

THE MYTH OF THE ARGONAUTS

THE EARLY HISTORY
OF
THE MYTH OF THE ARGONAUTS

By
VICTOR JOHN MATTHEWS, B.A.

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Degree
Master of Arts

McMaster University

November 1965

PREFACE

When we think of Greek epic, our minds generally fly at once to the great poems attributed to Homer, or perhaps to the works of the Epic Cycle, standing in the shadows of the Homeric poems. Similarly, when we consider the great stories of Greek epic, we immediately think of the Trojan War, the Wanderings of Odysseus, and the Voyage of the Argonauts. A comparison of these two casual impressions reveals one strange feature: while the standard versions of the tales of the Trojan War and its aftermath are known to us from the Homeric poems and the Cyclic epics, our fullest and most definitive version of the myth of the Argo comes from the pen of the third century B.C. Alexandrian writer, Apollonios Rhodios.

The fact that Apollonios chose the legend for his subject would seem to indicate that no previous author had made it his own, as Homer had done with the story of Odysseus. But in spite of this, the story of the Argo was a popular and very old myth, as is indicated by Euripides' tragedy Medea, and by the Homeric reference to Ἀργῶν περιμέλουσα, πῶρ' Ἀιγῆταιο κλέουσα (Odys. XII, 70). Clearly the subject had been treated by authors previous to Apollonios, and the myth was well-known to the poet of the Odyssey.

The myth has been investigated by Miss J. R. Bacon (The Voyage of the Argonauts, Methuen, London 1925), but

the object of our study will be to examine the treatment of the myth in the early literary sources, and to attempt some reconstruction of the versions which they presented. This approach will lead us into areas which were not fully examined by Miss Bacon, notably the treatment of the myth in early epic. The examination of the different versions should enable us to see more clearly the development of the myth. It is hoped that this study may enable us to discover the character of the myth in Homeric times and earlier, and perhaps also to trace it to its ultimate source. In view of this, it will be best to work back through the several authors in an approximately chronological order (as far as this can be determined).

Of the authors to be examined, two will come readily to mind. First there is Pindar, whose Fourth Pythian Ode provides us with our most complete surviving account of the myth before Apollonios, and which, therefore, will be the best place to begin our researches. Secondly, no examination of an early epic subject can be made without reference to the works of Homer, to whom, as we have already noticed, the Argo was well-known.

For other sources to be considered, we shall be guided by the Scholia to Apollonios Rhodios, which often cite the versions given by other authors. Since we have decided to restrict our examination to the work of Pindar and authors previous to him, four sources would seem to be worthy of consideration. These are the genealogist, Pherekydes of Athens, the

Boiotian poet, Hesiod, and two early epic poets, Eumelos of Corinth, and the author of the epic called the Naupactia. A chapter will be devoted to the treatment of the myth by each of these authors in turn. Finally, we shall examine the possible origins of the story, and end by outlining the development of some aspects of the myth from the earliest versions up until that of Apollonios.

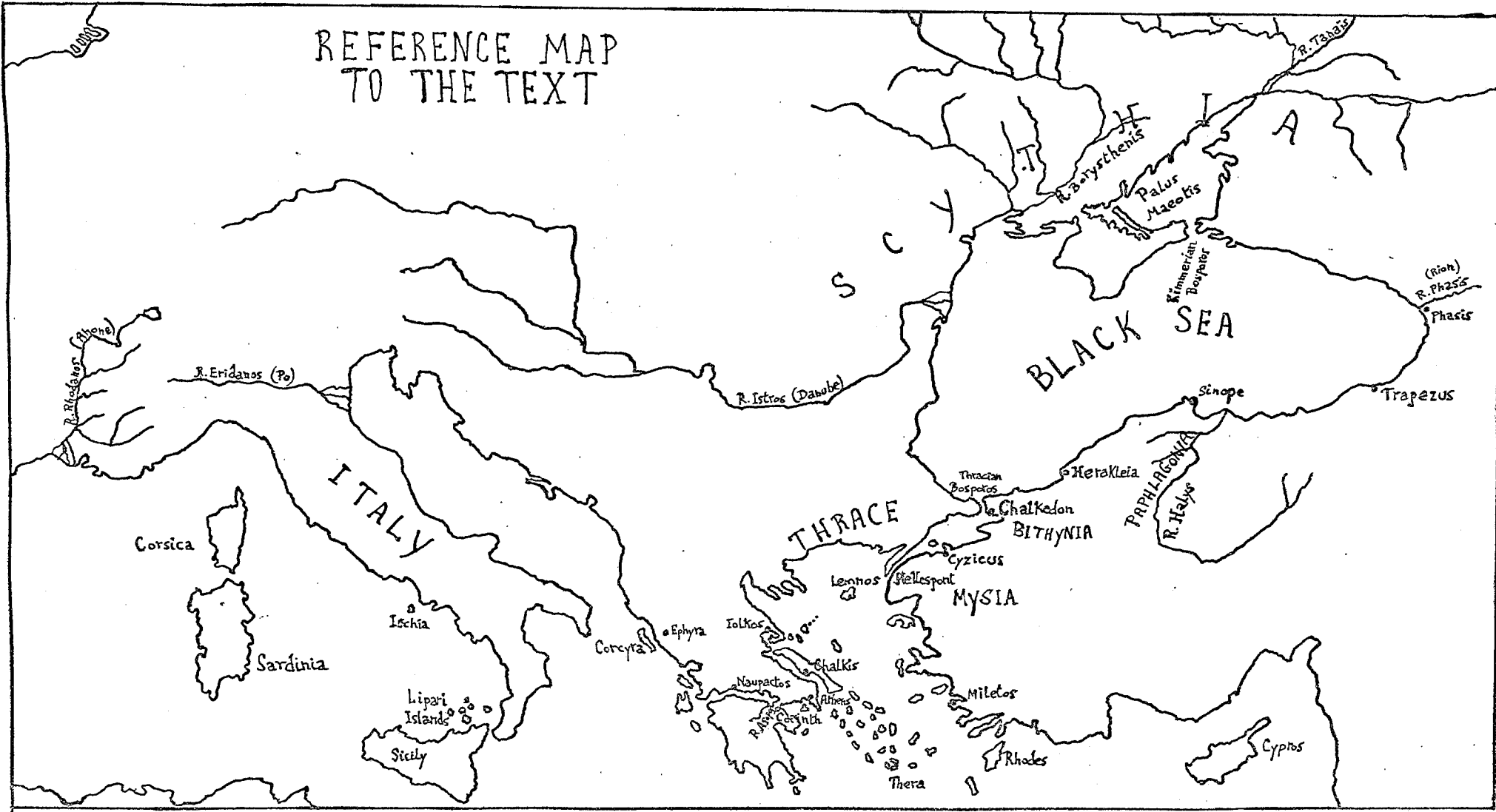
For those of our authors whose work survives only in fragments, references will be given as follows: for Pherekydes they will be to F. Jacoby's Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker. Pherekydes is the third author listed by Jacoby, so references will be in the form e.g. 3 F 30 J, meaning the thirtieth fragment of Pherekydes in Jacoby's FGH. References to other authors in FGH will be given in a similar manner. For Hesiod, references are to Carmina Hesiodi (second edit. Teubner, 1902), by Rzach, and will be in the form e.g. F 50 Rz², meaning the fiftieth fragment in Rzach's second edition. For the two early epic writers, references will be to Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta (Leipzig, 1877), edited by Kinkel, e.g. Eumel. F 2 K; Naup. F 10 K. The edition of the Scholia to Apollonios will be Scholia in Apollonium Rhodium Vetera (recens. C. Wendel, Berol. 1935).

A map is provided illustrating most of the places mentioned in the text.

T A B L E O F C O N T E N T S

PREFACE	ii
MAP	vi
Chapter I. The Myth in Pindar's Fourth Pythian Ode	1
Chapter II. The Myth in the Fragments of Pherekydes	34
Chapter III. The Myth in the Hesiodic Poems	61
Chapter IV. The Myth in the Homeric Poems	82
Chapter V. The Myth in the Fragments of Eumelos	105
Chapter VI. The Myth in the Fragments of the Naupactia	131
Chapter VII. The Origin and Development of the Myth	151
Bibliography	174

REFERENCE MAP
TO THE TEXT



THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE
MYTH OF THE ARGONAUTS

CHAPTER I

THE MYTH IN PINDAR'S FOURTH PYTHIAN ODE

The fullest extant narrative of the legend of the Argonauts prior to the Argonautica of Apollonios Rhodios is that contained in Pindar's Pythian IV. This ode was written to celebrate the victory of Arkesilas IV of Cyrene in the chariot-race at Delphi in 462.

Pindar begins by telling of the foundation of Cyrene by Arkesilas' ancestor, Battos, showing how this fulfilled, in the seventeenth generation, the prophecy of Medea at Thera, during the return voyage of the Argonauts. By establishing this link between Cyrene and the Argonauts, the poet creates an opportunity for the narration of the whole story.

It is worth noting that this story of the founding of Cyrene, for which Pindar is our earliest source, became an established part of the legend of the Argonauts, and was included by Apollonios (Argon., IV, 1551 ff.). However, Apollonios' version differs in details from the one given by Pindar. In the Argonautica, Euphemos, after receiving the clod of earth from the god in Libya, still had it when the Argonauts were leaving the island of Anaphe, and after the

consideration of a dream which he had had, he threw the clod into the sea, at Jason's suggestion. From the clod the island later called Thera grew up. In Pindar's account, on the other hand, Medea tells how the clod was washed overboard, and came to land at Thera, and it is there that she makes her prophecy. This difference suggests that the episode was not a traditional part of the story, and, since Pindar is our earliest authority for it, it was probably added by him. This seems very likely, since it forms such a neat link between his Cyrenaean patron and the main theme of the ode. Pindar may have wanted to incorporate some local legend, and probably gained his information from prominent Cyrenaean sources. We can see from Herodotos (IV, 150) Βάττος ὁ Πολυμνήστου, εὐν γένος Εὐφημίδης τῶν Μινυέων, that Euphemos was regarded as the ancestor of the Battidai, and Herodotos probably obtained his knowledge from Cyrenaean sources, not much later than the date of this ode. As a foundation myth at Cyrene the story is undoubtedly older and probably originated out of the Hesiodic reference (F 64 Rz²) to a visit to Libya by the Argonauts. But it is difficult to see how it could have entered the literary tradition before Pindar, and his method of introducing it strongly suggests that this was its first appearance in literature.

When dealing with Pindar's narrative of the myth of the Argonauts, we should bear in mind that, although he may have derived his material mostly from epic sources, he has

turned it into lyric form. This means, of course, that his version must be much shorter than an epic narrative. He achieves this by concentrating on the highlights and by passing swiftly from one scene to another, a procedure which means that we are not always able to determine exactly what version Pindar had in mind e.g. in his account of the trials and the subduing of the dragon.

Also, of course, Pindar was, like Apollonios, treating a story with a long tradition which had been developing through the ages, and it will be of interest to try to determine what his sources were for the particular facets of the story, and whether there are any features for which he himself could have been directly responsible.

Since Pindar's account is fairly full, it should be useful to examine the pictures he presents of the main characters of his story, namely Jason, Medea, and Pelias.

After mentioning the menacing oracle about the man with one sandal, Pindar immediately introduces Jason to the scene, though he is not yet named. He arrives with the two spears of the Homeric warrior, and is thus shown to be a heroic figure, an impression which is reinforced by the adjective ἐκπάγλος . Pindar goes on to depict him with his long unclipped hair flowing down his back, a fact which suggests to the people that he might be Apollo or Ares (v. 87). The size of Jason is further emphasised by a comparison to Otos and Ephialtes, two giants.¹ This emphasis by Pindar of

¹For this pair see Odyssey XI 308 ff.

the stature and beauty of Jason is reminiscent of the descriptions given by Apollonios, who compares him with Apollo (Argon., I, 307), and indeed makes his beauty the one feature by which he outshines all the other Argonauts.

Another aspect of Jason's character as shown by Pindar is his great skill as a speaker, displayed in his speeches to Pelias. This accomplishment may well be a result of Jason's education, for which the centaur, Cheiron, was responsible. In Pythian IV, in his first address to Pelias, Jason declares that he brings διδασκαλίαν Χείρωνος, an indication that the story of his education, first found in Hesiod (F 18 Rz²) was well-established in the tradition by Pindar's time. For if it had not been, surely the phrase διδασκαλίαν Χείρωνος would have been difficult to understand, coming as it does before the story of the false burial and the smuggling away of Jason to the care of the centaur. Farnell says that these words are "the earliest reference to a current system of precepts called Χείρωνος ὑποθήκαι attributed to Hesiod"² But surely it is more natural to take the phrase simply as a reference to Jason's education by the centaur. There may have been a Thessalian tradition that epic heroes were educated by Cheiron, for Achilles, another Thessalian hero, received the same education. There can be little doubt that Pindar intended to reflect this education by the courteous manner in which Jason conducts his dealings with Pelias.

²L. R. Farnell, The Works of Pindar (London, 1932), II, 155.

When we come to the events at Colchis, Pindar's account is rather different from that given by Apollonios. In Pindar's version, Jason has the direct assistance of Aphrodite, who brings him a love-charm with which he wins the love of Medea. Apollonios, on the other hand, lets love, in the form of Eros' arrow, take its own course. Pindar makes the initiative pass over to Jason (once he has received the love-charm). This episode of the love of Jason and Medea is rather strange, and we shall return to it in our examination of the character of Medea.

After winning the aid of Medea, Jason is faced with the trials set by Aietes, and, in Pindar's version, he does not display the despondency which he shows in Apollonios' Argonautica, but ἀπὸ κρόκεον ῥίψαις Ἰάσων εἶμα, θεῶ πύουνας εἶχετ' ἔργου. In his abbreviated version of the story, Pindar adds κτείνε μὲν γλαυκῶπα τέχναίς τοικιλόνωτον ὄφιν, Ἄρκεσίλα, κλέψεν τὲ Μῆδειαν σὺν αὐτῇ κ.τ.λ.

Hence we see that, in Pindar's version, Jason has the starring role, and none of the other Argonauts are mentioned, after the short catalogue before the actual voyage. The significant part played by Medea in the traditional account of Apollonios is in contrast to her relative unimportance in this ode. What reasons can the poet have had for giving Jason such emphasis?

Perhaps one should not go as far as Myers, who says, "(Pindar) wished to suggest an analogy between the relation of

the Iolkian king Pelias to Jason, and the relation of Arkesilas to his exiled kinsman Demophilos",³ but Burton is surely nearer the truth when he writes "Another feature relevant to Pindar's suit is Jason's character, which reflects an ideal of chivalry visible especially in the sentiments put into his mouth. In him Arkesilaus may see the qualities of courtesy, restraint, and respect for family ties together with a spirit of compromise and non-violence in dealing with Pelias which would supply a pattern of behaviour in settling his own quarrel with his kinsman Damophilos".⁴ In short, Pindar's treatment of Jason's character is influenced by the purpose of his ode. But there is another reason, perhaps more basic and closer to the root of the matter. This is that Jason may have been the main figure in the sources used by Pindar, and he almost certainly would have been so in early epic. Whether or not this is correct will be seen in later chapters.

Medea is, in fact, the first character to appear in the ode, as it is she who speaks the vital prophesy concerning Euphemos. Pindar introduces the prophesy, saying Αἰήτα τό ποτε ζαμενῆς παῖς ἀπέπνευσ' ἀθανάτου στόματος, δέσπονα Κόλχων. This is quite a fullsome introduction, but it does not give the impression that the poet expects his hearers to be ignorant of Medea. Rather the mention of Aietes and the Colchians suggests that he is going to say more about them, as, of course, he does.

³E. Myers, The Odes of Pindar (London, 1899), p. 68

⁴R. W. B. Burton, Pindar's Pythian Odes (Oxford, 1962), p. 168

In the adjective *ζαμενής* we have a hint that Pindar had some idea of what later became the characteristic of Medea, her frenzy or passion, as it suggests a high-spirited passionate nature.

Once the tale of the Argonauts has been embarked upon, we meet Medea again at Colchis. There, as we have seen, she is won over to Jason by the working of the love-charm, in the form of a *κρυξ*, apparently a wry-neck, which was bound to a wheel. Pindar's treatment of the love-affair is strikingly different from that of Apollonios. He tells it lyrically and briefly, in contrast with the romantic and psychological account of the Hellenistic poet. In several respects Pindar's story is unusual. Firstly there is the employment of the love-charm. Whether or not Pindar found it in his sources we cannot tell, but it would seem that he felt obliged to introduce an element of magic into the story of Medea's love, thereby assigning the leading role to Jason. Another strange feature is Pindar's phrase *ποθεινὰ Ἑλλάς* "desire for Greece", which drives Medea.⁵ He may be suggesting that Medea did not act through love of Jason, but because she longed to go to Greece. But it is difficult to see why he should make this suggestion, and the phrase may mean no more than that she wanted to go with Jason, Greece being Jason's destination. It is parallel to the *κρότος*

⁵There seems to be an echo of this idea in the speech of Jason in Euripides' *Medea* vv. 536, where he mentions the advantage which had accrued to Medea by leaving Colchis for Greece.

for the Argo with which Hera filled the Argonauts (vv. 184-7). Indeed, just as Hera was responsible for the $\kappa\acute{o}\theta\omicron\varsigma$ of the Argonauts, so Aphrodite, the bringer of the love-charm, may have been responsible for the $\kappa\omicron\theta\epsilon\omega\acute{\alpha}$ $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ of Medea.

After Medea had been won, Pindar tells us that she told Jason how to accomplish the tasks, giving him antidotes. The poet thus knew that Medea was $\pi\alpha\mu\phi\acute{\alpha}\rho\mu\alpha\kappa\omicron\varsigma$. At the end of the trials, we are told that Jason $\kappa\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\psi\epsilon\nu$ $\tau\epsilon$ $M\eta\delta\epsilon\iota\omega\nu$ $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu$ $\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\tau\eta\grave{\iota}$, $\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu$ $\Pi\epsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$ $\phi\omicron\nu\acute{\omicron}\nu$, "with her own aid stole away Medea, the death of Pelias." Hence Pindar knew that Medea played a part in the escape, but it is odd that he should here mention the murder of Pelias, since it lies after the events which he is narrating. At least we can take the reference as indicating that the story of the murder of Pelias by Medea was well-known in Pindar's time, to such an extent that $\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu$ $\Pi\epsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$ $\phi\omicron\nu\acute{\omicron}\nu$ should seem a natural phrase to apply to Medea. This reference is the only hint, in Pindar's account, of what Medea was to become in later literature, especially in the play of Euripides. The general picture which Pindar gives us is that of an inspired prophetess, who was also skilled in magic.

The only other character to figure prominently in Pindar's account is Pelias. Pindar tells us how it was fated that Pelias should perish at the hands or by the strategems of the sons of Aiolos, and that the oracle from Delphi about the one-sandalled man $\kappa\rho\upsilon\delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\kappa\upsilon\kappa\iota\nu\acute{\omega}$. . . $\theta\upsilon\mu\acute{\omega}$ "chilled his cunning heart." Hence our first impression of Pelias is of a man crafty and cunning.

After the arrival of Jason, Pelias appears on the scene, κλέπτων θυμῷ δαίμα. This phrase seems capable of two interpretations, "concealing his fear in his heart", or "concealing his fear by a show of rage". The former is the view taken by the scholiasts, while Farnell takes the latter view.⁶ But while Pelias' words to Jason may well contain an element of sarcasm, there is no reason to think that they are angry, and a man of Pelias' cunning would surely have realised that he could not bluster his way out of danger by a display of temper.

Pelias then asks Jason who he is and where he is from, in an elaborated form of the familiar epic formula τίς πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν; πόθι τοι πόλις ἦδ' ἐτοκῆες;⁷ speaking as follows, Ποίαν γαῖαν, ὦ ξείν' εὐχέαι πατρίδ' ἔμμεν; καὶ τίς ἀνθρώπων σε χαμαιγενέων πολιῶς ἐξάνηκεν (v. 97).
γαστρός;
 This is certainly strong language compared with the simple epic formula, and we may wonder why Pelias should have used these terms. The general impression is that he is being rude and offensive. The word χαμαιγενής occurs three times in epic, meaning on each occasion simply "earth-born", used of men as opposed to gods.⁸ But this does not mean that Pindar could not have imputed a meaning of contempt to it, such as "low-born". Burton refers to the use of ὁ χαμηλὰ κνέων in Pythian XI, 30 of "the humble groundling in contrast to the man of high position,"⁹

⁶Farnell, Pindar II, 155.

⁷e.g. Odyss I, 170.

⁸Hes. Theog. 879; Homeric Hymns, Aphrod. 108, Demeter 353.

⁹Burton p. 155

which provides a parallel for a contemptuous meaning for χαμαιγενέων. A third possibility, perhaps less likely, is that the word is equal to γηγενής in the sense of "giant", and that Pelias is making a sarcastic reference to Jason's stature. There would seem to be less room for doubt in the phrase πολιῶς γαστροῦς, "old womb", which must suggest something like "what old woman was your mother?" Certainly in combination with γαστροῦς, it is unlikely that πολιῶς could have the meaning "venerable" which it often has in other contexts. This view is reinforced by the strong language with which Pelias ends his speech.

Our next insight into the character of Pelias is provided by Jason's reply, in which he refers to Pelias in the third person, either not recognising him or pretending that he has not. He says he has heard that Πελίαν ἄθεμον, λευκαῖς πιθήσαντα φρασίν, ἀμετέρων ἀποσυλάσαι βιαίως ἀρχεδικῶν τοκέων, lawless Pelias, yielding to an evil mind, has violently robbed my parents, who originally had the right." (vv. 109 f.). He goes on to add that, when he was born, his parents held a false funeral for him, ὑπερφιάλου ἰγεμόνος δεῖσαντες ὕβριν, "fearing the violence of an over-bearing lord."

We can readily discern Pindar's source for this picture of Pelias, for we read in Hesiod (Theog. 995 f.), βασιλεὺς ὑπερήνωρ/ὕβριστις Πελίης καὶ ἀτάσθαλος ὄβριμοεργός, "the over-weening king, insolent Pelias, a wicked worker of violence." The identity of meaning and similarity of vocabulary strongly

seem possible that in Homer, μέλαινα was used literally, of the colour of healthy φρένες.¹⁶ This interpretation fits the five Homeric instances, to two of which the idea of blackheartedness is inappropriate. Hence if μέλαινα φρένες denotes a healthy mind, λευκαὶ φρένες will mean a mind which is not healthy or normal. In Hesychios a phrase λευκῶν πραπίδων is explained as κακῶν φρενῶν, which supports our interpretation. The other glosses: μαινόμενα, ἀγαθαί, λαμπραί, ἡμέραι, are of little help, and only indicate that the writer was no better equipped than we are in attempting to explain the phrase.

When Jason confronts Pelias the second time, Pindar tells us that Pelias himself came Τυροῦς ἐρασιπλοκάμου γενεῆ, "the son of Tyro of the lovely tresses". This phrase suggests that Pindar had in mind the passage in Odyssey XI, 254 f. where reference is made to the birth of Pelias. When Jason speaks, he addresses Pelias as the son of his other parent, παῖ Ποσειδῶνος Πετραίου, perhaps a more diplomatic greeting. Jason speaks tactfully and courteously to Pelias, and, perhaps to our surprise ἀκᾶ δ' ἀνταγόρευσε καὶ Πελλίας, "Pelias too answered gently". Either he has caught Jason's tone, or he is merely putting on a cunning pretence. At any rate, he tells Jason that if he brings back the soul of Phrixos and the Golden Fleece, the kingdom will be his. So diplomatic is Pelias here that his request seems pious, and not at all unreasonable.

¹⁶So Burton, p. 157, following R. B. Onians, Origins of European Thought (Camb. 1953) p. 25.

The only other reference to him in the ode is in the phrase τὰν Πελίω φονόν , describing Medea. All that we can glean from this is that Pelias must have failed to keep his agreement when Jason returned, and he was removed by the guiles of Medea.

It is now time to consider some of the other features of Pindar's version of the myth. The first thing which catches our attention is the oracle that came to Pelias to beware of the man with one sandal. The Scholiast on the passage tells us that the story was also given by Pindar's near-contemporary Pherekydes (3F 105 Jacoby). But the account given by Pherekydes of the events leading up to the voyage differs from Pindar's in almost every respect, except for the sandal motif itself. These differences make it extremely unlikely that either writer could have borrowed from the other. Some light may be shed on the problem by the fact that the sandal of Jason appeared on the coins of Larissa at least as early as 480.¹⁷ Hence the story must have been well-known in Thessaly before Pindar's time, and in the absence of any earlier extant literary reference and since the story was celebrated on coins, we can only surmise that it must have been part of the unwritten folk-tradition of Thessaly, and entered literature for the first time either in this ode or in the work of Pherekydes.

¹⁷B. V. Head, Historia Numorum (ed. 2, 1911), pp. 297-8.

