In book 9 Achilleus argues that he could return to Phthia and forget Briseis, the woman taken from him by Agamemnon, for "Peleus himself will presently arrange a wife for me" (9.394); yet in Book 19, after Patroklos' death. Briseis reveals that Patroklos had promised to "make me godlike Achilleus' wedded lawful wife" (19.297-299)...By heeding Priam's appeal for pity, Achilleus is thereby reunited with the human community in the name of the values represented and handed on by its fathers; "and Achilleus wept now for his own father, now again for Patroklos" (24.511-512).¹²⁴¹

It is rather strange that neither of Achilles' dearest and nearest Myrmidons should be native Phthians. A possible reason being: one is never born in the land of the dead, one always comes from somewhere else. The similarity of Patroklos and Phoinix to Peleus go beyond their all being father figures for Achilles: previously Peleus, like Phoinix and

¹²⁴⁰ As we shall see, Patroklos can at once be 1) Achilles' alter ego and 2) a stand-in for Achilles' father because Achilles himself, his youth in the narrative present notwithstanding, is an ancestral figure from the standpoint of cult.

¹²⁴¹ Finlay 1980:267-273

Patroklos subsequently, had committed crimes and/or offenses that resulted in his own exile. According to Apollonius of Rhodes 1.93, Peleus himself had fled from Aigina for killing his half-brother Phokos.¹²⁴² In Phthia, where he found refuge, he was purified by Eurytion. During the Calydonian Boar hunt, Peleus kills again - none other than his former host Eurytion.¹²⁴³ One is tempted to suggest that Phoenix's and Patroklos' flights to Phthia re-enact Peleus' own original flight. As Forsdyke comments on Athenian exile and ostracism, "there was an equivalency between sentences of death and sentences of exile...It is not surprising that the penalty for intentional homicide is variously designated as death, ἀτιμία, or ἀειφυγία, "exile for life."¹²⁴⁴ From the point of view of a living audience, the *past lives* of heroes can only be imagined, because in the present of the audience, heroes have left this world and become exiles in the other world. Moreover, as archetypal mortal *qua* mortal bridegroom to the immortal goddess Thetis, Peleus may represent not only the mortal condition but also the aftermath of mortality: the realm of the dead.

3.1.2.7. Phthia as Fabulous Beyond: the contingent of Eurypylos

Eurypylos' close kinship to Achilles and shared Thessalian / Phthian identity is shown by the pattern of his being one of two Achaeans who a) are badly wounded (12.1), b) from the region of Thessaly and c) trigger Patroklos' donning Achilles' armor. This in turn leads to Achilles' own return to battle. The other Achaean is the Asclepiad

¹²⁴² The earliest mention of Peleus' murder of Phokos is the *Alkmaionis*, quoted by the scholiast to Euripides *Andr.* 687.

¹²⁴³ Pherekydes *FGrH 3 F 1 b* (Tzetzes to Lykophron 175).

¹²⁴⁴ Forsdyke 2009:11, cf Franz Neumann quoted by Burr 2014:57: "Rome, as Greece earlier, often condemned the oppositional intellectual or artist to exile. the general term for this punishment is *exterminato*, literally meaning expulsion beyond the frontiers. But the meaning of the term changed from about the third century ad and then assumed the meaning it now has—that of physical destruction."

Machaon: he too is badly wounded, from the region of Thessaly and triggers Patroklos' intervention. That two Phthians¹²⁴⁵ should trigger Achilles' vicarious return to battle is emblematic of the principle of "the ascending scale of affection," as studied by Kakridis and Nagy:¹²⁴⁶ Achilles cares for Patroklos above all; for the Phthians also (Machaon and Eurypylos), but to a lesser degree; for the other Achaeans the least.

Phthia may unite in itself polarized opposites of the beyond. Let us examine the description of Eurypylos' territory (2.734-737):

οἱ δ' ἔχον Ὀρμένιον, οἳ τε κρήνην Ὑπέρειαν,
οἳ τ' ἔχον Ἀστέριον Τιτάνοιό τε λευκὰ κάρηνα,
τῶν ἦρχ' Εὐρύπυλος Εὐαίμονος ἀγλαὸς υἱός
τῷ δ' ἅμα τεσσαράκοντα μέλαινα νῆες ἔποντο.

Those that held 'Rising' [Ormenion] and the spring of Hyperion
And those that held 'Astral' [Asterion] and the white peaks of Titanos
Were led by Broadgate [Eurypylos], resplendent son of the Good Haimonian [Euaimon]
And forty black ships followed him.

It should be immediately apparent that the contingent of Phthian Eurypylos "Broadgate" is replete with cosmic toponyms: the sun (Ormenion & the "Hypereian spring" / "spring of Hyperion"), the stars (Asterion) and cosmic elements in general: Titanos is the thematized form of 'Titan', which in Hesiod's *Theogony* includes many personifications of the cosmos: Hyperion, Helios, Astraios, Phoibe, etc; in poetry, Titan is 'the Sun'.

Among all the Phthian contingents, toponyms in Eurypylos' territory are by far the most plainly cosmic of all—even at the expense of geographic coherence: seeking to

¹²⁴⁵ Strictly speaking, the *Iliad* never explicitly says that Eurypylos and Machaon are 'Phthian', but the pattern of the Thessalians Machaon and Eurypylos triggering Patroklos' return to battle, plus the fact that elsewhere Protesilaos' and Philoktetes' men elsewhere in the *Iliad* are described as 'Phthian', plus the fact that the territory of the Myrmidons extended north to the Peneios river, according to a Hesiodic fragment, justifies the view that the *Iliad* implicitly portrays them as 'Phthian'.

¹²⁴⁶ Kakridis 1949:21-24 & Nagy 1979 ch. 6, §15.

peg the Ὑπέρεια κρήνη—also mentioned in Sophocles fragment 92—onto a specific location in Thessaly, Pearson reports in his commentary:

Pindar agrees with Sophocles in assigning it to Pherae, and Strabo 439 states that it was in the middle of Pherae, the city of Eumelus, and criticizes Homer (B 734), who makes it near Ormenion (in Magnesia), for putting it in the domain of Eurypylos. And the schol. Pind. states that some editions gave B 711 as οἱ δε Φεράς ἐνέμοντο ἰδὲ κρήνην Ὑπέρειαν.

This spring of Hyperion must have been well-known, for it to have been ascribed to different Phthian contingents. The same Sophoclean fragment describes this spring as νᾶμα θεοφιλέστατον “a stream most beloved by the god(s)” on the same line. It is my contention that Eurypylos’ Ὑπέρεια κρήνη is ultimately a fabulous spring –that of the Sun—also placed at the ends of the earth, except that unlike the *Phylake* “Jail” of Phthian Protesilaos, the contingent of Phthian Eurypylos has rather an Elysian feel: for the ends of the earth are imagined as harboring polar opposites: the very best and the very worst of lands. This is precisely the thrust of my greater argument: a fabulous coloring permeates Achilles’ *Phthia* “Deadland” or *Pelasgian Argos* “the territory of primordial Pelasgians”: though real, it is notionally located near the ends of the earth where the river Styx is to be found (*Iliad* 2.748-755, cf. 8.368-370, cf Phthia extending to the banks of the Peneios in *Catalogue of Women* fr. 92¹²⁴⁷) and takes on associations with the otherworld, just as the *Odyssey*’s Libya is at once ‘real’ and ‘surreal’ in terms of its characterization as a paradisiacal land of bounty.

3.1.2.8. Phthia, Thessalos, and the Death of Herakles

3.1.2.8.1. Herakles’ Koan Disaster

¹²⁴⁷ In scholiast on Pindar, *Pyth.* 9.6.

As an introductory remark to Herakles' extraordinary detention on Kos, it is necessary to comment on why the Homeric composer of the Catalogue of Ships seems to implicitly reverse the order between the Thessalian / Phthian metropolis and their insular apoikias, which is ruled by the Thessalids Pheidippos and his brother. Another Eurypylos, who bears the same name as the Phthian Eurypylos, is strategically mentioned in the Catalogue entry that immediately precedes that of Achilles (*Iliad* 2.676-679):

Οἱ δ' ἄρα Νίσυρόν τ' εἶχον Κράπαθόν τε
 Κάσον τε καὶ Κῶν Εὐρυπύλοιο πόλιν νήσους τε Καλύδνας,
 τῶν αὖ Φεῖδιππός τε καὶ Ἄντιφος ἡγησάσθην
 Θεσσαλοῦ υἱε δὴ δὴ Ἡρακλεΐδαο ἄνακτος·

This epichoric Eurypylos of Kos is ultimately a duplicate of the Phthian / Thessalian Eurypylos, as recognized by Tümpel, Buttman, Maass, Dibbelts and Wilamowitz.¹²⁴⁸

The cults, the toponymy and the myths of Kos unmistakably point to an early migration from Thessaly.¹²⁴⁹ According to the scholiast to Pindar, *Pythian* 3.167, Peleus died senile on Kos. From other accounts, we learn that the local ruler Eurypylos rules over 'Meropes', a mythologized population who are associated Helios and solar myth.¹²⁵⁰ As we saw above, the Phthian / Thessalian Eurypylos is also associated with solar mythology.

According to a number of other accounts, after the Trojan War, Pheidippos settles in Epirus. In the *Odyssey*, a king is named *Pheidon*, which is formally a hypocoristic of *Pheidippos*. As Scherling, Gruppe and Busolt have maintained, the direction of the migration from Kos to Epirus (or Thessaly) is impossible.¹²⁵¹

¹²⁴⁸ See Tümpel (*RE*), s.v. 'Eurypylos'.

¹²⁴⁹ See Büchner (*RE*), s.v. 'Kos'. A second wave of immigrants came from Epidauros.

¹²⁵⁰ Kruse (*RE*), s.v. 'Merops'.

¹²⁵¹ Scherling (*RE*), s.v. 'Pheidippos'.

Historically, the reverse must have occurred: the migration started from Epirus and Thessaly and ended in the Dorian Hexapolis.¹²⁵² Why this reversal occurs is probably related to the early performance context of the *Iliad* in East Ionia: the Dorian Hexapolis, including Kos, is not far, whereas Thessaly is much farther across the Aegean sea. Leading families in the Hexapolis, with whom Ionian *aoidoi* would have been familiar, would have claimed descent from the eponym Thessalos and his sons Pheidippos and Antiphos¹²⁵³; accordingly, the Catalogue composer would mention Thessalos in their contingent, because the Thessalid *gene* closest to East Ionia were located in the Doric Hexapolis.

Kos was one of the islands that was subsumed under the Dorian Hexapolis. It is no accident that this contingent, which is led by the two sons of Thessalos, immediately precedes the Catalogue entry of Achilles' own contingent, the most important one among the Phthian contingents. Although Phthia is never called 'Thessaly' in the *Iliad*, the Homeric composer displays awareness of the connection between the future Thessaly and Achilles' territory by placing the contingent of the sons of the eponym Thessalos right before Achilles' own contingent.

The pattern, which we are about to uncover, is a mutual connection shared by Achilles' Phthia and the insular contingent of the Thessalids to the death of Herakles, literal or symbolic. The death of Herakles is alluded to in the contingent of Achilles, notably through the reference to the city of Trachis, next to Mount Oita, where Herakles famously perished; Herakles does not literally die on the island of Kos, but it is clear that

¹²⁵² The Aristotelian *Peplos* alone (#39) presents Epirus as the homeland of Pheidippos and Antiphos.

¹²⁵³ Scherling (*RE*), s.v. 'Pheidippos'.

Kos was his prison, in the same way as Protesilaos' Phthian contingent is portrayed—a prison, and is one of the characteristics of Hades. Moreover, Herakles' getting stranded on Kos, by fault of Hera, put Herakles' life in such jeopardy that it was followed by the singular intervention of his father Zeus to save him, something, from which Zeus otherwise always refrains.

The insular contingent of the Thessalids is like a miniature Thessaly / Phthia. On a symbolic level, it unites both the 'fabulous beyond' aspect of Phthia, and its chthonic aspect. The former aspect is represented by the the Kalydnan islands (νήσους τε Καλύδνας: 2.677), which are otherwise a synonym for the acropolis of Thebes, also known as "the Island of the Blessed."¹²⁵⁴ The latter infernal aspect is represented by the island of *Kos*, which is attested as a lexeme at Corinth: κῶς = prison. The idea that "the land of the Dead" (*Phthia*) is a prison, from which one would escape, is evident in Protesilaos' own Phthian contingent and the hero's mythology, as we will hereunder explore in greater detail; it is also evident in the story of young Phoenix' incarceration by his father Amyntor in/near Hellas—also included in Achilles' territory.

According to Pherekydes, this Eurypylos was the king of the Meropes: when Herakles landed on Cos, he slew him and his sons and married his daughter Chalciope: from this union, the *Iliad's* Thessalos was born.¹²⁵⁵ Prior to Herakles' arrival, Eurypylos had given a friendly welcome to Demeter as she was looking for her daughter Persephone: this anecdote is an inkling of Cos' liminal status between this world and the next. As Ernst Maass already suggested in 1891, the fight between Herakles and

¹²⁵⁴ Lycophron 1211 Καλύδνου τύρσιν.

¹²⁵⁵ Pherekydes quoted by schol. to *Iliad* 14.255

Eurypylos on Kos “the Detention Center” parallels Herakles’ fight with Hades at Nestor’s Pylos¹²⁵⁶: the “Broad Gate” and “Gate” respectively stand for the Gates of Hades.

Maass further demonstrated that Mount Drakanon, which is identified both in the *Homeric Hymn to Dionysus* and Theocritus’ *Lenai* as one of the god’s claimed birthplaces, must be the same as Mount Drekanon on Kos mentioned by Strabo.¹²⁵⁷ As a result, a new corroborative double pattern emerges: A) three notable claimed birthplaces of Dionysus correlate with their also being gateways to Hades: i) the Alpheus—the river of Nestor’s Pylos, ii) Eurypylos’ Kos and iii) the Lernean marsh, which in Argive cult is the location where Perseus disposes of Dionysus’ corpse and out of whose depths the god is brought back to life in the Spring. B) All these birth/death places of Dionysus are also locations where Herakles confronts Death: Hades Personified at Pylos, the Hydra at the Lernean marsh¹²⁵⁸ and Eurypylos at Kos “the Detention Center” where Zeus exceptionally feels compelled to break the pattern of non-interventionism on behalf of his son. This is a sixth reason to think of Cos as an infernal prison.

This conception of Kos as a gateway to Hades receives onomastic confirmation both from the name of Coan Eurypylos’ daughter *Chalciope*—mother of Thessalos—and the ethnonym Merops: Chalciope is also the daughter of Aietes son of the Sun in the kingdom of Colchis, dialectic variant of Chalcis “the kingdom of Bronze”; the latter

¹²⁵⁶ “Theokrits Dionysos aus einer Inschrift erläutert” 1891:180

¹²⁵⁷ Maass 1891: his evidence rests on a combination of a) the juxtaposition of Drakanon to Ikaros as another claimed birthplace of Dionysos—Kos and Ikaros are geographically close; b) cultic evidence found on Kos and c) an inscription found in Magnesia on the Maiandros pertaining to the cult of Dionysos.

¹²⁵⁸ Like Kos, the Lernean marsh is also associated with the myth of Demeter of Persephone: it is where Hades abducted Persephone according to Pausanias.

Merops is also the king of Egypt and (adoptive) father of Phaethon—son of the Sun. Both Colchis and Egypt were imagined as the ends of the earth: there too, the gates of the Sun—the same as the Gates of Hades—are to be found.¹²⁵⁹

The importance of Herakles' accidental journey to Cos is such that it is mentioned explicitly in two other places in the *Iliad*: in both, it follows the hero's previous sack of Troy (ἔπλεεν Ἰλιόθεν Τρώων πόλιν ἐξαλαπάξας: 14.251)—the one goal all the Achaeans are striving for, once again. First, at 14.250-257, Sleep recounts how together with Hera he put Zeus to sleep, thus allowing her and the winds to blow Herakles' ship off course to a most distant island, which was as remote from Troy as it was from Herakles' Argive homeland.

ἦματι τῷ ὅτε κείνος ὑπέρθυμος Διὸς υἱὸς [14.250
 ἔπλεεν Ἰλιόθεν Τρώων πόλιν ἐξαλαπάξας.
 ἦτοι ἐγὼ μὲν ἔλεξα Διὸς νόον αἰγιόχοιο
 νήδυμος ἀμφιχυθείς· σὺ δέ οἱ **κακὰ μῆσαι** θυμῷ
 ὄρσασ' ἀργαλέων **ἀνέμων** ἐπὶ πόντον ἀήτας,
 καί μιν ἔπειτα Κόων δ' εὔ ναιομένην ἀπένεικας [255
νόσφι φίλων πάντων. ὃ δ' ἐπεγρόμενος χαλέπαινε
 ῥιπτάζων κατὰ δῶμα θεοῦς,

on the day when that mega-spirited son of Zeus
 was sailing from Ilios, having sacked the Trojans' city.
 Then I poured my sweetness around the mind of aegis-bearing Zeus
 And for Herakles you devised disasters in your heart,
 Having aroused over the sea the blasts of galling winds,
 And having borne him then to Kos the populous,
 Far from all his friends. And when Zeus woke up he became angry
 Throwing gods in the house around

¹²⁵⁹ A Cyrenian Eurypylos, son-in-law of the Sun, first mentioned in Pindar's *Pythian Ode 4* in the setting of the cosmic Ocean, refracts this Coan Eurypylos: the basic idea is their location somewhere in the mythical south (see Pindar, *Pythian Ode 4*. 57; Scholia on Pindar, *Pythian Ode 4*. 57; Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica*; 4. 1561, Tzetzes on Lycophron, 886;).

Cos is thus presented as an undesirable place for Herakles to go, an *anti-nostos* destination, located “far from his friends,” (14.256), Argos (15.30) and near the opposite end of the East Aegean on a north (Troy) to south (Cos) axis. By sending him to Cos, Herakles-hating Hera meant to prevent the hero’s homeward journey and harm him (οἱ κακὰ μήσαο). My contention is that the Iliadic Cos is presented as a semi-mythical place at the ends of the earth—a Hades of sorts.

In the passage from book 14, Zeus is furious and out of control when he finds out that his son was sent to Cos: is Cos such a bad place, one might ask? If the god’s reaction is commensurate to the undesirability of the place, then yes. Another clue is the means by which a *Troia capta* Herakles is taken there. The passage from book 14 text vaguely says that painful winds (ἀργαλέων ἀνέμων) mediated Hera’s wish to send Herakles’ ship to Cos. In and of themselves, winds have the ability to convey to the ends of the earth.¹²⁶⁰ In the *Odyssey*, a despondent Penelope expresses her death wish by envisioning a gust of wind snatching her up and taking her to the river Ocean (20.63-65 ἀναρπάξασα θύελλα... Ὠκεανοῖο).

As to the identity of the wind sent by Hera to drive Herakles away from home, the passage from book 15 is more specific: Zeus says that the Boreas (ξὺν Βορέῃ ἀνέμῳ: line 16) mediated Hera’s plan. A systematic survey of the Boreas in ancient Greek poetry shows that the Boreas is the only explicitly-named wind who ever takes to the ends of the earth: at *Odyssey* 10.506, the Boreas is the wind that takes Odysseus and his crew from Circe’s Aiaian island to Hades; in a fragment of Sophocles,¹²⁶¹ the

¹²⁶⁰ See Nagy 1979:195

¹²⁶¹ Strabo 7.3.1

Boreas snatches the Athenian Oreithyia up and takes her “to the ancient Garden of Phoebus [the land of the Hyperboreans”].

Another clue is the name of Kos itself, which is listed in Hesychius' lexicon as a noun: it is a "public prison" at Corinth and the plural κῶες are "prisoners" at Corinth according to Stephanus of Byzantium. The *Iliad's* Homeridai appear to display awareness of the island's meaning as “the Penitentiary” on six grounds: by his own admission, Zeus went out of his way to rescue (ῥυσάμην) his son Herakles thence (15.29-30):

τὸν μὲν ἐγὼν ἔνθεν ῥυσάμην καὶ ἀνήγαγον αὐτίς
Ἄργος ἐς ἰππόβοτον καὶ πολλὰ περ ἀθλήσαντα.

Him [my son Herakles] I thence saved and brought him back
To Horse-nourishing Argos because he had endured so much

This is the only known instance in the geste of Herakles in which Zeus personally intervenes to rescue his son, otherwise known for overcoming the strongest enemies and extricating himself from the most parlous states. The king of the gods must have had a very good reason to rescue his son: one rescues people from places of great danger or places from which one cannot escape—places where one is *detained*.

Second, the reading of Kos as “the Detention Center” is lent support by its placement in the 20th entry of the Catalogue of Ships: this is very close to Protesilaos' 22nd entry in which the most important toponym, rich in mythology, bears the same meaning: *Phylake* “Jail” with its eponym *Phylakos* “Jailkeeper.” The famous seer Melampous had been detained there in an underground prison and had to defend himself at one point against a three-headed dog: the myth of Melampous detained at an infernal

“Detention Center”¹²⁶² is illustrative of the ancient conception of Hades as a prison¹²⁶³: the narrative proximity of *Kos* to *Phylake* is one of many clues that the island was meant to be read as the lexeme κῶς later attested at Corinth.

Third, Herakles’ abduction to Kos by the Boreas after his sack of Troy inscribes itself within the typology of others sackers of Troy that have gone astray before achieving their *nostos*: their deviation takes them to the ends of the earth. It is of course the case of Odysseus; it is also the case of Menelaos (*Odyssey* 4.84-89 Αἰθιοπᾶς θ’ ἰκόμην...). Fourth, the Koans themselves appear to have construed their island as the Detention Center. As the contributor of Kos’ *RE* entry points out, the depiction of a crab on local coins may not just mean that sea-girt Cos is the natural habitat of the armored amphibian: it would also allude to the self-derisive notion that the name of their island means “prison”: crab in Greek καρκίνος, which also means ‘cancer’, is phonetically and thematically related to the notion of in-*carcer*-ation: crab in Greek sounds like κάρκαρον “prison” and καρκάδων “the fee paid to Charon by the dead”.¹²⁶⁴ It is also noteworthy that crabs have chthonic associations by the very fact that they are amphibian creatures like Aristophanes’ eponymous frogs; significantly, Herakles was also attacked by a crab at the marsh of Lerna—notorious gateway to the underworld, while the hero was occupied with the more formidable Lernean hydra.

3.1.2.8.2. Trachis and Mount Oita in Achilles’ Catalogue Entry

¹²⁶² I thank Gregory Nagy for this felicitous English rendition.

¹²⁶³ Cf καρκάδων “the fee paid to Charon by the dead” (Photius & Suidas), akin to κάρκαρον ‘prison.’

¹²⁶⁴ Photius & Suidas. The same connection between crabs and prisons also occurs in Latin with the same Indo-European root: Latin *cancer* ‘crab’ vs. *carcer* ‘prison’, both from reduplicated IE **kar-kar*, dissimilated to *cancer* in the former case (cf Latin *carmen* from **kan-men*, from the separate root of *canere* ‘to sing’).

I will now demonstrate that Herakles' Mount Oita is the elephant in the room of Achilles' entry in the Catalogue of Ships. Let us now turn to it and include for the sake of the argument the foregoing entry of Dorian Hexapolis contingent led by the two sons of the Herakleid Thessalos (2.676-291):

Οἱ δ' ἄρα Νίσυρόν τ' εἶχον Κράπαθόν τε Κάσον τε
καὶ Κῶν Εὐρυπύλοιο πόλιν νήσους τε Καλύδνας,
τῶν αὖ Φεΐδιππός τε καὶ Ἄντιφος ἡγησάσθην
Θεσσαλοῦ υἱε δὴ δὴ Ἡρακλεΐδαο ἀνακτος·
τοῖς δὲ τριήκοντα γλαφυραὶ νέες ἐστιχόωντο. [680]

Nūn αὖ τοὺς ὅσσοι τὸ Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος ἔναιον, [681]
[oito]

οἱ τ' Ἄλον οἱ τ' Ἀλόπην οἱ τε Τρηχίνα νέμοντο,
[Oita¹²⁶⁵] [Oita] [Oite]
οἱ τ' εἶχον Φθίην ἠδ' Ἑλλάδα καλλιγύναικα,
[Oite]

Μυρμιδόνες δὲ καλεῦντο καὶ Ἕλληνες καὶ Ἀχαιοί,
τῶν αὖ πεντήκοντα νεῶν ἦν ἀρχὸς Ἀχιλλεύς.

Ἄλλ' οἱ γ' οὐ πολέμοιο δυσηχέος ἐμνώνοντο·
οὐ γὰρ ἔην ὅς τις σφιν ἐπὶ στίχας ἡγήσαιτο·
κεῖτο γὰρ ἐν νήεσσι ποδάρκης δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς
κούρης χωόμενος Βρισηΐδος ἠϋκόμοιο,
τὴν ἐκ Λυρνησοῦ ἐξείλετο πολλὰ μογήσας [690]
Λυρνησσὸν διαπορθήσας καὶ **τείχεα Θήβης**,

Those that held Nisyros and Krapathos and Kasos
And Kos Eurypylus' city and the Calydnan islands,
Were led by Pheidippos and Antiphos
Thessalos' two sons descendants of **Herakles** the lord

And now, all those who dwelled in Pelasgian Argos

Oito

Who inhabited (both) "Alo-n/" (/and) "Alope" and (even) Trachis,

Oita..... *Oita*..... *Oite*.....

And even held Phthia ["Land of Perishment"] and Hellas with its beautiful women,

Oite

¹²⁶⁵ In an early pre-Athenian, East Ionian performance context, in which psilosis is attested since the inception of the alphabet, our *οἱ τ' Ἄλον* could have been enunciated as [*oita-lon*], *not* [*hoita-lon*]. See West 2011 who postulates the possibility of an earlier psilotic *Iliad* on the strength of Zenodotean and Stesimbrotean variations in the text: the rough breathings in our standard *Iliad* would thus have represented a subsequent evolution in the orality of the poem. In the alternative scenario of a synchronically wandering text, one can also imagine fluctuations in the pronunciation of the text in accordance with local dialects, inasmuch as the resultant adaptations did not affect the meter. Regardless, the repetition of the sequence *OitV* remains: it is a brilliant exemplum of semantic and syntactic ambiguity.

Myrmidons [“Antmen”] they were called and Hellenes and Achaeans.
Of their fifty ships was Achilles the leader.

The statistical frequency of the phonetic sequence *Oito, Oita, Oita, Oite, Oite* in the very first three lines of Achilles’ very own entry in the Catalogue of Ships is extraordinary: in three lines only—the hero’s very first lines in the *Catalogue of Ships*—the name and transparently cognate forms of the famous mountain where Herakles perished is repeated a record of five times: Οἴτη, Οἴτα-ῖος (adj.) οἴτο-ς (cognate ‘doom’) as in the Sapphic compound Οἰτόλινο¹²⁶⁶ “doomed Linos”: the latter compound form suggests that the root of Mount Oita could be used in threnodies and lamentation songs.

A systematic survey of the entire *Iliad* reveals that this polyptonic garden path structure *OitV* five times in three lines only is unparalleled, and therefore meaningful and deliberate:¹²⁶⁷ for instance, one might have been inclined to think that the sequence ὄσσοι τὸ occurs many other times in the *Iliad*, but in fact it occurs nowhere else conjointly in the monumental poem: it was not even necessary to include the definite article τὸ before Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος—there is no other example in the *Iliad* of the place

¹²⁶⁶ Sappho 62 B in Pausanias 9.29.8.

¹²⁶⁷ In one of the two other instances in which a higher than average concentration of the sequence *OitV* occurs, a more tentative connection with Herakles can also be discerned. The Boeotian Catalogue of Ships—the largest in the *Iliad*—contains a high frequency too, but it is more scattered, requires less craft and is always word-initial. Boeotia is obviously the birthplace of Herakles. As for Menelaos’ entry, the repetition of *OitV* must also be deliberate in light of the phonetically anomalous vocalization of the initial *O-* in the city of *Oitylos*, which demonstrably stems from an earlier **Witulos*. One would have expected an Ionic/Homeric rendering **Itulos*, but it would appear that the *Homeridai* vocalized the initial digamma for the sake of creating a line in which the initial οἷ τε (*oite*) is echoed by Οἴτω- : οἷ τε Λάαν εἶχον ἦδ’ Οἴτυλον..., both of which are preceded by a third *oita* in the previous line. For one thing, *Oitylos* contains the name of *Itylos*, tragic son of the Theban divine twin *Zethos* slain accidentally by his own mother *Aedon* “the Nightingale.” Second, there is the co-mentioning of *Oitylos* with Ur-Achaean *Amyklai*, which was famous for its prolonged resistance against the invading Dorians—the people of Herakles (Pausanias 3.2.6). Third, *Oitylos* is juxtaposed to the city of *Laas*, whose sack by Helen’s brothers the *Tyndarids* allegedly gave rise to their cult title *Lapersai* “the Sackers of *Laas*.” Fourth, the co-mentioning of Menelaos’ toponym *Augeiai* brings to mind king *Augeias*, whose name is associated with one of the twelve labors of Herakles. Fifth, the co-mentioning of *Helos* “the Swamp,” a doublet of Nestor’s own *Helos*, carries thanatic connotations.

name Ἄργος ever preceded by τὸ, e.g. 19.120 καρπαλίμως δ' ἵκετ' Ἄργος Ἀχαικόν; but putting τὸ right after ὅσσοι enables the first instantiation of the metagrammatical mantra *OitV*, which brings “doom” to mind and Mount Oita. The next line contains the *Iliad*'s record number of homophonous *OitV*'s in a single line—οἷ τ' Ἄλον οἷ τ' Ἀλόπην οἷ τε Τρηχῖνα νέμοντο (682): obviously, the collocation οἷ τ(ε) is easy to construct, but it is unparalleled in the entirety of the *Iliad* because elsewhere the Homeridai avoid the repetition of the conjunction τε on the same line and replace its potential second iteration with a synonym like ἦδε or καί, e.g. 2.504 οἷ τε Πλάταιαν ἔχον ἦδ' οἷ Γλισᾶντ' ἐνέμοντο “those who held Plataia and inhabited Glisas.” Much thought must have been put into the verbal crafting of Achilles' own entry in the Catalogue of Ships, as we begin to unravel its exceptional hermeneutic multi-layeredness.

This incantatory vocalization of Mount Oita in Achilles' Catalogue entry is borne out by many clues in the text. Besides the explicit mention of Herakles and Thessalos in the previous entry, the second line of Achilles' entry, which contains the *Iliad*'s record number of homophonous *Oita*'s in a single line—οἷ τ' Ἄλον οἷ τ' Ἀλόπην οἷ τε Τρηχῖνα νέμοντο (682)—includes the mythologically charged city of *Trachis*. As popularized by the title of Sophocles' play *Trachinian Women*, Trachis was located in the vicinity of Mount Oita and played a key role at the end of Herakles' life: having completed his twelve labors, he and his wife fled the Peloponnese and found refuge there. It is in Trachis that Deianeira gave her husband the poisoned robe within which he would soon die an excruciating death. The semantic relation between Achilles' otherwise obscure city of *Alope*,¹²⁶⁸ “Unpeeled” (ἄλοπος) and *Trachis* akin to τραχ-ύς “rough,” “prickly” in

¹²⁶⁸ According to Steph. Of Byz., the name is quite common throughout the Aegean: Ἀλόπη, πόλις Θεσσαλίας, ἀπὸ Ἀλόπης τῆς Κερκυόνης ὡς Φερεκύδης, ἢ τῆς Ἄκτορος ὡς Φίλων. ἔστι δὲ μεταξὺ

the same Oita-riddled line οἶ τ' Ἄλον οἶ τ' Ἀλόπην οἶ τε Τρηχῖνα νέμοντο seems to riddlingly and grimly highlight Herakles' transition from health to throes of death, as Nessos' poison seeped under the hero's skin.

3.2. Of Ants, Ant-cestors and Other Insects: The Myrmidons and the Phthian Tenthredon

The people of Achilles is referred to as the Myrmidons in the *Iliad*. The Homeric poem never says that 'Myrmidon' means 'Ant-man', but an overwhelming number of other sources say that it does: Μυρμιδών and μύρμηξ 'ant' are related, cf. the title of Pherecrates' play Μυρμηκάνθρωποι. Achilles' grandfather *Aiakos*, of whom Achilles is the proud offspring, as evidenced by Achilles' rare transgenerational patronymic *Aiakides*,¹²⁶⁹ was an Adam of sorts: on the island of Aigina, Zeus remedied Aiakos' loneliness by turning the insular ants into the first human beings of the island.¹²⁷⁰

3.2.1. Tenthredon

What is less known is the significance and relevance of Prothoos' father *Tenthredon*. Prothoos is the leader of the Magnesians contingent: his inherent Phthianness is inferable from his territory, which not only includes the river Peneios (again, a Phthian landmark according to Hesiod) but also Mount Pelion: Μαγνήτων δ' ἦρχε Πρόθοος Τενθρηδόνοιο υἱός, / οἱ περὶ Πηγεῖον καὶ Πήλιον εἰνοσίφυλλον (*Iliad* 2.756-757). Mount

Λαρίσσης τῆς Κρεμαστῆς καὶ Ἐχίνου. δευτέρα ἐστὶ καὶ τῆς (10) Ἀττικῆς Ἀλόπη. τρίτη Πόντου, ἀφ' ἧς Πενθεσίλεια. τετάρτη περὶ Εὐβοίαν. πέμπτη περὶ Δελφούς. ἕκτη περὶ Λοκρίδα. Ὅμηρος τὴν μεταξὺ Μυσίας καὶ Καρίας καὶ Λυδίας παράλιον φησὶν „ἐλθόντ' ἐξ Ἀλόπης, ὅθ' Ἀμαζονίδων γένος ἐστίν“. ὁ πολίτης κατὰ τέχνην Ἀλοπίτης. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἀλοπεύς.

¹²⁶⁹ See Figueira 2012.

¹²⁷⁰ Hesiodic fragment in Schol. to Pind. *Nem.* III 13 (21); Apollodorus 3.12.6.

Pelion connects folk-etymologically to Achilles' father Peleus and etymologically to Achilles' own Pelian spear.

Remarkably, according to Aristotle and Dioscorides, the name of Prothoos' father *Tenthredon*, is in fact “a kind of wasp that makes its nest in the earth”¹²⁷¹ and looks like a bee:¹²⁷² as suggested by Macurdy, *τενθρηδών* may have even plainly meant ‘bee’ or a variety of ‘bee’ in some dialects, since the cognate *τενθρηνιώδης* means ‘honeycombed’.¹²⁷³ The formation of *Tenthre-don* is obviously the same as *Myrmi-don*, whose eponym is also attested by a variety of sources.¹²⁷⁴ Insects also make an appearance in Melampous' chthonic imprisonment in Phthian Phylake: *worms* tell Melampous that the roof of his prison is going to cave in; Melampous must accordingly asked to be changed to another prison.¹²⁷⁵ In other words, the Phthian contingents in the *Iliad* evince a propensity for various insects: ants, worms, bee-like wasps and perhaps even bees.¹²⁷⁶

¹²⁷¹ Aristotle, *Historia Animalium* 629a31, Dioscorides 5.109.

¹²⁷² Kleitarkhos in Demetrius *De Elocutione* 304: ὁ Κλείταρχος περὶ τῆς τενθρηδόνος λέγων, ζώου μελίσση ἐοικότος.

¹²⁷³ Hp.Anat.1 (τεθρ- codd.), Democr. ap.Ael.NA12.20 (ubi θρηνῶδες), Plu.2.721f (ubi τενθρηνῶδες). See Macurdy1925:35-36

¹²⁷⁴ *RE*, s.v. ‘Myrmidon’.

¹²⁷⁵ Apollodorus, *Library* 1.99-100 κατὰ τὸ κρυφαῖον τῆς στέγης σκολήκων ἀκούει, τοῦ μὲν ἐρωτῶντος πόσον ἤδη μέρος τοῦ δοκοῦ διαβέβρωται, τῶν (100.) δὲ ἀποκρινομένων λοιπὸν ἐλάχιστον εἶναι. For the connection between worms and rebirth after death, cf the account of a worm creeping out of the body of the dead (avian) Phoenix: the then grows into a new Phoenix by the heat of the sun: Tzetz. *Chil.* v. 397, &c.; Plin. *H. N.* x. 2; Ov. *Met.* xv. 392.

¹²⁷⁶ cf. the *Brahmavaivarta Purana* quoted by Zimmer 1962:3-11: “Vishnu visits Indra's palace in the form of a Brahmin boy; Indra welcomes him in. Vishnu praises Indra's palace, casually adding that no former Indra had succeeded in building such a palace. At first, Indra is amused by the Brahmin boy's claim to know of former Indras. But the amusement turns to horror as the boy tells about Indra's ancestors, about the great cycles of creation and destruction, and even about the infinite number of worlds scattered through the void, each with its own Indra. The boy claims to have seen them all. During the boy's speech, a procession of ants had entered the hall. The boy saw the ants and laughed. Finally humbled, Indra asks the boy why he laughed. The boy reveals that the ants are all former Indras.”

3.2.2. The Pylian Periklymenos the Bee

That Herakles had slain Nestor's war-like shape-shifting brother Periklymenos in the shape of a *bee*, according to Hesiod *fr.* 33 and a later source,¹²⁷⁷ is arguably reflective of Pylos' symbolic identification with the Gates of Hades. At *Iliad* 5.395-397, Pylos is the location where Herakles wounds none other than Hades himself.¹²⁷⁸ In this context, the Pylian ruler Neleus, though ultimately from the root **nes*, comes across as an epithet of Hades, 'the Pitiless one' (νηλεής).¹²⁷⁹ Furthermore, as Eitrem already proposed in 1902, Nestor's sister / Neleus' daughter Πηρώ is a hypocoristic of Persephone.¹²⁸⁰ Accordingly, the Neleid Periklymenos himself can be seen as another hypostasis of Hades, as proposed by Fontenrose 1978:328: *Periklymenos* "The Very Famous one," is in fact, like the simplex *Klymenos* "the Famous one," an epithet of Hades.¹²⁸¹ Since bees, among other insects, may embody the soul or fate of the soul,¹²⁸² I propose that Periklymenos was finally slain by Herakles in the shape of a bee because Periklymenos' kingdom represents the otherworld. Thus, the entomomorphic death of the Pylian Periklymenos is one of the many thanatic features tying Pylos and Phthia: the two regions represent the land of the dead to the Ionians and Dorians respectively.

¹²⁷⁷ Hesiod *fr.* 33 MW (also Apollodorus 1.9.9) quoted by Frame 2009:11.

¹²⁷⁸ τλή δ' Αἴδης ἐν τοῖσι πελώριος ὠκὺν οἴστον,
εὖτέ μιν ὠντός ἀνήρ υἱὸς Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο
ἐν Πύλῳ ἐν νεκύεσσι βαλὼν ὀδύνησιν ἔδωκεν.

¹²⁷⁹ See Eitrem 1902:104-105 (citing Fick-Bechtel S. 431) and Fontenrose 1978:328

¹²⁸⁰ Eitrem 1902:104-105 (citing Fick-Bechtel S. 431), cf. Pfister 1909:95-96; for the identification of Hades with actual geographical locations, cf. Plutarch *Theseus*, in which Persephone is a princess of Epirus, daughter of the Molossian king Aidoneus.

¹²⁸¹ For the sources, see Fontenrose 1978:479-480.

¹²⁸² For sources, see Horsfall 2010:40-41. For the relevance of Bougonia, see John McDonald's 2014 dissertation *Orpheus and the Cow* (Cornell University).

3.2.3. Peleus the King Bee

A missing link between the Phthian ants and bee-like wasps or bees seems to be furnished by Callimachus *fr.* 178 in the *Aitia*, in which one of his characters says that it is traditional in Thessaly for Peleus to be worshipped as the Μυρμιδόνων ἔσσηνα “the king bee of the Myrmidons.” Let us recall that Peleus is the son of Aiakos, leader of the ant-born men. This primary meaning of ἔσσην ‘king bee’ is attested by the *Etymologicum Magnum* 83.31 and borne out by the parallel between the title ‘bee’ (μέλισσα¹²⁸³) given to the priestesses of Artemis and ‘king bee’ (ἔσσην) given to the priests of Artemis at Ephesus. Since the territory of Prothoos, the son of Tenthredon, includes Mount Pelion (Μαγνήτων δ’ ἦρχε Πρόθοος Τενθρηδόνοϋ υἱός, / οἱ περὶ Πηγεῖον καὶ Πήλιον εἰνοσίφυλλον / ναίεσκον: *Iliad* 2.756-758) the generically-named *Prothoos* “Foreward Fast” is conceivably an epichoric multiform of the great Phthian / proto-Thessalian hero Achilles, whose main epithet is ‘swift-footed’.¹²⁸⁴

In his article “the Sacred Anthill and the Cult of the Primordial Mound,” John C. Irwin documents the widespread belief in India that anthills, or rather technically hills built by termites,¹²⁸⁵ are a) “commonly used as altars for sacrifice to the ancestors,” since the ventilation shafts lead down into the netherworld-the realm of the Fathers (*pitrs*)”¹²⁸⁶; b) a symbol of fertility: the *clay* of the anthill is collected for wedding rituals and kneaded into the shape of a phallus; moreover, “in rites performed at the building of

¹²⁸³ The title μέλισσα is given to other priestesses as well, e.g. of Persephone.”

¹²⁸⁴ The Iliadic Catalogue poet semanticizes Prothoos’ name in the line 2.758 τῶν μὲν Πρόθοος θεός ἡγεμόνευε

¹²⁸⁵ The author uses the term ‘anthill’ because it is the traditional term used by anthropologists, according to Irwin.

¹²⁸⁶ Irwin 1982:342

a temple, a piece of *anthill clay* called the ‘embryo’ is inserted into the foundations—a practice already included in the building of a Vedic fire altar.”¹²⁸⁷ Finally, “the groom is expected to chase the bride around an actual mound until, against her resistance, she is ‘captured.’”

3.2.4. Ants, Anthill Clay, Peleus ‘Clay man’ and Mount Pelion ‘Lehmberg’

Irwin’s illuminating Indian comparanda complement and corroborate the limited ancient Greek data on the symbolic identity of Achilles’ Myrmidons, which I argue are given a special metatheatrical status within the Homeric poem: they are *the* army of the Achaeans’ ancestors within the Iliadic narrative itself, or simply put “the army of the dead.”¹²⁸⁸ More specifically, the importance of anthill clay in wedding rituals and the construction of temples dovetails with Achilleus’ father *Peleus* and Achilleus’ *Pelian* spear, both of which owe their name to Mount *Pelion*: in their *RE* entries on ‘Pelion’ and ‘Peleus’, Stählin and Eßlin translate Mount Pelion as *Lehmberg / Tegelberg* ‘Clay Mountain’ on the grounds that geological surveys of Mount Pelion indicate that clay is a major component of its soil. Eßlin summarizes the widespread perception of Peleus as “the Clay hero”:

Dafür [Peleus = ‘Mann vom Pelion’], daß man πηλός durchhörte, spricht Batrachom. 19, wo sich der Frosch Φυσίγναθος seiner Abkunft von Peleus und Hydromedusa rühmt. Beweisend ist Peleus als Name für einen Töpfer bei Athen. XI 474D (Philetairos), ferner das mit Beziehung auf πηλός gebrauchte Πηλείδης in einer Homertravestie des Euboios Athen. XV 699 A und das Witzwort μὴ ποίε τὸν οἶνον πηλέα (mache den Wein nicht dick) bei Demetr. P HRM. 171. Athen. IX 383 C. Eustath. Hom. 772, 37.

The hypothesis is hereby submitted that the ubiquitous clay on Mount Pelion is related to Peleus’ Myrmidon / Antman identity and that the high quality of the clay found in

¹²⁸⁷ Irwin 1982:343

¹²⁸⁸ See subsequent section: “The Myrmidons: the *Iliad*’s Metatheatrical Army of the Dead.”

anthills in Greece may have led to the popular association of clay with ants, hence the possibility that 1) Mount Pelion “Mount Clay-ish” was conceived of as a giant anthill; 2) the name Peleus “Clay hero” automatically conjured up the idea of ants, independently of the arguably resultant tradition that makes him a Myrmidon, son of Aiakos. In his doctoral dissertation *Anthill As a Resource For Ceramics*,” Adjei-Henne’ fieldwork on anthills in Ghana shows how locals can and should avail themselves of the high-quality clay found in anthills for the production of ceramics.¹²⁸⁹

If the clay of anthills in Greece (or certain parts of Thessaly) was used in wedding rituals, as it is in India, then the location of Peleus’ extraordinary wedding to Thetis on Mount Pelion could be relatable to Peleus’ Myrmidon identity. Further, Thetis’ resistance to Peleus as he clasps her and attempts to prevent her from escaping as she transforms herself into various beasts, could be related to the ritualized resistance, which Indian brides show the bridegroom around the anthill. Mount Pelion is also where Achilles’ Pelian spear was carved from ash trees, which is yet another cosmogonic and anthropogonic symbol¹²⁹⁰; the wood of the *first ship* ever wrought, the Argo,¹²⁹¹ also came from the forest of Mount Pelion. Peleus had also been ambushed by Akastos in the woods of Mount Pelion.¹²⁹²

The discrepancy between ants and Irwin’s termites in our discussion of anthills is nugatory because 1) ants and termites look and behave alike from a human

¹²⁸⁹ George Adjei-Henne, Ph.D. Dissertation, 2009, Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology.

¹²⁹⁰ See below “Achilles’ Pelian Ash Spear and Anthropogony.”

¹²⁹¹ Eratosthenes *Catasterismi* 1.35; Valerius Flaccus, *Argonautica*, 1.273-276; Orphic *Argonautica* 64ff.

¹²⁹² For the sources, see Eßlin in *RE*, s.v. ‘Peleus’.

perspective¹²⁹³; 2) most importantly, they are both eusocial ground insects that create hills with small passageways that lead into the earth, hence the proclivity, attested worldwide, for them to be thought of having access to the underworld; 3) Prothoos' father *Tenthredon*, whose homonymous noun is widely interpreted as a kind of bee-like wasp, shares this specific feature: it nests in the ground: Ἡ δὲ τενθρηδὼν...ἐκτίκται δὲ κατὰ γῆς.¹²⁹⁴ In Filipino folklore, a dwarf-like creature thought to reside in anthills is known as *Nuno sa Punso*, literally “Ancestor/Grandparent living in the the anthill.”¹²⁹⁵ Along similar lines, Irwin further suggests that a number of chiefs in Iron Age Africa were buried in the hills of termites.¹²⁹⁶

Phthia: Land of the Forefathers

The myth of Aiakos, in which Aigina's first humans were created from the island's ants, suggests that there is a connection between the otherworldly elements among the Phthian contingents and the entomological onomastics: this insect-like army of Myrmidons and Tenthredon, a father figure,¹²⁹⁷ reflect the popular belief in ancient Greece that the souls of the dead became or could become insects.¹²⁹⁸ Phthia or northern Greece (Thessaly and Epirus) concentrates such insects on account of the major Dorian /

¹²⁹³ Termites are often referred to as “white ants” in Australia.

¹²⁹⁴ Aristotle, *Historia Animalium* 629a.

¹²⁹⁵ Acuna 2012

¹²⁹⁶ Irwin 1982:357: “the association of termite mounds with the home of the dead ancestors may throw light on African archaeology, where iron age burials have been reported in termite mounds.65 African archaeologists unfamiliar with the termite cult as it exists in India have perhaps too readily assumed that the mound must postdate the cemetery (in one case attributed by its remains to the seventh century A.D.). Who is to say that the burial of chiefs in termite mounds was not the earlier custom?”

¹²⁹⁷ Tenthredon is the father of Prothoos, leader of the Magnesians in the Catalogue of Ships. As a father figure, he can represent an ancestral figure, cf. Patroklos “glory of the fathers/ancestors” or Lykaon “the Lycaonian/Lycian” the father of Pandaros.

¹²⁹⁸ Rory 1994:1-10.

“New Greek” component in the retrojected construction of 8th/7th century BCE Achaean identity, the recessive “Old Greek” component being represented by the Trojans and Nestor’s ill-definable Neleid Ionians.

It is now the purpose of the present section to demonstrate the identity of the Iliadic Phthians and Myrmidons as ancestral figures, independently of the folklore on ants.

3.2.5. The Phthian *Gouneus* “the Ancestor”

As stated earlier, the river Peneios in the Catalogue of Ships is shared by the leaders of two Phthian contingents, both of whom never recur in the *Iliad*: the Magnesians Prothoos, the son of the ‘Wasp’ or ‘Bee’ [Tenthredon] and *Gouneus* (2.748). The territory of this shadowy figure is very large, possibly the largest in sheer size or very close to that of Agamemnon’s kingdom: it seems to have stretched from Thessaly’s northeastern Aegean coast in the vicinity of Mount Olympus to Epirus in the west.¹²⁹⁹

The infernal river Styx and Dodona are two thematically coherent landmarks that belong to *Gouneus*’ territory: whereas the Styx shades into the mythical realm of Hades, Dodona belongs to the notional realm of primordiality as the kind of Zeus worshipped there is characterized as ‘Pelasgian’ by Achilles: 16.233 Ζεῦ ἄνα Δωδωναῖε Πελασγικὲ τηλόθι ναίων. This collocation of underworld and primordial elements mirrors the same collocation in Achilles’ Phthia “land of Perishment” / Pelasgian Argos and primordial Ant-men.

Helly has argued that *Gouneus* is an eponymous adaptation of the Perraibian city of Gonnoi, following Herodian 3,1.174.29: Γόννοι πόλις Περραιβίας ἀπὸ Γουνέως

¹²⁹⁹ I write “it seems to stretch” because the only toponym other than the rivers Styx, Peneios and Titaessos named in his territory is *Kyphos* (Γουνεὺς δ’ ἐκ Κύφου: *Iliad* 2.748), which according to Strabo is a Perraibian mountain (9.5.22: Κύφον, Περραιβικὸν ὄρος) and also a city, according to Stephanus of Byzantium.

κληθεῖσα τοῦ ἀπογόνου Κύφου. οὕτως φησὶν Ὅμηρος. Certainly. But ‘adaptation’ implies that the connection between the hero and the Perrhaibian city is not straightforward: Perpillou went as far as to deny the connection between Gouneus and Gonnoi together, pointing out that Homeric *Gonneus would be the expected eponym of the city.¹³⁰⁰ Although it is unreasonable to deny the connection between the hero and the city, in light of the significance of the latter to the Perrhaiboi as shown by Helly, the question is what Homer achieved by adapting the expected eponym *Gonneus to *Gouneus: arguably, *Gonneus was modified to *Gouneus* because it is the expected metrical allophone of γονεύς ‘ancestor’ in the first syllable of the dactylic hexameter (2.748: Γουνεὺς δ’ ἐκ Κύφου ἦγε δῶ καὶ εἴκοσι νῆας·), cf. Homeric *Poulydamas*, metrical variant of Polydamas. Such modifications of toponyms and ethnonyms is not foreign to Homer: as demonstrated by Reece, the *Abioi* at the start of book 13 are a modification for the sake of various paronomasias of the historically attested Scythian ethnos the *Gabioi*.¹³⁰¹

The proposed translation for Gouneus, leader of the Perrhaiboi and Ainianes, “Ancestor” is in keeping with our analysis of Phthia and Myrmidons as the land and army of the dead ancestors. Moreover, line 2.748 in which he appears Γουνεὺς δ’ ἐκ Κύφου ἦγε δῶ καὶ εἴκοσι νῆας thus lends itself to a joke, which most likely any Ionian would have picked up on, whether or not he knew that Kyphos was an alleged town/river in northern Thessaly: the nouns κῶφος and κυφός translate as “hunchback” and

¹³⁰⁰ Perpillou 1973.

¹³⁰¹ Reece 2001 “The Ἄβιοι and the Γάβιοι: An Aeschylean Solution to a Homeric Problem.” Even the Homeric name of *Odysseus* vs. *Olyseus* / *Olytteus* of archaic Greek inscriptions (cf. subsequent Latin *Vlixes*) has nothing to do with the *d/l* alternation of pre-Greek onomastics, as seen in *labyrinthos* vs. Linear B *da-pu-ri-to-jo*, but is rather motivated by Homeric folk-etymological paronomasias with *odussasthai* and *odune*, see Kretschmer 1896: 280-281. Counter-intuitively, the *delta* of Homeric *Odysseus* is younger than the *lambda* of Latin *Vlixes*.

"hunchbacked"; so that line 2.748 readily reads as "and Ancestor led from Hunchback twenty two ships." Let us recall that Gouneus rules over 1) Pelasgian Dodona, that the Pelasgians were remembered as a primordial, ancestral population; 2) the river Styx, river of Hades; 3) includes the river Peneios, a landmark of Phthia according to Hesiodic *fr.* 215 MW. In turn, this Gouneus is a multiform of such Phthian prototypical figures as Aiakos, Peleus, Tenthredon, Phylakos, Achilles and his ritual substitute Patroklos "Glory of the Forefathers."

3.3. Phthians and Myrmidons: The *Iliad's* Metatheatrical Army of the Dead

3.3.1. Achilles' *klisie* 'shelter' / 'tomb'

Are the Phthians and the Myrmidons portrayed like any Achaean ethnos or is there anything that sets them apart as it pertains to the present contention that they hail from Phthia, the land of the Dead? Yes, there is: in the narrative present of our Homeric *Iliad*, the Phthians and the Myrmidons tend to be either dead or *absent*. Dead though Protesilaos is from the standpoint of the poem, the Homeric narrator reminds the audience of his lingering significance on several scattered occasions (2.698; 13.681; 15.705; 16.286). Philoktetes too is missing: he is not dead, but he is languishing in another symbolic land of death, Lemnos.¹³⁰² The connection between death and absence is evident in the *Odyssey*, in which Odysseus is missing from the standpoint of his Ithacan household and friends: the uncertainty as to whether he is alive or dead blurs the line between absence and death.

Achilles too is absent in most of the 24 books of the *Iliad*: 2 through 8 and 10 through almost the end of book 17. In book 1, he correctly predicts the longing (ποθῆ),

¹³⁰² See elsewhere.

which the Achaeans will feel for him (ἦ ποτ' Ἀχιλλῆος ποθὴ ἴξεται υἱας Ἀχαιῶν / σύμπαντας: 1.240-241), which is the same root as the verb at 2.703 πόθεόν γε μὲν ἀρχόν “but they really missed their leader,” which describes the longing of Protesilaos’ men for him.¹³⁰³ From the moment Achilles withdraws from battle at the end of book 1, Achilles is functionally dead, until his return to battle near the end of book 17. In reference to the three juxtaposed words σταθμούς, κλισίας and σηκούς at 18.587-89, which describes a pastoral setting on the Shield of Achilles, Nagy remarks and contends:

The pastoral word *sēkos* refers not only to the enclosure where a herd is penned in but also to the enclosure where a cult hero is buried and worshipped. I will now argue that such sacral connotations are attached to the pastoral words *klisia* and *stathmos* as well. All three words connote traditional images typical of cult heroes.

... The station of Achilles on the coast of the Hellespont is marked by the space where his *klisia* 'shelter' stands at the beach (again, VIII 220-26 and XI 5-9). In the narrative topography of the *Iliad*, the hero's *stathmos* 'station' is imagined as the abode he frequents in the heroic time of the Trojan War. But it is also imagined as the abode that the hero frequents after death [maps provided pp157-158], in the future time of audiences listening to the story of the Trojan War.¹³⁰⁴

Nagy’s brilliant argument about the funerary potential of Achilles’ *klisia*, commonly translated as ‘shelter’ or ‘tent’, is geographical and contextual, but additional reasons, both lexical and contextual, can be made for the funerary valence of the hero’s *klisia*, as demonstrated by Angeliki Petropoulou (1988:488-489):

In a communication published in 1937, P. Thielscher remarked that in the description of Patroklos' burial one misses "die Totenkammer," i.e., the chamber where the body is laid. Thielscher argued that this is actually mentioned but scholars have failed to see it: ἐν κλισίῃσι δὲ θέντες [*Iliad* 23.254] does not mean that the φιάλη was "temporarily" brought into Achilleus' military hut but instead κλισίαι signifies the "Totenkammer" found in the middle of the stone circle (i.e., the θεμεῖλια), which is then covered with a cone of earth... The Homeric heroes, as contrasted with their Mycenaean predecessors, always cremate their dead, whose remains are either directly covered with a mound of earth or first placed in a grave over which a tumulus is raised. The latter instance is known from the burial of Hektor's remains in a tomb called κοίλη κάπετος i.e., a sort of deep "shaft" grave which is covered with large stone slabs: αἶψα δ' ἄρ' ἐς κοίλην

¹³⁰³ See Nagy 2013, 14§37.

¹³⁰⁴ Nagy 2012:153

κάπετον θέσαν, αὐτὰρ ὕπερθε / πυκνοῖσιν λάεσσι κατεστόρεσαν μεγάλοισι (*Iliad* 24.797f.). This sort of grave Thielscher quoted as a parallel to the κλισίαι at 23.254. In fact, the suggestion that κλισίαι signifies the "tomb" where the φιάλη were placed, and which is called κάπετος in Hektor's case, was first made by H. Düntzer in the previous century. ... In post-Homeric epitaphs, the tomb is occasionally called κλισία as, for example, the εὐσεβέων...κλισίην, on inscriptions found at Smyrna and on the island of Syros respectively. These texts are, of course, late, dating from the second century B.C. or A.D., but their diction is epic. Similarly late is the Hellenistic poem from a grave in Egypt which refers to the tomb as τᾶς...Αἰδεω...κλισί[ας] Φερσεφόνης ἱερὰ κλισία. Wilamowitz translated the latter phrase as 'Zelt der Persephone', with the remark that it probably meant a grave of particular shape. The meaning of κλισία, however, in these epitaphs is derived from the notion of κλισία not as 'tent' ('hut' or 'shelter') but as 'Ruhebett' as Frisk has rightly argued.

On p. 490, Petropoulou adds: "That the word κλισίαι does not refer to a tomb elsewhere in Homer may be accidental." Put together with Nagy's finding, however, that Achilles' *klisia* is at the same geographical spot as his future tomb in the Troad, there is a very strong case that Achilles' *klisia* never means simply 'hut' or the like, but always connoted a tomb: to a certain extent, this may also be true of the *klisia* of all Homeric heroes, including Agamemnon, insofar as they were heroes of cult whose *klisiai* in the *hic et nunc* of the 8th/7th centuries BCE were actual tombs from the standpoint of the worshippers and those who knew about their tombs. What is more, the covered nature of any enclosed structure with a roof is conceptually akin to Hades, the covered place, as indicated by the etymology of English *hell* (cognate with Greek καλύπτω) and the Greek formula "house of Hades," e.g. *Iliad* 11.264 δόμον Ἄϊδος εἶσω.

This conclusion perfectly fits the present argument that absence and death are very closely related in Homeric poetry and that Achilles' withdrawal from battle to his κλισίη is not simply a banal description of his retreat to his tent: Achilles' withdrawal to his κλισίη is symbolically tantamount to Achilles' *return to his grave*, where dead heroes of the past belong. Patroklos *appears for the very first time in the Iliad*, precisely when Achilles goes to his *klisie*. Exceptionally, they are conjointly referred to by their stand-

alone patronymics Πηλεΐδης and Μενοιτιάδῃ on two consecutive lines. This is a unique occurrence in the *Iliad* (1.306-307):

Πηλεΐδης μὲν ἐπὶ κλισίας καὶ νῆας εἴσας
ἦϊε σὺν τε Μενοιτιάδῃ καὶ οἷς ἐτάροισιν·

Clayson¹³⁰⁵ to the shelters/tombs and the even-balanced ships
Went with Awaitdoomson and his companions

We will address the symbolism of the ships in a moment. As stated earlier, Patroklos' patronymic *Menoitios* "the One who Awaits his Doom" is only borne by figures in Greek myth who are either shown going to Hades or shown residing in Hades: *Menoites* is a herdsman of Hades and Menoitios in the Hesiodic *Theogony* is shown falling to Tartarus, having been struck by Zeus' thunderbolt: like Patroklos in the *Iliad*, Prometheus' brother Menoitios in the *Theogony* is the only anthropomorphic character who is dispatched to Hades by a god in both poems (Apollo in the case of Patroklos, Zeus in the case of Menoitios).¹³⁰⁶

With his deliberately chosen stand-alone patronymic Μενοιτιάδης, Patroklos is earmarked for death: from the very first moment he makes an appearance in the monumental poem, Homer plays on the notion that the "One who Awaits his Doom" is already going to his tomb by exploiting the polysemy of κλισίας 'shelter' / 'tomb': Πηλεΐδης μὲν ἐπὶ κλισίας .../ ἦϊε σὺν τε Μενοιτιάδῃ καὶ οἷς ἐτάροισιν (1.306-307). And truly he is, in the sense of a domino effect: Patroklos might still be alive at *Iliad* 19.59-60, had Achilles not withdrawn from battle over Briseis, as the son of Peleus himself admits in the same passage.

¹³⁰⁵ For the significance of Peleus *qua* Peleus to Achilles' identity in particular and the Myrmidons in general, see other section.

¹³⁰⁶ See other section.

More famously, it has long been known that Priam’s visit to Achilles is portrayed as a katabasis and that Achilles’ *klisie*, in this scene at least, is analogized to the halls of Hades. De Jáuregui recently stated (2011:37-68), following in the footsteps of Stanley 1993:239 & 393fn20, that “ [in book 24] Achilles’ sitting in his throne against the wall and his retiring from the scene with young Briseis are details which also collaborate to draw his portrait as a sort of ‘King of the Dead’.” This is absolutely correct. But 24 books earlier, near the start of the monumental poem at 1.327-334, Achilles in his *klisie* already comes across as Lord of the Dead, only twenty lines after Patroklos’ first mention in the *Iliad* as “the *Menoitiad* going to his *klisie*,” (1.327-334):

ὦ δ’ ἀέκοντε βάτην παρὰ θῖν’ ἀλὸς ἀτρυγέτιο,
Μυρμιδόνων δ’ ἐπὶ τε κλισίας καὶ νῆας ἰκέσθην,
τὸν δ’ εὔρον παρὰ τε κλισίῃ καὶ νηὶ μελαίνῃ
ἦμενον· οὐδ’ ἄρα τῷ γε ἰδὼν γήθησεν Ἀχιλλεύς.
τῷ μὲν ταρβήσαντε καὶ αἰδομένῳ βασιλῆα
στήτην, οὐδέ τί μιν προσεφώνεον οὐδ’ ἐρέοντο·
αὐτὰρ ὃ ἔγνω ἦσιν ἐνὶ φρεσὶ φώνησέν τε·
«Χαίρετε, κήρυκες, Διὸς ἀγγελοι ἠδὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν

When Agamemnon’s two heralds find Achilles in his *klisie*, he is sitting, as Aidoneus would. This is also the only passage in the *Iliad*, in which Achilles is called a *basileus*.¹³⁰⁷ The context of the heralds coming to Achilles to fetch the youthful (and Dionysiac¹³⁰⁸) Briseis from within the twice-repeated *klisie* (328 & 329) justifies reading αἰδομένῳ βασιλῆα at 331 as a paronomasia on Αἴδης / Αἰδωνεύς the *basileus*.

In the *Odyssey*, Odysseus greets Achilles with a tinge of sarcasm as “the king of the dead”; whereupon Achilles famously replies that he’d rather be a lowly laborer among the living than the king of the dead. Most modern commentators, dazzled by the

¹³⁰⁷ Achilles is called by the near synonym (*w*)*anax* only once in the *Iliad* as well: at 9.164.

¹³⁰⁸ Briseis is the feminine patronymic of *Briseus*, a title of Dionysus (see *RE*, s.v. ‘Briseus’). Dionysus was a katabatic god.

partial light of of epic, most notably our Homeric *Iliad*, have failed to appreciate the conflicting bivalence of Odysseus' characterization of Achilles as lord of the dead: 1) whereas Achilles is a newcomer to Hades from the point of view of epic, which narrated the *life* of Achilles, from the point of view of cult, Achilles was a long-standing denizen of the underworld, as documented by Hommel 1980. Aiakos, Achilles' grandfather, was Judge of the Dead: the ascription of *Aiakides*, a *grandfather's* stand-alone patronymic, to Achilles, a grandson, is exceptional in the *Iliad*, insofar as no other Homeric character is ever referred to by his grandfather's patronymic (only the father's patronymic). This, I argue, is to emphasize Achilles' very special ties to his grandfather, Judge of the Dead, from whom Achilles never was fully differentiated in terms of cult.

To return to *Iliad* 1.327-334, in which Agamemnon's heralds arrive at Achilles' *klisie* to take Briseis with them, the heralds are equivalent to Hermes fetching Persephone from the Underworld—and to Hermes Psychopomp later helping Priam across the river at *Iliad* 24.349-353 & 24.692-695 (De Jáuregui 2011:33-34), since Hermes is the tutelary god of heralds, as he is *the herald of Zeus*, and so are Agamemnon's messengers, as acknowledged by Achilles at 1.334: Χαίρετε, κήρυκες, Διὸς ἄγγελοι.

3.3.2. From Salvific Ships to Funerary Ships

In the examples cited above, *klisie* is juxtaposed to *neus*, which *prima facie* does not carry funerary connotations, hence the possible objection that it is inappropriate to construe *klisie* here in a funerary sense. But one could counter that in fact that there is evidence for the funerary valence of ships in ancient Greek culture, except that little scholarly research has been dedicated to it. For one thing, it has been observed in another section of the present study that a *larnax* is the vessel in which Deukalion survives the

flood according to several ancient authors; in other accounts, he survives the flood in a ship; this is an instance of a salvific *larnax*, one that saves from death. And yet, as is well known, a *larnax* also means a coffin or cinerary urn.¹³⁰⁹ How can the two be reconciled? In all likelihood, there must have been an early belief that a ship with a *Charon* of sorts was necessary in transporting the soul of the dead in the preclassical period, even if the earliest extant evidence for *Charon* appears to be the early 5th century BCE: even after one dies, the soul is still in danger of “not being saved in the afterlife” without a ship to transport him or her to the appropriate destination: the *larnax* must have served double duty as a *larnax* / coffin and a *larnax* / ship to transport the dead body across “the river.” A missing link in support of this hypothesis is the myth of Danae and Perseus: they are placed in a *larnax* and committed to the seas, supposedly in order to die¹³¹⁰; they do survive, but their immediate destination is Seriphos, whose lord is *Polydektes*, an epithet of Hades.¹³¹¹ It is as if Danae’s and Perseus’ *larnax* took them to Hades, from which, however, they will also escape. Southeast Asia offers a typological parallel: in most Austronesian-speaking communities the link between ships and the dead is so strong that the terms for ‘boat’ and ‘coffin’ can be interchangeable.¹³¹²

In the saga of the Trojan war, the automated ship of the Phaeacians that brings Odysseus back to Ithaca, at the appearance of the morning star, just as the sun is rising, has been interpreted as a magical kind of ship that conveys from the world of the dead

¹³⁰⁹ Ebbott 2003

¹³¹⁰ Pherekydes fr. 26 (FGrH), from the scholia to Apollonius of Rhodes 4.1091 quoted by Ebbott 2003:10

¹³¹¹ See *RE*, s.v. ‘Perseus’ and ‘Polydektes’.

¹³¹² Manguin 1986: 196 quoted by Ballard et al. 2004:392.

back to the world of the living. A reverse, complementary example is Philostratos' account of the burial of Locrian Ajax, after he gets killed at the Gyraian Rocks:

Ajax received offerings for the dead such as had never been offered previously or have been since for any mortal, not even for all the many men whom naval battles destroyed. When they had piled wood, as for a funeral pyre, on the Locrian ship that carried Ajax, they sacrificed all the black animals, and when they had equipped the ship with black sails and with many other things invented for sailing, they secured it with cables until the wind blew from the land, the wind that Mount Ida sends forth particularly at dawn. When day appeared and the wind swept down, they set fire to the hollow ship. Buoyed up on the high seas, it sailed away, and before the sun had risen, the ship was consumed, along with all that it bore for Ajax.¹³¹³

In ancient India too, the dead too must be burned at dawn, so that their souls may be carried by the Sun to the highest realms.¹³¹⁴ Like Locrian Ajax's pet snake in *Heroikos* 31 (the same section as this quote), which some modern scholars ridiculed as one of Philostratos' fanciful inventions¹³¹⁵—but was later found depicted on Locrian coins five centuries prior, this funerary ship in which the body of Oilean Ajax was burned is likely to be very ancient. From Philostratos' comments, the ship burial was no longer practiced in his day and age. On the other hand, his claim that this kind of (ship) burial had never been offered before Ajax's own burial can only be taken with a grain of salt: on the contrary, it should be taken as a possible hangover of an early tradition, which may have been regionally (not ubiquitously) extant in the EIA, of burning the bodies of VIP's aboard ships.

Interestingly, archaeology and iconography evidences ship burials in Scandinavia in the same time period (1600 – 600 BCE), as also attested fifteen hundred years later

¹³¹³ *Heroikos* 31, translation Maclaren & Aitkens.

¹³¹⁴ Nagy 1992:93

¹³¹⁵ Scodel

among the Medieval Vikings.¹³¹⁶ The tradition might either be an Indo-European inheritance, a Pan-European innovation or the product of two independently regional innovations, as are likely to occur among the seafaring Scandinavians, seafaring populations of the Aegean and seafaring populations of Micronesia, with whom no historical connection can be assumed. The end of the Bronze Age and EIA are periods in history when seafaring in both the Aegean and Mediterranean at large increased considerably: as such, Aegean cultures would have had a greater propensity for ritualizing the ship in various rites of passage, including death.

The saga of the Trojan War is itself predicated in part on the expansion of the Greeks and or Proto-Greeks into the East Aegean, to a great extent by sea. In the *Iliad*, Hektor has a rather odd obsession with burning the ships of the Achaeans. Why is it so important? Even if he succeeded, the Achaeans could rebuild new ships with the wood from Mount Ida. It has always baffled me why Hektor does not burn at least a few ship among the Achaeans: it had been his *delenda carthago* for sixteen books. Proof that this would have been tantamount to an absolute disaster for the Achaeans is the emphasis on the danger of Protesilaos' ship getting burned: it gets half-burned, but not quite. Protesilaos is himself already dead, and yet burning his ship would seem to spell the doom of the Achaeans. This wouldn't be the case if there weren't a triple metonymic bond tying "the First among the People" (*Protesilaos*) to 2) his ship and 3) the Achaean people at large. It would appear that the ship might have held almost as much critical importance to the survival of the Achaeans in a mystical sense as the cremation of their bodies: the one must be burned, the other one must not be burned. In conclusion, the Iliadic ship appears to have been symbolically similar to a *larnax*. Its salvific function

¹³¹⁶ Ballard et al. 2004:386

encompasses a funerary dimension: the integrity of the ship ensures the conveyance of the soul from this world to the next and conversely from the other world to the present world. When Achilles goes to his *klisie and ship*, it potentially means that he goes to his grave and the ship that conveys him to the beyond.

3.3.3. The Army of the Dead to the Rescue of the Living

Anyone who's read Tolkien's *Lord of the Rings* or seen Peter Jackson's adaptation of it is familiar with the concept of an army of the dead breaking into our world and lending assistance to king Aragorn.¹³¹⁷ If Achilles' and the Myrmidons' withdrawal to their *klisiai* encodes their return to their tombs, then their return to battle, conversely, is equivalent to *the dead rising from their tombs*. This reading is consonant with the present argument that Achilles and Patroklos embody a primordial couple who represent the collective ancestors of the Greeks. The Myrmidons, the Antmen, are the souls of the Dead, and Phthia, the land of Perishment.

It is historically well-attested that in times of peril, many Greeks believed that the heroes of the past could rise from among the dead and literally intervene in the course of events to save their living compatriots. The Epizephyrian Locrians had such faith in their ancestral hero (Oilean) Ajax that they left an empty space for him in their battle line against the Krotoniates at the battle of the Sagra in the 6th century BCE.¹³¹⁸ According to Plutarch, *Theseus* 35 and Pausanias 1.15.3, Theseus and the Athenian hero Echelaios fought alongside the Athenians at the battle of Marathon against the Persians: τῶν ἐν

¹³¹⁷ On the Medieval inspiration for Tolkien's Army of the Dead (the phrase *exercitus mortuorum* is actually used by the early 12th century CE author Orderic Vitalis), see Jane Chance's book *Tolkien the Medievalist* (2003). This concept, in turn, could date back to the Germanic Männerbund, of ultimately IE origin.

¹³¹⁸ Konon FGH 26 F 1; Pausanias 3.19.12–13

Μαραθῶνι πρὸς Μήδους μαχομένων ἔδοξαν οὐκ ὀλίγοι φάσμα Θησέως ἐν ὅπλοις καθορᾶν πρὸ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους φερόμενον. As Foucart points out, such accounts cannot have been late inventions because Polygnotos had represented Theseus and Echelaios among the fighters of Marathon, on the Poikile Stoa.¹³¹⁹ Moreover, “a mid-fifth century epitaph for the war-dead could say ‘one of the god-like demigods came against you and struck you down’.”¹³²⁰

Herodotus 8.27 narrates how, the Phocians, on the advice of the seer Tellias, defeated the Thessalians, through a stratagem: the Phocians were told to attack the Thessalians at night with whitening gypsum over their faces (γυψώσας ἄνδρας...λευκανθίζοντα): when the Thessalians saw them, they took fright and fled, thinking that the Phocians were some sort of supernatural manifestation (ἐφοβήθησαν, δόξασαι ἄλλο τι εἶναι τέρας).¹³²¹ As Christopoulos comments, “the whiteness of the face is here associated with the commonly-held belief in the whiteness of ghosts and the white light that indicates the manifestation of departed spirits.”¹³²²

Thus, with Patroklos “Glory of the Forefathers,” Achilles and his ancestral Antmen coming to the rescue of the Achaeans from their *klisiai*, the *Iliad* re-enacts the historical phenomenon of the Greeks believing in the ability of their ancestral heroes to intervene in the world of the living in times of crisis. The beauty of the poem, however, lies in the paradox that it celebrates dead heroes from the past: Myrmidon or non-

¹³¹⁹ Foucart 1918:78, reference in Figueira 2012.

¹³²⁰ Van Wees 2006:363.

¹³²¹ Passage brought to my attention by Bernstein 2009:118.

¹³²² Christopoulos 1991:220. Citing Jeanmaire, *Couroi et Courètes*, 1939, Christopoulos further writes: “This idea was connected with the initiation rites for ephebes, in which the mystagogues smeared their faces with gypsum to look like ancestral spirits and pretended to kill the candidates for initiation.”

Myrmidon, all the Achaean heroes belong to the heroic past. But by making Achilles and his Myrmidons play the role of salvific returnees from the dead *within the poem*, Homer grants Thessaly and northern Greece the status of ancestral cradle of the Achaeans. Other Achaeans assume the role of living from the standpoint of the narrative, on whom the narrative remains focalized books 2 through 16, but in most of the monumental poem Achilles is either absent or even after he returns to battle and saves the Achaeans from destruction, he often behaves as if he is already dead. From the viewpoint of the Homeric audience, the Homeric Myrmidons are thus the Dead, from among the Dead (the other Achaeans), from whom the former are absent and missing for 17 books. There is thus something metatheatrical about Achilles and his Myrmidons vis-à-vis the other Homeric heroes.

Be that as it may, when Achilles first appears to the Trojans, the manner of his appearance matches key criteria for the apparition of dead heroes temporarily coming back to life to save the day: Iris tells Achilles, even bereft of his armor, to simply appear before the Trojans: Τρώεσσι φάνηθι: 18.198. The root of the verb she uses is used of such apparitions, cf. the φάσμα Θησέως at Marathon and Diodorus' reference to such ἥρωας ἐπιφανεῖς.¹³²³ An irradiating flame or tireless fire appears above his head (ἐκ δ' αὐτοῦ δαῖε φλόγα παμφανόωσαν: 18.206; ἀκάματον πῦρ / δεινὸν ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς: 18:225-226), which is characteristic of the most common interventionist demigods of all, the Dioskouroi.¹³²⁴ Achilles' supernaturally loud voice (*Iliad* 18.218-230), which causes a

¹³²³ Diodorus 5.79.4 quoted by Foucart 1918:77

¹³²⁴ In fact, in subsequent times, the ghost of Achilles on or near Leuke in the Black Sea, behaved like an epichoric Dioskouros, as Arrian recounts in *Periplus* 23.2 οἱ δὲ καὶ ὕπαρ λέγουσιν φανῆναί σφισιν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἴστοῦ ἢ ἐπ' ἄκρου τοῦ κέρως (5) (2.) τὸν Ἀχιλλεῖα, καθάπερ τοὺς Διοσκόρους· τοσόνδε μόνον τῶν

panic among the Trojans, compares with the voice of an unidentified female apparition at Salamis (φάσμα σφι γυναικὸς ἐφάνη), who is mentioned in conjunction with the effigies of the Aiakidai: her voice was so loud that the entire Greek army could hear her (καὶ ἅπαν ἀκοῦσαι τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατόπεδον).¹³²⁵

3.3.4. Patroklos “Glory of the Forefathers”

As a celebration of heroes from the distant past, the *Iliad* is ultimately about the celebration of primordial glorious ancestors. At the center of the epic poem stand Achilles and his inextricable *therapon* Patroklos. Much illuminating work has been done on Achilles’ status as the best of the Achaeans in his own epic, and more broadly the Trojan War saga as we know it, but little research has focused on Achilles’ implicit status as a primordial figure—an Adamic figure of sorts. The connection of Achilles to primordality in the *Iliad*, is, however, paramount. In order to understand why his Myrmidons, Phthians and Phthia are not wholly historical *ethne* and historical territories but rather partially represent an allegorical ethnicization and a spatialization of ancestry, one must first examine the hero’s Adamic identity.

We should begin with extant contributions to the question, which have focused more on Patroklos than Achilles himself. The relevance of the name of Achilles’ ritual substitute *Patroklos* “Glory of the Ancestors” to the *Iliad* has been investigated by Dale Sinos and Gregory Nagy.¹³²⁶ Whatever is true of Patroklos may potentially be true of Achilles because the former is the latter’s *therapon* ‘ritual substitute’: wearing his armor,

Διοσκούρων μείον ἔχειν τὸν Ἀχιλλέα, ὅσον οἱ μὲν Διόσκουροι τοῖς πανταχοῦ πλοῖζομένοις ἐναργεῖς φαίνονται καὶ φανέντες σωτῆρες γίνονται, ὃ δὲ τοῖς πελάζουσιν ἤδη τῇ νήσῳ.

¹³²⁵ Herodotus 8.84.

¹³²⁶ Sinos 1980 & Nagy 1992

Patroklos literally takes on Achilles' appearance and functional identity as he wards off the Achaeans' destruction and leads them to the very gates of Troy; the Apollonian death and funeral of Patroklos prefigure the Apollonian death and funeral of Achilles. When the Nereids mourn the death of Patroklos, it is as if they are mourning Achilles. Patroklos' death drives the plot, no other figure in the *Iliad* has a stronger explicit association with death than Achilles' dear companion: his death and funeral are the culmination of the monumental poem proper and occupy several books.

Patroklos get much more attention in the *Iliad* dead than alive: his death is his primary *kleos* in the etymological sense that the Homeric narrator talks about him more when he's a dead man than a living being. The funeral games in honor of the aptly generically-named "Glory of the Ancestors" enacts and reflects the glory conferred upon *any* distinguished nobleman upon his death, as was the case of Amarynkeus in Nestor's own youth (*Iliad* 23.638-642).

Warning his son Antilochus against the danger raised by the turning point in the chariot race for the funeral games of Patroklos, Nestor tells him at 23.331-333 that it is "either the tomb [*sema*] of a man who died a long time ago [τεν σῆμα βροτοῖο πάλαι κατατεθνηῶτος,] or it was a turning post in the times of earlier men [προτέρων ἀνθρώπων]." In Nagy's and Sinos' own words:

As Dale Sinos points out, the turning points of chariot racecourses at the pan-Hellenic Games were conventionally identified with the tombs of heroes... The tomb shared by Achilles and Patroklos, which is to be visible not only for men of their time but also for the generations of the future (xxiv 80-804), along with the Funeral Games for Achilles (xxiv 85-92), are the two explicit reasons for the everlasting *kléos* of Achilles (xxiv 93-94). In this context the etymology of *sēma* 'sign, tomb' can be brought to bear; as a 'sign' of the dead hero, the 'tomb' is a *reminder* of the hero and his *kléos*. Thus the *sēma* 'tomb' of 'a man who died a long time ago' (XXIII 331) is appropriate for Achilles to set as a turning point for the chariot race in honor of the dead *Patroklēēs* 'he who has the *kléos* of

the ancestors'. This meaning of the name of Patroklos converges with the connotations of ἐπὶ προτέρων ἀνθρώπων 'in the times of earlier men'.¹³²⁷

The 'tomb' becomes a 'hint' of a Dead Man's presence, invoked by Achilles. Can one connect this presence of a long-dead hero with the newly dead hero of *Iliad* XXIII? The very name *Patrokléēs* helps provide an answer to this question. Patroklos re-enacts the eternal scheme of attaining *kléos*, and his name provides the present epic situation with the past glories of the ancestors... His role enacts his name, and his name is a key to the tradition which gives *kléos* to Achilles and marks the *Iliad* as the heroic present with an eternal past. Tradition is dependent on the continuation of ancestral values by their re-enactment in the present. In *mythos*, the ancestor functions as hero, operating as he does in a timeless scheme. From the standpoint of *mythos*, the Dead Man of XXIII 331 and the Patroklos of Book XXIII *in toto* are parallel figures with parallel figures.¹³²⁸

Patroklos' embodiment of the Glorious Ancestor goes beyond these fine observations made by Sinos and Nagy. His allegorical identity further transpires when the captive Trojan women follow Briseis' lead in publicly mourning Patroklos' death, though in fact each mourned their own dead (ἐπὶ δὲ στενάχοντο γυναῖκες Πάτροκλον πρόφασιν, σφῶν δ' αὐτῶν κήδε' ἐκάστη: 19.302). The line would later become proverbial in Greek¹³²⁹ and reflects an uninterrupted mourning custom that persisted through the ages down to the present time in modern Greece.¹³³⁰ To mourn the archetypal Patroklos amounts to mourning the Dead, any dead person to which one can relate.

3.3.5. "Gentle Patroklos" and *Meilikhios* Cult Title of the Dead

Two lines above the Trojan women's famous quote, Briseis words her grief in a way that transcends its literality and *prima facie* simplicity: τῷ σ' ἄμοτον κλαίω τεθνηότα μείλιχον αἰεὶ "so I mourn you incessantly, dead Patroklos—ever Gentle one." On the surface, Briseis mourns Patroklos because he was always kind to her while he was alive. But her choice of the word *meilikhon* approximates the cult title *Meilikhios* attributed to chthonic

¹³²⁷ Nagy 1992:215-216 commenting on Sinos 1980.

¹³²⁸ Sinos 1980:48-49

¹³²⁹ Reardon 1989: 205

¹³³⁰ Alexiou 2002.

daimones ranging from dead heroes to infernal deities, to whom holocausts and nightly sacrifices were made¹³³¹: the term, which is also translatable as “Easy to be entreated” is a euphemism designed to propitiate the *daimon* and preempt his potential for harm: the antonym ἀμείλιχος is pertinently an epithet of Hades at *Iliad* 9.158 Αἴδης τοι ἀμείλιχος, in a context in which the favor of Hades is not sought, so no need to address him by any antonymic euphemism.

We catch a glimpse of this Patroklos Meilikh(i)os after Achilles finally agrees to let Priam retrieve Hector’s body:

μή μοι Πάτροκλε σκυδμαινέμεν, αἴ κε πύθῃαι
 εἰν Ἄϊδός περ ἐὼν ὅτι Ἔκτορα δῖον ἔλυσα
 πατρὶ φίλῳ, ἐπεὶ οὐ μοι ἀεικέα δῶκεν ἄποινα.
 σοὶ δ’ αὖ ἐγὼ καὶ τῶνδ’ ἀποδάσσομαι ὅσσ’ ἐπέοικεν.

Don’t be angry with me, Glory-of-the-Ancestors, if you find out
 Even in Hades that I released shining Hector
 To his dear father, for not unfitting was the ransom which he gave me.
 For my part, to you I will apportion what is fitting.

Achilles’ desire to avoid Patroklos’ anger is a spontaneous expression of empathy for the one whose life he cherished more than his own. But as in the case of Briseis, his declaration undergoes out-of-context semantic attraction to the kind of speech one would deliver to a *daimon* whose gentleness remains very conditional. Writes Van Wees 2006:

The *Odyssey*’s account of its hero’s visit to Hades, in fact, betrays an awareness of such practices [hero cult], since the ritual which Odysseus performs to call up the dead is very similar to the rites associated later with both regular tomb cult and the summoning up of spirits. It includes libations, blood sacrifice into a pit, and a promise of lavish further sacrifices to the dead, ‘filling the fire with fine things’. The latter has an exact parallel in the holocaust of finest female clothes arranged by Periander of Corinth for his late wife. The custom implies a belief that the dead have enough power to require pacification.

When Briseis calls Patroklos *meilikhos* ‘gentle’, she is not merely remembering an undoubtedly good-hearted figure, through her prism the narrator is also looking forward

¹³³¹ Harrison 1903:17

to the hero's fulfillment of his ominous name: upon his death, the son of Menoitios exits the narrow confines of his Iliadic storyline and lapses into personifying the generic spirit of the dead and their need for placation.

3.3.6. Patroklos son of *Menoitios* “He Who Awaits his Doom” and the Hesiodic Titan *Menoitios*

Alongside his telling name, another point of departure for understanding Patroklos' identity is his patronymic: Patroklos is in fact introduced in the *Iliad* by means of his stand-alone patronymic Μενoitιάδη (1.307). It is no accident: with the single word Μενoitιάδη, the Homeric narrator programmatically introduces and defines Patroklos as the son of *Menoitios* “He Who Awaits his Doom.”¹³³² The first step is to keep in mind the example of Astyanax and Hector—one's name may reflect the identity of one's father or of one's son. The second step is to survey exhaustively the name *Menoit-* in Greek mythology.

There are only two figures with the same compound. In the Hesiodic *Theogony*, the homonymous titan Menoitios is struck down by Zeus' thunderbolt from the heights of Olympos down to the depths of Ἔρεβος ‘darkness’ (507-516). The lapidary reasons adduced for his death are his hubris and his unexplained ἀτασθαλίας τε καὶ ἠγορέης ὑπερόπλου, which are otherwise never elaborated in the *Theogony*. This Hesiodic Menoitios—Prometheus' brother—is a rather mysterious figure, but the following is clear: as in the case of Patroklos, 1) his death looms larger than his life, 2) it is violent, 3) it is god-given—by Zeus and Apollo respectively, and 4) most significantly, Patroklos is

¹³³² Also Pott 1885:333 “Menoites...der sein (furchtbares) Los (mutvoll) erwartet” and Gruppe “den das Schicksal erwartet” quoted by Keyßner in *RE*, s.v. ‘Menoites’. For the construction verb + object, cf the name of Odysseus' shepherd *Philoitios* (*Odyssey* 20.185).

to the Homeric *Iliad* what Menoitios is to the Hesiodic *Theogony*: in either poem, Patroklos and Menoitios are the only names of anthropomorphic figures whose deaths are brought about by a god.¹³³³ We will later examine other key similarities shared by Patroklos and the Hesiodic Menoitios.

The third mythological character with the compound *Menoit-es*¹³³⁴ was a herdsman in Hades (Apollodorus 2.5.10-12).

καὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς Ἐρύθειαν ἐν ὄρει Ἄβαντι αὐλίζεται. αἰσθόμενος δὲ ὁ κύων ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ὄρμα· ὁ δὲ καὶ τοῦτον τῷ ῥοπάλῳ παίει, καὶ τὸν βουκόλον Εὐρυτίωνα τῷ κυνὶ βοηθοῦντα ἀπέκτεινε. Μενόιτης δὲ ἐκεῖ τὰς Ἄιδου (5) βόας βόσκων Γηρυόνη τὸ γεγονός ἀπήγγειλεν. ὁ δὲ καταλαβὼν Ἡρακλέα παρὰ ποταμὸν Ἄνθεμοῦντα τὰς βόας ἀπάγοντα, συστησάμενος μάχην τοξευθεὶς ἀπέθανεν.

As Berve suggests, “man darf vielleicht mit diesem Hadeshirten jenen Japetiden Menoitios identifizieren, der von Zeus in die Unterwelt geschleudert wurde; so: Pott und Preller-Robert Griech. Myth I 48, 1; das Hirtenamt im Hades würde für Menoitios eine ähnliche Strafe darstellen, wie für Atlas das Tragen des Himmesgewölbes.” Enough said: the meaning of Patroklos’ father *Menoitios* “He Who Awaits his Doom” is unmistakably thanatic and coheres with his own highlighted fate in the *Iliad*: the outsize narrative length of his death and funeral unpacks the meaning and fated identity of *Patro-klos* as the one embodying the tragedy of death in the *Iliad*.

3.3.7. Menoitios and Arkhemoros “Beginning of Doom”

According to an oracle at Delphi, the infant son of king Lycurgus of Nemea should not

¹³³³ Patroklos is the only explicitly named victim of a god in the *Iliad*—Ares too presumably kills a number of Danaans in the epic poem when he takes on the shape of the Thracian leader Akamas, but no names of his victims are given. In the *Theogony*, the anthropomorphic Prometheus is not struck by Zeus’ thunderbolt (no violent death) and he is not literally or explicitly sent to the underworld either: the Hesiodic text only says that he bound him to a rock and that an eagle eats his liver. Zeus violently strikes Typhoeus with his thunderbolt and sends him to Tartarus, but Typhoeus is not anthropomorphic. Thus, Menoitios is the only anthropomorphic figure violently “killed” / sent to Tartarus or Hades by a god in the Hesiodic *Theogony*.

¹³³⁴ Tzetzes *Chiliades* 2.396 has Menoitios for Menoites.

let his son touch the ground until he is old enough to walk: one day, as the maid in charge of the infant was drawing water from a well, she got distracted, put the child down, whereupon a snake choked the toddler to death. Amphiaraos later correctly interpreted the death of the infant as a sign that the seven against Thebes would lose the siege and the war. The Nemean games were created in the memory of Opheltes who was renamed Arkhemoros on account of his dismal fate.¹³³⁵ One could say that Patroklos' own name and that of his own father Menoitios were retro-created on the basis of his own death, which defines him, Μυρμιδόνων τὸν ἄριστον (18.10), according to Achilles' interpretation of Thetis' prophecy. What unite Arkhemoros and Patroklos' patronymic Menoitios—a reflection more on Patroklos himself than an otherwise mythologically-emaciated Menoitios son of Aktor,¹³³⁶ is the tragedy of their deaths and the collective, cyclically iterated mourning that ensues. The very first reference to Patroklos in the *Iliad* by the bare patronymic Μενουτιάδη (1.307) was thus a chilling signal on the part of the narrator that portended the hero's tragic fate at the end of the poem.

3.3.8. Achilles, Patroklos and Anthropogony

3.3.8.1. Deukalion and Pyrrha in the Shadow of Achilles and Patroklos

The cumulative evidence thus far gathered seeks to show that Phthia is the land of the dead, which is the same as the land of the ancestors: it so happens that the respective homelands of the two chief Myrmidons of the *Iliad*, Achilles by birth and Patroklos by adoption, coincide with the oldest and most frequently attested homelands of Deukalion and Pyrrha, Greece's Adam & Eve / Noah & Emzara merged together: Hellanikos *fr.* 6

¹³³⁵ See Pache 2004:95-134 for analysis & the sources.

¹³³⁶ Aktor 'Charioteer' in turn, Patroklos' grandfather, relates to Patroklos in that Patroklos is a charioteer in the *Iliad*.

says that Deukalion had been king of Thessaly whereas Herodotus says that the Hellenes [Dorians] were in Phthiotis while he was king.¹³³⁷ Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* fr. 234 places Deukalion in Locris, which in fact is Patroklos' original homeland before he fled to Phthia for his murder of the son of Amphidamas: Patroklos hailed from *Opous*, which is Locrian territory (*Iliad* 18.326, 23.85, cf 2.531).

Most interestingly, according to Pindar *Olympian* 9.46, the first abode, which Deukalion built after the flood as he descended from Mount Parnassus, was specifically in Opous—*Patroklos'* hometown: Pindar refers to Patroklos' hometown as Πρωτογενείας ἄσται, the city of Protogeneia “the First-born”(9.41), Deukalion's first-born daughter. One sees the appropriateness of a Trojan war saga inventing the name “Glory of the Ancestors” [Patroklos] for a hero hailing from Opous, a city famous among some circles at least for being the first post-diluvian hometown of Deukalion and his daughter Protogeneia. Pindar's valorization of the deeds of Patroklos at *Olympian* 9.75 (μαθεῖν Πατρόκλου βιατὰν νόον) shows that the poet's Locrian or perhaps Opountian contemporaries considered Patroklos to be one of them.

The third important location that is associated with Deukalion's homeland is Epirus, specifically the region of Dodona and the river Acheloius, according to Aristotle *Meteorologica* 352a.¹³³⁸ In the *Iliad*, as discussed above, *Gouneus* “Ancestor” is the leader of the vast northern Greek territory that includes Dodona (2.748-750). Achilles has a triple connection to Dodona in that 1) he is the only character in the *Iliad* to mention it (16.233); 2) when Achilles mentions Dodona, he refers on the same line to

¹³³⁷ Hdt 1.56 Ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ Δευκαλίωνος βασιλείος [τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν ἔθνος = the Dorians] οἴκεε γῆν τὴν φθιωτῖν

¹³³⁸ Aristotle, *Met.* 352a: ὁ καλούμενος ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος κατακλυσμός· καὶ γὰρ οὗτος περὶ τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν ἐγένετο τόπον μάλιστα, καὶ τούτου περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὴν ἀρχαίαν· αὕτη δ' ἐστὶν ἡ περὶ Δωδώνην καὶ τὸν Ἀχελῷον·

“Pelagian Zeus,” which in the Catalogue of Ships designates Achilles’ own territory (2.681), Pelagian Argos; connected to Pelagian Argos, Phthia and Achilles is the origin of the Dorian (non-Aeolian) proto-Thessalians; 3) Gouneus is a multiform of Achilles for various reasons previously discussed, notably his leadership over the Ainianes who worship Achilles’ son Neoptolemos, as attested in subsequent cult.¹³³⁹

Now, according to Rhianos *fr.* 25 Powell¹³⁴⁰ (Strabo 9.5.23), *Pyrrhaia* was the old name of Thessaly, owing its name to Deukalion’s wife Pyrrha: Πυρραΐην ποτὲ τὴν γε παλαιότεροι καλέεσκον / Πύρρης Δευκαλίωνος ἀπ’ ἀρχαίης ἀλόχοιο. According to Hesychius, *Pyrrhaia* was another name of Achilles’ mother Thetis: Πυρραΐη· Θέτιδος ἐπώνυμον,¹³⁴¹ thus prefiguring transgenerationally Achilles’ son *Pyrrhos* and generationally Achilles himself, known as cross-dressed *Pyrrha* on Skyros. Hesychius’ lateness notwithstanding, he is to be taken seriously because 1) Thetis was among the gods what Pyrrha was among humans: a primordial female figure, who is associated with creation, as evidenced by Alkman *fr.* 5 τῆς Θέτιδος γενομένης ἀρχὴ καὶ τέ[λ]ο[ς ταῦτ]α πάντων ἐγένε[τ]ο; 2) different parts of Thessaly, the northwest (Herodotus 1.56¹³⁴²) and the northeast (Charax¹³⁴³), were known as *Histiata*, “land of the Hearth”

¹³³⁹ Pseudo-Skymnos 614-617 & Heliodorus *Aithiopika* 2.34.2-3 «οἱ μὲν Αἰνιᾶνες» ἔφη «Θετταλικῆς ἐστὶ μοίρας τὸ εὐγενέστατον καὶ ἀκριβῶς Ἑλληνικὸν ἀπ’ Ἑλ- ληνος τοῦ Δευκαλίωνος, τὸ μὲν ἄλλο τῷ Μαλιακῷ κόλπῳ (5) παρατεινόμενον μητρόπολιν δὲ σεμνυνόμενον Ὑπάταν, ὡς μὲν αὐτοὶ βούλονται ἀπὸ τοῦ τῶν ἄλλων ὑπατεύειν καὶ ἄρχειν ὠνομασμένην ὡς δὲ ἐτέροις δοκεῖ διότι περὶ ὑπὸ τῆς Οἴτης τῷ ὄρει κατόικισται. (3.) Ἡ δὲ θυσία καὶ ἡ θεωρία, τετραετηρίδα ταύτην, ὅτε περὶ καὶ ὁ Πυθίων ἀγὼν, ἔστι δὲ νῦν ὡς οἴσθα, πέμπουσιν Αἰνιᾶνες Νεοπτολέμῳ τῷ Ἀχιλλέως· ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ἐδολοφονήθη πρὸς αὐτοῖς τοῖς τοῦ Πυθίου βωμοῖς ὑπ’ Ὀρέστου τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος.

¹³⁴⁰ Quoted by Fowler 2011:128.

¹³⁴¹ Hesychius, s.v. Πυρραΐη.

¹³⁴² Herodotus 1.56 Δευκαλίωνος βασιλέος ᾧκε τὴν Φθιώτιν, ἐπὶ δὲ Δώρου τοῦ Ἑλληνος τὴν ὑπὸ τὴν Ὀσσαν τε καὶ τὸν Ὀλυμπον χώραν καλεομένην Ἰστιαιώτιν, ἐκ δὲ Ἰστιαιώτιδος ὡς ἐξάνεστη ὑπὸ Καδμείων, ᾧκεν ἐν Πίνδῳ Μακεδόνων καλεόμενον, ἐντεῦθεν δὲ αὐτὶς εἰς τὴν Δρυοπίδα μετέβη, καὶ ἐκ τῆς Δρυοπίδος (5) οὕτως ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἐλθὼν Δωρικὸν ἐκλήθη

and were associated with the migrations of the proto-Dorians, of whom Achilles is arguably a primary representative¹³⁴⁴: Histiaia, moreover, approximates semantically *Pyrrhaia* “Fiery one / Fiery land.”; 3) As Sordi 1956:9-22 cogently argued, the leading *genos* of Thessaly, the Aleuadai and their semi-mythical founder *Aleuas the Red* (ὁ Πυρρός), while also claiming descent from Herakles, traced their onomastic identity and ancestry to Achilles’ family, whose son and mother were also known as *Pyrrhos* and *Pyrrhaia*. The geography of Pyrrha and Deukalion match the geography of both Achilles’ Pyrrha / Pyrrhos / Pyrrhaia and Aleuas the Red: they are manifestations of the same model across different fields, anthropogony, epic and politics.

3.3.8.2. Peleid Achilles and the Pelian Ash Spear: Of Clay and Ash Trees

3.3.8.3. Of Clay

Achilles’ formulaic connection to the ash tree / ash spear in general and to his Pelian ash spear in particular are one of the many features pointing to Achilles’ anthropogonic identity. To begin with the latter feature, the connection of Achilles’ spear to Mount Pelion, we saw above that Mount Pelion owed its name, at least in part, to its rich *clay* deposits (Attic-Ionic πηλός, Doric πᾶλός) and that ‘Lehmberg’ or ‘Mount Clay’ would be a proper translation. In turn, we argued that the connection of Peleus, “king bee of the Myrmidons”¹³⁴⁵ to Mount Pelion, which is also undoubtedly at the very least folk etymological, if not etymological properly speaking, may imply the assimilation of

¹³⁴³ Charax in Herodian 3,1.98 Δωρίς ἢ περὶ τὸν Παρνασσὸν καὶ ἡ ὕστερον Ἰστιαῖωτις, ἧς μέμνηται Χάραξ ἐν ζ’ τῆδε γράφων περὶ Θεσσαλοῦ τοῦ Αἰάτου τοῦ νικήσαντος ἐν Ἄρνη Βοιωτοῦς «ὁ δὲ Θεσσαλὸς οὐδὲ τὴν τετάρτην μοῖραν τῆς ἐπωνυμίας μετέβαλεν, ἀλλ’ Ἰστιαῖωτιν (20) αὐτὴν ὡς πρὶν καλεῖσθαι εἶασε. κεῖται δὲ πρὸς δυσμῶν τῆς Πίνδου. Δῶρος δὲ αὐτὴν ὁ Ἕλληνας εἰλήχει τὰ πρῶτα καὶ Δωρίς ἂπ’ ἐκείνου ἐκαλεῖτο πρότερον, ὕστερον δὲ Ἰστιαῖωτις μετωνομάσθη».

¹³⁴⁴ See below “Achilles and the Homeric Pelasgians.”

¹³⁴⁵ To use Callimachus’ expression.

Mount Peleus to a giant anthill: the clay from anthills in general is particularly refined and useful for the production of ceramics, as demonstrated by Adjei-Henne 2009; in like manner, Mount Pelion is distinctly rich in clay, hence its name; hence, the current proposition for re-reading Mount Pelion as a giant anthill since it is inextricably associated with the myth of the Antman prototype, Peleus himself.

Furthermore, some significance may lie in the fact that, among all the Achaean regions, Phthia is the only one in the *Iliad*, which is repeatedly characterized as ἐριβῶλαξ: at 1.155-156, οὐδέ ποτ' ἐν Φθίῃ ἐριβῶλακι βωτιανείρη / καρπὸν ἐδηλήσαντ'; at 9.479 Φθίην δ' ἐξικόμην ἐριβῶλακα μητέρα μήλων / ἐς Πηλῆα ἄναχθ'· ὃ δέ με πρόφρων ὑπέδεκτο; also 9.363 and arguably 2.841 & 17.301.¹³⁴⁶ “Deep-soiled” is the most frequent translation for ἐριβῶλαξ, but a more precise translation would be “with large clods, of rich, loamy soil” (*LSG*): clay is an essential component of loam. That Peleus “the Man of [/ Mount] Clay” should be the king of the only Achaean region ever characterized as ἐριβῶλαξ “very loamy” would be very appropriate, as evidenced at *Iliad* 9.479 quoted above: Φθίην δ' ἐξικόμην ἐριβῶλακα μητέρα μήλων / ἐς Πηλῆα ἄναχθ'. As described elsewhere, a variety of ancient Greek authors construed Peleus as “Clay Man.”¹³⁴⁷

¹³⁴⁶ 2.841: τῶν οἱ Λάρισαν ἐριβῶλακα καιετάσκον & 17.301 τῆλ' ἀπὸ Λαρίσης ἐριβῶλακος, οὐδὲ τοκεῦσι. As argued elsewhere, the model for this Larisa was ultimately any of the two Larissas in Thessaly.

¹³⁴⁷ I quote again EBlin from *RE*: “Dafür [Peleus = 'Mann vom Pelion'], daß man πηλός durchhörte, spricht Batrachom. 19, wo sich der Frosch Φυσίγναθος seiner Abkunft von Peleus und Hydromedusa rühmt. Beweisend ist Peleus als Name für einen Töpfer bei Athen. XI 474D (Philetairos), ferner das mit Beziehung auf πηλός gebrauchte Πηλεΐδης in einer Homertravestie des Euboios Athen. XV 699 A und das Witzwort μὴ ποίε τὸν οἶνον πηλέα (mache den Wein nicht dick) bei Demetr. P HRM. 171. Athen. IX 383 C. Eustath. Hom. 772, 37.”

The root *phthi-* of Phthia is in fact formulaically associated with ἐριβῶλαξ in the *Iliad*, even outside of Phthia, viz. at Troy, at 16.461 and 24.86:

φθίσεσθ' ἐν Τροίῃ ἐριβῶλακι τηλόθι πάτρης.
ἀγχοῦ δ' ἴσταμένη προσέφη πόδας ὠκέα Ἴρις·
ὄρσο Θέτι· καλέει Ζεὺς ἄφθιτα μήδεα εἰδώς.

Whereas the fertility connotation of ἐριβῶλαξ was more prominent in the two aforementioned instances of ἐριβῶλαξ pertaining to Phthia, the thanatic connotation is more prominent at Troy: “to perish in deep-soiled Troy” (φθίσεσθ' ἐν Τροίῃ ἐριβῶλακι) brings up the image of a corpse sinking into the depths of the earth; the proximity of Ζεὺς ἄφθιτα “Zeus unwilting” two lines below acts as a foil. Fertility and death, nevertheless, are two sides of the same coin, as evident in the cult of Demeter and Persephone. As argued elsewhere, the deep, loamy fertility of Phthia inscribes itself within the fertility of the otherworld, which manifests itself here polarizingly as Elysian, as opposed to the gloom of Tartaros. Thus, Phthia, ἐριβῶλαξ and Peleus form a seamless unit.

Achilles' connection to clay is never explicit in the *Iliad*, but because he is referred to ad nauseam as Πηλεΐδης or such variants as Πηλεΐων, because, moreover, his spear is repeatedly ‘Pelian’, Achilles' connection to clay is covertly pervasive. By virtue of his Myrmidon identity, who embody the souls of the Dead, by virtue of Achilles' provenance from loamy Phthia, the land of the Dead, by virtue of the overlap of Achilles and Patroklos' territory and onomastics with Deukalion and Pyrrha, one is justified in reading Achilles' ubiquitous patronymic Πηλεΐδης connotatively as the primordial ‘son of Clay’, insofar as clay is associated with the creation of mankind: Aeschylus *fr.*369 Mette is our first Greek source to speak of the fashioning of Pandora from clay: ἐκ

πηλοπλάστου σπέρματος θνητή γυνή. Hesiod, *Works and Days*, does not use the same word πηλός, but expresses more or less the same idea: ἐκ γαίης πλάσσε κλυτὸς Ἀμφιγυήεις (70). Aristophanes, *Birds*, 685-686 also speaks of the creation of mankind from clay: φύσιν ἄνδρες...πλάσματα πηλοῦ.¹³⁴⁸

Albeit late, the allegorist Pseudo-Clement, at *Homilies* 6.14, correctly perceived part of the significance of Achilles' parents to his own identity in the *Iliad*:

Πηλεὺς πηλὸς ὁ ἀπὸ γῆς εἰς ἀνθρώπου γένεσιν περινοηθεὶς καὶ μίγεις τῇ Νηρηίδι, τουτέστιν ὕδατι. ἐκ δὲ τῆς τῶν δύο μίξεως (ὑδατός τε καὶ γῆς) ὁ πρῶτος οὐ γεννηθεὶς ἀλλὰ πλασθεὶς τέλειος καὶ ... Ἀχιλλεὺς προσηγορεύθη

The precedent for earth and water as the two basic ingredients for the creation of mankind goes back to Hesiod, *Works and Days*, in which Zeus enjoins Hephaistos to create Pandora by “mixing earth with water”: γαῖαν ὕδει φύρειν (61). The Iliadic Thetis undoubtedly embodies, together with Okeanos, Tethys and Poseidon, the aquatic realm; Πηλεὺς, of course, epitomizes the mortal condition, which is what πηλός ‘clay’ explicitly signifies in the aforementioned Aeschylus *fr.*369: ἐκ πηλοπλάστου σπέρματος θνητή γυνή. To repeat, Achilles' and Peleus' Myrmidon identities inescapably connect them to clay because ants come from the earth and more importantly, ants extract and refine clay from the earth and use it as a primary ingredient in anthills. It is therefore difficult not to conceive of Peleid Achilles as “Clay-born Achilles.” Achilles' patronymic is a constant reminder of his primordially.

3.3.8.4. Achilles' Ash Spear: Of Death...and Life

Any discussion of Achilles' Pelian Ash spear cannot be undertaken without summarizing some of the best points of Richard Shannon's previous work *The Arms of Achilles*

¹³⁴⁸ For all the sources, see Eckhart in *RE*, s.v. ‘Prometheus’.

(1975): 10 of the 11 occurrences of the word μελίη “ash tree / ash spear” refer to Achilles’ ash spear and to no one else’s (p 32); the Pelian ash spear is the only piece of armor not lost to Hektor (31); Achilles’ ash spear embodies his connection to his mortal father Peleus (p 31), as shown by its designation πατρώϊον ἔγχος (19.387) and 16.143 & 19.390; the adjectives μείλινος “ashen” and ἐϋμμελῆς “of the good ash,” unlike μελίη, occur with a wider variety of characters than Achilles only, but their occurrence is mostly restricted to contexts of either the *retrieval* of a spear that has just killed a victim of some significance (μείλινος) or the imminent doom of the character (ἐϋμμελῆς).

Shannon further explains that in Greek myth and folklore, the ash tree is often endowed with anthropogonic qualities, as also in Norse myth where the first man is named *Askr* ‘Ash’.¹³⁴⁹ The interest of this observation lies in the thematic commonality of the ash spear as *mortalizing* weapon and the ash tree, the origin of the *mortal* condition: μελιγενεῖς λέγονται οἱ πρόην ἄνδρες (scholiast on *Iliad* 22.126); τὸ πρῶτον γένος ἀνθρώπων ἐκ μελιῶν γενέσθαι φασίν (Palaiaphatos 35.2); μελίας καρπός: τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος (Hesychius); also Mousaios *fr.* 5, as convincingly argued by Wilamowitz¹³⁵⁰; most importantly, Hesiod’s third race of bronze men too was born of ash trees in the *Works and Days*:

Zeὺς δὲ πατήρ τρίτον ἄλλο γένος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων
χάλκειον ποίησ’, οὐκ ἀργυρέω οὐδὲν ὁμοῖον,
 ἐκ μελιᾶν, δεινόν τε καὶ ὄβριμον· οἷσιν Ἄρηος (145)
 ἔργ’ ἔμελε στονόεντα καὶ ὕβριες, οὐδέ τι σῖτον
 ἦσθιον, ἀλλ’ ἀδάμαντος ἔχον κρατερόφρονα θυμόν...
 τῶν δ’ ἦν χάλκεα μὲν τεύχεα, χάλκεοι δὲ τε οἴκοι, (150)
χαλκῶ δ’ εἰργάζοντο·

¹³⁴⁹ On the Indo-European origins of the ash tree and anthropogony, see Dumont 1992.

¹³⁵⁰ Shannon 1975:48

Correspondingly, when Aineias says at *Iliad* 20.102 that Achilles would not beat him easily if another god were to level the playing field (Aineias said previously that Athena is always by Achilles' side), he adds οὐδ' εἰ παργάλκεος εὔχεται εἶναι "even if Achilles should claim that he were all of bronze." Shannon rightly comments that this passage shows the *Iliad's* awareness of Hesiod's race of bronze men, or a variation thereof.¹³⁵¹ Corroboratively, one might add that the only instance in the *Iliad*, out of a total of 11 occurrences, in which the noun μελίη = ash spear is *not* attributed to Achilles, evinces an explicit association with not only bronze but also Ares, two features listed in Hesiod's description of the third bronze race born of ash trees (γένος χάλκειον... ἐκ μελιᾶν, δεινόν τε καὶ ὄβριμον· οἷσιν Ἄρηος ἔργ' ἔμελε: *Works and Days* 143-146): the Abantes fight with thrusting ashes (ὄρεκτῆσιν μελίησι, 2:541) is the 11th example of Iliadic μελίη = ash spear alongside 10 other examples where the noun is earmarked for Achilles; the leader of the Abantes is not only the offshoot of Ares (ὄζος Ἄρηος, 2.540), he is also the son of the aptly-named "Bronze-Beaked" (Χαλκωδοντιάδης, 2.541 & 4.464), a name to which Shannon draws attention.¹³⁵² Moreover, through their eponym the Abas, the Abantes are direct descendants of *Melia*, "Ash Tree," the mother of the Argive Prometheus, Phoroneus.¹³⁵³

In addition to the *Works and Days*, the Hesiodic *Theogony* too implicitly testifies to the descent of human beings from ash trees in its description of the birth of the μελίαι (ash trees / ash tree nymphs) and giants from the blood of Ouranos: the scholiast to

¹³⁵¹ Shannon 1975:72

¹³⁵² Hesychius s.v. χαλκώδοντας στόλους· χαλκοῦς ὀδόντας ἔχοντας. Ὀδόντας δὲ ἔλεγον τὰ ἔμβολα, ἃ τινες ἐμβόλια quoted by Shannon 1975:35.

¹³⁵³ Apollodoros, *Library* 2.1.1; Tzetzes, ad Lycoph. 177 quoted by Shannon 1975:52

Theogony 187 comments: ἐκ τούτων [Giants and Ash Tree Nymphs] ἦν τὸ πρῶτον γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων. Writes Strauss Clay 2009:97-98:

The proem of the *Theogony* lends support to this argument. There, the song of the Muses on Olympus embraced not only the genesis of the gods and the supremacy of Zeus (43-45), but also the "race of men and mighty Giants," ἀνθρώπων τε γένος κρατερῶν τε Γιγάντων (50). The phrase suggests the close relation, if not identity, of the race of men and that of the Giants. Multiple traditions identifying aboriginal human beings with *Gegenes* are found throughout Greece. These local myths are closely linked to claims of precedence and autochthony on the part of individual *poleis*. Significantly, however, there exists no dominant Panhellenic tradition and no one universally accepted Greek Adam. Nevertheless, Hesiod's claim that men and Giants have a shared ancestry by being descendants of the same *genos* would not surprise Greek hearers. Moreover, the Giants in the *Theogony* - huge and strong, gleaming in their armor and wielding their mighty javelins - are strikingly similar to the race of bronze, which was described in the *Works and Days* as ἐκ μελιᾶν, δεινόν τε καὶ ὄβριμον ("from the ash-tree nymphs, terrible and strong" 145). The Scholia to the *Works and Days* (143 b) gloss Hesiod's third race simply as τοὺς Γίγαντας. It would thus seem that the *Theogony* here alludes to an anthropogony in, one must admit, a fairly oblique manner. But it may indeed have been an old tradition and well known to his audience. At any rate, Hesiod's indirection here should not surprise us in a composition whose central subject is not mankind or its origins, but the coming-to-be of the gods. According to the *Theogony*, then, it appears that human beings are descended from the union of the Giants and the Melian Nymphs, both of them, in turn, sprung from the bloody drops of the severed member of Uranus and incubated by Mother-Earth.

Like giants, Achilles' own stature is extraordinary, by most accounts, and his martial proclivities require no demonstration. The near exclusive ascription of the noun μελίη to Achilles in the *Iliad*, and to no other character, is consonant with the Myrmidon's primordial and anthropogonic associations. Let us recall that Achilles was *conceived* among ash trees: the wedding of Thetis and Peleus, to which Hera alludes at *Iliad* 24.61-62, took place on Mount Pelion.¹³⁵⁴ Euripides, *Iphigeneia at Aulis* 1044-1052, makes it clear, as one would expect for a wedding, that this is the place where Achilles' parents consummated their love.¹³⁵⁵ Achilles' Pelian ash was conceived on the very same spot

¹³⁵⁴ *Cypria* fr. 5; Pindar *Nemean* 5.23; Apollodorus 3.168.

¹³⁵⁵ Πηλέως ἐς γάμον ἦλθον,
μελωιδοῖς Θέτιν ἀχήμασι τόν τ' Αἰακίδα

where Achilles himself was conceived, the summit of Pelion: Πηλιάδα μελίην, τὴν πατρὶ φίλω πόρε Χείρων / Πηλίου ἐκ κορυφῆς, 16.144-145. We are only beginning to glimpse into the intimate parallelism between Achilles and the Ash. Thetis’ famous comparison of her son to a sapling gains greater significance in light of this intimate parallelism (18.56ff & 18.437ff):

ὦ μοι ἐγὼ δειλή, ὦ μοι δυσαριστοτόκεια,
 ἦ τ’ ἐπεὶ ἄρ τέκον υἷὸν ἀμύμονά τε κρατερόν τε
 ἔξοχον ἠρώων· ὃ δ’ ἀνέδραμεν ἔρνεϊ Ἴσος·
 τὸν μὲν ἐγὼ θρέψασα φυτὸν ὡς γουνῶ ἀλωῆς
 νηυσὶν ἐπιπρόεηκα κορωνίσιν Ἴλιον εἴσω

Thetis’ sudden transition from envisaging her son as a tree “in a lofty orchard” (γουνῶ ἀλωῆς) at the very end of line 18.59 to the ships (νηυσὶν) at the very start of the next line, on which Achilles is to sail to Ilios, abrupt though it seems, is countered and hyphenated by the continuity of wooden material: the ships and a dendromorphic Achilles. In peace or in war, Achilles is either wooden or on wood. Because Achilles had grown up in the woods of Mount Pelion (Χείρων δ’ ἐν Πηλίῳι ὑλήεντι Πηλείδην ἐκόμιζε: Hesiod *fr.* 204.87-88 MW), it is not far-fetched to construe the semantically

Κενταύρων ἐν ὄρεσι κλέουσαι
 Πηλιάδα καθ’ ὕλαν;
 ὃ δὲ Δαρδανίδας, Διὸς
 λέκτρων τρύφημα φίλον,

Provencal 2014:104-105 makes this brilliant commentary: “Like the *Iliad*, and unlike the *Hymn to Aphrodite*, the sexual union of god and mortal is celebrated on the human side as increasing the *timē* of mortal humans. Here, the Ganymede citation obviously helps to celebrate that honor, which implies that it is cited as an honorable example of erotic union of god and mortal, where the difference between heterosexual and homosexual affairs appears not to matter, as we might expect it would. Of course, it is not the future birth of Achilles the Chorus celebrates (which would make the Ganymede citation incongruous), but the nuptial consummation of the marriage, with its concomitant elevation of Peleus to the same status as Anchises, as mortal *erastes* of an immortal *eromenos*, which is not incongruous with the elevation of Ganymede as the mortal *eromenos* of his immortal *erastes*, Zeus.”

pliant noun γουνῶ as ὑψηλὸς τόπος,¹³⁵⁶ which could accommodate the heights of Mount Pelion.

Furthermore, it was with *wood from Mount Pelion* that the first ship, the *Argo*, was ever built: the connection of the *Argo* to Mount Pelion is so strong that the famous ship (cf. *Odyssey* 12.69-70) was also known as Πηλιάς,¹³⁵⁷ “the Pelian,” which is the same word as Achilles’ Pelian ash (e.g. Πηλιάς ἤϊξεν μελίη: *Iliad* 20.277). It is highly conceivable that, if any songs of Achilles’ ships to Troy circulated in the preclassical period and specified the origin of their timber, like Jason’s own ship, Achilles’ ships would be described as made of wood from Mount Pelion. Moreover, the metonymic association between Protesilaos and his ship in the *Iliad* shows that a man and his ship are superimposable, just as a man and a tree are superimposable. Thus, the abrupt shift in Thetis’ summary of her son’s life stages from 1) γουνῶ ἀλωῆς to 2) νηυσὶν...κορωνίσιν sailing to Troy is most readily understood as Thetis tacitly picturing her son here as *the Pelian ash*. Mount Pelion would bring to mind not only the ash tree, but also ship building.¹³⁵⁸

¹³⁵⁶ Orion, *Etymologicum & Etymologicum Magnum*.

¹³⁵⁷ Although most of our accounts of Jason and the Argonauts are post-Homeric, the tale itself is certainly pre-Homeric: ποντοπόρος νηῦς / Ἄργῶ πᾶσι μέλουσα (*Odyssey* 12.69-70); the son of Jason, Euneos, makes an appearance in the *Iliad* (Ἰησονίδης Εὐνήος: 7.468). On Πηλιάς = *Argo*: Herodian IV 179. Eurip. *Med.* 3; Apoll. Rhod. 1.386 & 525; 2.1188. Diodorus 4.41.1. Catullus LXIV 1. Propertius 4.22, 12. Ovid *amor.* II 11, 2; Heroid. XII 8. Val. Flacc I 2.95.6 (sources quoted by Jessen in *RE*, s.v. ‘Argo’). For the *Argo* as first ship: Eratosthenes *Catasterismi* 1.35; Valerius Flaccus, *Argonautica*, 1.273-276; Orphic *Argonautica* 64ff.

¹³⁵⁸ Except for the *Argo*’s separate oaken oracle with wood from Dodona, rather than from Mount Pelion, the majority of our early sources don’t specify the type of wood used in the construction of the famous ship. According to Alexander Polyhistor (Pliny 13.119), the *Argo* was made of a unnamed kind of wood, which neither water nor fire could harm. Other sources claim that the *Argo* was named after a homonymous type of wood ‘ἀργώ’ (Hesychius, *EM* 136, 29; Schol. Oppian. *Cyneg* I 28). Euripides says it was made of pine wood (*Androm.* 863; *Med.* 4) – sources quoted by Jessen in *RE*, s.v. ‘Argo’. That some might have imagined the *Argo* to have been made, at least in part, from ash trees, cannot be ruled out, as it too is used in the construction of ships, cf. Old English *æsc* ‘ash tree’, ‘ash spear’ or ‘ship’ [made of ash wood].

In like manner, there is a strange similarity between the creation of Pandora in Hesiod's *Works and Days* and the creation of the Pelian ash spear in the *Cypria*: just as several gods cooperate in the former to create Pandora (Hephaistos, Athena, Aphrodite and Hermes¹³⁵⁹), several gods (Hephaistos and Athena) cooperate with Cheiron in *Cypria* fr. 5 to create the Pelian Ash: Cheiron cut the ashen shaft from a tree, Athena polished it and Hephaistos fitted it with a head. Hephaistos' use of earth to fashion Pandora's body (ἐκ γαίης πλάσσειν), which is sometimes loosely translated as 'clay' in English,¹³⁶⁰ compares with the very setting of Mount Pelion. As we said above, Mount Pelion was very rich in clay, as on anthills. Thus, in the account of the *Cypria*, the cooperative creation on Mount Pelion of an extraordinary spear, made of a material from which mankind was thought to descend, could be tantamount to the creation of Achilles' totemic counterpart, son of the first mortal ever to impregnate a deity.

The near-simultaneity of the conception of Achilles' and the Pelian ash at the very same spot, after which his very own father Peleus was named, raises the distinct possibility that Achilles and the Pelian Ash are the same on a figurative level, if not, that Achilles and the Ash are as closely intertwined as Meleager was to the log upon whose integrity depended his life; as closely intertwined as the life of a dryad was to the tree from which she was born: to destroy the log or the tree is to destroy Meleager or the dryad. Several internal indications support this hypothesis, but let us first examine a remarkable external indication, Hesiod, *Theogony*, 561-567:

ὥς φάτο χωόμενος Ζεὺς ἄφθιτα μῆδεα εἰδώς.
ἐκ τούτου δῆπειτα χόλου μεμνημένος αἰεὶ

¹³⁵⁹ Hesiod, *Works and Days* 69-80

¹³⁶⁰ Thus Evelyn-White 1914 (Loeb).

οὐκ ἐδίδου μελίησι πυρὸς μένος ἀκαμάτοιο
θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποις οἳ ἐπὶ χθονὶ ναιετάουσιν·
ἀλλὰ μιν ἐξαπάτησεν ἐὺς πάις Ἰαπετοῖο
κλέψας ἀκαμάτοιο πυρὸς τηλέσκοπον αὐγὴν
ἐν κοίλῳ νάρθηκι·

In agreement with a scholiast, Wilamowitz construed μελίησι, literally “ash trees,” as a synonym of “human beings” whereby, accordingly, it would be in apposition with θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποις in the next line. West, on the other hand, construed it literally—‘ash trees’, so that θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποις would be a dative of (dis)advantage, in which case Zeus would have withheld fire not only from the fennel stalk, mentioned a few lines below, but also from ash trees themselves to the detriment of mortal humans.¹³⁶¹ Both interpretations are defensible, and perhaps the ambiguity was intended by the poet.¹³⁶² Siding with Wilamowitz and the scholiast, Evelyn-White translates the contentious lines 563-564 as “Zeus would not give the power of unwearying fire to the Melian race of mortal men who live on the earth.” This possible archaic and poetic use of μελίη = mortal human, if transposed to the geste of Achilles and his birth at the same location as his Pelian ash, at approximately the same time, would lend further support to the blurring of the line between Achilles and the ash tree, as it magnifies the hero’s significance *qua* embodiment of the mortal condition.

Achilles’ nemesis and most emphatic double in the *Iliad*, Asteropaios the son of Pele-gon(os),¹³⁶³ oddly lowers his defense against Achilles, whose Pelian ash is planted in the bank of the Xanthos: ignoring Achilles altogether, Asteropaios focuses his

¹³⁶¹ Quoted by Shannon 1975:55

¹³⁶² On the concept of poetic *amphoteroglōssia*, see Roilos 2005.

¹³⁶³ See elsewhere.

undivided attention first on pulling Achilles' spear from the earth; even when Asteropaios realizes he is unable to pull it out, he still inexplicably ignores the absolute danger posed by Achilles' dashing toward him and instead shifts his undivided focus on *breaking* Achilles' spear. 1) Theano's prayer to Athena "to break Diomedes' spear," (ἄξον δὴ ἔγχος Διομήδεος: 6.305), which is equivalent to killing Diomedes on a symbolic level, 2) Ajax's exceptional flight from Hektor when the latter shears off Ajax's spearpoint (πλήξ' ἄορι μεγάλῳ αἰχμῆς παρὰ καυλὸν ὀπισθεν / ἀντικρὺ δ' ἀπάραξε: 16.115-116) and 3) the mystical disintegration of Patroklos' spear prior to his death (πᾶν δέ οἱ ἐν χεῖρεσσιν ἄγη δολιχόσκιον ἔγχος: 16.801) collectively demonstrate that Asteropaios engaged in such a *prima facie* reckless obsession, at the cost of his life, only because he hoped to kill Achilles by breaking his spear through a process of sympathetic magic. The objection that Asteropaios was first trying to seize Achilles' spear because he no longer had any weapons of his own to use is untenable because Asteropaios' sword is one of the awards Achilles later hands out during Patroklos' funeral (*Iliad* 23.808). Like Meleager's log, the integrity of the ash mystically conditioned the life of Achilles.

In a previous generation, another important mythological figure was also relevantly conceived (and perhaps born) on Mount Pelion, none other than Cheiron, Achilles' preceptor: Πήλιον ὃ Φιλύρης νυμφήτιον "Pelion, Philyra's bridal chamber" (Callimachus, *Hymn to Delos* 118). Philyra, literally "Linden Tree," is the name given to Cheiron's mother¹³⁶⁴; Kronos himself is Cheiron's father (Pindar, *Pythian* 3.1ff). Thus, the pattern emerges that those, such as Achilles and Cheiron, who were conceived on

¹³⁶⁴ Philyra, Cheiron's mother: also Hesiodic *Theogony* 1001.

Mount Pelion, are either the literal offspring of a tree (Cheiron and his Linden mother) or share proximate affinities with a tree (Achilles and his Ash). Moreover, Achilles and Cheiron are both the sons of Pre-Olympians: Kronos in the case of Cheiron, Thetis in the case of Achilles.¹³⁶⁵ According to several accounts, Cheiron was Achilles' very own grandfather or great-grandfather (thus, a Nestor-like, death-cheating figure who survives the generations), which would strengthen the significance of the ash tree and Mount Pelion bonds between Cheiron and Achilles.¹³⁶⁶

Interestingly, Μελία “Ash Tree,” not Φιλύρα “Linden Tree,” is the name given to the mother of another centaur, Pholos: Pholos has special affinities with Cheiron, because among all the Centaurs, Pholos and Cheiron are the only centaurs who were not hostile to Herakles¹³⁶⁷; and yet, both Pholos and Cheiron were both accidentally killed by him. The dendromorphic motherhoods of Pholos and Cheiron, the Ash and the Lime, are further connected by their fitness for human consumption: linden leaves are edible (and have medicinal properties), whereas the ash produces a nutritious substance, known as manna, which until recently was fed to babies in Scotland and in Greek mythology

¹³⁶⁵ This pattern is augmented by the related pattern of mythological figures that are associated with Mount Pelion having themselves close affinity to trees: Peleus' host and purifier of his murder of king Eurytion, *Akastos*, later attempted to murder Peleus by taking him on a hunting trip to Mount Pelion because he had been misled by his wife that Peleus had attempted to rape his wife. Peleus' initial friend and then antagonist on Mount Pelion, ἄκαστος, is glossed as σφένδαμνος by Hesychius, which translates into “Olympian maple” in English (*Acer monspessulanum*). It is here that Peleus receives a magical sword by Hermes, wrought by Hephaistos, to defend himself against an onslaught of Centaurs (Anacr. PMG *fr* 497; Sch. Pind *Nem.* 4. 92a; Sch. Aristoph. *Nubes* 1063; Tzetzes, Sch ad Lycoph 178 (sources quoted by Alden 2012:120). Peleus had his sword from Mount Pelion with a dendronymic antagonist; Achilles had his spear from Mount Pelion.

¹³⁶⁶ According to Euripides (quoted by Hyginus, *Astronomica* 2.18), Thetis was also known as Melanippe: she is the daughter of Cheiron. According to Hyginus *Fabula* 14, Achilles was the great-grandson of Cheiron via his paternal grandmother Endeis, wife of Aiakos; Lykophron on *Iliad* 18:350 :Θέτις ἡ Χείρωνος τοῦ Κενταύρου τοῦ φιλοσόφου καὶ Χαρικλοῦς θυγάτηρ

¹³⁶⁷ Apollodorus 2.5.4, pointed out by Shannon 1975:52.

seems to have been the food given to the infant Zeus according to accounts in which Ash tree nymphs (*Meliai*) are said to be his nurses.¹³⁶⁸

The nourishing aspect of the ash certainly accounts in part for the tree's anthropogonic associations.¹³⁶⁹ This aspect is hardly visible in the *Iliad*, an account mostly concerned with death, and above, we took stock of Shannon's observation that the adjectives translating 'ashen' in the *Iliad*, μέλινος and ἔϋμμελής (not to be confused with the noun μέλιη, practically reserved to Achilles), occur at significant junctures in the poem either in the contexts of a recent kill (the killer withdraws his "ashen spear") or a character whose doom is predicted. Shannon attempted to explain the connection between the marked lethality of the Iliadic ash and the anthropogonic function of the ash in terms of the ash spear's mortalizing function: mortals appropriately spring from a tree that kills and prevents immortality. But the opposite hidden function of the ash as giver and sustainer of human life, one might argue, is inherent in the principle of the *coincidentia oppositorum*.

The best example for this unity of opposites in the *Iliad* is furnished by Cheiron himself, who taught Achilles and indirectly gave him his Pelian ash. On the one hand, we are told that Cheiron gave him his exceptional spear φόνον ἔμμεναι ἥρώεσσιν "to be a bane for heroes" (16.144). The same ash-giving Cheiron is the one who taught Achilles how to heal wounds (*Iliad* 4.219 & 11.832: ἤπια φάρμακα πάσσε / ...ὄν Χείρων ἐδίδαξε δικαιοτάτος Κενταύρων). Similarly, Apollo is both a healer god and its opposite, a god who brings on the plague: he does both in the *Iliad*. Outside of Homeric poetry (Shannon, surprisingly, does not mention this), the myth of Telephus best illustrates the

¹³⁶⁸ Callimachus, *Hymn to Zeus*, 45-53, quoted by Shannon 1975:49.

¹³⁶⁹ A view rightly advanced by Shannon 1975 and Dumont 1992.

coincidentia oppositorum as it relates to Achilles' Pelian ash. Beaten back from the ships of the Achaeans by a combined sally of Ajax and Achilles, Telephus sustains a wound inflicted by Achilles. In chronic pain, Telephus takes it upon himself to abduct Agamemnon's infant son Orestes, threatening to kill him if he is not healed. An oracle reveals that only the one who inflicted the wound can heal him. The *Cypria*, as truncated by Proclus' epitome, first mentions the event of Achilles' healing Telephus' wound, with no details,¹³⁷⁰ the earliest account of precisely *how* Telephus was healed by Achilles is preserved by Euripides *fr.* 724: by "filings shaved off from the spear-[head]"¹³⁷¹ from Achilles' spear-head: *πριστοῖσι λόγχης θέλγεται ῥινήμασιν.*¹³⁷² Pace Preiser 2001, this version of Telephus' healing has every chance, on several grounds, of having enjoyed pride of place among the earliest preclassical oral traditions of Achilles' encounter with Telephus.¹³⁷³ As argued above, the fact that the metallic spearhead, rather than the ashen

¹³⁷⁰ Τήλεφον κατὰ μαντεῖαν παραγενόμενον εἰς Ἄργος ἰᾶται Ἀχιλλεὺς ὡς ἡγεμόνα γενησόμενον τοῦ ἐπ' Ἴλιον πλοῦ

¹³⁷¹ Translation Stieber 2011:340

¹³⁷² Later, Apollodorus, *Epitome* 3.20 mentions a similar method of healing, the difference being is that Euripides mentions no rust, whereas Apollodorus does: *θεραπεύεται ἀποξύσαντος Ἀχιλλέως τῆς Πηλιάδος μελίας τὸν ἰόν.*

¹³⁷³ The fact that Telephus is indirectly mentioned at *Odyssey* 11.519 as Τηλεφίδην in reference to his son Eurypylos, who fought for the Trojans after the death of Hector, intimates how deeply anchored this figure must have been in early Greek poetry of oral accounts of the expansion of the Achaeans onto the coast of Anatolia, cf. *Little Iliad fr.* 24 Bernabé; Hesiod *fr.* 165 MW: Τήλεφον Ἀρκασίδην Μυσῶν βασιλῆ[α]; Aeschylus *fr.* 407 Mette mentions Telephus' abduction of Orestes, implicitly as a bargaining chip, as he needs to be saved (ἵνα τύχη παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησι σωτηρίας, τὸν Ὀρέστην εἶχε συλλαβόν). A red-figured pelike date to circa 450 BCE, British Museum # 1836,0224.28, is thought to represent Telephus' abduction of the infant Orestes. In Sophocles *fr.* 210.31, Astyoche bitterly laments the irony that the spear of Achilleus, which healed her husband [Telephos, killed her son [Eurypylos]. As persuasively argued by Carpenter 1946:54-57, the Achaeans' "false landing" was not initially a false landing at all, but simply an early alternative setting for the Trojan war, or perhaps we might say "the Mysian" or "Teuthranian" war. Claudia Preiser in her 2001:277-286 article ("Achilleus' Heilmittel Für Telephos In Den" Kyprien", In Euripides' "Telephos", Bei Plinius Und Bei Apollodor"), capitalizes on the widely-held (mis-)perception that Euripides invents his version of myths out of whole cloth: in her view (which is also held by some other scholars, such as recently Stieber 2011:340), Telephos' healing by Achilles' spearpoint is yet another Euripidean invention. On the one hand, Preiser informatively points out that according to other accounts

such as Pliny, Achilles healed Telephus with healing plants, which could potentially represent a genuinely old, alternative tradition—multiformity is a key concept in early oral traditions. On the other hand, she reaches the incredible conclusion at the end of her survey that originally “ein bestimmtes Heilmittel nicht erwähnt worden. . . In späteren Zeit wurde dieses Detail verschieden ausgeschmückt.” That competing oral poets of the Trojan/Mysian War who are familiar with Telephos, such as Stasinus, Archilochos or Hesiod, in their sundry performances, assiduously left out any details as to how Achilles healed Telephos, defies belief. When Machaon and Podaleirios heal wounded soldiers in the *Iliad*, details are certainly provided! That some told how Achilles harnessed the curative power of plants, certainly; that others told how Achilles used his own Pelian ash—*absolutely*. The Pelian ash is the best metonymic extension of Achilles’ own identity; the covert, nourishing aspects of the ash tree may also become re-activated under special circumstances. I impart some of Preiser’s mistakes: a) she uses an admittedly late invention in Hyginus’ account (Odysseus has to tell Achilles how it is he should go about healing Telephus) to blame it on Euripides, even though his own account of Telephus is (unfortunately) very fragmentary and does not bear out Preiser’s allegation. Let Hyginus be blamed (and praised) for his own accounts; b) the fact that Euripides’ Telephus is disguised as a beggar, as shown in another fragment of his *Telephus*, must manifest, allegedly, an innovative convention of the tragic stage, therefore, by analogy, the detail of the spearpoint healing Telephus too must be a Euripidean invention; Preiser’s fallacy is assailable from multiple angles, first and foremost the fact that the beggar’s disguise, though it may be a convention of the stage, is already attested in the Homeric *Odyssey*! c) Preiser erroneously claims that rust or verdigris is scraped off of Achilles’ spear in Euripides’ account (as in Apollodorus’ account). Even someone like Stieber who also believes that Euripides, once again, invented the detail of Achilles’ spear, admits “Euripides’ metal filings ῥινήματα imply metal filings rather than rust or verdigris” (2011:341). Stieber, for her part, is misled by Preiser’s overarching argument, adding some stylistic arguments of her own, such as Euripides’ thematic predilection for “filings” and similar famous concepts such as λεπτός or ζυρόν. That this, however, should have led Euripides to make up out of full cloth Telephus’ healing by Achilles’ spearpoint, again, defies belief: one might concede, perhaps, that Euripides invented the small detail of the spearpoint’s “shavings” (ῥινήματα) from Achilles’ spear, but the involvement of the spear as a whole in Telephus’ healing is unlikely to be a “Euripidean invention”; it is conceivable, for instance, that in the *Cypria* Achilles simply pressed his spear or spearpoint against Telephus’ wound to effect the healing; d) Preiser’s adduction of the *Cypria*’s account of Achilles’ Pelian ash, according to which the gods Hephaistos and Athena carved and supplemented Cheiron’s clipped ashen shaft with a divinely wrought spearpoint, to argue that the *Cypria* speaks for the entire epic tradition of the archaic period, and thus makes Euripides’ putative account of the rust on Achilles’ spearpoint a late invention. We already saw, with Stieber, how Preiser misattributes rust/verdigris on Achilles’ spearpoint to Euripides, which may only apply to Apollodorus’ account. Regardless, the *Cypria*’s account of Achilles’ spear, though very interesting and relevant for the reasons I described earlier elsewhere, cannot be made to speak for *the* archaic epic tradition as a whole: on a synchronic level, there were multiple, competing accounts of the Trojan war, which could contradict themselves in the details. Whereas Achilles’ spearpoint may have been divinely wrought in the *Cypria*, it may not have been divinely wrought in other accounts or in the minds of many listeners of the preclassical period: Shannon 1975, in fact, argued that, from the Iliadic point of view, Achilles’ Pelian ash, unlike the rest of his divinely-wrought armor, represents Achilles’ mortal father Peleus (cf. *Iliad* 19.387: πατρώϊον... ἔγχος). The *Iliad* does not say anything of Athena and Hephaistos contributing to the creation of the Pelian ash: only that Cheiron made it from an ash tree on the summit of Mount Pelion and gave it to Peleus, Achilles’ father: Πηλιάδα μελίην, τὴν πατρὶ φύλῳ πόρε Χείρων / Πηλίου ἐκ κορυφῆς φόνον ἔμμεναι ἠρώεσσιν (*Iliad* 19.390-391). Furthermore, if one insisted on making such pedantic points, which I don’t think a multiform oral tradition would be bound to heed, one could still argue that even Apollodorus’ account of rust on Achilles’ spear, could hark back to preclassical times, inasmuch as Achilles’ Pelian ash in the *Iliad* is technically *not* the only spear he wields: the references to Achilles’ Pelian is always in the singular, and yet two often hurls consecutively *two spears*: one of them, the first one perhaps, is the Pelian ash, Cheiron’s gift to his father, the other spear could be one he made himself. Achilles hurls a second spear against Aineias, Asteropeios and Hector in the *Iliad*. Thus, even if one wished to give Preiser the benefit of the doubt that Achilles’ Pelian ash could not originally have had rust on it because it was divinely wrought, one could still counter that Achilles had wounded Telephus with his other spear: Achilles might have missed the initial toss of his Pelian ash, so he would have then grabbed his backup non-Pelian spear and then only inflicted a wound on Telephus. Presumably, rust or verdigris could be found on Achilles’

shaft proper, brings about the healing, does not invalidate the present argument, insofar as the spearpoint of the Pelian ash was made of bronze (Πηλείδῃ Ἀχιλλῆϊ...μελίην εὔχαλκον: *Iliad* 20.322) and bronze formed a conceptual unit with ash in the preclassical period: Hesiod's third martial race of bronze men were born of ash trees (γένος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων χάλκειον... ἐκ μελιᾶν: *Works & Days* 143-144), something to which the *Iliad* alludes, as argued above.