The story became established in the tradition and is told by Apollonios (Argon. I, 5-17), who tells us how it came about that Jason only had one sandal. Pherekydes too (3 F105 J) accounts for the absence of a sandal. Pindar, however, gives us no such explanation. The oracle had spoken of a one-sandalled man, and Jason arrived with one sandal. Perhaps Pindar felt that it was not necessary to explain something which had been ordained by the oracle. Graves tries to see an element of symbolism in the motif, and says, "Jason's single sandal proved him to be a fighting man", and adds that Aetolian warriors were famous for fighting with only the left foot shod, citing the Scholiast on our passage and Macrobius (v. 18-21).¹⁸ But, in Pindar's ode, Jason is shown to be a fighting man by his two spears, and the poet does not tell us which foot was shod. Pherekydes (3 F105 J) said that Jason forgot to put on his left sandal, i.e. the wrong one for Graves' theory. We can conclude that in the story known to Pindar and Pherekydes either the left foot was bare, or else it was immaterial which was bare. Either way is in opposition to Graves' theory, which must have the right foot unshod. It seems better to accept the theory that Pindar was using a traditional story without any thought of such symbolism. The traditional story may, of course, have contained an element of the supernatural, such as Frazer's idea that "one foot shod and one unshod suggests the magic power of binding and loosing".¹⁹ As an example of this, we have the

¹⁸R. Graves, The Greek Myths (Penguin), II, 148.14.

¹⁹J. G. Frazer, The Golden Bough (1911-15) III, 311.

description in Aeneid IV, 518 of Dido performing her rites "unum exuta pedem vinclis", "with one foot freed from its bonds". Servius, commenting on this phrase, says "quia id agitur ut et ista solvatur et implicetur Aeneas", "it is done that she may be loosed and Aeneas bound". So perhaps the one-sandal motif may suggest a metaphorical loosing of Jason and binding of Pelias, but it should be emphasised that it is unlikely that Pindar was aware of any such implications when he used the story.

Familiar as we are with the common story that the Argonauts sailed in quest of the Golden Fleece, it is somewhat surprising to find that, in Pindar's account, Pelias gives an additional reason for the expedition, *κέλεται γὰρ εἶν ψυχὴν κομίσαι Φρίξος* "Phrixos calls for the bringing-back of his soul" (v. 159). What would be involved in this we cannot say for certain, but the easiest interpretation would be the bringing-back of his remains to Thessaly.

The Scholiast on the passage tells us that Pindar is the only writer to cite this as one of Jason's tasks, and that the others limit his quest to the Fleece. Did Pindar have a source for this idea, or was it in fact his own invention? The request came to Pelias in a dream, and certainly the idea is well-suited to the dream motif. The fact that it was not adopted by Apollonios suggests that it did not become a definite part of the tradition, which would strengthen the belief that it was actually an innovation introduced by Pindar himself. That such a bringing-back of bones was thought important in

Pindar's time is shown by the fact that the Athenians brought back the bones of Theseus from Skyros in 476/5.²⁰ Apollonios' omission of the motif may indicate that such a practice had no meaning in his time. Why did Pindar introduce this idea? Perhaps he intended us to interpret this extra task as a product of Pelias' cunning mind, as something which would oblige Jason to undertake the voyage. Whether or not this is so, there can be little doubt that this "soul of Phrixos" motif does impart a religious function to the enterprise, which will thus free the family from μῆνις χθονίων (v. 159), and, besides, it had been commanded by the Delphic oracle (vv. 163 f.).

This religious element may originate from Pindar's undoubted interest in Orphism, which we shall presently consider. This religious aspect gives the expedition something of the nature of a crusade. Perhaps Pindar intended us to see in this quest for the soul of Phrixos part of the answer to the arresting questions with which he had introduced the Argonaut story, τίς γὰρ ἀρχὴ δέξατο ναυτικίας; τίς δὲ κίνδυνος κρατερῶς ἀδαμάντος δῆσεν ἄλλοις; "What motive for the voyage took hold of them? What danger bound them with rivets of adamant?".

We may also discern another answer to these questions in vv. 184 ff., where we read, τὸν δὲ παμπειθῆ γλυκὸν ἤμιθέοισιν πόθον πρόσδαιεν Ἥρα ναὸς Ἄργου "all-persuasive Hera fastened on the demigods sweet passion for the ship Argo". Thus the

²⁰N. G. L. Hammond, A History of Greece to 322 B. C. (Oxford, 1959), p. 258.

Argonauts were inspired by Hera with an overwhelming passion for their ship, so that they dismiss all thoughts of staying at home. Their *πόθος* is almost suggestive of that of Alexander the Great for his Persian expedition. This idea of their desire for the ship is a rather romantic notion, which Pindar does not elaborate, but perhaps we have a trace of it in the Argonautica of Apollonios, in which the ship may well be considered as the true heroine of the tale.

An interesting feature is that this passion is inspired by Hera. The association of Hera with the Argonauts is found in the only direct reference to the Argo in the Homeric poems (Odyss. XII. 69 ff.), where we read how Hera helped the vessel past the Planktai, ἐπεὶ φίλος ἦεν Ἰησῶν . The presence of Hera as protectress of the expedition also occurs in the standard version that has come down to us, that of Apollonios. Since the Argonauts were traditionally Minyans, we might expect that they would be protected by the Minyan tribal god, Poseidon, who, of course, as sea-god, would appear particularly appropriate for a sea-expedition. But we must remember that Poseidon was also the father of Pelias, and such could hardly be expected to champion the Argonauts. But how did Hera come to be associated with the expedition? That her presence was, even in Pindar's time, a well-established part of the tradition is shown by the fact that she is also mentioned by Pindar's near-contemporary, Pherekydes (3 F 105 J.), who tells us that, when Pelias asked Jason what he would do if an oracle said that he would be killed by one of the citizens, Jason replied

that he would send the man in search of the Fleece. Pherekydes then adds, ταῦτα δὲ τῷ Ἰάσονι Ἥρη ἐς νόον βάλλει, ὡς ἔλθοι ἡ Μήδεια τῷ Πελίᾳ κακόν. This linking of Hera with Medea gives us some clue as to the origin of her connection with the Argonauts. They were Thessalians in origin, but there is no evidence for a strong Hera cult in Thessaly.²¹ However, among the best-known cults of Hera is the one at Corinth, where she was worshipped under the titles of Akraia and Bounaia.²² Medea, too, has strong Corinthian connections, so that it would seem that the relationship between Hera and Medea, and between Hera and the Argonauts was first created at Corinth, probably by the eighth-century poet Eumelos, who treated the myth of the Argonauts, and whose work we shall be examining in a later chapter.

If Eumelos did introduce Hera into the story, then Pindar is making clever use of an already existing motif in saying that she inspired the Argonauts with desire for their ship.

When news of the impending voyage was broadcast, it met with an enthusiastic response, and heroes assembled, eager to join the expedition. In epic, such a mustering of a crew gave an excellent opportunity for the inclusion of a catalogue, as in Apollonios' Argonautica (I. 23-227), in which the list

²¹Farnell, Pindar, II, 145.

²²Farnell, The Cults of the Greek States, (1896 - 1909), I, pp. 200 f.

is modelled on the Catalogue of Ships in Iliad II. Pindar, too, includes a catalogue, which, being in a lyric ode, must of necessity be much shorter than a real epic catalogue, like that of Apollonios. The Argo was traditionally a pentekonter, so that the standard number of crewmen was fifty or a few more.²³ Obviously, it would be impossible to catalogue a crew of fifty in a lyric ode, and, accordingly, Pindar's list gives only ten names, although an eleventh is added later (vv. 191 f.).

First of all, three sons of Zeus came, who can be identified by their mothers' names as Herakles, son of Alkmene, and Kastor and Polydeukes, sons of Leda. The fact that Pindar called both of them sons of Zeus is interesting, for in Nemean X, 49-90 he tells the story of the twins, showing that Kastor was mortal i.e. the son of Tyndareus, while Polydeukes was immortal, the son of Zeus. Possibly Pindar has merely found it simpler in Pythian IV to make them both sons of Zeus, and it is certainly briefer. But it may be a sign that he was using Hesiodic sources for his list, since we know that the older poet considered both brothers to be the sons of Zeus. (Hesiod F 91 Rz²). Hesiod is the type of cataloguing poet who could well have included a list of the Argonauts in his work. That he did is suggested by the Scholiast to A. R. I. 45 who says, οὔτε Ὅμηρος οὔτε Ἡσίοδος (F 50 Rz²) οὔτε Φερεκύδης (3 F 110 J) λέγουσι τὸν Ἴφικλον συμπεπλευκέναι τοῖς Ἀργοναύταις.

²³A. R. I. 23-228; Diod. IV, 41,2; Apollod. Bibl. I. 111-113; Val. Flacc. I. 353-483.

Next came two sons of Poseidon, Euphamos and Periklymenos, (the latter actually a grandson, being a son of Neleus). They were followed by Orpheus, who came at the bidding of Apollo, and by two sons of Hermes, Echion and Erytos. The ten were completed by the sons of Boreas, Kalais and Zetes. Later on, we learn that Mopsos, the seer, also joined the expedition. It is apparent that this is a good representative list. The three sons of Zeus represent the Dorians, while the sons of Poseidon, together with Jason himself, represent the traditional Minyan element. Little can be said about the sons of Hermes, except that their names suggest steadfast, capable seamen.²⁴ The sons of Boreas would obviously be useful on a sea-voyage, and in the full version of the tale they played an important part by getting rid of the Harpies for Phineus (Apoll. Argon II, 178 ff.). They were part of the saga from an early stage, as we know that Hesiod was familiar with the episode with the Harpies.²⁵

An interesting detail here is that Pindar describes the Boreadai as ἀνδρας πτεροῖσιν νῶτα κεφρίκοντας ἄμφω κορφυρέοις , "men with shining wings bristling on both sides of their backs". Apollonios' description of them (I, 219-221) is very different. In v. 219 the MSS give τῶ μὲν ἐκ' ἀκροτάτοις ποδῶν ἑκάτερθεν ἔρεμνάς .

²⁴Their names are translated by B. L. Gildersleeve, Pindar, the Olympian and Pythian Odes (London, 1898) as Hold-fast and Pull-hard.

²⁵Schol. to A. R. II, 297.

The phrase ἐκ' ἀκροτάτοισι ποδῶν is very odd, and Fränkel has emended it to ἐκ' ἀστραγάλοισι ποδῶν, on the basis of Schol. A. R. I, 219: ἐκ' ἀκροτάτοισι ποδῶν: τοῖς σφυροῖς ἢ τοῖς ἀστραγάλοις .

But Dr. Peter Kingston has informed me that an unpublished papyrus shows τῶ μὲν ἐ[πι κρ]οταφοῖσι ποδῶν <θ'> ἑκά[] , indicating that the passage should read as follows:

τῶ μὲν ἐπὶ κροτάφοισι ποδῶν θ' ἑκάτερθεν ἔρεμν^α
σειὸν λειρομένω πτέρυγας, μέγα θάμβος ἰδέσθαι,
χρυσείαις φολίδεσσι διαυγείας.

"As they rose from the ground, they flapped dark wings on their temples and on either side of their feet, a wonder to behold, gleaming through with golden flecks". Support for this reading is provided by Hyginus and the author of the Orphic Argonautica, both of whom, and especially the latter, may have been drawing on Apollonios. Hyginus, Fabulae XIV 47, says "....., hi (sc. Zetes et Calais) capita pedesque pennatos habuisse feruntur," while the Orphic Argon. 222-3, reads, οἱ δὲ καὶ ταρσοῖσιν ὑπὸ κροτάφοισι πεπότηντο

Ζήτης καὶ Καλαῖς, δέμας εἴκελοι ἀθανάτοισιν.

Apollonios' conception of the Boreads, was, then, that they had wings on their temples and on either side of their feet, which is certainly far removed from Pindar's version. While it is difficult to see what this difference signifies, Pindar's account certainly seems the more primitive, and closer to the original conception of these miraculous brothers.

The most interesting feature of Pindar's list is the inclusion of Orpheus, for which Pindar is our first authority, and which remained a feature of later accounts, culminating in the Orphic Argonautica.

On the presence of Orpheus, the Scholiast to A. R. I, 23-25a. says, ζητεῖται δέ, διὰ τί Ὀρφεὺς ἀσθενῆς ὢν συνέπλει τοῖς ἥρωσιν, and provides the answer, ὅτι μάντις ὢν ὁ Χείρων ἐχρησε δύνασθαι καὶ τὰς Σειρήνας παρελθεῖν αὐτοῦ Ὀρφέως συμπλέοντος. Hence Orpheus' presence was explained by his musical ability, and this would also seem to have been Pindar's reason for including him, in view of the words φορμιγκτᾶς and ἀοιδᾶν πατήρ. Also he was sent ἐξ Ἀπόλλωνος in the latter's capacity of god of music. The general opinion of the ancients, as is indicated by the Scholia to Pythian IV, that ἐξ Ἀπόλλωνος meant "son of Apollo", is weakened by the absence of a participle, such as "sprung from", or of a word denoting "offspring", and moreover in F 126 Pindar calls Orpheus the son of Oeagros, conforming to the normal tradition. Another possible interpretation is that Orpheus was ἐξ Ἀπόλλωνος φορμιγκτᾶς, that is, he received his skill in musicianship from Apollo. In any case, his function in the story is clear, he is hortator, and he enables the Argo to pass the Sirens safely.

But this function is not such as to make his presence a necessity, for, after all, Odysseus passed the Sirens without him. Nor was he a Minyan, or even a hero. Why, then, did Pindar include him? The answer would seem to be that Pindar saw him as the representative of Orphism, a religious doctrine which finds expression in several of Pindar's works.²⁶ Orphism

²⁶Olym II, 55-80, VI, 95-6; also some fragments of the Dithyrambs and Dirges.

may be responsible for the religious element in this ode, the bringing-back of the soul of Phrixos, which seems rather similar to the Orphic doctrine about the purification of souls.

If this was Pindar's reason for including Orpheus, the question still remains, "did he introduce Orpheus into the story on his own initiative, or did he have some precedent?" The Scholiast to A.R. I, 23 tells us $\Phi\epsilon\rho\epsilon\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\delta\eta\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\nu \tau\eta \sigma'$ (3 F 26 J) $\Phi\iota\lambda\acute{\alpha}\mu\mu\omicron\nu\acute{\alpha} \phi\eta\sigma\iota \kappa\alpha\iota \omicron\upsilon\kappa \text{'}\text{Ο}\rho\phi\acute{\epsilon}\alpha \sigma\upsilon\mu\kappa\epsilon\pi\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\iota$. Pherekydes was probably a contemporary of Pindar, so that his denial of Orpheus' right to a place suggests that Pindar was not responsible for his introduction, but rather that Orpheus had entered the story somewhat earlier, though not so much earlier as to have become an accepted tradition. A sixth-century date would seem to be indicated, and this is what is suggested by Linforth²⁷ and Watmough.²⁸ Linforth refers to depiction of Orpheus among the Argonauts in the Treasury of Sikyon at Delphi, which is dated before the middle of the sixth century. Watmough notes that Orpheus rarely appears on Black-Figure vases, which suggests a later date, as Red-Figure did not come in until about 530.²⁹

There is no extant literary reference to Orpheus as

²⁷I. M. Linforth, The Arts of Orpheus (Berkeley, 1941).

²⁸J. R. Watmough, Orphism (Camb. 1934), p. 14.

²⁹A. Lane, Greek Pottery (London, 1948), p. 45; J. Boardman, Greek Art (New York, 1964), p. 102.

an Argonaut before Pindar, but it seems likely that some writers referred to the episode. One possible precedent for Pindar is Simonides, from whom, as we shall see, Pindar borrowed other motifs.³⁰ In fragment 27 Diehl (40 Bergk) we read:-

τοῦ καὶ ἀπειρέσιαι
 ὄρνιθες ὑπὲρ κεφαλᾶς πωτῶντ', ἀνὰ δ' ἰχθύες ὄρθοι
 κυανέας ἄλός ἐξέλλοντο καλᾶς ὑπ' ἰοιδῶς.

"Over his head flew innumerable birds, and to his beautiful song fish leapt straight out of the blue sea".

This sounds very much like a description of Orpheus singing during a sea-voyage; and the date of Simonides accords very well with what we have suggested for the introduction of Orpheus into the tale.³¹

Another possibility is that Orpheus was introduced into the literary tradition by the Cretan, Epimenides, who wrote a poem in 6,500 lines entitled Ἄργους ναυπηγία καὶ Ἰάκωνος ἐς Κόλχους ἀπόπλους.³² Orphism was strong in Crete, and the name of Orpheus was associated with that of Epimenides,³³ who was the type of mystic who could well have brought Orpheus into the myth of the Argonauts. Unfortunately the fragments of Epimenides are of no assistance in this problem.

Once the Argonauts have set sail, the voyage to Colchis

³⁰Bowra, Pindar p. 193; U. Wilamowitz, Pindaros Berlin, 1922), pp. 392 f.

³¹He was born 556 B. C.; see Bowra, Greek Lyric Poetry (2nd. edit. Oxford, 1961), p. 309 note 7.

³²Diog. Laert. I, 112.

³³e.g. in Apul. Apolog 27.

is swift and almost without incident, though Pindar does tell us that the Symplegades remained motionless after the Argo had passed, which was the standard version of the episode, and is not at variance with Odyssey XII, 69 ff., where Homer is referring not to the Symplegades, but to the Planktai. Here too we can perhaps trace the influence of Simonides, who also mentioned the Symplegades, calling them συνορμάδας,³⁴ very like Pindar's phrase συνδρομων πετρων (v. 208). It is reasonable to expect that Simonides influenced Pindar, since he was his senior by thirty-eight years, and was already a famous figure at the time when Pindar was studying at Athens.

When the Argonauts reached Phasis, Pindar tells us Κόλχοισιν βίαν μίξαν Αίητα παρ' αὐτῶ (v. 212). On this Farnell says, "we cannot evade the obvious interpretation of this, 'they joined in battle with'. The scholiasts, evidently in ignorance of any such tradition, explained it as meaning 'they in their might mingled with the Kolchoi'. Neither Pindar nor any other Greek would use such a phrase".³⁵ Burton calls it "the briefest of references to a battle with the Colchians".³⁶ It would certainly appear that this is the natural interpretation, but it is strange that Pindar should be so brief as to tell us really nothing about the battle, no

³⁴Schol. to Euripides' Medea 3.

³⁵Farnell, Pindar, II, 163.

³⁶Burton, p. 164.

reference to which is found in any other source. It may be that the explanation given by the scholiasts is on the right lines, suggestive as it is of common epic phrases like βίη Διομήδεος meaning "the mighty Diomedes". With this interpretation, the phrase will mean no more than "the mighty heroes mingled with the Colchians".

After Jason has won the love of Medea by the aid of the love-charm, we come to the story of the trials. In Apollonios' version, these trials are first mentioned by Aietes (III, 407 ff.). He says that between morning and evening he can yoke his pair of bronze-footed firebreathing bulls, and plough a four-acre field, sowing the teeth of a serpent, from which spring up armed men, whom he kills. If Jason can do likewise, he can carry off the Fleece to Pelias the very same day. Jason then tells his comrades about the task, in very similar language (III, 495-501). In v. 1177 we learn that the teeth to be sown are those of the dragon killed by Kadmos, and in vv. 1278 ff. we have the account of Jason's performance, ending at v. 1407:-

ἦμαρ ἔδου καὶ τῷ τετελεσμένος ἦεν ἀέθλος.

"The sun sank, and his task was accomplished".

In this connection, nothing is said of the serpent which guarded the Fleece, though it had been mentioned in II, 1208, by Argoes, the son of Phrixos. Getting past this serpent is not one of the tasks, but becomes necessary when Aietes fails to keep his promise.

Pindar, however, gives us a much shorter account than this. Jason has only to yoke the bulls and plough the field. There is no mention of sowing the teeth or killing the earth-born men. Pindar goes straight on to say that by magic Jason slew the dragon, and took the Fleece. Why should Pindar omit these episodes? It may be that he thought his story was becoming too long and that it was time to return to Arkesilas. So he takes $\tau\iota\upsilon\alpha \sigma\acute{\iota}\mu\omicron\nu\beta \beta\rho\acute{\alpha}\chi\upsilon\nu$ (v. 248), "a certain short-cut". It can hardly be that these episodes were not in the version which came down to him. Apollonios tells us (III, 1177 ff.) that the teeth were those of Kadmos' dragon, which were divided between Kadmos and Aietes. As the scholiast on the passage shows, Apollonios obtained this version from Pherekydes (3 F 22a J), who gives a detailed account of how Kadmos sowed the teeth and reduced the number of the earthborn men. In the extant fragments of Pherekydes, there is nothing about Jason sowing the teeth, but the fact that they were given to Aietes shows that they must have been sown by Jason. Hence it seems reasonable to assume that the story was known to the saga around Pindar's time. But, in any case, we have evidence much earlier than that of Pherekydes, for the Scholiast to A. R. III, 1354 ff. tells that this and the following lines were taken from Eumelos:

οἱ δὲ ἦδη κατὰ πᾶσαν ἀνασταχύεσκον ἄρουραν
 γηγενέες· φρίξεν δὲ περὶ στιβαροῖς σακέεσσιν
 δοῦρασι τ' ἀφλιγυῖοις κορυθεῖσι τε λαμπομένησιν
 Ἄρηος τέμενος φθισίμῳ βρότῳ·

Here we have a graphic description of the growth of the earth-born men following the sowing of the dragon's teeth. Hence this episode was in the myth very early, and we must conclude that Pindar has chosen not to include it in order to shorten his narrative. For it seems certain that Pindar was acquainted with the work of Eumelos when we consider his reference to Medea in Olympian XIII 54, and especially the scholia to that passage. In reply to the question why Pindar should mention Medea, the Scholiast answers, ὅτι ἡ Κόρινθος πατρῶον αὐτῆς κτήμα γέγονε, "because Corinth was her ancestral inheritance", and he then proceeds to tell the story, ending with διδάσκει δὲ τοῦτο Εὐμηλος, followed by a lengthy quotation from the poet.

Pindar also differs from Apollonios in the story of how Jason managed to get past the dragon which guarded the Fleece. As we have seen, he says that Jason slew the dragon τέχναις (v. 248), while in Apollonios' account (IV, 156 ff.) Medea merely lulled the beast to sleep. The Scholiast to A. R. IV, 156 tells us that Apollonios, in his version, agreed with Antimachos, while Pherekydes said simply that the dragon was killed by Jason. This latter would seem to be the more primitive form of the story, while the idea of the dragon being lulled to sleep belongs to the more fanciful Hellenistic period, and may well have been no earlier than Antimachos. Pindar's position would seem to stand between these two. The dragon is killed, but it is killed τέχναις, "by arts",

"by magic", suggesting that Medea had a hand in the slaying. A comparison with Pherekydes' version would suggest that the use of magic in this episode was probably introduced by Pindar, who introduced the other magic element of the love-charm. We should also bear in mind the possibility that the employment of Medea's magic to help Jason perform the tasks may date from no earlier than this period. Certainly in early epic, it is likely that the hero would accomplish the tasks unaided, and we shall look for signs of this in our examination of the earlier works.

As for the rest of the voyage, Pindar says ἔν τ' Ὠκεανοῦ
 κελύγεσσι μίγεν, πόντῳ τ' ἐρύθρῳ / Λαμνιῶν τ' ἔθνει γυναικῶν ἀνδροφόνων,
 that is, the Argonauts then sailed into Ocean, and the Red Sea, and eventually reached Lemnos. From the words of Medea at the beginning of the ode, it is clear that they crossed Libya. The Scholiast to A. R. IV, 259, referring to the return route, says Ἡσίοδος (F 64 Rz²) δὲ καὶ Πίνδαρος ἐν Πυθιονίκῃς
 καὶ Ἀντίμαχος ἐν Λύδη (F 12 B II 291) διὰ τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ φάσιν ἔλθειν
 αὐτοὺς εἰς Λιβύην καὶ βασιτάσαντας τὴν Ἀργὴν εἰς τὸ ἡμέτερον κέλευθος παραγενέσθαι.
 Hence Pindar's version is in agreement with that of Hesiod. Again the Scholiast to A. R. IV, 284 says Ἡσίοδος (F 63 Rz²)
 δὲ διὰ Φάσιδος αὐτοὺς εἰσπεπλευκέναι λέγει. In comparison to this, we will remember that when the Argonauts arrived at Colchis, Pindar said ἐς Φάσιν δ' ἔπειτεν ἦλυθον. Hence it seems almost certain that Pindar is here drawing on a Hesiodic source. He is not likely to have been worried by the fact

that this early conception of the return voyage was outdated by his time, and, in fact, the same version was given much later by Antimachos.