For one thing, healing by sympathetic magic is an extremely archaic notion,¹³⁷⁴ which certainly has no distinctive ties to any idiosyncratic innovations of the late 5th century BCE. Furthermore, Frazer 1921:189 is surely right to adduce the parallel of the healing by sympathetic magic of the sterility of the Phthian Iphiklos by scrapings from the rust on a knife, which was buried in the bark of a tree. The accounts differ (Apollodorus 1.101-102; scholiasts to the *Odyssey* and Theocritus; Eustathius¹³⁷⁵) as to the aetiology: a young Iphiklos witnesses his father's castration of rams, is disturbed by it, takes the bloody knife and plants it in an oak tree; alternatively, Phylakos observes his son Iphiklos in the middle of a deed described as ἄτοπον, chases him with a knife, and ends up planting it in a wild pear tree. All in all, (Pseudo-) Apollonius and the scholiasts

other spear. But again, this is a trivial point. Preiser's overall argument that Euripides invented Telephus' healing by Achilles' spear is a castle of cards.

¹³⁷⁴ For evidence of sympathetic magic associated with projectiles in Asia Minor as early as the early Bronze Age (2400-2000 BCE), see Choyke 2012:83 in her article "Hunting the Bezoar Goat: Sympathetic Magic in Early Bronze Age Arslantepe": "Tools such as projectile points prepared for activities connected to killing are often ascribed powerful significance within multiple social spheres, well beyond their simple use in hunting and warfare. One form such added empowerment of material objects may take is through imitation of shapes in different, raw materials that enhance the value or strength of the tools through ascribed meaning, in this case, projectile points. This notion of imitation is sometimes connected to ideas about sympathetic magic." Fontenrose 1978:78 cites an epichoric account among the Italian Locrians that their general during the archaic period, Leonymos of Kroton sustained a wound against the ghost of Ajax, who helped the Locrians against the Crotoniates. An oracle tells him to travel to Achilles' Leuke to get healed by the man who injured him: Ajax (Pausanias 3.19.11).

¹³⁷⁵ See Fowler 2013:164-166.

name three different kinds of trees in which Iphiklos or Phylakos planted the knife: an oak tree (δρῦς), a generic tree (δένδρον) or a pear tree (ἄχερδος).

It is noteworthy that an arboreal component constitutes a distinct feature that is common to Telephos' and Iphiklos' healings: although metal scrapings or rust do the actual healing, prior contact of the metal with wood is thematized in either case: in the case of Telephos, Achilles' spear is presumably the Pelian ash: its traditional characterization as "the ash from Mount Pelion" is doubly arboreal: 1) the noun μελίη "ash tree / ash spear" is earmarked for Achilles in the *Iliad* and 2) the constant reminder of its origins from Mount Pelion recalls its origins as a living tree.

It bears emphasizing that Phylakos and Iphiklos are pre-Homeric figures: Iphiklos' future sons Protesilaos and Podarkes are all mentioned in the *Cypria*, Hesiodic fragments and the *Iliad*: Ποδάρκης ὄζος Ἄρηος / Ἰφίκλου υἱὸς πολυμήλου Φυλακίδαο / αὐτοκασίγνητος μεγαθύμου Πρωτεσιλάου (*Iliad* 2.704-706). There is every reason to believe that the tale, including the account of Iphiklos' healing by drinking a mix of water with rust from the knife, goes back to archaic times.¹³⁷⁶ The wide differences between Apollodorus and the scholiasts entail the necessity of many centuries of evolution apart. The location of the alternative Iphiklos myth in Phthia / the future Thessaly, encourages the belief that Euripides' account of a Phthian Achilles' healing Telephus' wound with his own spear originated in proto-Thessalian myth and that this characteristic way of healing by sympathetic magic has regional ties to early Thessaly: Achilles, Phylakos and Iphiklos are all from the same region and may even have

¹³⁷⁶ Fowler 2013:167.

belonged to the same family in early, alternative accounts.¹³⁷⁷ Thus, the account of Achilles healing Telephus with his spear can be used to illustrate the covert, life-bringing function of the ash tree.

3.3.8.5. Achilles, Prometheus and Phoroneus

Ptolemy Chennos reports that, among the alternative names given to Achilles, one of them was *Prometheus*: ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ καὶ Ἴσσαν καὶ Πυρρὰν καὶ Ἄσπετος καὶ Προμηθεύς.¹³⁷⁸ Before dismissing Ptolemy out of hand for being a contemporary of Trajan, it is important to note that two of the four alternative names he assigns to Achilles are demonstrably accurate: Aspetos was a traditional title given to Achilles in Epirus where the royal Aiakids claimed descent from Achilles and his son *Pyrrhos*. The feminine *Pyrrha*, the second alternative name Ptolemy assigns to Achilles, is also attested elsewhere as his transvestite name on Skyros and may have been a name given to ritually transvestite brides and/or bridegrooms on the island or in parts of Thessaly.¹³⁷⁹

Issa has hitherto been given no plausible explanation: it could reasonably be an Aeolic allographeme of the substantivized feminine ἴση (**Wiswā*) “the Equal one [to the

¹³⁷⁷ Iphiklos may have been Achilles’ own father in alternative lost accounts of the hero’s genealogy, given 1) the theme of sterility connecting Iphiklos to Achilles’ foster father Phoinix and 2) the aforementioned contention that Achilles and Protesilaos, rather than Achilles and Patroklos, had formed a dioscuric pair, in earlier retellings of the Trojan war (see elsewhere). Protesilaos was born to Iphiklos, once his sterility was cured: Iphiklos’ other son was *Podarkes*,¹³⁷⁷ Achilles’ most common epithet (*Iliad* 2.704-706 Ποδάρκης ὄζος Ἄρηος / Ἰφίκλου υἱὸς πολυμήλου Φυλακίδαο / αὐτοκασίγνητος μεγαθύμου Πρωτεσιλάου. The Iliadic characterization of Phylakos as “rich in sheep,” πολυμήλου Φυλακίδαο, is akin to the description of Peleus’ Phthian kingdom as “mother of flocks” Φθίην δ’ ἐξικόμην ἐριβόλακα μητέρα μῆλων / ἐς Πηλῆα ἄναχθ’ (*Iliad* 9.479). Moreover, Eudoros, one of the Myrmidon leaders, is the son of Πολυμήλη (*Iliad* 16.180) and Hermes. Outside of the Catalogue of Ships, Podarkes never appears in the *Iliad*. The brotherhood between Protesilaos and Podarkes in the Catalogue of Ships may mask an alternative brotherhood between Protesilaos and Achilles in a lost alternative, *Iliad*.

¹³⁷⁸ Ptolemaios Chennos in Photius Codex 190, Bekker page 147a.

¹³⁷⁹ cf Younger 2004:197: “In Sparta and Cos (Plutarch, *Lyc.* 15, *Quaest. Graec.* 58), grooms donned women’s clothes on their wedding night. In Argos, the bride, however, wears a false beard on her wedding night (Plutarch, *Mor.* 245e-f; cf Leitao 1995:163).”

Goddess/Heroine]” on the basis of the Hesychian lemma: ἴσσασθαι· κληροῦσθαι. Λέσβιοι¹³⁸⁰ vis-à-vis the Lesbian mythonym / toponym Ἴσσα. In light of Sappho *fr.* 31 φαίνεται μοι κῆνος ἴσος θεοῖσιν, a ritual simile given to the bridegroom, Ἴσ(σ)α may have thus been a shorthand title given to brides on Lesbos: on the island, Achilles was an archetypal bridegroom (Nagy 2013, 5§22). The attestation for the practice of transvestitism during Greek weddings in a variety of regions would then account for the feminine gender.¹³⁸¹ According to Pherekydes FHG I 83, 40 (Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 3.1186, a certain Ἴσαία, a mythological hapax, was the sister of ‘Ash Tree’ (Μελία) and Phoinix, two names closely associated with Achilles.¹³⁸²

¹³⁸⁰ For the connection of the Lesbian verb to ἴσσασθαι to ἴσος “equal,” see Chantraine, s.v. ἴσος. As a personal name, the masculine simplex Ἴσος is attested both as the name of a Trojan, once ransomed by Achilles, later slain by Agamemnon (αὐτὰρ ὁ βῆ Ἴσόν τε καὶ Ἄντιφον ἐξεναρίζων (11.101) and as a sacred location near Anthedon in Boeotia (Strabo 9.405).

¹³⁸¹ Ash Tree and her sister *Isaia* went on to marry two eponymous twins: Aigyptos and Danaos respectively (again, Pherekydes FHG I 83, 40 = Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 3.1186).

¹³⁸² I quote again Younger 2004:197: “In Sparta and Cos (Plutarch, *Lyc.* 15, *Quaest. Graec.* 58), grooms donned women's clothes on their wedding night. In Argos, the bride, however, wears a false beard on her wedding night (Plutarch, *Mor.* 245e-f; cf Leitao 1995:163).” Stephanus of Byzantium and Sappho combined may help us further unravel Issa’s riddle: Ἴσσα, πόλις ἐν Λέσβῳ, κληθεῖσα Ἰμέρα, εἶτα Πελασγία καὶ Ἴσσα ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰσσης τῆς Μάκαρος. Mentioned in the *Iliad*, Makar is the prototypical king of Lesbos: Λέσβος ... Μάκαρος ἕδος (24.544). As the daughter of the prototypical king of Lesbos, Issa would be a likely candidate to be an archetypal bride in local cult, cf. Helen at Sparta, as depicted in Theocritus’ *Epithalamium*. This hypothesis would dovetail with Issa’s alternative name Ἰμέρα, after whom the Lesbian city was presumably named: Ἰμέρα is the feminine of ἴμερος, which is also attested as an adjective (*LSG*), “the Desirable one,” an appropriate title for the bride, cf the cognate ἴμερον in Sappho *fr.* 31 “the Bridegroom Song.” In the very same Sapphic poem, the bridegroom is described as “equal to the gods”: φαίνεται μοι κῆνος ἴσος θεοῖσιν. Because Sappho uses the same phrase ἴσος + dative in another nuptial poem (F 111.5-6) γάμβρος ἐρχεται ἴσος Ἄρει (see Nagy 2001:157), it is conceivable that the phrase ἴσος + dative and its feminine counterpart ἴσ(σ)α + dative featured prominently in cultic utterances during wedding rituals on early Lesbos. Inasmuch as Nagy showed that “in the context of such a ritual, the comparison between the human and the divinity is visualized as a fusion of identities between the two” (2001:158), the bridegroom and the bride might have been referred to elliptically as the Ἴσ(σ)ος and the Ἴσ(σ)α. Among gods, Ares and Aphrodite were the two paragons of the bridegroom and bride on Lesbos. It so happens that among heroes, Achilles was an archetypal bridegroom: Σαπφοῦς...μήλω...τὸν νυμφίον τε Ἀχιλλεῖ παρομοιωῦσαι καὶ εἰς ταὐτὸν ἀγαγεῖν τῷ ἦρωι τὸν (190) νεανίσκον ταῖς πράξεσι (Himerus, *Orations* 1.16). Given the known transvestitism of Achilles on Skyros as *Pyrrha*, which might have also been a title given to brides there (see previous footnote, plus our earlier discussion of Achilles’ connection to Deukalion and Pyrrha), Ἴσ(σ)α might have similarly arisen on Lesbos. Cameron 2004:141, on the other

As for Prometheus as an alternative name of Achilles, Cameron summarizes the current consensus in his assessment: "Prometheus is a mystery."¹³⁸³ The purpose of the current section is to show why the identities of Achilles and Prometheus could have been one and the same in certain parts of Greece (epichoric overlap) and/or certain poem, rituals or festivals.

Earlier, we saw how Patroklos is to the *Iliad* what the Titan Menoitios is to the *Theogony*: they are the only explicitly named mortals to be dispatched to the underworld by a god in the *Iliad* and *Theogony* respectively. We further argued that Patroklos' homonymous father Menoitios "he who Awaits his Doom" is meaningfully related to the Hesiodic Menoitios, and to the aptly-named herdsman of Hades *Menoites*. They are all archetypes of primordial mortality, like Patroklos himself, embodiment of the forefathers. Insofar as the Homeric Patroklos and the Hesiodic Menoitios are functionally equivalent, it would follow, within the mathematics of this equation, that if Achilles had a counterpart in the *Theogony*, it would be to the one closest to Menoitios: *his brother Prometheus*. Beyond these mathematics, let us say, by way of introduction, that a most patent feature tying Achilles to Prometheus is their rivalry with Zeus, which is either actual or potential: Prometheus challenged the supremacy of Zeus; similarly, as Nagy often says in lectures at Harvard, "Achilles is the son Zeus never had."¹³⁸⁴ There had been a prophecy that if Zeus had his way with Thetis, as he initially intended, their

hand, improbably (or facetiously?) suggests that Issa is a late Latin loanword: "Issa, Issus and Issa were Latin baby names or endearments, colloquial forms of ipse/ipsa!

¹³⁸³ Cameron 2004:141.

¹³⁸⁴ Verbal statement often made by Nagy during lectures at Harvard (2009-2013). Re-expressed in Nagy 2013:674 "If Peleus had not fathered Achilles, then Zeus himself or Poseidon would have mated with Thetis, and this divine son would have overthrown the regime of the Olympian gods. Thus the demigod Achilles, if we think of the father he never had, is a hero of infinite cosmic potential."

son would surpass him. Thetis was therefore conveniently married away to the archetypally-named mortal Peleus “Clayman,” cf. Aeschylus *fr.*369 Mette: ἐκ πηλοπλάστου σπέρματος θνητῆ γυνή [Πανδώρα].

It should now be clear that several of Achilles’ features, which we discussed above, match those of Prometheus, notably his anthropogonic features through his connection to Mount Pelion, “Mount Clay,” and of course to Peleus himself, lord of “clay-rich loamy Phthia”: Φθίην δ’ ἐξικόμην ἐριβόλακα μητέρα μήλων / ἐς Πηλῆα ἄναχθ’ (*Iliad* 9.479).¹³⁸⁵ *Qua* Πηλεΐδης, Achilles affirms his embodiment of the primordial man, first fashioned from clay, cf. Aeschylus *fr.*369 Mette: ἐκ πηλοπλάστου σπέρματος θνητῆ γυνή [Πανδώρα]; Aristophanes, *Birds*, 685-686 φύσιν ἄνδρες...πλάσματα πηλοῦ. Whereas Hephaistos is credited with fashioning womankind from earth and water in the Hesiodic *Works & Days*, Prometheus is credited with fashioning mankind from earth and water according to Apollodorus 1.45-47: Προμηθεὺς δὲ ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ γῆς ἀνθρώπους πλάσας.

Although the earliest accounts of Prometheus’ role in creating mankind do not precede the 4th century BCE,¹³⁸⁶ the extremely close ties between Prometheus and Hephaistos suggest that, in certain regions at least, Prometheus’ role in anthropogony must be at least as old as Hesiod’s own day and age, in which Hephaistos created the first woman: in Athens in particular, Prometheus and Hephaistos are both gods of potters, craftsmen and torch races; according to one account, it is Prometheus, not Hephaistos, who freed Athena from Zeus’ skull with an axe (see Dougherty 2006:49-

¹³⁸⁵ As pointed out elsewhere, among all the Achaean regions, Phthia is the only one to be called ἐριβόλαξ.

¹³⁸⁶ Herakelides Pontikos *fr.* 66; Philemon *fr.* 93, Menander *fr.* 508

51); in Classical Athens, Hephaistos, Prometheus and Athena shared a common altar.¹³⁸⁷ Zeus is antagonistic to Hephaistos, hurling him from the heights of Olympus (*Iliad* 1.589-594),¹³⁸⁸ as he is to Prometheus in the Hesiodic *Theogony*. Hephaistos, in turn, Prometheus' closest divine archetype in the *Iliad*, is especially close to Achilles, even setting aside the generic crafting of his armor, which the god grants an indiscriminate number of heroes: 1) Hephaistos came to Achilles' rescue in his uttermost moment of peril; 2) Achilles' mother Thetis rescued and nurtured Hephaistos when Zeus hurled him from Olympus (*Iliad* 18.397-405; 3) Hephaistos suffered deformity in his legs and was hurled by Zeus *by his foot* (ῥῖψε ποδὸς τεταγών 1.591) when Zeus made him fall down to Lemnos, which represents a quasi-death for the god (κάππεσον ἐν Λήμνῳ, ὀλίγος δ' ἔτι θυμὸς ἐνήεν: *Iliad* 1.593); Achilles is lethally shot in his heel.¹³⁸⁹

The Argive Prometheus, *Phoroneus*,¹³⁹⁰ bridges crucial gaps not only between Prometheus and Hephaistos, but also between Achilles and Prometheus. The name Φορωνεύς, from the root **bher*, “to carry,” “to bear,” matches the title πυρφόρος “Fire Carrier/Thief” given to Prometheus in Sophocles *fr.* and is meaningfully cognate with

¹³⁸⁷ Dougherty 2006:51

¹³⁸⁸ Although the *Iliad* mentions other former divine acts of sedition against Zeus, by Athena, Poseidon and Hera, any revenge Zeus might have imposed on these gods is left unspecified (Apollo and Poseidon build the walls of Troy at 17.452-454, but the explanation that they did so because Zeus punished them is left out). Hephaistos is the only Olympian male god against whom Zeus' violence is described.

¹³⁸⁹ Pace Burgess' s doubts (1995), Paris' wounding Diomedes in the foot in the *Iliad*, so as to incapacitate the 2nd best of the Achaeans, has been rightly seen as a proleptic allusion to Achilles' future lethal wound in the heel. Some archais vases show a dead or moribund Achilles with several arrows in his body, including his heel: Burgess, though, believes, that several arrows in different parts of Achilles' body, weakens the argument for a fatal shot in the heel: in my opinion, it does not. Achilles could have sustained multiple arrows before being delivered the final blow in his weak spot. Be that as it may, it is a common characteristic for many notable figures of Greek myth to have a weakness in their lower body: Odysseus has a boar tusk scar in his thigh, Protesilaos too had a scar in his leg; the aptly-named Oedipus had swollen feet.

¹³⁹⁰ Schmidt (*RE*), s.v. ‘Phoroneus’: “analog Prometheus.” Pausanias 2.19.5 τῆς εἰκόνης ταύτης πῦρ καίουσιν ὀνομάζοντες Φορωνέως εἶναι· οὐ γάρ τι ὁμολογοῦσι δοῦναι πῦρ Προμηθεῖα ἀνθρώποις, ἀλλὰ ἐς Φορωνέα τοῦ πυρὸς μετάγειν ἐθέλουσι τὴν εὐρεσιν.

the Greek φῶρ ‘thief’¹³⁹¹ (for the sense development, cf. ‘shop-*lifting*’). Phoroneus is also semantically equatable with Prometheus’ own name: although secondarily folk-etymologized as “Fore-thought,”¹³⁹² Prometheus too had originally meant “the Thief” (cf. Sanskrit *pramath-* ‘to steal’). Nevertheless, Phoroneus’ own name must be very ancient too, since it compares with the Sanskrit *bhuraṇyu*, a title of Agni.¹³⁹³

First attested in the 7th-6th century BCE¹³⁹⁴ anonymous poem *Phoronis* as “the father of mortal men” (πατέρα θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων¹³⁹⁵), a statement echoed by Akousilaos *fr.* 23a¹³⁹⁶ (Ἀκουσίλαος γὰρ Φορωνέα πρῶτον ἄνθρωπον γενέσθαι λέγει) and Plato,¹³⁹⁷ Phoroneus introduced fire to men: οὐ γὰρ τι ὁμολογοῦσι δοῦναι πῦρ Προμηθεά ἀνθρώποις, ἀλλὰ ἐς Φορωνέα τοῦ πυρὸς μετάγειν ἐθέλουσι τὴν εὐρεσιν.¹³⁹⁸ Schmidt (*RE*, s.v. ‘Phoroneus’) rightly assumes that Phoroneus’ role as fire bringer must

¹³⁹¹ Further compare sense development from IE *(s)tel, ‘lift’ (hence Latin *tollo*) to English *steal*, German *stehlen*.

¹³⁹² Fowler 2013:25 “...the quite unusual role Eumelos *fr.* 1b assigns to Epimetheus. A tradition of unknown origin is reported by the same scholiast that Ephyra, the former name of Corinth, derived from a homonymous daughter of Epimetheus; Eumelos, by contrast, made Ephyra Epimetheus’ wife, and daughter of Okeanos and Tetys. We are at the very beginning of the stemma, and obviously Epimetheus here cannot be the usual dope. Probably also Pandora had no role in this story. Deeply embedded though the folktale motif of the wise and foolish brothers might appear to be, this ancient story suggests that Epimetheus originally had a different standing, comparable to that of Prometheus, in at least one part of Greece. A report that Deukalion and Pyrrha were Epimetheus’ offspring could conceivably come from Eumelos. Long ago, Welcker pointed out that the name need not in itself mean ‘afterthought’; many names beginning Epi- have no such connotation, and the interpretation could be secondary.”

¹³⁹³ Shannon 1975:54

¹³⁹⁴ For the 7th/6th century BCE dating, see Fornaro 2007 (New Pauly), s.v. ‘Phoronis’, cf. Dowden 2014:120 “Already in the Phoronis, its antiquity supported by an aniconic pillar...”

¹³⁹⁵ *Phoronis*, *fr.* 1

¹³⁹⁶ Fowler 2013:236

¹³⁹⁷ Plato *Timaeus* 22a-b τῶν τῆδε τὰ ἀρχαιότατα λέγειν ἐπιχειρεῖν, περὶ Φορωνέως τε τοῦ πρώτου λεχθέντος καὶ Νιόβης, καὶ μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν αὐτῶν περὶ Δευκαλίωνος καὶ Πύρρας.

¹³⁹⁸ Pausanias 2.19.5

have been extant in the archaic *Phoronis* by virtue of the extant description of the Ἰδαίοι Φρύγες ἄνδρες ὀρέστεροι, first inventors of metal works by means of the skills of crafty Hephaistos (τέχνης πολυμήτιος Ἡφαίστιο) in *Phoronis fr. 2*.

Following first mention in the *Catalogue of Women fr. 246*, the *Ash tree* [nymph] is named as the mother of the Urmensch Phoroneus: Μελίας τῆς Ὠκεανοῦ Φορωνεύς, his father being *Inachos*.¹³⁹⁹ Unquestionably, Hesiod, *Theogony* 563-564 [Ζεὺς] οὐκ ἐδίδου μελίησι πυρὸς μένος ἀκαμάτιο / θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποις οἱ ἐπὶ χθονὶ ναιετάουσιν is germane to the Ash tree's motherhood of Phoroneus, the Argive Prometheus, who first introduced fire and culture to human beings. Collated, a) the mother-son relationship of Ash tree and Fire-bringing Phoroneus in the Argive tradition and b) the Hesiodic association between fire and μελίησι show that ash trees and fire were inseparable in (certain parts at least of) early Greek thinking, together with notions of anthropogony. Accordingly, Shannon is right to correlate the fire imagery accompanying Achilles' comeback to battle with the numen of his Pelian ash.

Phoroneus and Achilles also share a connection to the Pelasgians, in a way that seems to predate the trivializing generalization of Pelasgians = generic men from the past, but may rather point to the current contention that the Pelasgians were the Proto-Dorians (from 1. the Pindus to 2. Thessaly, to 3) the territories later called 'Doric'), from a historic standpoint. According to Hellanikos of Lesbos and Hekataios of Abdera, Phoroneus was the father of Pelasgos¹⁴⁰⁰: the acropolis of Argos was named *Larissa*, a common name for a city in the Aegean that is normally ascribed to Pelasgians, as in *Iliad*

¹³⁹⁹ Apollodorus 2.1.5; cf. schol. in Euripides 932 Ἰνάχου δὲ καὶ Μελίας Φορωνεύς καὶ Φηγεύς ἐγένοντο; scholia in Lycophron 177bis Ἰνάχου καὶ Μελίας τῆς Ὠκεανοῦ Φορωνεύς; schol. in Plato *Timaeus* 22a Φορωνεύς Ἰνάχου καὶ Μελίας, Ἀργείων βασιλεύς.

¹⁴⁰⁰ Akousilaos fr. 25.a & 26 Pelasgos and Argos grandsons of Phoroneus (sons of Niobe)

2.840-841 Ἴππόθοος δ' ἄγε φύλα Πελασγῶν ἐγγεσιμῶρων / τῶν οἱ Λάρισαν ἐριβόλακα ναιετάσκειον.¹⁴⁰¹ The hypothesis that Phoroneus and Pelasgos are EIA transplants from Northern Greece into the Peloponnese is rooted in: a) the association of the Pelasgoi with Dodona and Achilles' territory; b) in the aforementioned 7th-6th century BCE *Phoronis*, the eponym Pelasgos marries the daughter of the Peneios river in northern Thessaly¹⁴⁰²; c) Drews' convincing contention that the ethnonym 'Argive' originated in Thessaly and moved south into the Peloponnese only as a result of migrations¹⁴⁰³; d) Katicic's research on the Urheimat of the Pelasgians in the North Aegean; e) the concurrence between Clement Romanus, *Recognitiones* 10.21, according to which Phthia, daughter of Phoroneus, conceived Achaïos by Zeus and Aelia, *Varia Historia* 1.15, according to whom Zeus transformed himself into a dove to seduce the maiden Phthia at Aigion in Achaïa in the northern Peloponnese.¹⁴⁰⁴ The likelihood that this northern Peloponnesian myth came from the Proto-Dorians in Epirus lies in the fact that the priestesses of Zeus at Dodona were known as 'doves' and that the actual birds were used in oracles there.

Ach-illes' implicit Stammvater status as near-eponym of the *Ach*-aeans emerges in the pattern of ethnic eponyms whom he slays, Dryops, Dardanos and Tros (*Iliad*

¹⁴⁰¹ Larisa = Pelasgian also at *Iliad* 17.301. Excluding foundations from the Hellenistic period, the name Laris(s)a also occurs in Thessaly (3), Crete (2), the Troad (2) and Ephesus (1). The *Larision* is a lowland in Crete; the *Larison* is a river on the border between Elis and Achaïa. With the exception of the Ephesian Larisa, all the other Larisas are located in territories of proto-Doric expansion (= not only Dorian areas, but also Aeolic areas, which arose through contact and absorption of the EIA Makedonian migrants).

¹⁴⁰² *Phoronis* quoted Dionysius of Hal. 1.28.3.

¹⁴⁰³ Drews 1979:111-135 projects the migration of the Argives from Thessaly to the Peloponnese to before the end of the Bronze Age. Also, he does not call them Dorians or Proto-Dorians, but rather Aeolians. The widespread attestation, however, of the ethnonym *Arg-*, such as the Macedonian *Argeades* and the *Atargoi* of Epirus, suggests the possibility that the ethnonym was non-Mycenaean.

¹⁴⁰⁴ Aelian, *Varia Historia*, 1.15 Ἀχαϊκοὶ δὲ αὖ πάλιν λέγουσι λόγοι καὶ τὸν Δία αὐτὸν μεταβαλεῖν τὴν μορφήν ἐς περιστέραν, (35) ἐρασθέντα παρθένου Φθίας ὄνομα. ἐν Αἰγίῳ δὲ ᾧκει ἡ Φθία αὕτη.

20.455, 20.460, 20.463), and the tropes such as alliterations and interlinear metrical matches connecting Achilles to the Achaeans. Of prime significance, In-achos' paternity of Phoroneus is fundamentally relevant not only to the root in *Ach-illes*' name, but also his mythology, as I shall demonstrate. The kinship between In-achos and *Ach-illes* triangulates with their respective, inseverable association with the ash tree: whereas Achilles connects to the ash tree via his mortal father, his birthplace on Mount Pelion and Homeric formulae, Phoroneus connects to the ash tree via his mother Μελία “Ash Tree” [nymph]. The connection to the ash tree is parentally reversed. There is more to these reversed connections: it is at once apparent, moreover, that Achilles and Phoroneus both share an aquatic parent, Thetis and Inachos respectively.

Thetis and Inachos are not any aquatic deities: the scope of their power is cosmic and they are both associated with the origins of life. I reiterate Alkman *fr.* 5: τῆς Θέτιδος γενομένης ἀρχὴ καὶ τέ[λ]ο[ς ταῦτ]α πάντων ἐγένε[τ]ο. Thetis and Tethys,¹⁴⁰⁵ the wife of Okeanos, are differentiated in the Homeric poem, but this may have more to do with the Homeridai's politics of Panhellenism (attempting to make a coherent whole of competing mythological traditions varying from region to region) than the restriction of Thetis' realm to the saline sea in all parts of Greece: clearly, the location of her cave in the streams of the river Okeanos, where Thetis tends and rescues Hephaistos (ἐν σπηῖ γλαφυρῷ· περὶ δὲ ῥόος Ἰκεανοῖο: *Iliad* 18.402), together with the Oceanid Eurynome, speaks to a domain of cosmic proportions reaching to the very ends of the earth: this would be consistent with both the aforementioned Alkman *fr.* 5 (τῆς Θέτιδος γενομένης

¹⁴⁰⁵ For a discussion of the sources and opinions as to whether Thetis and Tethys are dissimilations of the same name, see *RE*, s.v. ‘Thetis’.

ἀρχὴ καὶ τέ[λ]ο[ς ταῦτ]α πάντων ἐγένε[τ]ο) and *Iliad* 14.246: Ὀκεανοῦ, ὅς περ γένεσις πάντεσσι τέτυκται.

Similarly, Fowler concludes, in his survey of Argive myths and genealogies, “Inachos was the beginning of all things.”¹⁴⁰⁶ Although Fowler meant that the cosmic valence of Inachos was circumscribed to the Argolid in the northwestern Peloponnese, there is indirect evidence for the prehistoric diffusion of Inachos’ cosmic status throughout the Greek world: as persuasively argued by Iwan von Müller and Michel Sakellariou, the *Inacheia*, a festival on Crete in honor of Leukothea (Ἰνάχεια· ἑορτὴ Λευκοθέας ἐν Κρήτεσιν, ἀπὸ Ἰνάχου: Hesychius), indicates that the widespread synonym of Leukothea, Ἰνώ, is the abbreviated form of *Ἰνάχω, feminine counterpart of the masculine Ἰναχος.¹⁴⁰⁷ The cult of Ino (*Ἰνάχω) / Leukothea is of Panhellenic diffusion in the Classical period¹⁴⁰⁸: she was a sea goddess to whom mariners could turn for help in times of distress, as Odysseus does at *Odyssey* 5.333. This obviously shows that there was a time when **Inachos* was not just a river, but rather represented the waters in general, be they saline or freshwater. The existence of three other Inachos rivers, outside of the Argolid, further supports the hypothesis that the original cosmic status of the Inachos was originally pan-Hellenic (or perhaps proto-Doric): one in Boeotia, one in southern Thessaly—a tributary of Achilles’ Spercheios—and most importantly, the upper course of the Acheloiios in southern Epirus was also known as the

¹⁴⁰⁶ Fowler 2013:88

¹⁴⁰⁷ Iwan von Müller 1906:60; Sakellariou 1977

¹⁴⁰⁸ It has been plausibly suggested that Ino and Leukothea were originally two regionally distinct goddesses who subsequently syncretized by virtue of their numerous similarities: Ino would have been Proto-Doric, Leukothea Ionian.

Inachos¹⁴⁰⁹: as demonstrated by d’Alessio,¹⁴¹⁰ the Acheloios itself was another early competitor with the Okeanos for the status of cosmic waters, as first evidenced by *Iliad* 21.194-196.¹⁴¹¹ Like the Inachos, there were also several rivers named Acheloios, and in poetry the noun ἀχελῷος simply means ‘water’ (*LSG*). The ubiquity of Aegean rivers with the root *akh-, such as In-akhos, Ach-eloios, Ach-eron, shows that this pre-Greek root simply meant ‘water’ with a connotation of ‘sacred, primordial water’ in its early Hellenized forms.¹⁴¹²

The remarkable upshot of the realization Ἰνώ = *Ἰνάχω is that *Ino*, the feminine counterpart of Phoroneus’ father Inachos, is functionally the same as Achilles’ mother *Thetis*! Ino and Thetis¹⁴¹³ were both beneficent sea deities who rescued men (and gods) in distress. Thus, Achilles compares with the Promethean Phoroneus, not only in that they are both Urmenschen born of / identified with ash trees (Melia and Peleus), their other parent, Thetis and Inachos = masculine of Ino, is associated with the primordial waters and is a beneficent figure to those in distress at sea. As the son of Thetis, whose domain is the sea reaching out to the rim of the river Ocean, it should follow that *Ach-*

¹⁴⁰⁹ Fimmen (*RE*), s.v. ‘Inachos’.

¹⁴¹⁰ D’Alessio, “Textual Fluctuations and Cosmic Streams: Ocean and Acheloios,” *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 2004.

¹⁴¹¹ Zenodotus (et alii) athetized *Iliad* 21.195, as a result of which the Acheloios becomes the primordial waters from which all other waters arise:

τῷ οὐδὲ κρείων Ἀχελῷος ἰσοφαρίζει,
οὐδὲ βαθυρρεῖται μέγα σθένης Ὠκεανοῖο,
ἐξ οὗ περ πάντες ποταμοὶ καὶ πᾶσα θάλασσα

¹⁴¹² Sakellariou 1977: 231-242.

¹⁴¹³ For Thetis saving the Argonauts, together with the Nereids, Apollonius 4.842; Apollodorus 1.9.25. Thetis and Doris rescuing Danae at sea in Lucian *Dial. Mar.* 12. Thetis was leader of the Nereids. The name of the Nereid *Sao* “Savior,” already attested in the Hesiodic *Theogony* 243 (Πρωθῶ τ’ Εὐκράντη τε Σαῶ τ’ Ἀμφιτρίτη τε) is an early indication of the Nereids’ role as rescuers at sea.

illes was himself originally “the offspring of the cosmic waters,” and that in other early lost accounts, Thetis and Ino were interchangeable, so that Achilles’ mother could have also been *Ινάχω (= Ino), akin to her son’s own name Ἀχιλλ(λ)εύς. Ptolemy Chennos preciously preserves mostly ignored alternative traditions of non-heroic Achilleis, most of whom have this in common, the sea: one is the son of the sea monster Lamia, another Achilles is the son of a certain Galatos, the feminine counterpart of which Galate(a) is a Nereid.¹⁴¹⁴ At the opposite end of the spectrum in terms of violence, Nagy has made the compelling case that the hundred-hander *Aigaiôn* (/Briareos) via the themes of his superlative might, his connection to the *pontos* (cf. the *Aegean* sea) and the theme of his surpassing his father is “a nightmarish variant of Achilles.”¹⁴¹⁵

¹⁴¹⁴ Ptolemy Chennos in Codex 190, Bekker page 152a Καὶ Διὸς καὶ Λαμίας Ἀχιλλέα φασὶ γενέσθαι τὸ κάλλος ἀμήχανον, ὃν καὶ ἐρίσαντα περὶ κάλλους νικῆσαι τοῦ Πανὸς κρίναντος. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Ἀφροδίτη νεμεσῆσασα ἐμβάλλει Πανὶ τὸν Ἥχοῦς ἔρωτα, καὶ μὴν καὶ κατειργάσατο καὶ εἰς τὴν ιδέαν αὐτόν, ὅπως ἐκ τῆς μορφῆς αἰσχροὺς καὶ ἀνέραστος φαίνοιτο. Καὶ Γαλάτου τινὸς υἱὸς Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐκλήθη, ὃν ἐκ γενετῆς πολὺν γενέσθαι φησὶν. It is a pity that Ptolemy is not taken seriously by most classicists because much of what he says has the semblance of reproducing genuine, semi-independent folklore on the figure of Achilles: the superlative beauty of this alternative Achilles is also found in Homer, although not central to his character; also, the gray hair of this alternative Achilles matches that of his maternal grandfather Nereus, “the old man of the sea.” The Lamia had at one point been a beautiful Libyan princess, beloved of Zeus, whose children by Zeus a jealous Hera slew (Scholia in Aristides 102,5 & Schol. in Aristophanes 758d.

¹⁴¹⁵ Nagy 1976, 20§28-29: “Thetis rescued Zeus by summoning Briareôs the Hundred-Hander, who then frightened the Olympian rebels away from ever endangering Zeus again (I 401-406). In this context, the Hundred-Hander is specifically described as *biên hou patros ameinôn* 'better in *biê* than his father' (I 404). The theme is strikingly parallel to what would have been if Zeus or Poseidon had mated with Thetis. §29. The figure of Briareôs, also called *Aigaiôn* (I 404), is a sort of nightmarish variant of Achilles himself. In the Hesiodic tradition, Briareôs/Obriareôs[1] is likewise one of the Hundred-Handers (Hesiod Th. 147-153). These figures are equal to the Titans themselves in *biê* (Th. 677-678), and they use their *biê* to defeat the Titans (Th. 649-650), thus ensuring the *kratos* of Zeus (Th. 662)... In other traditions, *Aigaiôn* is likewise a figure who fights against the Titans (Titanomachy fr. 2 p. 110 Allen); moreover, he lives in the sea and was actually fathered by *Pontos* (ibid.). On the other hand, still another tradition has Briareôs fathered by Poseidon himself (scholia ad Iliad I 404).[4] These variant figures Briareôs and *Aigaiôn*,[5] synthesized as one figure in Iliad I 403-404, conjure up the Iliadic theme of Achilles. He too is an exponent of *biê*; he too has strong affinities with the *pontos*. Here is a hero who would have been better than Poseidon--better than Zeus himself—if either had fathered him. Just as the divine essence of Zeus was validated by the *biê* of Briareôs/*Aigaiôn*, so also the god will now validate in return the heroic essence of Achilles in the Iliad. The *biê* of the Hundred-Hander is an antecedent for the *biê* that will mark Achilles. The hero cannot be the best of the gods, but he will be the best of heroes. And in the poetry that all Hellenes must recognize, he will be the best of the Achaeans.”

Summary:

Phoroneus (the Argive Prometheus)	Achilles (root *<i>akh</i>)
Parent 1 = Ash Tree (Μελία)	Parent 1 Clay (Πηλεύς) + Ash tree inheritance (Πηλιάς μελίη)
Parent 2 = the Waters, (In-<i>achos</i>)	Parent 2 = the Waters (Thetis) = Ino / *Inacho

3.3.8.6. Achilles, Acheles and the Cosmic Acheloios

Palmer¹⁴¹⁶ and Nagy¹⁴¹⁷ showed how the *Iliad* programmatically associates the name of Achilles with ἄχος ‘grief’.

ὦ Ἀχιλεῦ Πηλῆος υἱὲ μέγα φέρτατ’ Ἀχαιῶν μὴ νεμέσα·
τοῖον γὰρ ἄχος βεβίηκεν Ἀχαιοῦς.

Nagy rightly observes that “the ἄχος of Achilles leads to the μῆνις of Achilles leads to the ἄχος of the Achaeans.”¹⁴¹⁸ This is not to deny this connection at all: data such as Ἀχαιία· επίθετον Δήμητρος. ἀπὸ τοῦ περὶ τὴν Κόρην ἄχους, ὅπερ ἐποιεῖτο ἀναζητοῦσα αὐτήν (Hesychius) clearly show a spontaneous association in ancient Greek between the names of *Achilles*, the *Achaeans* and ἄχος. One could further point to the undeniable

¹⁴¹⁶ Palmer 1963:79

¹⁴¹⁷ Nagy 1976:69-83

¹⁴¹⁸ Nagy

pattern in Greek epic of associating the names of epic heroes with notions of pain and suffering: Achilles and ἄχος, Aias and αἰᾶ, Odysseus and ὀδύνη.¹⁴¹⁹

But the inextricable association of Achilles with Thetis, whose domain is the sea extending to the river Ocean, makes it *a priori* nearly impossible that the name of Achilles (and that of the Achaeans) is unrelated to the geographically ubiquitous pre-Greek root **akh-*, which is attested in so many Greek hydronyms, as seen above, even the name of the Thetis-like sea goddess *Ino* (*Ἰνάχω), and is still lexicalized as ἀχελῷος in poetry, ‘water’.¹⁴²⁰ Most importantly, an earth-encircling Ἀχελῷος, early rival to the Okeanos, is still attested in our earliest sources and a close scrutiny of our evidence on the mythology of Achilles shows that Achilles himself is indeed associated with the earth-encircling stream, the great might of which revealingly surrounds Achilles’ shield: μέγα σθένοϛ Ἰκκανοῖο (*Iliad* 18.607). One would therefore posit syncretistic origins for the name of Achilles, as is demonstrably the case of the French word *gui* ‘mistletoe’ (a cross of the Latin *uiscum* ‘mistletoe’ and Old Frankish **wihsila* ‘cherry’¹⁴²¹), rather than the standard monogenetic paradigm: neither Achilles’ infliction/experience of ἄχος, nor

¹⁴¹⁹ Louden 1995.

¹⁴²⁰ For the Ἀχαιοί and the Pre-Greek root **akh-* ‘water’, see Sakellariou 1977: 231-242. The analogy of the etymology of the synonymous Δαναοί, from **dan-* ‘flowing water’, cf the hydronyms *Eridanos*, *Apidanos* and *Danube*, also the myth of the Danaids with leaky jugs (see Protopsaltis 2012:60), lends support to the equation Ἀχαιοί = “Water people.” It is unclear what specifically this might have referred to: could the Ἀχαιοί = Hittite *Ahhiya* originally have been an early Anatolian exonym “people from the islands [of the Aegean]” (cf etymology of English ‘island’ = OE *igland*, literally “waterland”, *ig-* ultimately from IE **akwa* ‘water’)? A river in Lydia, the *Acheles* (mentioned in the *Iliad* in *uaria lectio* to 24.616), shows the same pre-Greek root **akh*. Many of the ‘Sea People’ in the late Bronze Age hailed from the Aegean.

¹⁴²¹ The initial *gu-* of *gui* must represent the Frankish component of the word, whereas the Latin provided the identical meaning ‘mistletoe’.

his filiation with Thetis and post-mortem status as Ποντάρχης,¹⁴²² master of the Euxine sea, can be removed from the hero's mythologem without impacting his essential nature.

As regards the phonetics, the vocalic $e > i$ shift from a hypothetical **Akhel(l)ēwos* to our *Akhil(l)eus* may have arisen dialectically, cf. Homeric (= Aeolic) πίσυρες 'four' vs. τέσσαρες or ἔστία vs. Ionic ἰστίη, Boeotian ἰστία (cf. Latin *Vesta*).¹⁴²³ The shift $e > i$ may even arise through the very syncretistic process with the second etymon **Akhilāwos* 'Grief of the People', with the juncture vowel $-i-$, as postulated by Palmer and Nagy. A third etymon not to be discounted, besides **Akhelēwos* 'Man of the Primordial Waters' and **Akhilāwos* 'Grief of the People' may have been an early Anatolian word for 'Achaean': "Is he [Achilles] somehow a man of *Ahhiya*, just as *Troilos* is the man of *Troy*, and *Hattusilis* the man of *Hattus(a)*?"¹⁴²⁴ This plausible third etymon, which would have fused with the former two and consolidated the standardization of Achilles' name, is certainly activated in the central role *Achilles* plays among the *Ach*-aeans at Troy (he is *the* Achaean hero at Troy), cf. *Iliad* 1.240-241 ἦ ποτ' Ἀχιλλῆος ποθὴ ἴξεται υἷας Ἀχαιῶν / σύμπαντας; the quasi eponymous status of Achilles as 'the Achaean' κατ' ἐξοχὴν also reveals itself in the numerous cases of 'Achilles' and 'Achaean' occupying the same metrical position in the dactylic hexameter one or two lines apart.¹⁴²⁵ Ultimately, this third ethnonymic etymon of Achilles is akin to

¹⁴²² Ποντάρχης, epithet of Achilles at Olbia, IPE12.134.

¹⁴²³ For other examples $e > i$, see Buck 1912:21.

¹⁴²⁴ Stephen Durnford (private communication): 11/12/2013.

¹⁴²⁵ For example, *Iliad* 11.625-626

ἄρετ' ἐκ Τενέδοιο γέρων, ὅτε πέρσεν Ἀχιλλεύς
θυγατέρ' Ἀρσινόου μεγάλῆτορος, ἦν οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ

the second one, “the Man of the Primordial Waters,” inasmuch as the Achaeans meant “the Water people.”¹⁴²⁶

In our standard edition of the *Iliad*, the river *Acheloios* occurs only twice: 21.194 & 24.616. And yet, despite the fact that Achilles’ speeches represent a small fraction of the Iliadic text as a whole, Ἀχελώϊος only ever appears in the mouth of the similar-sounding Ἀχιλλεύς. I recapitulate the main points I expanded upon in an earlier work¹⁴²⁷: in the first instance, *Iliad* 21.194, Achilles is pitted against Asteropaios “the man of Lightning,” arguably his greatest threat in the *Iliad*, against whom Achilles directs a series of supremely ironic boasts and denigrations: whatever Achilles brags about (his connection to Zeus, as great-grandson of the god through Aiakos), unbeknownst to himself, actually applies either to Asteropaios (= a title of Zeus) or Achilles’ future killer Apollo (son of Zeus); whatever Achilles denigrates in Asteropaios (his descent from an aquatic deity = the Axios river), applies to himself: Achilles is the son of Thetis, an aquatic deity, whom Apollo likewise diminishes in a separate passage, in which the god attempts to persuade Aineias to confront Achilles: κείνος δὲ χερσίωνος ἐκ θεοῦ ἐστίν· / ἢ μὲν γὰρ Διὸς ἐσθ’, ἢ δ’ ἐξ ἁλίου γέροντος (20.106-107). These mirror-image ironies are further borne out by the fact the Homeric narrator exploits the grammatical instability of the name of Asteropaios’ father, Pelegon(os), whose frequent occurrence in the genitive singular can also be read as the nominative singular “son of Peleus.”¹⁴²⁸

It would have been appropriate in East Aegean folktales for “the Achaean man” to be the one leading the siege and conquest of many cities in the area.

¹⁴²⁶ See elsewhere.

¹⁴²⁷ My M.A. thesis ‘the Mitoses of Achilles’ (2008).

¹⁴²⁸ Compare 21.152 Τὸν δ’ αὖ Πηλεγόνος προσεφώνεε to 11.510 αὐτίκα δ’ Ἰδομενεὺς (nominative) προσεφώνεε.... and 20.460 αὐτὰρ ὁ Λαόγονον (accusative) καὶ Δάρδανον...

Compare *Iliad* 21.152 Τὸν δ' αὖ Πηλεγόνος προσεφώνεε (“the son of Peleus responded” or “Pelegon’s responded...[end line υἱός “son”] to 11.510 αὐτίκα δ' Ἴδομενεὺς (nominative) προσεφώνεε.... and 20.460 αὐτὰρ ὃ Λαόγονον (accusative) καὶ Δάρδανον... That the Homeric narrator meant his careful and clever listener to view Asteropaios as the closest thing to Achilles’ literal double (“the son of Peleus”) gains further support from a pattern pointed out by Shannon, which he was at a loss to explain:

This battle [between Achilles and Asteropaios] contains a larger concentration of terms for the ash spear than any other scene in the *Iliad*, and the importance ascribed to this scene by its five references to the ash spear [21.162, 169, 172, 174 & 178] is confirmed by Asteropaios’ role and by the narrative context of the combat...The reason for the prominence of Achilles’ ash spear in the battle which leads to Asteropaios’ death is nevertheless initially unclear; he is designated the best warrior among the Paionians in the battle over the body of Patroklos, but that is only to be expected since he is their leader.¹⁴²⁹

When Achilles Πηλεΐδης fights Asteropaios Πηλεγόνος standing by the river, he can see his own reflection in the water. Asteropaios’ ambidexterous spear toss (two spears at once) tacitly mirrors the idiosyncratic *two-headed* Pelian ash of Achilles (δορὸς διχόστομον πλᾶκτρον), extant in Aeschylus (*fr.* 239)¹⁴³⁰ and Sophocles (*fr.* F 152 Pears.),¹⁴³¹ a likely heirloom of the Epic Cycle, which would have been known, in all likelihood, to a Homeric audience.¹⁴³² In one vital detail, Shannon failed to follow the logical conclusion of his own observation:

¹⁴²⁹ Shannon 1975:75-76.

¹⁴³⁰ Aeschylus *fr.* 239: ‘δίκρουν’ γάρ, ὥστε δύο ἀκμὰς ἔχειν καὶ μιᾷ βολῆι {ὥστε} δισσὰ τὰ τραύματα ἀπεργάζεσθαι. καὶ Αἰσχύλος ἐν Νηρεΐσι: ‘κάμακος <δ’> εἶσι<ν>’ {κάμακος} γλώσσημα διπλοῦν’;

¹⁴³¹ Sophocles *fr.* F 152 Pears. ‘.. ἢ δορὸς διχόστομον πλᾶκτρον· / δίπτυχοι γὰρ ὀδύναι μιν ἦρικον / Ἀχιλλεΐου δόρατος’.

¹⁴³² On the pre-Homeric dating of the bulk of the Epic Cycle Although the *Iliad* never says that Achilles’ Pelian ash is two-headed, the concept of multi-headed projectiles is not unknown to the poem: Herakles

Asteropaios' attempted extraction of Achilles' spear from the river bank obviously fits the pattern of vital necessity attached to recovery of a spear specifically made of ash wood"¹⁴³³

Every other instance in the *Iliad* of a hurled spear described as ashen (δόρυ μείλινον) involves the *owner* retrieving it, and putting his hand on it: not only is Asteropaios the only Homeric character ever to touch the δόρυ μείλινον of an enemy, Asteropaios is the only Homeric character, other than Achilles himself, *ever to put his hands on the Pelian ash* (μελίην Ἀχιλῆος...χειρὶ παχείῃ: 21.174-175; ἤθελε θυμῷ / ἄξει ἐπιγνάμψας δόρυ μείλινον Αἰακίδαο: 21.177-178), something which not even Patroklos was allowed to touch. Asteropaios gets to touch the Pelian ash, because he is the mirror image of the son of Peleus.

Accordingly, the irony of Achilles' denigration of Asteropaios' aquatic ancestry deserves special examination, as it goes beyond Achilles' own descent from Thetis. A pedantic scholiast points out that Achilles too is the descendant of a river: the Asopos. But the elephant in the room comes out of the mouth of Achilles, when he finally states, over the corpse of Asteropaios, that rivers cannot contend with Zeus, "not even lord *Acheloios*, out of whom arise all rivers and the entire sea" (21.194-196)

[Ἀχιλεὺς... ἠΐδα: 21.182-183]
τῷ οὐδὲ κρείων Ἀχελώϊος ἰσοφαρίζει,
οὐδὲ βαθυρρεῖται μέγα σθένος Ὀκεανοῖο, [athetized by Zenodotos & Megakleides¹⁴³⁴]

wounds Hera with a three-headed arrow (ὄϊστῷ τριγλόχινι: *Iliad* 5:393); Paris also wounds Machaon with a three-headed arrow (ἰῷ τριγλόχινι: *Iliad* 11.507).

¹⁴³³ Shannon 1975:78

¹⁴³⁴ For Acheloios = Okeanos, see also Panyassis *fr.* 12 Bernabé together with *fr.* 2.2; *P. Oxy.* 221, Ammonios; Orphic Derveni papyrus *P. Oxy.* 221. See D'Alessio 2004. In keeping with this attestation of the root **akh-* beyond the realm of rivers, extending to the sea and cosmic Okeanos, the scholiast (Dindorf) to *Odyssey* 12.39 specifies that the Sirens were the daughters of the Acheloios: Σειρῆνας] κατὰ μὲν τοὺς πολλοὺς Ἀχελώφου καὶ Στερόπης τῆς Πορθάονος αἱ Σειρῆνες, κατ' ἐνίους δὲ Ἀχελώφου καὶ Τερψιχόρης μᾶς τῶν Μουσῶν. Apollonius of Rhodes (Σειρῆνες ... Ἀχελωίδες: *Argonautica* 4.893) and Ovid echo the same genealogy (Acheloïdes...Sirenes: *Metamorphoses* 5.552-555). This genealogy of the Sirens is only possible

ἐξ οὗ περ πάντες ποταμοὶ καὶ πᾶσα θάλασσα

Following a concatenation of ironic statements on the part of Achilles, the best irony comes last: through his mother Thetis, whose domain extends to the river Ocean, Achilles himself is implicitly equated with this cosmic Ur-Acheloios. Achilles' self-unaware claim that not even his near namesake Ἀχελώϊος can contend with Zeus runs parallel to his earlier boast that descendants of rivers cannot contend with descendants of Zeus: the pattern is pregnant with considerable irony because Ἀχιλεὺς echoes the name of the cosmic Ἀχελώϊος,¹⁴³⁵ of whom the son of Thetis is implicitly the notional offspring; even on his father's side, a boastful Achilles is only the great-grandson of Zeus: little does he know that he will end up slain by the actual son of Zeus (Apollo).¹⁴³⁶

The other Iliadic occurrence of Ἀχελώϊος, at 24.616, exclusively occurs, again, in the mouth of Ἀχιλεὺς, as he describes the ordeal of Niobe:

ἦ δ' ἄρα σίτου μνήσατ', ἐπεὶ κάμε δάκρυ χέουσα.
νῦν δέ που ἐν πέτρησιν ἐν οὖρεσιν οἰοπόλοισιν
ἐν Σιπύλω, ὅθι φασὶ θεάων ἔμμεναι εὐνὰς
νυμφάων, αἶ τ' ἄμφ' 1) Ἀχελώϊον / 2) Ἀχελήσιον ἐρρώσαντο,
ἐνθα λίθος περ ἐοῦσα θεῶν ἐκ κήδεα πέσσει.

The landmark Sipylos places the scene in Lydia, so one must either assume that the synonymous Acheloios is either a) an emergence to the surface of the worldwide, underground network of the cosmic Acheloios; or b) the location in Lydia is conceived

with the scenario of a cosmic Acheloios. Let us further keep in mind, as stated earlier, that 1) *Ino*, short for **In-akhō* (root **akh*), is connected to the sea and that 2) the upper course of the great river *Ach-eloios* in Aetolia and Epirus (also root **akh*) was also known as the *Inachos*, lending further support for the scenario of a cosmic *In-achos*, since the northern reaches of Epirus are analogized to the ends of the earth (see elsewhere).

¹⁴³⁵ See previous footnote.

¹⁴³⁶ As prophesied by Hector at *Iliad* 22.359-340 ἤματι τῷ ὅτε κέν σε Πάρις καὶ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων / ἐσθλὸν ἐόντ' ὀλέσωσιν ἐνὶ Σκαιῆσι πύλῃσιν.

of, at the ends of the earth. It is likelier, however, that the standardized reading Ἀχελώϊον is secondary and displaced an older Ἀχελήσιον, with whom Athenian re-enactors of the *Iliad* may not have been familiar, unlike Homer, who is either said to have born in Smyrna, or traveled to Smyrna: the river Ἀχελήσιος, also known as the Ἀχέλης, flows near the city, coming from Mount Sipylos. The passage's reference to nymphs in this area was also known to Panyassis *fr.* 17 (νόμφαι Ἀχελήτιδες). In his *RE* contribution to the entry 'Acheles' (Ἀχέλης), Tümpel makes this illuminating commentary:

Namenverwandtschaft mit Ἀχιλλεύς ist zu erschliessen, weil auch dessen älteste Heimat das thessalische Magnesia (die Sepias der Thetis, der Pelion des Peleus und seines Erziehers Cheiron¹⁴³⁷) ist, weil ferner auch dieser sowohl als Ἀγέλαος, Ἐγέλαος wie als Flussgott (G. Curtius *Etym.* 5 119) gedeutet ist (vgl. Fleischer in Roschers *Myth. Lex.* * 64f.); auch verbreitet sich der Achilleus-kult zugleich mit dem der Nereiden, ebenso wie Acheles zusammen mit den νόμφαι Ἀχελήτιδες.

Tümpel's postulation of equating the νόμφαι Ἀχελήτιδες with the Nereids further dovetails with Achilles' likening Priam to Niobe: in the micronarrative, Ἀχιλεὺς thus implicitly likens himself to the consolatory νόμφαι Ἀχελήτιδες. What is more, there also appears to be a genetic connection between Niobe and the root **akh-* of the Achelesios (or Acheloios) at *Iliad* 24.616, because the Argive Niobe (the mother of the eponyms *Argos* and *Pelasgos*¹⁴³⁸), *qua* daughter of Phoroneus, is the granddaughter of *Inakhos*: Niobe might even have been Inachos' own daughter in the *Danais*.¹⁴³⁹

¹⁴³⁷ See Nagy's commentary 1976, chapter 20, on Herodotus 7.191, who documents the cult of Thetis in the area around Magnesia by Mount Sipylus in Asia Minor (not to be confused with Magnesia on the Maeander): surprisingly, according to local legend, Peleus tamed and impregnated Thetis on this side of the Aegean (rather than in Phthia / Thessaly).

¹⁴³⁸ Akousilaos *fr.* 25.

¹⁴³⁹ Fowler 2013:239. *Pace* Fowler 2013:235, fn1, who rejects the connection between the Argive Niobe and the Theban/Phrygian/Lyidian Niobe, who is associated with Amphion, the Weeping Rock and the antagonism of Leto's offspring (Fowler: "Nothing to do with Niobe daughter of Tantalos. The homonymy appears to be purely coincidental"), the connection between the two Niobes must be maintained. As documented by Eitrem 1902:51, the non-Argive Niobe too was associated with anthropogony: according

Thus, the *Iliad* correlates the cosmic Acheloios and the Anatolian Achelesios with Achilles. *Qua* possessor and wielder of the *mortalizing* Pelian ash, which was conceived at the same place and about the same time as Achilles, Achilles reaffirms his unmediated connection to the origins of mortal life, as he embodies the first men born of ash trees, with affinities to Hesiod's bellicose bronze race born of the ash.

3.3.9. Locrian / Lelegian Patroklos & Briseis versus Pelasgian Achilles: An Allegorical Love Triangle

3.3.9.1. Briseis and Patroklos: the two Leleges of the *Iliad*

3.3.9.1.1. Patroklos the Locrian = Lelex:

The primordial bond linking Achilles and Patroklos to Deukalion and Pyrrha takes us to two elusive *ethne*, mostly of the notional past, the Leleges and the Pelasgians, both of whom fight on the side of the Trojans in the *Iliad*.¹⁴⁴⁰ As stated above, Patroklos' hometown of Opous was located in Locris and was thought to be the first post-diluvian abode of Deukalion and his aptly-named daughter Protogeneia. Let us take a closer look at the creation of the first men by Deukalion and Pyrrha according to the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* MW fr. 234

to the scholiast to *Iliad* 24.602, she was the wife of Alalkomeneus (τὴν Νιόβην ... οἱ δὲ Ἀλαλκομένεω γυναῖκά φασιν. ἡ δὲ συμφορὰ αὐτῆς, ὡς μὲν τινες ἐν Λυδίᾳ, ὡς δὲ ἔνιοι ἐν Θήβαις ἀπολέσθαι, νοστήσαι δὲ αὐτὴν εἰς Λυδίαν.); further, Alalkomeneus was an Urmensch in Boeotia according to Lyrica Adespota, PMG 67b: εἴτε Βοιωτοῖσιν Ἀλαλκομενεὺς λίμνας ὑπὲρ Καφισίδος πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων ἀνέσχευ. It follows that the non-Argive Niobe too, like the Argive Niobe daughter of the Inachid Phoroneus, was an Eve of sorts. The same conclusion could be reached by taking stock of the pattern of Apollo's and Artemis' joint antagonism to Niobe, coupled with the rival reproductive abilities of Leto and Niobe: the shooting of the Niobids by Apollo and Artemis is a metaphor for the mortality of all men and women, inasmuch as unexplained or natural deaths of males and females are attributed to Apollo's and Artemis' invisible arrows respectively. Conversely, the Argive Niobe had conceivably been a nymph of springs, since a spring was named Niobe in the Argolid (Pliny *NH* 4.17 "fontes Niobe, Amymone, Psamathe," quoted by Ernst Meyer (*RE*), quoting Wilamowitz, *Glaube der Hellenen* 1.64.1. Thus, the post-mortem fate of the Theban/Lydian/Phrygian Niobe as a weeping rock is paralleled by the Argive Niobe having apparently been a *Quellnymphe*. The affinity of the Argive Niobe with water would be in keeping with Fowler's own hypothesis that Niobe might have been Inachos' own daughter in such alternative accounts as the *Danais*.

¹⁴⁴⁰ Leleges: 10.429, 20.96, 21.86; Pelasgians: 2.840; 10.429; 17.288;

ἦτοι γὰρ Λοκρὸς Λελέγων ἠγήσατο λαῶν,
τοὺς ῥά ποτε Κρονίδης Ζεὺς ἄφθιτα μῆδεα εἰδῶς
λεκτοὺς ἐκ γαίης λαοὺς πόρε Δευκαλίωνι·

The association of the Leleges with Deukalion and the rocks of Locris underlines the perception of their being primordial populations from the past. Lokros, the eponym of the Locrians, is the leader of *Leleges*, folk-etymologically associated with the root of λέγω ‘to gather [stones]’. This perceived connection between the non-Achaean Leleges and the Achaean Locrians is also attested in Aristotle, who seems to say that the Locrians are Hellenized Leleges (*fr.* 560 οἱ Λέλεγες οἱ νῦν Λοκροί).

In the *Iliad*, although the Locrians fight on the side of the Achaeans are portrayed differently and in a derogatory manner. Their leader is blamed: Oilean Ajax is ridiculed on multiple occasions, e.g. when he slips during the funeral race in honor of Patroklos and ends up with manure in his mouth (*Iliad* 23.777), eliciting the mocking laughter of onlookers. The Locrians themselves do not wear the heroic armor nor throw spears in fighting: instead they hurl arrows and use slingshots:

ἀλλ' ἦτοι Τελαμωνιάδῃ πολλοὶ τε καὶ ἐσθλοὶ
710λαοὶ ἔπονθ' ἔταροι, οἳ οἱ σάκος ἐξεδέχοντο
ὄππότε μιν κάματός τε καὶ ἰδρῶς γούναθ' ἴκοιτο.
οὐδ' ἄρ' Ὀϊλιάδῃ μεγάλῃτορι Λοκροὶ ἔποντο:
οὐ γὰρ σφι σταδίῃ ὑσμίνῃ μίμνε φίλον κῆρ:
οὐ γὰρ ἔχον κόρυθας χαλκήρεας ἵποδασειας,
οὐδ' ἔχον ἀσπίδας ἐκύκλους καὶ μείλινα δοῦρα,
ἀλλ' ἄρα τόξοισιν καὶ ἐϋστρεφεῖ οἷος ἄωτῳ
Ἴλιον εἰς ἅμ' ἔποντο πεποιθότες, οἷσιν ἔπειτα
ταρφέα βάλλοντες Τρώων ῥήγνυντο φάλαγγας

Such strange features correlate with the negative, moral traits of Locrian Ajax in the Trojan War who is blamed for the deaths of countless Achaeans upon their returning to Greece: his attempt to rape Cassandra at the temple of Athena alienated the goddess from

the Achaeans, of whom she had thitherto been a staunch supporter. The Locrians are thus a subset of “the bad Achaeans,” together with the Ionians and the Boeotians.

In a subsequent section, we will attempt to explain why Patroklos with his covert Lelegian identity and Achilles with his covert Pelasgian identity overlapping their Phthian/Myrmidon identities fight on the opposite side of the Leleges and Pelasgians,¹⁴⁴¹ but suffice it to note that in addition to the above differentiating features of the Locrians, there is a hint of their connection to the Leleges in the *Iliad*: the only full-blooded named Lelex to be slain in the *Iliad* is Satnios, eponym of the river Satnioeis around which rules Altes, king of the Leleges, on the spurs of Mount Ida: his victimizer is Oilean Ajax (14.443): this connection is subsumed under an underappreciated pattern in Homeric poetry of a tendency for victims and victimizers to be partial mirror reflections of each other: Idomeneus, for instance, leader of the Cretans, slays at one point the Trojan *Phaistos*, which is otherwise the name of an important city in Crete (5.43 & 2.648).