A striking feature of Pindar's account is that he places the visit to Lemnos on the return voyage. He is the only authority for this, and it is difficult to reconcile with the route which he gives. Why should he have done it? At the beginning of the ode in vv. 50-51 we read $\nu\upsilon\nu\ \gamma\epsilon\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\delta\omega\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\ \kappa\rho\iota\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu\ \epsilon\upsilon\rho\eta\sigma\epsilon\iota\ \gamma\upsilon\nu\alpha\iota\kappa\acute{\omega}\nu\ / \ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \lambda\acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\sigma\iota\nu\ \gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma\ \omicron\acute{\iota}\ \kappa\epsilon\nu,\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\epsilon\ \delta\upsilon\nu\ \tau\iota\mu\acute{\eta}\ \theta\epsilon\omega\acute{\nu}\ \nu\acute{\alpha}\delta\omicron\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\lambda\theta\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$. This mysterious reference lends a sense of expectancy to the ode, and we wait to hear who these women are. Pindar, however, keeps us in suspense until vv. 251 f., when we learn that they are the Lemnian women. Hence the postponing of the Lemnian visit until the return voyage is really a literary device.³⁷ And as Farnell says "Lemnos was a convenient place for him for dropping his Argonauts and returning to Cyrene".³⁸ The passage (vv. 252-62) explains and concentrates the allusive words of Medea at the beginning of the ode. We should not think it odd that Pindar should deliberately alter a traditional story in this way, as there are several examples of similar alterations in other odes e.g. in Isthmian IV, 57 he calls Herakles $\mu\omicron\rho\phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\ \beta\rho\alpha\chi\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$, "short of stature", of which Bowra says, "The only possible

³⁷ cf. Burton, pp. 152, 164, 167

³⁸ Farnell, Pindar, II, 165.

conclusion is that Pindar has defied tradition in his desire to please his Theban patron..... it shows how when the spirit or the occasion compelled, he was prepared to make sensational changes in even a familiar myth."³⁹

Visiting Lemnos on the return voyage creates a difficulty which Pindar does not seem to have envisaged, for, as Miss Bacon says, one wonders whether Medea was a passive spectator of the adventure with the women.⁴⁰ This and the evidence of the other ancient authors points to the Lemnian adventure being on the outward voyage, and Pindar is merely suiting himself in placing it on the return journey.

The story of the Lemnian visit was known to the Homeric saga,⁴¹ and Pindar is probably dealing with what was a common motif in the story of the Argonauts. But there is some evidence from which we can perhaps deduce his source for the story. This lies in his reference to the games on Lemnos (v. 253), which, he says, were played for a garment. Here, as we learn from the Scholia to the passage, he was repeating a theme of Simonides, and in another reference to these Lemnian Games (Olym IV, 19-27) Pindar mentions the "son of Klymenos", apparently assuming that his audience will know who this man is, a fact which suggests that the story was well-known, and that Pindar did not invent it. It seems likely that both these

³⁹Bowra, Pindar p. 48; for other examples see pp. 56; 71-2.

⁴⁰J. R. Bacon, The Voyage of the Argonauts (London, 1925), p. 30.

⁴¹Iliad VII, 467; XXI, 40-1; XXIII, 746-7.

references to the Lemnian Games were taken from a poem of Simonides, who certainly gave an account of them.⁴²

We may conclude that Pindar, in his treatment of the myth of the Argonauts, may have been an innovator in several points, such as the recovery of the soul of Phrixos, and the use of magic in the form of the love-charm and in the killing of the dragon. It is noteworthy that he was not followed in most of the respects by later tradition as represented by Apollonios. Generally, however, Pindar treated known motifs, even if, at times, he adapted them to suit himself, as in his treatment of the Lemnian visit. These motifs can be traced to several predecessors, whose work must have exercised a strong influence on him. For some, more trivial, lyrical details,⁴³ he is clearly indebted to Simonides, though also perhaps, more importantly, for the presence of Orpheus. With regard to broader themes, links can be discerned with the Hesiodic Corpus,⁴⁴ the Homeric poems,⁴⁵ and also perhaps the Corinthiaca of Eumelos.⁴⁶

⁴²Simonides, F 32 Diehl.

⁴³The description of the Symplegades and the Lemnian Games

⁴⁴The List of Names, the description of Pelias, and the return route.

⁴⁵The visit to Lemnos and the "Love of Hera" motif.

⁴⁶The presence of Hera.

With his contemporary Pherekydes he shares several motifs,⁴⁷ but differs from him in certain details in these motifs, and is also at complete variance with regard to the presence of Orpheus. Hence it seems desirable to examine next the fragments of Pherekydes, and to attempt to discover what that author knew of the legend, and, if possible, what his sources were.

⁴⁷The one-sandalled man, the death of the dragon, the importance of Hera.

CHAPTER II

THE MYTH IN THE FRAGMENTS OF PHEREKYDES

A writer frequently cited in the Scholia to Apollonios Rhodios is Pherekydes of Athens.¹ But, in spite of this, and the large number of fragments under his name, we know relatively little about the man himself. This is largely because of the confusion in our sources caused by the fact that there were several writers called Pherekydes.

The Suda lists three, beginning with Pherekydes of Syros, whose birth is dated to 584/1. Pherekydes of Athens is the next to be mentioned, and is said to have been earlier than the man from Syros, though the Suda adds that Porphyrios thought none of them to be earlier than the one from Syros. Strabo (X. 5.8) also says that the Athenian was the younger, and a date is suggested by Eusebios (s.o.l. 81.1. i.e. 456/5) who says "Ferecydes secundus historiarum scriptor agnoscitur". It can be seen that the Suda is confused, and it would seem that the Athenian was definitely later than the man from Syros. The latter is described as Θεολόγος, and clearly treated cosmogony and philosophy, while the Athenian was γενεαλόγος, dealing with myths.

¹See Wendel, Index I, p. 340.

The real confusion is that between the Athenian and the third writer named by the Suda, Pherekydes of Leros, who is called ἱστορικός and is said to have been born before 480/77. He was clearly considered to be a similar type of author to the Athenian. Jacoby's opinion is that the Lirian was probably a Hellenistic author to whom fragments 173-80 could be attributed, and he sees no reason to doubt his existence.² For the date of the Athenian, he indicates that F 2 J and F 146 J suggest the dates 508/7 and 476/5, probably nearer the latter.³ Another opinion perhaps more likely, is that the Athenian and the Lirian are one and the same, a man who was born in Leros, but who came to Athens.⁴ It would seem reasonable to date him to the early fifth or late sixth century.

As for the character of his writings, Eratosthenes called him Ἀθηναῖον γενεαλόγον⁵, while Dionysios of Halikarnassos says (Ant. Rom. I, 13.1), ἄνδρα τῶν ἀρχαίων συγγραφέων, Φερεκύδην τὸν Ἀθηναῖον, γενεαλόγον οὐδενὸς δευτέρου. Hence he was regarded as a writer of genealogies, and one of the early prose-writers. The Suda indicates that he wrote at least ten books of genealogical histories, in which many mythological subjects were

²Jacoby, F. G. H., Kommentar 3 T 3, p. 386.

³Jacoby, F. G. H., Nachträge zum Kommentar 3, p. 537.

⁴Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie, (Stuttgart, 1893-), XIX, 2020; Hammond, History of Greece, p. 281.

⁵Diog. Laert. I, 119.

treated. Pherekydes apparently dealt systematically with one story at a time, as we can see from the fact that some of the sources for his work refer to a specific book e.g. the story of Herakles was told in the second and third books, that of Kadmos in the fourth and fifth. It is in the sixth and seventh books that we find the story of the Argonauts. In our attempts to determine the exact sequence of events in his version of the story, we are handicapped by the fact that the sources do not always tell us from which book of Pherekydes they have taken their information. However we do know that the sixth book included a reference to Phrixos (F 25 J), the fact that Philammon sailed and not Orpheus (F 26 J), the episode of Phineus and the Harpies (Fs 27-29 J), and a reference to the field of Ares (F 30 J). The seventh book contained the episodes of the slaying of the dragon (F 31 J), and the murder of Apsyrtos (F 32 J). Since all the episodes attributed to the sixth book come earlier in the story than those attributed to the seventh, it would seem that Pherekydes treated the myth in a chronological narrative manner. He never gives more than one version of any particular episode, so it is clear that his work was not just a compendium of mythological material, but a narrative based on a selection from his sources of the version which he thought best.

That he was acquainted with the events leading up to the expedition is clear from F 98 J, where we find that he called Phrixos' stepmother Themisto, and also said that,

when the crops were failing, Phrixos willingly gave himself up of his own accord for sacrifice.⁶ The name Themisto is also cited by Herodoros (31 F 38 J) for Phrixos' mother, while the stepmother is there called Ino, the usual name. The Scholiast to Pindar, Pythian IV, 162a says that Sophokles called the stepmother Nephele, the name normally given to the mother. Robert, apparently assuming confusion in the Scholia, suggests that, in Pherekydes' version, Themisto was Phrixos' mother⁷, but it seems obvious from the above example from Sophokles that there was no fixed tradition for these names.

Apparently all was ready for the sacrifice, but we do not know exactly how events turned out. But whatever happened, it is clear from F 99 J that Phrixos was rescued by the ram, which Pherekydes and Hesiod (F 51 Rz²) said had a golden fleece. In this point Pherekydes was presumably following Hesiod, since the colour of the Fleece was not at all a settled point at this period, for both Simonides and Akousilaos had said it was purple.⁸

At any rate, we can assume that the escape from Thessaly was successfully made, for the Scholiast to A.R. II, 1149 states that Pherekydes (F 25a J) gave the name of Aietes'

⁶Schol. Pindar, Pyth. IV, 162 a.

⁷C. Robert, Die griechische Heldensage (Berlin, 1921), p. 45.

⁸Simonides in Schol. Eur. Med. 5, and Schol. A.R. IV, 177; Akousilaos in Schol. A.R. IV, 1147.

daughter, whom Phrixos married, as Euenia. This name is interesting, as it is found in none of our other sources, and we are left wondering from where Pherekydes could have taken it. Hesiod (F 152 Rz²) knew the daughter of Aietes as Iophossa, as did Akousilaos (2 F 38 J). The usual name, Chalkiope, used by Apollonios, was also cited by Herodoros (31 F 39 J). Some one of these names should be able to be traced to our early sources. Further evidence for Phrixos' marriage in Pherekydes' version is found in F 101 J, where a son Melas is mentioned, and also in F 106 J, where another son is called Argos. These were among the four names given by Hesiod and presumably were also cited by Epimenides.⁹ Hesiod is the more likely to have been Pherekydes' source.

After these preliminary episodes, we come to the story of the actual expedition, and firstly we can ascertain Pherekydes' version of Jason's parentage. The Scholiast to A.R. I, 411, commenting on the words $\kappa\omicron\lambda\upsilon\ \text{A}\iota\sigma\omega\text{ν}\acute{\iota}\sigma\alpha$, tells us that the city was called Aionis after the father of Jason, as both Pindar and Pherekydes said. Stephanos Byzantinos reports that the city of Aion in Thessaly took its name from Aion, the father of Jason, but adds that Pherekydes called it Aionia.¹⁰ The slight discrepancy in these two references to the name given by Pherekydes may be merely due to a wrong recollection

⁹Schol. A.R. II, 1122; Hes. F 152 Rz²; Epimenides, 457 F 12 J.

¹⁰Steph. Byz. s.v. $\text{A}\iota\sigma\omega\text{ν}$; Pherekydes F 103b J.

on the part of Stephanos. At any rate, it is clear that Pherekydes called Jason's father Aison. As for his mother's name, we learn from F 104a J that Pherekydes agreed with Apollonios in calling her Alkimede.¹¹ Her parentage was also given by Apollonios, who called her father Phylakos (I, 45), and named her mother as Klymene, daughter of Minyas (I, 233). Pherekydes (F 104b) was in agreement on the name of the father, but we have no evidence for the name which he gave to the mother. Probably it was the same as that given by Apollonios. It is noticeable that in his version of Jason's parentage, Pherekydes differed from Hesiod, who called Jason's mother Polymede.¹²

The first event we meet in the story is the arrival of Jason at Iolkos, embodying the motif of the μονοκρήπις, the one-sandalled man, also mentioned by Pindar (Pyth. IV, 75). The scholiast to the Pindaric passage preserves a long frag-

ment of Pherekydes (F 105 J): τὸν μονοκρήπιδα ἢ ἱστορία περὶ Φερεκύδει· ἔθηκε τῷ Ποσειδῶνι, φησὶν, "ὁ Πελλίως, καὶ προεῖπε πᾶσι παρεῖναι· οἱ δὲ ἦσαν οἱ τε ἄλλοι πολῖται καὶ ὁ Ἰήσων. ἔτυχε δὲ ἀροτρεῶν ἐγγὺς τοῦ Ἀναύρου ποταμοῦ, ἀσάμβαλος δὲ διεβῆκε τὸν ποταμὸν, διεβῆς δὲ τὸν μὲν δεξιὸν ὑποδεῖται πῶδα, τὸν δὲ ἀριστερὸν ἐπιλήθεται· καὶ ἔρχεται οὕτως ἐπὶ δεῖπνον. ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ Πελλίως συμβαλλεῖ τὸ μαντήιον. καὶ τότε μὲν ἠσύχασε, τῇ δὲ ὑστερατῆ μεταπεμπόμενος αὐτὸν ἤρετο ὅτι ποιῶν εἰ αὐτῷ χρησθεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ τῶν πολῖτῶν ἀποθανεῖν. ὁ δὲ Ἰήσων, πέμψαι ἂν εἰς Αἴαν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ κῶας τὸ χρυσοβάλλον, ἄξοντα ἂν ἀπὸ Αἰήτηω. ταῦτα δὲ τῷ Ἰήσωνι ἠρῆ ἔς νόον βάλλει ὡς ἔλθοι ἢ Μῆδεια τῷ Πελλίω κακῶν.¹³

¹¹Schol. A. R. I, 45.

¹²F 18 Rz² (Schol. Odyss. XII, 69).

¹³Although this is clearly quoted by the Scholiast to Pindar as the actual words of Pherekydes, it reads very much like a scholiast's' adaptation.

It is notable that, in spite of the proximity of date, virtually the only similarity with Pindar's account is the one sandal motif itself. As we have already remarked about Pindar's use of it, the differences between Pherekydes and Pindar make it unlikely that either could have invented it. The story would seem to have been well-known to Thessalian folk-lore, although we have no evidence for it in the earlier extant literary tradition. We will remember that Pindar did not explain how Jason came to have only one sandal, but Pherekydes attempts a rationalising explanation which merely seems lame and incredible. Apollonios (I, 8-11) is much more successful in his version of how the sandal came to be missing, telling how it was lost when Jason forded the river in its winter spate.

Pherekydes was clearly acquainted with the story of the oracle given to Pelias,¹⁴ but his version of the subsequent events differs greatly from Pindar's. It is true that Pelias displays his characteristic cunning, but the motif of Jason himself suggesting the voyage is very different. Later tradition did not adopt it, preferring to have the task imposed by Pelias, as is more natural, but it must be admitted that a fine dramatic motif has been lost, namely the moment when Pelias turned to Jason and said, "You are the man". The reason which Pherekydes gives for it, the fact that Hera put it into Jason's mind, brings us again to a familiar motif, the

¹⁴Pindar, Pyth. IV, 73 ff.

presence of Hera in the myth. However, in Pherekydes' account, the function of Hera is not quite the same as in the usual version. In Homer's story, Hera helps the Argo past the Planktai ἐπεὶ φίλος ἦεν Ἰήσων,¹⁵ and in Pindar, Pythian IV, she inspires the Argonauts with a passion for their ship. In these versions, Hera's help is a positive thing, which she gives because she is friendly to Jason and the Argonauts. Pherekydes, on the other hand, says that Hera put the thought into Jason's head ὡς ἔλθοι ἢ Μῆδεια τῷ Πελίῳ κακόν . Hence she is motivated by anger against Pelias, so much so that she employs Jason and Medea as her instruments. The idea that she had planned that Medea should come to Greece was repeated by Apollonios (III, 1134-6), where his words are a clear indication of his debt to Pherekydes:

ὡς γὰρ τόδε μῆδετο Ἑρῆ,

ὄφρα κακόν Πελίῳ ἑρῆν ἐς Ἴωλκόν ἔροιτο

Αἰωλῆ Μῆδεια, λιπύσσι ἀπὸ πατρίδα γαίαν.

Apollonios also mentioned, at the beginning of his poem, the banquet given by Pelias, and he gives the reason for Hera's anger, which he apparently took from Pherekydes:

εἰλακίτης ἦν πατρὶ Πόσειδῶνι καὶ ἄλλοις

ῥεζε θεοῖς, Ἑρῆς δὲ Πελασγίδος οὐκ ἀλέγιζεν. A.R. I, 13-14

"a banquet which (Pelias) was giving to his father Poseidon and the other gods, but to Pelasgian Hera he paid no homage."

¹⁵Odyss. XII, 69 ff.

This motif of revenge or spite on the part of Hera survives in none of our sources earlier than Pherekydes, but the idea seems very old, and it is probably earlier than the concept of Hera as the protectress of the Argonauts, which perhaps evolved out of it.¹⁶

An interesting feature of Pherekydes' story is the strong connection between Hera and Medea, who is, as it were, the agent of the goddess. Will takes this motif of Pherekydes as evidence for an association of Hera and Medea in Thessaly.¹⁷ But the fact that the events are depicted as happening in Thessaly is surely no reason for assuming that such an association existed there. Thessaly was the traditional starting-point for the voyage, so that, if Hera is involved in events before the start of the expedition, it is inevitable that she is depicted in a Thessalian context. Such a context is thus no indication that she was introduced into the myth from a Thessalian source. In fact, there is no evidence that Pherekydes was drawing exclusively on a Thessalian source, nor is there any evidence for a strong cult of Hera in Thessaly. The place which had the closest link between Hera and Medea was Corinth, where Hera was worshipped under the cult-titles of Akraia and Bounaia.

¹⁶c.f. Poseidon's persecution of Odysseus, Odyss. I, 19-21; 68-79.

¹⁷Ed. Will, Korinthiaca (Paris, 1955), p. 115.

This last title originated from a temple built by one Bounos, to whom as we learn from Eumelos, Medea's father, Aietes handed over the government when he left for Colchis.¹⁸ Moreover, after Medea had come to Corinth, she took her children to the temple of Hera to make them immortal. Hence, in this early Corinthian epic, a strong link had been established between Hera, Medea, and the Argonauts. None of our surviving sources manifests such a close relationship between Hera and Medea, and it seems likely that Pherekydes was influenced by Eumelos in this respect.

The story of the oracle given to Pelias indicates that his death by violence was inevitable, and it is also suggested by the phrase τῷ Πελίῳ κακόν which reminds one of Pindar's τὸν Πελίῳ φόνον . The surviving fragments of Eumelos provide no evidence for the murder of Pelias, other than that Medea was summoned from Iolkos to assume the rule of Corinth.¹⁹ This implies that, if she had not been invited to Corinth, she would have stayed at Iolkos, which would rather suggest that Eumelos did not include Pelias' murder. The Naupactia tells us that Jason, after the death of Pelias (θάνειτον) , went to live in Corcyra²⁰, but θάνειτον need not imply φόνον . There was also another tradition about Pelias, namely that

¹⁸Paus. II, 4.7; 3.10 (paraphrasing Eumelos).

¹⁹Eumelos, F 3 K (Paus. III, 10).

²⁰Naupactia, F 10 K (Paus. II, 3.9).

funeral games were performed for him. This was known to Simonides who wrote (F 32 D):

ὅς δ' οὐρὶ πάντας
 νίκησε νέους δινάεντα βωλῶν
 "Ἀναυρον ὕπερ πολυβότρυος ἐξ Ἴωλκῶ"
 οὕτω γὰρ Ὅμηρος ἤδ' Ἐπείχουρος ἄεισε λαοῖς.

"Who surpassed all the young men with the spear, when he cast it over the eddying Anauros from Iolkos, rich in grape-clusters; for so did Homer and Stesichoros sing to the people."²¹

It seems questionable whether games would be held for a murdered man, especially one of Pelias' traditional reputation.²² It may be that in an early version of the myth he handed over the kingdom to Jason, and died. At any rate, it is clear that not all versions knew of his murder²³, and it may be that the story was not much older than the fifth century.²⁴

The Scholiast to A.R. I, 4 says that, while Apollonios called the ship Argo after the Argos who built it, Pherekydes derived the name from Argos, the son of Phrixos. This in itself does not imply any difference in the story of the construction of the ship, but when coupled with a reference

²¹ Presumably by "Homer", Simonides means one of the early epic poets.

²² The case of Patroklos is not a parallel. He was a hero who died gloriously in battle.

²³ e.g. Hesiod (Theog. 997 ff.) shows Jason and Medea settled at Iolkos and their child Medeios born there.

²⁴ In addition to the references by Pindar and Pherekydes, it was treated by Sophokles in the Ῥιζοτόμοι, and by Euripides in the Peliades.

by Apollodoros to the effect that Argos, son of Phrixos, built the ship²⁵, it does suggest that in Pherekydes' version, too, the son of Phrixos was responsible for the building. This would have been a good epic motif, showing the son returning to Greece, helping to fit out the expedition, and triumphantly recovering the fleece of his father's ram. This tradition also explains how Apollonios came to have two Argoi in his story. Instead of having the sons of Phrixos already back in Greece before the expedition left, he decided that, by a remarkable coincidence, the Argonauts should pick them up on the way²⁶, but the tradition that the ship was named after Argos could not be avoided, so he had to introduce the other Argos into the story, to explain the ship's name.

The Scholiast to A.R. I, 45 says, οὔτε Ὀμηρος οὔτε Ἡσίοδος οὔτε Φερεκύδης λέγουσι τὸν Ἴφικλον συμπεπλευκέναι τοῖς Ἀργοναύταις.

This strongly suggests that Pherekydes gave a list of Argonauts, a conclusion which is supported by the Scholiast to A.R. I, 23, who says that Pherekydes, in his sixth book, said that Philammon, and not Orpheus, sailed with the Argonauts. Why Pherekydes should deny Orpheus a place is not quite clear, but it does indicate that Orpheus' place in the story was not so well-established in the early fifth century that he could not be left out. This suggests that Orpheus had not been long in the myth. It is true that he appears with the Argonauts on a metope of

²⁵Apollod. Bibl. I, 110.

²⁶A.R. II, 1090 ff.

the Treasury of Sikyon at Delphi in the sixth century, but this need not be very much earlier than Pherekydes. As we noticed in the previous chapter, Simonides seems to have mentioned him in a context suggestive of the Argonauts²⁷, which would indicate that he was in the literary tradition before 500. Of the early poets known to have treated the myth, the Cretan mystic, Epimenides, seems the most likely to have introduced Orpheus²⁸, though we can find no support for this theory in his extant fragments.

Pherekydes apparently regarded Orpheus as an intruder, and his exclusion of him is made all the more pointed by the fact that he replaced him by Philammon, another musician. Philammon must, then, have performed the same functions as Orpheus, such as getting the Argo safely past the Sirens. Pherekydes' interest in this Philammon is shown by F 120 J, where he refers to the musician's parentage of Philonis and Apollo, and tells that Philammon was the first to compose dances for maidens. Of course, it may well be that Philammon had a place among the Argonauts earlier in the tradition, and that, when the Orphics took an interest in the myth, he was ousted to make way for their representative, Orpheus. At any rate he is mentioned in literature well before Orpheus, since

²⁷Simonides F 27 Diehl.

²⁸Orphism was strong in Crete.

Hesiod refers to him though not in a context involving the Argonauts.²⁹

The Scholiast to A.R. I, 105 shows that Pherekydes mentioned Tiphys, and presumably included him among the Argonauts. Another crewman named by Pherekydes was Idmon, whom, he said, was the son of Apollo and of Koronos' daughter, Asteria.³⁰ He does not seem to have named Idmon's mortal father, as Apollonios did.³¹ The latter was probably combining two traditions, and would seem to have taken the name Abas for Idmon's father from Herodoros of Heraklea.³² According to the Scholiast to A.R. I, 139, Pherekydes told of Idmon's death among the Mariandyni. Apollonios (II, 815) has Idmon's death on the outward voyage, but we learn from the Scholiast to A.R. III, 1354 that Eumelos brought Idmon right to Colchis, where Medea tells him of the growth of the earth-born men. The Naupactia also depicts him at Colchis, where he urged Jason to undertake the task, and also played a major part in the escape of the Argonauts.³³ The Scholiast to A.R. IV, 86 adds that these things were also mentioned by Herodoros, a fact which, on the surface, seems to contradict the story of Idmon's death among the Mariandyni which Herodoros included.³⁴

²⁹Hes. F 111 Rz²,

³⁰F 108 J (Schol. A.R. I, 139).

³¹A.R. I, 142.

³²³¹ F 44 J (Schol. A.R. I, 139).

³³Naup. F 6 K (Schol. A.R. III, 523), F 7-8 K (Schol. A.R. IV, 66a; 86).

³⁴³¹ F 50 J (Schol. A.R. II, 815).

But Herodoros also said that the Argonauts returned by the same route³⁵, so that Idmon's death could have occurred on the return voyage. There is some evidence that this was so, for in A.R. II, 854 ff. Tiphys died just after Idmon, and the scholiast on the passage tells us that, according to Herodoros, Tiphys died, not on the outward voyage, but on the return. It thus seems likely that, in Herodoros' account, Idmon too died on the return journey. Idmon was clearly a prominent figure in the early versions, and Apollonios is alone in removing him from the scene so soon. Here again he seems to have combined two traditions, since he lists two seers, Mopsos as well as Idmon, one of whom dies on each voyage. The fact that Idmon appears in the incomplete list surviving in the remains of Pherekydes suggests that he was important in that version too. Here again there may be a link between Pherekydes and the Naupactia.

The Scholiast to A.R. I, 645 shows that Pherekydes also knew the herald, Aithalides, and the story of him alternating between Hades and the world above, which was told by Apollonios.³⁶

A notable name in Pherekydes' list of Argonauts is Herakles.³⁷ In F 111a J we find that Pherekydes said that Herakles was left behind at Aphetai in Thessaly, τῆς Ἀργούσ φθέρυξά μένης μὴ δύνασθαι φέρειν τὸ τοῦτου βάρους .

³⁵F10 J (Schol. A.R. IV, 257/62b).

³⁶A.R. I, 640 ff.

³⁷F 111 J (Apollod. Bibl I, 117; Schol. A.R. I, 1289).

F 111 b) (Schol. to A.R. I, 1289) however, runs as follows:

Ἀπολλώνιος μὲν αὖν ἀπολελεῖσθαι φησὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα περὶ Κίον ἐκβάντα
ἐπὶ τὴν Ὑλα ζήτησιν. Διονύσιος δὲ ὁ Μιτυληναῖος συμπεπλευκέναι φησὶ
τὸν ἥρωα τοῖς ἀριστεύουσιν ἕως Κόλχων . . . Ὀμοῖως καὶ Δημάρατος.
Ἡρόδωρος δὲ φησὶ μὴ συμπεπλευκέναι αὐτὸν τε καὶ τινὰς ἄλλους.
Ἡσίοδος ἐν τῷ Κήυκος γάμῳ ἐκβάντα φησὶν αὐτὸν ἐφ' ὕδατος ζήτησιν
τῆς Μαγνησίας περὶ τὰς ἀπὸ τῆς ἀφέσεως αὐτοῦ Ἀφεταις
καλουμένας ἀπολειφθῆναι. Ἀντίμαχος δὲ ἐν τῇ Λύδη φησὶν ἐκβρασθέντα
τὸν Ἡρακλέα διὰ τὸ καταβρεθῆναι τὴν Ἄργα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἥρωος· καὶ
Ποσειδῶντος ὁ ἐπιγραμματογράφος ἠκολούθησε· καὶ Φερεκύδης Ἡσίοδῳ.
Ἐφορος δὲ ἐν τῇ Ε φησὶν αὐτὸν ἐκουσίως ἀπολελεῖσθαι πρὸς
Ὀμφάλην τὴν Λυδῶν βασιλευσούσων.

It will be seen that the scholiast is not quite accurate, for Pherekydes does not follow Hesiod in everything, but only in the place of Herakles' disembarkation, Aphetai, not Mysia. The reasons which they give are different, Pherekydes' explanation being also offered by Antimachos.

The presence and early removal of Herakles in the myth is something of a puzzle. The best explanation would seem to be that originally he had no part in the voyage at all, but that later his absence was noticed, and then explained by having him leave the ship early in the voyage. Herodoros of Herakleia, something of an expert on Herakles³⁸, denies him any place in the Argo, alleging that he was in the service of Omphale at

³⁸Herodoros lived around 500 B.C. He wrote a Herakleia.

the time.³⁹ Almost every other source, until a comparatively late date, says that he left the ship early in the voyage.⁴⁰ Only with the late Alexandrians, Dionysios and Demaratos, do we find Herakles going the whole way to Colchis.⁴¹

Three different reasons are given for Herakles leaving the Argo at Aphetai, 1) he was too heavy for the vessel;⁴² 2) he was left behind unintentionally, when he went to look for water;⁴³ 3) he was inexperienced at rowing.⁴⁴ The story of him being left in Mysia is always connected with Hylas.⁴⁵

In spite of the confusion in the scholia, it seems probable that Pherekydes was taking his account from Hesiod, whose story he combined with another tradition involving the "speaking-beam" motif.

Also contained in the sixth book was the story of Phineus and the Harpies.⁴⁶ According to F 27 J (Schol. to

³⁹31 F 41 J

⁴⁰Pindar makes no further mention of Herakles, after including him in his catalogue.

⁴¹They are both second or first century B.C. The references are 32 F 6 J, and 42 F 2 J, respectively.

⁴²Pherekydes; Antimachos; Aristotle (Pol. III, 8.3).

⁴³Hesiod; Herodotos (VII, 193).

⁴⁴Schol. Pindar, possibly arising from A.R. I, 1167, where Herakles breaks his oar.

⁴⁵Kinaithon (p. 212 K); Hellanikos (A F 130-31 J); A.R. I, 1273; Apollod. Bibl I, 117.

⁴⁶Three out of the five fragments alluding to the episode are explicitly assigned to Bk. VI.

A.R. II, 181), Pherekydes said that Phineus ruled over all the Thracians in Asia as far as the Bosphoros. Pherekydes' version of his parentage is given in F 86 J (Schol. to A.R. II, 178) Ἀγῆνορος γὰρ παῖς ἔστιν, ὡς Ἑλλάνικος ὡς δὲ Ἡσίοδος φησὶν Φοῖνικος τοῦ Ἀγῆνορος καὶ Κασσιόπειας. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδης καὶ Ἀντιμάχος. καὶ Φερεκύδης φησὶν ἕκ δὲ Κασσιόπειας τῆς Ἀράβου Φαίνικι γίνεται Κίλιξ καὶ Φινεύς καὶ Δόρυκλος καὶ Ἄτυκνος ἐπέκλησιν· γίνεται δὲ ἕκ Διὸς Ἄτυκνος.
 For this genealogy, it is clear that Pherekydes was drawing on a Hesiodic source, whose version apparently became almost standard.

If Hesiod was Pherekydes' source, we might wonder when exactly Phineus entered the story of the Argonauts in Pherekydes' version, since Hesiod (F 151 Rz²) said that he was blinded for showing the way to Phrixos. Hesiod also gave another reason, namely that Phineus preferred long-life to sight⁴⁷, but the first explanation is more closely connected with the Argonauts, and is thus the more likely to have been adopted by Pherekydes. It implies that, in Hesiod's version, Phineus came into the story of the flight of Phrixos, but the extant fragments provide no evidence that this was so in Pherekydes' account. However, another possibility is that for Φρίξω we should read <τοῖς> Φρίξου, in view of Apollod. Bibl I, 120 who says that Phineus was blinded ὅτι τοῖς Φρίξου παῖσι τὸν ἕκ Κόλχων εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα κλοῦν ἐμήνυσεν. 48 This makes

⁴⁷F 52 Rz².

⁴⁸The emendation is suggested by C. Robert, De Apoll. Bibliotheca (Diss. Berol. 1873), p. 82.

better sense, since no other source mentions Phineus in connection with Phrixos. Also, we have already noticed that in Pherekydes' version, the sons of Phrixos had returned to Greece before the expedition set forth, and it is very possible that they would have inquired of Phineus about their route to Greece. If correct, this reading would strengthen the links between Pherekydes and Hesiod.

We have several references to Pherekydes' version of the episode with the Harpies. The Scholiast to A.R. II, 271 tells that Pherekydes said that the Boreads pursued the Harpies over the Aegean and Sicilian Seas. He also made the Harpies flee to Crete, to the cave under the hill, Arginous, in this agreeing with the Naupactia.⁴⁹ The first reference would suggest that there was no turning back at the islands called Strophades or Plotai, which were situated in the Sicilian Sea⁵⁰, and this is borne out by F 165 J: Philodem. κ. εὐσεβ. 46b 1 18G. γέγραπεν ὁ [Iacoba] ποιῶν καὶ Φερεκύδης ὁ Ἀθηναῖος. Αἰσχύλος δ' . . . καὶ Εἴβουκος καὶ Τελέστῃς . . . τὰς Ἀρπυιάς θνητοκόσας ὑπὸ τῶν βορέου κώιδων.

That we can deduce from this fragment that Pherekydes said that the Harpies were killed is supported by the Scholiast to A.R. II, 297a, who says that, according to Hesiod, Antimachos, and Apollonios, the Harpies were not killed.

On the whole episode of the Harpies, then, Hesiod,

⁴⁹F 29 J (Schol. A.R. II, 299).

⁵⁰They were called Strophades because the Boreads turned there and came back (Antimachos F 13. B II, 291; A.R. II, 296 with scholia) or because the Boreads turned there and prayed to Zeus (Hesiod F 57 Rz^c).

Antimachos, and Apollonios stand together, and differ from Pherekydes. He is shown, in F 29 J, to agree with ὁ τὰ Ναυπακτικῶν ποιῆσας, and it would seem certain that the lacuna in F 165 J should be filled by τὰ Ναυπακτικῶν or Ναυπάκτια. Hence, it appears that, for the episode of the Harpies, Pherekydes' source was the Naupactia.

We have no other evidence of Pherekydes' account until the trials faced by Jason at Colchis. The Scholiast to A.R. III, 230 tells that Pherekydes described the bulls as bronze-footed and breathing fire, which seems to have been the standard version even in the early fifth century, since it is also

found in Pindar's account (Pythian IV, 225), βόας οἱ φθόγ' ἀπὸ ξανθῶν γενύων πνέον καλομένους πορῆς, χαλκῆαις δ' ἑπλάσι ἀράσδεσκόων χθόν' ἀκρειβόμενοι.

This mention of the bulls by Pherekydes of course implies that the yoking of them was the first task. He must also have included the ploughing, for the Scholiast to A.R. III, 411 tells that he made the field of Ares fifty acres instead of the four specified by Apollonios.

In Apollonios' account, the ploughing is followed by the sowing of the dragon's teeth, and we have evidence that Pherekydes, unlike Pindar, also included this episode.

Apollonios (III, 1179 ff.) tells of Aietes giving the dragon's teeth to Jason, and he says that they were the teeth of the serpent which Kadmos killed at Thebes, half of which were given to Kadmos, and half to Aietes. Kadmos sowed his share in the plain of Thebes, and founded his city with those

In this connection, the Scholiast to A.R. III, 1179

includes the following quotation from Pherekydes:

ἐπεὶ δὲ Κάδμος κατωκίσθη ἐν Θήβησιν, Ἄρης δίδωι αὐτῷ καὶ Ἀθηναίῃ τοῦ ὄφιος τοὺς ἡμίσεις ὀδόντας, τοὺς δὲ ἡμίσεις Αἰήτη. καὶ ὁ Κάδμος αὐτίκα σπείρει αὐτούς εἰς τὴν ἄρουραν Ἄρεως Κελεύσαντος, καὶ αὐτῷ ἀναφύονται πολλοὶ ἄνδρες ὠπλισμένοι. ὁ δὲ Κάδμος δεύσας βάλλει αὐτούς λίθοισιν. οἱ δὲ δοκέοντες ὑφ' ἐαυτῶν βάλλεσθαι, κρατέουσιν ἀλλήλους καὶ θνήσκουσιν πλὴν πέντε ἀνδρῶν κ.τ.λ.

The reference to the division of the teeth between

Kadmos and Aietes indicates that, in Pherekydes' version of the myth of the Argonauts, these were the teeth sown by Jason, as there can have been no other reason for Aietes having them. Also interesting is the story of Kadmos' sowing with the throwing of the stones among the Spartoi. While this differs from Apollonios' story of the Theban Spartoi, it bears a marked resemblance to his account of the Colchian Spartoi, among whom Jason hurls a great stone (III, 1372). In view of the story of the division of the teeth, it seems likely that Apollonios was using Pherekydes as a source, but, in his account of the Theban Spartoi, he deliberately avoided the stone-throwing episode, which he transferred to the story of the Colchian Spartoi. Hellanikos and Lysimachos had said that Kadmos sowed the teeth κατὰ Ἄρεως βούλησιν, and Pherekydes said Ἄρεως Κελεύσαντος,⁵² so with that idea in mind, Apollonios made Ares do the harvesting.

⁵¹A.R. III, 1187.

⁵²Schol. A.R. III, 1179.

It seems certain that Pherekydes influenced Apollonios greatly in the story of the division of the teeth and the stone-throwing, but the Scholiast to A.R. III, 1354 indicates that Apollonios was also indebted to another, earlier source for the story of the Spartoi, since he is said to have taken several lines directly from Eumelos. However, there is no evidence that the work of Eumelos had any influence on Pherekydes' version here. Originally, Kadmos must have sown all the teeth of the dragon, and the story of the division is only a means of creating a doublet. It seems possible that Pherekydes was responsible for this himself, and was thus the first to link the myth of the Argonauts with the story of Kadmos.

After the slaughter of the earthborn men, Jason still did not get the Fleece, for we have a reference to the serpent which guarded it, in Schol. to A.R. IV, 156, καὶ Φερεκύδης φησὶν . . . φονευσθῆναι τὸν δράκοντα ὑπὸ Ἰάσονος . This reference to the death of the serpent differs from the version of Apollonios, who agrees with Antimachos that it was merely put to sleep by Medea.⁵³ Pindar said that Jason killed it τέχναις , by magic, presumably Medea's.⁵⁴ The use of magic is likely to belong to a late tradition, and Pherekydes is probably giving an older version. It may be that the brevity of the scholia conceals the fact that Jason was aided by Medea, but Herodoros, too,

⁵³Schol. A.R. IV, 156.

⁵⁴Pindar, Pyth. IV, 249.

seems to imply that the beast was killed by Jason unaided.⁵⁵

As for the whereabouts of the Fleece, the Scholiast to A.R. III, 1093 mentions Pherekydes' account Αἰαίης νήσου:

πλεονάζει ἢ αἰ συλλαβῆ· ἔστι γὰρ Αἰῆς νήσου, Αἶα δὲ μητρόπολις Κόλχων. νήσου δὲ μέμνηται ἐν τῷ Φάσιδι, ἐν ᾗ τὸ δέρας, ὡς φησι Φερεκύδης.

Very similar to this is the Scholiast to A.R. III, 1074, ἦε καὶ Αἰαίης νήσου: ὅτι νήσος ἐν τῷ Φάσιδι ἔστιν ἡ Αἶα,

ἐν ᾗ τὸ δέρας ἔκειτο. αὕτη δὲ ἔστι Κόλχων μητρόπολις. 56

In fact, there is not a syllable too many in Αἰαίης, for it is not a noun, but an adjective, as can be seen from the fact that νήσος is always used with it.⁵⁷ Hence ἡ Αἰαίη νήσος stands for ἡ τῆς Αἰῆς νήσος, "the island belonging to Aia". It does not mean that Aia was itself an island, but that Aia owned an island in the Phasis, where, as Pherekydes said, the Fleece was kept. There is no other extant reference in our sources to such an island, the common story being that the Fleece was kept on a tree in the grove of Ares, which apparently was in Aia itself.⁵⁸

The Scholiast to A.R. IV, 223, commenting on the fact that Apollonios depicted Apsyrtos as driving Aietes' chariot,

⁵⁵31 F 52 J

⁵⁶Actually the Scholiast's reference is wrong, because Apollonios here must mean Circe's island.

⁵⁷c.f. Αἰαίη used of Medea in III, 1136 and IV, 243.

⁵⁸Apollod. Bibl. I, 83; A.R. II, 404, 1145. The fact that in A.R. IV, 100 ff. the Argonauts rowed to the grove may suggest that it was on an island, but that is never explicitly stated, nor is it necessary.

says, Φερεκίδης δὲ ἐν ἔβδωμῳ τὴν Μηδείαν φησὶν ἄρ' αὖ μικρὸν τὸν Ἄψυρτον ἐκ τῆς κοίτης, Ἰάσονος εἰπόντος αὐτῇ ἐνεγκεῖν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀργοναύτας. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδιώχθησαν, σφάσαι καὶ μελίσσαντας ἐκβαλεῖν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν.
 Similarly, the Scholiast to A.R. IV, 228 says . . . Φερεκίδης δὲ ἐν ἔβδωμῳ διωκομένου ἀναβιβᾶσαι ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν τὸν Ἄψυρτον καὶ μελίσσαντας ῥίψαι εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν.

On the murder of Apsyrtos, the Scholiast to Euripides' Medea. 167, adds, ἀνηρῆσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ Μηδείας, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν. It will be clear from the previous two references which version Pherekydes gave, namely that the child was killed by the Argonauts. μελίσσαντας has been suggested for μελίσσαντας in Schol. A.R. IV, 223, thus making Medea responsible for the murder.⁵⁹ This suggestion is obviously influenced by later tradition as represented by Euripides, but, in any case, the presence of διωκομένου in Schol. A.R. IV, 228 makes any such emendation of μελίσσαντας there impossible, and suggests that μελίσσαντας should also stand in the other reference. That Medea was not the murderer in Pherekydes' version is also supported by the fact that Jason told her to bring the boy to the Argonauts. Hence Jason was the instigator of the scheme, and the Argonauts, into whose hands the boy was delivered, must have been responsible for the murder. Pherekydes is our earliest source for the murder of Apsyrtos, and his version that it was the work of the Argonauts is presumably older than the tradition which attributed it to Medea. The concept of the "evil Medea" had not yet been developed.

⁵⁹Wendel, p. 272, note.

There is no evidence in the extant fragments for Pherekydes' account of the return voyage, but we do have some references to events which must have taken place after the return. Pindar (Nemean III, 57) refers to Peleus as capturing Iolkos alone, without an army, but the scholiast to the passage says that Pindar is favouring Peleus because the ode was written for an Aiginetan, and he adds, οὐ γὰρ μόνος εἶλε τὴν Ἰωλκῶν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ Ἰάσονος καὶ τῶν Τυνδαριδῶν, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Φερεκύδης. This must refer either to a capture of Iolkos immediately on Jason's return, Pelias having refused to keep the bargain, or else to some later time, when Jason had since left Iolkos. It is clear from Pindar, Nemean IV, 54 ff. that the latter is the case. Akastos was now king of Iolkos, and he plotted against Peleus, who in revenge attacked the city. Pherekydes introduced Jason as an ally of Peleus, indicating that, in his version of the myth, Jason did not settle at Iolkos, but left for elsewhere. The story of Peleus' attack on Iolkos is also found in the Hesiodic fragments⁶⁰, in which it is clear that Akastos was king of Iolkos at the time. While there is no evidence that Jason was an ally of Peleus in the Hesiodic version, it is still possible that it was Pherekydes' source. Another work which Pherekydes used is the Naupactia, and this may also have influenced him here, as the poet of the Naupactia gave a version in which Jason, after the death of Pelias, went

⁶⁰F 81 Rz², also Fs 78-80.

to live in Corcyra⁶¹, Akastos presumably becoming king of Iolkos. But in the absence of any reference by Pherekydes to where Jason settled, it is difficult to say whether he drew his story of the capture of Iolkos from Hesiod or the Naupactia. Probability would suggest a Hesiodic source for the episode.

A strange story is cited in F 113 J, a) Schol. Eurip. Medea. arg. p. 137, 10 Schw: Φερεκῦδης δὲ καὶ Σιμωνίδης φασὶν ὡς ἡ Μήδεια ἀνεψήσασα τὸν Ἰάσονα νέον ποιήσσει. περὶ δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ Αἰσώνος ὁ τοῦ Νόστου ποιήσας φησὶν οὕτως· 'αὐτίκῃ δ' Αἰσὼνα θῆκε φίλον κόρον ἠβῶντα...'. Αἰσχύλος δ' ἐν ταῖς Διονύσου Τροφοῖς ἱστορεῖ ὅτι καὶ τὰς Διονύσου τροφὰς μετὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν αὐτῶν ἀνεψήσασα ἔνεοποίησε. Exactly the same information is given by the Scholiast to Aristoph. Eq. 1321. The story attributed to Pherekydes and Simonides, that Medea rejuvenated Jason is very curious, as he is generally depicted as young and of god-like proportions. The story in the Nostoi that it was his father Aison whom Medea rejuvenated, is much more natural and likely. It may well be that the story of Jason's rejuvenation is based on an original corrupt text, Αἰσῶν being read as Ἰασῶν, the name which would spring to mind naturally at the mention of Medea. It is more likely that this corruption occurred before the time of Pherekydes and Simonides and that they actually did cite the story, than that they gave the version involving Aison, which was subsequently corrupted. There is no trace of the rejuvenation of Jason in the later continuation of the Jason-Medea

⁶¹F 10 K (Paus. II, 3.9).

story, so evidently the version did not win much support, a fact which must cast doubts upon its authenticity.

It is clear from all these surviving references that Pherekydes gave a full and detailed account of the myth of the Argonauts. However, it is to be regretted that evidence for his versions of other episodes has not survived, as it could have been of considerable assistance in helping us to discern his sources. From the evidence which we do possess, his main source would seem to have been Hesiod, from whom he drew his versions for the colour of the Fleece, the names of Aietes' daughter and the sons of Phrixos, the loss of Herakles, and the episode of the capture of Iolkos. In view of this, it is essential that we next consider what Hesiod had to say about the myth of the Argonauts. In one of the few features in which Pherekydes was found to have differed from Hesiod, namely the episode of the Harpies, it will be remembered that he gave the same version as the Naupactia, which was clearly his source for that episode, and may also have influenced him elsewhere. Hence it too calls for our later examination.

CHAPTER III

THE MYTH IN THE HESIODIC POEMS

As we have noticed in the previous chapter, the author who most often cites the same version as Pherekydes, and who must have provided the Athenian with much of his material is Hesiod, and it will be of interest to examine the surviving work of this poet, to see whether we can learn any more about the development of the myth.

Hesiod, though apparently Pherekydes' main source, is a very much earlier author. For his date, our best evidence is to be found in a statement in Works and Days 658-62, where the poet says that he had never been abroad, except to Chalkis in Euboea, where he competed at the Funeral Games for Amphidamas.¹ Hence if we can date the Amphidamas, we shall have a good date for Hesiod.

Plutarch (Moral. 153 F) tells us that Amphidamas was involved in the Lelantine War between Chalkis and Eretria, and died in it. The Lelantine War, as we learn from Aristotle (Polit. 1289 B 36) was a cavalry war, and as such must have been earlier than the early seventh century, i.e. before 680.²

¹H. T. Wade-Gery, "Hesiod", in his Essays in Greek History (Blackwell, Oxford, 1958), p.8.

²After 700 B.C. hoplites began to replace cavalry; see Hammond, p. 139.

Furthermore, there is evidence that Chalkis and Eretria were on friendly terms in the middle of the eighth century, when they combined in the founding of Pithekoussai (Ischia) and Cumae around 750.³ According to Strabo (V, 4.9) later on stasis broke out at Pithekoussai, and the Eretrians left. This quarrel must have been connected with the strife between the mother-cities in Euboea. We know that Samos supported Chalkis⁴, and it seems possible that the ships built for Samos by the Corinthian Ameinokles around 705⁵, were acquired to help in the war. Other evidence for the date of the war is the Corinthian expulsion of Eretrian settlers from Corcyra when Corinth colonised the island in 734. It would seem reasonable to date the war to not long before 700.

Hesiod, speaking of the contest at Chalkis, goes on to say that for his prize he received a tripod, which he dedicated to the Muses on Mount Helikon, where they first set him to sing sweet song. This recalls the passage in the Theogony 22 ff. where he told how he received his inspiration from the Muses on Helikon. In view of this, it may well be that the poem with which he competed at Chalkis was the Theogony, the poem of his youth, perhaps his first.⁶ In this

³Confirmed by archaeological evidence; see J. Boardman, The Greeks Overseas (Penguin, 1964), pp. 181 f.

⁴Hammond, p. 136.

⁵Thuc. I, 13.

⁶Wade-Gery, p. 8.

poem there are two passages which refer to the story of the Argonauts. The first of these is at vv.956 ff.

Ἡελίω δ' ἀκίμωντι τέκεν κλοπῆς Ὀκεανίην
 Περσῆς Κίρκην τε καὶ Αἰήτην βασιλῆα
 Αἰήτης δ' υἱὸς φαεσμβρότου Ἡελίοιο
 Κούρην Ὀκεανοῖο τελέεντος ποταμοῖα
 γῆμα θεῶν βουλήσιν Ἰδύων Καλλιπάρηον.
 ἢ δέ οἱ Μήδειαν εὐσφύρον ἐν φιλότῃτι
 γείναθ' ὑποδμηθεῖα διὰ χροσῆν Ἀφροδίτην

In this passage, the parentage of Aietes and Circe is the same as that given in the Odyssey (X, 136 ff.), but the name assigned to their mother is different from that cited by Eumelos (F 2 K), who gives Antiope as Aietes' mother, (not mentioning Circe at all, at least in the extant fragments). Hence the two main representatives of the Ionian-Aeolian school, Homer and Hesiod, are in agreement with each other, but at variance with the foremost member of the Peloponnesian school of epic. This suggests, firstly, that more than one version of the myth was current in the eighth century, and secondly, that it was not exclusively an Ionian epic, but one which flourished on the mainland as well.