Historical traits, which seem to set the Locrians apart from other Greeks, is their matrilinear naming practices, as attested in Epizephyrian Locris in Magna Graecia.¹⁴⁴² Some scholars have questioned the possibility of matrilineality in Greece proper,¹⁴⁴³ but the lack of positive evidence is arguably the result of the paucity of our sources in general: *pace*, Patroklos’ aforementioned hometown of Opous, which Pindar referred to as “the city of Protogoneia,” has been plausibly analyzed by Gildersleeve as an allusion to the matrilinear practices of the Locrians.¹⁴⁴⁴ Ignoring or perhaps not knowing of this

¹⁴⁴¹ See section ‘the Alienating Identity of Death Perceived as the Acquisition of a New Ethnos.’

¹⁴⁴² Polybius 12.5.8

¹⁴⁴³ Pembroke 2005 quoted by Hall 2004:40.

¹⁴⁴⁴ Gildersleeve 1885:201-202

controversy, Burnett revealingly writes apropos of Epharmostos of Opous, the honorand of Pindar's aforementioned *Olympian* 9: "for some reason neither father nor tribe is named for this victor, and the only ancestors claimed are Zeus, Titans, and the Stone People created by Deukalion and Pyrrha after the flood."

The historical origins of the originally non-Greek component among the Locrians is difficult to pin down: the Locrian Leleges might have been in the Geometric period 'Pre-Greek' remnants of the Mediterranean, autochthonous populations of Mycenaean Greece, many pockets of which are likely to have coexisted with the Mycenaean and EIA Greeks, as evidenced by Linear B onomastics.¹⁴⁴⁵ The uniformity of Linear B tablets would mask a greater linguistic diversity. Alternatively, this matrilinear tradition among the Locrians might be an inheritance from the Lydian and Phrygian invasion from Asia Minor, mentioned by Herodotus, Ephorus et al., where such traditions existed.¹⁴⁴⁶ This alternative explanation would account for the original form of Locrian Ajax's father having been **Wileus*, 'the Trojan': *Oileus* in Homer vs. *Ileus* in Stesichorus, Pindar, etc.¹⁴⁴⁷ It could also account for the close ties between Troy and Locris, as showcased by the Locrians famously sending Locrian maidens to Athena's temple at Troy on an annual basis.

At *Iliad* 2.530, Locrian Ajax is described as excelling with his spear among the Panhellenes and Achaeans (ἐγγεῖη δ' ἐκέκαστο Πανέλληνας καὶ Ἀχαιούς). Although the line could be a late addition to the text, the antiquity of the line could possibly be rescued if one construes it in one of the possible ways proposed by Jonathan Hall (2002:132):

¹⁴⁴⁵ García Ramón 2008:238-243

¹⁴⁴⁶ On this possible invasion of Greece by EIA Phrygians and Lydians, see section on King Mygdon.

¹⁴⁴⁷ See *RE*, s.v. 'Oileus'. The initial digamma appears unaltered in Etruscan.

A more satisfactory solution would be to suppose - as in the analogous case of the *Paniones* - that the term 'Panhellenes' is formed not from Hellens but from Hellas. The *pan-* prefix then actually emphasizes not the unity but the diversity of the various population groups inhabiting the common land of Hellas (however broadly or narrowly that is defined at any one time).

The Locrians were among those included in the Amphictyonic league, which played a major role in the definitional broadening of the term 'Hellene'. If the Homeric hapax Πανέλληνας is original, it may be more a reflex of the Locrians' recent incorporation among the Hellenes than a traditional and deeply-rooted identity.

There are subtle clues to Patroklos' underlying Locrian/Lelegian identity, other than the explicit statements that he is from Opous: first, there is the structural parallel between his being a Myrmidon by adoption and the Locrians being Achaean by adoption. Further, his identity as a *therapon* (the *therapon* of Achilles) puts him in a position that is similar to Teukros, the brother of Telamonian Ajax. Teukros, as previously stated, is a 'semi-Greek', his name being the eponym of a Trojan ethnos and his illegitimacy being a displaced characteristic of his alienation. Although, unlike Teukros, Patroklos is not an archer in the *Iliad*, on the famous Sosias cup, in which a beardless Achilles is showing healing the wound, which he seems to have incurred while helping Achilles fight Telephus in Mysia, Patroklos carries a quiver on his back and exhibits Scythoid features: this foreignizing feature is characteristic of many archers in archaic Greek art, as shown by Gloria Ferrari Pinney.¹⁴⁴⁸ Like Locrian Ajax who functions in the Homeric poem as a sort of negative foil to Telamonian Ajax, Patroklos (in an admittedly more nuanced manner¹⁴⁴⁹) is to a certain extent a negative foil of Achilles in terms of sheer, brute strength: Apollo reminds Patroklos, as he attempts to scale the walls of Troy, that he is

¹⁴⁴⁸ Pinney 1983 "Achilles Lord of Scythia."

¹⁴⁴⁹ Patroklos, for instance, is more compassionate than Achilles to his fellow Achaeans, and generally comes across as a benevolent figure in the *Iliad*.

much less strong than Achilles (Ἀχιλλῆος, ὅς περ σέο πολλὸν ἀμείνων: 16.710). What is more, although Achilles construes his mother's reference to "the best of the Myrmidons" as a description of Patroklos, Nestor still thought it necessary for Patroklos to take on Achilles' armor in order to fool the Trojans into thinking that Patroklos is Achilles. Could Patroklos not have inspired enough fear in the Trojans in his own armor?

Another subtle clue of Patroklos' Locrian / Lelegian identity is the thematization of his *bones* in the *Iliad*: the emphasis on the placement of his bones after his death in the golden urn, which Dionysos had given Thetis as a token of his gratitude for her having sheltered him in the sea: as observed by Nagy, the placement of Patroklos' (and Achilles') bones in Dionysos' golden urn holds the promise of Achilles' and Patroklos' resurrection, on account of the resurrective powers of Dionysus. The image of Patroklos and Achilles coming back to life from their reconstructed bones brings to mind the creation of these first men—the *Leleges*—by Deukalion and Pyrrha: Themis' oracle had instructed them to throw behind their backs "the bones of their mother," i.e. the stones of mother earth.¹⁴⁵⁰ The folk etymological connection between the *Leleges* and λέγειν ὄστρα "gathering bones" may have been proverbial, so that an early Homeric audience, upon hearing of the gathering of Locrian / Lelegian Patroklos' bones in the lines ὄστρα Πατρόκλοιο Μενoitιάδαο λέγωμεν (*Iliad* 23.239), ὄστρα λευκά / ἄλλεγον ἐς χρυσέην φιάλην (23.252-253), would have at once thought of 1) Patroklos' Lelegian identity, and 2) Deukalion and Pyrrha. Pindar certainly remembered Patroklos in his recounting of the

¹⁴⁵⁰ Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 1.348-415. Although Ovid is our earliest extant source, to the best of my knowledge, of Themis' riddle of the bones, it is reasonable to assume that Ovid is relying on lost, earlier Greek sources, cf. Clark 2012:100-101. The paronomasia in Hesiodic *fr.* 234 λεκτοῦς ἐκ γαίης λαοῦς seems to imply that the earth is the mother the peoples / stones (λαῶς).

myth of Deukalion and Pyrrha to his honor and the Lokrian victor Epharmostos of Opeus in *his Olympian Ode 9*.

There is more: the golden cinerary urn, in which Patroklos and Achilles are to be placed (χρυσέη φιάλη: 23.253; χρύσεος ἀμφιφορεύς: 23.92) compares with the *larnax*, in which Deukalion and Pyrrha survived the deluge (ἡ λάρναξ τοῦ Δευκαλίωνος¹⁴⁵¹), as evidenced in part by the equivalence between Patroklos' and Achilles' golden cinerary urn and the χρυσεῖην λάρνακα (*Iliad* 24.795), in which Hector's own bones are to be placed. Aristarchus went as far as to athetize Patroklos' χρύσεος ἀμφιφορεύς of *Iliad* 23.92 and claim that the term *amphiphoreus* was improperly imported from *Odyssey* 24.74 = χρύσειον ἀμφιφορῆα, which describes the selfsame gift of Dionysus to Thetis.¹⁴⁵² What is more, the proposition advanced by the great mythologist Preller, which has been endorsed by *RE* contributor Tümpel, that Deukalion has numerous associations with Dionysos (cf. Δευκάλιδαί = Σάτυροι), reinforces the ties between Patroklos' Dionysiac golden cinerary urn and Deukalion's agency in post-diluvial Dionysiac palingenesis.¹⁴⁵³

Strangely enough, before the putative day when Patroklos and Achilles will arise again from their bones, they too will have survived a flood from within their golden urn, since it is prophesied in book 12 that Poseidon and Apollo will inundate and obliterate

¹⁴⁵¹ Hellanikos FGrH 4 *fr.* 117. For other sources on Deukalion's *larnax*, see Bremmer 2008:110; also Ebbott 2003:16.

¹⁴⁵² Aristarchus *ad Iliad* 23.92: χρύσεος ἀμφιφορεύς, <τόν τοι πόρε πότνια μή-τηρ>: ἀθετεῖται, ὅτι εἰ σορὸν δέδωκεν, ἦν ἐν ἄλλοις λάρνακα καλεῖ, „καὶ τὰ γε χρυσεῖην ἐς λάρνακα θῆκαν“ (Ω 795), πρὸς τί και ἀμφιφορῆα; μετενήνεκται οὖν ἐκ τῆς δευτέρας Νεκυίας (sc. ω 74). <φησὶν αὐτὸν μετενήνεχθαι· τὸ γὰρ οἴκοθεν ἐπάγεσθαι δυσοιώνιστον. For the uses of the term *larnax*, see Ebbott 2003:16.

¹⁴⁵³ On the resurrective powers of Dionysus, cf. the famous 5th century BCE Olbian inscription in the Black Sea defining Dionysos as the sequence ΒΙΟΣ ΘΑΝΑΤΟΣ ΒΙΟΣ. For an excellent commentary on Dionysus in this regard, see Kerényi's 1976 book *Dionysos: Archetypal Image of Indestructible Life*

the encampment of the Achaeans facing Troy (12.17-23).¹⁴⁵⁴ This post-apocalyptic palingenetic vision of Achilles and Patroklos as “Deukalion and Pyrrha” or “Adam and Steve”¹⁴⁵⁵ re-emerging on a planet with no one else but themselves is in fact envisioned by Achilles himself (16.97-100):

αἶ γὰρ Ζεῦ τε πάτερ καὶ Ἀθηναίη καὶ Ἄπολλον
 μήτέ τις οὖν Τρώων θάνατον φύγοι ὅσσοι ἔασι,
 μήτέ τις Ἀργείων, νῶϊν δ’ ἐκδῶμεν ὄλεθρον,
 ὄφρ’ οἴοι Τροίης ἱερὰ κρήδεμνα λύωμεν.

These romantic lines were athetized by a homophobic Aristarchus on the grounds that they would imply that Achilles was madly in love with Patroklos.¹⁴⁵⁶ There is, in fact, evidence that Achilles and Patroklos are a primordial ancestral couple on a meaningful, allegorical and perhaps cultic level as well, but first we must discuss a subtle yet important clue that Patroklos’ underlying Lelegian identity *qua* Locrian was consciously planned by Homer: the parallel with Briseis. She too was Lelex. The two great loves of Achilles, Briseis and Patroklos, drive the entire plot of the *Iliad*: the expression of his love for Briseis in the first part; the expression of his love for Patroklos in the second part.¹⁴⁵⁷ Defending this argument makes it somewhat expedient to first refute a number of misconceptions concerning 1) the alleged lack of Homeric evidence for Achilles’

¹⁴⁵⁴ For floods in Greek myths as boundary markers between long cyclical periods of time, see Connelly 2014.

¹⁴⁵⁵ Puhvel 1975:146-157 ‘Remus et Frater’ cogently argued that the idea of two same-sex twins being the primordial ancestors of mankind is ubiquitous among the Indo-European populations, ranging from India, to Scandinavia and Rome.

¹⁴⁵⁶ φησιν Ἀρίσταρχος Ζηνόδο- τον ὑποπευκέναι ὡς εἶεν παρεντεθέντες οἱ στίχοι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρσενικοῦς ἔρωτας λεγόντων εἶναι παρ’ Ὀμήρῳ καὶ ὑπονοούντων παιδικὰ εἶναι Ἀχιλλέως Πάτροκλον. As will become apparent, I will militantly defend the notion that the bond between Achilles and Patroklos in the *Iliad* is more than a strong friendship: it is also homoerotic, *pace* a substantial number of Classicists, such as Hubbard, who continue to deny it.

¹⁴⁵⁷ A third final part is envisioned of Achilles returning to Briseis after Priam convinces him to let him bury Hector.

bisexuality and 2) the claim that Achilles was never in love with Briseis: “she was only a prize.”

3.3.9.1.2. Briseis the Lelex:

But first, the extraordinary parallelism of Briseis being ethnically Lelegian, just like Patroklos, must be addressed: it cannot be a coincidence that the two *philoï* who motivate Achilles to either inaction or action have the same rare Lelegian identity, among the numerous *ethne* in the *Iliad*. Just as Patroklos is never openly said to be Locrian [= Lelex]—we only know that he comes from Opous, Briseis is never openly said to be Lelex. Yet, a close scrutiny of the Homeric poem shows that it is indeed the case. First, we know that Briseis is from *Lyrnessos* (19.60: ἤματι τῷ ὅτ' ἐγὼν ἐλόμην Λυρνησσὸν ὀλέσσας & 2.690-694: τὴν ἐκ Λυρνησσοῦ ἐξείλετο πολλὰ μογήσας). Wife of the slain Mynes, she was awarded to Achilles for leading the siege against the city. The key Iliadic passage that shows that Lyrnessos was a Lelegian stronghold is 20.79-98

Αἰνεῖαν δ' ἰθὺς λαοσσόος ὄρσεν Ἀπόλλων
ἀντία Πηλεΐωνος, ἐνήκε δέ οἱ μένος ἠΰ· 80
υἱεῖ δὲ Πριάμοιο Λυκάονι εἷσατο φωνήν·
τῷ μιν εἰσιάμενος προσέφη Διὸς υἱὸς Ἀπόλλων·
Αἰνεΐα Τρώων βουληφόρε ποῦ τοι ἀπειλαὶ
ἄς Τρώων βασιλεῦσιν ὑπίσχεο οἰνοποτάζων
Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος ἐναντίβιον πολεμίζειν; 85
τὸν δ' αὖτ' Αἰνεΐας ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέειπε·
Πριαμίδη τί με ταῦτα καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλοντα κελεύεις
ἀντία Πηλεΐωνος ὑπερθύμοιο μάχεσθαι;
οὐ μὲν γὰρ νῦν πρῶτα ποδώκεος ἄντ' Ἀχιλῆος
στήσομαι, ἀλλ' ἤδη με καὶ ἄλλοτε δουρὶ φόβησεν 90
ἐξ Ἴδης, ὅτε βουσὶν ἐπήλυθεν ἡμετέρησι,
πέρσε δὲ Λυρνησσὸν καὶ Πήδασον· αὐτὰρ ἐμὲ Ζεὺς
εἰρύσαθ', ὅς μοι ἐπῶρσε μένος λαιψηρά τε γούνα.
ἦ κ' ἐδάμην ὑπὸ χερσὶν Ἀχιλλῆος καὶ Ἀθήνης,
ἢ οἱ πρόσθεν ἰοῦσα τίθει φάος ἠδ' ἐκέλευεν 95
ἔγχεϊ χαλκείῳ Λέλεγας καὶ Τρώας ἐναίρειν.
τῷ οὐκ ἔστ' Ἀχιλῆος ἐναντίον ἄνδρα μάχεσθαι·
αἰεὶ γὰρ πάρα εἷς γε θεῶν ὅς λοιγὸν ἀμύνει.

First, there is the riddle of Apollo taking on the shape of the Priamid *Lykaon*, in order to rouse Aineias into action against Achilles: the clue to solving it is the micronarrative of Achilles' former onslaughts against Lelegian strongholds: Lyrnessos and Pedasos. We know that Lykaon's connection to these Leleges is very clear because his mother Laothoe, one of Priam's wives, is the only Trojan woman of explicitly Leleg descent (*Iliad* 21.84-87):

ὄς με σοὶ αὖτις δῶκε· μινυνθάδιον δέ με μήτηρ
 γείνατο Λαοθόη θυγάτηρ Ἄλταο γέροντος
 Ἄλτεω, ὃς Λελέγεσσι φιλοπτολέμοισιν ἀνάσσει
 Πήδασον αἰπήεσαν ἔχων ἐπὶ Σατνιόεντι.

This shorter passage, in which the actual Lykaon beseeches Achilles to spare his life, not only demonstrates that Lykaon is half-Lelegian through his mother, it also implies that Briseis' hometown of Lyrnessos, to which Pedasus is juxtaposed in our longer key passage above (20.92: *πέρσε δὲ Λυρνησσὸν καὶ Πήδασον*), is Lelegian as well. This inference is confirmed four lines below at 20.96 when Aineias remembers Achilles' "dispatching Leleges and Trojans" whereby *Λέλεγας καὶ Τρῶας ἐναίρειν* functions as a hendiadys: the Leleges are Trojan allies, and thus Trojan metonymically, cf. the double hendiadys at *Iliad* 16.564 *Τρῶες καὶ Λύκιοι καὶ Μυρμιδόνες καὶ Ἀχαιοί* whereby *Τρῶες* subsume *Λύκιοι* and *Ἀχαιοί* subsume *Μυρμιδόνες*. This general analysis is also reached by Aloni 1986:52 ("Briseide proviene da Lirnesso, città appunto dei Lelegi") and the scholiast to *Iliad* 10.429b.¹⁴⁵⁸

The majority of the non-Homeric sources on Briseis' ethnic status independently corroborate her Lelegian identity. In the *Cypria*, Briseis is taken not from Lyrnessos, but

¹⁴⁵⁸ Scholiast to 10.429b *Λέλεγες δὲ εἰσιν οἱ Πήδασον τὴν ὑπὸ Ἴδη οἰκοῦντες· „πέρσε δὲ Λυρνησ<σ>ὸν καὶ Πήδασον“* (Y 92), εἶτα „Λέλεγας καὶ Τρῶας ἐναίρειν“ (Y 96). οἱ περίλοιποι οὖν ὑπὸ Πριάμον ἦσαν διὰ τὴν πρὸς Ἄλτην συγγένειαν, „ὃς Λελέγεσ<σ>ι φιλοπτολέμοισιν ἀνάσσει“ (Φ 86).

from the chief city of the Leleges, Pedasos.¹⁴⁵⁹ According to Tzetzes, *Antehomerica* 350 & Eustathius 77, 279, Briseis' patronymic father Brise(u)s is the brother of Chryses, king of Pedasos.¹⁴⁶⁰ According to Dictys 2.17, Brises himself, Briseis' father, is the king of Lelegian Pedasus, not Altes: ...*Lelegum urbem, sed eorum rex Brises...*

Briseis: Mere Merchandise in the Eyes of Achilles?

Now that we have established the Lelegian ethnicity of Briseis, we must return to the questions of 1) Achilles' feelings for Briseis and 2) the Homeric evidence for Achilles' bisexuality, entailing an erotic kind of love, not only for Briseis but also for Patroklos. To begin with 1), Donna Wilson polemicizes against "the speculation about a special romantic relationship between between them [Achilles and Briseis]."¹⁴⁶¹ To Wilson, Briseis is mere merchandise in the eyes of Achilles, a γέρας 'prize' interconnected with Achilles' τιμή 'honor'. There is no doubt that Achilles refers to Briseis as her γέρας on several occasions in a context that makes it clear that Briseis comes across in Achilles' public discourse as his war prize and that his personal honor, as a result, is utterly ruined.

But the *Iliad* evinces more depth and complexity than Wilson's excessive and reductive either / or verdict that Achilles' uncompromising concern over his τιμή rules out the possibility of his truly loving Briseis. Let us turn to *Iliad* 9.335-343

...ἐμεῦ δ' ἀπὸ μούνου Ἀχαιῶν 335
εἴλειτ', ἔχει δ' ἄλοχον θυμαρέα· τῆ παριαύων
τερπέσθω. τί δὲ δεῖ πολεμιζέμεναι Τρώεσσιν
Ἀργείους; τί δὲ λαὸν ἀνήγαγεν ἐνθάδ' ἀγείρας
Ἄτρεΐδης; ἧ οὐχ Ἑλένης ἔνεκ' ἠϋκόμοιο;
ἧ μούνοι φιλέουσ' ἀλόχους μερόπων ἀνθρώπων 340 II

¹⁴⁵⁹ *Cypria fr.* 18 A = T scholia to *Iliad* 16.57 quoted by Dué 2002:57.

¹⁴⁶⁰ Escher in *RE*, s.v. 'Briseus'.

¹⁴⁶¹ Wilson 2002:88

Ἀτρεΐδαι; ἐπεὶ ὅς τις ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ ἐχέφρων
τὴν αὐτοῦ φιλέει καὶ κήδεται, ὡς καὶ ἐγὼ τὴν
ἐκ θυμοῦ φίλεον δουρικτητὴν περ ἑοῦσαν.

In this passage, Achilles declares in no uncertain terms that he loves Briseis with all his heart, while at the same time fully acknowledging that he obtained her by force. When Briseis is taken away from Achilles' tent at 1.348, the Homeric narrator laconically understates her sadness of leaving Achilles by stating that she left "unwillingly": ἀέκουσ'. Achilles must have been doing something right with Briseis for her to be unwilling to be separated from him: she was not sent to die in the wilderness or be executed, so it is unfair to speculate that her unwillingness to leave Achilles is merely a survival mechanism on her part. Briseis must have loved Achilles, as Achilles loved her.

The comparison, which Achilles drew between Briseis and Helen in the above passage (9.335-343: "do the Atreids alone love their own women?") is revealing, because it clearly shows that Menelaos can also *love* the same woman, over whom he has undoubtedly been dis-honored in the eyes of the Achaeans: Menelaos' undeniable concern for his honor does not invalidate the love he may feel for Helen. Among all the Achaean warriors at Troy, Menelaos is, like Patroklos, among the most loving and compassionate characters (in contrast with his ruthless, calculating brother Agamemnon).

When the defeated Trojan warrior Adrastos begs Menelaos to spare his life in exchange for ransom from his father, he is moved to agree (*Iliad* 6.51). At 10:25-28, the Homeric narrator comments that Menelaos is very troubled by all the sufferings, which his fellow Achaeans have endured for his sake. At 17.1-5, Menelaos is the first to rush to the defense of Patroklos' corpse. In the *Odyssey*, one finds a Menelaos reconciled with his wife, seemingly happy and fond of Helen: it seems as though this had been the way he had always been with Helen. At *Iliad* 3.139-140, when Helen learns from Iris that

Menelaos and Paris are about to fight a duel for her sake, she starts missing him again:

Ὡς εἰποῦσα θεὰ γλυκὸν ἴμερον ἔμβαλε θυμῷ ἀνδρός τε προτέρου καὶ ἄστεος ἠδὲ
τοκῆων. Conceivably, in spite of her cheating, Helen must have loved Menelaos in part
because he had treated her from the start in a loving way, his deficiencies
notwithstanding, in a manner that is consistent with Menelaos' as "the nice guy." The
point being: Menelaos' concern about his honor over Helen is not incompatible with
genuine emotions, which he may have felt for her.

Three other examples should suffice to show that honor and love in relation to the
same love/honor object are not incompatible in the *Iliad*: at the very start of the poem,
line 1.11, the Homeric narrator says that Agamemnon *dishonored* Apollo's priest Chryses
by taking his daughter away: οὐνεκα τὸν Χρῦσῆν ἠτίμασεν ἀρητῆρα. And indeed, this
might be publicly humiliating for Chryses. But if Chryses is any ordinary father, he
surely would have genuinely loved his daughter as well: his being the priest of Apollo is
no barrier to his genuinely loving his own offspring. Similarly, Zeus is said to "honor his
dear son" (παῖδα φίλον τιμῶν: 16.460) Sarpedon by raining down drops of blood. Again,
no incompatibility between honor and love. Finally, Achilles refers to Patroklos at 20.426
as his "honored companion": ὅς μοι ἑταῖρον ἔπεφνε τετιμένον. There is no question that
Achilles did not also love Patroklos, regardless of whether his love is of the brotherly
kind or romantic, including erotic kind.

Another piece of evidence that Achilles truly loved Briseis, despite the public
honor, which depends on his re-possessing her, is his promise to marry her when he
would return to Phthia. This is what Patroklos told Briseis before he died (19.295-299):

οὐδὲ μὲν οὐδέ μ' ἔασκες, ὅτ' ἀνδρ' ἐμὸν ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεὺς
ἔκτεινεν, πέρσεν δὲ πόλιν θείοιο Μύνητος,
κλαίειν, ἀλλὰ μ' ἔφασκες Ἀχιλλῆος θείοιο

κουριδίην ἄλοχον θήσειν, ἄξειν τ' ἐνὶ νηυσὶν
ἐς Φθίην, δαίσειν δὲ γάμον μετὰ Μυρμιδόνεσσι.

There is no reason to doubt either Briseis or Patroklos that Achilles made such a promise because it is not in their character to prevaricate. Thus, why would Achilles have promised to marry Briseis if he didn't truly love her? It would not be a marriage of convenience either, because Achilles had slain her husband, her entire family and had already taken away her possessions by force: by marrying Briseis, he would not gain any concessions in return from Briseis' own family. In contrast, there is no word of Achilles having ever promised to marry his other concubine Diomedes, the daughter of Phorbas, with whom he goes to bed at 9.663-665: she too was a war captive (from Lesbos). Achilles had vowed to marry Briseis, not Diomedes or any other woman: as he says himself, Achilles truly loved Briseis.

One final objection raised by Wilson against the overall evidence that Achilles truly did love Briseis, takes us to the nature of Achilles' bond with Patroklos: strong brotherly love, or romantic relationship involving homoeroticism? Wilson cites these lines, *Iliad* 19.56-62:

Ἀτρεΐδη ἧ ἄρ τι τόδ' ἀμφοτέροισιν ἄρειον
ἔπλετο σοὶ καὶ ἐμοί, ὃ τε νῶϊ περ ἀχνυμένῳ κῆρ
θυμοβόρῳ ἔριδι μενεήναμεν εἵνεκα κούρης;
τὴν ὄφελ' ἐν νήεσσι κατακτάμεν Ἄρτεμις ἰῶ
ἧματι τῷ ὅτ' ἐγὼν ἐλόμην Λυρνησσὸν ὀλέσσας·
τῷ κ' οὐ τόσσοι Ἀχαιοὶ ὀδᾶξ ἔλον ἄσπετον οὐδας
δυσμενέων ὑπὸ χερσὶν ἐμεῦ ἀπομηνίσαντος.

She then comments (2005:88-89);

When it suits Achilles' purpose –as it does in his response to the embassy – he defines Briseis in relation to himself as a wife (person). As a consequence, he vastly augments the compensation he can claim for her loss and, moreover, the paradigm he can appropriate in the competition for status. When, however, it suits Achilles' purpose, as it does following the death of Patroklos, he can transfer Briseis just as easily, and just as strategically, back to the exchange order of prestige goods or even wish that she were dead. Although Homer may be interested in Achilles' feelings, here the concern is less

to represent Achilles' feelings for Briseis than to portray a struggle for dominance in which Briseis is a pawn for Agamemnon and Achilles alike. Achilles' conflict is over status; the woman is represented as merely the occasion.

First, Wilson is incorrect to claim that Achilles ever referred to Briseis as his 'wife'. The basis of her claim is given page 98 where she cites *Iliad* 9.337, in which Achilles refers to Briseis as ἄλοχον θυμαρέα. But ἄλοχος does not mean 'wife' here: the Liddell & Scott explicitly categorizes ἄλοχον at *Iliad* 9.337 under meaning 2 of its ἄλοχος lemma and translates it as "concubine," "leman." As Helena Guzmán explains in her 2009:15-27 article, "El doblete ἄκοιτις / ἄλοχος en la 'Íliada': un punto oscuro del vocabulario homérico," Homeric ἄλοχος is polysemic: in certain passages, it can be translated as 'wife', but other passages show a more archaic and etymological meaning: ἄ-λοχος, akin to English *lie / lay*, literally means "co-lay," "compañera de lecho," Latin *concupina*. The older meaning of English *wife* itself used to be similarly broad = '[any] woman', cf German *Weib*. Guzmán, in fact, cites, *inter alia*, the ἄλοχον in *Iliad* 9.337 as an example of this more archaic meaning. Another example Guzmán provides is Hermes' statement to Leto that he refuses to fight with her because Leto is one of Zeus' *alokhoi* = ἀλόχοισι Διὸς (21.499). Surely, Leto is not one of Zeus' wives "ya que su única esposa es Hera." (Guzmán 2009:22).

Thus, when Achilles refers to Briseis as his ἄλοχον θυμαρέα at 9.336, the meaning is not "wife dear to my heart," but rather "concubine dear to my heart." In contrast, when Briseis says that Patroklos told her that he Achilles would make her his κουριδίην ἄλοχον θήσειν (19.298), the adjective κουριδίην alters the final meaning of the syntagm: κουριδίην has the same kind of legitimizing value as 'wedded' does in the English 'wedded wife', which here is an accurate translation: "[Achilles promised] to make [me] his *wedded wife*." But the idiom 'wedded wife' is a hangover from an older

state of the English language, in which the phrase ‘wedded wife’ once meant ‘wedded woman’.

Aside from this technicality upon which Wilson built a castle of cards, the wish, which Achilles expresses at *Iliad* 19.56-62 never to have met Briseis and that she should had been shot by Artemis, has nothing to do with his social standing with Agamemnon and everything to do with Achilles’ missing his dear yet-unavenged Patroklos. No level-headed, self-possessed Achilles is speaking here: learning the news of Patroklos’ death, he has just marred his beautiful face in the dust and refuses to eat, unlike the other Achaeans, until he has slaked his thirst for revenge. Achilles is completely emotionally distraught. The circumstances for Achilles’ statement about Briseis here could not be more extenuating: in a fit of passion, he regrets that his love *and* honor over Briseis led to the death of another person extremely dear to his heart. Thus, Achilles’ spur-of-the-moment statement about Briseis could indicate either that he loved Patroklos even more than he does love Briseis, up until the point of his death, or that in this particular moment his loss of Patroklos makes him lose any sense of proportion with respect to the ones whom he loves.

Achilles and Patroklos in Love

Now, the relationship between Achilles and Patroklos from the *Iliad’s* point of view: it was definitely romantic and included physical lovemaking. I will not go over all the evidence, which is cumulatively overwhelming, but would refer readers to Clarke’s 1978 article “Achilles and Patroclus in Love.”¹⁴⁶² Two smoking guns, however, both of which aroused the atheteses of the homophobic Alexandrian scholars, will be mentioned:

¹⁴⁶² Ogden 1996:124

first, the statement at *Iliad* 24.6 that Achilles longed for Patroklos' *androtēta* 'manhood': Πατρόκλου ποθέων ἀνδροτήτά. The Ancient Greek ἀνδροτής has the same semantic range as the English 'manhood'. Second, Thetis tells her grieving son: ἀγαθὸν δὲ γυναικί περ ἐν φιλότητι / μίσησθ' "it is good to have sex, even with a woman" (24.130-131).¹⁴⁶³

Achilles does not immediately heed his mother's advice, but his encounter with Priam is transformative: ultimately, he releases Hector's corpse, becomes reconciled with society, *and then and only then* obeys his mother (24.673-676):

οἱ μὲν ἄρ' ἐν προδόμῳ δόμου αὐτόθι κοιμήσαντο
κῆρυξ καὶ Πρίαμος πικινὰ φρεσὶ μῆδε' ἔχοντες,
αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλεὺς εὗδε μυχῶ κλισίης ἐϋπήκτου·
τῶ δὲ Βρισηῖς παρελέξατο καλλιπάρηος.

This single line τῶ δὲ Βρισηῖς παρελέξατο καλλιπάρηος officially signals the end of Achilles' grieving period for Patroklos and ring-compositionally returns him to his heteroerotic Lelegian partner Briseis. Thus, the pattern of the plot of the *Iliad* being driven by Achilles' love of two ethnic Leleges, Patroklos and Briseis respectively, is confirmed.

3.3.9.2. The Priamid Lykaon: Achilles' Covert Erotic Encounter with a Third Lelex

3.3.9.2.1. Lykaon's Nudity

Remarkably, Achilles' romantic and sexual predilection for Leleges in the *Iliad* is not confined to the Leleges Briseis and Patroklos: a close scrutiny of *Iliad* 21.34-114

¹⁴⁶³ I quote from University of Wisconsin at Madison Ph.D. Student Amanda Gregory's M.A. Thesis, Chapter 1: "Patroclus and Achilles, Intimacy and Eroticism" (emailed to me on 10/04/09): "Although some scholars have debated the translation of the particle, per, Denniston [1934:482. The Greek Particles. Oxford: Clarendon Press] cites five other examples from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* which show that the particle is determinative and emphasizes a word and not a phrase. This means that Thetis recommends that Achilles copulate with a woman, despite the fact that what he sexually desires is Patroclus, a man. As regards the aforementioned 24.6, the entire line runs Πατρόκλου ποθέων ἀνδροτήτά τε καὶ μένος ἦϋ. Gregory further comments: "Achilles longs for the attributes of Patroclus, namely his ἀνδροτήτά and μένος, which describe his physique and physical energy, as opposed to his form. Aristarchus believes ἀνδροτήτά means "manhood" and refers to a living being and the physical strength of the living being as opposed to the more abstract quality of "courage." Additionally, in Archilochus (fr.196a.52) and in Solon (fr.9.1), μένος means "semen."

suggests that Achilles may have taken away the virginity of Lykaon, son of Priam, in a kind of rite of initiation, before selling him into slavery on Lemnos, the first time he captured him at Troy, eleven days before the second time when Lykaon has the great misfortune to run into Achilles again (21.44), as he endeavored to flee from the scene of butchery. I argue that this Lelegian Lykaon (see below) represents a quasi Trojan double or counterpart of Lelegian Patroklos and that this irony is lost on an Achilles blinded by grief and bloodlust, just as the irony of his next victim Asteropaios being a double of himself is lost on him as well.¹⁴⁶⁴

As Lykaon begs Achilles to spare his life, he reminds him that he is not Hector's "womb brother" (οὐκ ἰογάστριος¹⁴⁶⁵ Ἑκτορός εἰμι: 21.95), but rather the son of Laothoe, daughter of Altes, king of the Leleges (Ἄλτεω, ὃς Λελέγεσσι φιλοπτολέμοισιν ἀνάσσει: 21.86). Thus, Lykaon is half-Lelegian through his mother and emphasizes his Lelegian descent.

When Achilles finds Lykaon in the stream of the river, sweating, he is *naked* (21.49-51):

τὸν δ' ὡς οὖν ἐνόησε ποδάρκης δῖος Ἀχιλλεὺς
 γυμνὸν ἄτερ κόρυθός τε καὶ ἀσπίδος, οὐδ' ἔχεν ἔγχος,
 ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ῥ' ἀπὸ πάντα χαμαὶ βάλε· τεῖρε γὰρ ἰδρῶς
 φεύγοντ' ἐκ ποταμοῦ, κάματος δ' ὑπὸ γούνατ' ἐδάμνα·

This adjective, γυμνός, rarely occurs in the *Iliad*. It is avoided in the first fifteen books of the Homeric poem and occurs only eight times total: four times in reference to Patroklos' corpse, twice to Hector and once to Achilles and Lycaon respectively. 'Unarmed' is a standard translation for it, and indeed technically, a warrior can be γυμνός and not be

¹⁴⁶⁴ For Asteropaios as a double of Achilles, see my MA thesis "the Mitoses of Achilles."

¹⁴⁶⁵ ἰογάστριος for 'womb brother' according to Zenodotus. The standard edition has ὀμογάστριος, which I believe is a late modernizing emendation.

literally naked, as warriors wore tunics under their armor. But ‘unarmed’ does not always do justice to the potential erotic undertone, which the term sometimes carries in the *Iliad*, as persuasively argued by Amanda Gregory.¹⁴⁶⁶ In the *Odyssey* at 6.135-136, Jonathan Ready cites the erotic innuendo of Odysseus’ “mingling” (*mixesthai*) naked (*gumnos*) with Nausikaa and her maidens.¹⁴⁶⁷ Among the eight occurrences of *γυμνός* in the *Iliad*, the adjective is uniquely applied to Lykaon in that he is the only one among Patroklos and Hektor who is actually “naked and/or unarmed”: Patroklos is a dead *γυμνός* whereas Hektor’s nudity is only imagined, either by Hektor himself (22.124) or by Achilles (22.510).

Intriguingly, when Paris prepares to fight Menelaos in book 3, he dons Lykaon’s armor (δεύτερον αὖ θώρηκα περὶ στήθεσσιν ἔδυνεν / οἷο κασιγνήτιο Λυκάονος ἦρμωσε δ’ αὐτῷ¹⁴⁶⁸). It is never explained why Paris does so: does he not have an armor of his own to wear? Presumably, at least, what enables Paris to make the choice of wearing Lykaon’s armor was Lykaon’s absence from Troy: later at 21.81, we find out that Lykaon had been sold into slavery twelve days earlier by Achilles. Although Paris’ choice of donning Lykaon’s armor still remains unelucidated, two observations are in order: firstly, the closest parallel presented by the armor of Telamonian Ajax being the only suitable armor for Achilles to wear suggests that Paris and Lykaon are alike, just as Achilles and Ajax are alike in terms of size and martial prowess. The erotic allure of Paris need not be emphasized, but the armor bond between Paris and Lykaon suggests, in

¹⁴⁶⁶ Gregory 20??-30. A possible counter-example in which *γυμνός* plainly means ‘unarmed’, with no potential erotic undertone, could be 17.711, in which Menelaos says of Achilles οὐ γάρ πως ἂν γυμνός ἐὼν Τρώεσσι μάχοιτο. But a certain systemic level of analysis blunts the force of this exception, see below.

¹⁴⁶⁷ Ready 2005:154.

¹⁴⁶⁸ *Iliad* 3.332-333

and of itself, that Lykaon too was very handsome and desirable. Second, regardless of the cause of Paris wearing Lykaon's armor,¹⁴⁶⁹ the result is that in this particular moment in book 3, in which Lykaon is mentioned, the audience can only imagine Lykaon himself as being γυμνός, since Paris is wearing his armor. That Menelaos transfixes Lykaon's breastplate with his spear (διὰ θώρηκος πολυδαιδάλου ἠρήρειστο: 3.358) does not bode well for Lykaon. With no functional armor to wear when and if the Lelex returns to Troy, he can only be γυμνός, absent the crafting of a new armor.

The most explicit instance of γυμνός' erotic potential in the *Iliad* appears when Hektor is debating whether he should confront Achilles or entreat him to spare his life (22.123-128)

μή μιν ἐγὼ μὲν ἴκωμαι ἰών, ὃ δέ μ' οὐκ ἐλεήσει
οὐδέ τί μ' αἰδέσεται, κτενέει δέ με γυμνὸν ἔοντα
αὐτως ὡς τε γυναῖκα, ἐπεὶ κ' ἀπὸ τεύχεα δύω.
οὐ μὲν πως νῦν ἔστιν ἀπὸ δρυὸς οὐδ' ἀπὸ πέτρης
τῶ ὀαριζέμεναι, ἅ τε παρθένοσ ἠἴθεός τε
παρθένοσ ἠἴθεός τ' ὀαρίζετον ἀλλήλοιν.

This is an amazing statement on the part of Troy's greatest warrior. Gregory comments (p 32):

Since γυμνός is rare in the *Iliad*, save descriptions of Hector and Patroclus, I believe Hector's imagined nudity recalls Patroclus specifically, and further, that the presence of erotic innuendo recalls the intimate relationship between Patroclus and Achilles. In his fantasy, Hector conjectures that he will be "like a woman," and this reversal of gender in a simile aligns him with Patroclus. When Patroclus first approaches Achilles in book 16 to report the status of the battle and to ask him to enter battle, Achilles describes him as a young girl... Achilles figuratively compares Patroclus, who is presumably on his knees supplicating Achilles, to a child who clings to her mother's knees. Thus, Hector imagines himself in a similar role to Patroclus in this passage, since he envisions himself supplicating Achilles, being in a female role and being particularly vulnerable... As Hector ponders his next move, Achilles begins to bear down upon him, and, frightened, Hector flees (22.138–42). The fact that Hector, the best Trojan warrior, who chastised Paris for being absent from battle, runs away from his enemy is atypical and strikingly odd. We can begin to explain his uncharacteristic behavior by observing Hector's imagined scenario, where he assumes a role of a woman flirting with a lover (22.122–

¹⁴⁶⁹ Paris wearing Lykaon's armor could only be loosely or indirectly related to book 21: there could have been other lost stories about Lykaon, which might account for this.

130). In light of this, the chase scene begins to look more like the pursuit of a female by a male.

Gregory further comments (p 29):

This imagined situation includes Hector, naked and woman-like, supplicating Achilles, and whispering to him in a pastoral scene of lovers meeting. Although Hector ultimately rejects the scenario, it is still odd and striking that Hector momentarily imagines himself in an intimate moment with Achilles. Thematically, the scene resembles the first meeting of Odysseus and Nausicaa in *Odyssey* 6, which is charged with erotic potential. When Odysseus first sees Nausicaa, he debates whether he should supplicate her with physical contact or with words to ask her if she will show him her city and lend him clothing, (*Od.* 6. 142–44). He chooses the latter in fear that she would be angry. This resembles Hector's consideration of approaching Achilles as a suppliant and his decision against it for fear that Achilles would reject his request and kill him, presumably out of anger over Patroclus' death. Additionally, when Hector fears that Achilles would not pity him at all (οὐδέ τί μ' αἰδέσεται), and would kill him, naked (γυμνὸν ἐόντα αὐτῶς), it resembles Odysseus' shame (αἰδῶς) at being naked (γυμνός) in front of women (*Od.* 6.221).

I submit that the intertextual¹⁴⁷⁰ model for Achilles' chase of Hector is Achilles' chase of Troilos, the most commonly depicted scene of the Trojan War in archaic Greek art.¹⁴⁷¹

Troilos, in turn, compares with Lykaon in that 1) Troilos is usually naked on visual depictions and 2) Achilles ambushes Troilos, just as he ambushes Lykaon, catching him in the river unawares and 3) as we shall see, Achilles' encounters with both Troilos and Lykaon are both erotic.¹⁴⁷²

Before we further analyze the details of Achilles' encounter with Lykaon in book 21, a few comments must be made on a) an additional, intriguing and subtle piece of evidence for the thematization of Lykaon's nudity outside of book 21 in book 3; b) why Patroklos' nudity (4/8 total Iliadic occurrences) may carry an erotic connotation, though

¹⁴⁷⁰ *Textus* in the etymological sense: by intertextual, I mean the mutual knowledge, in an oral society, of competing, overlapping poetic traditions.

¹⁴⁷¹ Burgess 2001:64. On the precedence of the Epic Cycle tradition over the Homeric tradition, see Burgess 2001. Troilos is mentioned briefly in the *Iliad* at line 24.257 among the slain children of Priam: Μήστορά τ' ἀντίθεον καὶ Τρωΐλον ἰπποχάρμην. Achilles' encounter with Troilos is narrated in the *Cypria*.

¹⁴⁷² Gregory independently reaches the same conclusion about the eroticism of the encounter between Achilles and Lykaon, pp 34-35. I will subsequently point out what arguments she posited, which I hadn't considered, and which ones we independently adduced.

it is not always immediately apparent; c) a word must also be said of Hector's *non-Lelegian* identity, a fact, which hardly weakens the present argument, however, as it is argued that the Iliadic Achilles has a special predilection for consummating love, physical and/or emotional, primarily with ethnic Leleges. And in fact, Briseis and Patroklos share Achilles' romantic commitment throughout the monumental poem.

Gregory's demonstration that an erotic element characterizes the preamble to the final confrontation between Achilles and Hector carries important ramifications for our reading of violence in the *Iliad* in general: though very rarely explicit, the infliction of violence may often entail a tacit, perhaps sometimes unconscious impulse to sexually dominate the enemy or rival. If Hector, the greatest and proudest warrior among the sons of Troy, is able to contemplate an erotic reconciliation with his fiercest enemy, then one can legitimately suspect that any act of physical violence in the *Iliad* potentially represents sexual aggression as well. The 5th century BCE Eurymedon vase, which ridicules the defeated Persian enemy at the Battle of the Eurymedon, epitomizes this stipulation: "I am Eurymedon, I stand bent forward."¹⁴⁷³ In like manner, the juxtaposition of Achilles sleeping with his concubine Διομήδη near the end of the embassy scene (9.665) and the Argive hero Διομήδης claiming in essence a mere thirty lines below that they should leave Achilles alone and follow his guidance (9:697-710—presumably for victory), as he proved in book 5, is arguably a witty way of Homer making Achilles say: "you're my bitch, Diomede(s). I fuck you. Dream on if you think you're as good as me."

3.3.9.2.2. The Eroticization of Wounds and Vulnerability in the *Iliad*

¹⁴⁷³ Ogden 1996:133

Trite as it may sound, every spear may contain within itself the seeds of a phallic symbol.¹⁴⁷⁴ On Greek vases, the sword and the phallus are often symbolically equivalent.¹⁴⁷⁵ Thus, the greater Ajax oddly abandons the burning ships of the Achaeans when Hector shears off his spearpoint with his sword. It always struck me as bizarre that Ajax should not carry on the fight with his massive shield (e.g. lunging forward onto Hector with it) or a sword of his own. But on a symbolic level, Ajax is emasculated without his spear. Another prima facie bizarre instance of sympathetic magic connecting the potency of a hero with the integrity of his spear is Asteropaios' irrational obsession with attempting to break Achilles' spear planted in the banks of the Xanthos river, while ignoring Achilles who is rushing towards him with his sword. This metonymic bond between the integrity of a hero's spear and the vitality/lifeforce of the hero is further confirmed by 1) Hekabe's prayer to Athena "to break Diomedes' spear" = kill Diomedes and 2) most revealingly, the magical disintegration of Patroklos' spear, only a few lines before the first reference to his being γυμνόν (16.801-804):

πᾶν δέ οἱ ἐν χεῖρεςσιν ἄγῃ δολιχόσκιον ἔγχος
 βριθὺ μέγα στιβαρὸν κεκορυθμένον· αὐτὰρ ἄπ' ὤμων
 ἄσπις σὺν τελαμῶνι χαμαὶ πέσε τερμιόεσσα.
 λῦσε δέ οἱ θώρηκα ἄναξ Διὸς υἱὸς Ἀπόλλων.¹⁴⁷⁶

Since the disintegration of Patroklos' spear correlates with the falling away of his armor, it is conceivable that the entire armor of a warrior was charged with sexual potency, not solely his spear. Accordingly, when Menelaos says that there is no way Achilles will return to battle "naked" without his armor (οὐ γάρ πως ἂν γυμνὸς ἔων Τρώεσσι

¹⁴⁷⁴ Recently, see Ready 2005:155.

¹⁴⁷⁵ Dover quoted by Ready 2005:155

¹⁴⁷⁶ For a commentary, see my MA Thesis "the Mitoses of Achilles."

μάχοιτο: 17.711), *despite* the fact that he is supposed to be mad with grief and bloodlust for revenge, then one might argue that even here, where γυμνὸς clearly means 'unarmed', exposure represents a kind of emasculating nudity. Moreover, in a society, in which bisexuality was in all likelihood not uncommon,¹⁴⁷⁷ the danger of rape would have threatened not only defenseless women, but also defenseless men: thus, any defeated, handsome enemy who was not put to death, was prey to the sexual fantasies of the victor(s).

Disturbing though it may be, there is evidence for a certain sadomasochistic eroticization of vulnerability and wounds in the *Iliad*, of the kind one later witnesses in Achilles Tatius' *Leukippe and Kleitophon*. This applies to the death of Patroklos. Bearing in mind the phallic potential of every spear and the actual potential for rape of the enemy, it is rather telling that Patroklos is first described as γυμνόν (16.815) immediately after he is speared in the middle of his shoulders (= in his back) by Euphorbos at close quarters (ὄμων μεσσηγὺς σχεδόθεν:16.807). This image of Euphorbos penetrating Patroklos from behind iterates the same posture as Apollo before him when the son of Leto first dazed Patroklos with the back of his hand: he too stood behind him (στῆ δ' ὀπιθεν: 16:791). Apollo didn't have to stand behind Patroklos when he struck him: he is a god.¹⁴⁷⁸ What is more, Apollo was not merely the champion of the Trojans, which he undoubtedly is, he was also the patron god of ephebic homoeroticism. Lear refers to a very early inscription found on classical Thera (IG 12.3 537a), dated to circa 700 BCE, which reads "By Apollo Delphinios, Krimon here penetrated the son of Bathykles and the

¹⁴⁷⁷ Lear 2013:103-104

¹⁴⁷⁸ In fact, Apollo repelled Patroklos frontally when he attempted to scale the walls of Troy. But he chose not to kill Patroklos then, only issue him a warning.

brother of [illegible name]." Lear comments: "There are no Greek parallels for the invocation of a deity in an obscene boast; thus the initiatory explanation is more plausible."¹⁴⁷⁹

I now wish to draw attention to an unmistakable pattern, which seems to bear out this figurative reading of the death of Patroklos. The first duel over the possession of Patroklos' body opposes two warriors whose own bloodied bodies, at one point or another, are also manifestly eroticized: Euphorbos himself, and Menelaos. Like attracts like. *Iliad* 17.51-58 describes the death of Euphorbos, Patroklos' second killer, by Menelaos:

αἵματί οἱ δεύοντο κόμαι Χαρίτεσσιν ὁμοῖαι
πλοχμοί θ', οἷ χρυσῶ τε καὶ ἀργύρῳ ἐσφήκωντο.
οἶον δὲ τρέφει ἔρνος ἀνὴρ ἐριθηλὲς ἐλαίης
χώρῳ ἐν οἰοπόλῳ, ὅθ' ἄλις ἀναβέβροχεν ὕδωρ,
καλὸν τηλεθάον· τὸ δέ τε πνοιαὶ δονέουσι
παντοίων ἀνέμων, καὶ τε βρύει ἄνθει λευκῶ·
ἐλθὼν δ' ἐξαπίνης ἄνεμος σὺν λαίλαπι πολλῇ
βόθρου τ' ἐξέστρεψε καὶ ἐξετάνουσ' ἐπὶ γαίῃ·

One notes at once the rare similarity between Euphorbus' blood-drenched hair (αἵματί οἱ δεύοντο κόμαι) and Patroklos' blood-drenched horse-hair plume that just rolled off his head (μῖάνθησαν δὲ ἔθειραι / αἵματι: 16.795-796). There is no other instance of blood-drenched hair in the *Iliad*. The eroticism in the remaining lines of Euphorbus' death are unmistakable.¹⁴⁸⁰

As illustrative of the victim-victimizer identification principle,¹⁴⁸¹ Menelaos too is one of the few warriors in the *Iliad* whose spilled blood is rather explicitly eroticized. The Lycian archer Pandaros wounds him in his thigh at 4.141-146:

¹⁴⁷⁹ Lear 2013:104.

¹⁴⁸⁰ Lovatt 2013:279.

¹⁴⁸¹ See elsewhere in the present dissertation.

Ὡς δ' ὅτε τίς τ' ἐλέφαντα γυνὴ φοίνικι μίηνη
 Μηονίς ἢ Κάειρα παρήϊον ἔμμεναι ἵππων·
 κεῖται δ' ἐν θαλάμῳ, πολέες τέ μιν ἠρήσαντο
 ἱππῆες φορέειν· βασιλῆϊ δὲ κεῖται ἄγαλμα,
 ἀμφοτέρων κόσμος θ' ἵππῳ ἐλατῆρι τε κῦδος·
 τοῖοί τοι Μενέλαε μίανθην αἵματι μηροῖ
 εὐφυέες κνήμαί τε ἰδὲ σφυρὰ κάλ' ὑπένερθε.

One further notes that Menelaos is to Agamemnon what Patroklos is to Achilles: the weaker, gentler partner. Such features are likelier to be eroticized, inasmuch as the character to whom these features belong is handsome. Hence, it is unsurprising that Menelaos is the only character other than Paris who wears the leopard skin in the *Iliad*: Paris too is to Hector what Menelaos is to Agamemnon: the weaker, gentler partner. Thus, Patroklos, Euphorbos and Menelaos form a triad that was not randomly put together: their greater potential for eroticization arises from their middling status as warriors.

3.3.9.2.3. Lykaon and the *Akte* of Demeter

We may now return to the scene of Achilles' encounter with Lykaon. The Lelex's nudity is not the only feature that signals the eroticism of the encounter. The key passage for a double entendre reading of Lykaon's covert initiation into sex by Achilles is arguably found here (21.74-79):

γουνούμαι σ' Ἀχιλεῦ· σὺ δέ μ' αἶδεο καὶ μ' ἐλέησον·
 ἀντί τοί εἰμ' ἰκέταο διοτρεφὲς αἰδοῖοιο·
 πὰρ γὰρ σοὶ πρώτῳ πασάμην Δημήτερος ἀκτὴν
 ἦματι τῷ ὅτε μ' εἴλες ἐϋκτιμένη ἐν ἀλωῇ,
 καὶ μ' ἐπέρασσας ἀνευθεν ἄγων πατρός τε φίλων τε
 Λῆμνον ἐς ἠγαθήην, ἑκατόμβοιον δέ τοι ἦλφον.

I beseech you on my knees, Achilles, respect me and pity me
 Facing you, I am a respectable suppliant, Zeus-nourished one,
 For it was with you first that I ate [/ *was sprinkled with*] the seed of Demeter in your tent
 On that day when you seized me on the finely-wrought orchard [*threshing floor*]
 And you sold [/ *pierced*] me, taking me away from my father and friends
 To holy Lemnos, where I earned you a hecatomb.

The meaning of line 21.76 πὰρ γὰρ σοὶ πρῶτῳ πασάμην Δημήτερος ἀκτὴν baffled many ancient critics, according to Porphyry's commentary on the passage (ἀποροῦσι πῶς ὁ ἱκετεύων πρὸς τὸν Ἀχιλλεῖα ἔφη: 21.76). Porphyry also quotes and criticizes the Homeric exegete Stesimbrotus who says that Lykaon ate the grain of Demeter for the first time together with Achilles [/ in his tent] because ὅτι οἱ βάρβαροι ἄλφιτα οὐκ ἐσθίουσιν ἀλλ' ἄρτους κριθίνους "barbarians don't eat barley groats, but instead eat barley cake."

Although Stesimbrotus' proposed solution is hardly convincing, it shows at least that a legitimate way to parse these Homeric verses is by taking πὰρ γὰρ σοὶ πρῶτῳ πασάμην Δημήτερος ἀκτὴν in the absolute sense of "it was with you in your tent that *I ate the grain of Demeter for the first time ever.*" The first half of Porphyry's own exegesis is hardly better, in that he proposes that Lykaon ate the grain of Demeter for the first time with Achilles—among the Greeks. Such a solution seems rather arbitrary. The latter part of Porphyry's exegesis seems closer to the mark: Porphyry says that the purpose of Lykaon's statement is to sway Achilles to pity by reminding him of his guest-obligation toward him (just as Glaukos and Diomedes could not fight on account of the guest friendship ties between their ancestors). Be that as it may, the apparent meaning remains baffling. Wathelet remarks:

On comprend en général que, suivant Lykaon, Achille est le premier à l'avoir nourri après sa capture, mais il faut reconnaître que l'expression est surprenante. Pourquoi insister sur le fait qu'Achille est le premier? Pourquoi mettre le pain en avant et ne pas parler de nourriture en général?¹⁴⁸²

Wathelet interprets πὰρ γὰρ σοὶ πρῶτῳ πασάμην differently from Stesimbrotos and Porphyry, in that he suggests that it means that Achilles was the first to feed Lykaon the grain of Demeter *from the moment* he was captured, not in the absolute sense that Lykaon

¹⁴⁸² Wathelet 1986:288

had never eaten grain or bread before in his life. The same view is expressed by Eustathius, who lived, though, 800 years after Porphyry and 1600 years after Stesimbrotos: τὸ δὲ «παρὰ σοὶ πρῶτῳ» μετὰ τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν δηλαδή, τοῦτο δὲ ὡς πρὸς τὸν Ἰασονίδην καὶ τὸν Ἴμβριον Ἡετίωνα. αἰχμαλωτισθεὶς γὰρ πρῶτον παρὰ τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ ἔφαγεν, εἶτα καὶ παρ' ἐκείνοις. While this debatable translation improves the believability of Lykaon's claim with regards to his consumption of grain, the Belgian Homerist concedes that the reason behind Achilles' being the first to feed Lykaon remains elusive.

Lykaon, Demeter and the Mystery Cult of the Kabeiroi

Demeter Kabeiraia

While I do not accept Wathelet's (and Eustathius') temporal restriction of πρῶτῳ, he establishes convincing connections between the Lelex Lykaon and the Arcadian Lykaon, and posits initiatory rites as their common background. Among the common features is a) crossing a body of water: the Arcadian prototypical king had to cross a lake, b) *both are naked*, c) at *night*, before transforming himself into a wolf; d) he was supposed to have invented the habit of eating bread (1986:289). Wathelet does not mention this, but the Arcadian Lykaon and Lelegian Lykaon are also both tied by e) primordality: Arcadians were Pelasgians, in fact, the Arcadian Lykaon is the son of Pelasgos according to Hesiod fr. M-W 161; the Pelasgians and the Leleges were the two major primordial populations of Greece. Kitts, in her 11-page article on the scene, whose main focus are the societal obligations of commensality, makes a fleeting comment on the possible connection between Lykaon's forced journey to Lemnos and the mystery cult

of Demeter Kabeiraia there, as discussed by Burkert, *Greek Religion*, whom she cites in a footnote.¹⁴⁸³

The centrality of Demeter in the mystery cult of the Kabeiroi is apparent in Mnaseas' account, according to which, among the three Kabeiroi Axieros, Axiokersos and Axiokersa, the first one was equivalent to Demeter, the second one to Hades and the third one to Persephone.¹⁴⁸⁴ Burkert writes:

Eine Kabirenvase zeigt vor Kabiros und seinem Knaben als kleine Groteskfigur Pratolaos, den "ersten Menschen", neben dem Paar Mitos und Krateia; hier ist ein sonst unbekannter anthropogonischer Mythos angedeutet, so wie auch auf Lemnos von Kabiros als dem ersten Menschen die Rede ist [Hippol. Ref. 5,7,2 = PMG 985]. Anthropogonie und Initiation fügen sich im Sinn des Neuanfangs zusammen. Von den Ritualen selbst ist nahezu nichts bekannt. Es gab Kabiriarchoi als leitende Priester, paragogeis "Einführer" als Mystagogen [IG VII 2428; ein hierarchos SEG 35,413]; ein Bad gehört zur Weihe; der Geweihte trägt Zweige und Binden; er darf den Hain der Demeter Kabeiraia betreten¹⁴⁸⁵

Independently confirmed by Parian inscriptions, the priests of Demeter were known as Καβαρνοι (accent unknown) on the island of Paros.¹⁴⁸⁶ At Anthedon, in Boeotia, the temple of Demeter was next to the sanctuary of the Kabeiroi.¹⁴⁸⁷ But the mystery cult of the Kabeiroi was especially pre-eminent on Samothrace, Thebes and Lemnos, where Lykaon is sold into slavery. The Modern Greek word for 'crab', i.e. καβούρι, underpins

¹⁴⁸³ Kitts 1992:165-166. Endebted though I am to her for tipping me off to Burkert's illuminating commentary on the mystery cult connection between Demeter and the Kabeiroi, I cannot accept her very tepid interest in this connection on the grounds that there is no word of Lykaon's eating with Achilles on Lemnos, but rather *en route* to Lemnos. But such an objection has little to recommend it as it ignores the poetic power of metonymy, of which Homer makes abundant use: when Hekabe and the Trojan women supplicate the goddess Athena in her temple on the Acropolis of Troy, offering her special *peplos*, the scene certainly isn't taking place in Athens, but the likelihood of the allusion to the Panathenaic festival is very strong, as cogently argued by Nagy 2010 ('split referencing'). Similarly, the river Skamandros becomes a Styx of sorts when Priam crosses it to visit Achilles, who is portrayed as the lord of the underworld, see Jáuregui 2011 "Priam's Catabasis: Traces of the Epic Journey to Hades in 'Iliad' 24."

¹⁴⁸⁴ Mnaseas, Schol. Ap. Rh. 1,916b

¹⁴⁸⁵ Burkert 1977:421

¹⁴⁸⁶ IG XII 5; Hesychius, s.v. Καβαρνοι.

¹⁴⁸⁷ Pausanias 9.22.5

the deep-seated connection between Lemnos, sacred to Hephaistos, and the cult of the Kabeiroi (Hephaistos was himself considered to be a Kabeiros or the father of the Kabeiroi): Modern Greek καβούρι ‘crab’ stems from the same pre-Greek Aegean root as κάβειρος, which is glossed as καρκίνοι ‘crabs’ in Hesychius’ *Lexicon*:

Κάβειροι· καρκίνοι. πάνυ δὲ τιμῶνται οὗτοι ἐν Λήμνῳ ὡς θεοί· λέγονται δὲ εἶναι Ἡφαίστου παῖδες

The connection between crabs and Hephaistos arises in part from the fact that καρκίνοι ‘crabs’ also means ‘pincers’, a basic tool the smith god would use. Thus, the connection of Lemnos to Hephaistos, among other factors, as we shall see below, supports the investigation of a Kabeiric dimension to Lykaon’s journey.

Common features in Burkert’s excerpt with Lykaon’s vignette in book 21 are a) the Kabeiric bath of consecration matching Lykaon’s crossing the river and eventually sea; b) the twigs and faggots carried by the initiate matching the chopped young shoots, with which Lykaon was planning to make rims for a chariot (τάμνε νέους ὄρηκας, ἴν’ ἄρματος ἄντυγες εἶεν: 21.38); c) the name of Demeter d) the presence of a boy figure among the Kabeiroi matching Lykaon himself, elsewhere described, together with his brother Polydoros, as παῖδε (22.46).



Mitos (‘Thread’/‘Sperm’), *Krateia* (‘Strength’), *Pratolaos* (‘First Man’), *Pais* (‘Child’) and *Kabiros*. Sherd dated to 410-400 BCE.

Dardanos, Stammvater of the Trojans and Kabeiric Cult

Before further detailing the similarities between Lykaon in book 21 and the mystery cult of the Kabeiroi, it is of the utmost relevance that Dardanos, the Stammvater of the Trojans (20.215-219) and thus Lykaon's ancestor, was one of the Kabeiroi according to one ancient author: Ἀθηνίων δὲ φησι δύο εἶναι τοὺς Καβεῖρους γεγονότας υἱοὺς Διὸς καὶ Ἡλέκτρας τῆς Ἄτλαντος, Δάρδανον καὶ Ἰάσονα.¹⁴⁸⁸ According to other sources, Dardanos is not literally one of the Kabeiroi, but there is a near consensus among scholars that that he is very closely associated with the foundation and dissemination of the mystery cult of the Kabeiroi.¹⁴⁸⁹ As Kevin Clinton put it (2003:69),

There must have been much more than that, for the initiates gained the favor of two essential Kabeiroi/Theoi Megaloi, namely the two gods who were often equated with the Dioscuri. In myth this pair should be Dardanus and Iasion/Eétion, the two brothers of Harmonia who are most closely associated with the Mysteria.

In Hesiodic *fr.* M-W 177, Dardanos' brother is named *Eetion*, instead of Iason (*Jason*), quoted above, which also alternates with Iasos and Iasios: Zeus strikes Eetion with a thunderbolt for sleeping with Demeter. A flood destroys the island of Samothrace (Lemnos' twin island in terms of cult of the Kabeiroi) where the scene takes place in other sources and Dardanos escapes on a ship or a leather bag,¹⁴⁹⁰ which lands on Mount Ida in the Troad where he introduces the cult of the Idaian Mother, multiform of *Demeter*.

The Swimmers Dardanos and Lykaon

¹⁴⁸⁸ cod. P of schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.916-18 quoted by Fowler 2011:40.

¹⁴⁸⁹ This is something that even Hemberg 1950:89 and Burkert 1970:424-425 agree upon, cf. Rose 1998:88-89 and Fowler 2011:40.

¹⁴⁹⁰ Escape to Mount Ida on a ship: Hesiod *fr.* 177; escape to Mount Ida on a leather bag: scholiast to *Iliad* 20.215-216.

Dardanos' survival of a flood is reminiscent not only of Deukalion, with whom he shares anthropogonic features, his successful journey over the waters is also a typical feature of the Kabeiroi—and of the Dioskouroi, to whom they were assimilated. The Kabeiroi themselves were anthropogonic, as Burkert's aforementioned vase figure labeled *Pratolaos* makes it clear. When all the Lemnian women decide to slay all the Lemnian men on the island, only king Thoas survives, whom his daughter Hypsipyle had hidden and then dressed up as Dionysus, placing him in a *larnax*—as were Deukalion and Pyrrha, and committing him to the sea.¹⁴⁹¹ The similarity of Thoas' and Dardanos' escapes from Samothrace and Lemnos, together with the overlap of Jason the Argonaut and Jason (/Ias(i)on/Iasos) the Kabeiros [culture hero],¹⁴⁹² demonstrate the Samothracian-Lemnian unit in terms of mystery cult of the Kabeiroi.

Lykaon's aptitude at taking on the identity of the Trojan Stammvater Dardanos is mediated by his Lelegian identity and his escape from a Kabeiric island. Concerning this latter point, Lykaon's past crossing the sea to and from Lemnos rematerializes through his present wading in the river Scamander. Concerning the latter point, the Leleges represent the primordial populations; at Lokris, the Leleges are the rocks, thrown behind the backs of Deukalion and Pyrrha, become people. Lykaon is not any descendant of Dardanos: his characterization as a Lelex makes his descent from Dardanos "the First Trojan" an atavistic trait. The Trojan Leleges' privileged connection to Dardanos is evidenced by the scene, discussed above, in which Achilles slays "Trojans and Leleges" (Λέλεγας καὶ Τρῶας ἐναίρειν: 20.96) on the spurs of Mount Ida, as he chases Aineias.

¹⁴⁹¹ In Valerius Flaccus *Argonautica* 2.242ff quoted by Burkert 1970b.7-8 ("Jason, Hypsipyle, and the New Fire at Lemnos"), who persuasively argues that the mythical patterns in them are very ancient and therefore, is unlikely to be an invention of the Roman poet.

¹⁴⁹² As proposed by Burkert 1970b.9.

Aineias, in turn, in the Catalogue of Ships, is the leader of the Dardanians and his geographical affinity with Mount Ida is also shared by the Leleges of king Altes, Lykaon's grandfather. The association of Mount Ida with 1) Dardanos, 2) the Cult of the Mother whom Dardanos introduces from Samothrace, 3) the Leleges and 4) Aineias, leader of the Dardanians, underpins Lykaon's privileged qualification to re-enact certain aspects of the myth of his Stammvater Dardanos.

Furthermore, Burkert has uncovered striking similarities between the Lemniads and the Danaids, who kill all of their husbands, except one (Lynkeus), who later becomes the ancestor of the Argive kings.¹⁴⁹³ On the basis of Hittite parallels, Watkins 1995:53 demonstrated the Indo-European, anthropogonic origins of the myth of the Danaids (cf. the eponym / ethnonym Danaos). That the Lemniads were involved in a lost anthropogonic account is inferable from the scholiast to *Iliad* 14.231a1 καὶ γὰρ καὶ οἱ Λήμνιοι παῖδες Αἰγύπτου ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν διὰ τὴν πολλὴν ἀναιροῦνται ἀκρασίαν. In this account, the Lemniads substitute for the Danaids.