Then, the name given by Hesiod for Aietes' wife, Iduia, is different from that given in the Naupactia, which was Eurylyte.⁷ Later in the tradition, with the advent of Apsyrtos, it became usual to assign two wives to Aietes⁸, but it seems

⁷Schol. A.R. III, 240.

⁸e.g. Soph. Scyth (F 546 Pearson); A.R. III, 240 ff.

very unlikely that this was the case in the eighth century. Once again, the difference is probably evidence of several traditions in the myth.

The description of Medea, "neat-ankled", is very conventional, the word εὐσφυρος and its cognates καλλισφυρος and πανύσφυρος being commonly used of many women in epic contexts. This undefinitive reference to Medea may be an indication that at this time she was not as important in the myth as she later became.

A little further on in the Theogony, there is another important reference to the story of the Argonauts:

Κούρην δ' Αἰήτας Διοτρεφῆος βασιλῆος
 Αἰσονίδης βουλῆσι θεῶν αἰγιονογῶν
 ἦγε περ' Αἰήτεω, τελέσας στονόεντας ἄεθλους,
 τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐπέτελλε μέγας βασιλεὺς ὑπερήνωρ,
 ὕβριστῆς Πελῆος καὶ ἀτάσθαλος, ὄβριμοεργός.
 τοὺς τελέσας Ἰαωλκὸν ἀφίκετο, πολλὰ μογῆσας
 ὠκέης ἐπὶ νηὸς ἄγων ἑλικωπίῳ Κούρην
 Αἰσονίδης, καὶ μιν θαλερὴν ποιῆσάτ' ἀκοίτιν.
 καὶ ρ' ἦ γε Δημόθεος ὅπ' Ἰήσωνι, ποιμένι λαῶν,
 Μῆδειον τέκε παιδῶν, τὸν οὖρεσιν ἔτρεφε Χείρων Theog. 992-1002
 Φιλοφύδης • μεγάλου δὲ Διὸς νόος ἐξετελέετο.

One noteworthy feature here is that the tasks are said to have been imposed by Pelias. If this is a reference to the tasks at Aietes' city, it may mean no more than Pelias was indirectly responsible for them, but it is perhaps more likely that the actual voyage itself is meant, including, of course, the trials at Aietes' court. This was a labour imposed upon Jason by Pelias, and it is noteworthy that the same formulaic phrase τελέσας στονόεντας ἄεθλους is used in v. 951 of the labours of Herakles. That ἄεθλους could stand for the voyage and

all the dangers encountered thereon is indicated by the use of it in Odyssey III, 262 of the hardships of the Greeks at Troy, in the words of Nestor ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ κεῖθι πολέας τελέοντες ἄεθλους / ἡμεῖθ'. . . . Very reminiscent of this passage from the Theogony is a fragment of Mimnermos (F 11 Diehl):

οὐδὲ κοτ' ἄν μέγα κῶας ἀνήγαγεν αὐτὸς Ἰησῶν

ἔξ Αἰῆς, τελέσας ἀλγινύσσων ὁδόν,

ὕβριστῆ Πελίῃ τελέων χαλεπῆρες ἄεθλον,

οὐδ' ἄν ἐπ' Ὀκεανοῦ καλὸν ἵκοντο ῥῶον.

This echoes the idea that the tasks were imposed by Pelias, and Mimnermos would seem to have been drawing on the same tradition as Hesiod in that respect.

Another feature of the Hesiodic passage is the description of Pelias, which obviously influenced the picture of him presented by Pindar in Pythian IV. Pelias would seem to have been a well-known figure to Hesiod. There is no indication of what happened to Pelias after Jason's return, but his murder would certainly seem to be out of the question. This would support the suggestion made in the previous chapter that the murder was a late motif, not present in the earlier versions of the myth.

The phrase ποιμήν λαῶν may suggest that Jason became king of Iolkos, but, if he did, he did not remain there for long, since we read in F 81 Rz² of the sack of Iolkos by Peleus, when it was ruled by Akastos, the son of Pelias. Pherekydes depicted Jason as an ally of Peleus, but there is no evidence for this in the fragments of Hesiod. ποιμήν λαῶν

may only be an epic convention, as it is a common epic metaphor, especially of Agamemnon in the Iliad. But it is notable that it is used on three occasions on which Jason is named in the extant work of Homer and Hesiod.⁹ This might suggest that it could denote Jason as leader of the Argonauts, $\lambda\alpha\gamma\omega\acute{\nu}$ being used in a sense similar to one common in the Iliad, of men or soldiers.¹⁰

Again the references to Medea are rather colourless and conventional, the phrase $\epsilon\lambda\iota\kappa\acute{\omega}\pi\iota\delta\alpha\ \kappa\acute{\omicron}\upsilon\beta\eta\eta$ also occurring in Iliad I, 98, while $\Theta\alpha\lambda\epsilon\rho\eta\acute{\nu}\ \pi\omicron\iota\eta\sigma\alpha\tau\prime\ \acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\iota\tau\iota\upsilon$ is also found in Theog. 921, and in a slightly different form in Hom. Hymn. Demeter 79. Medea does not seem to have been any more than a simple sympathetic heroine, the wicked king's lovely daughter. She is perhaps suggestive of Nausikaa in Odyssey VI - VIII, and in fact the Argonauts really carried the Nausikaa episode to its logical conclusion. Bowra has indicated the possibility of a fuller version of the Nausikaa episode than we have in the Odyssey.¹¹ Such a story could well have influenced the myth of the Argonauts, and may be reflected in Hesiod's picture of Medea.

The reference to a son, Medeios, is interesting. Hesiod

⁹Hes. Theog., 1000; F 19 Rz²; Homer, Il., VII, 469.

¹⁰e.g. Il. VII, 434; XVI, 129; II, 115; in plural II, 278; IV, 91.

¹¹Bowra, "Composition", Chapter 3 of A Companion to Homer, edit. Wace and Stubbings (London, 1962), pp. 55 f.

may simply have formed it from the child's mother's name on his own initiative, but the names Medeios and Eriopis for the children of Jason were given by Kinaithon of Sparta.¹² The Naupactia named two children Mermeros and Pheres, while Eumelos implies a number of children, without citing any names.¹³ It seems impossible to attach any significance to the fact that both Hesiod and Kinaithon gave the name Medeios, as it would be an obvious literary name for a son of Medea. However, there is again a noticeable difference between Hesiod and the Naupactia, and apparently Eumelos as well.

In addition to these two major references, there are numerous others in the surviving Hesiodic corpus. From one of these we can learn the Hesiodic version of Jason's parentage¹⁴, Τυρῶ ἢ Σαλμωνέως ἔχουσα δύο παῖδας ἐκ Ποσειδῶνος, Νηλέα τε καὶ Τελιδαν, ἔγρημε Κρηθεα, καὶ ἔσχευε παῖδας ἐξ αὐτῶν τρεῖς, Αἴσωνα καὶ Φέρητα καὶ Ἀμυθαιῶνα. Αἴσωνος δὲ καὶ Πολυμήδης καὶ Ὅσιονος γίνετα Ἰάσων, κατὰ δὲ Φερεκίδην ἐξ Ἀλκιμέδης. This is noticeably different from the version of Apollonios, who, like Pherekydes, calls Jason's mother Alkimedea.¹⁵ Nothing survives on this subject from Eumelos or the Naupactia, but again it is clear that there was a diversity of tradition.

Two lines are preserved by the Scholiast to Pindar Nem. III, 92 which tell of Jason's education by the centaur

¹²F 2 K (Paus. II, 3.9).

¹³Naup. F 10 K (Paus. II, 3.9); Eumelos F 3 K (Paus. II, 3.10).

¹⁴F 18 R_Z² (Schol. Odyss. XII, 69).

¹⁵A.R. I, 232.

Cheiron, Αἰθῶν δὲ τέκεθ' υἱὸν Ἰήσονα, κοιμένα λαῶν / ὄν Χίρων ἔθρεψ' ἐνὶ Ἰηλίῳ ὀλῆεντι . Hence the story of Jason's education by Cheiron was in the tradition at an early date. It is notable that Hesiod (Theog. 1001) also states that the son Medeios was educated by the centaur. There is no reference in the Homeric poems to Cheiron educating Jason, but the story is found in literature subsequent to Hesiod, notably in the work of Pindar, who makes much of it in Pythian IV and also in Nemean IV. Both these authors were Boiotians, and this story of Jason's education would seem to be a mainland motif, probably originating in Thessaly. In this connection, it is interesting that two other heroes were said to have been educated by Cheiron, namely Achilles and Asklepios. Homer refers several times to Achilles' education,¹⁶ and that hero too had his origins in Thessaly.¹⁷ Asklepios also, although later he was considered a god, was for Homer merely a Thessalian prince, skilled in healing, whose two sons led contingents to Troy.¹⁸ It is true that Homer does not mention Cheiron with regard to Asklepios, but then the only stories about Cheiron which he does include are those concerning Achilles and Peleus. The story of Asklepios' education by the centaur is found in Pindar (Nem. III, 53).

¹⁶Il. IV, 219; XVI, 143; XIX, 390.

¹⁷Il. I, 154-6.

¹⁸Il. II, 729-32; IV, 194.

It may be that such an education was common to all major Thessalian heroes, perhaps with the purpose of accounting briefly for their early years.

As for the preamble to the voyage, the story of Phrixos, and the object of the expedition, the Golden Fleece, Miss Bacon says, "in none of the extant passages of Hesiod is it said explicitly that Jason was seeking the fleece. The golden ram is mentioned in a reference by Eratosthenes, but the context preserves only an allusion to Phrixos and Helle, and may not connect the fleece with Jason at all".¹⁹ While this is quite true, the indirect evidence enables us to build up a good case that Hesiod did know that the Fleece was the object of the expedition.

Firstly there is the reference in "Eratosthenes",
 κριός· αὐτός δ' Φρίξον διακομίσας καὶ Ἑλλήν· Ἰφθίμης δὲ ὧν ἔδόθη αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ
 Νεφέλης τῆς μητρὸς· εἶχε δὲ χρυσὴν ἄσπιν, ὡς Ἡσίοδος καὶ Φερέκυδης
 εἰρηκασίν.²⁰ Hence, according to Hesiod, Phrixos'
 ram had a golden fleece.

Then, the Scholiast to A.R. III, 587, commenting on the fact that Apollonios says that Hermes was sent by Zeus to ensure that Phrixos was received by Aietes, remarks that the author of the Aigimios told that Phrixos was received without intermediary because of the fleece, and that, after sacrificing, he purified the fleece, and walked into the

¹⁹Miss Bacon, p. 21.

²⁰F 51 Rz² ("Eratosthenes". Catast., XIX).

halls of Aietes, holding it.²¹ Moreover, the Scholiast to A.R. II, 1122, referring to the sons of Phrixos, says, *τούτους δὲ Ἡροδωτὸς φησὶν ἐκ Χαλκιδίτης τῆς Αἰήτου θυγατρὸς, Ἀκουσίλαος δὲ καὶ Ἡσίοδος ἐν ταῖς Μεγάλαις Ἡοίαις φασὶν ἐξ Ἰοφώσσης τῆς Αἰήτου, καὶ οὗτος μὲν φησὶ αὐτοὺς δ' Ἄργον, Φρέντιν, Μέλινα, Κυτίωρον.* These two references show us that Phrixos and his golden fleece were received at Aietes' court, and that Phrixos married Aietes' daughter, Iophossa, and had four sons. Hence Hesiod knew that the Fleece was with Aietes, and, as we have seen from Theog. 992 ff., he knew that Jason went to Aietes. It would seem a reasonable assumption that he understood that Jason went to fetch the Fleece. There is other evidence that the Fleece was known to be the object of the expedition by the time of Hesiod, for the story was told by the author of the Naupactia.²²

Hence it would seem that, for Hesiod, the story of Phrixos was a fundamental part of the myth of the Argonauts, and that Jason went to Aietes to bring back Phrixos' fleece, a Golden Fleece. If we accept this, it is the earliest indication we have that the Fleece, which was the object of the quest was golden. This, of course, eventually became the tradition, but, even in the late sixth century, there were a few dissenters, notably Simonides and Akousilaos, both of whom made the Fleece purple.²³ In this, they may

²¹F 184 Rz²

²²F 9 K (Schol. A.R. IV, 87).

²³Simonides in Schol. Eur. Med. 5; Schol. A.R. IV, 177; Akous. in Schol. A.R. IV, 1147.

have been resurrecting an old version which had fallen out of favour, or they could have been inventing a new one, perhaps being unable to accept the story of a golden fleece, so that they rationalised the tale, and had it "dyed purple" instead. But in any event, their version did not gain support, and the Golden Fleece became the firmly established tradition.

We have also noticed that Hesiod mentioned the four sons of Phrixos.²⁴ In naming all four, he must surely have had more to say of them. We will recall that, in the version of Pherekydes, there was a strong possibility that the sons had returned to Greece before the expedition set out in search of the Fleece. Apollodoros makes a reference to their return journey, saying that Phineus was blinded $\delta\tau\iota\ \tau\alpha\iota\varsigma\ \Phi\rho\acute{\iota}\xi\omicron\upsilon\ \pi\alpha\iota\delta\epsilon\iota\ \tau\omicron\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\ \kappa\omicron\lambda\chi\omega\nu\ \epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \tau\eta\nu\ \epsilon\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\delta\alpha\ \pi\lambda\omicron\upsilon\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\mu\eta\nu\sigma\epsilon\nu.$ ²⁵ In the fragments of Hesiod we have a passage very similar to this, $\kappa\epsilon\ \pi\eta\rho\acute{\omega}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \Phi\iota\nu\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\ \phi\eta\sigma\iota\nu\ \epsilon\ \text{H}\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\iota\omicron\delta\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \text{M}\epsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \text{H}\omicron\iota\omega\iota\varsigma,\ \delta\tau\iota\ \Phi\rho\acute{\iota}\xi\omega\ \tau\eta\nu\ \delta\omicron\delta\omicron\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\mu\eta\nu\sigma\epsilon\nu.$ ²⁶ No other source connects Phineus with Phrixos, and it may be better to accept Robert's suggestion that we read $\delta\tau\iota\ \langle\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\rangle\ \Phi\rho\acute{\iota}\xi\omicron\upsilon,$ ²⁷ so that Hesiod's version is then the same as that of Apollodoros. If we accept this reading, it means that Hesiod too depicted

²⁴F 152 Rz² (Schol. A.R. II, 1122).

²⁵Apollod. Bibl. I, 120.

²⁶F 151 Rz² (Schol. A.R. II, 181).

²⁷Robert, De Apoll. Bibl., p. 82.

the sons of Phrixos as returning to Greece before the expedition set out, and, for this detail, he was probably the source for Pherekydes.

It will be seen from this that Hesiod was also acquainted with Phineus, and indeed there are several references to this character in the extant fragments. For his parentage, Hesiod said that he was the son of Phoinix, Agenor's son, and Kassiepeia, which was apparently the usual version, repeated by both Pherekydes and Antimachos.²⁸

As well as the explanation for Phineus' blindness, given above, Hesiod, in the Third Catalogue, said that he was blinded because he preferred long-life to sight. Presumably the first explanation was supplied to link Phineus more closely to the story of the Argonauts. Later on, various other explanations were given, e.g. Sophokles said that he had blinded the two sons of his first wife at the instigation of their stepmother²⁹, Apollonios because he disregarded Zeus and revealed the god's plans to men.³⁰ Apparently the persecution by the Harpies was part of his punishment. In the Hesiodic Journey round the Earth he was driven by the Harpies "to the land of the Milk-feeders who have waggons for houses".³¹

²⁸F 31 Rz²; Pher. 3 F 86 J; Antim. F 14 B II, 291 (all in Schol. A.R. II, 178/82a).

²⁹Soph. F 704 Pearson.

³⁰A.R. II, 181 f.

³¹F 54 Rz² (Ephoros in Strabo. VII, 302).

This is a reference to the nomads dwelling along the north coast of the Hellespont, and indicates that, for Hesiod, the myth of the Argonauts had a Pontic setting.

There are several references which show that Hesiod knew of the pursuit of the Harpies by the Boreads. The Scholiast to A.R. II, 296/7 tells that, according to Hesiod, Zetes and his followers turned and prayed to Zeus, ἔνθ' οἱ γ' εὐχέσθην Αἰνῆϊ ὑψιμέδοντι.³² The scholiast adds that Ainos was a mountain in Kephallenia, where there was a temple of Zeus Ainesios.³³ If this interpretation is correct, it indicates that the chase ranged as far as West Greece. This reference should not be taken as evidence that the myth was set in the West. We have already noticed signs of a Pontic setting, and another fragment of Hesiod shows how widespread the chase was.³⁴ The Boreads pursued the Harpies to the lands of the Massagetai and the Half-Dog men, of the Underground-Folk and the Pygmies, to the Blackskins and the Libyans. The pursuit extended to the Hyperboreans, and to Etna and Ortygia, and to the tribe of the Kephallenians. It must have been somewhere in this context that the previous reference fits. The chase is very diffuse, and undoubtedly reflects Odyssean influence in its western features.

³²F 57 Rz²

³³Kleon, M. IV, 365; Timosthenes F 39 Wagner.

³⁴Oxyr. Pap. 1358 F 2.

While Apollonios says that Iris made the Boreads turn, in Hesiod's version it was Hermes.³⁵ These two characters are both messengers of the gods, so that it is quite likely that some versions should include the one, and some the other. Hesiod said that the Harpies were not killed by the Boreads, and in this he was followed by Antimachos and Apollonios.³⁶ In this respect Pherekydes did not follow Hesiod, but instead adopted the version of the Naupactia, which here again differs from Hesiod.

As for the crew of the Argo, the Scholiast to A.R. I, 45 says that Hesiod did not list Iphiklos among the Argonauts.³⁷ This would seem to imply that Hesiod included a catalogue of Argonauts, which would be quite likely for a poet of his type. But the Scholiast to Odyssey XI, 326 does preserve a lengthy reference by Hesiod to Iphiklos, in which nothing is said of his participation in the voyage of the Argonauts.³⁸ It may be that the Scholiast to A.R. had this passage in mind when making his statement.

The Phineus episode makes it clear that Zetes and Kalais were among the crew, and it is also possible that the Dioskouroi were, since the Scholiast to Pindar, Nem. X, 150 says that Hesiod, in giving their descent, made them both

³⁵F 58 Rz² (Schol. A.R. II, 296).

³⁶F 59 Rz²; Antim. F 13. B II, 291; A.R. II, 296 ff. with Scholia.

³⁷F 50 Rz².

³⁸F 117 Rz².

the sons of Zeus.

However, one crew-member of whose presence we are certain is Herakles. The Scholiast to A.R. I, 1289 tells that Hesiod said that Herakles disembarked to look for water, and was left behind in Magnesia, near the place called Aphetai, because of the fact that he left the ship there.³⁹ All accounts, except that of Herodoros, until comparatively late times, are in agreement that Herakles left the Argo early in the voyage.⁴⁰ Herodoros denies him any part in the expedition at all, and it would appear that originally that was the case. The hero's subsequent introduction to the story and early removal from it appear to have been made to explain his absence from the expedition for the Fleece. The generally accepted story that Herakles was left behind in Mysia is always connected with Hylas⁴¹, and is probably due to the coalescence of two originally separate myths. The versions which do not include Hylas are probably more authentic, and of these, Hesiod's would seem to be the earliest. His reason for Herakles' absence is simple, and was repeated by Herodotos, who gives a different, but less obvious derivation of the name, Aphetai.⁴²

³⁹F 154 Rz².

⁴⁰Schol. A.R. I, 1289.

⁴¹Kinaithon, p. 212 K; Hellanikos, 4 F 130/31 J; A.R. I, 1273; Apollod. Bibl. I, 117.

⁴²Herodot. VII, 193.

Unfortunately, nothing at all survives about the events at Aietes' city but the statement in Theogony 994 that Jason finished many grievous labours, which, as we have seen, probably means more than just the tasks imposed by Aietes. Our remaining references are to the return journey. One of these is F 63 Rz² (Schol. A.R. IV, 284).

It will be best if we quote the scholiast at greater length: οὐδείς δὲ ἱστορεῖ διὰ τούτου τοὺς Ἀργοναυτὰς εἰσπεπλευκέναι εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν Θάλασσαν ἔξω Τιμαγῆτος, ὃ ἠκολούθησεν Ἀπολλώνιος. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Σκύμνος αὐτοὺς διὰ Ταναΐδος πεπλευκέναι ἐπὶ τὴν μεγάλην Θάλασσαν, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν Θάλασσαν ἐληλυθέναι καὶ παρεκβολεύεται, ὡς ἄρα ἐλθόντες ἐπὶ τὴν ἡπειρὸν οἱ Ἀργοναυτὰι ἐπὶ στρατιῆραν ἐκόμισαν τὴν Ἀργώ, μέχρι οὗ ἐπὶ Θάλασσαν παρεγένοντο. Ἡσίοδος δὲ διὰ Φάσιδος αὐτοὺς εἰσπεπλευκέναι λέγει. Ἐκκαταῖος δὲ (<... Ἀρτεμίδωρος δὲ>) ἐλέγχων αὐτὸν ἱστορεῖ μὴ ἐκδιδόναι εἰς τὴν Θάλασσαν τὸν Φάσιν. οὐδὲ διὰ Ταναΐδος ἐπλευσαν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν πλεῖν, καθ' ὃν καὶ πρότερον, ὡς Σοφοκλῆς ἐν Σκύθαις ἱστορεῖ καὶ Καλλίμαχος.

Hesiod, then, said that the Argonauts sailed into "the great sea" through the Phasis. The Scholiast to A.R. IV, 259 says that Hesiod, as well as Pindar and Antimachos, said that the Argonauts came through Ocean to Libya, and, after carrying the Argo, reached "our sea".⁴³ Hesiod's route, therefore, was Phasis - Ocean - Libya - Mediterranean. The most interesting feature is the passage διὰ Φάσιδος, which Artemidoros denied on the ground that the Phasis did not issue into "the great sea".⁴⁴ The Phasis was understood

⁴³F 64 Rz²; Pindar, Pyth. IV, 25 f.; Antim. F 12. B II, 291.

⁴⁴For the following discussion of the Phasis I am indebted to J. D. P. Bolton, Aristeas of Proconnesus (Oxford, 1962), pp. 55 ff.

by Artemidoros to be the river now called the Rion, flowing into the south-east corner of the Black Sea. Herodotos, who had the same conception of the Phasis, says that the boundaries of Europe were the Nile and the Phasis, though some said the Tanais and the Kimmerian Bosphoros.⁴⁵ The question is how could such a minor river as the Rion have been regarded as an intercontinental boundary, and indeed Agathemeros said it was an older boundary than the Tanais.⁴⁶ How could Hesiod have formed his concept of the Phasis?

There are two passages in Aischylos which may shed some light on the problem. In Prometheus Vinctus 729-35, he says that Io must come to the Kimmerian Bosphoros and cross from Europe into Asia, i.e. the boundary between the continents is the Kimmerian Bosphoros. Then in Prometheus Solutus he writes, *πῆ μὲν Δίδυμον χθονὸς Εὐρώπης / μέγαν ἢ δ' Ἀσίας τέρμονα φέρειν.*⁴⁷ There seems to be a contradiction between these two references. The word μέγαν is hardly applicable to what Herodotos knew as the Phasis. Moreover, the other boundaries between the continents were not rivers, but straits, such as the Hellespont, Propontis, and Thracian Bosphoros, and the Straits of Gibraltar. Hence it would be more natural if here too we had a strait, which is in fact what Hesiod's concept of the Phasis

⁴⁵Herodot. IV, 45.

⁴⁶Agathem. I, 3 (G.G.M.).

⁴⁷F 191 Nauck.

suggests. On this reasoning, then, it is natural that the Kimmerian Bosphoros, being a strait, should be regarded as an intercontinental boundary, as in P.V. 729-35. But how are we to reconcile this with Aischylos' other statement?

As we have noticed above, his Phasis must have been something bigger than Herodotos' Phasis. What happened may well have been something like this: during their early exploration of the northern Black Sea area, the Greeks came to the Kimmerian Bosphoros, which at first would have struck them as a natural intercontinental boundary. When, in the course of further exploration, the Palus Maeotis (Sea of Azov) turned out to be not a bay of Ocean, but a sea itself, they would have discovered that there was a channel in the north-east corner (later called the Tanais). They could well have assumed that this was a strait leading to Ocean, and, as such, a continuation of the intercontinental boundary. Taking this view, the contradiction in the two references by Aischylos disappears, his Phasis (later the Tanais) being the continuation of the Kimmerian Bosphoros as the boundary.

In that case, where does Hesiod stand? Clearly his Phasis, through which the Argonauts passed, must be either the Kimmerian Bosphoros or the Tanais. In the Theogony 337-45, he gives a list of the rivers which were sons of Ocean, and these include the Ister (Danube) and the Phasis, but not the Tanais. Such an important river could hardly have been omitted, so that it seems likely that it was listed under the

name of Phasis. The identification with the Kimmerian Bosphoros would seem to be ruled out by the fact that Phasis is listed as a river, which the Kimmerian Bosphoros clearly was not. That Hesiod's Phasis was, in fact, the Tanais is supported by Skymnos, who made the Argonauts pass through the Tanais into Ocean, the old Hesiodic version under another name.⁴⁸ It is also supported by the fact that the Tanais took over the function of the original Phasis as an intercontinental boundary⁴⁹, and later writers, such as Eratosthenes, said that some people thought of the continents as islands divided by the Tanais and the Nile.⁵⁰ Moreover,

Strabo writes of the voyage of Pytheas, πρῶτον ἐπέλθοι
τὴν Κατωκεδονίαν τῆς Εὐρώπης ἀπὸ Γαδείρων ἕως Τανάϊδος 51

If this was what Hesiod meant by the Phasis, how did the name come to be associated with the river now called the Rion? This again would appear to have been the result of further exploration in the Black Sea. After it had been discovered that Phasis-Tanais was only a river, and when the Milesians had penetrated to the extreme south-east corner of the Black Sea, they would have thought that they had really reached Phasis, ἔνθα ναυσὶν ἔσχατος ὄρομος,⁵² and this became the

⁴⁸Schol. A.R. IV, 284.

⁴⁹Herodot. IV, 45.

⁵⁰Eratost. in Strabo I, 4.7.

⁵¹Strabo, II, 4.1.

⁵²F Incert. 559 Nauck.

Phasis of later tradition. As we have seen, the original conception of the Phasis did not have the idea of the last place possible, indeed it was a passage-way into Ocean. That the later Phasis could not fulfil the function of the original one is shown by the fact that later geographers wrote of the boundary as "the Phasis, and the isthmus between the Pontus and the Caspian".⁵³

All this would indicate that the story of the Argonauts, as Hesiod knew it, was current before the eastern parts of the Black Sea were fully explored, and was thus earlier than the discovery of the Phasis of later tradition. Hence it does not seem likely that the story was a Milesian epic, dependent on the Milesian exploration of the Black Sea, as Friedländer suggests.⁵⁴ In support of his theory, he says that Phasis was certainly a Milesian Colony, but, as we have shown, this Phasis could not fulfil the function of the original Hesiodic one, and, in any case the Milesian colony called Phasis dates from no earlier than the sixth century.⁵⁵

Hesiod's version of the return route was accepted by Pindar and Antimachos, but, as we have noticed, it came in for criticism in the light of improved geographical knowledge,

⁵³Bolton, p. 57.

⁵⁴P. Friedländer, "Kritische Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Heldensage", in Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, 69 (1914), 299 ff.

⁵⁵Boardman, Greeks Overseas, p. 265.

so that Apollonios, in order to have the voyage through unknown territory, brings the ship up the Danube, thence down the Rhone and into the Po.

For events on the return voyage we have no direct evidence, except for the Libyan episode, when the Argonauts carried their ship across to the Mediterranean.⁵⁶ Apollonios in III, 311 refers to Circe, and IV, 892 to the island of the Sirens, and in both places the Scholiast says that he was following Hesiod. But in view of the words of the Scholiast to A.R. III, 311, τοῖς κατὰ τὸ Τυρσηνικὸν πέλαγος ὑποτιθεμένοις τὴν Ὀδυσσεύως κλαῖην, ὧν ἀρχηγὸς Ἡσίοδος, it seems certain that Hesiod must have included these episodes in an Odyssean context, and not in a situation involving the Argonauts.

Consider the scrappy character of the evidence, and the fact that no references to the events at Aietes' city survive, it seems unlikely that Hesiod gave a detailed, connected narrative of the myth. Such a long epic subject would not be suitable for a poet of his type, and he is much more likely to have been selective in his references to the myth. In some respects he agrees with Homer, and since Homer is a poet of the narrative epic type, it may be useful to examine next any references to the Argonauts that are to be found in the Homeric poems.

⁵⁶F 64 Rz²(Schol. A.R. IV, 259).

CHAPTER IV

THE MYTH IN THE HOMERIC POEMS

Since the voyage of the Argonauts took place, according to tradition¹, in the generation preceding the Trojan War, we might reasonably expect to find some references to it in the great poems which tell of that war and its aftermath. But before we look for these references, it will be best to assign a date to Homer, that we may see more clearly his position in the history of the myth.

The date of Homer has, of course, been a very vexed question, and this is not the place to enter upon a detailed discussion of the evidence. There is abundant literature on the subject, and we can do no better than to accept the opinion of most modern scholars that the poet should be dated to the second half of the eighth century, perhaps approaching 700, and probably a little earlier than Hesiod.²

¹e.g. the fact that some Argonauts, such as Peleus and Telamon, were the fathers of Homeric heroes.

²For support for this date, see Bowra in O.C.D. "Homer", and in Wace and Stubbing's A Companion to Homer, p. 41; also J. A. Davison in W. and S. p. 259; Wade-Gery, The Poet of the Iliad, pp. 2, 33; by G. S. Kirk, The Songs of Homer (Camb. 1962), pp. 282-7.

As for the poet's knowledge of the myth of the Argonauts, Strabo has a long section on the subject.³ He begins by telling us that "Demetrios of Skepsis, in his desire to refute the statement of Neanthes of Cyzicus that the Argonauts erected the sanctuary of the Idaean Mother near Cyzicus, when they were sailing to Phasis on the voyage which is admitted by Homer and others, declares that Homer did not know the voyage of Jason to Phasis." Strabo goes on to say that this is at variance not only with the statements of Homer, but with those of Demetrios himself. He then lists evidence for the voyage, citing names and objects which indicate the Argonauts, and mentioning also the words of Homer (τῆς Ὀμήρου φωνῆς).⁴

With these statements by Strabo in mind, it is rather disappointing to discover that there is actually only one direct reference to the Argo in the Homeric poems. This is in Odyssey XII, 69, where Circe says of the passage past the Planktai: οὐδὲ δὴ κείνη γε παρέπλω ποντοπόρος νηῦς,

Ἄργω κωσιμέλουσα, περ' Αἰήτωο πλέουσα.

Several points arise from this, which must be examined in detail. Firstly the Argo is said to have travelled by this route on her way back from Aietes, the implication being that she did not do so on the way to him.

But perhaps the most interesting word in these two

³Strabo I, 2, 38-40.

⁴Strabo I, 2. 39.

lines is πασιμέλουσα, referring to the Argo. What did the poet mean by this? Stanford writes, in his note on the passage, "It literally means 'cared for by all', a reference either to the popularity of the expedition (cf. Pindar, Pythian IV, 184 ff.) or to the saga about it."⁵ It would surely seem that the second explanation is the correct one, as the poet is making only a rather vague reference to the voyage, while the first interpretation would seem to demand a more detailed account. Hence it is that the second explanation is generally preferred, the word being usually translated as "celebrated", or "world-famous". However, Strabo also has something to say on the use of the word πασιμέλουσα.⁶ Writing of how Homer adds an element of myth to the historical story, he says, ἐπεὶ κ' αὖτε, ὑποκειμένων μὲν τούτων, εὐ λέγεται Ἄργω πασιμέλουσα ὡς ἐν γνωρίμοις τόποις καὶ εὐανδροῦσι τῆς ναυστολίας γενομένης. He goes on to say, in the same passage, that if the facts were as Demetrios alleges, then, in the first place, the expedition in search of the Fleece would not seem plausible, since it was to unknown and obscure countries, and, secondly, the voyage through desolate and uninhabited regions would be οὔτε ἐνδοξοῦ οὔτε πασιμέλων. Strabo's argument here certainly seems very strange. He says that the words "Argo known to all" are well-used in that the voyage was to well-known and populous regions. But were these regions so well-known when the myth was taking shape? If they were well-known, then surely the

⁵W.S. Stanford, The Odyssey of Homer (2nd ed. London, 1962), note to XII, 70.

⁶Strabo I, 2. 40.

myth would lose much of its interest, since it is a story of the exploration of the mystical and unknown. How would the expedition not seem plausible if it was to obscure countries? Surely that would only make people more interested. Why should a voyage through desolate and uninhabited regions be without fame, just because the regions themselves were unknown? Strabo seems to have made the strange and unnecessary mistake of transferring the idea of Πασιμέλουσα from the Argo and its myth to the places which the ship was supposed to have visited. In this he may have been influenced by his own chief interest, which was geography, or perhaps he is employing such a perverse argument simply in an attempt to refute the statements of Demetrios. At any rate, his comments do not put forward any good reason for abandoning the generally accepted opinion that the word Πασιμέλουσα should be interpreted as a reference to the popularity of the saga about the voyage of the Argo.

If this interpretation is correct, what are its implications? Some people have taken the word as an indication that, by Homer's time, the myth of the Argonauts had been worked into an epic poem which had become popular. One such scholar is Rhys Carpenter, who says, "A famous allusion in the Odyssey suggests that such a poem already existed when the Odyssey was composed and that it enjoyed great popularity."⁷

⁷Rhys Carpenter, Folk Tale, Fiction and Saga in the Homeric Epics (Berkeley, 1946), p. 143.

In a footnote he asks, "Could this by any chance have been the poem in 6,500 verses, entitled The Building of the Argo and Jason's Voyage to Colchis, ascribed by Diogenes Laertius to the Cretan Epimenides?" He adds, "Such an epic (because of Colchis) could hardly have been composed earlier than 650 B.C. nor need 'Epimenides' have lived much later." This suggestion that Homer is here referring to the poem by Epimenides is open to several objections. Firstly, as can be seen from the passage quoted, Rhys Carpenter assigns a very low date to Homer, running into the latter half of the seventh century. But, as was said at the beginning of this chapter, modern opinion is generally in favour of an eighth century date for Homer. Epimenides can hardly be dated so early, so that the Odyssey would appear to have preceded his poem by a substantial period. Further, Rhys Carpenter's other reason for suggesting the date 650, namely the mention of Colchis in the title of Epimenides' poem, is also open to objection, because the Corinthian poet, Eumelos, says, speaking of Aietes, ὁ δ' ὤχετο Κολχίδα γαῖαν⁸, and Eumelos can be dated well into the eighth century.⁹

Not only does this discredit Rhys Carpenter's case for Epimenides, but it may also suggest Eumelos as a likely

⁸Eumelos F 2 K (Schol. Pindar Olym., XIII, 74).

⁹For this date see T. J. Dunbabin, "The Early History of Corinth", JHS 68 (1948) 67, also A. R. Burn, "Dates in Early Greek History", JHS 55 (1935), 130 f. Eusebios gives 761 and 744.

alternative. We can find support for this suggestion in a statement by Murray, "The verses of Eumelos are quoted as the earliest known authority for the story of the Argo and Medea, and the composer of our Odyssey speaks of the Argo as a subject of which 'all minds are full'."¹⁰ However the interval between the two poets can hardly have been sufficient for the Argo to have become πασιμέλουσα solely through the work of Eumelos. More likely, the story was a theme in the oral tradition, which Homer could well have known and used in allusions. But there is one feature of Homer's story which may have been derived from Eumelos, and it is found in Odyssey XII, 71-2: *καὶ νῦν κε τὴν ἔνθ' ὄκω βάλεν μέγας ποτὶ πέτρας, ἄλλ' Ἡρῆ παρέπεμψε, ἔπει φίλος ἦεν Ἴησων.* Here again, even in Homer, we find the motif of Hera as the protectress of the Argonauts, and in particular of Jason, just as Athena looks after Odysseus in the Odyssey. As we have already said of the presence of Hera in the accounts given by Pindar and Pherekydes, the most likely place for her introduction into the myth is Corinth, where she had a flourishing cult. This would suggest that Eumelos was responsible for the presence of Hera, in which case this reference in the Odyssey must belong to a late stage in the poem's development.

Also worthy of consideration with regard to this

¹⁰G. Murray, The Rise of the Greek Epic (2nd. ed. Oxford, 1911), p. 199.

reference are the Planktai, past which the Argo is said to have sailed. A commonly held view is that the poet, although calling the rocks Planktai, is referring to rocks like the Symplegades.¹¹ We find the story of the Argo and the Symplegades in its fullest form in Apollonios' Argonautica, where the Argonauts managed to pass by sending a dove through first, while they followed, helped by Athena, and escaped with only slight damage to the stern of the ship.¹² The passage in Odyssey XII, 59-72 bears some similarities to this story:

ἔνθεν μὲν γὰρ πέτραι ἐπήρεφές, προτὶ δ' αὐτῶς
 κῆμα μέγα ῥοχθεὶ κυανώπιδος Ἀμφιτρίτης.
 Ἰλαγκτῶς δὴ τοι τῶς γε θεοὶ μάκρες κἀλέουσι.
 τῆ μὲν τ' οὐδε ποτὶτὴ πῆρέρχεται οὐδὲ πέλειαι
 τρήρωνες, τὰί τ' ἀμβροσίην Διὶ πατρὶ φέρουσιν,
 ἀλλὰ πε καὶ τῶν αἰὲν ἀφαρείται λῆς πέτρῃ.
 ἀλλ' ἄλλην ἐνίγει πατὴρ ἑναρίθμιον εἶναι.
 ἢ δ' οὐ πῶ τις νηὺς φύγεν ἀνδρῶν, ἢ τις ἱκῆται,
 ἀλλὰ θ' ὁμοῦ πίνακός τε νεῶν καὶ σώματα φωτῶν
 κῆμαθ' ἄλως φορέουσι κυρὸς τ' ὀλοῖο θυέλλῃ.
 οἴη δὴ κείνη γε παρέπελω κοντοπόρος νηὺς,
 Ἄργῳ πῶσι μέλουσα, παρ' Αἰγῆταο πλέουσα.
 καὶ νῦ κε τὴν ἐνθ' ὠκὸν βάλεν μέγας ποτὶ πέτρας,
 ἀλλ' Ἥρη παρέπεμψεν, ἔπει φίλος ἦεν Ἴηδῶν.

A notable idea in both stories is the danger to the birds.

Robert thinks that Apollonios' story of the sending through of a dove is a later improvement based on this story in the Odyssey, noting that Apollonios' predecessor, Pindar¹³, does not mention the dove.¹⁴ But, as Graham says, "it is difficult

¹¹A. J. Graham, "The Date of the Greek Penetration of the Black Sea", BICS, V (1958), 25-42.

¹²A.R. II, 549-610.

¹³Pindar, Pyth. IV, 204 ff.

¹⁴Robert, Heldensage, p. 829.

not to be struck by the fact that the doves in the Odyssey passage seem unexplained and meaningless".¹⁵ They remind Stanford of the dove in Apollonios¹⁶, and it would seem preferable to take them as a reference to a version of Apollonios' motif already existing in the early tradition, than to adopt Robert's opinion.

However that may be, it is generally assumed that Homer is referring to the same rocks as Apollonios¹⁷, who, like other later writers places these rocks, the Symplegades, at the entrance to the Black Sea. If this was also the case in Homer's story, several possibilities arise, since Argo did not pass by this route on her outward voyage. Therefore, either she must have entered the Black Sea by another route, or else Aietes' kingdom did not lie in that direction at all. For the first of these two possibilities, it could be argued that she travelled by a route similar to the ones given by Apollonios and Hesiod for the return voyage. This suggestion might be supported by the fact that, in Pindar's account, the Argo called at Lemnos on her way home, Lemnos lying directly on the route from the Hellespont to Greece. But, as we noticed in our treatment of Pythian IV, there can be little doubt that Pindar was there altering the traditional material to fit in with the purpose and structure of his ode. Moreover,

7.
¹⁵Graham, p

¹⁶Stanford, note to XII, 63.

¹⁷e.g. by Robert and Graham

if Aietes was known to be in the east, the natural way to go would be through the Hellespont and the Bosporos.

Robert, however, adopts the second possibility;¹⁸ the Argo's goal was not in the east, but lay to the west, so that, on her return trip, the ship sailed into Ocean and hence back to Greece through the Symplegades. This, according to Robert, was the form of the myth known to Homer, and he thinks that the subsequent reversal of the voyage, including all the Black Sea details, is due to later Milesian mariners and poets.

But there is a strong possibility that the whole identification of Homer's rocks with the Symplegades is wrong. As Stanford says, in his note on the Homeric passage, "Homer does not clearly identify them (the Πλαγκταί) with 'the Clashers' (Συμπληγάδες)...which figure in the Argonautic Saga etc."¹⁹ However, evidence that the rocks were not, in fact, the same can be found in the description given by Homer. The Symplegades were rocks which clashed together, but, as Liddell and Scott point out,²⁰ Homer did not conceive the Planktai as moving, the name presumably being active in sense, meaning "the Deceivers". They are merely ἐπηρεφείες , "overarching", thus making the passage narrow. The danger comes from the waves which dash ships against the rocks, and from the fire rising from the rocks. It was from this fire and smoke that Apollonios

¹⁸Robert, Heldensage.

¹⁹Stanford, note to XII, 61.

²⁰L. S. J. s.v. Πλαγκταί

understood the rocks to be the volcanic Lipari Islands, and surely the context of the Homeric passage, with its mention of the Sirens, Scylla, and Charybdis, indicates that the rocks are to be located in the west together with those other phenomena. This implies that Homer was not referring to the passage of the Argo through the Symplegades, but was in fact introducing an Odyssean element by depicting the ship as also the first past the Planktai. We can see traces of his version in Apollonios' account of the Planktai, and the Alexandrian poet also thinks of them as motionless (IV, 945-7):

αἶ θ' ὅτε μὲν κρημνοῖς ἐναλίγκια ἦέρι κύρον,
 ἄλλοτε δὲ βρύχια νεῖτω ὑπὸ κευθεῖ πόντου
 ἠρήρεινθ', ὅθι πολλὸν ὑπεῖρεχεν Ἰγυριον οἶδμα

All the movement comes from the waves, which at one moment leave the rocks standing high and reaching to the sky like cliffs²¹, and at another rise over them as they are stuck fast to the seabed.²² In the actual passage of the Planktai in Apollonios' version, the Argo is helped through by Thetis and her Nereids²³, but more significant is the speech of Hera

(IV, 786-8). οἴη τέ σφ' ἐσάωσα διὰ Πλαγκταῖς περὸντας
 πέτραις, ἔνθα πύρος δεινὰ βρομέουσι θύελλαι
 κύματα τε σκληρῆσι περιβλύει σπιλάδεσσιν.

Not only does this description recall that given by Homer, but

²¹ cf. Kallim. Hymn. Demet. 38 μέγα δένδρον αἰθέρι κύρον

²² cf. A.R. III, 1398, where ἠρήρειντο is used of the partly-emerged Spartoi.

²³ A.R. IV, 924 - 63.

here we have Hera saying that she helped the Argo past, just as she did in the Odyssey. Apollonios seems to have become confused between two versions, but there can be little doubt that in these lines he had the Homeric passage in mind. That his account of the passage through the Symplegades is not derived from Homer is suggested by the fact that in it Athena assists the Argo, not Hera.

If this view of the Planktai is correct, and it be admitted that they are not the Symplegades, all the problems about the route taken by the Argo are solved. Homer's Planktai are the same as those so called by Apollonios, through which the Argo did in fact pass on her return voyage in Apollonios' version of the story. On her outward voyage she presumably did pass the Symplegades, of which Homer makes no mention, though it is likely that he knew of them. This is suggested not only by the presence of the doves, which we have noticed, but also by the fact that in all the areas of Greek navigation, no place is more suited for the creation of a myth about rocks, whether "Clashers" or "Deceivers", than the Bosphoros. We are told by the ancient geographers how the strait seems to be closed from a distance, but, as one comes nearer and moves from one side of the channel to the other, it seems to open and close.²⁴ This fact, together with the strong current, could easily give rise to a myth, which, once formed, could also be applied, with some modifications, to a similar navigational hazard. It seems best to conclude from this that

²⁴Eratos. in Schol. Eur. Med. 2; Dion. Byz. 3. 19.

the early story of the Symplegades in the myth of the Argonauts influenced the development of the story of the Planktai in the Odyssey, and that the Homeric poet was responsible for the final link in making the Argo pass the Planktai as well.

As has been remarked, this passage in Odyssey XII is the only direct reference to the Argo in the Homeric poems, but there are also several indirect references, which must be considered in an assessment of Homer's knowledge of the myth. One such passage is Odyssey, X, 136 ff., where we read,

Κίρκη ἔϋπλόκαμος, δαυή Θεὸς αὐδῆεσσα,
αὐτοκασιγνήτη ὀλοσφραῖος Αἰήτωρ·
ἔμφω δ' ἐκγεγάτην φασειμβρότου Ἥελίου

μητρὸς τ' ἐκ Πέρσης, τὴν Ὠκεανὸς τέκε παῖδα.

This is our earliest reference to the relationship between

Circe and Aietes, which later became part of the tradition, as represented by Apollonios, whose words betray his debt to

Homer²⁵, Κίρκης εἰς τε φύην εἰς τ' ὄμηρα παπταίνοντες,
ῥεῖα κασιγνήτην φάσαν ἔμμεναι Αἰήτωρ.

We have already met Circe and Aietes in Hesiod, Theogony, 956 ff., where the poet gives them exactly the same parents as Homer does, presumably drawing on the same tradition.

The problem which we have to consider is: did this relationship already exist in the version of the myth of the Argonauts which came down to Homer, or was it a feature of

²⁵A.R. IV, 683-4.

the tradition of the Odyssey, perhaps introduced by Homer himself? To answer this, we must examine the two figures involved, Circe and Aietes.

In the Odyssey, Circe is a major character, and plays a significant part in the story. She it is who tells Odysseus that he must visit the Underworld²⁶, and later on, after his return from Hades, she warns him of the dangers ahead, the Sirens, the Planktai, Scylla and Charybdis, and the isle of the Sun-god.²⁷ But in the story of the Argonauts, even as told by Apollonios, she is a comparatively unimportant figure. Her only function is to cleanse Medea and Jason of the blood of Apsyrtos²⁸, for whose murder we have no evidence earlier than that of Pherekydes and Sophokles.²⁹ Hence it seems that, while Circe was an integral part of the Odyssey, she is a comparatively late addition to the myth of the Argonauts. That she entered the story along with the other Odyssean elements is indicated by the fact that she is located in the west, as is shown by the words of Aietes:

ἦ δὲ ἴδεν γὰρ ποτε πατρός ἐν ἄρμασιν Ἡελίοιο
 Διεύουδας, ὅτ' ἐμέο κασιγνήτην ἐκόμιζεν
 Κίρκην ἑσπερίης εἴσω χθονός, ἐκ δ' ἐκόμεσθα
 ἄκτῆν ἠΰ κείρου Τυρσηνίδος, ἐνθ' ἔτι νῦν περ
 Βαλετάει, μάλ' ἀποπροθε Κολχίδος αἴης. (A.R. III, 309-13)

Before her appearance in the Odyssey, Circe must have been

²⁶Odyss. X, 490 ff.

²⁷XII, 37-141.

²⁸A.R. IV, 559, 659-752.

²⁹Pher. 3 F 32 J; Soph. F 343 Pearson.

almost unknown, hence the rather full~~l~~some introduction given to her. It has been suggested by Bowra that Circe and Calypso are really two characters evolved out of one³⁰, and it may be that Circe was the later development. If this is so, the poet would want to have her established as a worthy epic figure, by giving her appropriate relatives. This is where Aietes comes in. First of all, he must have been a well-known epic figure, needing no more introduction than ὀλοόφρων Αἰήτης. His fame is also indicated by the phrase Ἄργῳ πασιμέλουςα, παρ' Αἰήτιο κλέουςα. He was also suitable for another reason, for Circe was a witch, and Aietes was the father of Medea, who also possessed magical powers. Hence this was a suitable family for Circe to be related to. Something like this is suggested by Strabo (I, 2.10), εἰδὼς . . . τὰ περὶ Κίρκης καὶ Μηδείας μυθεούμενα καὶ ἱστορούμενα περὶ τῆς φαρμακεῖας καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ὁμοιοτροπίας, συγγενεῖς τε ἔπλασε τῶν αὐτῶ δειψικρένων κ.τ.λ.

The connection with Aietes and Medea was emphasised by calling Circe's island Αἰαίη νῆσος,³¹ Αἰαίη being the adjective from Αἶα, the name of Aietes' city, and it is also applied twice to Circe herself in the *Odyssey*.³² In one instance, the use of this adjective has misled the poet, when he suddenly puts Circe's island in the east (*Odys.* XII, 3):

νῆσον τ' Αἰαίην, ὅθι τ' Ἴουρ ἠριγενεΐης
οἰκίᾳ καὶ χοροῖ εἰσι καὶ ἀντολῆι Ἥελίοιο.

This would seem to have been a recollection of Aietes' city,

³⁰Bowra in *W. and S.* p. 53.

³¹*Odys.* X, 135: XII, 3.