To continue with the common features between the description of Lykaon in book 21 of the *Iliad* and the mystery cult of the Kabeiroi, it is noteworthy that e) the Imbrian *Eetion* (Ἴμβριος Ἡετίων: *Iliad* 21.43) is the one who ransoms Lykaon back from the son of *Jason* (himself otherwise a Kabeiros [/ culture hero]), lord of Lemnos in the narrative present of the poem, allowing the Priamid to regain the Anatolian mainland. We will recall that Eetion is an important figure in Kabeiric lore, none other than the brother of Dardanos, Stammvater of the Trojans: Δάρδαν[ον / Ἡετίων[ά τε / ὅς ποτε Δ[ήμητρος πολυφόρβης ἐς λέχος ἤλθε (Hesiod M-W *fr.* 177). Located between Lemnos and

¹⁴⁹³ Burkert 1970b:23

Samothrace, Eetion's home island of Imbros is expectedly another important cult center of the Kabeiroi.¹⁴⁹⁴

Before continuing our argument that Lykaon undergoes an initiation of sorts into the Mystery Cult of the Kabeiroi, it is important to be aware of the terminus ante quem for the unambiguous association of Trojan war characters (other than Dardanos) with the cult: a relief dated to circa 560 BCE found in Samothrace depicts Agamemnon, accompanied by Talthybios and Epeios, in what seems to be his initiation into the Mystery Cult of of the Kabeiroi: all three are identified by inscriptions in Ionian script. Lehmann-Hartleben argues that the serpentine creature to the right indicates a chthonic setting, which is characteristic not only of underworld scenes but also initiation settings.¹⁴⁹⁵ Bousquet, for his part, argues that the seated Agamemnon is



Figure 12: Relief Samothrace Louvre Ma697 (IG XII,8,226). From left to right, Agamemnon, Talthybios and Epeios, identified by inscriptions in Ionian script ("Agamemnon" is written in retrograde script). Fragment of a relief, maybe the armrest from the throne of a cult statue. Although Lehmann-Hartleben 1943 and Bousquet 1948 disagree on some of the details, both scholars agree that the relief represents

¹⁴⁹⁴ Blakely 2006:13-17

¹⁴⁹⁵ Lehmann-Hartleben 1943:130-134.

Agamemnon's initiation to mystery cult of the Kabeiroi.¹⁴⁹⁶ Marble, Greek archaic artwork, ca. 560 BCE. Originally claimed to have been found in Samothrace.

is receiving the purple fillet worn by initiates in the mystery cult of the Kabeiroi (ταινίας ἄπτουσι πορφυρᾶς),¹⁴⁹⁷ which specifically contributed to Agamemnon's victory over the Trojans according to Mnaseas *fr.* 27 M. III 154:

περὶ γὰρ τὴν κοιλίαν οἱ μεμνημένοι ταινίας ἄπτουσι πορφυρᾶς. καὶ Ἀγαμέμνονα δὲ φασι μεμνημένον ἐν ταραχῇ ὄντα πολλῇ κατὰ Τροίαν ἀκαταστασίαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων παῦσαι πορφυρίδα ἔχοντα (20) (Θ 221). μυοῦνται δὲ ἐν τῇ Σαμοθράκῃ τοῖς Καβεῖροις.¹⁴⁹⁸

Lykaon's Initiation Setting

The Wild Fig Tree

One of the details in book 21 pointing to Lykaon's initiation setting, as Wathelet insightfully points out, is the ἐρινεός 'wild fig tree' (21.37), whose young shoots Lykaon is strangely cutting at night when Achilles intercepts him. In Greek myth and cult, wild fig trees function as a passageway to a closed space, in particular the otherworld:

Ἐρινεός désignait à Éleusis l'endroit où Hadès avait enlevé Kore pour la conduire aux Enfers. Dans l'Iliade même (VI, 433-434), Andromaque (5) recommande à Hector de s'abriter derrière les murs de Troie au lieu de combattre dans la plaine et de se tenir à l'endroit le plus faible du rempart, là où se dresse un figuier sauvage. Un autre ἐρινεός se trouve dans la plaine troyenne. Les Troyens qui fuient la poursuite d'Agamemnon passent près de lui pour regagner leur ville (Xi, 166-169) et Hector fait de même lorsqu'il est poursuivi par Achille (XXII, 145). En somme, le figuier sauvage marque un passage et spécialement un passage qui permet d'accéder à un monde clos et éventuellement à l'Autre-Delà. L'arbre a aussi une relation avec les mythes liés à Déméter comme c'est le cas à Éleusis, or la déesse, pourtant peu évoquée dans l'époque homérique, est mentionnée dans le récit qui nous occupe.¹⁴⁹⁹

To be sure, a setting redolent of Hades is typical of mystic initiation. Avers Seaford:

In general mystic initiation might impart information about the geography of the underworld. Plato refers to evidence for the roads to Hades provided here on earth by

¹⁴⁹⁶ Source accessed on Wikipedia 08/28/2014 from source 'Jastrow'.

¹⁴⁹⁷ Bousquet 1948:120

¹⁴⁹⁸ Mnaseas *fr.* 27 M. III 154, quoted by the scholiast to Apollonius of Rhodes 1.916

¹⁴⁹⁹ Wathelet 1986:287-288

'holy and customary things' [*Phaedo* 108a ὅσια καὶ νόμιμα]: this surely refers to mystic rituals.¹⁵⁰⁰

Similarly, Clinton's second criterion of a mystery cult "normally requires that [the initiates] undergo a death-like experience or at least an experience of suffering."¹⁵⁰¹

The Sweet Wine of Lemnos

Lemnos, the island where Lykaon is headed, certainly functions as an island of symbolic death and/or near death experience in the the saga of the Trojan war: it is there that Hephaistos, patron god of the island and father of the Kabeiroi according to Akousilaos and Pherekydes,¹⁵⁰² fell from Olympos, as he was hurled by his foot by Zeus: the brutality of his fall was such that there was hardly any life left in him (ὀλίγος δ' ἔτι θυμὸς ἐνήεν: 1.593) when the local Sinties saved him and helped him recover (Σίντιες ἄνδρες ἄφαρ κομίσαντο πεσόντα). The clearest analogy is Zeus hurling the Titans down to Tartarus in the Hesiodic *Theogony*. Lemnos is an island where marooned individuals, whatever the reason, struggle to stay alive and face the prospect of death: thus, Philoktetes languishes there with a festering wound, having been bitten by a baneful water snake: ἔλκεϊ μοχθίζοντα κακῷ ὀλοόφρονος ὕδρου (*Iliad* 2.723). Hera travels to Lemnos to find Sleep, the brother of Death (14.230-231):

Λῆμνον δ' εἰσαφίκανε πόλιν θείοιο Θόαντος.
ἔνθ' ὕπνω ξύμβλητο κασιγνήτῳ Θανάτοιο,

The last piece of Iliadic evidence that Lemnos is a haven of death or near death in the poem is more subtle and requires more argumentation. Except in either ritual scenes or

¹⁵⁰⁰ Seaford 2012:26.

¹⁵⁰¹ Clinton 2003:55

¹⁵⁰² Akousilaos and Pherekydes in Strabo 10.3.21.

unmarked stock scenes of wine consumption,¹⁵⁰³ the consumption of wine in Homeric poetry generally leads to death, surprising though this may seem for a society in which wine played such an important role. This may be related to the association between death and the resultant unconsciousness following inebriation in ancient Greek poetry, as shown in Nagy's marvelous article "Phaethon, Sappho's Phaon, and the White Rock of Leukas." At first blush, one might think that Euneos' gift to the Atreids or barter of Lemnian wine with the rest of the Achaeans is nothing more than a friendly transaction. But upon scrutiny, the loss of Achaean lives and their defeat by the Trojans throughout book 8 is blamed on this Lemnian wine, on which the Achaeans had gorged themselves in the night. The end of book 7 limns the scene (7.467-482):

**νῆες δ' ἐκ Λήμνοιο παρέσταν οἶνον ἄγουσαι
πολλαί,** τὰς προέηκεν Ἴησονίδης Εὔνηος,
τόν ῥ' ἔτεχ' Ὑψιπύλη ὑπ' Ἴησони ποιμένοι λαῶν.
χωρίς δ' Ἀτρεΐδης Ἀγαμέμνονι καὶ Μενελάῳ 470 IH
δῶκεν Ἴησονίδης ἀγέμεν μέθυ χίλια μέτρα.
ἔνθεν οἰνίζοντο κάρη κομόωντες Ἀχαιοί,
ἄλλοι μὲν χαλκῶ, ἄλλοι δ' αἰθωνι σιδήρῳ,
ἄλλοι δὲ ῥινοῖς, ἄλλοι δ' αὐτῆσι βόεσσι,
ἄλλοι δ' ἀνδραπόδεσσι· τίθεντο δὲ δαῖτα θάλειαν. 475
παννύχιοι μὲν ἔπειτα κάρη κομόωντες Ἀχαιοὶ
δαίνυντο, Τρῶες δὲ κατὰ πτόλιν ἠδ' ἐπίκουροι·
παννύχιος δὲ σφιν κακὰ μῆδετο μητίετα Ζεὺς
σμερδαλέα κτυπέων· τοὺς δὲ χλωρὸν δέος ἦρει·
οἶνον δ' ἐκ δεπῶν χαμάδις χέον, οὐδέ τις ἔτλη 480 IH
πρὶν πιεῖν πρὶν λειψαὶ ὑπερμενεῖ Κρονίωνι.
κοιμήσαντ' ἄρ' ἔπειτα καὶ ὕπνου δῶρον ἔλοντο.

A book later, toward the end of book 8, Agamemnon says in despair (8.228-232):

αἰδῶς Ἀργεῖοι, κάκ' ἐλέγχεα, εἶδος ἀγητοί·
πῆ ἔβαν εὐχολαί, ὅτε δὴ φάμεν εἶναι ἄριστοι,
ἃς ὀπότ' ἐν Λήμνῳ κενεαυχέες ἠγοράασθε, 230 IΘ
ἔσθοντες κρέα πολλὰ βοῶν ὀρθοκραιράων
πίνοντες κρητῆρας ἐπιστεφῆας οἴνοιο,

¹⁵⁰³ Another exception is the wine consumed by Hector's horses, which is not an exception after all if the rule of wine leading to death in marked scenes only applies to humans.

The only formulaic parallel to *eating* βοῶν ὀρθοκραϊράων “straight-horned cows” at *Iliad* 8.231 is *Odyssey* 12.348, in which Odysseus’ crew leader Eurylochos suggests to his men that they should eat the βοῶν ὀρθοκραϊράων of the Sun. There is the subtle implication that, already on Lemnos, eating bovines and drinking the local wine would carry serious consequences, as if Lemnos were another Thrinakia: this is not so surprising in light of the obvious (and not so obvious) affinities between Hephaistos and the Sun, and the fact that Lemnos and Thrinakia are described as ‘empty islands’ (cf. νήσῳ ἐρήμῃ: *Odyssey* 12.351), with no men, in Greek literature.¹⁵⁰⁴ That Agamemnon and the Achaeans should have been more wary of Lemnian wine was not lost on the scholiast to *Iliad* 14.231a1:

καὶ οἱ σὺν Ῥήσῳ κοιμώμενοι ἀνηρέθησαν (cf. K 470—97) καὶ οἱ Λήμνιοι ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν. καὶ οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ ἐν Λήμνῳ πίνουσι „κρητῆρας ἐπιστεφείας (5) οἴνοιο“ (Θ 232)...καὶ γὰρ καὶ οἱ Λήμνιοι παῖδες Αἰγύπτου ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν διὰ τὴν πολλὴν ἀναίρουνται ἀκрасίαν.

Famous in Greek mythology, the same Lemnian wine had been used by the Lemnian women to slay their husbands and in one version quoted here, which duplicates the myth of the Danaids, their children by Aigyptos. The scholiast is also informative in the example that he provides about the murder of king Rhesos in his sleep while intoxicated. We may add this conversation between Hekabe and Hektor in the middle of book 6, not long before the ominous scene of the Achaeans glutting themselves on Lemnian wine at the end of book 7 (6.258-265):

Ἀλλὰ μὲν ὄφρα κέ τοι μελιθδέα οἴνον ἐνεΐκω,
ὥς σπείσης Διὶ πατρὶ καὶ ἄλλοις ἀθανάτοισι
πρῶτον, ἔπειτα δὲ καὐτὸς ὀνήσειαι αἶ κε πῆσθα. 260

¹⁵⁰⁴ Hephaistos is the god of fire, of which the sun is made. After Zeus hurls Hephaistos from Olympus, he reaches Lemnos, just as the sun is setting (*Iliad* 1.592-593 ἅμα δ’ ἠελίῳ καταδύντι / κάππεσον ἐν Λήμνῳ). In an alternate version, Hephaistos falls not on Lemnos, but rather into “the bosom of the back-flowing Ocean” (κόλπῳ... ἀψορρόου Ὠκεανοῦ (*Iliad* 18.398-399), which is where the Sun normally sets. Hephaistos is thus a kind of solar deity who became specialized in craftsmanship and metallurgy. The details of his deformity, lameness and of his being hurled from Olympus *by his foot* find precise parallels in certain sun myths in ancient India, see Doniger 1999:44-45, 182-183.

Ἄνδρῖ δὲ κεκμηῶτι μένος μέγα οἶνος ἀέξει,
 ὥς τύνη κέκμηκας ἀμύνων σοῖσιν ἔτησι.
 Τὴν δ' ἠμείβεται ἔπειτα μέγας κορυθαίολος Ἴκτωρ·
 μή μοι οἶνον ἄειρε μελίφρονα πότνια μήτηρ,
 μή μ' ἀπογυιώσης μένεος, ἀλκῆς τε λάθωμαι· 265

Hector's response to his mother is a clear foil to Agamemnon's disastrous leadership in his acquisition of Lemnian wine and encouragement to his men to drink it, before regretting it and then blaming his own men for their lack of battle readiness. But it was not without reason that among the insults, which Achilles had hurled at Agamemnon was οἰνόβαρες 'heavy with wine!' (1.225), as Porphyry brilliantly observes in his *Homeric*

Questions:

Now, [Achilles] was drawn to call [Agamemnon] "heavy with wine" since [Agamemnon] was obviously zealous about a massive acquisition of wine: Euneos sends 1000 measures of wine to himself and Menelaus alone (7.470-71); and knowing the size of his wine-collection from those who were taxed by him, Nestor says "your huts are full of wine, which the ships of the Achaeans / bring daily from Thrace over the wide sea (9.71- 72); and Agamemnon himself, giving an exhortation to war, brings up the privilege which he provides with the verse "your cup is always full just like mine to drink" (5.262-63). Hence, reproaching in a more modulated way for such [vices], he says somewhere "where have the boasts gone" (8.229) and adds "when you were drinking mixing bowls filled to the brim with wine" (8.232)...Then he supplies: "and we each should choose a man from the Trojans to pour wine, / many companies of ten would lack a libation pourer (2.127-28). And lastly, [Agamemnon] explains in Hades about his death, that he perished "around a mixing bowl and full tables" (*Od.* 11.419).¹⁵⁰⁵

That Lemnos is a symbolic place of death is also joked about by Achilles when he sees

Lykaon for the second time (21.54-63):

ὦ πόποι ἦ μέγα θαῦμα τόδ' ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ὀρῶμαι·
 ἦ μάλα δὴ Τρῶες μεγαλήτορες οὓς περ ἔπεφνον 55
 αὐτίς ἀναστήσονται ὑπὸ ζόφου ἠερόεντος,
 οἶον δὴ καὶ ὄδ' ἦλθε φυγὰν ὑπο νηλεῆς ἦμαρ
 Λῆμνον ἐς ἠγαθήην πεπερημένους· οὐδέ μιν ἔσχε
 πόντος ἀλὸς πολιῆς, ὃ πολέας ἀέκοντας ἐρύκει.
 ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ καὶ δουρὸς ἀκωκῆς ἡμετέροιο 60
 γεύσεται, ὄφρα ἴδωμαι ἐνὶ φρεσὶν ἠδὲ δαείω
 ἦ ἄρ' ὁμῶς καὶ κεῖθεν ἐλεύσεται, ἦ μιν ἐρύξει
 γῆ φυσίζοος, ἦ τε κατὰ κρατερόν περ ἐρύκει.

¹⁵⁰⁵ Translation MacPhail, Jr: 2011:22-23.

Thus, the wild fig tree, combined with crossing the sea to Lemnos, are coherent hints of an underworld environment, which are characteristic of mystic initiation settings, as observed by Seaford, mentioned above. We may add the detail of Lykaon's abduction taking place at night.

Lykaon and the Kabeiros *Pais* 'Child'

By way of introduction now to the present argument that Achilles took away Lykaon's virginity in this ritual environment, Burkert's guidance is worth heeding:

That sexual elements play a role in mystery initiations is virtually certain, but there is hardly any clear evidence...In the domain of Dionysos the sexuality is less veiled; in some forms of Dionysos initiations at least, just as in later Gnostic sects, real sexual intercourse seems to have taken place, in particular pederasty at the initiation of mystai; primitive initiation rituals, the introduction of adolescents to sexuality, may lie in the background.¹⁵⁰⁶

Precisely, Lykaon is still an adolescent, as he is called elsewhere *παῖδε*, together with his full-blooded brother Polydoros at 22.46. As stated earlier, one of the Kabeiroi is often labeled ΠΑΙΣ in inscriptions, usually in the presence of an older figure. Although several scholars, such as Schachter,¹⁵⁰⁷ have assumed the relationship between *pais* and the older figure to be that between a father and a son, Lara Kesler has recently challenged this interpretation,¹⁵⁰⁸ suggesting rather that the relationship is pederastic:

The symposium is among the most well documented settings for this sort of relationship, and the proposed presence of pederasty at the cult site of the Kabeiroi in Thebes (evidenced by the *παῖς* in the presence of an adult *καβῖρος* on several of the skyphoi, the two examined above being notable examples) may indicate a connection to this form of drinking.¹⁵⁰⁹

¹⁵⁰⁶ Burkert 2013

¹⁵⁰⁷ Schachter 2003.

¹⁵⁰⁸ Kesler 2012:24

¹⁵⁰⁹ Kesler 2012:49

But even Schachter admits that “Kabirion-ware vases, almost exclusively drinking vessels...are most easily understood in the context of the symposium, an upper-class, all-male phenomenon with undercurrents of pederasty.”¹⁵¹⁰ It so happens that the ransom, which the Lemnian Euneos the Jasonid provides for Lykaon is a remarkably beautiful mixing bowl, which Phoenician navigators had given his ancestor Thoas. As we shall see, this beautiful silver mixing bowl, which is symbolically linked with Lykaon because it is what the Lelex is worth, was associated in part with inebriation at symposia (*Iliad* 23.740-747):

Πηλεΐδης δ' αἶψ' ἄλλα τίθει ταχυτήτος ἄεθλα
 ἀργύρεον κρητήρα τετυγμένον· ἔξ δ' ἄρα μέτρα
 χάνδανεν, αὐτὰρ κάλλει ἐνίκα πᾶσαν ἐπ' αἶαν
 πολλόν, ἐπεὶ Σιδόνες πολυδαίδαλοι εὖ ἤσκησαν,
 Φοίνικες δ' ἄγον ἄνδρες ἐπ' ἠεροειδέα πόντον,
 στήσαν δ' ἐν λιμένεσσι, Θόαντι δὲ δῶρον ἔδωκαν
 υἱὸς δὲ Πριάμοιο Λυκάονος ὄνον ἔδωκε
 Πατρόκλῳ ἥρωϊ Ἰησονίδης Εὐνήος.

A κρητήρ or mixing bowl can be used for 1) ritual purposes involving sacrifices to the gods or 2) it can be used for the secular pleasure of inebriation with no ritual involved; or 3) it can be used for both, in Dionysiac initiations, in which wine from the mixing bowl is not only used as a libation to the gods, it is also consumed by those present: an example of the first use is when the Achaeans and Trojans take the gods to witness (3.247), as Paris and Menelaos prepare for their duel. An example of the third use brings us back to Lemnos: Agamemnon reminds the Achaeans of how they got drunk on Lemnos (πίνοντες κρητήρας ἐπιστεφείας οἴνοιο: 8.232). The drunkenness of the Achaeans on Lemnos could be taken at first as an example of the second use of κρητήρες (secular use), but upon

¹⁵¹⁰ Schachter 2003:128. He continues: “These vases begin to appear about the middle of the fifth century. Earlier still black glaze drinking vessels were used at symposia (as symposium scenes on Kabirion-ware vases show), and at least one sixth-century vase depicts a symposium scene.”

scrutiny it is arguably an instance of the third use = ritual + inebriation. The drunkenness of the Achaeans on Lemnos is not just a drunken party: it also has special, ritual significance because it is an obvious iteration of the past drunkenness of the Argonauts on Lemnos, as can be inferred from Aeschylus' fragmentary play *Kabeiroi* and other accounts. Burkert points out:

Myth connects the Kabeiroi of Lemnos with the Lemnian crime: they left the accursed island. Since their cult continued at Lemnos, they evidently came back, when the curse had come to an end. In Aeschylus' *Kabeiroi*, they somehow somewhere meet the Argonauts; they invade the houses and mockingly threaten to drink everything down to the last drop of vinegar. Such impudent begging is characteristic of mummerly; these Kabeiroi, grandchildren of Hephaistos, reflect some masked club, originally a guild of smiths, probably, who play a leading role at the purification ceremony anyhow. It is tempting to suppose that the ship of the Argonauts arriving at Lemnos really means the ship of the Kabeiroi; being associated with seafaring everywhere, it fits them to arrive by ship.¹⁵¹¹

Kabeiric initiation entailed inebriation. If the drunken Argonauts are assimilated to the Kabeiroi, as surely the Dioskouroi and Jason himself were,¹⁵¹² then one can deduce the same potential assimilation of Agamemnon's Achaeans to the Kabeiroi as well, if not at the very least that they underwent Kabeiric initiations involving intoxication.

The plausibility of this reading gains support from the fact that a) after a night of revel, the Kabeiroi ran *torch-races* from Mount Mosychlos on Lemnos and lit the fires in all the houses in the valley with the fire from the mountain¹⁵¹³; and b) Thoas' silver mixing bowl, to which Lykaon is equivalent, is the prize at the *foot race* for Patroklos' funeral. Be that as it may, the Dionysiac resonance of the silver bowl is also inferable

¹⁵¹¹ Burkert 1970:9

¹⁵¹² For sources, see *RE*, s.v. 'Kabeiroi' and 'Iason'.

¹⁵¹³ Burkert 1970:10

from the fact that it had belonged to Thoas, who was the son of Dionysos and Ariadne according to most sources.¹⁵¹⁴

Walters, for his part, draws attention to an Apulian vase:

A remarkably interesting representation of the Kabeiric deities is given by an Apulian vase in the British Museum (F 116), published in the Musée Blacas, Pls. vii and viii. Orpheus is represented as *μυσταγωγός* to an ephebos in the Samothracian mysteries, the latter being accompanied by a *παιδαγωγός*; Orpheus holds back Kerberos by a chain. In front of him are a term and a tree.¹⁵¹⁵

The location of the term or ithyphallic Hermes at the center of the vase is one of the signs indicating that the scene is a Kabeiric initiation.¹⁵¹⁶ It is most interesting that a *paidagogos* should accompany the youth in his initiation with Orpheus because Orpheus was well-known for his love of male adolescents and inventing the practice of paederasty.¹⁵¹⁷ Arguably, the *paidagogos* is only present to chaperone the young lad against an initiation in which Orpheus would unite with the lad. Thus, the vase would be a satirical take on the Samothracian mysteries. As a final word of caution, this is not to

¹⁵¹⁴ See *RE*, s.v. 'Thoas'.

¹⁵¹⁵ Walters 1893:85. As it appears on their website, the British Museum concurs with Walters' interpretation (retrieved 08/19/2014): http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?partid=1&assetid=667869&objectid=1337019

¹⁵¹⁶ See Bousquet 1948 "Callimaque, Hérodote et le trône de l'Hermès de Samothrace." Herodotus 2.51.4 ὀρθὰ ὧν ἔχειν τὰ αἰδοῖα τὰγάλματα τοῦ Ἑρμέω Ἀθηναῖοι πρῶτοι Ἑλλήνων μαθόντες παρὰ Πελασγῶν ἐποίησαντο: οἱ δὲ Πελασγοὶ ἰρόν τινα λόγον περὶ αὐτοῦ ἔλεξαν, τὰ ἐν τοῖσι ἐν Σαμοθρητικῇ μυστηρίοισι δεδήλωται.

¹⁵¹⁷ Phanocles fr. 1; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 10.83-84. On the antiquity of this aspect of Orpheus' myth, see S.B. Watson 2013:444: "In Phanocles' poem, Orpheus was killed by Thracian women because he was "the first to reveal male loves." This seems to reflect an early version of the story. Vase paintings dating to the early fifth century depict Orpheus' enchantment of the Thracian men with music and his subsequent death at the hands of their wives; of the available explanations for Orpheus' death, sexual jealousy is the best fit with these images. [fn8: on the vases depicting Orpheus' enchantment of the Thracians and subsequent death, see M. Schmidt, "Der Tod des Orpheus in Vasendarstellungen aus Schweizer Sammlungen," *AntK Beih.* 9 (1973) 95-105; Lissarague, "Orphee mis a mort," *Musica e storia* 2 (1994) 269-307; B. Cohen, "Man-killers and their Victims: Inversions of the Heroic Ideal in Classical Art," in *Not the Classical Ideal: Athens and the Construction of the Other in Greek Art* (Leiden/Boston 2000) 98-131; T. McNiven, "Behaving like an Other: Telltale Gestures in Athenian Vase Painting," in *Not the Classical Ideal* 71-97." *Contra* Kern in *R.E.* s.v. 'Orpheus', who supports a late invention. For the typological association between shamanism and homosexuality worldwide, see generally Greenberg 1990; also Tomášková 2013:159.

say that all Kabeiric initiations involved paederasty. But certain initiations of youths certainly could have entailed this dimension.



Figure 13: courtesy of British Museum (museum #1867,0508.1335): Orpheus (most of face missing) as Mystagogue to Youth with *paidagogos* in Kabeiric mystery initiation.

At another Kabeiric site, Percy 1998:134 records that “archaeologists have unearthed votive offerings portraying a man and a youth holding an animal, a traditional courtship gift.” Other than the strange Δημήτερος ἀκτῆν (21.76), of which Lykaon partakes in Achilles’ tent “for the first time,” our vignette in book 21 does not explicitly show any other gift, which could be interpreted as a courtship gift, but the young wild fig shoots, which Lykaon cut to make the *rims* of a chariot (τάμνε νέους ὄρηκας, ἴν’ ἄρματος ἄντυγες εἶεν: 21.38) is reminiscent of the hoop, which *eromenoi* are often shown wielding in archaic Greek art (e.g. Ganymede most famously). The justification for this

interpretation is twofold: first, the closest and only Iliadic parallel to Lykaon’s making the rims of a chariot is Simoeisios, the victim of Telamonian Ajax in book 4:

Ἐνθ’ ἔβαλ’ **Ἀνθεμίωνος** υἱὸν Τελαμώνιος Αἴας
ἠῖθεον θαλερόν Σιμοείσιον, ὃν ποτε μήτηρ
 Ἰδηθεν κατιοῦσα παρ’ ὄχθησιν Σιμόεντος 475
 γείνατ’, ἐπεὶ ῥα τοκεῦσιν ἅμ’ ἔσπετο μῆλα ιδέσθαι·
 τοῦνεκά μιν κάλεον Σιμοείσιον· οὐδὲ τοκεῦσι
 θρέπτρα φίλοις ἀπέδωκε, **μινυνθάδιος δέ οἱ αἰῶν**
 ἔπλεθ’ ὑπ’ Αἴαντος μεγαθύμου δουρὶ δαμέντι.
 Πρῶτον γάρ μιν ἰόντα βάλε στῆθος παρὰ μαζὸν 480
 δεξιόν· ἀντικρὺ δὲ δι’ ὤμου χάλκεον ἔγχος
 ἦλθεν· ὃ δ’ ἐν κονίησι χαμαὶ πέσεν αἰγείρος ὡς
 ἦ ῥά τ’ ἐν εἰαμενῇ ἔλεος μέγαλοιο πεφύκει
 λείη, ἀτάρ τέ οἱ **ὄζοι** ἐπ’ ἀκροτάτῃ πεφύασι·
 τὴν μὲν θ’ **ἀρματοπηγὸς** ἀνὴρ αἰθωνι σιδήρῳ 485
ἐξέταμ’, ὄφρα **ἴτυν κάμψῃ περικαλλεῖ δίφρῳ**·
 ἦ μὲν τ’ ἀζομένη κεῖται ποταμοῖο παρ’ ὄχθας.
 Τοῖον ἄρ’ **Ἀνθεμίδην** Σιμοείσιον ἐξενάριξεν
 Αἴας διογενῆς·

Like Lykaon, Simoeisios is also an adolescent in the prime of his youth (ἠῖθεον θαλερόν: 4.474), a fact which is further emphasized by the iteration and variation in his patronymic “Floral”: Ἀνθεμίωνος (4.473) and Ἀνθεμίδην (4.488). In the simile of Simoeisios’ death, a chariot maker cuts branches off of a poplar tree—the same verb as the one used for Lykaon (ἐξέταμ’ at 4.486 versus τάμνε at 21.38), “to bend it into the felloe or outer rim of a very beautiful chariot” (ἴτυν κάμψῃ περικαλλεῖ δίφρῳ: 4.486): this immediately compares with the chariot rims, which Lykaon is making from young wild fig shoots. Simoeisios’ περικαλλεῖ δίφρῳ is obviously a metonymic displacement of his own beauty. Thus, Simoeisios and Lykaon evince a unique pattern in the *Iliad* of figurative or literal rims being fashioned by beautiful adolescents: in turn, this correlation matches the beautiful eromenos and his hoop.

The second reason for positing that the young wild fig shoots, which Lykaon cut to make the *rims* of a chariot, cast Lykaon as a cryptic eromenos with a hoop of sorts, is

the very eroticism, with which wild fig trees are imbued: earlier, we pointed out, citing Wathelet, that the Ἐρινεός “the Wild Fig Tree” is the place where Hades abducted Persephone at Eleusis. The *LSJ* defines the equivalent verb ἐρινάζω as “to hang fruiting branches of the wild fig (ἐρινεός) near the cultivated fig (συκῆ) in order that the gall-insect (ψήν) which lives in the wild fruit may carry pollen to the σῦκον. The most common synonym of ἐρινάζω, i.e. ψηνίζω, has two meanings: 1) the same as above; 2) *Comica Adespota* 12 reads οὐδεις κομήτης ὅστις οὐ ψηνίζεται “there is no long-haired [nobleman] that does not wild-caprify,” which is glossed as οὐδεις κομήτης ὅστις οὐ βνητιᾶ “there is no long-haired [nobleman] that does not fuck [teenage boys]” or as οὐδεις κομήτης ὅστις οὐ περαίνεται “there is no long-haired [nobleman] that does not pierce [teenage boys].” As Henderson comments, “this pederastic image is taken from the process of caprification (see *LSJ* s.v. ἐρινάζω).”¹⁵¹⁸

Achilles’ Seizure of Lykaon

To the list of elements pointing to a sexual encounter, one must add the simple fact that Achilles *seized* the youthful Lykaon (21.36: ἦγε λαβῶν & 21.77: μ’ εἶλες). As the evolution of Latin *rapio* ‘seize’ to English ‘rape’ shows, seizure may result in sexual union, especially if the one seized is beautiful. As Bremmer explains,

The place in the Troad where Zeus supposedly captured Ganymedes was significantly called *Harpagia* (Strabo 13.1.11), but in the Cretan version the abductor was Minos, although the name of the place remained the same. The Chalcidians, on the other hand, claimed that the capture happened in their territory at a place called *Harpagion*, and there has indeed recently been found a statue of Ganymedes in their area. It was precisely this Ganymedes who was the beloved of Zeus.¹⁵¹⁹

¹⁵¹⁸ Henderson 1991:118. Henderson further notes p. 47: “homosexual contrectation is spoken of as “fig-gathering” (35) or “fig-squeezing” (36). Also relevant, Guépin 1968:87 “the Ionian scapegoat, holding cheese, bread and figs in his hands, was struck seven times on the genitals with squills and twigs of the wild fig tree. This has rightly been interpreted as a fertility rite (Guépin cites Manuhardt, *Mythologische Forschungen*, pp. 124 ff.; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, IX, (Part VI, The Scapegoat), pp. 225 ff., pp. 272 ff.).

¹⁵¹⁹ Bremmer 1980:285

The archaic custom in Hellenistic Crete of the erastes' acquisition of his eromenos by (ritualized) abduction rather than by persuasion, in an oft-quoted fragment of Ephorus (οὐ γὰρ πειθοὶ κατεργάζονται τοὺς ἐρωμένους, ἀλλ' ἄρπαγῆι¹⁵²⁰), can be retrojected centuries back,¹⁵²¹ with a likely terminus ante quem of the 8th century BCE (Leitao 1995:153). Bremmer further notes:

The term Ephoros uses for the capture, *harpage*: was evidently a *terminus technicus*, for it is also used for the capture of Chrysippus by Laius (Athenaeus 13.603A; Apollod. 3.3.5 and of Ganymedes by Zeus (Ibycus fr. 289P; Theognis 1347).

Such instances in which 'seizure' alone implies subsequent sexual intimacy should alert us to the potential implications of Achilles' seizing a Trojan youth (21.36: ἦγε λαβῶν & 21.77: μ' εἶλες). An interesting detail in the Cretan coming of age ritual is the ending of the formal pursuit period of the abduction when the eromenos is taken to the abductee's *andreion* (πέρας δὲ τῆς ἐπιδιώξεώς ἐστιν, ἕως ἂν ἀχθῆι ὁ παῖς εἰς τὸ τοῦ ἀρπάσαντος ἀνδρείου). This immediately compares with Lykaon's statement that it is *chez* Achilles (πὰρ γὰρ σοὶ: 21.76) that he first tasted Δημήτερος ἀκτῆν. It is also in keeping with Clinton's observation: "what is striking in the myths that have come down to us about the gods of Samothrace is the role of sexual union."¹⁵²²

What is more, Jonathan Ready who recognizes the eroticism of the encounter between Achilles and Patroklos, draws attention, among other things, to the peculiarity of the construction οὐκ ἐθέλοντα at *Iliad* 21.36, in reference to Lykaon's first nocturnal capture by Achilles:

¹⁵²⁰ Ephorus FGH 70 F149

¹⁵²¹ Jeanmaire 1939:453-454 quoted by Percy 1998: 196 #19

¹⁵²² Clinton 2003:68 has in mind the heterosexual Kadmos & Harmonia and an ithyphallic Hermes and Persephone, but this would not exclude homosexual hieroi gamoi.

Unlike negated finite forms of the verb, which generally point to an adamant refusal to perform a given action, the negated participle is used of those who are unwilling recipients of an action and, more particularly, is employed several times in reference to those unwilling to engage in sex. 26 In the *Iliad*, the two words appear in the same metrical position (as in 21.36) when Anteia, Proteus' wife, falsely claims that Belleophon tried to rape her "although I was unwilling" (οὐκ ἐθέλούση) (6.165). So too does Thetis lament having to sleep with Peleus "although I was unwilling" (οὐκ ἐθέλουσα) (18.434). In the *Odyssey*, Odysseus is said to sleep with Kalypso, "by the side, although he was unwilling, of her willing" (παρ' οὐκ ἐθέλων ἐθέλούση) (5.155).²⁷ Penelope's hesitancy about remarrying, and so by implication having sex with a new husband, is rendered with this phrase. Telemachos complains that the suitors woo his mother "although she is unwilling" (οὐκ ἐθέλούση) (2.50).¹⁵²³

An obscene subtext to 21.66 may shock some modern readers and even some ancient listeners, but an excerpt from Henderson's introduction on obscenity is in order: on the basis of the ability of Homeric poetry to embed different subgenres,¹⁵²⁴ I argue that Lykaon's micronarrative in book 21 lends itself to such a subtext:

That we do not find obscenity anywhere else in the surviving literature of the time, or hear it mentioned in any other connection (nor can we imagine another context in which it might have been employed), testifies to its unique appropriateness to the phenomenon of Old Comedy. There are two exceptions: the Ionian iambic poets and the cults of (above all) Dionysus and Demeter.

That there is a connection between Lykaon in book 21 and a mystery cult of Demeter has already been recognized by Wathlet and tentatively suggested by Kitts. The proposed connection to Kabeiric cult would subsume not only the cult of Demeter but also the cult of Dionysus in light of the Dionysiac elements of Kabeiric cult: the aforementioned vase discussed by Burkert in which *Pais* and *Pratolaos* appear also includes a figure labeled *Kabiros* whose ivy and accouterment would have identified him as Dionysos if it wasn't for the caption.¹⁵²⁵

¹⁵²³ Ready 2005:160

¹⁵²⁴ Martin 1989 *the Language of Heroes*; also Ford 2002 "the Genre of Genres."

¹⁵²⁵ Blakely 2006:40-41. Also, Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus* 2.16, seems to imply that one of the three Kabeiroi was the murdered and dismembered Dionysus whose phallus was taken by his fratricidal brothers to Lemnos.

Achilles Takes Away Lykaon's Virginity

Bearing also in mind that there is a precedent in the saga of the Trojan war for Achilles ambushing and sexually pursuing naked Trojan adolescents, i.e. Troilos, the following alternative reading of *Iliad* 21.66-80, which I propose, is warrantable:

γουνούμαι σ' Ἀχιλεῦ· σὺ δέ μ' αἶδεο καί μ' ἐλέησον·
ἀντί τοί εἰμ' ἰκέταο διοτρεφὲς αἰδοίοιο· 75
πὰρ γὰρ σοὶ πρώτῳ **πασάμην** Δημήτερος ἀκτὴν
ἦματι τῷ ὅτε μ' εἶλες εὐκτιμένη ἐν **άλωῃ**,
καί μ' **ἐπέρασσας** ἄνευθεν ἄγων πατρός τε φίλων τε
Λῆμνον ἐς ἠγαθέην, ἑκατόμβοιον δέ τοι ἦλφον.
νῦν δὲ **λύμην τρίς** τόσσα πορών·

I beseech you on my knees, Achilles, respect me and pity me
Facing you, I am a respectable suppliant, Zeus-nourished one,
For it was with you first that I *tasted* [/ *was sprinkled with*] the grain-/[ear] of Demeter [/
= *semen/prick*] in your tent
On that day when you seized me on the finely-wrought threshing floor
And you sold [/ *pierced*] me, taking me away from my father and friends
To holy Lemnos, where I earned you a hundred oxen.
And now I've been ransomed [λύμην] earning you thrice as much /
/ *And now I've been penetrated* [λύμην] *thrice, giving you so much*

The verb *πασάμην* is the middle or passive aorist of either the verb *πατέομαι*, “to taste,” as recognized by scholiast D who glosses *πασάμην* in 21.76 as Ἐγευσάμην; or *πασάμην* could in isolation be the aorist of *πάσσω* “to sprinkle.” Both verbs are attested in Homeric poetry. Δημήτερος ἀκτὴν is difficult to translate. When the Homeric narrator uses it at 13.322 ἔδοι Δημήτερος ἀκτὴν, the inferable meaning is broadly “eat cereals” / “eat grain-based products,” whereby ἀκτὴ is commonly translated as “grain,” sometimes “bread,” when combined with the genitive of Demeter. But the agricultural ἀκτὴ also means “ear of grain,”¹⁵²⁶ with which ἀκτὴ 1 “edge,” “headland,” is most likely related (English *ear* 2 from late IE **ak* “sharp,” thus agricultural ἀκτὴ 2 of *LSG* must be a specialized development of ἀκτὴ 1, which is also from late IE **ak* “sharp.” Agricultural ἀκτὴ can

¹⁵²⁶ *LSG*, ἀκτὴ 2 “of unthreshed corn.”

also mean even more broadly *seed*, as in Apollonius of Rhodes 3.413, in which the seeds sown by Jason turn into the dragon's teeth:

τετράγυον, τὴν αἶψα ταμὼν ἐπὶ τέλσον ἀρότρῳ,
οὐ σπόρον ὀλκοῖσιν Διοῦς ἐνιβάλλομαι ἀκτὴν
ἀλλ' ὄφιός δεινοῖο μεταλδήσκοντας ὀδόντας

The equivalence between vegetal grain or seed and human seed or semen is attested in Kabeiric cult, as Blakely explains in her commentary on the Mitoi, Krateia, Pratolaos, Pais, Kabiros sherd (2006:42):

Mitoi and Krateia's names are familiar ones in the Boiotian region, so these figures may depict ordinary initiates; they also offer allegorical meaning, 'Mitoi' meaning seed and 'Krateia,' strength. Together with Pratolaos, First Man, they have seemed to be a reflection of the Orphic triad, with Mitoi as Sperm, Krateia as the Goddess, and Pratolaos as the firstborn child. This Kabeira, moreover, may have referred to a local Demeter, whose sanctuary stood just seven stades away from the Kabirion; she could be Demeter Kaberia, or Megale Meter. This female shares with the Kabeiros the lack of caricature.

Whatever Δημήτερος ἀκτὴν precisely (or deliberately imprecisely) means at *Iliad* 21.76, Henderson reports “κριθή [= barley grain] as phallus indicates erection and lechery: P 965 ff., Av 506, 565. The notion of sexual potency also appears in the verb κριθᾶν, to wax wanton, used of both beasts and men, and in the comic name Κρίθων [Hesychius, s.v. Κρίθων: ἐπώνυμον ἀνδρὸς μοιχαλίου].” Diskin Clay makes this comment:

Unmilled barley groats are used during sacrifice as they are salted and thrown at the head of the sacrificial victim and into the flame of the altar; they are important too in the cult of Demeter, who bears the cult epithet *Ioulo* (after *ἰουλος*, a form of the word for barley groats)... The association between religious and secular and the innocent and obscene is beautifully illustrated by the passage in Aristophanes' *Peace*, where Trygaios, performing a sacrifice, asks one of his servants to pelt the festival audience in the theater of Dionysos with ὀλαί and κριθαί. Asked if he has performed the ritual, the servant says that "there is no one in the audience who does not have his peck": οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐ κριθὴν ἔχει (960-966). The sequel makes the sexual double entendre of κριθή explicit, as the men in the audience are said to be about to share their "pecks" with the women there.

Thus, in the context of Lykaon's vignette, πὰρ γὰρ σοὶ πρῶτῳ πασάμην Δημήτερος ἀκτὴν at 21.76 may be a veiled confession that Achilles is the first one (πὰρ γὰρ σοὶ πρῶτῳ) with whom Lykaon ever had sex, be it fellatio or anal intercourse: possible readings of

πασάμην Δημήτερος ἀκτὴν are “I tasted your prick[ly ear of grain],” “I tasted your sperm” or “I was sprinkled...your sperm.” By way of comparison, I cite an excerpt of Henderson’s discussion of Aristophanes, *Peace* (1991:65)

At the banquet described at 868-70 the foods are double entendres for the female parts, and lack only the πέος for perfection; **grain is both sustenance and the penis at 965-67** [my emphasis]; at the wedding feast (1353-59) food and sex are indistinguishable; compare 1136-39:

κάνθρακίζων τούρεβίνθου
τήν τε φηγὸν ἐμπυρεύων,
χᾶμα τὴν Θραῖτταν κυνῶν
τῆς γυναικὸς λουμένης.

And I’ll toast my chickpeas and roast my acorn and kiss my Thracian slave-girl—all while the wife’s away at her bath!

The Threshing Floor

Iliad 21.77 ἤματι τῷ ὅτε μ’ εἶλες ἐϋκτιμένη ἐν ἀλωῇ “on that day when you seized me on the well-built threshing floor” dovetails with the previous line in terms of grain imagery since the distribution of Δημήτερος ἀκτὴν and ἐν ἀλωῇ on two consecutive lines is also found in the Hesiodic *Works and Days*:

Μέσση δ’ ἐβδομάτῃ Δημήτερος ἱερὸν ἀκτὴν (805)
εὔ μάλ’ ὀπιπεύοντα ἐυτροχάλω ἐν ἀλωῇ
βάλλειν

Look about you very carefully and throw out Demeter’s holy grain
upon the well-rolled threshing floor on the seventh of the mid-month.¹⁵²⁷

Elsewhere in the *Iliad*, ἐν ἀλωῇ *qua* threshing floor and τριβέμεναι κρι̅ λευκὸν “crush white barley” co-occur on the same line (20.496), preceded by two male bulls as the subject.¹⁵²⁸ What is more, the verbal cognate of ἀλωή “threshing floor”, ἀλοάω “to thresh,” “to thrash” is attested with the same sexual meaning as “bang” in colloquial

¹⁵²⁷ Translation: Evelyn-White (Loeb).

¹⁵²⁸ *Iliad* 20.495-496:
ὡς δ’ ὅτε τις ζεύξῃ βόας ἄρσενας εὐρυμετώπους
τριβέμεναι κρι̅ λευκὸν ἐϋκτιμένη ἐν ἀλωῇ,

English.¹⁵²⁹ In their *Historical Dictionary of Prophets in Islam and Judaism*, Noegel & Wheeler begin their lemma "Threshing Floor" with these words:

In addition to being used for threshing grain, threshing floors throughout the ancient Near East were closely associated with sexual cultic practices and chthonic deities. In Mesopotamia the goddess Ishtar and her consort Dumuzi consummate their marriage on the threshing floor, a mythology that is embodied in the first millennium by the cultic practice of sacred marriage.¹⁵³⁰

Although to my knowledge there are no extant parallels in Greek myth and religion of threshing floors as scenes of erotic encounters or matrimonial celebrations, I would surmise that it results in part from the taboo that is inherent in the *hieroi gamoi* of Greek mystery cults. The popularity of the *Aloadai* among the Thessalians and Boeotians, whom Wagler persuasively argued were models of kingship among them,¹⁵³¹ suggests that threshing floors may have been a symbolic setting for the procreation of rulers in these regions of Greece: their father Ἀλωεύς is literally "the man of the threshing floor" (or perhaps "of the garden plot" or perhaps both).¹⁵³² Whatever the meaning was, the union of Aloeus with Iphimedeia, the daughter of *Triops*, who is antagonistically associated with Demeter in myth,¹⁵³³ confirms the subsumption of Ἀλωεύς under the realm of Demeter.¹⁵³⁴

¹⁵²⁹ Henderson 1991:166.

¹⁵³⁰ Noegel & Wheeler 2002:334.

¹⁵³¹ Wagler in *RE*, s.v. 'Aloadai'. As discussed elsewhere in this dissertation, the Aloadai did not have among the Aeolians the negative image, which they later develop in subsequent centuries.

¹⁵³² Preller & Robert 1860:79. Murray 1924:137 speaks of "the sons of the Threshing Floor, Otus and Ephialtes."

¹⁵³³ Hyginus, *Poetical Astronomy*, 2. 14

¹⁵³⁴ On God-Hero antagonism and correlated similarity, see Nagy 2005:71–89. The Thessalian town of *Alos*, which is one of the few cities among the numerous cities of Thessaly to be included in Achilles' contingent, was founded by *Aloeus* and owed its name to him according to a Hesiodic fragment quoted by scholiast to Apollonius of Rhodes i. v. 482.

Most intriguingly, there was also “a threshing floor of Triptolemos,” Demeter’s protégé, who dis-*semin*-ated the gift of grain to the world:

τὸ δὲ πεδίον τὸ Ῥάριον σπαρῆναι πρῶτον λέγουσι καὶ πρῶτον αὐξῆσαι καρπούς, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐλαῖς ἐξ αὐτοῦ χρῆσθαι σφισι καὶ ποιεῖσθαι πέμματα ἐς τὰς θυσίας καθέστηκεν. ἐνταῦθα ἄλως καλουμένη Τριπτολέμου καὶ βωμὸς δείκνυται· τὰ δὲ ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους τοῦ ἱεροῦ τό τε ὄνειρον ἀπεῖπε γράφειν, καὶ τοῖς οὐ τελεσθεῖσιν¹⁵³⁵

Pausanias refuses to tell us what is inside the altar next to the threshing floor of Triptolemos. Elsewhere, at 1.14.1-2, in his introduction to another discussion of Triptolemos, Pausanias says that he will “omit as much as possible the account of Deiope (παρεῖς ὅπόσον ἐς Δηϊόπην ἔχει τοῦ λόγου). Why should he do so? What is so taboo about mentioning Deiope? According to Istros *fr.* 21, this Deiope was the daughter of Triptolemos (Δηϊόπης τῆς Τριπτολέμου τὰ ἐν Ἐλευσίῃ μυστήρια), whereas some of Aristotle's sources report that Deiope was Triptolemos' mother. There was a tomb of Deiope at Eleusis.¹⁵³⁶ Pherekydes' third account, which makes Triptolemos a son of of Ocean and Earth sheds light on the contradiction between the sources as to whether Deiope is Triptolemos' daughter or mother, inasmuch as incest or parent-child reversals are typologically common among primordial beings.¹⁵³⁷ Her name is obviously very similar to Demeter's common surname Δηώ. Be that as it may, the fact that it is taboo for Pausanias to speak of Deiope and that we otherwise only hear of her in two other scattered accounts of Istros and Aristotle, suggests that she was either Triptolemos' partner at Eleusis in an unspeakable *hieros gamos* or the product of that sacred union.

¹⁵³⁵ Pausanias 1.38.6-7

¹⁵³⁶ Aristotle, *Mirabilium auscultationes*, 843b

¹⁵³⁷ Pherekydes in Apollodorus, *Library* 1.32. In support of the account that Triptolemos had progeny, the Krokonidai and Koronidai claimed descent from Triptolemos, s.v. Schwenn in *RE*, s.v. ‘Triptolemos’.

What is more, the account according to which Demeter gave Triptolemos a snake-drawn chariot on which he could scatter grains of wheat all over the whole world (δίφρον κατασκευάσασα πτηνῶν δρακόντων τὸν πυρὸν ἔδωκεν, ᾧ τὴν ὅλην οἰκουμένην δι’ οὐρανοῦ αἰρόμενος κατέσπειρε¹⁵³⁸) tacitly reveals Triptolemos’ masculinity and the symbolic masculinity of “sowing seeds,” especially in a language, such as Greek (and many others), in which the words for ‘seed’ and ‘sperm’ are the same: σπέρμα. Demeter herself could not scatter abroad the grains of wheat throughout the world because she is a female figure. Female figures take in the seed, they don’t sow it. There is much to wager that the Eleusinian mysteries blurred the line between Triptolemos’ sowing vegetal seeds abroad from his chariot with “the sowing of his own seed.”¹⁵³⁹ In myth and ritual, the gesture of sowing seeds is more likely to be ascribed to a male figure than to a female figure.

Despite the patent congruence of the two lines πὰρ γὰρ σοὶ πρώτῳ πασάμην Δημήτερος ἀκτὴν / ἤματι τῷ ὅτε μ’ εἶλες εὐκτιμένη ἐν ἀλωῇ (21.76-77) in terms of cereal theme, the majority of scholars have been reluctant to translate ἀλωή at 21.76 as “threshing floor,” opting rather for “orchard.”¹⁵⁴⁰ The basis for this alternative translation is 21.35-38:

ἐκ ποταμοῦ φεύγοντι Λυκάονι, τὸν ῥά ποτ’ αὐτὸς
 ἤγε λαβῶν ἐκ πατρὸς ἀλωῆς οὐκ ἐθέλοντα
 ἐννύχιος προμολῶν· ὃ δ’ ἐρινεὸν ὄξεϊ χαλκῷ
 τάμνε νέους ὄρηκας, ἴν’ ἄρματος ἀντυγες εἶεν·

¹⁵³⁸ Apollodorus *Library* 1.32

¹⁵³⁹ Triptolemos is usually depicted as a youth, but he is sometimes bearded and middle-aged, as in as on an archaic amphora dated to 550-530 BCE, Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, New York City, USA; Beazley Archive Number: 4808. His being a youth would not obviate his putative potency.

¹⁵⁴⁰ Thus Murray (Loeb); Ian Johnston; Fagles.

If Lykaon is cutting young wild fig shoots to make the rim of a chariot, the reasoning goes, then the ἀλωή of 21.76 must be an orchard too.¹⁵⁴¹ Kitts rightly objects:

The meaning of ἀλωή often chosen by translators is “orchard” (or, freely, “gardens”); the next sentence adds, perhaps even interpolates, that Lykaon had been there cutting the young shoots of a wild fig to make rims for his chariot. But wild fig trees, of course, do not belong in domestic orchards, and in fact prefer sunny, open fields. The other accepted meaning of ἀλωή is threshing floor, an acceptable vicinity for a wild fig tree.¹⁵⁴²

Although there is no convincing reason to believe that the reference to Lykaon’s cutting young wild fig shoots is interpolated—on the contrary (as we saw above), Kitts’ botanical point is well taken and very useful to understanding the passage.

Let us now reproduce the next line, together with the first two (*Iliad* 21.76-78):

παρ γὰρ σοὶ πρώτῳ **πασάμην** Δημήτερος ἀκτὴν
ἤματι τῷ ὅτε μ’ εἶλες ἐϋκτιμένη ἐν **ἀλωῇ**,
καὶ μ’ **ἐπέρασσας** ἄνευθεν ἄγων πατρός τε φίλων τε

No sooner has Lykaon tasted “the ear-grain” *for the first time* in Achilles’ tent on the day that Achilles *seized* him on the *threshing floor*, does Lykaon then declare καὶ μ’ ἐπέρασσας. Knowing Achilles’ history with Troilos, it is not far-fetched to construe μ’ ἐπέρασσας naturally as “*pierced me*” / “*penetrated me*” in the sense of a sexual assault, alongside the alternative “sold.” Later in the scene, Achilles again collocates the verbs αἰρέω “seize” and περάω “pierce” (“sell”) at 21.102 καὶ πολλοὺς ζωοὺς ἔλον ἠδ’ ἐπέρασσα, as he remembers a time when he would spare his captives: taking ἐπέρασσα in the resultative sense “rape” mirrors the evolution of the English word from Latin *rapio* ‘to seize’.

Only two lines later, νῦν δὲ λύμην τρις τόσσα πορών, Homer has Lykaon use the verb λύμην, which potentially duplicates the meaning of μ’ ἐπέρασσας: λύμην can mean

¹⁵⁴¹ Thus, Aristicus on 21.36a1: ἀλωῆς: ὅτι ἀλωὴν τὴν δενδροφόρον γῆν νῦν λέγει· ἐπι- φέρει γὰρ „ὁ δ’ ἐρινεόν.”

¹⁵⁴² Kitts 1992:164

“I was loosened / penetrated,”¹⁵⁴³ besides the more overt “I was ransomed.” Likewise, the quantitative adverb τρίς in λύμην τρίς (21.78) could be taken with λύμην rather than with the following word τόσσα, the resultant meaning being “I was penetrated thrice.” *Thrice* τρίς occurs several times in the *Iliad* in clearly non-sexual contexts, but this does not mean that it cannot take on a special meaning combined with the right word and the right context. Avers Henderson 1991:121

The number three has a special significance in ancient comic writings. The ability to perform the sex act thrice in succession was apparently considered proof of great virility. "To win the pancration" meant τὸ τρίς πλησιάζειν, to screw three times. In Aristophanes we find allusions to this idea often: the newly "rejuvenated" chorus at A 994 promises to make love (προσβαλεῖν) to Diallage thrice; so also the newly rejuvenated Demus at Eq 13991 (κατατριακοντουτίσαι), q.v.). A particularly virile guardian bird at Av 1205 f. is the τρίορχος, which was supposed to grab Iris on her flight into Nephelococcygia. We may compare Aristophanes' *Triphales*, which had to do with an extremely satyric and debauched person (not, as has been thought, Alcibiades); Hermes τρικέφαλος (Fr 553); and the base barbarian, Triballus, of Av 1529 ff. Outside Aristophanes note Cratin. 183.3.

The departure to Lemnos of a sexualized Lykaon sold as merchandise may be related to Clement of Alexandria's account of Kabeiric cult, according to which the genitals of Dionysus were shipped to “Tyrrhenia,” which is generally understood here to designate Lemnos,¹⁵⁴⁴ and represented “a famous piece of merchandise” (εὐκλεοῦς φορτίου).¹⁵⁴⁵

Lykaon: Achilles' *Philos*

Having surveyed the sexual innuendos of Achilles' encounter with Lykaon, we may now zero in on the emotional aspect of their connection. Ever since I read the *Iliad* at

¹⁵⁴³ cf. *Lysistrata* 683 λύσω τὴν ἑμμαντῆς ὅν ἐγώ “I will open up my own ‘sow’ [vagina]” quoted by Henderson 1991:132.

¹⁵⁴⁴ Blakely 2006:36

¹⁵⁴⁵ Clement *Protrepticus* 2.19.4 Καβείρους δὲ τοὺς Κορύβαντας καλοῦντες καὶ τελετὴν Καβειρικὴν καταγγέλλουσιν· αὐτῶ γὰρ δὴ τούτῳ τῷ ἀδελφοκτόνῳ τὴν κίστην ἀνελομένῳ, ἐν ἧ τὸ τοῦ Διονύσου αἰδοῖον ἀπέκειτο, εἰς Τυρρηνίαν κατήγαγον, εὐκλεοῦς ἔμποροι φορτίου· κἀνταῦθα διετριβέτην, φυγάδε ὄντε, τὴν (5) πολυτίμητον εὐσεβείας διδασκαλίαν αἰδοῖα καὶ κίστην θρησκευεῖν παραθεμένῳ Τυρρηνοῖς. Δι' ἣν αἰτίαν οὐκ ἀπεικότως τὸν Διόνυσόν τινες Ἄτιν προσαγορεύεσθαι θέλουσιν, αἰδοῖον ἔστερημένον. Clement's tone is sarcastic, but his characterization of Dionysus' testicles as εὐκλεοῦς φορτίου could be based on a cultic reality.

Princeton for the first time in its entirety, I have always found this passage to be among the most poignant in the poem:

πρὶν μὲν γὰρ Πάτροκλον ἐπισπεῖν αἴσιμον ἦμαρ 100
τόφρα τί μοι πεφιδέσθαι ἐνὶ φρεσὶ φίλτερον ἦεν
Τρώων, καὶ πολλοὺς ζωοὺς ἔλον ἠδ' ἐπέρασσα·
νῦν δ' οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅς τις θάνατον φύγη ὄν κε θεός γε
Ἰλίου προπάροιθεν ἐμῆς ἐν χερσὶ βάλῃσι
καὶ πάντων Τρώων, περὶ δ' αὖ Πριάμοιό γε παίδων. 105
ἀλλὰ φίλος θάνε καὶ σύ· τί ἦ ὀλοφύρεαι οὕτως;
κάθθανε καὶ Πάτροκλος, ὃ περ σέο πολλὸν ἀμείνων.
οὐχ ὀράας οἷος καὶ ἐγὼ καλός τε μέγας τε;
πατὴρ δ' εἴμ' ἀγαθοῖο, θεὰ δέ με γείνατο μήτηρ·
ἀλλ' ἔπι τοι καὶ ἐμοὶ θάνατος καὶ μοῖρα κραταίη· 110

Lykaon is the only Trojan in the monumental poem whom Achilles calls *philos*. Lykaon is also the only explicit Lelex among the victims of Achilles, a rare ethnic characteristic, which Lykaon shares with Achilles' beloved Patroklos. Troilos is mentioned in a brief hemistich (*Iliad* 24.257), but the expansive, polysemic scene of book 21 makes Lykaon *the* sexual object of Achilles among all the Trojan youths in the *Iliad*—not Troilos.¹⁵⁴⁶

That Lykaon was meant to have reminded Achilles of Patroklos was already proposed by Gregory 2009:35:

Perhaps the most interesting connection lies in the fact that Achilles calls Lycaon φίλος (21.106), which recalls the relationship which Achilles shared with Patroclus... Additionally, when Lycaon addresses Achilles with "winged words," this is one of the four instances in the *Iliad* of enemies addressing one another with such a formula (discussed on page 19), as noted by [Richard] Martin. On the topic he suggests, "It must be noted that the four passages in which this occurs are not casual encounters, but rather highly charged events important to the outcome of the plot and, furthermore, that they are given lengthy, elaborate ornamentation by the poet."⁶⁴ In light of these textual parallels and the fact that the enemy/friend (or lover) line is blurred, Lycaon's death echoes Patroclus' death.

¹⁵⁴⁶ The eroticization of Trojan youths is manifest in the myth of the Trojan prince Ganymede and his becoming the cupbearer of Zeus; less known, but equally compelling is a certain *Karnos*, a Trojan youth beloved of Apollo according to Alkman *fr.* 103 Bergk *ib.* 67: Πράξιλλα μὲν ἀπὸ Κάρνου φησὶν ὠνομάσθαι τοῦ Διὸς καὶ Εὐρώπης υἱοῦ, ὃς ἦν ἐρώμενος τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος· Ἀλκμᾶν δὲ ἀπὸ Καρνέου τινὸς Τρωϊκοῦ· (quoted by scholiast on Theocritus 5.83a).

Another subtle clue that Lelegian Lykaon shadows Lelegian Patroklos is the effect, which they wield, directly or metonymically, on stirring Achilles and Hector to confront each other. It is Patroklos' death that stirred Achilles' desire and decision to confront and kill Hector. Similarly, the parallelism is subtle but unmistakable, it is Polydorus' death—Lykaon's only full-blooded brother—that stirred Hector's desire and decision to confront Achilles *without running away*. Achilles and Hector are at their bravest in the *Iliad* when they lose a Lelegian near-and-dear: Patroklos in the case of Achilles, Polydorus in the case of Hector. Let us recall that a) Priam says at 22.46-48 δύο παῖδε Λυκάονα καὶ Πολύδωρον / τούς μοι Λαοθόη τέκετο κρείουσα γυναικῶν; b) Lykaon and Polydorus are the only sons of Priam of Lelegian descent through their mother Laothoe (21.85-86): γείνατο Λαοθόη θυγάτηρ Ἄλταο γέροντος / Ἄλτεω, ὃς Λελέγεσσι φιλοπτολέμοισιν ἀνάσσει; c) among the numerous Priamids, Lykaon's special connection to his full-blooded brother Polydorus is implicitly emphasized when Lykaon tells Achilles at 21.95 “I am not Hector's ‘womb-brother’” = οὐκ ἰογάστριος¹⁵⁴⁷ Ἐκτορός εἰμι, which means that Lykaon's only ἰογάστριος / ὁμογάστριος is Polydorus.

And yet, full-blooded brother or not, it is Hector's Lelegian half-brother Polydorus—Lykaon's only full-blooded brother—whose death by Achilles stirs enough anger and outrage in Hector that he ceases avoiding Achilles on the battlefield (οὐδ' ἄρ' ἔτ' ἔτλη / δηρὸν ἐκάς στρωφᾶσθ': 20.421-422), even though he knows, by his own admission, that he is a lesser warrior than Achilles (20.419-440):

Ἐκτωρ δ' ὡς ἐνόησε κασίγνητον Πολύδωρον
 ἔντερα χερσὶν ἔχοντα λιαζόμενον ποτὶ γαίῃ 420 IY
 κάρ ῥά οἱ ὀφθαλμῶν κέχυτ' ἀγλῦς· οὐδ' ἄρ' ἔτ' ἔτλη
 δηρὸν ἐκάς στρωφᾶσθ', ἀλλ' ἀντίος ἦλθ' Ἀχιλλῆϊ

¹⁵⁴⁷ ἰογάστριος for ‘womb brother’ according to Zenodotus. The standard edition has ὁμογάστριος, which I believe is a late modernizing emendation.

ὄξυ δόρυ κραδάων φλογὶ εἵκελος· αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλεὺς
 ὡς εἶδ', ὧς ἀνεπᾶλτο, καὶ εὐχόμενος ἔπος ἠΐδα· 425
 ἔγγυς ἀνήρ ὃς ἐμόν γε μάλιστ' ἔσεμάσσατο θυμόν,
 ὃς μοι ἐταῖρον ἔπεφνε τετιμένον· οὐδ' ἂν ἔτι δὴν
 ἀλλήλους πτόσσοιμεν ἀνὰ πτολέμοιο γεφύρας.
 ἦ, καὶ ὑπόδρα ἰδὼν προσεφώνεεν Ἴκτορα δῖον·
 ἄσσον ἴθ' ὡς κεν θᾶσσον ὀλέθρου πείραθ' ἴκηαι.
 τὸν δ' οὐ ταρβήσας προσέφη κορυθαίολος Ἴκτωρ· 430 IY
 Πηλεΐδη μὴ δὴ ἐπέεσσί με νηπύτιον ὧς
 ἔλπεο δειδίξεσθαι, ἐπεὶ σάφα οἶδα καὶ αὐτὸς
 ἦμὲν κερτομίας ἠδ' αἴσυλα μυθήσασθαι.
 οἶδα δ' ὅτι σὺ μὲν ἐσθλός, ἐγὼ δὲ σέθεν πολὺ χεῖρων.
 ἀλλ' ἦτοι μὲν ταῦτα θεῶν ἐν γούνασι κεῖται, 435
 αἶ κέ σε χειρότερός περ ἐὼν ἀπὸ θυμόν ἔλωμαι
 δουρὶ βαλῶν, ἐπεὶ ἦ καὶ ἐμόν βέλος ὄξυ πάροιθεν.
 ἦ ῥα, καὶ ἀμπεπαλῶν προΐει δόρυ, καὶ τό γ' Ἀθήνη
 πνοιῆ Ἀχιλλῆος πάλιν ἔτραπε κυδαλίμοιο
 ἦκα μάλα ψύξασα·

If it hadn't been for Athena deflecting Hector's spear from a putatively lethal spot among the interstices of Achilles' divinely-wrought armor, Achilles might have perished then and there, and Hector might have avenged the Lelegian near-and-dear to him.

That Lykaon should refract in part Patroklos' identity puts a twist of irony on Achilles' comparison of Lykaon to Patroklos: κάτθανε καὶ Πάτροκλος, ὃ περ σέο πολλὸν ἀμείνων (21.107). At the same time, part of Achilles may feel that Lykaon and Patroklos are alike, *qua* Leleges and homoerotic partners, hence his reason for calling Lykaon φίλος (21.106). The mapping of Lykaon onto Patroklos also results in a structural pattern in the *Iliad*: the two foremost victims of Achilles in the river, Lykaon and Asteropaios successively, are respectively doubles of Patroklos *and of Achilles himself*: Asteropaios, whose death follows that of Lykaon, is a double of Achilles.¹⁵⁴⁸ In other words, Achilles slays in the river, back to back, first a double of Patroklos and then a double of himself.