³²*Odys.* XII, 268, 273; cf. A.R. IV, 559 (of Circe), III, 1136 and IV, 243 (of Medea).

perhaps of the Αἰαίη νῆσος on which Pherekydes said the Fleece was kept.³³

In this way Circe was linked with the myth of the Argonauts, and this association was seized upon by later writers, who presently found a function for her in the story itself. But this development cannot have been earlier than the fifth century.

We have two other passages in the Odyssey, from which it is not possible to gain very much information, but they need to be considered for the sake of completeness. One of them occurs in Bk XI, where Odysseus tells of meeting Tyro during his visit to the underworld:

ἢ δ' ὑποκουσάμενη Πελίην τέκε καὶ Νηληϊά,
 τῷ κρατερῷ θεράποντε Διὸς μεγάλῳ γενέσθην
 ἀμφοτέρω· Πελίης μὲν ἐν εὐρυχόρῳ Ἴωλκῷ
 ναίει πολύρρητος, ὃ δ' ἄρ' ἐν Πύλῳ ἡμιθέεντι
 τοὺς δ' ἑτέρας Κρηθῆι τέκε βασίλειαν γυκικῶν
 Αἰσονά τ' ἠδὲ Φέρητ' Ἀμυθλονά θ' ἱππιόχαρην.

We have here a mention of two of the characters of the myth,

Pelias and Aison, as well as a reference to Iolkos, the starting point of the expedition. The poet shows that the great line of the Aiolidai, the famous Minyan family, was well-known to the epic-tradition. He knows that Neleus migrated to Pylos, and he depicts Pelias as ruling in prosperity over Iolkos. There is nothing in the context to suggest the expedition of the Argonauts, and Pelias seems to be the

³³Pher. 3 F 100 J (Schol. A.R. III, 1093).

legitimate ruler of Iolkos. Could this have been the position in the early version of the myth of the Argonauts? If so, it would help to explain several other features, notably the traditions which indicate that Jason did not stay at Iolkos after his return. If Pelias were the rightful king, Akastos would be his legitimate successor, and Jason would have no claim on the throne, and no future at Iolkos. It may be that some such situation lay behind the story given by Hesiod and Pherekydes about the capture of Iolkos by Peleus. Such a situation would also accord better with the tradition of the funeral games given for Pelias. It would mean that Jason had no personal grievance against Pelias, but was merely the instrument of an oracle (as in the "one-sandal" motif), or of some avenging deity. This passage occurs in the Catalogue of Heroines (XI, 225-332), which has been considered by Bowra as an interpolation.³⁴ If so, it probably had its origins in the catalogue poetry of the Hesiodic school, Boiotian or Thes-salian, which will explain the presence in it of these figures from the myth of the Argonauts.

We find another reference in Odyssey X, 107-8, where Odysseus describes how, in the land of the Laistrygonians, he sent out a reconnaissance party, which met a girl drawing water, ἡ μὲν ἄρ' ἐς κρήνην κατεβήσατο καλλιπέεθρον / Ἀρτακίην .

Now, in the Argonautica of Apollonios, we read how the heroes

³⁴Bowra in W. and S. p. 45.

reached the land of the Doliones, and put into harbour. There they discarded their small anchor-stone, and left it κρήνη ὑπ' Ἀρτακίῃ (I, 957), replacing it with a heavier stone. While the precise location of Homer's spring cannot be determined, there is no doubt that the Artakie of Apollonios is to be located at Cyzicus. Stanford in his note to the Homeric passage, notices the name and says, "There was a fountain also called Artacie at Cyzicus in the Black Sea, which figures in the voyage of the Argonauts; so some argue for Argonautic influence here. But the Cyzicene name may well have been taken from Homer."³⁵ However, the reference to the spring in Odyssey X is little more than an aside, and such a casual reference rather suggests that the spring was well-known. Certainly in the Argonautica the reference to the spring has more importance. Moreover, this spring at Cyzicus seems to have been quite celebrated, as we learn from the Scholia to A.R. I, 957: κρήνη ὑπ' Ἀρτακίῃ: Ἀρτακίῳ κρήνη περὶ ΚΥΖΙΚΕΩΝ, ἧς καὶ Ἀλκίαιος μὲμνηται καὶ Καλλίμαχος, ὅτι τῆς Δολιωνείας ἐστίν. Hence the location of this spring at Cyzicus is not the mere invention of Apollonios, but was also given by his rival Kallimachos, and even by a poet as early as Alkaios. Hence, it seems preferable to conclude that the Homeric poet, wanting to add a little detail to his story, took over the name Artakie, from the spring at Cyzicus, than that, from a rather irrelevant allusion in the Odyssey, later poets gave the name

³⁵Stanford, note to X, 107-8.

to a famous spring at Cyzicus. That Homer could have known the spring at Cyzicus is suggested by the Eusebian date for the foundation of that city, namely 756 B.C. This dating has for long been the object of much scepticism, but Akurgal has recorded his excavations of a considerable Greek city some twenty miles to the south of Cyzicus.³⁶ These excavations show an entirely Greek city, with pottery going back to around 700. If such a city had been built around 700, about twenty miles inland from Cyzicus, it seems safe to conclude that the Greeks on the coast must have been strong and numerous, implying that Cyzicus itself must have been founded some time earlier than the inland city, that is, around the middle of the eighth century, and presumably the Greeks were well-acquainted with the area at an even earlier date. Hence information about the environs of Cyzicus could well have reached the poet of the Odyssey, and it is possible that the story of the Argonauts, set in the Black Sea, was the vehicle for the transmission of this knowledge.

Let us now turn to the Iliad. Since it is commonly agreed that this is the earlier of the Homeric poems, we might expect not to find as many references to the myth of the Argonauts as in the Odyssey. Also, the latter is a sea-adventure story, like the story of the Argo, and so would be the more likely to contain references to that legend. However the Iliad does contain a few passages which are of interest to us in our examination of the myth of the Argonauts.

³⁶E. Akurgal in Anatolia, I (1956), 15 ff.

Three passages in the Iliad refer to Jason's son, Euneos, on Lemnos, and the first of these is in VII, 467 ff:

νήες δ' ἐκ Δήμνοιο παρέστασαν οἶνον ἄγουσαι
πολλὰί, τὰς προέηκεν Ἰησονίδης Ἐύνηος,
τὸν ῥ' ἔτεχ' Ὑψιπύλη ὕπ' Ἰησονι ποιμένι λαῶν

The other two passages do not add very much to this, and are best considered in conjunction with it. In XXI, 40-41, we read of Achilles' encounter with Lykaon, and learn how previously καὶ τότε μὲν μιν Δήμνον εὐκτιμένην ἐπέρασε νηυσὶν ἄγων, ἀπ' αὐτοῦ υἱὸς Ἰησονος ὦνον ἔδωκε. The third passage (XXIII, 746-7) refers to this same incident, υἱὸς δὲ Πριάμοιο Λυκάονος ὦνον ἔδωκε Πατρόκλω ἥρωϊ Ἰησονίδης Ἐύνηος. Surely our first conclusion, after looking at these three passages, must be that the poet of the Iliad knew of the visit by the Argonauts to Lemnos. For he does not merely say that Jason's son was in Lemnos, but that he was, in fact, the son whom the Lemnian princess Hypsipyle had borne to Jason. Graves has surely got things the wrong way round, when he says, commenting on the visit to Lemnos, "Jason is made to call at Lemnos, because, according to Homer, Euneos, who reigned there during the Trojan War, was his son etc."³⁷ The fact that Homer tells us that the son's mother was Hypsipyle shows that he knew that Jason had actually visited the island. Since he knew that Jason had been in Lemnos, he is able to depict Jason's son as a person in authority on the island.

The first passage has our fullest reference to Jason himself in the Homeric poems, and describes him as ποιμὴν λαῶν.

³⁷Graves, II, 149.1.

We will remember that exactly the same phrase was applied to him by Hesiod³⁸, and, as we suggested in the last chapter, it might denote that Jason was the captain of the Argonauts, in the same way as it was used of Agamemnon as leader of the Greeks in the Iliad.

The two passages referring to the purchase of Lykaon by Euneos are interesting. The first one suggests that Achilles conducted the transaction in person, while, in the second, Patroklos apparently acted as his agent. Such a minor discrepancy is an obvious sign of the oral tradition, but whether Achilles conducted the sale in person or not, the two passages do suggest some sort of friendship or alliance between him and Euneos. We can add to this the opinion of Demetrios of Skepsis "that Achilles sacked Lesbos and other places, but spared Lemnos and its adjacent islands on account of his friendship with Jason and Jason's son, Euneos, who at that time possessed the island of Lemnos."³⁹ What could have been the basis for any friendship between Achilles and Jason and his son? Strabo, commenting on the statement of Demetrios above, says that the relationship could not be due to any other fact than that both men were Thessalians. We have, of course, numerous references in the Iliad to the fact that Achilles came from Phthia in Thessaly⁴⁰, but we have no direct reference to Jason as

³⁸Theog., 1000; F 19 Rz².

³⁹Strabo I, 2. 38.

⁴⁰e.g. II, 683 ff.

a Thessalian. However in Iliad II, 711-5 we read:

οἱ δὲ Φεράς ἐνέμοντο παρὰ Βοιβηΐδα λίμνην
 Βοίβην καὶ Γλαφύρας καὶ εὐκτιμένην Ἴαωλκόν,
 τῶν ἦρχ' Ἀδμήτοιο φίλος πῶις ἔνδεκα νηῶν
 Εὐμήλοσ, τὸν ὕπ' Ἀδμήτῳ τέκε δὲα γυναικῶν
 Ἄλκηστις, Πελίαο θυγατρῶν εἶδος ἄριστη.

This passage suggests that the poet knew that Pelias and other figures in the story of the Argonauts were Thessalians, a fact which we also noticed from Odyssey XI, 254 ff. Hence Strabo's suggestion that the link between Achilles and Jason arose from the knowledge that they were both Thessalians is quite plausible. Moreover, Achilles was a celebrated pupil of Cheiron the centaur⁴¹, and the Homeric poet may have known that Jason too had been educated by Cheiron, a fact which, at any rate, was known to Hesiod.⁴² This common educational background could well have been the basis of the friendship between the two heroes.

I think that we can see from what has been said that, although the references in the Homeric poems to the myth of the Argonauts are rather scanty, the Homeric tradition seems, nevertheless, to have been well-acquainted with the story, and probably knew much more than we have been able to glean from the few meagre references. However, we have not met with much success in our attempts to locate Homer's sources. Some

⁴¹Il. IV, 219; XVI, 143; XIX, 390.

⁴²F 19 Rz².

of his allusions, like Hesiod's, apparently belong to the Boiotian and Thessalian folk-tradition and probably came to the Homeric poet in the oral tradition. As we have noticed, some elements of the story of the Argo found in the Homeric poems can perhaps be traced to Eumelos of Corinth. But there is another reference in the Odyssey which may prove of assistance to us in this problem. In I, 259 we read how Athena saw Odysseus ἐξ Ἐφύρης ἀνιόντα παρ' Ἴλου Μερμερίδαο

At first sight this does not appear very helpful, but, when we consider it in conjunction with a reference to the Naupactia, we discover something of interest. Pausanias (II, 3.9) writes
 τεκοίηται δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς Ἴάσονα ἐξ Ἴωλκοῦ μετὰ τὸν Πελίου θάνατον ἐς Κόρκυραν μετοικῆσαι, καὶ οἱ Μέρμερον μὲν τὸν πρεσβύτερον τῶν παίδων ὑπὸ Λαϊνῆς διαφθορήναι θηρευόντα ἐν τῇ πέτρῃ ἠπεῖρω κ.τ.λ.
 The context of the passage in the Odyssey shows that Athena is speaking of somewhere in north-west Greece, not far from Ithaka.

Hence the Ephyra referred to will probably be the one in Thesprotia, which lay opposite Corcyra, so that there certainly seems to be a close relationship between the Homeric reference and the Naupactia. That this is not just a chance statement by Homer can be seen when we consider the reason for which Odysseus visited Ilos, (Odyssey I, 260-2):

οἶχετο γὰρ καὶ κεῖσε θοῆς ἐπὶ νηὸς Ὀδυσσεὺς
 φάρμακον ἀνδροφόνον διζήμενος, ἄφρα οἱ εἶη
 ἴους χρεῖσθαι χαλκῆρας

And again, in II, 328-30, one of the suitors, commenting on the decision of Telemachos to go in search of his father, says:

ἤε καὶ εἰς Ἐφύρην ἔθελει, πείρων ἄρουρων
 ἔλθειν, ὄφρ' ἔνθεν θυμοφόρα φάρμακ' ἐνεῖκη
 ἐν δὲ βάλῃ κρητῆρι καὶ ἡμέως πάντας ὀλέσση.

Hence Ephyra was well-known to the poet of the Odyssey as a place where one could easily obtain poison, which indeed seems to have been the only reason for going there. How did Ephyra manage to acquire such a reputation? We can perhaps see the answer to this question in the fact that Odysseus went specifically to Ilos, the son of Mermeros, that is, to the grandson of the magician Medea, who apparently passed on her skills to her descendants. Homer, then, in making Odysseus go to Ilos, son of Mermeros, in his search for poison, shows that his tradition knew that this Mermeros was the son of Jason and Medea, and presumably also knew the story that Jason and Medea settled somewhere in that region. This opinion is strengthened when we look at the Scholia to Odyssey I, 259.

Ἰάσων ἄμα τῇ Μηδείᾳ ἐν Ἐφύρᾳ τῆς Θεσπρωτίας παραγενόμενος, ἴσχει φέρητα υἱὸς Ἰλος, οὔτινες ἐβασιλεύσαν Θεσπρωτίας, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Ἀπολλόδωρος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος. διὸ φαρμάκων ἐστὶν ἔμπειρος.

The fact that the scholiast makes Ilos the son of Jason's other son, Pheres, does not invalidate the connection with Ephyra, or the suggestion that Ilos derived his knowledge of poisons from Medea. It seems safe to conclude that, in this reference, Homer was alluding to a tradition that Jason and Medea went to live somewhere in north-west Greece, at Ephyra or not far from it. The Naupactia too reflects this tradition, and an examination of the remaining fragments of that poem may take us a little further into the history of the myth of the Argonauts.

CHAPTER V

THE MYTH IN THE FRAGMENTS OF EUMELOS

Among the early poets who dealt with the story of the Argonauts was Eumelos of Corinth, and indeed some lines in the Argonautica of Apollonios are said to have been taken directly from his work.¹ We possess several references to this author and his work, and it will be best to consider these before proceeding to his treatment of the myth.

Pausanias (II, 1.1) begins, Εὐμήλος γε ὁ Ἀμφικλύτου τῶν Βακχιδῶν κολουμένων, ὃς καὶ τὰ ἔπη λέγεται ποιῆσαι, φησὶν ἐν τῇ Κορινθίᾳ συγγραφῇ, εἰ δὴ Εὐμήλου γε ἡ συγγραφὴ, and Clement of Alexandria (Strom. 6, 629A) says, τὰ δὲ Ἡσιόδου μετήλλαξαν εἰς πεζὸν λόγον καὶ ὡς ἴδια ἐξήνεγκον Εὐμήλος τε καὶ Ἀκουσίλωος οἱ ἱστοριογράφοι. At first glance this presents a very disquieting picture.

Pausanias is doubtful whether the Κορινθία συγγραφὴ is by Eumelos,² while Clement accuses the Corinthian of plagiarism in simply converting the work of Hesiod into prose. On the other hand, Pausanias also says that Eumelos was said to have written epic, and there is other evidence to support this. The Scholiast to Pindar, Olym.; XIII, 74 calls him τις ποιητὴς ἱστορικός, and preserves eight lines of verse, while the twelfth-century Byzantine polymath Tzetzes (ad Lyc., 1024)

¹Schol. A.R. III, 1354.

²That Pausanias actually had it before him is suggested by II, 3.10

refers to him as ὁ ποιητής, who wrote τὰ ἔπη. Also, of course, lines are said to have been quoted by Apollonios, and the Scholiast to A.R. I, 146 says . . . ἐν Κορινθιακοῖς λέγει Εὐμήλος κ.τ.λ. The title Κορινθιακὰ suggests an epic poem, like Argonautica, Naupactica etc., and it is clear that the surviving lines must belong to this work. How are we to clarify this situation?

Pausanias' doubts about "the Corinthian History" have arisen probably because, though Eumelos was said to have been an epic poet, Pausanias had before him a work in prose, which he therefore regarded as spurious. The obvious explanation would be that the work was a later prose epitomization, such as many epics underwent e.g. the Bibliotheca of Apollodoros. The epic τὰ Κορινθιακὰ ἔπη became ἡ Κορινθία συγγραφή, which Pausanias knew. It will have been the same epitome which was known to Clement. He is notorious for his attempts to discover plagiarism,³ and, on finding a prose work of a genealogical nature, has reasoned thus: Hesiod wrote genealogical poems; this prose work is genealogical, so this Eumelos must have transcribed the work of Hesiod into prose.

That Eumelos did not write in prose is also indicated by his early date, for which we have several pieces of evidence. The first is provided by the aforementioned Clement who says (Strom. I, 333B), Σιμωνίδης μὲν οὖν κατὰ Ἀρχίλοχον φέρεται, Κωλλίνος δὲ πρεσβύτερος οὐ μακρῶ Εὐμήλος δὲ ὁ Κορινθίος πρεσβύτερος ὢν

³ e.g. he alleged that Eugamon stole the Thesprotis from Mousaios (Strom. 6.2.25.1)

Ἐπιβεβληκῆναι Ἀρχία τῷ Συρακοῦσας κτίσαντι.

i.e. Eumelos was earlier than Archilochos and Kallinos, and overlapped in time with Archias, the founder of Syracuse (founded 734 B.C.). Secondly the chronologist Eusebios gives dates of 761 and 744 for Eumelos. However possibly the best indication of his date is provided by the fact that he composed a hymn to be sung by a Messenian choir at Delos, of which a fragment survives in Paus. IV, 33.2:

Τῷ γὰρ Ἰθωμάτων καταθύμιος ἔπλετο Μοῖσα

Ἐκ καθαράν[κισθαρὰν] καὶ ἐλεύθερον σαμβάλ' ἔχοισα.

Since the Messenians are unlikely to have competed at Delos after their subjugation by Sparta, this hymn must belong, as Dunbabin says,⁴ to the years of Messenian freedom before the conquest by Sparta in the late eighth century. It should not be thought that this hymn is unlikely to be the work of Eumelos, on the ground that he was an epic poet. Pausanias, who knew him to be a writer of epic, had no doubts as to the authenticity of the hymn. Nothing could be more natural than that the Messenians, wanting a hymn for their choir to take to Delos, should turn to the foremost poet of the Peloponnese.

All this evidence for his date is fairly consistent and points to the second half of the eighth century. He was said to have been a Bakkhiad,⁵ and this aristocracy held sway

⁴Dunbabin, in JHS 68 (1948), 67.

⁵Paus., II, 1.1.

held sway at Corinth from 747 and 657⁶, which would thus be the lowest possible date for Eumelos.

We must now consider how and why it came about that a Corinthian poet dealt with the story of the Argonauts. To discover this, it is necessary to examine the position of Corinth at this early period.

In the works of Homer, Corinth is barely mentioned, and there is no indication of a heroic past. It is named but twice in the Iliad, at II, 570 as part of Agamemnon's immediate kingdom, and at XIII, 664, where a Corinthian is named. Both these references are late additions to the tradition, referring to the poet's own time.⁷ The word $\acute{\alpha}\phi\upsilon\epsilon\iota\omicron\varsigma$, which occurs in both contexts, is applicable to the Corinth of the eighth century and no earlier. The saga did not speak at all of Corinth, a fact which must have been somewhat galling to the progressive Bakkhiad clan, which came to power in 747. As we have noticed, Eumelos was said to have been a Bakkhiad, but Bethe disputes this⁸, and cannot conceive that a member of that aristocracy should demean himself to write verse. However, when we consider the position of Corinth in the mid-eighth century, a Bakkhiad poet is far from unlikely. Corinth was an expanding and progressive city, beginning to earn her epithet $\acute{\alpha}\phi\upsilon\epsilon\iota\omicron\varsigma$, and sending out colonists to Syracuse and

⁶Hammond, pp. 143; 146.

⁷W. Leaf, Homer and History (London, 1915), p. 209.

⁸E. Bethe in P-W Real-Encyc., VI, 1080.

Corcyra. But her image was spoiled by the fact that the epic tradition had nothing to say of her. To remedy this state of affairs, it is not unnatural that a member of the ruling Bakkhiads should have undertaken to compose suitable epic poetry. This concept of Eumelos as a "political" poet is shared by Dunbabin, who says, "The Bakkhiads found their poet, who invented a glorious past for their not very ancient city"⁹, and by Bowra, who calls Eumelos "a poet not afraid of manipulating mythology to flatter Corinthian pride".¹⁰

How did Eumelos acquire this glorious past? As we have noticed, Corinth is little mentioned in the Homeric poems, but there is a considerable number of references to a place called Ephyra, the site of which is not always clear. However, an examination of some of the references may provide us with a clue. From Iliad, II, 659 we learn that Ephyra by the river Selleis was sacked by Herakles. In XV, 530-1 we read that one Phyleus, father of Meges, had brought a corselet out of this same Ephyra. This pair is said to have lived at Doulichion¹¹, near Ithaka, so that this Ephyra is likely to have been in that region of north-west Greece. This belief is supported by Odyss. I, 259 where Athena tells Telemachos that she saw Odysseus going up from Ephyra, from the house of Ilos, son of Mermeros.

⁹Dunbabin, pp. 67-8.

¹⁰Bowra, "The Daughters of Asopus", in his Problems in Greek Poetry (Oxford, 1953), p. 65. (Also published in Hermes, 1938, Heft 2.)

¹¹Il., II, 625 f.

Again this is clearly not far from Ithaka, and it is also mentioned in Odyss., II, 328, where the suitors wonder whether Telemachos will obtain poison there. We also have a reference by Thukydidēs to an Ephyra in north-west Greece, (I, 46.4):

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ προσέειπεν τῇ κατὰ Κέρκυραν ἢ περὶ ἀπὸ Λευκάδος πλέοντες,
ὀρμίζοντι ἐς Χειμέριον τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος γῆς. ἔστι δὲ λιμὴν, καὶ πόλις ὑπὲρ
αὐτοῦ κεῖται ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐν τῇ Ἐλαιάτιδι τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος Ἐφύρη.
Then Ephyra is also mentioned in Iliad, VI, 152 ff:

ἔστι πόλις Ἐφύρη μυχῷ Ἄργεος ἵπποβοτοιο
ἐνθα δὲ Σκύφος Αἰολίδης· ὃ δ' ἄρα Γλαῦκον τέκεθ' υἱὸν
αὐτὰρ Γλαῦκος τίκτεν ἀμύμονα Βελλεροφόντην.

All these figures, of course, were regarded in classical times as Corinthian, but it is unlikely that this was so in the Homeric context. The phrase μυχῷ Ἄργεος does not suit Corinth, and Argos in Homer tends to mean mainland Greece.¹²

It is likely that the place referred to was the Ephyra in north-west Greece, which Thukydidēs' description suggests was μυχῷ Ἄργεος, and it will have been to that city that these figures originally belonged. There is also evidence that this place was connected with Medea, subsequently another Corinthian figure. This is found in the reference in the Odyssey to Ilos, son of Mermeros, to whom Odysseus had gone in search of poison.¹³ According to the Naupactia, Jason's elder son was named Mermeros, and Jason was said to have shifted his abode to Corcyra (opposite Ephyra).¹⁴ The Scholiast to Odyssey, I, 259 even

¹²e.g. Il., II, 108; Odyss., IV, 99; XXIV, 37.

¹³Odyss., I, 259 ff.

¹⁴Naup., F 10 K (Paus., II, 3.9).

says that Jason and Medea lived at Ephyra. Ilos, then, was a grandson of Medea, which explains his skill in poisons. The poison is obviously of significance, as it is again associated with Ephyra in Odyssey. II, 328 f. The presence of the sorceress Medea must have played a part in the establishment of this tradition.

In Dunbabin's opinion, we can carry back to the time of Eumelos the introduction of Medea into Corinthian mythology, and the identification of Ephyra with Corinth.¹⁵ All the legends connected with Medea could thus be worked into a Corinthian context, and this enabled Eumelos to deal with the myth of the Argo. The method which he used was that of the genealogy. He made Ephyra the daughter of Ocean and Tethys, and said that Ephyra dwelt in the land of Corinth.¹⁶ The Scholiast to Pindar, Olym., XIII, 74 preserves eight lines by Eumelos, which contain another genealogy and other interesting details:

Ἄλλ' ὅτι δ' Αἰήτης καὶ Ἄλωος ἐγένοντο
 Ἡελίου τε καὶ Ἀντιόπης, τότε δ' ἀνδρὶ κ' ἠώρη
 δάσσατο παῖσιν ἑοῖς Ὑπερίωνος ἀγλαοῦ υἱός·
 ἦν μὲν ἔχ' Ἀσωπός, ταύτην πόρε δῶ Ἄλωει·
 ἦν δὲ Ἐφυρή κτεάτις Ἀιήτη δῶκεν ἀπασάν·
 Αἰήτης δ' ἄρ' ἐκὼν Βοῶνω παρέδωκε φυλάσσειν,
 εἰσόκεν αὐτὸς ἴκοιτ' ἢ ἐξ αὐτοῖσ' τις ἄλλος
 ἢ παῖς ἢ υἱανός· οἱ δ' ὤχετο Κολχίδα γαῖαν.