¹⁵⁴⁸ As argued extensively in my MA thesis "the Mitoses of Achilles." A metagrammatical reading of Asteropaios' patronymic equates it with Achilles' own patronymic: for instance, when the Homeric narrator says at *Iliad* 21.152, in reference to Asteropaios: Τὸν δ' αὖ Πηλεγόνοσ προσεφώνεε..., it is as if, for a moment, Homer is saying "And so *the son of Peleus* [Πηλε-γόνοσ] replied to him," as if *Pelegonos* is a nominative singular, subject of the verb προσεφώνεε, cf. Achilles' Trojan victim Λαόγονοσ at 20.460 "the

3.3.10. Primordial, Fratricidal Sacrifice and the Guilt of Achilles

3.3.10.1. Achilles the Pelasgian

3.3.10.1.1. Pelasgian Argos and Pelasgian Dodona

Whereas Patroklos is Lelegian, Achilles has Pelasgian affinities, the other ancient population of the past. His territory is plainly Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος “Pelasgian Argos” (2.681). It is Achilles, and Achilles alone who calls forth from Dodona Pelasgian Zeus (Ζεῦ ἄνα Δωδωναῖε Πελασγικὲ τηλόθι ναίων: 16.233). As discussed earlier, Dodona is otherwise in the territory of Gouneus, the northernmost Achaean and arguably Phthian contingent whose territory abuts on the Peneios river, a Phthian landmark according to Hesiodic *fr.* 72. Gouneus’ name, we proposed, simply means “the Ancestor,” which coheres with his lordship of a Pelasgian Dodona, since Pelasgians were considered to be the primordial population in Greece *par excellence*, and Dodona was considered to be located in the original region of the future Hellenes.

son of the People (in arms).” But it is only when one finishes the sentence that one realizes that Πηλεγόνοσ could also be a genitive singular: Τὸν δ’ αὖ Πηλεγόνοσ προσεφώνεε... φαίδιμοσ υἱόσ. “And so Pelegon’s resplendent son replied to him.” But even having completed the end of the sentence, the initial reading of taking Πηλεγόνοσ as a nominative singular is still possible if one takes φαίδιμοσ υἱόσ as another nominative singular in apposition to nominative singular Πηλεγόνοσ: “And so the offspring of Peleus, a resplendent son, replied to him.” The supreme irony of this alternative reading, though, would not have been lost on an alert listener, especially as one juxtaposes this line with the next line back to back: Τὸν δ’ αὖ Πηλεγόνοσ προσεφώνεε φαίδιμοσ υἱόσ / Πηλεΐδῃ μεγάθυμε τί ἤ γενεὴν ἐρεεῖνεις = “And so the offspring of Peleus, a resplendent son, replied to him: “great-hearted McPeleus [Πηλεΐδῃ], why do you ask about my lineage?” There are other striking parallels between Achilles and Asteropaios, which I also discuss: their close, mutual connection to Apollo, Achilles’ boast to descend from Zeus whereas Asteropaios is merely the son of a river despite his transparent name “Man of Lightning,” the description of Achilles’ spear in both Aeschylus and Sophocles as “two-mouthed” or “two-headed,” which thus mirrors Asteropaios’ ambidexterity at hurling two spears at once. Aeschylus *fr.* 239: ‘δίκρουν’ γάρ, ὥστε δύο ἀκμάσ ἐχειν καὶ μιᾷ βολῆι {ὥστε} δισὰ τὰ τραύματα ἀπεργάζεσθαι. καὶ Αἰσχύ-λοσ ἐν Νηρεῖσι· ‘κάμακοσ <δ> εἶσι<ν>’ {κάμακοσ} γλώσσημα διπλοῦν’; Sophocles *fr.* F 152 Pears. ‘. ἡ δορὸσ διχόστομον πλᾶκτρον· / δίπτυχοι γὰρ ὀδύναι μιν ἤρικον / Ἀχιλλῆϊοσ δόρατοσ’. This agreement between Aeschylus and Sophocles as regards Achilles’ two-headed spear suggests that the tradition goes all the way back to the Epic Cycle. On the chronological priority of Epic Cycle material over Homeric poetry, the relative lateness of their redactions notwithstanding, see Burgess 2001 *The Tradition of the Trojan War in Homer and the Epic Cycle*.

And yet, in the *Iliad*, the Pelasgians fight on the side of the Trojans (2.840, 10.429, 17.288). It may seem somewhat troubling that the best of the Achaeans and his own territory are associated with an ethnos, who fight on the pro-Trojan, anti-Achaean side. It is impossible to begin to account for this apparent contradiction without coming to grips with the historical background of Thessaly and Greece with a two or three century temporal limit preceding the 8th/7th century BCE, the major compositional period of the Homeric poem. In a nutshell, Thessaly was the northern limit of the Greek-speaking world and was thus a liminal zone: whatever homogeneity it may have had in the LBA gave way to a great deal of heterogeneity when the great post-Mycenaean Makednian migrations took place (1200-800 BCE).

3.3.10.1.1. From Makednian Pelasgians to Hellenized Dorians

The territory of the Homeric Pelasgians (who must be distinguished from the Herodotean Pelasgians¹⁵⁴⁹) is the same as Achilles' greater Phthia, which would include Dodona and Larisa. I argue that the Homeric Pelasgians correspond to Herodotus' Makednoi,¹⁵⁵⁰ that is to say, they represent the un-Hellenized proto-Dorians: this explanation fits with a) the historical association of Epirus, then Thessaly with the proto-Dorians, and Hammond's observation that Achilles was originally a proto-Dorian hero who was primarily worshipped not only at Troy and in Thessaly, but also in the Peloponnese among the Spartans:

The connexion of Achilles with Epirus was commemorated by the worship of Achilles under the name Aspetos. He was worshipped not only in Thessaly but also in areas where invaders settled-at Tanagra, in Laconia, and in Elis, and this would be natural if they had

¹⁵⁴⁹ See other chapter.

¹⁵⁵⁰ Herodotus' 'Pelasgians' appear to have affinities with the Proto-Etruscans rather than the Dorians. The Homeric and Herodotean usage of 'Pelasgian' appear to designate different ethne. On the correctness of Herodotus' identification of the proto-Dorians with the Makednoi and their connection to Macedonia, see Hammond 1972:298.

come from Epirus, where he was the object of worship; it is therefore interesting to find that in Laconia Achilles was worshipped at Prasiae and that the shrine there was founded 'by Prax who set out from Epirus'. Neoptolemus, the son of Achilles, was even more closely connected in the epic tradition with Epirus. He and the Myrmidons were said to have founded Byllis on the coast.¹⁵⁵¹

These proto-Dorians must be distinguished from the “fully-Hellenized” Dorians of the Peloponnese and of the islands, as we know them: these Dorians are the result of invading Makednoi (who are mostly North Hellenes,¹⁵⁵² but also invading Thracians, Illyrians and possibly proto-Etruscans) and the native descendants of the Mycenaeans. The first unambiguous occurrence of the Dorians in Homeric poetry, *Odyssey* 19.177, juxtaposes them next to the Pelasgians: Δωριέες τε τριχάϊκες δῖοι τε Πελασγοί. Rather than viewing them as two unrelated populations, I propose to view the former Δωριέες τριχάϊκες as the Hellenized evolution of the δῖοι Πελασγοί: as the North Hellenic-speaking populations left Paeonia and Thessaly where they already began to mix with the indigenous Aeolians, they coalesced in Crete with the descendants of the Mycenaeans and became ‘Dorian’. The Pelasgians represent an earlier stage in history and the Dorians a more recent one.

It has often been remarked upon, rightly so, that the reference in the *Iliad* to the Rhodians’ tripartite organization into three *phyla* / *phylai* (τριχθὰ δὲ ᾠκηθεν καταφυλαδόν: *Iliad* 2.668) alludes to the Dorians’ tripartite organization. Let us recall that the mother of Tlepolemos, leader of the Rhodians, came from Epirus (2.659), seat of

¹⁵⁵¹ Hammond 1967:383

¹⁵⁵² As defined in chapter X on King Mygdon: one must re-define the Hellenic group within Indo-European to include Phrygian and Macedonian, which are closer to Greek than any other Indo-European language in terms of both morphology and vocabulary, yet did not undergo the shift from voiced aspirates (**bh*, **dh*, **gh*) to unvoiced aspirates (**ph*, **th*, **kh*), as it occurs in Greek. I therefore use the neologism ‘Hellenic’, on the basis of the Doric form of Hellenic, to include Greek, Phrygian and Macedonian within the same IE subgroup: “North Hellenic” subsumes Epirote, Macedonian and Phrygian whereas “South Hellenic” are the Greek dialects, as we know them.

Pelasgian Dodona. It may therefore be telling that the only other explicit ethnos, besides the Rhodians, whose tribal organization in *phyla* / *phylai* is mentioned in the Homeric poem, are the Pelasgians: φῦλα Πελασγῶν (2.840).¹⁵⁵³

Although the proto-Dorians end up absorbing for the most part the language of the indigenous Greek populations, there are still linguistic traces of their original language, which though very closely related to Greek (Greek and proto-Doric / ‘Makednian’ both belong to the ‘Hellanic’ subgroup within Indo-European¹⁵⁵⁴), evinces a different treatment of the IE voiced aspirates: as persuasively argued by Athanassakis, Achilles’ horse Βαλῖος / Βαλίας¹⁵⁵⁵ (**bhalios*) is the non-Greek equivalent of φαλῖος, “with a patch of white on its forehead.”¹⁵⁵⁶ The appearance of lake *Boibe* in the *Iliad* (Βοιβηΐδα λίμνην / Βοίβην: 2.711-712) similarly differs, yet compares with the Greek Φοίβη (Hesiodic *Theogony* 404); the Myrmidon Βῶρος (16.177),¹⁵⁵⁷ who marries Peleus’ daughter Polydora, may well represent **Bhōros* and be a doublet of the Phrygian

¹⁵⁵³ Neuter plural φῦλα, in non tribal sense, at *Iliad* 7.206 φῦλα Γιγάντων, 15.54 φῦλα θεῶν, φῦλα γυναικῶν (9.130). The tribal sense is also attested at 2.362 when Nestor tells Agamemnon, κρίν’ ἀνδρας κατὰ φῦλα κατὰ φρήτρας Ἀγάμεμνον, but is not explicitly associated with a particular ethnos: implicitly, it is the supra-ethnos of the Achaeans.

¹⁵⁵⁴ See elsewhere

¹⁵⁵⁵ The Iliadic manuscripts differ as to whether the name of Achilles’ horse is Βαλῖος or Βαλίας. The latter form Βαλίας, however, is likelier to be the original because in the Classical period, many polysyllabic –ος endings in Thessalian inscriptions are spelled –εσ, which García Ramón 2011, persuasively argues represents a regional schwa pronunciation. The spelling –ας of Βαλίας would be an attempt to approximate what may have been pronounced [baliās] early on.

¹⁵⁵⁶ Athanassakis 2002 assumes this non-Greek language is Illyrian, but I argue elsewhere that it is rather North Hellanic, a subgroup within ‘Hellanic’, which would have included Phrygian, Macedonian and proto-Armenian. Haudry 1987 proposed, convincingly, that Idomeneus’ recognition of Diomedes’ horse with a white patch on its forehead, (23.454-455 ἐν δὲ μετώπῳ λευκὸν σῆμα τέτυκτο περίτροχον ἥϊτε μῆνη), must have looked like Achilles’ horse Βαλῖος, because it is the definition of φαλῖος.

¹⁵⁵⁷ See Helly 2007:213.

personal name *Boras* / *Boriskos*, as Arkwright suggested,¹⁵⁵⁸ since another Βῶρος in the *Iliad* is also the name of the father of a Maeonian killed by Idomeneus (5.44).

3.3.10.1.3. The Alleged Unidentifiability of the Pelasgians

Robert Fowler's view is representative of the *communis opinio*:

To be a foil is their function... The Pelasgians are *the* pre-Greek population in Greek consciousness; and insofar as there certainly was a pre-Greek population, one might feel justified in calling them Pelasgian. But this is merely to substitute one name for another. We can say nothing whatsoever about this group as an ethnos, and it is hardly likely that the entire pre-Greek population of the Balkans and the Aegean basin was a single undifferentiated people.¹⁵⁵⁹

My profound admiration for Fowler's erudition notwithstanding, I cannot second his final conclusion. An alliance of factors, diachronic, geographic, linguistic and cultural, conspire to narrow down the possible choices of who the historical Pelasgians can possibly be, because Fowler is not disputing the fact that there must have been at some point in Greece's early history a genuine non-Greek population, which the Greeks called 'Pelasgian': rather, Fowler disputes the knowability of their identity, whereas I claim that it can be reasonably inferred and reached at, in part through a coalition of different criteria, in part by elimination: while it is extremely likely that the original Pelasgians arriving in post-Mycenaean Greece included heterogeneous elements, e.g. Illyrians and even proto-Etruscans (the vast continent of Europe lies north of the Aegean, not to mention the Anatolian coast of the Aegean, which surely was not entirely Mycenaeanized in the LBA), the majority of Pelasgians were most likely a major branch of the un-Hellenized (yet North Hellenic) Makednians. That they end up taking on a vague identity

¹⁵⁵⁸ Arkwright 1918:51. *Bhōros* seems to be further cognate with the Greek φῶρ 'thief', even 'a kind of bee' (extended *o* grade of IE **pher* 'bear', 'carry'), possibly an honorific title for a kind of ruler, cf. English *baron*, from the same root. It is tempting to surmise that this Βῶρος, Peleus' son-in-law according to the *Iliad*, was perceived to be related to Πυρρός, the name of Achilles' son.

¹⁵⁵⁹ Fowler 2013:87

does not mean that they had always been remembered in vague terms: inevitably, the more one goes back in time, the clearer the picture of their identity should be.

First, a *chronological restriction*: the constraints of an oral society, with no or little help from writing, preclude the recollection of any past ethnos beyond two or three centuries at most. Thus, with an 8th/7th century BCE compositional period for the *Iliad*, it is vain to seek Pelasgians among any *ethne*, which disappeared from Greece *later than* the 11th century BCE. In other words, there were still historical Pelasgians in Greece in the post-Mycenaean world. Second, a *geographical restriction*: the *Iliad's* association of the Pelasgians with Achilles' territory and Dodona supports the notion that the Pelasgians came from northern Greece or somewhere north of Greece. Later in the classical period, the largest region in Greece named after them is Pelasgiotis, in northern Thessaly, near the northern border of the Greek-speaking world. This concordance between historical topography over a relatively large territory, *Pelasgiotis*, and our earliest literary source, the *Iliad*, with the characterization of Achilles' territory as Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος, deeply anchors the historical Pelasgians in early Thessaly. This geographical restriction is further enhanced by Hellanikos 4F4, according to whom the consort of the eponym Pelasgos is Menippe, the daughter of the Peneios river, a traditional boundary as Greece' northernmost frontier.

Third, a *size restriction*: since in the 5th century BCE, the Pelasgians are remembered in many different parts of the Aegean, they could *not* have been a small ethnos: rather, they had to be an ethnos of some considerable size. With a diachronic restriction of two or three centuries into the past from the 8th/7th centuries BCE, our choices are very limited. Fourth, a *linguistic restriction*: the idiosyncratic Pelasgian

personal name *Teutamios*, extant in the *Iliad*, coheres with a northern origin of the Pelasgians, since the personal name is still extant in Macedonia in the early Hellenistic period. The Indo-European resonance of the name Teutamios reduces the possibility that the Pelasgians were primarily proto-Etruscan speakers. It is also not a random, arbitrary name chosen by the Homeric poet, because the same name is elsewhere attested either with the Pelasgians proper or the Kadmeian (= Makednian¹⁵⁶⁰) settlement at Priene: the Τευτάμειον.¹⁵⁶¹ The name of the oikist of Priene, *Philotas* (Strabo 14.1.12), is similarly mostly found in Macedonia. Similarly, the Homeric association of Dodona with Pelasgians, later echoed and amplified by other sources, makes it very unlikely that the bulk of the original Pelasgians were proto-Etruscans, which is what they are in the Herodotean narrative. Again, this is not to say that that among the North Aegean populations, which migrated together with the Pelasgians into Greece and beyond, there were no proto-Etruscans: there certainly were, as inscriptions at Lemnos attest.

The Homeric association of the Pelasgians with Dodona is of considerable interest because it is an oft-overlooked fact among Hellenists that the region of Dodona, Epirus, was *not* Greek in the pre-classical period: it was certainly not Greek in the Mycenaean period and was still not considered to be Greek, more than a millenium later by Strabo: as we have argued, Dodona was an originally Makednian site, which *became* a Greek center of worship only because the Hellenized descendants of these Makednians kept returning to the site in the archaic period and thereafter, thereby leading to a partially Hellenized cult center in the midst of a region, which had remained for the most part Makednian.

Combining geographic and diachronic restrictions, the choice becomes very

¹⁵⁶⁰ See section 'Kadmos the Phoenician'.

¹⁵⁶¹ Diogenes Laertius 1.88

limited: Brygians inhabited northern Epirus in the archaic period (cf. the *Telegony*), whose kinsmen in Anatolia, the Phrygians, spoke a Makednian (North Hellanic) language in Asia Minor. Herodotus also mentions Brygians in Macedonia in the late 6th century BCE. These Brygians and linguistically related populations such as the Macedonians, Mygdonians and Paeonians¹⁵⁶² must have already inhabited this entire region north of Greece from west to east in the 11th century, the latest possible date for the historical existence of the Pelasgians, because the massive presence of Phrygians is attested in Anatolia a century later, and they had to come from these regions north of Greece.

The only other populations who might meet these restrictions are the Illyrians. The Thracians can be ruled out, for there is no evidence for there ever having been any significant presence of Thracians in Epirus; their presence in western and central Macedonia is similarly scarce (Georgiev 1991). A stronger case can be made that the Pelasgians were Illyrians, as Lochner-Hüttenbach and Bonfante have argued. We have conceded that there was, in all likelihood, an Illyrian component in the ethnogenesis of the Pelasgians, whom we've categorized as one of the largest Makednian ethnē. We also seem to find the Illyrians as an adstratum among the Trojans, since a) the LBA *Drdny*, Hittite allies at the battle of Kadesh, have been plausibly identified with the Homeric Dardanians¹⁵⁶³; and b) at the same time, historical Dardanians resurface in south central Europe in the Classical period and are clearly identifiable as a belligerent tribe, with whom the Romans clashed on numerous occasions. Further, such North Aegean royal names as *Bato*, extensively studied by Katicic 1972, of which the mythical oikist of

¹⁵⁶² See section "Linguistic Homogeneity: the case for a separate Indo-European Greco-Phrygian unit: 'the Hellanic group'."

¹⁵⁶³ See Bryce 2006:136 for sources.

Cyrene *Battos* is a variation, are likely Illyrian in origin. How much Illyrian-speaking populations contributed to the ethnogenesis of the Makednians is difficult to determine.

It is misguided, however, to posit that the Pelasgians in particular or Makednians as a whole were Illyrian: the linguistic evidence of Phrygian and Armenian as North Hellenic languages suggests rather the scenario of an Illyrian minority coalescing with and becoming incorporated in a larger ‘indigenous’ Makednian majority. This scenario is also inferable from the Mycenaeanization of Greece in the Middle Bronze Age: the homeland of the proto-Mycenaeans in this earlier period was the *same* homeland as that of the Makednians in Epirus and Macedonia. The proto-Mycenaeans who were left behind naturally evolved into the Mycenaean’s northern kinsmen, the North Hellenes / Makednians: Epirotes, Paeonians, Brygians and Macedonians. Any LBA Illyrian incursions from further north into this wide semi-circular linguistic belt around Greece would be subject to contact with these by-then deeply anchored, indigenous Makednians: the end result, at least from a linguistic point of view, would be the retention of a majority of Hellenic features, augmented, however, by a palpable minority of Illyrian traits in vocabulary and possibly even grammar.

Finally, the morphological similarity of the ethnonym Πελασγός to Πελάγων, an ethnos in Paeonia / Upper Macedonia, makes it very likely that the two ethne were closely related, whereby Πελασγός plausibly stems from **Pelag-skos*, as proposed by Kretschmer. Pelasgiotis in northern Thessaly is not far from Pelagonia. Moreover, Pelagon, eponym of the Pelagones, is involved in Kadmos’ mythical foundation of Thebes, another territory with very credible ties to *historical* Pelasgian settlements. In the historical period, the Pelagones were considered to be either a Paeonian or an Upper

Macedonian ethnos: both, at any rate, were culturally and linguistically very close, both being Makednian.

A close reading of *Iliad* 5.692-698 suggests that Πελαγόνες and Πελασγοί (**Pelagskos*) had once been synonyms, with suffixed variants for the same ethnonym, comparable to the Paeonian Δέρρ-ονες, also known as the Δερσ-αῖοι:

οἱ μὲν ἄρ' ἀντίθεον Σαρπηδόνα δῖοι ἐταῖροι
εἶσαν ὑπ' αἰγιόχοιο Διὸς περικαλλεῖ φηγῶ·
ἐκ δ' ἄρα οἱ μηροῦ δόρυ μείλινον ὥσε θύραζε
ἴφθιμος Πελάγων, ὅς οἱ φίλος ἦεν ἐταῖρος.
τὸν δ' ἔλιπε ψυχὴ, κατὰ δ' ὀφθαλμῶν κέχυτ' ἀχλύς·
αὐτίς δ' ἐμπνύνθη, περὶ δὲ πνοιῇ Βορέαιο
ζῶγρει ἐπιπνείουσα κακῶς κεκαφηότα θυμόν

Sarpedon lies here wounded by the spear of Tlepolemos. That his physician of the moment, Pelagon, the eponym of the Pelagones, should be described as his dear companion (φίλος...ἐταῖρος) may surprise an Anatolianist, because Lycia is very far from Pelagonia, but it is less surprising to a Greek mythologist, who knows of the competing tradition of a Thracian Sarpedon, and not surprising at all, if one accepts, as I contend, that a Paeonian adstratum had become a part of the EIA Lycians. Sarpedon's association with Pelagon, the eponym of an Upper Macedonian ethnos, coheres with the description of the Paeonian hero Asteropaios as a 'Lycian companion' of Sarpedon in book 12 and my argument that Asteropaios is ultimately a double of the Lycian dyarchs Sarpedon and Glaukos. The same Asteropaios is the son of *Pelegon*, near eponym of the Pelagones, as Strabo points out.¹⁵⁶⁴

In addition to the telltale presence of the eponym Pelagon, three other details in

¹⁵⁶⁴ Strabo 7a.1.38. In my MA thesis, "the Mitoses of Achilles," I explain that the Homeric narrator alters the name of Asteropaios' father from Πελάγων to Πηλέγων, genitive singular Πηλεγόνος, in order to make Asteropaios come across as the Paeonian double of Achilles, against whom he is opposed in mortal combat: the genitive singular Πηλεγόνος can be read as the nominative singular "son of Peleus." Among all of our Greek and Latin sources, there is not a single attestation of the variant Pelegon as a synonym of the ethnonym Pelagon.

the vignette at *Iliad* 5.692-698 conspire to suggest that the scene of Sarpedon's agony and return to life is transposed on a symbolic level from the Trojan battle scene to *Dodona in Epirus*, seat of the Pelasgian Helloi / Selloi.¹⁵⁶⁵ Firstly, the wounded Sarpedon is leaning against a "very beautiful Valonian oak of Zeus" (Διὸς περικαλλεῖ φηγῶ). Dodona, first and foremost, conjured up the conjoined cult of Zeus and the *phēgos*, because the Zeus of Dodona was also known as Ζεύς Φηγωναῖος "Zeus of the Valonian Oak." This is shown most forcefully by Zenodotus' *uaria lectio* to *Iliad* 16.233, in which Achilles calls upon the Pelasgian Zeus of Dodona to protect Patroklos, as he returns to battle:

Ζεῦ ἄνα Δωδωναῖε Πελασγικὲ τηλόθι ναίων
 Ζεῦ ἄνα Φηγωναῖε Πελασγικὲ τηλόθι ναίων [Zenodotus]
 Δωδώνης μεδέων δυσχειμέρου, ἀμφὶ δὲ Σελλοὶ
 σοὶ ναίουσ' ὑποφῆται ἀνιπτόποδες χαμαιεῦναι¹⁵⁶⁶

One could even argue that Zenodotus' alternate reading of 16.233 reflects an earlier stage of Homeric performance because 'Dodona' is otherwise redundantly repeated in the following line, at 16.234, Δωδώνης μεδέων..., a hemistich with a clear expegetical function.

In addition to the joint presence of the eponym Pelagon and Διὸς περικαλλεῖ φηγῶ in the vignette at *Iliad* 5.692-698, the role of the Boreas (πνοιὴ Βορέας) in resuscitating Sarpedon also brings to mind the northern latitudes. Finally, the Paeonians, under whom Strabo 7a.1.38 subsumes the Pelagones (τοὺς Παίονας καλεῖσθαι Πελαγόνας), lived in the vicinity of Dodona in the historical period: τοῖς Παίοσι τοὺς ὁμόρους Δόλοπας καὶ Σελλοὺς περὶ Δωδώνην.¹⁵⁶⁷ Thus, the collocation of Sarpedon, the

¹⁵⁶⁵ I discuss this in my MA thesis, "the Mitoses of Achilles."

¹⁵⁶⁶ Quoted by Herodian 3,1.131

¹⁵⁶⁷ Strabo 1.2.20.

phēgos of Zeus, the blasts of the Boreas and the eponym Pelagon at *Iliad* 5.692-698, conjures up the cult of Zeus Phegonaios at Dodona and the presence of Pelagones nearby, an old suffixed variant of the Pelasgoi.

In light of all of the above, one can say that the Pelasgians were a major Makednian tribe.

3.3.10.1.4. The Dorian Name Among the Myrmidons:

As is well-known, there are no explicit references to the Dorians in the *Iliad*, but, given the multiplicity of eponyms and quasi-eponyms in the Trojan war, such as Teukros, Troilos and Aineias (cf. Hipponax *fr.* 72 Ῥῆσος, Αἰνειῶν πάλμυς), one could *a priori* suspect that Iliadic characters with the root *dōr* in their names *might* be cryptic eponyms of the Dorians. It turns out that the only two Achaeans in the *Iliad* with the root *dōr* in their names are Myrmidons (16.179-192):

τῆς μὲν ἰῆς στιχὸς ἦρχε Μενέσθιος αἰολοθώρηξ
υἱὸς Σπερχειοῖο διυπετέος ποταμοῖο·
ὄν τέκε Πηλῆος θυγάτηρ καλὴ Πολυδώρη
Σπερχειῶ ἀκάμαντι γυνὴ θεῶ εὐνηθεῖσα,
αὐτὰρ ἐπὶ κλησιν Βώρω Περιήρεος υἱί,
ὃς ῥ' ἀναφανδὸν ὅπυιε πορῶν ἀπερείσια ἔδνα.
τῆς δ' ἐτέρης Εὐδώρος ἀρήϊος ἡγεμόνευε
παρθένιος, τὸν ἔτικτε χορῶ καλὴ Πολυμήλη
Φύλαντος θυγάτηρ· τῆς δὲ κρατὺς ἀργεῖφόντης
ἠράσατ', ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἰδὼν μετὰ μελπομένησιν
ἐν χορῶ Ἀρτέμιδος χρυσηλακάτου κελαδεινῆς.
αὐτίκα δ' εἰς ὑπερῶ' ἀναβὰς παρελέξατο λάθρη
Ἑρμείας ἀκάκητα, πόρεν δέ οἱ ἀγλαὸν υἱὸν
Εὐδώρον πέρι μὲν θείειν ταχὺν ἠδὲ μαχητὴν.
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ τὸν γε μογοστόκος Εἰλείθυια
ἐξάγαγε πρὸ φόως δὲ καὶ ἡελίου ἴδεν ἀγᾶς,
τὴν μὲν Ἐχεκλῆος κρατερὸν μένος Ἀκτορίδαο
ἠγάγετο πρὸς δώματ', ἐπεὶ πόρε μυρία ἔδνα,
τὸν δ' ὁ γέρον Φύλας εὖ ἔτρεφεν ἠδ' ἀτίταλλεν
ἀμφαγαπαζόμενος ὡς εἴ θ' ἐὸν υἱὸν ἐόντα.

Although the actual etymology of ‘Dorian’ could point in a different direction or rather different directions,¹⁵⁶⁸ Jonathan Hall is right to suggest that the recurrent theme in

¹⁵⁶⁸ In terms of actual etymology, I am more inclined to posit a syncretistic origin of ‘Dorian’, which somewhat reflects, in fact, the Dorians’ diverse origins: Sakellariou 2009 (s.v. ‘Doriens’) reviews the dozen or so etymologies proposed for ‘Dorian’, among these, the following are the most convincing to me, they need not be mutually exclusive, as the consolidation of an ethnonym often requires a collaboration of interpretations by different groups coming together:

1) Van Windekens’ suggestion that ‘Dorian’ is an ablaut cognate of the Homeric lexemes δῆρις ‘battle’, ‘combat’, δηριάομαι ‘to contend’ deserves special consideration. The Dorians were reputed for their bellicosity. Since the personal name *Dorieus* is attested in Linear B, it is conceivable that the designation was originally in part an exonym given by the late Mycenaeans and their immediate descendants to mercenaries or autonomous bands of immigrants prone to war: “the combatants.” It is interesting, in this regard, that ‘Thessalian’, cognate with θέσσασθα “to pray for” and the noun πόθος “longing” (root **gwhehdh*), may have had a similar meaning to ‘Dorian’, if Θεσσαλός, Περθαλός or Φερταλός originally meant ‘Striver’.

2) Very closely related to the above, and not at all incompatible with it semantically, the suggestion that ‘Dorian’ stems from the root of δόρυ ‘wood’—also *spear*, Frisk ‘s.v. Δωριείς citing Schulze and Kretschmer: “Schulze *Berl. Sb.* 1910, 805ff. (= *Kl. Schr.* 127ff.) sieht in Δωριείς eine Kurzform zu Δωρί-μαχοί ‘Speerkämpfer’ (nur als EN belegt)...Nach Kretschmer *Glotta* 4, 343f. und 22, 255 wäre Δωρίς (wovon Δωριείς) eig. ‘Waldland, Baumland’. Chantraine points out that, in Boeotian and Doric, the loss of **dorw* results metathetically to δωρ-, not δουρ, as in Homeric δούρατα ‘spears’. Sakellariou’s objection that this etymology cannot be because Attic-Ionian forms show δωρ- for ‘Dorians’, not δουρ- can be readily disarmed, in any number of ways: a) the power of analogy, folk etymological connection to δῶρον ‘gift’; b) gradual adoption of the Doric form in Ionic and abandonment of the early native *dour-* forms; c) syncretism of the δόρυ root with the *o* grade of the root in δῆρις, proposed above. It would appear that the Dryopes/Deurriopes were among the invaders / immigrants to Greece in the EIA (and possibly a little earlier). Herodotus 8.21 says that *Doris*, the land of the Dorians, used to be known as *Dryopis*.

3) at the same time δόρυ *qua* ‘wood’ should be reckoned with, as proposed by Kretschmer, quoted above (Nach Kretschmer *Glotta* 4, 343f. und 22, 255 wäre Δωρίς (wovon Δωριείς) eig. ‘Waldland, Baumland’). Insofar as many of the Proto-Dorians hailed from the woodlands of the Pindus mountain range and thereabouts, it is conceivable that a number of (descendants of) Mycenaeans interpreted the nascent ‘Dorians’ as the “Woodsmen,” as a near synonym of “foreigner,” since the forest is in opposition to domesticated / civilized space. There might have been an early connotation to ‘Dorian’ of “man from the woods,” hence “man from the wilderness”, hence ‘savage’ (from the Latin **silvaticus*, “of the forest”), cf. the name of the centaur *Hylaios* “Woodsmen,” featured on the François vase in the scene depicting the scuffle between the Lapiths and the Centaurs. On the connection between the *Dryopes*, trees and primitiveness, see Fourgous 1989. The Hesychian gloss, which Fourgous 1989:11 helpfully cites to illustrate the perceived connection between ‘savagery’ and the forest = δρυμῖους· τοὺς κατὰ τὴν χώραν κακοποιούντας, may have also applied to the early use of the nascent ethnonym ‘Dorian’. Although Greek mythography (and Herodotus) makes it clear that the Dorians and the Dryopes were absolutely distinct in the eyes of the late archaic and classical Greeks (Herakles is at war with them), it is noteworthy that *Doris* used to be known as *Dryopis*. If ‘Dorian’ is a late Bronze Age / ‘early’ Early Iron Age exonym given to the immigrants / invaders from the north, they could have been termed indiscriminately “the woodsmen”, whether in part because many of them came from the forests of the Pindus and beyond or whether in part ‘woodsman’ is a generic term for ‘savage’ = *silvatici*, ‘Dryops’ would be a slightly modified re-use of the same root to denote various immigrant populations that were not necessarily related to each other. Correspondingly, the standardization of the Dorian *phyle* Ὑλλεῖς, could be construed as a cognate of ὕλη ‘forest’, ‘wood’ (even if the Ὑλλεῖς had originally been an Illyrian tribe). Significantly, the son of the king of the Dryopes is named *Hylas* (Hellanikos FHG 1 50 fr. 39, et al.) The semantic / phonetic web ‘fight(er)’ / ‘spear’ / ‘wood’ / ‘woodsman’ / ‘gift’ led to the ‘Dorians’.

4) the prolific root **dō* ‘give’, through its derivative δῶρον, naturally and melioratively grafted itself on this network of meanings

mythology, according to which the territory of the Spartans was a ‘gift’ to them from either Herakles or the gods, may point to a folk-etymological connection between the Dorians and the prolific root of δίδωμι ‘I give’, as mediated through the noun δῶρον ‘gift’.¹⁵⁶⁹ This theme suffuses the above passage, with πορῶν ἀπερείσια ἔδνα “providing unlimited wedding gifts” at 16.183 and πόρε μυρία ἔδνα “provided a myriad wedding gifts” at 16.191; also, as manifested in fertility and divine copulation Σπερχειῶ ἀκάμαντι γυνῆ θεῶ εὐνηθεῖσα at 16.182, and ἀναβὰς παρελέξατο λάθρη (Hermes) at 16.190.

Thus, the Myrmidon leader Εὐδωρος is not only the “Good Gift,” he could also be “the Good Dorian” (compare Εὐδωρος to Δῶρος, eponym of the Dorians) in accordance with Hall’s tentative analysis of Dorians = “People of the Gift.” Eudoros’ Phthian homeland is the homeland of the Dorians and perhaps most significantly, Eudoros is the grandson of *Phylas*, who ends up raising him (16.191): the grandfather’s name is reminiscent of the tribal *phylai*, an essential component of the Dorians’ organizational structure, cf Tlepolemos’ Rhodian contingent τριχθὰ δὲ ᾤκηθεν καταφυλαδόν (*Iliad* 2.668).

Remarkably, the collocation *dōr-* + *phyl-* occurs again on the same line at 23.637, δουρὶ δ’ ὑπερέβαλον Φυλῆά τε καὶ Πολύδωρον, in which Nestor recalls how in his youth he defeated *Phyleus* and a *Polydoros* at the spear throw for the funeral of Amayrnkeus. The choice of the name Πολύ-δωρ-ov here seems motivated at least in part by creating an echo of the sound δωρ- in δουρὶ,¹⁵⁷⁰ which precedes it, hence a folk-etymologized

¹⁵⁶⁹ Hall 2002:86-89.

¹⁵⁷⁰ We know otherwise nothing of Nestor’s youthful rival at the spear throw, *Polydoros*, arguably folk-etymologized as “With Many Spears.” Neither the scholiasts nor any other sources, to the best of my knowledge, say anything of him. We only know, from this Homeric passage, that 1) he is conjoined with *Phyleus* and 2) Πολύδωρον seems to echo the sound of δουρὶ on the same line.

Polydoros “Having Many Spears”¹⁵⁷¹: together with Φυλ-, these sound patterns potentially exemplify the Dorians’ etymology from *wood / spears*, as proposed by Schulze and Kretschmer: they come from the woodlands (in actuality and fantasy), were thus likely to be stereotyped as savages, with their access to abundant wood giving them proclivities for wooden spears and putting them to the use of war. Outside of Homer, the myth of another prototypical king underpins the connection of the name *Polydoros* to *wood*:

λέγεται δὲ καὶ τόδε, ὡς ὁμοῦ τῷ κεραυνῷ βληθέντι ἐς τὸν Σεμέλης θάλαμον πέσοι ξύλον ἐξ οὐρανοῦ· Πολύδωρον δὲ τὸ ξύλον τοῦτο χαλκῷ λέγουσιν ἐπικοσμήσαντα Διόνυσον καλέσαι Κάδμουν.

This *Polydoros* is the son of *Kadmos* and *Harmonia* and is thus a *Kadmeian*, which in the *Iliad* are never called ‘Achaean’, as opposed to their Argive assailants, but rather always *Καδμεῖοι*. *Strabo* lists them among the non-Greek *barbaroi*. Their fate of ruling in *Illyria* may indicate origins from *Illyria* or the direction of *Illyria*, whatever *Illyrian* ethnically means.¹⁵⁷² At all events, this *Polydoros* is associated with populations hailing from the Northern Aegean.¹⁵⁷³

This name *Polydoros* is the masculine of *Achilles*’ paternal sister *Πολυδώρα*, the only other ethnically identified Achaean with the root *dōr* in the *Iliad* besides *Εὔδωρος*: *Πολυδώρα* is impregnated by the river *Sperkheios* (16.181) and gives birth to the Myrmidon leader *Menesthes*. Pertinently, the son of *Πολυδώρα* and the river *Sperkheios*

¹⁵⁷¹ As a reminder, the short vowel of the simplex *δόρυ* may lengthen in compounds, PN *Δωρί-μαχος* “Spear Fighter”; also, within the paradigm, e.g. *δούρατα μακρὰ* (*Iliad* 5.656).

¹⁵⁷² Although a linguistically-defined *Illyrian* origin for the *Kadmeioi* cannot be ruled out, it may also be that our ancient Greek sources lump together *Illyrians* with North Hellenes (see elsewhere), whose language and habits were different enough as to induce a sentiment of alienness among the Greeks (see *Pierre Cabanes*’ various works on *Epirus*).

¹⁵⁷³ Whereas *Polydoros*’ father *Kadmos* is *Phoenician*, an ethnicity which requires qualifications, his mother *Harmonia* is from *Samothrace*. Her being the daughter of *Ares* definitely anchors her in northern Greece and the Northern Aegean (see *Tsagalis 2008*).

is named *Dryops* (potentially “Oak/Tree-faced,” “Woodsman with a connotation of Savage”), not Menesthes, according to Pherekydes *fr.* 8.¹⁵⁷⁴ Collating the maternal Πολυδώρη with the filial Δρύοψ seems to tease out the folk etymology “Much wood,”¹⁵⁷⁵ interweaving itself into the basic meaning “Many gifts.”

Be that as it may, the striking parallelism between the Myrmidons *Phylas* and his grandson *Eudoros* (who is raised by his grandfather), on the one hand, and Nestor’s otherwise unidentified, collocated rivals at the spear throw, *Phyleus* and *Polydoros*, bears dwelling upon: it could be read through the prism of the Dorian *phylai*. It is worth remembering that the Dorian question would be particularly resonant with Nestor, since he is a proto-Ionian hero and is the sole survivor of Herakles’ exterminating onslaught against the Neleids of Pylos (*Iliad* 11.689-693). Herakles was a Dorian(ized) hero and could represent, in this particular case, a distilled memory of Dorian aggression in the Peloponnese circa 1000/900 BCE. It is further significant that the only Iliadic ethnos with the cognate and Homeric precursor of φυλή = φύλον (cf. *Iliad* 2.362: κρῖν’ ἄνδρας κατὰ

¹⁵⁷⁴ Quoted by Fowler 2013:102.

¹⁵⁷⁵ Furthermore, there is a parallel between Hermes’ paternity of the Myrmidon Eudoros in the *Iliad* and Hermes’ seminal mingling with the bride/daughter of Dryops in *the Homeric Hymn to Pan* (νόμφη ἐνπλοκάμῳ Δρύοπος φύλοτῆτι μιγῆναι: 34), out of whose union Pan, god of the woods and wilderness, was born. Hermes was an appropriate father to the god of the woods as god of liminality and boundaries. As regards the *Dryopes* as an ethnos, the question of the chronology of the EIA migrations into Greece must be taken into account, since the Dryopes were among the last to arrive in Greece and were thus among the least Hellenized (see Fourgous 1989). It is uncertain, the extent to which the various Dryopes were homogeneous linguistically and culturally (the Dryopian site of Karystos on Euboea, with the characteristic Illyrian toponymic ending *-stos*, suggests that at least some of the Dryopes were of Illyrian stock), and the extent to which they felt alike or unlike vis-à-vis the various Greek populations whom they encountered in various parts of Greece, Dorians, Ionians, Aeolians (see elsewhere footnote). One thing seems rather plausible, however: although the migration of the Dryopes post-dates that of the proto-Dorians, although the two may have originally been linguistically and culturally different (the Dryopes tentatively being mostly Illyrian, the proto-Dorians being mostly Makedonian = North Hellanic), to the Greeks, the two groups seemed alien enough and from the same general forested regions in the north that variations from the same root **der(e)w-/*dr(e)w-* “Woodsmen” were applied to the one and the other, at different points in time.

φῦλα κατὰ φρήτρας Ἀγάμεμνον ¹⁵⁷⁶) are the Pelasgians = φῦλα Πελασγῶν (2.840), since the present argument identifies the Pelasgians as the Proto-Dorians.

Whereas Nestor's youthful rival Πολύδωρος is difficult to identify, even if we rely on sources outside Homer, his contiguous co-competitor Φυλεύς is likely to be the father of the insular Epeian *Meges*, lord of Dulichium and other islands off of Aetolia, since Meges is described as 'Fitzphyleus', Φυλεΐδης, ὃν τίκτε Διὶ φίλος ἱππότα Φυλεύς at *Iliad* 2.628. The Epeians or future Eleians, as discussed elsewhere, were recent newcomers to the Peloponnese from Aetolia, and originally belonged to the northwestern group before they were Hellenized.¹⁵⁷⁷ This is consistent with the pattern of Iliadic characters with *phyl-* in their name all belonging to northern Greece: Φυλομέδουσα (*Iliad* 7.10) is queen of Arne in Thessaly, early home of the proto-Boeotians.

Outside of the *Iliad*, the preponderant connection of *phyl-* names to northern Greece persists: a certain *Phyllos* was an Aetolian hero associated with swans.¹⁵⁷⁸ Alongside the Myrmidon *Phylas*, another Phylas is the king of Thesprotia according to Diodorus 4.36.1 and Apollodorus 7.6.1; he is the grandfather, via his daughter Astyoche(ia) (*Iliad* 2.658 ὃν τέκεν Ἀστυόχεια βίη Ἡρακληεΐη), of Tlepolemos, ruler of Rhodes, whose tripartite division in the *Iliad* (οἱ Ῥόδον ἀμφενέμοντο διὰ τρίχα κοσμηθέντες, 2.655) is characteristic of the division of the Dorians in three *phylai*¹⁵⁷⁹:

¹⁵⁷⁶ LSG defines φῦλον III = φυλή 11.1, clan or tribe, acc. to blood or descent, κρῖν' ἄνδρας κατὰ φῦλα, κατὰ φρήτρας *Il.* 2.362, cf. 363; cf. (*RE*) "Das Wort φυλή ist eine Neubildung innerhalb des Griechischen, von φῦλον differenziert; Homer kennt es noch nicht und verwendet, woe r unverkennbar von der φυλή spricht (Il. II 362) φῦλον dafür": κρῖν' ἄνδρας κατὰ φῦλα κατὰ φρήτρας Ἀγάμεμνον, / ὡς φρήτρα φρήτρηφιν ἀρήγη, φῦλα δὲ φύλοις.

¹⁵⁷⁷ See elsewhere.

¹⁵⁷⁸ Nicander in Antoninus Liberalis 12.

¹⁵⁷⁹ Krielaard elsewhere et al.

τριχθὰ δὲ ὄκηθεν καταφυλαδόν (*Iliad* 2.683). A third Phylas is the king of the *Dryopes*.¹⁵⁸⁰

It is noteworthy that Eudoros' vignette somewhat mirrors that of Achilles: a) one of their parents is divine; b) one of their parents abandons them and consorts with another partner¹⁵⁸¹; c) Achilles and Eudoros are both raised by elderly figures, Phoinix/Chiron and Phylas respectively; d) they both excel at running and fighting: Εὔδωρον πέρι μὲν θείειν ταχὺν ἠδὲ μαχητήν (16.186); e) *Aktor* is the grandfather of Patroklos, Achilles' therapon, who leaves his own family and joins Achilles' family; the same *Aktor* is the father of Eudoros' stepfather Echeclus, who takes Eudoros' mother away from him; f) strangely, both Achilles and Patroklos kill in books 16 and 20 a Trojan with the same name: Echeclus. There are no other Echeclus/Echekles in the *Iliad* than those three.

3.3.10.1.5. Pelasgians and the Alienation of Death

The memory of the relative 'foreignness' of these Proto-Dorians, linguistically and culturally, is the first reason why the Pelasgians fight on the side of the Trojans (2.840; 10.429; 17.288): even *Dryops*, eponym of the last wave of Balkanic immigrants into various parts of Greece, is numbered among the Trojans (*Iliad* 20.455). In the 8th century BCE, it is possible that there were still pockets of bilingual speakers in Thessaly and Boeotia, i.e. early Aeolic and Makedonian ('North Hellanic'), and that the close kinship of the latter with the Phrygian component among the Trojans (cf. such 'Greek'-sounding names as *Alexandros*) reinforced this tendency.

¹⁵⁸⁰ Phylas king of the Dryopes: Apollodorus 7.8.1

¹⁵⁸¹ That Polydora should be Peleus' daughter seems to imply Thetis' abandonment of both Peleus and Achilles.

The second reason why the Pelasgians fight on the side of the Trojans is the tendency to *foreignize the dead*: because dead ancestors are no longer part of this world but belong to another world, it is as if they joined, upon death, “another ethnicity.”

3.3.10.1.6. Aristotle’s Dodona: the Oldest Region of Greece

That Achilles’ own territory and the greater Phthia, which would include Dodona, should be characterized as Pelasgian, despite the fact that the Pelasgians fight on the side of the Trojans, has baffled commentators: it is commonly conjectured that ‘Pelasgian’ in the *Iliad*, when referring to Thessaly and Epirus, is an archaism that reflects an older state of the population, who have nothing in common with the Phthians and Myrmidons other than the territory. Elsewhere in Greek literature, mythologized (unhistorical) Pelasgians take on a generic identity: they represent the autochthonous inhabitants of various parts of Greece, with a geographic range much larger than in the *Iliad* where they are confined to Thessaly and Epirus.

From a historical standpoint, it is my current belief that the mythologized Pelasgians historically represent a large, multiethnic series of migrations who swept into Greece from the north between the end of the Bronze Age and the EIA: proto-Dorians (north Hellanes), Illyrians, Thracians, and possibly proto-Etruscans. The Homeric use of ‘Pelasgian’ is slightly more peculiar and idiosyncratic. The Homeric association of Dodona with the Pelasgians—and the general territory of Achilles must be collated with Aristotle’s statement in *Meteorologica* 352a-b, according to whom the region around Dodona and the river Acheloius was the oldest region of Greece.¹⁵⁸²

¹⁵⁸² ὥσπερ ὁ καλούμενος ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος κατακλυσμός· καὶ γὰρ οὗτος περὶ τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν ἐγένετο τόπον μάλιστα, καὶ τούτου περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὴν ἀρχαίαν. αὕτη δ’ ἐστὶν ἡ περὶ Δωδώνην καὶ τὸν Ἀχελῷον· (35) (352b.) οὗτος γὰρ πολλαχοῦ τὸ ρεῦμα μεταβέβληκεν· ὄκουν γὰρ οἱ Σελλοὶ ἐνταῦθα καὶ οἱ καλούμενοι τότε μὲν Γραικοὶ νῦν δ’ Ἕλληνες.

A number of scholars have claimed that Aristotle's reference to Dodona as the oldest region of Greece must hark back to the Middle Bronze Age (2100-1700) when the Proto-Mycenaean first descended upon Greece from Albania and Epirus.¹⁵⁸³ But the assumption that Aristotle's earliest Greece in the region of Dodona describes a migration into Greece that took place 1500 years before his time is absurd: the limited use of writing and the intercession of centuries of illiteracy make it impossible that such a distant event could be remembered.¹⁵⁸⁴ Aristotle, however, could remember, closer in time, events from the EIA and early Archaic period, the process of which started at the end of the Bronze Age: the great Dorian migrations into Greece from precisely the region of Dodona, the Pindus mountain range.

3.3.10.1.7. Homeric Pelasgians

In the *Iliad*, the two leaders of the Pelasgians, Hippothoos and Pylaios, are the sons of *Lethos* and grandsons of *Teutamos / Teutamias* = Τευταμίδαο (2.842-843); their chief city is *Larisa*, which at 17.301 is characterized as 'distant Larisa' (τῆλ' ἀπὸ Λαρίσης), that is, far from Troy. Ridgeway had it right when he understood these Pelasgians from distant Larisa to be the ones from Thessaly.¹⁵⁸⁵ On the basis of the placement of their entry in the Catalogue of Ships between Asios' contingent north of the Troad (Sestos, Abydos, Perkote, Arisbe) and the contingent of the Thracians, also north of Troy, around the Hellespont, it is often assumed that the Pelasgians of the *Iliad* are not

¹⁵⁸³ Sakellariou 2009. I say in passing that I have a great amount of respect for Sakellariou's scholarship and extraordinary comprehensiveness: I owe tremendously to his monumental research. But I cannot accept 1) the reason-defying early dates for his reconstructions of proto-Greek *ethne*, nor 2) the scenario of their existence in the Bronze Age, in most cases. 3) I also have issues with his rigid Hellenocentrism, which on multiple occasions leads him to arbitrarily favor Greek origins over other origins; 4) his overreliance on Homer and absolute faith that whatever Homer says is gospel and represents a Bronze Age capsule.

¹⁵⁸⁴ Raaflaub 1998: 386-403.

¹⁵⁸⁵ Ridgeway 1901:172.

the Pelasgians from Achilles' *Argos Pelasgikon*, but rather from somewhere closer to Troy, either in eastern Thrace or near Kyme on the Anatolian coast.¹⁵⁸⁶ Kullmann is not far from the truth as he recognizes the possible identification of the Homeric Larisa with these alternative Larissas, while at the same time associating them with the migration of populations from Thessaly to Anatolia (Nagy's split referencing); ultimately, though, Kullmann posits that Homer had the Thessalian Larissa(s) in mind.¹⁵⁸⁷

The position of the Pelasgians in the Catalogue of Ships notwithstanding, the names and ancestors of the Pelasgian leaders strongly plead in favor of identifying them with the proto-Dorians and Achilles' own territory:

1) *Teutamos* or *Teutamies* (patronymic Τευταμίδαο: 2.843), the grandfather of the Pelasgian leaders Pylaios and Hippothoos, is otherwise the son of *Doros* according to Diodorus 4.60.2, Codex Claromontanus: he leads the migration of the Pelasgians and Aeolians from Thessaly to Crete. In other manuscripts of Diodorus, his name is *Tektamos*, as also attested in Andron *fr.* 16b, who also makes Teutamos/Tektamos the son of Doros; besides Tektamos, Andron also attests *Tektaphos*, τὸν Δώρου τοῦ Ἑλλήνος, ὁρμήσαντα ἐκ τῆς ἐν Θεσσαλία...ἀφικέσθαι εἰς Κρήτην μετὰ Δωριέων τε καὶ Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Πελασγῶν¹⁵⁸⁸ In Hellanikos *fr.* 1, Teutamias is the father of the Pelasgian Nana, under whose leadership the Pelasgians leave Thessaly. Tektamos and Tektaphos are best seen

¹⁵⁸⁶ Myres 1907:174

¹⁵⁸⁷ Kullmann 2002:15. Besides the large Larissa of the Aleuadai, there was also in Thessaly Larissa Kremaste.

¹⁵⁸⁸ Quoted by Fowler 2013:341.

as phonetic offshoots of Teutamios.¹⁵⁸⁹ The likelihood that the tradition of Teutamios leading the migration of proto-Dorians and Dorians in the making into Crete is genuine lies in the west Indo-European origins of the root *teuta-*, which conceivably is traceable to an Illyrian component among the proto-Dorians (cf. the Illyrian queen *Teuta* of the Hellenistic period).

2) As Tümpel points out,¹⁵⁹⁰ the Lesbians claimed that they had once been ruled by the Pelasgian, the same as the Pelasgian Pylaios in the *Iliad*, according to Menekrates of Elaia (= Strabo 13.3.3); Mount Pylaion in Lesbos was named after him. This Pylaios explicitly hailed from Thessaly. Of great potential significance, in epigram 39 (Pf.), Callimachus connects the cult of Pylaian Demeter with the Argive king Akrisios, whom he characterizes as Pelasgian: he had allegedly founded her temple near Thermopylae: Δήμητρι τῆ Πυλαίῃ, / τῆ τοῦτον οὐκ [houk = ὁ ἐκ] Πελασγῶν / Ἀκρίσιος τὸν νηὸν ἐδείματο.¹⁵⁹¹ That Akrisios is the son of Abas, the eponym of the Epirote Abantes, lends credence to the hypothesis of a proto-Dorian migration from northern Greece. This connection of the Pelasgians to the cult of Demeter at Thermopylae is of great significance to the rise of Hellenic identity because the goddess's cult is connected to the creation of the Pylaian Amphictyony.¹⁵⁹²

¹⁵⁸⁹ Teutamios → Teytamios → Textamos → Tektamos; the third alternative Tektaphos could be the result of analogy and/or represent the b/m alternation, which is typical of names in the North Aegean, cf. Mendis vs. Bendis.

¹⁵⁹⁰ Tümpel 1890:708-715.

¹⁵⁹¹ See Mair 1921:162-163.

¹⁵⁹² See section "Theseus, the Abantes and Thracians."

3) The Homeric Pelasgians Pylaios and Hippothoos are the sons of *Lethos*. The root *Leth-* of the name corresponds to the river Ληθαῖος in Thessaly near Trikka.¹⁵⁹³

4) The only instance in which a particular Pelasgian is shown fighting at Troy in the *Iliad*, said Pelasgian falls dead on Patroklos, facing him and covering Patroklos' already dead= body (ὁ δ' ἄγχ' αὐτοῖο πέσε πρηνῆς ἐπὶ νεκρῷ / τῆλ' ἀπὸ Λαρίσης ἐριβόλακος¹⁵⁹⁴), anticipating the mingling of Achilles and Patroklos' bones in death.

Myres misses the point when he cavalierly dismisses all the evidence that the Homeric Larissa of the Pelasgian Hippothoos points to Achilles' *Argos Pelasgikon* in particular by countering that there are many Larissas all over the Aegean and therefore the value of the toponym is null.¹⁵⁹⁵

Firstly, in an epic poem in which Achilles appears center stage, it is almost impossible for an audience not to be reminded of Achilles' two Larissa(s) in Phthia, one of which was in sheer size one of the three largest cities in Thessaly, together with Pherae and Pharsalos—already in the 8th century BCE (Wace), especially when it is the hometown of the only body ever described as lying on top of Patroklos. Centuries later, Vergil could still remember the son of Peleus as *Larissaeus Achilles*.¹⁵⁹⁶ Second, as shown above, the combined names Teutamides and Pylaios point to Thessaly. Third, there is a precedent in the *Iliad* for slain Trojans to be associated with the names of the cities of Achaeans with whom they have a special connection: Phaistos, for instance, is the name of Idomeneus' first Trojan victim (5.43)—it is also the name of one the largest

¹⁵⁹³ Scherling (*RE*), s.v. 'Lethaios'.

¹⁵⁹⁴ *Iliad* 17.300-301

¹⁵⁹⁵ Myres 1907:188-189.

¹⁵⁹⁶ *Aeneid* 2.197

cities in Crete (2.648). Hippothoos, leader of the Pelasgians, is a momentary double of Achilles, ruler of Pelasgian Argos. This view is also espoused by Rabel 1990 and Nickel 2002:227-228:

Hippothous and Achilles both die far from their homeland; both their deaths result in suffering for their parents; both heroes are said to have tragically brief lives. Death far from home and the consequent suffering of parents are frequently used motifs in the descriptions of death on the *Iliad's* battlefield. However, when the two motifs are found together and combined with the rarely used adjective *μυνοθάδιος*, Hippothous begins to look different from the many battlefield dead. Cumulatively, the presence of three elements in the biography of Hippothous that are also present in the characterization of Achilles in the *Iliad* points to a conscious deployment of this minor character as an Achilles doublet. When we add to this the specific detail of the dragging of the corpse with the shield strap—a detail that may have been attached to the death of Achilles in the epic tradition—we have a case for not only an Achilles-doublet, but one who, like those already examined, serves as a doublet for the purpose of giving us a proleptic glimpse of the great hero's death.

It is also noteworthy that the otherworldly resonance of Phthia, literally “the land of Perishment,” also applies to the Homeric Pelasgians. Mair 1921:163 suspected that Demeter's epithet *Pylaia*, who is associated with the Pelasgians in epigram 39 (Pf.), is connected to Hermes' title *Πυλαῖος* as warder of the gates of Hades. The name of Hippothoos' father *Lethos* is obviously akin to the mythical river Lethe, like the river Lethaios in Thessaly, which Scherling says cultically served as “der Totenfluß der Vergessenheit.”¹⁵⁹⁷ This is unsurprising in light of the proximity of the rivers Styx and Acheron nearby.

Thus, despite the fact that the Pelasgians fight on the side of the Trojans, Achilles retains affinities with the Pelasgian ethnos of his territory, referred to as *Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος* in the Catalogue of Ships (2.681): *in death*, the Pelasgian Hippothoos and Achilles merge. This is not so surprising if one keeps in mind that a) the Homeric Pelasgians

¹⁵⁹⁷ Scherling in *RE*, s.v. ‘Lethaios’.

represent *the originally non-Greek-speaking* (= though mostly North Hellanic¹⁵⁹⁸) *proto-Dorians of Epirus and Macedonia*. who superimposed themselves on the ‘indigenous’ Mycenaeans of Thessaly and beyond between the end of the Bronze Age and the EIA (1250 BCE – 700 BCE); b) over the centuries, this new aristocratic warrior elite becomes mostly Hellenized (Aeolicized in the case of Thessaly and Boeotia; Dorianized in the Peloponnese) while contributing some of their own features. As ancestral figure of Phthia / Thessaly, Achilles represents the gray zone between these non-Mycenaean Pelasgians, the indigenous descendants of the Mycenaeans and their resultant fused offspring.

3.3.10.1.8. Achilles the Achaean and the Rise of a New Diachronically Hybrid Greek Identity

What may come across as counter-intuitive is the present contention that the Pelasgians in Thessaly are “newcomers” in relation to the Bronze Age Mycenaeans. But “newcomers” is a very relative term because they are “new” only from our historical perspective, which considers anything post-Mycenaean to be new: from the 8th century BCE Homeric perspective, however, even what is post-Mycenaean may seem very ancient indeed: the Pelasgians are implicitly portrayed as the “original” inhabitants of Phthia, even if they have only been around—as a minority—for the past five centuries, give or take.

Thus, part of why the best of the Achaeans is from Thessaly and not, say, the Peloponnese, is because Greek identity and culture in the 8th/7th century BCE results from a fusion of the indigenous descendants of the Mycenaeans and the newcomers, historical Proto-Dorians / Makednians, referred to as the Pelasgians in Homer, who arrive from

¹⁵⁹⁸ As explained elsewhere, I use the term ‘Hellanic’ to group under the same umbrella 1) the Greek dialects, as we know them and 2) Phrygian, Macedonian, Epirote and even Armenian. This latter group I call ‘North Hellanic’, while Greek proper is ‘South Hellanic’.

Epirus and Macedonia: Thessaly was the northernmost region in the ancient Mycenaean world, it is also the closest geographically to Macedonia and Epirus, homeland of the Makednians. Placing the Best of the Achaeans in Thessaly is a result of this compromise.

In an oral culture, anything beyond the horizon of two or three centuries is lost. 8th century ‘Achaean’ is not the same as late Bronze Age ‘Achaean’: the former is a negotiated memory between the natural evolution of Mycenaean society in the EIA and the influx of the new Makednian ethne. It is only in the balance of the mix that a new Greek identity and consciousness arises in most of Greece. Even from an ethnonymic perspective, continuity and discontinuity with Bronze Age Mycenaean Greece is discernible: among the three ethne to designate the Greeks in Homeric poetry, whereas ‘Achaean’ and ‘Danaan’ can be traced back to the Bronze Age *Ahhiya* (Achaeans) and *Tanayu* (Danaans) of Hittite and Egyptian records respectively, the ‘Argives’ seem rather to be an endonym used by the immigrant mostly-post-Mycenaean Makednian populations.¹⁵⁹⁹

Evidence for the tacit hybridity of Homeric Achaeanness can be seen in the pattern of marginalization from the Achaean coalition of the populations of Greece in which little admixture occurred between the ‘old’ Mycenaean component and the ‘new’ Makednian component: Epirus and Macedonia, the cradle of the Makednian / Proto-Dorian migrations, are hardly represented in the Achaean expedition,¹⁶⁰⁰ they have rather greater affinities with the Trojans; similarly, the Arcadians and the Cypriotes, whose

¹⁵⁹⁹ See end of section Kadmos ‘the Phoenician’.

¹⁶⁰⁰ Gouneus is only mentioned in the Catalogue of Ships; according to Helly’s hypothesis, Philoktetes’ contingent was not located in or near Magnesia, but rather on the border between northern Thessaly and Macedonia. As argued elsewhere, Macedonia at large is implicitly associated with the Phrygians, Trojan allies, in the figure of king Mygdon.

dialects are the closest to Mycenaean Greek and Linear B, are practically nonexistent among the Iliadic Achaeans. The Arcadians occur once in the Catalogue of Ships and once at 7.134, in which Nestor *remembers* the days of yore when he once fought Ereuthalion, the champion of the Arcadians. Outside of the Catalogue of Ships, the Homeric Arcadians are *confined to the past*; Kinyras, the king of Cyprus, gives Agamemnon a breastplate for his fight against the Trojans (11.20), but of Cypriotes fighting at Troy in the *Iliad*, there is no word.

In fact, evidence points to the tendency to ‘de-Achaeinize’ the most unmixed Makednian *and* Mycenaean *ethne* in the saga of the Trojan War: the Macedonians are best represented by the Paionians and the Phrygians, Trojan allies; in the *Cypria* and other early accounts, as attested by Archilochus P. Oxy. 4708 and Hesiod *fr.* 165, the king of the Mysians, Telephus, is characterized as Ἀρκασίδης “the offspring of Arkas,” obvious eponym of the Arcadians. That the Mysians should have been led by a ruler of Arcadian descent is unlikely to be based on any historical reality.

But from the viewpoint of the *mixed* Mycenaean / Makednian Greeks of the EIA, the disproportionately ‘purer’ Arcadians in terms of ties to the Mycenaean Greeks of the past, may have struck the more ‘mainstream’ mixed EIA Greeks as somewhat foreign. It is for this reason that the Arcadians in Hesiod (though not in Homer) become the unmediated descendants of the Pelasgians, who in fact represent the Proto-Dorians or Makednians in the Iliadic account—the other half of what becomes ‘Greek’ in the EIA. It is for this reason that the most distinctly Mycenaean and Makednian *ethne*, whose future intermixings created the majority of the Greeks of the archaic period and later, are grouped together by Apollodorus under the sons of the prototypical Arcadian king

Lykaon, despite the fact that the two groups originally stood at opposite ends of the North

/ South Hellenic spectrum:

Λυκάων ἐγένετο, ὃς βασιλεύων (5) Ἀρκάδων ἐκ πολλῶν γυναικῶν πενήκοντα παῖδας ἐγέννησε: Μελαινέα **Θεσπρωτὸν** Ἴλικά Νύκτιμον Πευκέτιον, (97.) **Καύκωνα** Μηκιστέα Ὀπλέα Μακαρέα **Μάκεδνον**, Ὅρον Πόλιχον Ἀκόντην Εὐαίμονα Ἀγκύορα, Ἀρχεβάτην Καρτέρωνα Αἰγαίωνα Πάλλαντα Εὐμόνα, Κάνηθον **Πρόθοον** Λίνον Κορέθοντα Μαίναλον, **Τηλεβόαν** Φύσιον Φάσσον **Φθίον Λύκιον**, Ἀλίφηρον Γενέτορα Βουκολίωνα Σωκλέα Φινέα, Εὐμήτην Ἀρπαλέα Πορθέα Πλάτωνα Αἴμονα, Κύναιθον Λέοντα Ἀρπάλυκον Ἡραιέα Τιτάναν, **Μαντινέα** Κλείτορα **Στύμφαλον Ὀρχομενόν** ... οὗτοι πάντας ἀνθρώπους ὑπερέβαλλον ὑπερηφανία καὶ ἀσεβεία.¹⁶⁰¹

Conclusion:

Although the *Iliad* has been sometimes contrasted with the *Cypria* to suggest that the former de-emphasizes romance, Achilles' love of Briseis and Patroklos is what drives the entire plot of the *Iliad*: in the first half, he withdraws because Briseis is taken away from him, in the latter half, Achilles returns to battle to avenge the death of Patroklos. Whereas the two loves of Achilles, Patroklos and Briseis, are ethnic Leleges, Achilles is 1) the lord of Pelasgian Argos, 2) the proleptic model of the Pelasgian Hippothoos lying prostrate on the body of Patroklos and 3) the only explicit worshipper of Pelasgian Zeus at Dodona. Thus, whether historical or mythologized, the Leleges and Pelasgians, reputed to be the two most ancient populations of Greece in our ancient sources, are allegorized and romantically associated in the love triangle connecting Achilles, Patroklos and Briseis. This is because the *Iliad* is a narrative of war and love, set in the distant past, in which multiple ethnicities come together, either clashing or collaborating; in order for this romantic triad to stand out—ethnically, the Homeric composer(s) associated the respective parties with the very oldest populations of the Aegean.

¹⁶⁰¹ Apollodorus, *Library* 3.96.3

That being said, the Pelasgians of Achilles' territory are superimposable, historically and linguistically, on the Proto-Dorians, Makednians from Epirus and Macedonia: whatever the original meaning, "Plain People" or "Sea People" (**Pelag-skoi*), the majority of the historical Pelasgians were certainly closely related to the Paeonian / Macedonian Πελαγ-όνες, as Kretschmer and Katičić have contended. As Herodotus reports, these Makednians, or rather their Hellenized descendants, become known as the 'Dorians' in the Peloponnese: this ethnonym was probably a generic exonym, used by the indigenous Greek-speaking populations of the LBA and EIA Peloponnese, which meant "People from the Woods / Wilderness" (δόρυ 1) with a connotation of "Fighters" (δῆρις) and "Spear Fighters" (δόρυ 2). The new ethnonym was also gradually associated with the semantics of δῶρον 'gift'.

The extreme proximity of "the Dorian Metropolis," the artificially small land of Doris (including the towns of Pindos, Boion, Kytenion and Erineos¹⁶⁰²) in southern Thessaly to the only named towns of Achilles' Phthia (Alos, Alope and Trachis) *within a radius of ten miles* is very telling: as documented by Hammond, Achilles was a Dorian hero. I have argued, accordingly, that the unusually high concentration of Myrmidons with *dōr-* in their names, e.g. the Myrmidon leader Εὔδωρος (grandson of Phylas, reminiscent of the Dorian *phylai*) and Achilles' own sister Πολυδώρα, are folk-etymological allusions to the proto-'Dorianness' of Achilles' own Myrmidons. From the Peloponnesian (and even insular) Dorian point of view, the overlapping of Achilles' micro-Phthia and of the Dorians' micro-Doris supports an etymological reading of Phthia

¹⁶⁰² Strabo 9.4.10.

as “land of the dead (ancestors).” This is consistent with the location of Herakles’ Mount Oita near Achilles’ town of Trachis: the Dorian hero perished there.¹⁶⁰³

One must also reckon with the immediate relevance of the Pylaian-Delphic Amphictyony and its role in the politicization of Greek identity and the semantic expansion of ‘Hellene’ to ‘Greek’. Before Delphi became the venue for the league, Anthele, near Thermopylae, had been the venue for Amphictyonic members,¹⁶⁰⁴ hence the name ‘Pylaian’, which was associated with the cult of *Pylaian Demeter* at Thermopylae. The foundation of this politically momentous cult is doubly linked to the Pelasgians, in that 1) its legendary founder Akrisios was Pelasgian, according to Callimachus (Δήμητρι τῆ Πυλαίῃ, / τῆ τοῦτον οὐκ [*houk* = ὁ ἐκ] Πελασγῶν / Ἀκρίσιος τὸν νηὸν ἐδείματο¹⁶⁰⁵); and 2) the eponym *Pylaios* is one of the co-leaders of the Pelasgians in the Catalogue of Ships. That Giovannini (1969) had cogently argued that the Catalogue of Ships availed itself of geographic data obtained from the Amphictyonic League¹⁶⁰⁶ lends special significance to Pylaios’ Homeric association with Larissa (2.840-841 Λάρισαν ἐριβόλακα...Πύλαιός) because Akrisios, the founder of the Delphic Pylaian Amphictyonic league, supposedly founded Larissa as well.¹⁶⁰⁷ Putting the dots

¹⁶⁰³ See section “Phthia, Thessalos, and the Death of Herakles.”

¹⁶⁰⁴ Hall 2002:144-145

¹⁶⁰⁵ Callimachus epigram 39. The Pelasgian ethnicity of Akrisios is independently borne out by his filial descent from Abas, eponym of the Abantes, see section “Homeric Pelasgians” above.

¹⁶⁰⁶ cf. Seaford 2012:16.

¹⁶⁰⁷ Θεσσαλίας, ἢ πρὸς τῷ Πηνειῷ, ἦν Ἀκρίσιος ἔκτισε: Steph. Byz. s.v. Λάρισα. Larissa in Pelasgiotis, home of the Aleuadai. Other sources say that Akrisios died at Larissa and was worshipped there as a hero (see Toepffer, *RE*, s.v. ‘Akrisios’). It would thus appear that the Pelasgian Pylaios from Larisa in the Iliadic Catalogue of Ships and the ‘Argive’ king Akrisios are one. Although Akrisios was obviously claimed by the Argives in the Peloponnesian Argolid as their own king (with his brother Proitos ruling over Tiryns), it seems that Akrisios had once been at an earlier stage an ‘Argive’ from *Argos Pelasgikon*. Surely, a segment of the Dorian aristocracy in EIA Argolid traveled back and forth between Argos and Larissa in

together, one can surmise that the urban fixation of Achilles' otherwise elusive Phthia in Phthiotid Achaia was a political compromise between two main contenders in the 8th/7th century BCE Greece: Thessaly, still probably known as Pelasgia or Pelasgian Argos, spearheaded by Larissa, and Argos in the 'Achaean Argos' or the Argolid in the Peloponnese. Achilles' Phthia, Herakles' Mount Oita, the Dorian Metropolis and Anthele /Thermopylae, original home of the Delphic Pylaian Amphictyonic League, lie right in the middle, within a relatively small area.

The Ethnicization of the Primordial, Fratricidal Sacrifice

That Lykaon should be a double of Patroklos, whom Achilles slays, calling him "Dear," brings to light Achilles' guilt and responsibility in the death of Patroklos: it is an allegorical way of showing that Achilles killed his own therapon. By Achilles' own admission, Thetis had warned him (18.9-11):

ὥς ποτέ μοι μήτηρ διεπέφραδε καί μοι ἔειπε ἄ
Μυρμιδόνων τὸν ἄριστον ἔτι ζῶντος ἐμεῖο
χερσὶν ὑπο Τρώων λείψειν φάος ἠελίοιο.

Putting Patroklos and Lykaon together enables us to unearth the inherited Indo-European paradigm, framing and antedating Kabeiric cult, of the primordial, fratricidal sacrifice, as forcefully proposed by Puhvel in his seminal article "Remus et Frater."¹⁶⁰⁸ In the IE Urmythos, as Puhvel reconstructs it, in the beginning of time, 'Man' sacrifices his double 'Twin': from the pieces of his body, the world in its diversity comes into existence.

Several details identify Patroklos' death as a ritual sacrifice, e.g. the manner of his

Thessaly, sharing the two cities as their places of residence. The wide diffusion of the toponym Laris(s)a in the Aegean has obscured the fact that the acropolis of Argos, named Larissa, may have been named after the Larissa in the Thessalian Pelasgiotis.

¹⁶⁰⁸ Puhvel 1975:146-157. Recently endorsed by Fortson 2011:30.

death¹⁶⁰⁹ and the comparison of his corpse to the outstretched hide of a large bull.¹⁶¹⁰

With Achilles' guilt in the death of Patroklos and role in the death of Patroklos' Lelegian ethnic double Lykaon, the *Iliad* ethnicizes the sacrificed twin.

Like Father, Like (Adopted) Son: Peleus, Achilles and Patroklos as Primordial Sacrificers

Peleus, the *phonos akousios* Recidivist

Achilles' guilt in the death of one near and dear runs in his immediate family: his equally primordial father Peleus was responsible for several troubling homicides against his near-and-dear: 1) together with Telamon, he murdered his half-brother Phokos, for which reason they were exiled from Aigina¹⁶¹¹; 2) exiled to Phthia, Peleus *kills yet again an innocent person*, 'accidentally' this time: during the Kalydonian boar hunt, he misses the beast and lethally hits his Phthian host Eurytion.¹⁶¹² Aside from the larger than life Herakles, Peleus thus seems to hold a record of killing near and dear ones. This record sits uncomfortably with competing, early accounts that Peleus was an exceptionally pious man, cf. Pindar *Isthmian* 8.40 εὐσεβέστατον φάτις Ἴωλκοῦ τράφειν πεδίον. Peleus' piety can be reconciled with his notorious homicides, however, if one reads them through the Indo-European lens of Romulus and Remus (**Yemos*) in Rome, Mannus 'Man' and Tuisto 'Twin' in Tacitus' *Germania*, or Manu 'Man' and Yama 'Twin' in early India: Peleus' *prima facie* horrendous crimes are residual instantiations of the primordial fratricidal sacrifice, a necessary evil in the process of cosmic (re-) generation.

¹⁶⁰⁹ Muellner 2004:17 "[Apollo's] πληγή corresponds to the oblique, stunning blow dealt a sacrificial animal before its throat is cut."

¹⁶¹⁰ *Iliad* 17.389-395. This striking bovine imagery is preceded at the start of book 17 by the comparison of Menelaos to a cow defending her heifer (Patroklos).

¹⁶¹¹ First attested in the *Alkmaionis*, see *RE* for sources.

¹⁶¹² See Enßlin (*RE*), s.v. 'Peleus'.

Peleus, Achilles and Patroklos as Primordial Sacrificers: Like Father, Like (Adopted) Son

With Achilles' guilt in the death of Patroklos, the Peleid merely replicates on the Trojan scene his father's status as primordial sacrificer of his twin. A telltale sign of this mechanical process of replication from father to son is the disturbing resemblance of Achilles to his uncle Phokos: a) they are both the sons of Nereids, Thetis and Psamathe respectively; b) Phokos, like Achilles, excelled in physical prowess.¹⁶¹³ Peleus' murder of the prototype of his own son is illuminated by Finlay's partly successful demonstration that the figure of Patroklos "Glory of the Father," is modeled after Achilles' father Peleus¹⁶¹⁴: Achilles, conversely, is responsible for the death of the one meant to stand in, at least in part, for his own father and more generally the father of all the Achaeans, as he himself is: the primordial ancestor.

The identity ties between Peleus and Patroklos are corroborated by some startling overlaps in terms of both their genealogies and homicides, to which little attention has been paid so far.¹⁶¹⁵ The scholiast to *Iliad* 23.89 cites several anonymous sources, according to whom Patroklos, not Peleus, slew Eurytion (οἱ νεώτεροί φασι διὰ τὸν Εὐρυτίωνος τοῦ Ἴρου φόνον). According to this alternative tradition, it is for this reason that Patroklos fled his homeland to Phthia, just as Peleus himself had fled to Phthia for murdering Phokos. Robert and Wilamowitz have defended the antiquity and authenticity of this tradition reported by the scholiast.¹⁶¹⁶ Our other sources claim, however, that Peleus is the one who accidentally killed his Phthian host Eurytion, after he had already

¹⁶¹³ For Phokos, scholiast to Euripides *Andromeda* 687; Apollodorus 3.12.6.

¹⁶¹⁴ Finlay 1980: "Patroklos, Achilleus, and Peleus: Fathers and Sons in the *Iliad*."

¹⁶¹⁵ The aforementioned Finlay does not mention them at all, as he is exclusively concerned with the contents of the *Iliad*.

¹⁶¹⁶ Robert, *Heldensage* 73, 0; Wilamowitz, *Pindaros*, 176, 1; quoted by Enßlin (RE), s.v. 'Peleus'.

killed his own brother Phokos. Thus, Peleus' and Patroklos' status as fugitives to Phthia, coupled with their competing status as the murderer of Eurytion, plead in favor of a common archetype underlying Peleus and Patroklos.

There is more. Petersen's 2004 Hollywood movie *Troy*, featuring Brad Pitt as Achilles and Garrett Hedlund as Patroklos, has popularized the Hesiodic genealogy, according to which Achilles and Patroklos were cousins: their respective fathers Peleus and Menoitios were brothers (Hesiod *fr.* 212a). The fraternal relation between Peleus and Menoitios, however, is unattested anywhere else. Additionally, other than Telamon, Aiakos is not said to have had any other son in any of our sources. Rather than positing that the Hesiodic poet arbitrarily invented Peleus and Menoitios' status as brothers, it is alternatively conceivable that, to this Hesiodic poet, *Menoitios and Phokos were the same*: Μενοίτιος "he who Awaits his Doom" may have been a nickname given to the unfortunate youth Phokos, slain by his brothers Peleus and Telamon, just as Ἀρχέμορος "Beginning of Doom" was a nickname given to the unfortunate youth Opheltos, strangled by a snake, in whose honor the Nemean games were inaugurated.¹⁶¹⁷

The Death of Locrian Patroklos, Re-Enactment of the Death of Phokos, Eponym of the Phocians

I would further posit that, just as an ethnic divide separates Patroklos the Locrian / Lelex from Achilles, so does an ethnic divide separate Phokos, eponym of the Phocians, from Peleus. An ethnic dimension is implied in Peleus' (and Telamon's) murder of their half-brother, Phokos, eponym of the Phocians. The inimical rivalry between the

¹⁶¹⁷ On the significance of the name Menoitios, see elsewhere.

Thessalians and the Phocians is widely attested.¹⁶¹⁸ Like the Locrians, the Phocians are linguistically northwestern Greek, i.e. only recently Hellenized. This correlates with the Locrians' and Phocians' reputation as 'bad Achaeans' in the *Iliad*. Phocian territory, moreover, is located right in the middle of Locris, separating Ozolian Locris from Opuntian Locris.

Whereas Oilean Ajax is ridiculed on multiple occasions and his own Locrian army avoids the heroic armor and fight with slingshots and bows, the Phocians, admittedly less visible than the Locrians at Troy, provide the Trojans with 100% cannon fodder of their known / named warriors, outside of the Catalogue of Ships: Schedios, leader of the Phocians, is the only named Phocian outside of the Catalogue of Ships. In fact, Hector kills him *twice*, once at 15.516 (ἐνθ' Ἴκτωρ μὲν ἔλε Σχεδίον Περιμήδεος υἱὸν / ἀρχὸν Φωκίων), once at 17.307 (ὁ δὲ Σχεδίον μεγαθύμου Ἰφίτου υἱὸν Φωκίων ὄχ' ἄριστον), giving rise to the scholiasts' protest that the same warrior cannot be killed twice! By way of comparison, the only named Locrian besides Oilean Ajax himself, is his bastard brother Medon. He too is given short shrift: Aineias disposes of him at 15.332. Thus, the case can thus be made that the death of Locrian Patroklos, ultimately caused by Achilles, re-enacts the death of Phokos, eponym of the Phocians, caused by Peleus.

Patroklos, the Son of Amphidamas and the Aianeion

Along similar lines, although (and because) Patroklos embodies the central, primordial sacrifice in the *Iliad*, it is revealing and at first shocking, perhaps, that Patroklos himself in his youth enacted the role of *primordial sacrificer* in his 'accidental' killing of the unnamed "son of Amphidamas" over a game of dice:

εὐτέ με τυτθὸν ἔοντα Μεινοίτιος ἐξ Ὀπόεντος

¹⁶¹⁸ See McInerney 2010.

ἤγαγεν ὑμέτερον δ' ἀνδροκτασίης ὑπο λυγρῆς,
ἤματι τῷ ὅτε παῖδα κατέκτανον Ἀμφιδάμαντος
νήπιος οὐκ ἐθέλων ἀμφ' ἀστραγάλοισι χολωθεῖς·
ἐνθά με δεξάμενος ἐν δώμασιν ἱππότη Πηλεὺς...

Like Prajāpati in India, at once the primordial “sacrifice itself, and the sacrificer” (Emily West¹⁶¹⁹), Patroklos in his youth reverse role-plays the primary role he is doomed to play at Troy. This unity of opposites in Patroklos is typical of the odd pattern of the depiction of gods in ancient Greek art, not only as recipients of sacrifice, but also as bestowers of sacrifice, as documented by Kimberley Patton.¹⁶²⁰ That Peleus, a repeat offender in wrongful homicide, should give Patroklos asylum, adds a twist of irony to his hospitality.¹⁶²¹ It also makes the association of Peleus and Patroklos less fortuitous than might otherwise appear: the names and mythologems of the two figures were both deeply rooted in anthropogony and primordial sacrifice.

Be that as it may, the deliberate omission of the name of Patroklos’ childhood victim, elliptically referred to as “the child of Amphidamas,” may conceal a primordial victim of considerable significance: at first blush, his generic name *Kleitonymos* / *Kleisonymos*, “the Famous Name,” attested as early as Pherekydes (F 65), seems to continue the pattern of concealing the name of Patroklos’ victim, an instance of taboo. Typically, however, generic names with ‘Famous’ in their root or compound, are epithets of Hades (e.g. *Klytios*)¹⁶²²: given the intimate ties between the victimizer and his

¹⁶¹⁹ Emily West 2014 “The Way of Kings with Deer is as it is with Enemies”: Five Variations on a Prominent and Recurring Constellation of Motifs in Sanskrit Epic,” *Orality and Literacy in the Ancient World XI: Voice and Voices*, Emory University.

¹⁶²⁰ Patten 2009 *Religion of the gods: ritual, paradox, and reflexivity*.

¹⁶²¹ See elsewhere for the connection between Peleus and Hades Polyxenos.

¹⁶²² See Fontenrose elsewhere.

victim,¹⁶²³ however, this is unsurprising because it is in keeping with Patroklos' own name and his appropriately fateful patronymic *Menoitios* "he who Awaits his Doom."¹⁶²⁴

According to less euphemistic sources, however, the actual name of Patroklos' victim was *Aianes* or even *Aias*!¹⁶²⁵ According to Strabo 9.4.2,

ὄτι δ' ἐξ Ὀποῦντος ἦν ὁ Πάτροκλος λέγει Ὅμηρος, καὶ διότι φόνον ἀκούσιον πράξας ἔφυγεν εἰς Πηλέα, ὁ δὲ πατήρ Μενoitίος ἔμεινεν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι· ἐκεῖσε γάρ (25) φησιν ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς ὑποσχέσθαι τῷ Μενoitίῳ κατάξειν τὸν Πάτροκλον ἐκ τῆς στρατείας ἐπανελθόντα. οὐ μὴν ἐβασίλευέ γε ἐκεῖνος τῶν Ὀπουντίων, ἀλλ' Αἴας ὁ Λοκρός, πατρίδος ὄν, ὧς φασι, Ναρυῦκου. Αἰάνην δ' ὀνομάζουσι τὸν ἀναιρεθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Πατρόκλου, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τέμενος Αἰάνειον δαίκνυται καὶ κρήνη τις Αἰανίς.

Although Strabo, the Homeric exegete, clearly distinguishes between 'Aianes' and Aias, epichorically Locrian Ajax, he does juxtapose Aias to the *Aianeion* sanctuary and the spring *Aianis*. Patroklos' victim Aias / Aianes and Patroklos' birthplace at Opous remind us that Patroklos is a Locrian hero. John Fossey, however, in his monograph *the Ancient Topography of Opountian Lokris* (1990), cast doubts on the phonetic conservatism of Strabo's Αἰάνειον and Αἰανίς, suggesting rather that they represent late regional pronunciations of an earlier *Αἰάντειον and an earlier *Αἰαντίς (cf. the silencing of the *t* in colloquial American English in such words as *coun(t)y*, *fundamen(t)al*. He further

¹⁶²³ cf. Tull 1989:46 "Despite its late appearance the notion of a primordial sacrifice of a "cosmic man" (Puruṣa Prajāpati) was not entirely unheralded in Vedic thought. In particular, the connection between the sacrifice and the sacrificer, which stands at the center of this notion, was, as Julius Eggeling noted, "an essential and intimate one from the beginning of the sacrificial practice." The sacrificial stake (*yūpa*), which was used since the Rgvedic period to bind the victim at the ritual, demonstrates this relationship between sacrificer and sacrifice. In the traditional ritual format the sacrificer (*yajamāna*) stood outside the action of the ritual, in part, to minimize the danger to his own person in his place at the center of the ritual arena an animal or another substitute victim was bound to the *yūpa*. To demonstrate the intimate relationship between the victim bound to the *yūpa* and the sacrificer standing outside the ritual arena, the *yūpa* was made to be a representation of the sacrificer himself; according to one passage in the Taittirīya-Saṃhitā, the stake was erected to the same height as the sacrificer, and thus was "as great as the sacrificer." Through his identification with the *yūpa*, the sacrificer—at least, symbolically—thus bound himself to the sacrificial victim."

¹⁶²⁴ See elsewhere.

¹⁶²⁵ Zusanek & Hoffmann 1994:481

points out that coins with Aias on them have been found at Opous¹⁶²⁶ and that the joint cult of Zeus and Aias at Opous is attested by epigraphic evidence: Δῖα καὶ Αἴαντεια.¹⁶²⁷ Αἰάνης might thus be a back-formation from the later form Αἰάνειον or it could rest on an earlier *Αἰάντης (for Homeric names ending in -ης, cf. Διώρας). Be that as it may, the alternative possibility that *Aianes* represents an independent parallel name does not hurt our argument inasmuch as different dialects and regions could append different suffixes to the ancestral name **Ai(w)a-*.

Patroklos' covert primordial sacrifice of the Aias figure is particularly resonant with the sacrificial suicide of one of the two Αἴαντε, Telamonian Ajax, as evidenced by our earliest, most detailed account of his death, Sophocles, *Ajax*:

ἔφριξ' ἔρωτι, περιχαρῆς δ' ἀνεπτάμαν.
 ἰὼ ἰὼ Πᾶν Πάν,
 ὦ Πᾶν Πᾶν ἀλίπλαγκτε, Κυλ- (695)
 λανίας χιονοκτύπου
 πετραίας ἀπὸ δειράδος φάνηθ', ὦ
 θεῶν χοροποί' ἄναξ, ὅπως μοι
 Μύσια Κνώσι' ὀρ-
 χήματ' αὐτοδαῖ ξυνὼν ἰάψης. (700)
 νῦν γὰρ ἐμοὶ μέλει χορεῦσαι.
 Ἴκαρίων δ' ὑπὲρ ἴπελαγέων†
 μολῶν ἄναξ Ἀπόλλων
 ὁ Δάλιος εὔγνωστος
 ἐμοὶ ξυνεῖη διὰ παντὸς εὐφρων. (705)
 ἔλυσεν αἰνὸν ἄχος ἀπ' ὀμμάτων Ἄρης.
 ἰὼ ἰὼ, νῦν αὔ,
 νῦν, ὦ Ζεῦ, πάρα λευκὸν εὐ-
 άμερον πελάσαι φάος
 θοᾶν ὠκυάλων νεῶν

As Martin Sicherl writes (1977:96-97):

There are many indications that the hero's suicide is to be understood as a ritual sacrifice by which he atones for his offenses against Athena and is reconciled with her. This will not be surprising if we consider the close relation between tragedy and ritual sacrifice that scholars have recently pointed out. Ajax calls himself αὐτοσφαγῆς (841); the chorus call

¹⁶²⁶ Fossey 1990:156 citing Head 1911:36

¹⁶²⁷ Fossey 1990:154

him νεοσφαγής (898). σφάζω is the technical term for slaughtering a victim. In addition, the sword is not only a weapon, but also does duty as sacrificial knife. This latter function may be indicated by σφαγεύς (815). Ajax' careful preparations for his cruel death (823 εὐσκευοῦμεν) are reminiscent of a ritual. The newly sharpened sword (820) and the invocation to the gods (824ff.) call to mind a ritual sacrifice. To be sure, he does not name Athena, but calls upon the gods of light and life, of whom he is taking leave, and the gods of death, who are shortly to welcome him. His thoughts are no longer directed towards the meaning of his death, of which he had spoken in the 'deception' speech, but to the act of suicide itself. If this is correct, then the words of the chorus near the end of the rejoicing hymn tell us, through the medium of tragic irony, what really happened (710-13): 'Ajax, forgetting his trouble, has performed a complete sacrifice with all due rites, in perfection of loyal worship.' Sacrificial priest and victim are here the same.¹⁶²⁸

One is reminded of Odin's self-sacrifice by hanging from the world tree Yggdrasill and piercing himself with his spear.¹⁶²⁹

Patroklos' Locrian compatriot Oilean Ajax, to the best of my knowledge, does not come across as a primordial sacrifice pursuant to the strict criterion of the victim's innocence—he was guilty of Cassandra's (/attempted) rape in the temple of Athena. Moreover, he did not willingly die, far from it. But his responsibility in the collective deaths of so many Greeks at sea, (cf. Lycophron, *Alexandra* 365-366: Ἐνὸς δὲ λώβης ἀντί, μυρίων τέκνων / Ἑλλάς στενάξει πᾶσα τοὺς κενοὺς τάφους¹⁶³⁰), as mediated by Athena's punishing the Achaeans as a whole for the crime of a single man, shows that the name and the figure of the lesser Ajax constituted a lynchpin in the mortalization of a vast segment of Trojan war participants, the Greeks' ancestors in the Heroic Age.

Of Spilt Guts and Cosmic Waters

This primordial fratricidal sacrifice further transpires in Achilles' Iliadic nemeses Hector and Asteropaios. Hector's dying in Achilles' armor, making it appear to onlookers as though Achilles slays his double, requires no further comment. I have also elsewhere

¹⁶²⁸ Guépin 1968:3-4 follows a similar analysis.

¹⁶²⁹ See Patton 2009: chapter 7: "Myself to Myself: the Norse Odin and Divine Autosacrifice."

¹⁶³⁰ cf Vergil, *Aeneid* 39-41 Pallasne exurere classem / Argium atque ipsos potuit submergere ponto, / unius ob noxam et furias Aiakis Oilei?

expatiated on the clues identifying the Paeonian hero Asteropaios as Achilles' most intricate double: Asteropaios is fleetingly Πηλεγόνος “son of Peleus” (*Iliad* 21.141 & 21.152), just as Achilles is Πηλεΐδης “son of Peleus” too.¹⁶³¹ The following supplementary comment is based on my having become recently acquainted with D’Alessio’s 2004 article “Textual Fluctuations and Cosmic Streams: Ocean and Acheloios,” in which he shows how the river Acheloios, mentioned in the confrontation between Asteropaios and Achilles, is in fact tantamount to the cosmic Okeanos, not only in this passage, but in other ancient Greek sources as well: the Acheloios had once been a rival of the Okeanos in terms of cosmic valence.

D’Alessio further drew attention to a recently elucidated line in the Orphic Derveni papyrus ἵνας δ' ἐγκατ[έλε]ξ' Ἀχελωΐου ἀργυ[ρ]οδίε[ω] “[Zeus] inserted the sinews of silver-swirling Acheloios [into his world creation],” which he likens to Hephaistos’ inserting the great might of the Ocean around Achilles’ shield,” (Ἐν δ' ἐτίθει ποταμοῖο μέγα σθένος Ὀκεανοῖο: *Iliad* 18.607) D’Alessio further writes that “Orphic Zeus was known to have created the whole world out of himself,”¹⁶³² while arguing at the same time that the Derveni papyrus author was familiar with, and influenced by the Near Eastern myth of a Zeus-like Marduk creating the world with the body parts of his dissected rival Tiamat, embodiment of the primordial waters.¹⁶³³

These Orphic and possibly Near Eastern models of cosmic creation involving Zeus or a Zeus-like figure creating the world out of himself or from the body parts of an aquatic nemesis are mirrored in the manner of Asteropaios’ death by Achilles: in the

¹⁶³¹ See elsewhere.

¹⁶³² D’Alessio 2004:21

¹⁶³³ D’Alessio 2004:27

micronarrative, it is important to keep in mind that Achilles emphasizes his connection to Zeus by saying that he is Zeus' descendant, while at the same time denigrating the fluvial ancestry of Asteropaios, whose grandfather is the great Paeonian river, the Axios.

Achilles kills Asteropaios with his sword by ripping his stomach open. “All his guts” then “spill to the ground” (*Iliad* 21.180-181):

**γαστέρα γάρ μιν τύψε παρ' ὀμφαλόν, ἐκ δ' ἄρα πᾶσαι
χύντο χαμαὶ χολάδες· τὸν δὲ σκότος ὄσσε κάλυψεν**

These two lines present two striking parallels: 1) with *Iliad* 21.196-199, only fifteen lines below, in which Achilles says that not even the great Acheloios can contend with Zeus, the Acheloios from whom *all* the rivers (πάντες ποταμοὶ), *the entire sea* (πᾶσα θάλασσα), *all* the springs (πᾶσαι κρήναι) and *all* the wells ([πάντα] φρείατα) flow:

[**Ἀχιλεὺς... ἠύδα: 21.182-183**
τῷ οὐδὲ κρείων **Ἀχελώϊος** ἰσοφαρίζει,
οὐδὲ βαθυρρεῖται **μέγα σθένος Ὀκεανοῖο,** [athetized by Zenodotos & Megakleides¹⁶³⁴]
ἐξ οὗ περ **πάντες ποταμοὶ** καὶ **πᾶσα θάλασσα**
καὶ **πᾶσαι κρήναι** καὶ **φρείατα μακρὰ** νάουσιν·

With their meandering shape, their wet texture and the emphatic *totality* of Asteropaios' guts spilling to the ground (πᾶσαι χύντο χαμαὶ χολάδες), a parallel is drawn with the subsequent totality of rivers and springs issuing forth from the Acheloios: all of the Paeonian's guts spilling to the ground clearly function in the text as a precursor and a symbol of all of the waters issuing forth from Acheloios. In other words, the Homeric

¹⁶³⁴ For Acheloios = Okeanos, see also Panyassis *fr.* 12 Bernabé together with *fr.* 2.2; *P. Oxy.* 221, Ammonios; Orphic Derveni papyrus *P. Oxy.* 221. See D'Alessio 2004. In keeping with this attestation of the root *akh- beyond the realm of rivers, extending to the sea and cosmic Okeanos, the scholiast (Dindorf) to *Odyssey* 12.39 specifies that the Sirens were the daughters of the Acheloios: Σειρήνας] κατὰ μὲν τοὺς πολλοὺς Ἀχελῷου καὶ Στερόπης τῆς Πορθάονος αἱ Σειρήνες, κατ' ἐνίους δὲ Ἀχελῷου καὶ Τερψιχόρης μιᾶς τῶν Μουσῶν. Apollonius of Rhodes (Σειρήνες ... Ἀχελωΐδες: *Argonautica* 4.893) and Ovid echo the same genealogy (Acheloïdes...Sirenes: *Metamorphoses* 5.552-555). This genealogy of the Sirens is only possible with the scenario of a cosmic Acheloios. Let us further keep in mind, as stated earlier, that 1) *Ino*, short for **In-akho* (root *akh), is connected to the sea and that 2) the upper course of the great river *Ach*-eloios in Aetolia and Epirus (also root *akh) was also known as the *Inachos*, lending further support for the scenario of a cosmic In-achos, since the northern reaches of Epirus are analogized to the ends of the earth (see elsewhere).

narrator adumbrates the ritual, cosmogonic scenario, in which Achilles plays the part of an orphic Zeus creating the world by sacrificing his twin Asteropaios,¹⁶³⁵ a cosmic man of sorts, thereby releasing the primordial waters. In the Derveni papyrus, sinews are the body part that give rises to the waters; in this Iliadic micronarrative, guts are implicitly the body part that give rise to the waters (in the *Enūma Eliš* quoted by d’Alessio, it is the eyes of Tiamat that give rise to the Euphrates¹⁶³⁶). The chain of events also dovetails with this subtext: all of Asteropaios’ guts spilling to the ground foreshadows the flood on the Skamandrian plain, as the Xanthos river issues forth from his bed, threatening to drown the hubristic son of Peleus.

A piece of evidence that the spilling of all of Asteropaios’ guts (πάσαι χύντο χαμαὶ χολάδες) prefigures the sacrificial release of the cosmic waters lies in the iteration of the same formula at *Iliad* 4.525-526, within a similarly intricate scene:

Ἐνθ’ Ἀμαρυγκείδην Διώρεα μοῖρα πέδησε·
 χερμαδίῳ γὰρ βλήτο παρὰ σφυρὸν ὀκροῖοντι
 κνήμην δεξιτερήν· βάλε δὲ Θρηκῶν ἀγὸς ἀνδρῶν
 Πείρωσ Ἰμβροσίδης ὃς ἄρ’ Αἰνόθεν εἰληλούθει. (520)
 ἀμφοτέρω δὲ τένοντε καὶ ὀστέα λᾶας ἀναιδῆς
 ἄχρῖς ἀπηλοίησεν· ὃ δ’ ὕππιος ἐν κονίησι
 κάππεσεν ἄμφω χεῖρε φίλοις ἐτάροισι πετάσσας
 θυμὸν ἀποπνεύων· ὃ δ’ ἐπέδραμεν ὅς ῥ’ ἔβαλέν περ
 Πείροος, οὐτα δὲ δουρὶ παρ’ ὀμφαλόν· ἐκ δ’ ἄρα πάσαι (525)
 χύντο χαμαὶ χολάδες, τὸν δὲ σκότος ὄσσε κάλυψε.
 Τὸν δὲ Θόας Αἰτωλὸς ἀπεσσύμενον βάλε δουρὶ
 στέρονον ὑπὲρ μαζοῖο, πάγη δ’ ἐν πνεύμονι χαλκός·
 ἀγγίμονον δὲ οἱ ἦλθε Θόας, ἐκ δ’ ὄβριμον ἔγχος
 ἐσπάσατο στέροιο, ἐρύσσατο δὲ ξίφος ὀξύ,
 τῷ ὃ γε γαστέρα τύψε μέσην, ἐκ δ’ αἶνυτο θυμόν.

The formulaic overlap between 4.525 and 21.182-13 extends to παρ’ ὀμφαλόν: [ἐκ δ’ ἄρα πάσαι / χύντο χαμαὶ χολάδες]. Like Asteropaios, Dioreas has fluvial connections;

¹⁶³⁵ See elsewhere on the irony of Asteropaios Zeus-like name and the irony of Achilles’ aquatic ancestry and phonetic approximation of the Acheloioides, with whom I argue Achilles is genetically related.

¹⁶³⁶ D’Alessio 1994:27

remarkably, the Aetolian Θόας (527), the avenger of Diores' death, has a fluvial connection as well (see below). Like Asteropaios who is a double of Achilles, Diores too is a double of his victimizer Πείρωσ (520) / Πείροος (525). Remarkably, Diores' fluviality and doubleness of his victimizer Peiro(os) converge: the *Peiros* was a river that flowed through Diores' territory. This assertion can be made by collating the description of Diores' territory in the Catalogue of Ships, which includes the Olenian Rock (πέτρη τ' Ὠλενίη; *Iliad* 2.617), and a Hesiodic fragment preserved by Strabo 8.3.11:

ὁ δὲ Τευθέας εἰς τὸν Ἀχελῶον ἐμβάλλει τὸν κατὰ Δύμην ρέοντα, ὁμώνυμον τῷ κατὰ Ἀκαρνανίαν, **καλούμενον καὶ Πείρον**. τοῦ δ' Ἡσιόδου εἰπόντος, ὄκειε δ' Ὠλενίην **πέτρην** ποταμοῖο παρ' ὄχθας εὐρεῖος **Πείροιο**"

The Teutheas empties into the Acheloüs which flows by Dymê and has the same name as the Acarnanian river. It is also **called the "Peirus"**; by Hesiod, for instance, when he says: "he dwelt on **the Olenian Rock** along the banks of a river, wide **Peirus**."¹⁶³⁷

In other words, Diores was slain by a Thracian with a fluctuating name Πείρωσ (4.520) / Πείροος, which is almost the same as the name of a river that flows through Diores' territory Πείρος. The fluviality of the victimizer's name Πείρωσ / Πείροος, literally "Flowing Swiftly / Strongly,"¹⁶³⁸ is further evident in another passage, *Iliad* 2.844-845, in which the name Πείροος precedes Ἑλλήσποντος ἀγάρροος "the Hellespont flowing strongly" in the following line:

Αὐτὰρ Θρήϊκας ἦγ' Ἀκάμας καὶ **Πείροος** ἦρωσ
ὄσσους Ἑλλήσποντος **ἀγάρροος** ἐντὸς ἐέργει.

The mirroring between Diores and his victimizer Peiros is amplified by a common connection to the god Hermes: Diores' own name, Διώρης, means "having two boundary

¹⁶³⁷ Translation: Horace Jones 1927 (Loeb).

¹⁶³⁸ Πείροος represents the syncopated, dactylized form of περίρροος "flowing around" or "flowing strongly" (intensive value of *peri-*), cf. Lexica Seugeriana Νάϊος Ζεύς: ὄνομα ἱεροῦ τοῦ ἐν Δωδώνῃ. Πέριρος γάρ, ὁ Ἰκάστου παῖς, τοῦ Αἰόλου, ναυαγήσας διεσώθη ἐπὶ τῆς πρύμνης, καὶ ἰδρύσατο ἐν Δωδώνῃ Διὸς ναῖου ἱερόν.

stones,” which is the *LSG*’s definition of the adjective δίωρος, a derivative of ὄρος ‘boundary’. Hermes, as epitomized by the *herm*, was *the* god of boundary stones. The Thracian Peiro(o)s, for his part, is the son of *Imbrasos* (4.520), which was the name of Hermes in Carian (Herda 2013:470).

The fluvial name of the Thracian leader Peir(o)os inscribes itself within the greater pattern of leaders from the North Aegean who are either the offspring of rivers like Asteropaios or bear themselves potamonyms: *Rhesos*, the greatest of all Thracian leaders, is also the name of a river in the Troad (12.20); the formidable Thracian king, whom Diomedes treacherously slew in his sleep, was appropriately the son of Eioneus (Ῥῆσος βασιλεὺς πάϊς Ἡιονῆος: *Iliad* 10.435), literally the son of the “Shoreman” (ἡϊών) or “Man from the Banks.”¹⁶³⁹

This brings us to another leader from the North Aegean, at least from the point of view of the Homeric Achaeans: it is a little-known remarkable fact that the avenger of Diores’ death, *Thoas* the Aetolian, is himself a potamonym according to Strabo 10.2.1:

ὁ Ἀχελῶος ποταμὸς ἐξίησιν, ὀρίζων τὴν τῶν Αἰτωλῶν παραλίαν καὶ τὴν Ἀκαρνανικὴν· ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Θόας ὁ Ἀχελῶος πρότερον. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ὁ παρὰ Δύμην ὀμώνυμος τούτῳ, καθάπερ εἴρηται

Strabo asserts that the mighty Acheloiios in Aetolia used to be known as *Thoas*, which is homonymous with the name of the leader of the Aetolians. Ancient knowledge of this homonymy might explain why it is the voice of Thoas the Aetolian, which Poseidon, a water deity, takes on, when he addresses Idomeneus (13.214-217):

τὸν δὲ προσέφη κρείων ἐνοσίχθων
εἰσάμενος φθογγὴν Ἄνδραίμονος υἱῆ Θόαντι
 ὃς πάση Πλευρῶνι καὶ αἰπεινῇ Καλυδῶνι
 Αἰτωλοῖσιν ἄνασσε, **θεὸς δ’ ὧς τίετο δῆμῳ:**

¹⁶³⁹ Alternatively, other sources name the river Strymon as Rhesos’ father (see *RE*).

The narrator's assertion that Thoas was honored as a god in all of Aetolia thus takes on a clever double entendre because indeed, the Aetolian Acheloios, formerly known as the Thoas according to Strabo, was widely worshipped as a god in Aetolia and Epirus.

Historically, Diores' Eleans were EIA migrants from Aetolia, which also partly explains why Thoas avenges Diores' death: Eleans and Aetolians were close kinsmen. The narrow connections between Aetolia and Elis also explain the numerous toponymic duplications on either side of the gulf of Corinth: to Diores' Olenian Rock in Elis corresponds the town of Olenos in Thoas' Aetolia. One such duplication is the river *Acheloios*, attested in both Aetolia and Elis: as we just saw, the Acheloios was also known as the *Thoas*, also the name of Diores' avenger. If we keep in mind Strabo 8.3.11 (ὁ δὲ Τευθέας εἰς τὸν Ἀχελῶον ἐμβάλλει τὸν κατὰ Δύμην ῥέοντα, ὁμώνυμον τῷ κατὰ Ἀκαρνανίαν, καλούμενον καὶ Πειῖρον), it becomes apparent that the Acheloios is the common glue uniting the Aetolian leader Thoas (a.k.a. Acheloios) and Diores' victimizer Peiros (a.k.a. Acheloios). The pattern thus emerges that the spilling of all of Diores' guts to the ground (πᾶσαι / χύντο χαμαὶ χολάδες) is also tantamount to a cosmic sacrifice, which results in the release of the primordial waters. Diores is slain by his fluvial and hermetic twin Peiros (= Acheloios), who in turn is slain by the third twin Thoas (= Acheloios). There is no Zeus-like sacrificer here, unlike Achilles vis-à-vis Asteropaios, instead Hermes is the divine model. In Diores' and Asteropaios' cases alike, the spilling of all their guts stands for the release of the primordial waters and it is brought about by a twin-like figure.

3.3.11. Dardanos Anēr and the Cult of the Kabeiroi

The triple convergence of 1) Achilles and Patroklos being a primordial, anthroponic-like couple (*nter alia*, Patroklos', Deukalion's and Protogeneia's hometown of Opous Deukalion's wife Pyrrha whose domain maps onto Achilles *ipse* and his family *Pyrrhaia*, *Pyrrhos* and *Pyrrha*¹⁶⁴⁰); 2) Lykaon's Lelegian and homoerotic valences as Patroklos in relation to Achilles and 3) Lykaon's connection to Kabeiric initiation, in which Dardanian EIA inhabitants of the Troad in all likelihood participated, invite us to further probe the rootedness of the mystery cult of the Kabeiroi in the death of Patroklos in particular, and the Trojan war saga in general.

3.3.11.1. Semantic Distinction Between *Dardanos*, Singular, and *Dardanoi*, Plural

The Patroklos-Lykaon nexus allows us to solve another riddle in the *Iliad*: why it is that (a) Δάρδανος ἀνὴρ is named as the killer of *both* Protesilaos at 2.701 *and* Patroklos at 16.807. The translation for Δάρδαμος ἀνὴρ is invariably “a Dardanian man.”¹⁶⁴¹ For a long time, like many others before me, I have been baffled as to why the killer(s) of Protesilaos and Patroklos should be called so, and simply not ἀνὴρ Τρῶς (or Τρῶς... ἀνὴρ¹⁶⁴²). If ‘Dardanian’ is distinct from ‘Trojan’ in the sense that Protesilaos and Patroklos’ killer(s) belonged to the distinct ethnos of the Dardanians, to which Aineias belonged, at least according to the Catalogue of Ships (cf. the scholiast’s comment on *Iliad* 2.819: Δαρδανίων αὐτ’ ἦρχεν εὐς πάϊς Ἀγχίσιος: τοὺς Τρ[ῶ]ας διέστα<λ>κεν τ(ῶν) Δαρδάνων), the question remains unanswered why the ethnicity of Protesilaos’ and

¹⁶⁴⁰ Also the Dionysiac golden urn of Patroklos’ and Achilles’ ashes, as discussed above; below, we will discuss Achilles’ connection to the primordial Pelasgians.

¹⁶⁴¹ On attempts to equate the Δάρδαμος ἀνὴρ with various figures of the Trojan War, e.g. Euphorbos, Hector, etc., see Mantero 1970:188.

¹⁶⁴² *Τρῶς ἀνὴρ would be metrically impossible in the dactylic hexameter, but the reverse ἀνὴρ Τρῶς works, as would a tmetic Τρῶς... ἀνὴρ.

Patroklos' killer should be Dardanian and what it means to be Δάρδανος ἀνήρ. At the same time, as has often been observed, Aineias is also “the leader of the Trojans,” e.g. at 5.127 Αἰνεΐας Τρώων ἀγός, so ‘Dardanian’ at best would be a Trojan subtype from the Homeric standpoint.

Aside from the homicidal Δάρδανος ἀνήρ, in the singular the simplex Δάρδανος is never found in the *Iliad*, except twice as a personal name (more below). The ethnonym ‘Dardanian’ is otherwise always plural in the *Iliad* and juxtaposed to “Trojans,” as if the two formed together a hendiadys, e.g. 7.348 κέκλυτέ μευ Τρῶες καὶ Δάρδανοι. In some languages, a semantic distinction may exist between the same noun in the singular and plural: in Latin, for example, *finis*, singular, means ‘border’, whereas *finēs*, plural, means ‘territory within those borders’.

The correctness of this reading is borne out by the other hendiadys Τρῶες καὶ Δαρδανίῳνες “Trojans and descendants of Dardanos” at 7.414 and 8.154: all the Trojans are descendants of Dardanos, first and foremost, king Priam himself, who is often referred to as Δαρδανίδης, e.g. at 7.366. This Dardanos, Stammvater of the Trojans, is one of the two exceptions, in which ‘Dardanian’ *qua* eponym occurs in the singular (20.215-219)

Δάρδανον αὖ πρῶτον τέκετο νεφεληγερέτα Ζεύς,
κτίσσε δὲ Δαρδανίην, ἐπεὶ οὐ πῶ Ἴλιος ἱρή
ἐν πεδίῳ πεπόλιστο πόλις μερόπων ἀνθρώπων,
ἀλλ’ ἔθ’ ὑπῶρείας ὄκεον πολυπίδακος Ἴδης.
Δάρδανος αὖ τέκεθ’ υἱὸν Ἐριχθόνιον βασιλῆα,

As the father of Erichthonios, whose namesake is a primordial figure in Athens, Dardanos is certainly primordial himself: he existed before the foundation of Ilios in the plains at a time when people once dwelled in the high plateaus around Mount Ida. The only other character named ‘Dardanos’ is a victim of Achilles (20.460)

αὐτὰρ ὁ Λαόγονον καὶ Δάρδανον υἷε Βίαντος
ἄμφω ἐφορμηθεὶς ἐξ ἵππων ὅσσε χαμᾶζε

The juxtaposition of this Dardanos 2 to Laogonos “Son of the People,” is highly reminiscent of Dardanos 1 in terms of primordial associations. As Wathelet comments, this Dardanos 2, together with other warriors whom Achilles slays by the river, such as Deukalion, are homonyms of anthropogonic figures.¹⁶⁴³ The brother of Dardanos 2, Laogonos, functions as an epithet of Dardanos. *Lao-gonos* as a covert epithet of Dardanos, who is otherwise a Kabeiros or Kabeiric figure, should be further collated with the Kabeiros *Prato-laos* of the Boeotian Kabeiric vase.

3.3.11.2. Protesilaos and Patroklos, Ritual Victims of the Trojan Stammvater Dardanos

On the basis of the two personal names Dardanos and by virtue of Lelegian Lykaon’s connection to the anthropogonic Kabeiroi, I submit that the identification of Protesilaos’ and Patroklos’ killer as “the Dardanian man” (Δάρδανος ἀνὴρ) is not so much a reflection of a distinct ethnic subtype in the Troad as a signal that the Kabeiric Dardanos himself, ancestor of the Trojans, carried out the execution of the primordial Protesilaos and the primordial Patroklos. Thus, their very special deaths *re-enact a primordial sacrifice of creation*, which goes back to, and is most fully illuminated by the mystery cult of the Kabeiroi, and beyond that, to Indo-European concepts of anthropogony and cosmogony. One must conceive either of Dardanos rising back to life from the dead or of the scenes of Patroklos’ and Protesilaos’ deaths traveling back in time to time zero. For such momentary transference of identity, I refer to two Sapphic poems, as analyzed by Nagy (2013:133):

In Song 31 of Sappho, the projection of identity that we see makes it possible for the singer of the song to become the bride herself and even Aphrodite herself, at least for a

¹⁶⁴³ Wathelet 1985:47.

moment, just as the singer of Song 1 of Sappho becomes Aphrodite herself for the brief moment when Aphrodite is being quoted by the singer. In the logic of Song 31, seeing Sappho as Aphrodite for a moment is just as real as seeing the bride as Aphrodite and just as real as seeing the bridegroom as Arēs.

Euphorbos, the Dardanos anēr who kills Patroklos, underlines his impersonation of the Trojan Stammvater Dardanos (= the Dardanos Man / Hero) through his emphasis on being Patroklos' *first (mortal)* killer: οὐ γάρ τις πρότερος Τρώων κλειτῶν τ' ἐπικούρων / Πάτροκλον βάλε δουρὶ κατὰ κρατερὴν ὑσμίνην (17.12-13); even the Homeric narrator, addressing Patroklos in the 2nd person singular, makes the same point: [Δάρδανος ἀνήρ] ὅς τοι πρῶτος ἐφῆκε βέλος Πατρόκλεες ἱπεῦ (16.812). In his homicide of Patroklos, himself a prototypical figure (“Glory of the Forefathers”), Euphorbos becomes the *first* Trojan = Dardanos.

We mentioned earlier Hesiodic *fr.* 177, in which it is implied that Dardanos left the island of Samothrace, cult center of the Kabeiroi, after his brother *Eetion*¹⁶⁴⁴ slept with Demeter, as a result of which Zeus struck him dead with his thunderbolt and flooded the island. A Deukalion-like Dardanos, as a result, rides the waves of the sea and escapes to Mount Ida in the Troad. The *Iliad* does not explicitly mention that Dardanos survived the flood, but it does allude to it, as Aristokles *fr.* v1.24-37 persuasively vies:

οἷος εἶναι λέγεται ὁ ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος, μέγας μὲν, οὐ πάντων δὲ κατακρατήσας· οἱ μὲν γὰρ νομεῖς καὶ ὅσοι ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι τὰς διατριβάς ἔχουσιν ταῖς ὑπωρείαις, διασώζονται, τὰ δὲ πεδία καὶ οἱ ἐν τούτοις οἰκοῦντες κατακλύζονται· οὕτω γοῦν καὶ Δάρδανον τῷ κατακλυσμῷ φασιν ἐκ Σαμοθράκης εἰς τὴν ὕστερον Τροίαν κληθεῖσαν διαηξάμενον σωθῆναι. Δέει δὲ τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος σωθέντας τὰς ὑπωρείας οἰκεῖν· ὡς δηλοῖ καὶ ὁ ποιητής, λέγων οὕτως [*Iliad* 20.215-219]

Δάρδανον αὖ πρῶτον τέκετο γεφεληγερέτα Ζεὺς·
κτίσσε δὲ Δαρδανίην· ἐπεὶ οὐπὼ Ἴλιος ἱρή
ἐν πεδίῳ πεπόλιστο, πόλις μερόπων ἀνθρώπων,
ἄλλ' ἔθ' ὑπωρείας ᾤκεον πολυπιδάκου Ἴδης.

Τὸ γὰρ ἔτι δηλοῖ τὸ μήπω αὐτοὺς καταθαρρεῖν ἐν ταῖς πεδιάσι τὰς διατριβάς ἔχειν.

¹⁶⁴⁴ Dardanos' brother Eetion is also mentioned by Hellanikos *fr.* 23. Quoted by Fowler 2013:522

In support of Aristokles' interpretation of *Iliad* 20.215-219, it is noteworthy that Mount Ida's ubiquitous epithet πολυπίδακος "of many springs" is also ascribed to Dodona in a *uaria lectio* to δυσχειμέρου at *Iliad* 16.234, a landing site of Deukalion.¹⁶⁴⁵ Moreover, with respect to line 20.215 Δάρδανον αὖ πρώτον τέκετο νεφεληγερέτα Ζεύς, even if Zeus' epithet νεφεληγερέτα is common in the *Iliad*, it seems rather strange that the Homeric composer would choose to ascribe an *a priori* generic filler to the god *qua* procreator, which in fact he is seldom shown doing in the monumental poem: 'immortal' ἀθάνατος is the most frequent epithet of a procreative Zeus, not νεφεληγερέτα, e.g. *Iliad* 14.434 Ξάνθου δινήεντος, ὃν ἀθάνατος τέκετο Ζεύς and 2.741 υἱὸς Πειριθόοιο τὸν ἀθάνατος τέκετο Ζεύς. Moreover, to the best of my knowledge, νεφεληγερέτα Ζεύς + verb τίκτω is unattested anywhere else in Greek literature.¹⁶⁴⁶ On the other hand, to anyone to whom the story of Dardanos' survival of the deluge was familiar, as Hesiod, Hellanicus, Lycophron and the scholia attest, νεφεληγερέτα takes on an ominous meaning in Δάρδανον αὖ πρώτον τέκετο νεφεληγερέτα Ζεύς.

As argued above, Dardanos' brother Eetion in the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* is alluded to in the figure of the homonymous Eetion of *Iliad* 21.43, Lykaon's Imbrian¹⁶⁴⁷

¹⁶⁴⁵ Rather πολυπιδάκου instead of πολυπίδακος, but both genitives are attested. As d'Alessio 2004:33 brilliantly points out, whether this *uaria lectio* is 'original' or 'interpolated', the intent of the epithet "of many springs" is to underscore the proximity of Dodona to the notional springs of the Acheloios, an early competitor to the Okeanos as source of all rivers: "from Kallimachos we know that Europe was the place, obviously close to Dodona, where a hundred springs mingled. In local cult this was certainly identified with a manifestation of Acheloios, and with the origin of all spring-water. Whoever first used the adjective πολυπίδακος in *Iliad* 16.234 did not do so in order to avoid δυσχειμέρου. His reason was the desire to have in this passage an allusion to one of the prominent cultic features of Dodona. The variant may well go back to Pindar's time, if not before. The connection of Dodona with the origin of all streams is also reflected in Kallimachos, who may well be also alluding to the Pindaric passage. At a later time, it is against this same cultic, mythic and textual background that Virgil in vv. 8-9 of the first book of his *Georgica* mentions both the *Chaoniam ... glandem and the pocula ... Acheloia.*"

¹⁶⁴⁶ TLG search.

¹⁶⁴⁷ As discussed above, Imbros was another major island of Kabeiric worship.

guest friend, who ransoms him back and allows him to regain the Anatolian mainland.¹⁶⁴⁸

In Hellanikos *fr.* 135, Iasion, an alternative name given to Eetion, “is the only man after the flood with seed grain, and so must re-establish agriculture”¹⁶⁴⁹: he too must be relevant since the Iliadic micronarrative of Lykaon includes the theme of having been the first to taste the *akte* of Demeter and, moreover, the nearly-identical name Jason, which otherwise alternates with Iasion as one of the names of the Kabeiroi, is involved in the ransoming of Lykaon on Lemnos. In another version of the myth, it is not Zeus who kills Dardanos’ brother on Samothrace, but Dardanos himself:

Dardanus et Iasius [=Eetion] fratres fuerunt Iovis et Electrae filii... Postea Iasium dicitur Dardanus occidisse¹⁶⁵⁰

Clement of Alexandria also mentions a fratricide among Kabeiroi (ἀδελφοκτόνω), but it is two brothers murdering a third brother, and no names are given.¹⁶⁵¹ In his discussion of the mystery cult of the Kabeiroi, Burkert compares Dardanos’ primordial fratricide to a figure named *Adamna* in the Samothracian mysteries: this *Adamna*, whose name seems to have meant ‘Beloved’ in Phrygian, was equated with Attis and identified as a primordial man (‘Urmensch’).¹⁶⁵² The connection of this murdered Kabeiric figure to Attis and an Orphic Dionysus is explicit in Clement’s aforementioned passage. We will return to the significance of this primordial fratricide in a moment.

3.3.11.3. Protesilaos in Relation to Patroklos and the Mystery Cult of the Kabeiroi

¹⁶⁴⁸ Cf. Clement of Alexandria 2.13.3 Ὅλοιοτο οὖν ὁ τῆσδε ἄρξας τῆς ἀπάτης ἀνθρώποις, εἴτε ὁ Δάρδανος, ὁ Μητρὸς θεῶν καταδείξας τὰ μυστήρια, εἴτε Ἡετίων, ὁ τὰ Σαμοθράκων ὄργια καὶ τελετὰς ὑποστησάμενος

¹⁶⁴⁹ Fowler 2013:116

¹⁶⁵⁰ Serv. *Aen.* 3.167, cf. Clem. *Protr.* 2.19 quoted by Burkert 1977:424.

¹⁶⁵¹ Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus* 2.19.4

¹⁶⁵² Burkert 1977:424.

Protesilaos: Another Patroklos vis-à-vis Achilles

To begin with my conclusion, Protesilaos was another Patroklos in pre-Homeric accounts of the Trojan War. His name is quasi-identical to the Kabeiros *Pratolaos* on the famous Kabeiric sherd. Although it is unclear whether the cult of the Kabeiroi ever was extant in Protesilaos' native Thessaly, it certainly flourished in the Thracian Chersonese where Protesilaos' cult site is located. Moreover, south of Protesilaos' own homeland, the cult of Kabeiroi is well-attested in Boeotia.¹⁶⁵³ Moreover, we may also adduce evidence that is not only external to the *Iliad* (the *Cypria*, Philostratus, etc.), but also internal to it. We noted above:

1) The striking recurrence of Δάρδακος ἀνήρ as a unique characterization of Protesilaos' and Patroklos' killer at 2.701 and 16.807-808. Let us add:

2) Achilles' and Protesilaos' tombs faced each other across the Hellespont, as later Hero and Leander would face each other across the Hellespont, further north. In one of Polygnotos' 5th century BCE art works, Protesilaos is seated with his gaze fixed on Achilles.¹⁶⁵⁴

3) Protesilaos' brother *Podarkes* replaces him after his death as co-leader of his contingent (2.704); 'swift-footed' = ποδάρκης / πόδας ὠκύς is otherwise Achilles' most common epithet.

4) The men in Protesilaos' (and Philoktetes') contingent alone, among all the Thessalian contingents, are called 'Phthians' (Φθῖοι).¹⁶⁵⁵

¹⁶⁵³ See Blakely 2006.

¹⁶⁵⁴ Pausanias 10.30.3 Πρωτεσίλαος δὲ πρὸς Ἀχιλλεῖα ἀφορᾷ καθεζόμενος. καὶ ὁ Πρωτεσίλαος τοιοῦτον παρέχεται σχῆμα.

¹⁶⁵⁵ Φθῖοι at 13.686, 13.693 and 13.699.

5) Achilles' sister is named Polydora at *Iliad* 16.175 (Πηλῆος θυγάτηρ καλή Πολυδώρη); in the *Cypria*, fr. 17, Polydora is the name of Protesilaos' wife (rather than Laodameia). Her name as feminine counterpart of the Lelex Polydoros (Lykaon's brother) and similarity to the name Pandora¹⁶⁵⁶ is consistent with the hypothesis that Protesilaos is a primordial figure.

5) When Patroklos returns to battle, the first thing he does is save Protesilaos' half-burned ship from utter destruction at 16.286. Protesilaos' half-something is otherwise his house, which he left to his newlywed wife (2.701 δόμος ἡμιτελής).¹⁶⁵⁷

6) Protesilaos' close friendship with Achilles, as evident in Philostratos' *Heroikos*.

Protesilaos and the Kabeiroi Pratolaos and Dardanos

7) Protesilaos' own name compares with Patroklos, "Glory of the Forefathers" and can be construed as 'First among the People'¹⁶⁵⁸ or in a temporal sense 'First Man'.¹⁶⁵⁹ Explains

Radke:

Methodios im Etym. M. p. 73, 11ff. vergleicht ihn mit Bildungen wie Ἀλφεισίβοια, ἐλκεσίπεπλος, πηγεσίμαλλος die durch Ablaut und Erweiterung durch eine Silbe σι aus Ἀλφόβοια ἐλκόπεπλος πηγόμαλλος entstanden seien; Protesilaos habe also ursprünglich Πρωτόλαος geheissen. (Könnte man dann vielleicht die Namen der Tritopatoren

¹⁶⁵⁶ Mantero 1970:203 notes that first fruits were offered to Polydora in Thessaly (citing Philostr. *Heroik* 130, 9 sgg. K; 143, 32 K; 153, 29 sg. K): "Polidora, chiaramente divinità della vegetazione."

¹⁶⁵⁷ See, Kretler 2006.

¹⁶⁵⁸ Maclean & Aitken 2001:XVI: "In the formulaic language of epic diction, the name Prôtesi-lâos seems to be associated with the word πρῶτος "first", in the sense that this hero was the first Achaean to die at Troy (*Iliad* 2.702 πρώτιστος). But the name seems also to be associated with the root of πέ-πρω-ται. ("it is fated," as in *Iliad* 18.329), in that Protesilaos is linked with traditional epic narratives about the fate of the Achaean λαός or "people" (Nagy, *Best of the Achaeans*, 70). A turning point in the plot of the *Iliad* is the moment when the fire of Hektor reaches the ships of the Achaeans, and here the narrative focus centers on the ship of Protesilaos himself (*Iliad* 15.704-5;716-18; cf. also 16.286). This same precise moment is figured as a turning point for the very destiny of all Hellenes as descendants of the epic Achaeans, in that the *Iliad* equates the threat of destruction for the Achaeans' ships with the threat of Perishment for the Hellenes that are yet to be (Nagy, *Best of the Achaeans*, 335-37)."

¹⁶⁵⁹ Burkert translates Pratolaos on the Kabeiric sherd as 'First Man'. Burkert translates Protesilaos as "First of Men in 1983:244

Πρωτοκλής und Πρωτοκρέων vergleichen?) Bechtel *Histor. Personennamen* 149 leitet entsprechende Namen wie Ειδεσίλεως Ἀνθεσίλας Φεδεσίλεως aus Umstellung der beiden Namensbestandteile her und setzt sie mit Λαφορείδης, Λάνθης, Λεωφείδης gleich; eine Gruppe ähnlicher Namen wie Arkesilaos usw. sind a. O. 281ff zusammengestellt. Dadurch lässt sich der Name des Protesilaos—wie notwendig – vom zweiten Gliede her etwa als, ‘der Erste im Volke’ erklären.¹⁶⁶⁰

Protesilaos would thus be an infix variant of *Protolaos*, cf. Homeric ἔλκ-εσί-πεπλος "with trailing robes" from ἔλκω + πέπλος. This last point takes us back to the mystery cult of the Kabeiroi, also known as the Samothracian Mysteries¹⁶⁶¹: on the Kabeiric sherd, one of the Kabeiroi is labeled *Pratolaos*, the Aeolic form of *Protolaos*. But the dactylic hexameter could only allow the –esi- infix variant Πρωτεσίλαος, not Πρᾶτόλᾱος. With *Iliad* 2.701-702: τὸν δ' ἔκτανε Δάρδανος ἀνὴρ / νηὸς ἀποθρόσκοντα πολὺ πρότιστον Ἀχαιῶν, we now encounter another Kabeiros, Dardanos the man. A salient Kabeiric feature uniting Protesilaos and his paradigmatic killer ‘Dardanos’ is their association with crossing the sea: Protesilaos is shown on the prow of a ship on coins as early as the Classical period and he dies leaping off a ship; Dardanos swam, sailed or was carried in a leather bag across a diluvial sea from Samothrace to Mount Ida. The one survived the landing at Troy, the other one did not.

Protesilaos and Dardanos are also associated with the Kabeiros Demeter and/or Kabeiric Cybele, of which Demeter is the default *interpretatio graeca*. Lawall has convincingly argued that the West Sanctuary at Troy, the foundations of which date back to Troy VII, was dedicated, in the historical period at least, to Samothracian cult figures, which would include Dardanos and Cybele. Dedications to Demeter have also been found

¹⁶⁶⁰ Radke in *RE*, s.v. ‘Protesilaos’

¹⁶⁶¹ I prefer the reference “Mystery cult of Kabeiroi” to “Samothracian Mysteries,” in part because Lemnos too is a major cult center of the Kabeiroi and matters to my argument concerning Lykaon.

at Troy.¹⁶⁶² On the obverse of coins showing Protesilaos and his prow, Demeter is shown. Protesilaos is also extensively associated with Demeter in that his cult and the accounts of his cyclical resurrection closely correlate with the cycles of nature. Most importantly, the only sanctuary of Demeter ever mentioned in the *Iliad* is in Protesilaos' territory: the one at Pyrasos (Πύρασον ἀνθεμόεντα / Δήμητρος τέμενος: 2.695-696). Although the cult of the Kabeiroi, which is inextricable from the cult of Demeter, is hardly attested in Thessaly,¹⁶⁶³ it is very well-attested in Boeotia nearby, as evidenced by the Kabeiric sherd. Kadmos, the legendary founder of Thebes, found his bride Harmonia in Samothrace, according to Hellanikos *fr.* 23: she is Dardanos' sister.¹⁶⁶⁴

3.3.11.4. Dardanos the Diver in relation to Protesilaos' and Kebriones' Fatal Leaps Off a Ship, and Patroklos' Fatal Leap

Another feature directly connecting Patroklos to Protesilaos, which could be labeled 'Kabeiric', is the fatal leap or near fatal leap. Remarkably, the simile in which Patroklos' last victim dies pictures someone leaping off a ship: the same exact verb ἀποθρόσκω is used to describe his leap. Patroklos' near death experience with Apollo entails his attempting to leap thrice over the topmost edge of the walls of Troy: τρίς μὲν ἔπ' ἀγκῶνος βῆ τείχεος ὑψηλοῖο (16.702). Later, Patroklos' actual death is first preceded by three leaps as well (Πάτροκλος δὲ Τρωσὶ κακὰ φρονέων ἐνόρουσε. τρίς μὲν ἔπειτ' ἐπόρουσε θοῶ ἀτάλαντος Ἄρηϊ: 16:783-784). He then leaps a fourth time, fatally—like Remus, at Rome.

¹⁶⁶² Lawall 2002:79-111

¹⁶⁶³ Hemberg 1950:45

¹⁶⁶⁴ Quoted by Fowler 2013:39:[Atlas' daughter Elektra/Elektryone] ἐγέννησε δὲ τρεῖς παῖδας, Δάρδανον τὸν εἰς Τροίαν κατοικήσαντα, ὃν καὶ Πολυάρκη φησὶ λέγεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων, καὶ Ἡετίωνα, (5) ὃν Ἰασίωνα ὀνομάζουσι, καὶ φασὶ κεραυνωθῆναι αὐτὸν ὑβρίζοντα ἄγαλμα τῆς Δήμητρος (s. F 135). τρίτην δὲ ἔσχεν Ἀρμονίαν, ἣν ἠγάγετο Κάδμος· καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῆς Ἡλεκτρίδας πύλας τῆς Θήβης

Patroklos' last victim Kebriones 'the Diver'

Right before he dies, Patroklos dispatches his last victim: Kebriones. His identity as Hector's charioteer immediately establishes a mirroring effect between the victim and his victimizer, as already noted by Robert 1901:367,¹⁶⁶⁵ since Patroklos is the charioteer of Hector's arch-nemesis Achilles. Prior to his death in book 16, Kebriones makes brief appearances in books 8, 11, 12 and 13. In his gruesome yet exceptionally meaningful death, Hector's discreet bastard brother brings together Patroklos, Protesilaos, Dardanos and the Kabeiroi (16.741-750):

ὄφθαλμοὶ δὲ χαμαὶ πέσον ἐν κονίησιν
αὐτοῦ πρόσθε ποδῶν· ὃ δ' ἄρ' ἀρνευτῆρι εἰοικῶς
κάππεσ' ἀπ' εὐεργέος δίφρου, λίπε δ' ὀστέα θυμός.
τὸν δ' ἐπικερτομέων προσέφησ Πατρόκλεες ἵππευ·
ὦ πόποι ἦ μάλ' ἐλαφρὸς ἀνὴρ, ὡς ῥεῖα κυβιστᾷ. 745
εἰ δὴ που καὶ πόντῳ ἐν ἰχθυόεντι γένοιτο,
πολλοὺς ἂν κορέσειεν ἀνὴρ ὅδε τήθεα διφῶν
νῆος ἀποθρώσκων, εἰ καὶ δυσπέμφελος εἴη,
ὡς νῦν ἐν πεδίῳ ἐξ ἵππων ῥεῖα κυβιστᾷ.
ἦ ῥα καὶ ἐν Τρώεσσι κυβιστητῆρες ἔασιν. 750 ΠΙ

A falling motion is fractally repeated in the death of Kebriones, whose name must be folk-etymologized as “the tumbler,” “the diver” (cf. 745: ὡς ῥεῖα κυβιστᾷ): first, his eyeballs fall to the dusty ground, he falls off his chariot, he is compared *to a diver leaping off a ship*, which Patroklos then, ring-compositionally and emphatically ties in with Kebriones' actual fall from his chariot. Strangely, though, as Rabel points out, “the Homeric chariot was set close to the ground, so that a fall from so low a platform seems to provide little occasion for such a comparison.”¹⁶⁶⁶

Before showing how and why Kebriones interconnects Patroklos, Protesilaos, Dardanos and the Kabeiroi, one must first provide proof of why and how the narrator

¹⁶⁶⁵ Quoted by Scherling in *RE*, s.v. ‘Kebriones’.

¹⁶⁶⁶ Rabel 1990:129

instills in his death much more significance than might appear. Once dead, the Achaeans and the Trojans vie for the possession of his armor (16.772-781)

πολλὰ δὲ Κεβριόνην ἄμφ' ὄξέα δοῦρα πεπήγει... 772
μαρναμένων ἄμφ' αὐτόν· ὃ δ' ἐν στροφάλιγγι κονίης 775
κεῖτο μέγας μεγαλωστί, λελασμένος ἵπποσυνάων...
ἐκ μὲν Κεβριόνην βελέων ἦρωα ἔρυσσαν 781

For such a shadowy and seemingly second-rate figure as Kebriones, the majestic line κεῖτο μέγας μεγαλωστί, λελασμένος ἵπποσυνάων might seem a little out of place. In the *Iliad*, the closest line refers to *Achilles* when he lies in the dust, learning of the death of Patroklos: αὐτὸς δ' ἐν κόνιησι μέγας μεγαλωστί τανυσθεῖς (18.26). What is common to Achilles and Kebriones here is...their greatness. In *Odyssey* 24.40, Kebriones' line wholesale applies to Achilles: Odysseus describes to Achilles in Hades how he appeared, at the moment of his death at Troy: κεῖσο μέγας μεγαλωστί, λελασμένος ἵπποσυνάων.

Apropos of the description of Kebriones' body, Wilcock writes (1993:253):

"This, the most impressive epitaph in the *Iliad*, was surely not created for such a relatively minor figure as Kebriones. It is used of Achilleus himself when dead at Od. XXIV 39-40 and in part for Achilleus also while still alive at XVIII 26. On the other hand, it is not likely that the application was originally to Achilleus either."

That at least in part, Kebriones' death is given significance in that it prefigures the deaths of Patroklos and Achilles is shown in part by the pattern of other prior victims of Patroklos foreshadowing his own death: for instance, his victim *Pylartes* (16.696)

"Gatekeeper" who foreshadows Patroklos' descent into Hades.¹⁶⁶⁷

The Achillean and Patroklean valences in Kebriones are certain: from the moment Apollo dazes Patroklos, all his weapons and armor *fall one by one* to the ground. But because the deaths of Patroklos and Achilles represent a primordial sacrifice and the two are veiled anthropogonic figures, the greater epic and cultic context in which they appear

¹⁶⁶⁷ Also noted by Stanley 2014:364.

must be taken into consideration. When earlier Patroklos likened Kebriones to a diver leaping off a ship, he uses the exact same verb as the verb used at *Iliad* 2.702 for Protesilaos' fatal leap: compare Kebriones' metaphorical νηὸς ἀποθρόσκων at 16.748 with Protesilaos' νηὸς ἀποθρόσκοντα at 2.702. Despite the many, extant synonyms for 'leap' in Homeric poetry, Homer uses not only the same verb θρόσκω, he also uses the same verb θρόσκω with the same adverbial prefix ἀπο-. The metaphorized Kebriones dies like Protesilaos—the other Patroklos facing Achilles across the Hellespont.

But let us recall the Stammvater of the Trojans, the Δάρδανος ἀνήρ at 2.701 and 16.807 who slew both Protesilaos and Patroklos. Lykophron, who had traveled in person to the Northeastern Aegean where the mystery cult of the Kabeiroi held sway,¹⁶⁶⁸ refers to Dardanos in the *Alexandra* as Ἀτλαντίδος / δύπτου κέλωρος “the Atlantid's [Elektra's] *diver son*” (73-74). As we read Lykophron's excerpt, let us keep in mind the vision of Kebriones as diver (73-82):

δύπτου κέλωρος, ὅς ποτ' ἐν ραπτῷ κύτει,
 ὅποια πόρκος Ἰστριεὺς τετρασκελῆς,
 ἀσκῶ μονήρης ἀμφελυτρώσας δέμας
 Ῥειθυμνιάτης κέπφος ὡς ἐνήξατο,
 Ζήρυνθον ἄντρον τῆς κυνοσφαγοῦς θεᾶς
 λιπῶν, ἐρυμνὸν κτίσμα Κυρβάντων Σάον,
 ὅτ' ἠμάθυνε πᾶσαν ὀμβρήσας χθόνα
 Ζηνὸς καχλάζων νασμός. οἱ δὲ πρὸς πέδῳ (80)
 πύργοι κατηρεῖποντο, τοὶ δὲ λισθίαν
 νήχοντο μοῖραν προῦμμάτων δεδορκότες.

I mourn for thee, my country, and for the grave of Atlas' daughter's diver son, who of old in a stitched vessel, like an Istrian fish-creel with four legs, sheathed his body in a leathern sack and, all alone, swam like a petrel of Rheithymnia, leaving Zerynthos [in Samothrace] cave of the goddess to whom dogs are slain,¹⁶⁶⁹ even Saos [Samothrace] the strong foundation of the Cyrbantes, what time the plashing rain of Zeus laid waste with deluge all the earth. And their towers were hurled to the ground, and the people set themselves to swim, seeing their final doom before their eyes.¹⁶⁷⁰

¹⁶⁶⁸ Lawall 2002:98.

¹⁶⁶⁹ For other ancient references to this cave, see Lehmann 1951:8.

¹⁶⁷⁰ Translation: Mair (Loeb).

With Euphorbos’ subsequent involvement in the death of Patroklos and his transformative characterization as Δάρδανος ἄνηρ, it is almost impossible to think that the Homeric narrator did not intend to remind his audience of Dardanos’ ordeal, as he swam across the ever-rising sea, in describing Kebriones’ metaphorical dive into to the sea: Kebriones the diver and Dardanos the diver are one. True, although Lykophron describes Elektra’s son Dardanos as her “diver son” (δύπτου κέλωρος:74), in the lines that follow, he omits the aetiology of Dardanos’ being a diver, except in the loose sense that he’s shown swimming across the sea in a leather bag: Lykophron does not mention a ship. But because Lyophron does refer to Dardanos as the diver son of Atlas’ daughter, there may have been a lost account of his leaping off a ship as well, perhaps non-lethally however. In the version preserved by the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*, fr. 177, the last line reads a single word: νηϊ “with a ship,” suggesting the possibility that Dardanos might have used a ship at some point:

Ἥλέκτρ[η (5)
 γείναθ’ [ὑποδηθεῖσα κελαινεφεῖ Κρονίωνι
 Δάρδαν[ον Ἡετίων[ά τε
 ὅς ποτε Δ[ήμητρος πολυφόρβης ἐς λέχος ἦλθε.
 καὶ τὸν μ[ὲν κατέπεφνε πατήρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε (10)
 Ἡετίωνα[ἄνακτα βαλὼν ἀργῆτι κεραυνῶι,
 οὐνεκα δ[ὲ Δήμητρι μίγη φιλότητι καὶ εὐνῆι.
 αὐτὰρ Δά[ρδανος
 ἐκ τοῦ Ἐρ[ιχθόνιος
 Ἰλός [τ’ (15)
 νηϊ[

The Crypto-Kabeiros Kebriones Re-enacting the Dive of Dardanos—and Protesilaos (and Patroklos)

The present contention that the image of Kebriones diving into the sea is modeled in part after the diluvial ordeal of the Trojan Stammvater Dardanos receives support from two consecutive details in the passage:

πολλοὺς ἄν κορέσειεν ἀνὴρ ὄδε τήθεα διφῶν
νηὸς ἀποθρόσκων, εἰ καὶ δυσπέμφελος εἴη,
ὡς νῦν ἐν πεδίῳ ἐξ ἵππων ῥεῖα κυβιστᾷ.
ἦ ῥα καὶ ἐν Τρώεσσι κυβιστητῆρες ἔασιν.

On the face of it, Patroklos' musing about a diver so stubborn to hunt for sea squirts (τήθεα) that he is willing to do so, even if the sea is rough and stormy (δυσπέμφελος), seems rather desultory. It makes more sense, though, that Patroklos would liken Kebriones' last moment in life to Dardanos' travails over the stormy sea. In support of this reading, on the very next line at 16.749, Patroklos reconnects this imaginary leap off a ship in stormy weather to Kebriones' involuntary somersault off his chariot, *onto the plain* (ὡς νῦν ἐν πεδίῳ ἐξ ἵππων): the plain was under sea when Dardanos first landed on Mount Ida.

And then there is the name Kebriones: since antiquity, it has been recognized that the river and town of Kebren, as well as the corresponding region of Kebrenia, are direct cognates of Kebriones.¹⁶⁷¹ In his 2004 discussion of the origin of the Kabeiroi, Beekes posits a pre-Greek origin and reconstructs **kabarya-*; in this pre-Greek language, “/a/ could sound as [a], [e] or [o].”¹⁶⁷² Although Beekes does not mention *Kebri-ones* as an example of a cognate of the Kabeiroi, Kebriones would meet his phonetic criterion.¹⁶⁷³

That a river and region Kebren(ia) should be immediate cognates of Kebriones is no

¹⁶⁷¹ Leaf 1911:272

¹⁶⁷² Beekes 2004:469

¹⁶⁷³ As representative of the *o* vocalism, Beekes, p 471, cites Hesychian κόβειρος ‘jester’, ‘reviler’, further citing Hemberg 1950:326 who refers to the grotesque pictures of the Kabeiroi from Thebes.

impediment to the possibility that Kebriones is an epichoric variant of Kabeiros, insofar as toponyms sometimes owe their names to figures of cult, cf. *Potidai-a* vs. *Po-t/s-ei-daon*. Thomas Friedrich was the first to propose a connection between Kebriones' Kebrene and the Kabeiroi on the basis of the proximity of Mount Kebrene to the cult of the Idaian Mother (1894:75). This connection has been deemed probable by Hemberg (1950:159):

Der Widder auf den Münzen von Kebrene kann zwar noch nicht als ein Beweis des Kabirenkultes angenommen werden, wenn er auch ein Zeugnis von einem ähnlichen Kult ist. Wenn wir aber bedenken, dass nach Strabon die Kabiren in den troischen Städten verehrt wurden und dass der Name von Kebrene vielleicht auf dieselbe Wurzel wie der der Kabiren zurückgeht, können wir nicht leugnen, dass eine gewisse Wahrscheinlichkeit dafür spricht, dass der Name der Götter auch in Kebrene eingebürgert war.

Thus, the death of Kebriones, who embodies the primordial fratricide of Kabeiros, echoes the death of Protesilaos and prefigures the death of Patroklos and near death of Dardanos. The Kabeiric framework for reading the *Iliad* harnesses Lykaon, Kebriones and Euphorbos. Euphorbos underlines his impersonation of the Trojan Stammvater Dardanos (= the Dardanos Man / Hero) through his emphasis on being Patroklos' *first (mortal)* killer: *οὐ γάρ τις πρότερος Τρώων κλειτῶν τ' ἐπικούρων / Πάτροκλον βάλε δουρὶ κατὰ κρατερὴν ὑσμίνην* (17.12-13); even the Homeric narrator, addressing Patroklos in the 2nd person singular, makes the same point: [*Δάρδανος ἀνὴρ / Εὐφορβος*] ὅς τοι *πρῶτος* ἐφῆκε βέλος Πατρόκλεος *ἰππεῦ* (16.812).

CONCLUSION

In the present dissertation, we attempted to answer a number of questions pertaining to the related topics of ethnicity and ancestry in the *Iliad*. In order to do so, it was necessary to look at the historical, linguistic, mythical and cultural background of the poem, informed not only by the principle of Ὅμηρον ἐξ Ὅμηρου σαφηνίζειν, which is

inadequate for our purposes, but also by extensive data from other sources, ranging from Herodotus to Old Phrygian inscriptions. Few are the studies that have undertaken the task of coming to grips with ethnicity in the *Iliad*. Part of the reason for this is that wrong assumptions have been made. Another factor is the relative, chronological isolation of the major compositional period of the poem in the late 8th and mid 7th centuries B.C.E.

In terms of the historical component in the *Iliad*, the present dissertation breaks ranks with many studies, which are predicated upon the assumption that Homeric poetry primarily depicts, however imperfectly, Bronze Age society, Bronze Age heroes and a Bronze Age reality. Dickinson certainly had the right idea when he wrote in his 1986 *Greece & Rome* publication "Homer, the Poet of the Dark Age," but he has been hardly followed.¹⁶⁷⁴ The title of his article also reveals a problem: Greece's "Dark Age," now generally referred to as the Early Iron Age, has very few written sources to enlighten us on contemporary events, unlike both the LBA, with Hittite, Luwian and Linear B documents, and the Archaic period, when writing reappears, imported and adapted from the Levant. As for archaeological evidence, it is useful when it shows something, e.g. a migration, a destruction or trade, but *non-evidentiary* when it shows nothing: archaeologists would do well to remember that absence of evidence is not evidence of absence. This is true of the archaeologically 'silent' migration of the Slavs and Albanians into Medieval Greece, that of the silent migration of the Galatians into Asia Minor, that of the 'Dorians' into Greece.

It is thus very tempting to overlook this obscure period and trust those among the ancient Classical Greek chroniclers who retroject "*the Trojan War*" seven centuries or so before their own time, thus allowing us to map as much as possible of what is found in

¹⁶⁷⁴ A notable exception would be Cook 2006:666-667.

the poem onto what is known of LBA events and society.

And yet, the general consensus on the 8th/7th century BCE compositional period of the *Iliad*, a time when the oral nature of society obviates the possibility of recollecting events beyond two or three centuries in the past, should leave little doubt that the poem looks straight back to EIA events and concepts, and only faintly beyond that. If anything, the 8th/7th century Ionian *Weltanschauung* had a greater impact on the reconstruction of the poem's archaizing reality than the genuine, albeit quantitatively minor LBA elements in the poem, which we are about to discuss. Along similar lines, a number of the more striking and precise similarities between Homeric society and Mycenaean society may be attributed to the tenacity of LBA traditions persisting in the EIA. The obscurity of the EIA leads to the optical illusion that the 8th/7th century (and to a certain extent 6th century) *Iliad* miraculously recovers a world from five or six centuries or so prior, nevermind the embryonic reappearance of writing at the time, following centuries of illiteracy.

Ἀχαιός is the most common ethnonym for the Greeks in the poem; it is also now agreed that the Hittite *Ahhiya* must be (the precursors of) Homer's Achaeans. LBA hangover? Not if one ignores the persistence of the living ethnonym in the intervening centuries between the LBA and the 8th/7th century BCE. In the Classical period, much of the northern Peloponnese was still known as 'Achaia', certainly independently of any Homeric influence. Still in the Classical period, a number of Greeks from Magna Graecia called themselves 'Achaean', certainly independently of Homer.

Only if one could show that poetry was the *exclusive* vehicle for transmitting the term Ἀχαιός from the LBA to the 7th century BCE and beyond, can one make the case that Ἀχαιός is a LBA hangover: this would require that the Greeks of the EIA had

completely abandoned the term as a living endonym. The assumption that Ἀχαιός is a LBA hangover ignores the persistent (albeit admittedly diminishing) use of the term in the intervening centuries as an ethnonym with which some Greek communities still identified. Thus, one could say that Ἀχαιός ‘remembers’ the LBA *Ahhiya*, but only because it remembers the EIA *Ἀχαιφός, a living ethnonym with which certainly a number of Greeks still associated themselves.

Likewise, as many have acknowledged, the 13th century BCE ruler of Wilusa *Alaksandu* is unquestionably related to the Trojan prince Ἀλέξανδρος, son of the king of the Trojans, central figure in the saga of the Trojan War. The likeliest explanation for the onomastic correspondence is not that North Aegean epic traditions miraculously preserved and fossilized the name of this particular ruler of LBA *Ilios*, but rather that *Ἀλέξανδρος had remained a traditional royal title (“Protector of Men”) and/or or name among rulers in the North Aegean throughout the subsequent centuries—and must have still been a traditional royal name among rulers in the North Aegean in the 8th/7th centuries BCE. As Hoffmann, Bury and Macurdy proposed, the popularity of the name Ἀλέξανδρος among the kings of Macedonia, from the earliest recordings of Macedonian history in the 6th century BCE (= a *terminus ante quem*) to Alexander the Great in the 4th century BCE can certainly not be ascribed to the un-heroic Homeric figure of Alexander Paris. Neither can Κασσάνδρος, the name of one of Alexander the Great’s diadochi, which is the earliest masculine name of the kind attested in Greek history according to the *LGPN* (and mostly found in Macedonia thereafter) be ascribed to a transgender emulation of the Trojan princess Cassandra, who only predicts disasters in the Trojan War epic.

Such names as Ἀλέξανδρος and Κασσάνδρος, which are also admittedly attested in Linear B (*a-re-ka-sa-da-ra* and *ke-sa-do-ro*), seem to have rather rapidly disappeared from the rest of Greece¹⁶⁷⁵ after the collapse of the LBA civilizations, but remained traditional in the North Aegean. The EIA regionalization of such names is germane to the *Iliad* because it is precisely with the *Greek-sounding* names of Homer's *Trojans* that the Macedonians, two to four centuries later, evince the greatest onomastic affinities, not to mention societal affinities, such as polygamy. Troy's connections to Phrygia and Macedonia are paramount because they provide a powerful explanatory model as to why Homer's Trojans and Achaeans are so alike—and yet different. A significant segment of these North Aegean populations were very similar to the Greeks, both culturally and linguistically, but different enough that they were generally perceived on a binary scale as 'barbarians', i.e. non-Greek.

This takes to the next major argument we have put forth in our study: to a great extent, many of the Greek-sounding names of the Trojans are not arbitrary inventions of the Aeolian and Ionian *aoidoi*, nor *interpretationes graecae* of unrelated, native Anatolian names, but genuine "Greek-like" names attested, as we saw in the North Aegean, from Macedonia to Troy, and beyond. Although it is impossible to know with certainty whether the native tongue of the 13th century ruler of Wilusa, *Alaksandus*, was Mycenaean Greek, given the 'Greekness' of his name, I have posited, rather, that he

¹⁶⁷⁵ With the interesting exception of Laconia, where the cult of Alexandra / Kassandra is attested, see Salapata 2002. Laconia is an interesting exception, in that the Spartans inherited a Makednian component. Also telling is that the only other area where the cult of Kassandra is attested is among the non-Greek Daunians in southern Italy. In the present dissertation, I call into question the *stricto sensu* Greek origin of a number of Greek-sounding names among non-Greek populations, which are traceable to the LBA or EIA: it is systematically assumed among scholars that these are cases of "borrowings from the Greeks": while this may be true in some and even many instances, in some other cases, the origin is Makednian ("North Hellanic"), which I argue forms a linguistic unit within IE with Greek, without itself, though, being Greek. See section "The Lexical and Grammatical Idiosyncrasies of Proto-Doric / Makednian."

would have spoken an early form of Phrygo-Macedonian, which I have referred to as ‘Makednian’, adapting a term used by Herodotus to designate the Pre-Peloponnesian proto-Dorians. The Makednian group of languages / dialects is *not* Greek, but it is Greek’s *closest* linguistic relative: together, Greek and Makednian form a larger group within Indo-European, for which I have coined another neologism: *Hellanic*. Makednian is *North Hellanic*; Mycenaean and the Classical Greek dialects are *South Hellanic*.¹⁶⁷⁶

Illustratively, the characteristic Greek morphologies of the two IE roots in *Alak-andus* / Ἀλέξ-ανδρος, exhibit the same vocalization of the laryngeals in the closely-related Makednian languages: Phrygian *a-nar*, ‘man’, like Greek ἄ-νήρ (<**h₂ner-*) vs. Sanskrit *nara-*, Latin PN *Nerō*; similarly, the Paeonian (closely related to Macedonian and Phrygian¹⁶⁷⁷) toponym Ἀλαλκομεναί, located deep inside the Pelagonian hinterland of Macedonia, far from any known Greek settlements, deceptively looks Greek (it is homonymous with a toponym in Boeotia), but should rather be seen as an exemplum of the special linguistic ties between Greek and what I have referred to as ‘Makednian’: the latter includes not only Epirote, Paeonian, Macedonian, Phrygian and proto-Armenian, but even proto-Thessalian, proto-Boeotian and proto-Doric (though *not* their descendants, i.e. Aeolicized Thessalian & Boeotian, nor ‘Mycenaeanized’ Doric, all three of which are only dominantly Greek, and only recessively Makednian).

The non-Greek Makednian outcome of the IE voiced aspirates **bh*, **dh* and **gh*, initially unchanged in the EIA (**bh*, **dh* and **gh*) but eventually yielding *b*, *d* and *g* in the Classical period, contrast with the Greek outcome *ph*, *th* and *kh*. But these different

¹⁶⁷⁶ See section Linguistic Homogeneity: the case for a separate Indo-European Greco-Phrygian unit: ‘the Hellanic group’

¹⁶⁷⁷ See section “The Linguistic Status of Paeonian: the Hellenistic *Lagid* Dynasty and Phrygian *Lawagtaei*.”

Greek – Makednian treatments of the IE voiced aspirates should neither a) distract from the numerous, shared grammatical innovations and exceptionally high number of isoglosses between Greek and Phrygian & Armenian; nor b) induce confusion, as is often the case, between said Makednian languages and such other Balkanic languages as Thracian or Illyrian, in which the outcome of IE **bh*, **dh* and **gh* also happens to be *b*, *d* and *g*. While cultural and secondary linguistic contact between Makednian and Thracian or Illyrian is undeniable, it is argued that the linguistic and cultural ties between Greece and the Makednian populations outweighed any ties, which the latter also shared with the more distantly related Illyrians and the Thracians.

The use of ‘Phrygian’ as a synonym for ‘Trojan’ in Attic Tragedy is not so much a loose, anachronistic use of a changing reality, as most have claimed, but rather a synchronic reflection of the linguistic and cultural affinities between the Phrygians and the Trojans: as is often the case, the Tragedians’ departure from the Homeric model, which differentiates Trojans from Phrygians, is likely to be a rehabilitation of diction taken from the Epic Cycle, the alleged post-Homericity of which has been successfully challenged by Jonathan Burgess. The complex, irretrievable reasons as to why the Homeridai chose to assign the ethnonym Τρῶες, first and foremost, to the inhabitants of the etymologically unrelated *Ilios*, and Φρύγες to the inhabitants of the kingdom in the hinterland, may have nothing to do with a synchronically accurate representation of an erstwhile, definable geopolitical or geolinguistic reality. At times, the Homeric Δάρδανοι come very close to being a synonym of Τρῶες too, so on the face of it, there is no inherent, exclusive association between Ἴλιος and Τρῶες: if Ἴλιος and Δάρδανοι are synchronically associable, so are Ἴλιος and Φρύγες without necessarily implying

anachronism. Let us also recall that, technically, the princes of Troy, Alexander and Hector, are half-Phrygian through their mother Hekabe, of Phrygian birth (*Iliad* 16.718-719). Even so, a political separation from Phrygia does not necessarily imply a linguistic and/or a cultural separation from Phrygia, at least for a sizable segment of the population in both realms.

Revealingly, the Phrygian king Μυγδών (*Iliad* 3.186), whose seminal name afforded us the opportunity of an in-depth analysis of the connections between Macedonia and northwestern Anatolia, is the eponym of the Μυγδόνες, a synonym for ‘Phrygian’ elsewhere in Greek literature and epigraphy. The original homeland of the Μυγδόνες is Μυγδονία in Macedonia, which I have argued is simply a dialectic syncopated form of *Μακεδονία. It cannot be overemphasized that the Iliadic attestation for a Phrygian king named Μυγδών in the *Iliad*, “the Mygdonian,” shows, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that Homer / the Homeridai had at their disposal other synonyms or near-synonyms to describe the Phrygians in the Iliadic narrative, but for whatever reason, rather chose to make Mygdon the name of a Phrygian king. Similarly, I have shown that Homer must have known that Τεῦκρος was a traditional ethnonym for the Trojans in the saga of the Trojan War, as inferable from the collated accounts of Callinus of Ephesus, Herodotus, Vergil and Strabo, but for some reason decided that it was more important to earmark it for Ajax’s brother Τεῦκρος. Was it because the Homeridai counted, among their patrons, Hellenized *Teukrid gene*, whose sense of Achaean/Hellenic identity they wished not to offend?

The focus of the present dissertation on the Makednian component among the Trojans, is not to deny that the Troad, located at a geographical crossroads, was not home

to other languages as well: (proto)-Lydian and (proto)-Etruscan are the likeliest candidates, since they are both attested nearby in the archaic Greek period, Mysia and Lemnos respectively. Many Trojans, conceivably, were bilingual and trilingual, just as Singaporeans nowadays, located at another crossroads, speak Chinese, Malay and some of them even Tamil. Surely, the linguistic and cultural heterogeneity of the inhabitants of the Troad further contributed to the othering of Troy.

The Anatolian background of Troy and the Trojans—Anatolian in a quasi-linguistic, cultural sense, requires no demonstration: a surfeit of research in this direction dominates Homeric studies. This is partly due to the assumption that the Homeric poems are LBA documents, in which case the world of the Hittites and Luwians are brought to bear. But even studies that focus more on the EIA successors of LBA Hittites, i.e. the Carians, Lydians and Lycians, de-emphasize the discontinuities that were brought about by the increasing presence and admixture of the ‘Hellanes’, both Makednians and Mycenaean, among the populations of Anatolia, from North to South, and increasingly from West to East, with the rapid penetration inland of the Phrygians and proto-Armenians in the Submycenaean period.

I first acknowledged, for instance, that the enigmatic yet programmatic allusions in the *Iliad* interconnecting the Lycian kings Sarpedon and Glaukos to the sovereignty of Zeus and the springs of the Maeander river in distant Lycia are traceable to LBA Hittite rituals interconnecting the god Tarhunt, the springs of rivers and the figure of the king, as emblemized by the name of the very last Hittite king, *Suppiluliuma*, “Clear Spring”: the name was borne not only by a predecessor, but also by EIA Neo-Hittite kings, thus suggesting the *continuity* of such ritual practices and their greater relevance to the

Homeric world. I also pointed out that the unmediated interventions of Zeus on the battlefield, to Hector's benefit, are uncharacteristic of Zeus elsewhere in Greek cult and myth, citing Farnell, and suggested that the Anatolian cult of Carian Zeus could be the historical model.

But then, it quickly became apparent that the great Paeonian (= Makedonian) nemesis of Achilles, *Asteropaios*, a cult title of Zeus, is a stand-in for the Lycian co-rulers Sarpedon and Glaukos: the allusive reference to the cosmic springs of the Axios river in Macedonia matching the underlying cosmicity of the Xanthos river in the *Iliad*, Asteropaios' status as the offspring of the great river paralleling the fluvial cult of Glaukos at the springs of the Maeander, the back-to-back juxtaposition of Asteropaios' combat with Achilles to the death of *Lykaon*, eponym of the Lycians in Luwian (**Lukawanni*), the implicit yet inconvertible evidence that Asteropaios' ethnicity mysteriously switches from Paeonian to Lycian in book 12, as his identity further merges with Glaukos, all converge to show that there was a Paeonian component among the EIA Lycians. The Homeric evidence dovetails with 1) the archaeological evidence for significant Phrygian settlements in EIA Lycia, 2) the attestation for *two* endonyms of the Lycian Xanthos river, not only *Arñna*, which represents the Anatolian Lycian word 'Spring', but also *Sirbis / Sibros*, which matches the Armenian (Makedonian) *surb*, 'pure'.

Pertinently, the Armenian historian Gabriel Sultanian convincingly argued, recently (2007), that proto-Armenian is a direct descendant of Paeonian, as LBA and EIA migrants from Macedonia and northern Greece crossed over into Anatolia, gradually making their way eastward: he proposes that the Armenian endonym for Armenian, *Hayk*, precisely stems from **Pai-*, the ethnonym of the Homeric Παίονες. The beauty of

this theory is that it accounts for the independent close ties between Phrygian and Greek, on the other hand, and Armenian and Greek (“Helleno-Armenian”) on the other hand, as argued by Hamp 1976. Although closely related to Old Phrygian inscriptions, Armenian is *not* traceable to the ancestral forms that are extant in Old Phrygian, while at the same time Armenian evinces a closeness to Greek that only Phrygian can rival.

Thus, the third name of the Lycian river Xanthos = *Sirbis / Sibros*, alongside Greek Ξάνθος and Lycian *Arñna*, is likely to be Paeonian / Proto-Armenian: the striking phonetic similarities between the name of *Sarp-edon* and the arguably Paeonian name of the Xanthos river, *Sir-bis*, corroborate the interconnected identities of the Lycian river and Sarpedon, as elsewhere argued in the present dissertation. Moreover, this Paeonian connection further dovetails with a) Sarpedon’s own mythical and topographic connections to Thrace, as evidenced by his Homeric companion *Pelagon* (*Iliad* 5.695), eponym of the Macedonian *Pelagones*, and b) the Cretan origins of the Lycians, according to the majority of ancient Greek sources: although linguistically untenable and incomprehensible since Lycian is an Anatolian language, such claims of Cretan origins of the Lycians make sense if one understands them as referring to the Makednian component among the heterogenous EIA Lycians.

Among the various populations of Crete, the EIA *Pelasgians*, elusive though they become, are the best candidates for representing the non-Anatolian component among the proto-Lycians who migrated from Crete to Lycia, according to ancient Greek authors. These Cretan Pelasgians (*Odyssey* 19.176-177) are further traceable to *post-Mycenaean* migrations from Macedonia and Epirus. Thus, not only were historical Trojans in the Troad made up of a Makednian (North Hellanic) component in the LBA and EIA, so

were the Trojans' staunchest allies, the Lycians. The Pelasgians in the *Odyssey's* multilingual Crete, at the southern end of the Greek-speaking world, echo the Pelasgians in the *Iliad*, who are associated with Achilles' *Pelasgikon Argos*, Larisa in northern Thessaly, not far from Paeonian Macedonia, and Dodona in Epirus.

Thus, upon scrutiny, EIA Makednians are attested as a historico-linguistic component not only among the Trojans themselves, but also among nearly all of Troy's allies, from the far West (Pelasgians / Paeonians), to the far South (Lycians with Paeonian / Pelasgian adstratum). On the surface, the Trojan coalition against the Homeric Achaeans appears to unite a haphazard, motley diversity of allies with little in common with each other, other than their oft-unexplained alliance with Troy. But it turns out that in the EIA a Makednian thread runs among nearly all of them, thus representing a potential factor of homogeneity among Trojans and their allies.

The historico-linguistic background of an Odysseus fighting Brygians in Epirus, as described in the *Telegony*, is the same as an Odysseus fighting Trojans in the *Iliad*, spearheaded by Hector and Alexander, the royal sons of a Phrygian princess. In fact, one could plausibly suggest that originally the epichoric Odysseus of Ithaca was involved in wars with Epirote Brygians, geographically close to Ithaca, before he was co-opted into the Panhellenic Trojan war. The historical existence of a separate Pergamon *and* separate Ilion in Epirus is also adumbrated by a non-Trojan Homeric eponym *Ilos* (ἐξ Ἐφύρης ἀνιόντα παρ' Ἴλου Μερμερίδαο: *Odyssey* 1.259), whose hometown of Ephyra is identifiable with a variety of cities, either along the Ionian sea facing Italy, or with ready access to it, i.e. Epirus proper, Aetolia, Elis or Corinth.¹⁶⁷⁸ Odysseus' transfer from an Epirote battle setting to a battle setting in the Troad would be facilitated by the

¹⁶⁷⁸ See Tümpel, s.v. 'Ephyre'.

continuing presence of ethnic Brygians / Phrygians (a Makednian ethnos) as *the* adversary.

Thus, the saga of a war over a bygone citadel in the Troad is to a great extent a metaphor for the innumerable wars and subsequent mergings between EIA Greek-speaking populations and their Makednian neighbors, not only in citadels and regions peripheral to Greece, *but even within Greece*, whither they had descended. Thus, whatever ur-Epic was geographically anchored in the Troad would have included only *some* of the Achaean heroes, and only some of the Trojan heroes; whereas other epichoric epic traditions from other parts of the Aegean would have included some other of the Achaean heroes and only some other of the Trojan / Phrygian / any related Makednian heroes.

The epigone Diomedes, for instance, may never have been an Achaean hero at Troy prior to the 9th / 8th century BCE, but may have rather been associated, during this earlier period, with *another* siege pitting Greek-speaking populations against Makednians—the siege of Thebes. Of great interest, the *Iliad* systematically characterizes the assailants of Thebes as *Achaean*, whereas the Theban Kadmeians themselves *are* never Achaean,¹⁶⁷⁹ thus implying that they were considered to be non-Greek, as Strabo later comments. Again, these are not LBA Thebans, but rather EIA Thebans, much closer in time to the major compositional period of the *Iliad*. Thus, without denying a genuine Trojan war tradition historically centered in the Dardanelles, one must acknowledge that our Homeric *Iliad*, and even the related Epic Cycle tradition, was originally a collage of different epic traditions, originally rooted in different parts of the Aegean, not only Troy,

¹⁶⁷⁹ *Iliad* 4.384-385; 5.803-804; also 10.288-289 τοὺς δ' ἄρ' ἐπ' Ἀσωπῶ λίπε χαλκοχίτωνας Ἀχαιοῦς, αὐτὰρ ὁ μελίχιον μῦθον φέρε Καδμείοισι.

but also Thebes, Epirus and other areas yet. In this wider, yet no less accurate sense, it is vain to seek a precise dating for *the* fall of Troy in the LBA or even EIA for that matter: rather, the historical background for the Troy of our *Iliad* is a *synthesis* of multiple sieges all over Greece and the peripheral regions, opposing Greek-speaking and mostly Makednian populations in a time period ranging from the 8th century to the 10th or perhaps 11th century BCE at the earliest.

To take one example of Greek-Makednian contact *within* Greece rather than outside of Greece, as is the case with Troy, many a classicist may not be used to thinking of Thebes in Boeotia as having once been occupied by non-Greek-speaking populations, as late as perhaps a century only before the 8th century BCE. But historians, such as Beloch, relying on such classical sources as Thucydides, Aristotle and Ephorus, have averred that the memory of Thracian, Pelasgian and other non-Greek occupants of Boeotia and Thebes in this relatively late time period is no fiction. This historical background accounts for the non-Achaeanness of the Theban Kadmeians.

One is justified in paying attention to this historical background of the *Iliad* because the living memory of these non-Greek populations in different parts of Greece tends to correlate with an unflattering portrayal of the corresponding Achaean ethne in the Homeric poem. Illustratively, the Boeotians are the cannon fodder *par excellence* of the Achaeans, their leaders Askalaphos and Ialmenos are the sons of Ares, otherwise a pro-Trojan god. As Tsagalis points out, Kadmos' marriage to Harmonia, the daughter of Ares, also draws the Thebans and Trojans together. Along similar lines, I have found that the formula ὄζος Ἄρηος is used almost exclusively of northern Greek ethne. Because the Hellenization (Aeolicization) of the Boeotians occurred within living memory, because

Kadmos, the founder of Thebes, is the eponym of the non-Achaeans in the competing saga of the Theban war, the Boeotians come across as ‘bad Achaeans’ and are readily disposed of on the battlefield: their death rate is staggeringly high and beyond compare. The same is true of other recently Hellenized Achaean ethne, albeit on a smaller scale: 100% of the named Abantes (ethnic ‘Thracians’ according to Aristotle), a 100% of the named Phocians (with a Thracian component, again, according to Aristotle) and 75% of the named Epeians (who had been non-Achaean in Nestor’s account of his youth, linguistically northwestern Greek) make brief cameos in the narrative, only to be dispatched.

This takes us to this important historical background of the Trojan war: when the Mycenaean civilization collapses, the Makednians, based in Epirus and Macedonia, continue and accelerate their diaspora not only eastward, into Anatolia, but also south, into Greece, what is known as ‘the Dorian migrations’. I advocate the abandonment of the expression ‘Dorian migration’ because it is not inclusive enough and is linguistically misleading. It is not inclusive enough because the EIA penetration of the Makednians into Greece affected not only the post-Mycenaean formation of *Doric Greek*, which is dominantly Mycenaean and only recessively Makednian, but also the post-Mycenaean formation of *Aeolic Greek*, which is dominantly Mycenaean, and only recessively Makednian: in other words, the non-Mycenaean features in both Doric Greek and Aeolic Greek are attributable to a common linguistic adstratum: Makednian.

This process of linguistic fusion between post-Mycenaean dialects and the Makednian adstratum among the emerging Aeolians and Dorians conceivably took several generations: during this transitional period, many speakers would have been

bilingual and may have retained distinct senses of identity, until eventually the lines became blurred and a new ethnos, new identity and even new language were achieved. The situation in EIA Greece is somewhat comparable, 700 years later or so, to the expansion of the Argead Macedonians under Philip II, Alexander the Great and the Diadochoi, into Greece: in a matter of a few generations, many Macedonians end up relinquishing their native speech, while in the process a new form of Greek emerges throughout the Hellenistic world: *koine* Greek.

‘Dorian migration’ is also linguistically misleading because it can promote the misguided perception that the migrants, upon departure from Epirus and Macedonia, were the same linguistically and culturally as their descendants upon arrival, in Thessaly and the Peloponnese. They were not: the transformative post-migration coalescence of the Makednians and post-Mycenaeans ultimately led to new Greek *ethne* and corresponding dialects. These new Greek ethne, mixed descendants of the indigenous Mycenaeans and immigrant Makednians, are *the* Achaeans of the *Iliad*, an important point to which we will return. The Homeric Achaeans are no *Ahhiya* from the Late Bronze Age.

Before we get to the historical identity of the Homeric Achaeans, one must be clear about the Makednian component among them: those who did not migrate to Mycenaean and post-Mycenaean Greece and stayed behind in Epirus and Macedonia were not ‘Dorian Greeks’, like their descendants in the Peloponnese, nor even ‘Northwestern Greeks’, in the linguistic sense of the word. The vernacular spoken in Hellenistic, Classical and Preclassical Epirus is *not* Western ‘Greek’: *pace* Dosuna, the Northwestern Greek *koine* dialect shown on Hellenistic and Imperial inscriptions in

Epirus *cannot* be taken as evidence for the Epirote vernacular (cf. Kokoszko & Witczak 1991; Blažek 2005): the collation of Hekataios, Plutarch, Livy, Pausanias and Hesychian glosses demonstrates that the Northwestern Greek koine of epigraphy is of marginal value for a reconstruction of the Epirote vernacular, which was rather much closer to Macedonian.

In agreement with Blažek, the populations of the vast Pindus mountain range, whose territory had hardly been penetrated by the Mycenaeans, as shown by the absence of any administrative seals in most of Aetolia, except the southern coast, all of Epirus and most of Macedonia, spoke a set of closely related Makednian dialects, Epirote, Paeonian, north Aetolian, Brygian and Macedonian: that they were dialects vis-à-vis each other (i.e. mutually intelligible to each other) is shown by a collation of Strabo 7.7.8, Livy 31.29 and Curtius Rufus 6.9.35. Thucydides' characterization of the speech of a North Aetolian tribe, the largest of all the tribes in Aetolia, is representative: μέγιστον μέρος ἐστὶ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν, ἀγνωστότατοι δὲ γλῶσσαν (3.94). Similar statements can be found concerning the speech of the Macedonians, which required Greek translators. The northwestern Greek koine attested on Hellenistic inscriptions in Epirus, as well as the closely-related Greek on the Pella curse tablet in Macedonia, if spoken, certainly would not have required Greek translators or earned Thucydides' characterization ἀγνωστοτάτη. Their idiosyncrasies notwithstanding, any relatively accurate vocalization of such inscriptions would hardly result in accounts of the unintelligibility of Macedonian and north Aetolian by Attic Greek and koine Greek speakers. Such accounts are valuable in assessing the critical importance of *language* as a criterion of ethnicity, as Anson rightly

emphasizes.¹⁶⁸⁰

Recently, a number of scholars have attempted to defend the linguistic Hellenicity of the Epirotes and even Macedonians by imputing Greek accounts of their barbarity to their different habitat and different lifestyle: what is underappreciated, however, is that different habitats often correlate with changes in speech and a greater tendency to resist innovations and changes from abroad: surely, the languages of the Caucasus, such as Georgian and Abkhaz, owe much of their survival, amid an ocean of IE and Altaic languages, to their mountainous habitat. In the Italy of Republican Rome, Latin is spoken in the Latian plain, Umbrian in the Apennine hinterland.¹⁶⁸¹ Similarly, much of the Aetolian, Epirote and Macedonian habitat, located in mountainous regions, was more difficult to access, and thus likelier to resist linguistic influence from Greece: accordingly, the Mycenaean kingdom(s) did not extend to most of Aetolia and Macedonia, and is unattested in Epirus archaeologically.

The post-Mycenaean southward movement of the Makednians from Epirus and Macedonia into Greece is reflected in the memory of several populations in Greece, which in the historical period were still remembered as foreign, i.e. non-Greek; the Pelasgians, significantly Trojan allies in the *Iliad*, are a prime example. That the Pelasgians end up acquiring a mysterious, mythologized aura in Classical Greek literature does not imply that their historical identity cannot be narrowed down through careful analysis of the sources. I argue on the basis of historical, geographical, linguistic,

¹⁶⁸⁰ Anson 2009:5-30 “Greek Ethnicity and the Greek Language.” As Anson points out, a close scrutiny of a variety of ancient Greek sources beyond Isocrates (on which see Dench 2005:307) imply that language featured prominently as a feature of ethnicity, even if it is was not always explicitly theorized and formally argued.

¹⁶⁸¹ Dench 1995:111-153 (Chapter 3 'Mountain Society').

diachronic and eliminatory criteria that the Homeric Pelasgians, whom I consider to be historical Pelasgians, must have been a major branch of the yet un-Hellenized proto-Dorians = the Makednians. That they are found in so many different places “in the mythical past” is due to the simple fact that the Makednians ended up sweeping over most of the post-Mycenaean world. And yet, the quasi ubiquity of the Pelasgians in many parts of the Aegean is a commonly cited objection against the possibility of their historical existence: if an ancient population is found in so many ancient places, the reasoning goes, they could only have served as a generic an-historical filler representing various, unrelated non-Greek ethne. But this would be the same as saying, in the absence of historical records, that mythical accounts of Romans in the early Middle Ages in many European and Near Eastern countries, cannot be accurate, simply because they are found “everywhere.”

Again, the transformative post-migration coalescence of the Makednians and post-Mycenaean ultimately led to the formation of new Greek *ethne* and corresponding dialects: these are *the* Achaeans of the *Iliad*, no LBA *Ahhiya*. *The balance in the mix of these two groups is what ‘Achaean’ ends up meaning.* If one of the two is overrepresented or underrepresented, the resultant Achaean ethnos is problematized or marginalized among the Achaean allies at Troy.

Examples of Achaean ethne with Makednian overrepresentation in their makeup are most of the so-called Northwestern Greeks, Eleians / Epeians, Locrians and Phocians, as well as the Boeotians, who in the *Iliad* are not yet fully-Aeolicized Boeotians as we know them, but still transitioning halfway from Makednian proto-Boeotians to the Aeolicized Boeotians as we know them; also shadowy (proto)-Thessalian contingents,

other than Achilles' own Myrmidon contingent: many of them, such as the Magnesians or Gouneus' contingent, only make an appearance in the Catalogue of Ships; the leaders of others are either dead (Protesilaos) or missing (Philoktetes). Among these very recently Hellenized Makednians, these ethne are either quasi-invisible, provide most of the Achaean cannon fodder to the Trojans or come across as fools or bringers of disaster (Locrian Ajax).

Examples of Achaean ethne with Mycenaean-derived overrepresentation are the Arcadians, the Cypriotes and especially the Ionians: the Arcadians only make an appearance in the Catalogue of Ships, the Cypriotes do not partake at all in the Achaean expedition. And yet, let us not forget that Arcado-Cypriote is the closest to Mycenaean Greek among the four major Greek dialects attested in the Classical period. Although the Ionians were heterogeneous in origin, as Herodotus explains, and did receive a Makednian adstratum, it was less significant than it was among the Dorians and the Aeolians, as is reflected, for instance, by the Ionian retention of Mycenaean assibilation, and a lower proportion of Makednian traits in vocabulary or grammar, compared to Doric and Aeolic Greek. The greater degree of continuity between LBA Mycenaean and the early Ionians is also exemplified by the non-destruction of Mycenaean Athens, as opposed to other fortified cities at the time, and the migration of mostly proto-Ionian populations from not only Attica, but also Boeotia and the northern Peloponnese to islands of the Aegean and the coast of Anatolia. Correspondingly, East Ionians and West Ionians alike hardly partake in the Achaean expedition against Troy: they are clearly underrepresented—*despite the fact that East Ionia was the primary cradle of Homeric composition and performance*. The aged, ever-death-cheating Nestor, representative of

the Ionian Neleids in the narrative, best represents the ‘Mycenaean-heavy’ ethne among the Achaeans.

That an overrepresentation of the Mycenaean heritage should result in an impression of its *alienness* from the vantage point of the 8th/7th century BCE Greeks (just as, conversely, an overrepresentation of the Makednian heritage should also result in an impression of its alienness) affords us the opportunity of an important clarification: just as Homeric Achaeanness is predicated on a mixed Mycenaean-Makednian heritage, so is Homeric Trojanness too is predicated on a mixed Mycenaean-Makednian heritage, except that the individual components in the one reconstructed supra-ethnos differ from the individual components in the other reconstructed supra-ethnos.

We have reviewed, so far, the Makednian affinities of the Trojans, which subsume linguistic, geographical and cultural aspects, but the Trojans too are infused with a Mycenaean heritage: the reason being, again, is that the rising neo-Greek or *Hellenic* identity of the 8th/7th century BCE was thoroughly mixed and also inherited a Makednian component, which made an overrepresented Mycenaean component seem alien. Thus, whereas historical Makednian *ethne* (such as Phrygian, Macedonian and Paeonian) certainly contributed to the construction of Trojan identity in the *Iliad*, the Ionians themselves, who inherited a greater preponderance of Mycenaean elements than their fellow Dorians or Aeolians, served as another template for the construction of Trojan identity.

Structural similarities between Troy and Athens in epic tradition prevented Ionians from featuring prominently in the siege of Troy because Athens had been *the* other city where Helen had been held captive in pre-Homeric traditions, to which the

Iliad itself alludes to, in making Aithra, the daughter of Pittheus, a handmaid of Helen at Troy. The siege of Athens for the sake of Helen by two brothers from the Peloponnese was too similar to the siege of Troy for the sake of Helen by two other brothers from the Peloponnese: the Dioskouroi and Atreids respectively. I have shown that the Athenians cowering behind the wall of the Achaeans in book 13 of the *Iliad* is a recycling of their cowering behind the wall of Athens at the onslaught of the Tyndarids. An Ἐριχθόνιος who is either Trojan or Athenian, both with a connection to the Boreas, cannot be so easily reduced to a vague, universal concept of an autochthonous ancestor, else why is it that he is not found in any other polis than Athens and Troy?

On the East Ionian side, the name *Hector* binds the Trojans to the Ionians, as already argued by Wade-Gery 1952, for the only historical Hector known, other than the Trojan Hector, is the semi-legendary Hector of Chios, dated approximately to the 9th century BCE. This Hector was awarded a tripod at the Panionian festival and thus had become a Panionian hero in the collective memory of the Ionians. Insofar as accounts of the Homeridai's ties to Chios are likely to have some sort of historical basis, it is very difficult to imagine that either the Homeridai or their Ionian audience could have ignored this epichoric Hector, in constructing their own Homeric Hector. The name is attested in Linear B, but thereafter is unheard of, other than on Chios and the mythologized Troy.¹⁶⁸² Tentatively, one may suggest that his name (*though not the figure that he represents*) had no part in the earlier epichoric Trojan War of the Troad: his eventual incorporation into the Trojan War, as we have it, may have in part been facilitated by the near synonymy of

¹⁶⁸² It is interesting to observe, that among the 8 additional Ἐκτωρ's attested in the *LGPN*, 7/8 of them are attested in the North Aegean, other than one Athenian Ἐκτωρ (510-500 BCE): one Ἐκτωρ at Omphales in Epirus (370-340 BCE), another Ἐκτωρ in Macedonia (360-331 BCE), another in Epirus (330-310 BCE), another in Macedonia (3rd century BCE), another in Epirus (2nd century BCE), another in Apollonis, Lydia (1st century BCE), another in Kios, Propontis (2nd century CE), another in Thessalonike (3rd century CE).

his name Ἐκτωρ = ‘Protector’ with the ‘native’ Trojan Ἀλέξανδρος ‘Protector of Men’.

Along similar lines, the rare appearance in the poem of Ionians as Ἴάονες ἐλκεχίτωνες “with trailing tunics” vis-a-vis Τρῶας καὶ Τρωάδας ἐλκεσιπέπλους “with trailing robes” seems to indicate cultural connections between mythical Trojans and the Ionians of performance. Although Nestor, representative of the Ionian Neleids, fights on the side of the Achaeans in the *Iliad*, the Neleids appear to be Carianized in the Carian Catalogue of Ships, as we saw: this could either be an indication that by the 8th/7th century BCE, the descendants of the Neleid oikists, had intermarried to such an extent with the indigenous leading families of Miletus that it was no longer possible to differentiate immigrant ‘Ionian’ from native ‘Carian’ or that the distinction Ionian vs. Dorian or Aeolian mattered more, even from an archaizing perspective. In any event, the Mycenaean-heavy component among the Ionians made it difficult for Nestor to typify the ideal Achaean: his old age and inability to fight are further problematized by the pattern of the advice he dispenses leading to the death of his fellow Achaeans.

Nestor stands for an ‘old Greece’ that has become somewhat alien to the emerging Mycenaean-Makednian synthesis which is emerging in the late EIA. This “excessive purity,” if one may term it in this way, may account for the foreignization of the most Mycenaean of the Greek ethne: already in Hesiod (though clearly not in Homer, which we argue is more historical), the Arcadian Lykaon is the son of Pelasgos, which on the surface is antithetical to the present argument: the historical Pelasgians are Makednians, post-Mycenaean newcomers to Greece proper. Similarly to the Hesiodic Pelasgicization of Arcadians, the Mysian Telephus is known as Ἀρκασίδης in the Epic Cycle and Archilochus. Although Telephus’ putative Arcadian ancestry may have

originated as a *Lehnübersetzung* of an Anatolian cognate of the Hittite *hartakka* ‘bear’, of the Homeric PN *Hyrtakos*, father of the Trojan ally Asios, the attribution of Telephus’ ancestry to the Arcadian ethnos, whose totemic animal was the bear,¹⁶⁸³ was only possible because “the excessive purity” of the Arcadians, in terms of Mycenaean descent, estranged them from the coalition of the Homeric Achaeans, the ideal of which we argue is a mixed balance of Mycenaean and Makednian elements.

The Achaean ethne with the best balance in the mix of Mycenaean and Makednian heritages are embodied by the best and second best of the Achaeans: Achilles, Diomedes and (the greater) Ajax. On the one hand, Achilles and his Myrmidons have territorial and cultural affinities with the Pelasgians, Trojan allies: Larisa, located in the northern half of Achilles’ Pelasgian Argos, is still inhabited by Pelasgians fighting and dying on the side of the Trojans; like the Trojans and other Greek ethne, some of the Myrmidons are associated with the pro-Trojan god Ares (ἄρεος Ἄρηος); Achilles’ horse *Balios* / *Balias*, like the Thessalian toponym Boibe (= Greek Phoibe), is clearly the Makednian counterpart of Greek Φαλιός. At the same time, it is very clear that southern Thessaly, the region of the Spercheios river and Trachis, one of the very few cities mentioned in Achilles’ territory, had been rather densely populated with Mycenaean speakers since the LBA, which in turn correlates with the Aeolic dialect spoken there in the historical period. In terms of cult, the prominence of Athena Itonia among the Thessalians (and Boeotians) must go back to Mycenaean antecedents. Whichever Makednian immigrants Thessaly had received would have undergone Aeolicization, though not without contributing their own recessive traits. The even more pronounced Aeolicization of Lesbos, which played a key role in the early stages of the Trojan war

¹⁶⁸³ Arcadian = ἄρκτος, cf. the myth of Callisto.

narrative, would have further contributed to balancing the mix of Makednian and Mycenaean elements among Achilles and his Myrmidons. Last but not least, the superimposability of Achilles' Phthiotis in southern Thessaly, as indicated by the rare mention of his town of Trachis in the Catalogue of Ships, on the small territory of Doris, the metropolis of the Peloponnesian Dorians, elevates Achilles as not only an Aeolian hero (in the hybrid sense of Mycenaean-derived + Makednian), but also as a Dorian hero. The stunningly close proximity of Anthele, the original venue of the Delphic Pylaian Amphictyonic league, to the very few *poleis* in Achilles' catalogue entry, is no coincidence.

Diomedes, the second best of the Achaeans on a par with Telamonian Ajax, is the lord of Argos in the Peloponnesian Argolid, one of the most densely populated areas in Greece. Significantly, in the 8th/7th century BCE, Argos was one of the most powerful Greek city-states. A post-Mycenaean settlement, Argos and the ethnos 'Argive', among the three synonyms for 'Homeric Greek', is probably Makednian in origin, cf. *Argos Pelasgikon* in Thessaly and *Argos Orestikon* in Macedonia. Diomedes' ties to the north is reflected in his Aetolian father Tydeus, a name with no cognate in Greek proper, a Thracian Diomedes, a mythical figure of no small significance, since he was immortalized in the collective unconscious of the Greeks through his inclusion in one of the labors of Herakles; Diomedes also spends the last part of his life in Epirus or even Illyria: like the Theban Kadmos, these instances of 'reverse migrations' ultimately point to the recollection that a component of the Greek population in Boeotia and the Argolid had come from these regions, only a few generations earlier (in the EIA, not the LBA), with probably living ties to native kinsmen in said regions in the 8th century BCE. The

genealogy of the Argive kings bespeaks the mixed Mycenaean – Makednian heritage: on the one hand, Danaos and Danae are clearly traceable to the Mycenaean *Danaju / Denyen* in LBA Egyptian records: here, one clearly witnesses unbroken continuity with the LBA. On the other hand, the incorporation of Abas in the Argive genealogy reflects the EIA Makednian migration to the Argolid, since Abas is the eponym of the *Abantes*, originally from Epirus, later attested in Phokis, where Aristotle characterizes them as a ‘Thracian’ ethnos, whence they later migrated to Euboea; another Argive king, Akrisios, is deeply rooted in northern Thessaly as the *Pelasgian* founder of Larissa—a clearly historical, non-derivative use of the ethnonym ‘Pelasgian’. Abas’ father Lynkeus, in turn, is plausibly the eponym of the Lynkestai, an Upper Macedonian ethnos.

The Athenocentric filter of the Peisistratid recension and attempt of the Athenians to appropriate Telamonian Ajax is responsible, in part, for the 5th century BCE view that the ridiculously small island of Salamis is the homeland and only territory of so great a hero. The Hesiodic Catalogue of Ships does greater justice to Ajax and surely reflects the earlier pre-Peisistratid size of the hero’s dominion: not only Salamis, but also Troizen, Epidauros, Hermione, Asine, Megara (Athens’ rival!) and most importantly Aigina and Corinth. Like Argos, Corinth and Aigina rise to prominence in the EIA after the Dorian migrations. That the first Iliadic victims of Telamonian and Oilean Ajax should both be potamonyms, Simoeisios and Satnios respectively, is a subtle indication that the Homeridai knew of the river Aias in Epirus, whence many Makednians had originated. In all likelihood, this geographic awareness was mediated, in part, by Corinthian colonization of the northwest, which in turn had been prompted by the earlier migration of the proto-Dorians (Makednians) in the reverse direction, from Epirus to the northern

Peloponnese, which would include Corinth. Why the nobler, greater Ajax hailed from the northern Peloponnese and the Dorian islands nearby, rather than from Locris, like the more censurable, lesser Ajax, is a reflection of the greater degree of economic, cultural and linguistic integration of Aigina and the northern Peloponnese in the emerging late EIA neo-Greek *koine*, compared to the more backward and marginal areas of Locris, at least from the viewpoint expressed by many of our ancient Greek sources, including the *Iliad*.

Like Achilles, Diomedes and Telamonian Ajax, Agamemnon and Menelaos seem to partake in both the Mycenaean and Makednian heritages, although they are deserving of less praise than these three: the association of Agamemnon with Mykenai must certainly hark back to the recollection of the city's LBA glory days: only a few exceptions to the two-three century rule of oral memory should be allowed, and this may be one of them. We may consider extenuating factors, however: the LBA destruction of Mykenai did not result in an overnight desertion of the city: the citadel was occupied until about 1050 BCE. In the archaic period, Agamemnon was a figure of cult among the Dorian Spartans in Lakonia. The fact that his tomb was shown not only at Mycenae, but also at Amyklai, a pre-Dorian Achaean stronghold south of Sparta, which apparently gave fierce resistance to the invading Dorians,¹⁶⁸⁴ suggests that the Dorians inherited Agamemnon from the Mycenaean half of their heritage. The Menelaion at Therapne, a site with clear LBA antecedents, points in the same direction. The two brothers' descent from Pelops, however, whom we have argued is a Makednian figure, is evidence for syncretism. Menelaos' wife Helen, on the other hand, the feminine of the Trojan Helenos, daughter of *Tynd-areos*, with a non-Greek root resembling the Aetolian *Tyd-eus*, suggests

¹⁶⁸⁴ Pausanias 3.2.6 & 3.12.9

rather a preponderance of North Hellenic traits: she is also the grand-daughter of Oibalos, a clearly Makedonian name (= Greek οἰφώλης). Despite their relatively well-balanced mixed Mycenaean – Makedonian heritage, the two Atreids are either middling warriors (Menelaos) or morally reprehensible characters (Agamemnon). This may be a result of the bitter rivalry opposing Sparta to Argos in the pre-Classical period, at a time when Argos held its own against Sparta. The likely scenario of Argive patronage of early Homeric performances in the 8th/7th centuries B.C.E., probably the most important patronage outside of Ionia, would result in a tendency of the Homeridai to portray the Atreids, first and foremost figures of cult in Laconia, as ambivalent figures.

With this historical background in mind, we can better approach the last chapter of the present dissertation, ancestry and primordality. In a nutshell, the old Nestor represents the old, Mycenaean-derived ancestry of the Ionians, whereas the youthful Achilles represents the Dorian and Aeolian ancestry of the ‘new Achaeans’, hybrid heirs of the old Mycenaean component and of the new Makedonian component among the Aeolians *and* the Dorians. Accordingly, the territories of both Nestor and Achilles are endowed with an otherworldly quality: Pylos and Phthia are *the* lands of the Dead—in the eyes of the Ionians and Dorians / East Aeolians respectively. The significance of Nestor and Achilles as ancestral figures is also exemplified by their salient associations in the Homeric poem with the thematization of *paternity*, which in turn is a metonym of ancestry: Nestor recalls his father Neleus in his youth; conversely, the bond and relation between Nestor and his son Antilochus are repeatedly highlighted. Paternity is also central to Achilles, in the reverse direction and in a more complex and expanded manner: Peleus looms large in Achilles’ consciousness and Finlay 1980 was certainly right to

contend that part of what Patroklos “Glory of the Father” represents in the *Iliad* is Achilles’ own father (which is not to say that Patroklos was not also Achilles’ own ritual substitute, as we have argued).

As the son of Neleus, the mythical ancestor of such Ionian city states as Miletus and Ephesus, Nestor stands for ‘Old Greece’, essentially the pre-Dorian descendants of the inhabitants of Mycenaean Greece, not only those from Pylos and the western Peloponnese, but also those from other parts of Mycenaean Greece, including Attica and pre-Boeotian Boeotia. Diverse though the inhabitants were, diachronically multilayered though they may have been (successive waves from the 14th century BCE all the way down to the 9th century BCE), the old Mycenaean heritage, *mutatis mutandis*, underwent fewer discontinuities in Ionia than it had in other parts of Greece. This correlates with two features in the poem: 1) Nestor’s old age and 2) the allusive, yet programmatic depiction of his Πύλοϛ as *the gates of Hades*. The otherworldly resonance of his catalogue entry exemplifies the East Ionian perspective: from their perspective, the distant Western Peloponnese, across the Aegean Sea, facing away, to the Ionian sea, is the land of the Dead, the land whence their ancestors had sailed away to settle in Miletus, Colophon, etc. The Neleid Nestor is a figure of myth every Ionian could relate to.

We went to greater length to show that Achilles’ Φθίη, literally “the land of the Dead” represents both a (Peloponnesian and insular) Dorian and East Aeolian (mostly Lesbian) perspective: the Dorians and the East Aeolians remembered that their ancestors, the ‘Dead’, hailed from Thessaly—and slightly beyond. This includes not only Achilles’ contingent, but also other contingents, such as that of Protesilaos, who are called Φθῖοι. The sustained otherworldly resonance of these Phthian contingents as a whole has been

underappreciated: it is manifested by a variety of features, e.g. the river Styx flowing in its midst, Hermes (Psychopomp)’ exclusive connection with Myrmidons, the thematization of incarceration in several Phthian regions (Protesilaos and Phoinix) whereas others, conversely, serve as asylums, cf. Hades Πολύξενος. Significantly, *the death of Herakles* lurks behind Achilles’ contingent with the rare mention of the city of Trachis and the quadruple metagrammatical iteration of *Oita / Oite* across two consecutive lines. A moribund Herakles also appears, elliptically yet unmistakably, in the previous contingent of the sons of Thessalos, eponym of Thessaly, when mention is made of “the city of Eurypylos” (*Iliad* 2.677).

In keeping with Achilles’ Phthian territory being the land of the Dead, his Myrmidons or ‘Antmen’ represent the souls of the deceased and constitute “a salvific army of the dead”: within the narrative structure of the monumental poem, the Antmen come to the rescue of the living (Achaeans) in distress, like the rematerialized apparition of dead heroes, such as the Dioskouroi or Theseus, often thought to come to the rescue of the Spartans or Athenians when disaster loomed. Insects, in ancient Greek folklore, could represent the souls of the dead. Among the Phthian contingents, we also detected *Tenthredon*, literally a “wasp-like bee,” father of the leader of the Magnesians: we argued that his territory, which includes Mount Pelion, makes him a multiform of Peleus, who is himself described as a ‘king bee’ (ἑσσήν) by Callimachus.

We also made the case that Mount Pelion, which really meant Mount ‘Clay’ (πηλός), as confirmed by geological surveys, was conceived of as a giant anthill: entomological studies and field research have shown that ants extrude to the surface of their anthills purified clay, which is of such high quality that it is a great resource for

pottery manufacturing (Adjei-Henne 2009). In a variety of cultures from around the world, the holes and channels in anthills are thought to represent conduits to the underworld, abode of the ancestors. Mount Pelion, to which Achilles is triply connected, through his father, his Pelian ash spear and his own conception there, can thus be apprehended through the Myrmidon angle of the anthill. Achilles is consistently Πηλεΐδης and consistently wields the Πηλιάδα μελίην.

Moreover, already explicitly in Aeschylus and hinted at in Hesiod, clay, πηλός, is the substance from which mankind was created, thus reinforcing Achilles' anthropogonic resonance. Achilles' Adamic status, which is very seldom discussed in scholarly circles, is also inferable from a variety of other indications in the *Iliad*. The ashness of his spear, within an IE framework, makes him an *Askr* of sorts, First Man in Nordic mythology, literally 'Ash tree': although other Greek heroes wielded spears made of ash tree, the noun μελίη 'ash spear' is exclusively assigned to Achilles; the ash tree, in Hesiod and other Greek sources, is anthropogonic. The extreme lethality of Achilles' Pelian spear can be understood as a paradoxical manifestation of this connection of the ash tree to anthropogony, as Shannon 1975 argued, in the sense that mortals descend from ash trees and Achilles' spear is *the mortalizing instrument* par excellence. I have further shown that Achilles shares a number of striking similarities with Phoroneus, the Argive Prometheus, son of Melia, the ash tree nymph.

At the head of the Antmen Myrmidons, a folkloristic army of the Dead, the very structure of the *Iliad* conveys Achilles' covert status as lord of the Dead: early on, he withdraws from battle, and the sons of the Achaeans, soon enough, *miss* him (πόθος), just as the dead Protesilaos, another Phthian, is *missed* by his men. A third Phthian leader,

Philoktetes, stranded on Lemnos, yet another place replete with thanatic symbolism, illustrates this connection between absence and death. The structural absence of Achilles from book 2 through book 18 reveals his true nature as lord of the Dead: it is fitting in more than one respect, that two books earlier, Achilles should send his *therapon* ‘Glory of the (Fore)-Fathers’, as his look-alike, because, on the one hand, dead heroes were often thought to intervene on ancient Greek battlefields and help the living; on the other hand, their materiality could only be temporary, since they were ordinarily dead, and would disappear soon after they had saved the people. Thus, interventionist dead heroes, such as the Dioskouroi, Theseus—or Achilles, could only be *apparitions*, a transient recreation of who they once were before they died: Patroklos *qua* apparition of Achilles, fulfills the phasmatic aspect of such redemptive *revenants*.

It is widely admitted that Priam’s visit to Achilles in his κλισίη near the end of the monumental poem has all the appearances of a *katabasis*. But, upon scrutiny, this climactic impression is already hinted at seven books earlier, from the moment Achilles withdraws to his κλισίη at *Iliad* 1.307: at this point, Patroklos is strategically introduced in the poem for the first time by the stand-alone patronymic Μενοιτιάδης, “he who awaits his Doom,” a name in its simplex form (Μενοίτης / Μενοίτιος) otherwise borne by a herdsman of Hades (Apollodorus) and the only anthropomorphic figure in the Hesiodic *Theogony* to be explicitly dispatched to the underworld by a god: Patroklos is to the *Iliad* what Menoitios is to the *Theogony*. Whereas Petropolou 1988 showed that κλισίη is a polysemic noun, which meant not just ‘tent’, but also ‘tomb’,¹⁶⁸⁵ Nagy 2012 demonstrated that the geographic location of Achilles’ camp in the *Iliad* is precisely situated on the site of his future tomb in the Troad, where the hero was worshipped.

¹⁶⁸⁵ As Petropolou points out, the *LSG*, unfortunately, does not register this meaning.

Putting the two observations together and building on additional data, one can deduce that Achilles' withdrawal to his κλισίη is tantamount to his withdrawal to his tomb. Accordingly, Odysseus' visit to the underworld in the *Odyssey* and characterization of Achilles as lord of the dead (νῦν αὖτε μέγα κρατέεις νεκύεσσιν: 11.497) is more than a superficially polite compliment (cf. Hommel 1980).

Another pattern, which we uncovered, is the ethnicization of the love triangle interconnecting Achilles to Patroklos and Briseis. As demonstrated, Patroklos and Briseis are both ethnic Leleges, whereas Achilles has clear affinities with the Pelasgians: the Pelasgians and the Leleges are remembered as *the* ancient populations of Greece and the Aegean *par excellence*. It cannot be a coincidence that the two loves of Achilles, Briseis and Patroklos, belong to the same rare, yet generic ethnicity. Patroklos, from Locrian Opous, is from the city of Protogeneia, as Pindar would say, the daughter of Deukalion, the First Man. Briseis, from Lyrnessos, is an ethnic Lelex as well. The *Iliad's* eroticization of Leleges in the eyes of Achilles is further confirmed by Achilles' encounter with the Priamid Lykaon, who is explicitly Lelegian through his mother Laothoe, daughter of the Lelegian king Altes. I have shown that Achilles' first encounter with Lykaon is homoerotic and that the latter is Patroklos' Trojan double—the only Trojan whom Achilles calls φίλος.

In the process, I have also uncovered an intricate web of allusions in the *Iliad* to the mystery cult of the Kabeiroi. As Bremmer has shown, sexual union sometimes played a part in the initiatory experience of the initiand: the symposiastic context of Kabeiric votives in Boeotia suggest that the Kabeiric figure named *Pais* 'Child', to whom Lykaon would correspond, was not just a filial figure, as many specialists on Kabeiric cult have

emphasized, but also an *eromenos* figure. Lemnos, the island whither Lykaon is sold into slavery, is *the* primary cult center of the Kabeiroi in terms of archaeological evidence, Samothrace trailing closely behind. As Lawall and C. Brian Rose have argued, the mystery cult of the Kabeiroi was also deeply rooted in the Troad, located nearby. Although it is of course impossible to prove that the cult was already practiced in the 8th/7th century, I argue that the Iliadic evidence suggests that it was. It is of great significance that Dardanos, the Stammvater of the Trojans, was either described as a Kabeiros or a leading founding figure of Kabeiric cult by a variety of ancient sources. Dardanos survived a flood, crossing the sea from Samothrace to Troy, just as Lykaon crossed the sea from Lemnos back to Troy, seemingly surviving a flood, as he wades in the Skamander river, which is about to erupt into another flood, and overwhelm Achilles.

The Kabeiric angle also allows us to unravel the mystery as to why Protesilaos and Patroklos, at different points in time, are *both* slain by a Δάρδανος ἀνὴρ. Why the seemingly vague, yet ethnically precise ‘Dardanian man’? Why not a ‘Trojan man’, or ‘Thracian man’ for that matter? The reason is: whoever killed Protesilaos and Patroklos—an unidentified man in the case of the former, Euphorbos in the case of the latter—*takes on and re-enacts the identity of the Trojan Stammvater Dardanos* during the sacred moment of the primordial sacrifice. In Kabeiric myth, a Kabeiros had to slay his twin Kabeiros, which is further traceable to rituals of cosmic creation.

The appropriate blurring of the lines between victim and victimizer reveals Iliadic allusions to the myth of the diver Dardanos, as preserved by Lycophron, diving into the sea before crossing over to Troy, as refracted in 1) Protesilaos’ *fatal leap* off his ship and 2) a metaphorized Kebriones diving into a tempestuous sea: the mysteriously great

Kebriones, an epichoric Kabeiros at Troy, “lies greatly in the dust, forgetful of his horsemanship” (κεῖτο μέγας μεγαλωστί, λελασμένος ἵπποσυνάων: 16.776) because he prefigures the death of the great Patroklos: he too would leap—leap up the walls of Troy, only to be rebuffed by Apollo and soon slain by *the Dardanian man*.

In short, I hope that the present dissertation will make its own small contribution to the question of ethnicity and ancestry in Homeric studies by taking into account literary, historiographical, linguistic and cultic data, while at the same time readjusting the diachronic lens to the Early Iron Age, rather than the Late Bronze Age. By emphasizing the Trojan-‘Makednian’ connection, an important ethnonym, which I have taken over from Herodotus, I explain why Achaeans and Trojans are so alike, and yet different. The historical background of the infelicitously named ‘Dorian’ invasions accounts for the relatability of a mythical Trojan War to all (or rather most) of the early archaic ‘neo-Greeks’: Greek ethnogenesis in the 8th/7th century B.C.E was a product of several centuries of wars and eventual coalescence of ‘old Greeks’ (descendants of Mycenaeans) and post-Mycenaean Makednian immigrants hailing from Epirus and Macedonia: the latter represented a major model for the epic reconstruction of the Trojans. In time, the emerging, hybrid ‘new Greek’ identity manifests itself with the rise of the ethnonym ‘*Hellene*’. The corresponding, preclassical Hellas mapped nicely onto Achilles’ Trachis and Spercheios, which in turn maps nicely onto Doris, metropolis of the Dorians in southern Thessaly, in the neighborhood of Anthele, early venue of the Delphic Pylaeon Amphictyonic league.

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