17

Hence Aietes was assigned Corinth, thus establishing a link

¹⁵Dunbabin, p. 66.

¹⁶F 1 K (Schol. A.R., IV, 1212).

¹⁷F 2 K

between the city and the legend of the Argonauts, and Eumelos then dispatched him to Colchis, where he figured in the legend. The clause "until he should come, or child or grandchild of his" leaves the way open for the introduction of Medea into Corinthian mythology.

Several points arise from this passage. Firstly, it is noticeable that the name of Aietes' mother differs from that given by Hesiod and Homer¹⁸, a fact which must reflect a difference between the Peloponnesian and the Ionian traditions. Moreover, Eumelos gives Aietes a brother, Aloeus, who is nowhere mentioned by Hesiod or Homer, but he makes no mention of Circe, whom both Hesiod and Homer named as Aietes' sister. This supports our suggestion in the previous chapter that Circe belonged to the Odyssean saga, and was not originally a feature of the story of the Argonauts.

It is also interesting that the two territories were originally ruled by Asopos and Ephyra. As we have seen, Ephyra was a daughter of Ocean, and it is likely that Asopos, being a river, was also sprung from Ocean. If so, it may denote an original division of the land between Ephyra and Asopos by their father, Ocean. In any case, as we shall see later, Asopos, too, was important in the epic of Eumelos.

Why did Aietes hand over his kingdom to Bounos and go off to Colchis? The text says that he handed over the kingdom

¹⁸Theog., 956; Odyss., X, 137.

ἑκῶν , "willingly". However, the Scholiast to Pindar, Olym., XIII, 74, which preserves the passage, gives a paraphrase of it before actually quoting the lines, and this paraphrase states that Aietes handed over the government $\mu\eta\ \lambda\rho\epsilon\sigma\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ τῇ ἀρχῇ , "being displeased with the rule". But the lines themselves make no reference to Aietes being displeased, nor does Pausanias, who also tells the story (using the prose epitome).¹⁹ Our difficulty may be resolved by a scholion to Pindar, Olym., XIII, 74 , which runs as follows: φασὶ δὲ τὴν Κόρινθον πατρῶον εἶναι κτῆμα Μηδείας· Αἰήτη γὰρ τῷ Ἑλλίου καὶ Ἀντιόπης χρησμὸν δοθῆναι πόλιν οἰκίζειν ἐν Κόλχαις ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἔχουσαν, τὴν δὲ πῶν Κορινθίων τυραννίδα τυρακτωθεῖσθαι Βούνα κ.τ.λ.

Several features of this story suggest that it was taken from Eumelos. The first of these is that Aietes' parentage is the same as that given by Eumelos. Then there is the derivation of the name Aia from Aietes, which is very much the sort of thing which Eumelos could have done. That Eumelos used the name Aia is also indicated in a reference by Tzetzes (ad Lyc., 1024) Αἶα, πόλις Κολχίδος· Κόρινθος δὲ, πόλις Πελοποννήσου, ὧν ἀμφοτέρων ἄρχοντα λέγει τὸν Αἰήτην, ὥσπερ καὶ Εὐμηλος ὁ ποιητής. κ.τ.λ.

The fact that these two features were probably derived from Eumelos makes it likely that the motif of the oracle given to Aietes was also an element of the Corinthiaca. It would be a neat and authoritative means of shifting Aietes from Corinth to Colchis, and the passage ending $\delta\ \delta\ \acute{\omega}\chi\epsilon\tau\omicron\ \text{Κολχίδα γαίων}$ could easily have continued "For an oracle had been given to

¹⁹Paus., II, 3.10.

him to found a city among the Colchians taking its name from him etc." The oracle motif would add more point to the word Ἐκὼν, a further indication that it was probably part of Eumelos' story. Apparently Aietes obeyed the oracle, and there is no indication that he was displeased with his lot at Corinth.

The last sentence of this fragment of Eumelos contains our earliest reference to Colchis, a name which was to become established in the tradition. From where did Eumelos get this name? On the east coast of the Black Sea there was a country called Kulhai which was conquered by the king of Urartu in the late eighth century. Barnett says that there are frequent references in the annals of the Urartu kingdom to the kingdom of Kulhai, and adds "this is the land of Colchis, and the recent Russian excavations of burials rich in gold and silver at Trialeti in the central Caucasus, belonging to the Late Bronze Age, show that the Golden Fleece and the Argonauts need not be considered all a figment of the imagination".²⁰ In a later reference he notes that in the eighth century there was plenty of gold and silver in the kingdom of the Kulhai.²¹ Further, in another article,²² he says that the combined

²⁰R. D. Barnett, "Ancient Oriental Influences on Archaic Greece", in The Aegean and the Near East (Studies presented to Hetty Goldman), (New York, 1956), p. 221.

²¹Barnett, in Aegean and the Near East, p. 229.

²²Barnett, "Early Greek and Oriental Ivories", in JHS 68 (1948), 8.

observations of Payne²³ and Kunze²⁴ show that the trade route which reached Greece from Urartu, North Syria and Assyria flowed through Crete and Corinth. Barnett himself suggest that a route went by land through the Caucasus, and then by sea from the south coast of the Pontus, since certain heavy imports could hardly have come overland. In view of the part played by Corinth in this trade, it is not surprising that the attention of Eumelos should have been caught by far-distant Colchis. Indeed, as we shall see, there is evidence that he had some knowledge of the Black Sea area, and he seems to have been trying to interest the Corinthians in that region.

Our passage ends with the departure of Aietes to Colchis, but Pausanias (II, 3.10) not only tells the same story, but goes on to narrate the subsequent events: Εὐμῆλος... ἔφη... καὶ ἐπεὶ Βούνοσ ἐτελεύτησεν, οὕτως Ἐπωπέα τὸν Ἠλωέωσ καὶ τὴν Ἐφυρτίων σχεῖν ἀρχὴν Ἰακύνθου δὲ ὕστερον τοῦ Μαραθῶνοσ οὐδένα ὑπολιπομένου παῖδα, τοὺσ Κορινθίωσ Μῆδειαν μεταπεμφθένουσ ἐξ Ἰωλκοῦ παραδοῦναι αὐτῆσ ἀρχὴν βασιλεύειν μὲν δὴ δὲ αὐτὴν Ἰάσονα ἐν Κορίνθω, Μῆδειαν δὲ παῖδα μὲν γένεσθαι, πο δὲ αὐτῆσ τικτόμενον κατακρύπτειν αὐτὸ ἐσ τὸ ἰερόν φέρουσιν τῆσ Ἥρωσ, κατακρύπτειν δὲ ἀθηνάποσ ἔσεσθαι νομίζουσιν. τέλος δὲ αὐτὴν τε μεθεῖν ὡσ ἡμωρτήκοι τῆσ ἑλπίδοσ, καὶ ἔρη ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰάσονοσ φεραθεῖσαν, αὐ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔχειν δευτέρησ συγγνώμην, ἀποπλέοντα δὲ ἐσ Ἰωλκὸν οἴχεσθαι, τοῦτων δὲ ἐνεκά ἀπελθεῖν καὶ Μῆδειαν παραδοῦσαν Σισύφω τὴν ἀρχὴν.

From this passage several points emerge. Firstly, the Corinthians summoned Medea from Iolkos as their rightful ruler, and Jason came with her. Hence, in the version of Eumelos, Jason

²³H. Payne, Necrocorinthia (Oxford, 1931).

²⁴Kunze, Kretische Bronzereliefs (Stuttgart, 1931).

and Medea were probably living at Iolkos after the return of the Argonauts. The fact that Medea was invited to Corinth shows that she and Jason did not have to leave Iolkos, so that it seems unlikely that, in Eumelos' version, Pelias was murdered. This is also indicated by the fact that Jason returned to Iolkos after the quarrel with Medea. As we have seen, Medea's association with Ephyra enabled Eumelos to introduce her to Corinth must have originated with him. The story was known to Simonides, who referred to Jason as ἀλόχου Κολχίδος σύνθρονος,²⁵ presumably drawing on Eumelos. Since Simonides also dealt with the funeral games for Pelias²⁶, it may be that Eumelos, too, described them, all the more so if he did not include the story of the murder.

Another item of interest is the episode involving the children, which led to the quarrel. The phrase τὸ ἀεὶ τιρκτόμενον shows that there were quite a number of children, though there is no indication of exactly how many. The affair suggests a strong connection between Medea and Hera, who, as we have noticed, has a prominent part in the later tradition. In the version of Eumelos, Medea seems to have been greatly favoured by Hera. We can discover the reason for this in Pindar's Olympian XIII. Medea had resisted the advances of Zeus, and as a result of this, Hera promised to protect her children by immortality. The passage of the Scholia to Olym., XIII, 74,

²⁵Simonides, F 48 Diehl.

²⁶Simonides, F 32 Diehl.

preserving the lines of Eumelos which we have examined, indicates that Pindar was familiar with the work of Eumelos, and may well have used it for this ode. If that is so, the story of Medea refusing Zeus probably occurred in Eumelos' poem. It seems likely that this strong link between Hera and the Argonauts was established by Eumelos, since Corinth is the only place connected with the Argonauts which possessed a well-established cult of Hera. At Corinth she was worshipped under the titles Akraia and Bounaia, the latter title because of a temple built by Aietes' successor, Bounos²⁷, indicating a link between Hera and the rulers of Corinth. Once Hera had been linked with the Argonauts, she could be introduced at any stage of the story in any subsequent narration. We do not know at what point Eumelos first brought her in, but certainly Pherekydes introduced her at the beginning of his tale, since he says that Hera put it into Jason's mind to propose the expedition for the Fleece.²⁸ It seems more probable that this introduction of Hera by Pherekydes was influenced by the work of Eumelos, than that it was due to an existing Hera-Medea association in Thessaly, as is suggested by Will.²⁹ There is no evidence for a strong Hera cult in Thessaly, such as would make Will's theory likely. On the other hand, Eumelos may have given Hera a prominent part in the story, since she was

²⁷Paus., II, 4.7.

²⁸₃ F 105 J.

²⁹Will, p. 115.

the only genuine Corinthian figure whom he had, so that, as well as linking her with Medea, he may have made her the champion of the Argonauts and the enemy of Pelias.

Nothing survives of Eumelos' account of the preliminaries to the expedition, nor of the voyage to Colchis. However, regarding the events there, the Scholiast to A.R. says that Apollonios took some lines from Eumelos. Unfortunately, we cannot be certain which lines are meant. Originally the reference stood to III, 1372 ff., where the throwing of the stone and the mutual slaughter of the Spartoi is described, and the words of the Scholiast are as follows:

οὗτος
καὶ οἱ ἕξ ἄλλα εἰλημμένα εἰσὶ παρ' Εὐμήλου, παρ' ᾧ φησὶ Μήδεια πρὸς
Ἰσμονά. Σοφοκλῆς δὲ ἐν ταῖς Κολχίαις πεποιήκε τὸν ἄγγελον, τοῦ Αἰήτου
τυθόμενου περὶ τῶν τραυηθέντων ἢ βλάστες οὐκ ἔβλαστεν οὐπιχώριος;
λέγοντα· καὶ κάρτε φρίξας τ' ἐβλάστεν σφηκίωματι / χαλκηλάτοις ὄπλοισι
μητρὸς ἐβέδου· ταῦτα δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος παραγράφει.

It has long been noticed that the paraphrase of the lines of Sophokles must be III, 1354 ff. not 1372 ff.³⁰ Hence Wendel, in his edition of the Scholia, has transferred the whole reference to III, 1354 f., where the growth of the Spartoi is described. It was on this basis that we remarked, in the chapter on Pherekydes, that Eumelos included the story of the teeth and the Spartoi. However, an examination of the Scholia suggests that we must revise this opinion. If the lines were taken from Eumelos they cannot have been paraphrased from

³⁰First by Valckenaer, Eurip. Phoen., (1755), p. 257; see also Wilamowitz, Hellenistische Dichtung, (Berlin, 1924), II, 230, 324.

Sophokles, and vice-versa. Hence the two references cannot stand together. The paraphrasing of Sophokles' lines must refer to III, 1354 f., but it is impossible to decide where the lines borrowed from Eumelos are. The development of the myth, as we have traced it so far, suggests that the motif of the teeth and the Spartoi was a late addition, unlikely to have been present as early as Eumelos. This would seem to rule out the possibility that the reference does in fact belong to III, 1372 ff., and would indicate a place somewhere between 1330 and 1345 (omitting any lines referring to the teeth). Beyond this it would be unwise to go. However, one interesting point which we can consider is that the lines are said to have been spoken by Medea to Idmon. In the Argonautica of Apollonios, Idmon does not reach Colchis at all, but dies on the outward voyage.³¹ An odd feature is that Apollonios includes two seers, Idmon and Mopsos, who dies on the return voyage.³² In earlier accounts only one seer seems to have been present; Pindar included Mopsos, but not Idmon, while Pherekydes had Idmon, but apparently not Mopsos. It would seem that Apollonios combined two different traditions, and depicted one seer as dying on each journey. Eumelos obviously had Idmon as his seer, and there is evidence to support his story that Idmon reached Colchis. This is found

³¹A.R., II, 848 ff.

³²A.R., IV, 1502 ff.

in the Naupactia³³, in which Idmon was responsible for the Argonauts making their getaway, and was obviously an important character. His importance is also suggested by this reference to Eumelos. Obviously Idmon was not an eye-witness of the scene, and Medea must have been describing to him what had happened. Perhaps he had been left in charge of the Argo to ensure that no harm befell it. It is unlikely that all the Argonauts would have come to watch the trials, leaving the vessel unguarded.

This is the only actual reference to the expedition itself by Eumelos which we have, but there are a few items in the Scholia to A.R. which are of interest. The Scholiast to A.R., II, 946 ff. mentions Sinope as a daughter of Asopos. We will remember that Eumelos said that Asopos ruled at Sikyon, while Ephyra ruled at Corinth, and the Scholiast to A.R., II, 946 c. says ἐν δὲ τοῖς Ὀρφικαῖς "Ἄρεως καὶ Αἰγύπτης γενεαλογεῖται" κατὰ δὲ τινῶς "Ἄρεως καὶ Παρνασσῆς, κατὰ Ἐσώμηλον καὶ Ἀριστοτέλην "Ἀσωποῦ κ.τ.λ. Hence, according to Eumelos, Sinope was the daughter of Asopos, though others made her the daughter of Ares. Apollonios, therefore, was probably using the work of Eumelos, and if Eumelos named Sinope in a context suitable to Apollonios, it is likely that he told of the Argonauts in the Black Sea area.

It is not hard to explain why Eumelos should have been interested in Asopos. Rivers were very useful in genealogies,³⁴

³³Naup., Fs 7-8K (Schol. A.R., IV, 66a, 86).

³⁴See P-W, Real-Encyc., "Flussgötter", espec. "Asopos", "Alpheios", "Kaystros", "Sangarios".

and it would be to Eumelos' advantage if he had a river with which he could connect his characters. There are no notable rivers in Corinth, so Eumelos adopted the nearest major river, the Asopos in Sikyon. However, it is not so easy to see why he should make Sinope a daughter of Asopos. Because of the date given by Eusebios for Trapezus, namely 756, and since Trapezus is said to have been a colony of Sinope, Sinope itself is generally supposed to have been founded by Miletos at any rate by 760,³⁵ which makes Eumelos' reference rather odd. He can hardly have hoped to establish a prior claim to the Milesian colony. If this early date for the Milesian Sinope is correct, the best explanation would be that Eumelos was concerned only with the heroic past and the part which Corinth played in it. By attaching the Argonauts to Corinth, he had also to make places connected with them Corinthian, hence Sinope became the daughter of a Corinthian river.³⁶

However, there is another possibility which may put a different complexion on the matter. Trapezus may have been founded in 756, not from Sinope, but from Trapezus in Arkadia, the seat of the Arkadian kings.³⁷ Pausanias states that the people of Pontic Trapezus welcomed settlers from Arkadian Trapezus as namesakes and brethren from the mother city, when they left Arkadia at the time of the founding of Megalopolis.³⁸

³⁵e.g. Hammond, p. 656, gives 770 as the date of the first foundation.

³⁶Bowra, Problems, p. 59.

³⁷G. L. Huxley, "Homerica", in G R B S, 3 (1960), 20.

³⁸Paus., VIII, 27.6.

There may well have been a short-lived eighth century settlement from Arkadia. It would not have lasted later than the Kimmerian invasions of the last quarter of the eighth century, and the city may well have been refounded by Sinope in the seventh century. Such a Peloponnesian interest in the Black Sea would perhaps explain some of Eumelos' interest in the area and why he made Sinope an Asopid. Sinope would undoubtedly have been known as a place well before it was colonised. An interesting feature in the Scholia to Pindar, Olym., XIII, 74, which may lend support to this Arkadian theory, is that Aloeus is said to have been allotted τὴν ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ (χωρὴν), which is referred to in the actual lines as ἣν ἔχ' Ἀσωπός. This suggests that the land which Asopos had was in Arkadia, and Eumelos may have been alluding to this when he made Sinope, near the Arkadian colony, a daughter of Asopos.

However, if the Arkadians colonised Trapezus, it is hardly likely that they would have passed by such a favourable site as Sinope³⁹, unless, of course, it was already occupied, whether by Milesians or others. Friedländer, arguing that Eumelos had taken over a Milesian Argonautica, says that the Milesian source probably included a call by the Argonauts at the most important Milesian colony, and that Eumelos attached the original story to a system which was familiar to him.⁴⁰ But if Sinope was settled by Miletos in the eighth

³⁹For the site of Sinope see Strabo, XII, 3.11.

⁴⁰Friedländer, Rh. Mus., 69, (1914), p. 302.

century it can hardly have been earlier than 770, which would leave very little time for a story about the place to be fitted into a Milesian Argonautica which would be current in Eumelos' time, around 730. Perhaps Friedländer himself was nearer the truth a little earlier in his article, when he remarks that the daughters of Asopos e.g. Corcyra, Salamis, Aigina, Rhode, were all carried off by gods' and gave their names to islands (or cities). He says that this is a reference to the taking-over of these islands from the Peloponnese, e.g. Rhodes from Argos, Corcyra from Corinth. But when he comes to Sinope, he says it certainly was not settled from the Peloponnese, but was a Milesian colony. However his theory about the taking-over from the Peloponnese is not at all certain. He is not able to supply any evidence for Aigina or Salamis. Sinope may not have been settled from the Peloponnese, but we may be able to find out from Eumelos who the original settlers were.

Herodotos tells that the Kimmerians made a settlement ἐν τῇ νῦν Σινώπῃ πόλις Ἑλλᾶς οἰκίσται,⁴¹ indicating that the Milesian settlement was not finally made until the seventh century. Ps-Skymnos refers to a settlement by Habrondas, a Milesian, who was said to have been killed by the Kimmerians.⁴² This would mean that the settlement was made not long before

⁴¹Herodot., IV, 12.

⁴²Ps-Skymnos, 947.

the Kimmerians arrived, and must have been around 700. Ps-Skymnos goes on to say that, after the Kimmerians, a settlement was made by Kous and Kretines, exiles from Miletos⁴³, which can hardly have been before 675. All these settlements would have been considerably later than Eumelos, but we may learn who the inhabitants of Sinope were in his time from A.R., II, 946 and the Scholia thereon:

Αὐτίκα δ' Ἀσσυρίης ἐπέβαν χθονός, ἔνθα Σινώπην,
 θυγατέρ' Ἀσιωπότο, καθίστατο, καὶ οἱ ὄκισεν.
 Καρθεσίην Ζεὺς αὐτὸς, ὁ ποσχεύησι βολιθεύς.
 ὅτ' ἄρ' ἡ μὲν φιλότατος ἔειλετο νεὸς ἔ' ὄγ' ὀψὲ
 δωκέραι, ἔ κεν ἦε μετὰ φρεσὶν ἰβύσειν.
 ἢ δ' ἔ' καρθεσίην ἠτήσατε κερδοσύνην.
 ὡς δ' ἔ' καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα παρ' ἠπαφεν εὐνοθήνην
 ἰέμενον, κοταρὸν τ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλων· οὐδέ μὲν ἀνδρῶν
 τήνγε τις ἠμερτήσιν ἐν ἀγκυρῆσι δάμλασεν. (II, 946-54).

The Scholiast to A.R., II, 946-54a says that, by Assyria, Apollonios means Kappadokia, formerly called Syria. To II, 963-5a he says that Halys and Iris are rivers of Leukosyria, while in b he writes: ἀρχαίον ἔφη τῆς Ἀσσυρίας, τοὔτεστι τῆς Λευκοσυρίας. The Scholiast to A.R., II, 946-54b tells that, according to Artemidoros, some people called the Assyrians Leukosyroi, evidence for which is also to be found in Hekataios and Herodotos.⁴⁴ The latter also states that the Halys flows between the Syrians and the Paphlagonians, and issues into the Euxine (a little to the east of Sinope).⁴⁵ All this indicates

⁴³Ps-Skymnos, 951.

⁴⁴Hekat., I F 200-1 J; Herodot., I, 76.

⁴⁵Herodot., I, 6.

that the Leukosyroi lived in the region around Sinope.

According to Apollonios, as quoted above, Sinope refused the advances of Zeus and Apollo, but her ingenuity does not ring true, and seems more like a late invention than an original part of the story. The Scholia to A.R., II, 946-

54c may preserve the genuine version of Eumelos: πόλις τοῦ Πόντου ἢ Σινώπη, ἀνομιώμενη ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσωποῦ Θουγατρὸς Σινώπης ἣν Σρπαῖσας Ἀπόλλων ἀπὸ Ὑφίας ἐκτίσεν εἰς Πόντον, καὶ μυθεῖσθαι ἔοχε Σύρον, ἀφ' οὗ οἱ Σύροι. That this story must have come from Eumelos is suggested by

a similar account by Apollonios of the carrying-off of Corcyra, another Asopid, by Poseidon.⁴⁶

What better reason could Eumelos have had for naming Sinope's son Syros than that Sinope, as known to him, was inhabited by the people called Σύροι or Λευκοσύροι, the Pontic Syrians. The genealogical derivation of the name Σύροι from an ancestor Σύρος is typical of Eumelos.⁴⁷ This suggestion that Sinope was inhabited by Syrians in the mid-eighth century gains support if we accept Huxley's contention that Homeric Syrie (νηῶσός τις Συρίη Odyss., XV, 403) is the peninsula of Sinope, known as Νηῶσι even in the twentieth century.⁴⁸ If Sinope was in fact a Syrian city in the eighth century, the theory of a Milesian origin for the myth of the Argo may well have been dealt a fatal blow. The place would seem to have been in the

⁴⁶A.R., IV, 566-9.

⁴⁷cf. Κόρινθος, F 3 K (Paus., II, 3.10)

⁴⁸Huxley, p. 20. (It should be noted that in fact he thinks Sinope was a Phrygian city).

myth long before the foundation of the Milesian colony, just as Phasis was present in the story well before the foundation of the colony of that name.

It will be best now to consider the reference by Apollonios (IV, 566-9) to a second Asopid, Corcyra:

Αὐτὰρ ἔπειτ' ἐπὶ γῆσι παρὰ Κέρκυραν ἴκοντο,
 ἐνθάδε Ἰουσιδαίων Ἀσωπίδα νύσσατε Κούρην
 ἣ ὑκοῦν Κέρκυραν, ἕκαστος Φαιωντίδος ἀγῆς,
 Ἰρπιάδος ὅπ' ἔρωτε κ.τ.λ.

This is very similar to the abduction of Sinope by Apollo, and it too must have come from Eumelos. According to Plutarch, the Corinthians displaced earlier Eretrian settlers⁴⁹, and it would have been very helpful to the Corinthian cause if Eumelos could establish a prior claim to the island in this way. Eumelos' reference to Corcyra is thus easily explained. In the lines quoted, Apollonios was actually speaking of "Black" Corcyra, the modern Korkula, since he was keeping the real Corcyra for his Phaiacia.⁵⁰ A reference he makes in that connection also betrays the influence of Eumelos:

εἰσόρε Παρχιάδαι, γενεήν Ἐφύρηθεν ἔσαντες
 Ἰνέρες ἐνέκτισσαντο μετὰ χρόνον. (A.R. IV, 1212-13).

Apollonios must have derived this reference to the Corinthian colonisation of Corcyra from Eumelos, and he may also have

⁴⁹Plut., Quaest. Graec., 11.

⁵⁰A.R. IV, 982 ff. with Scholia.

obtained the identification of the island with Phaiacia from the Corinthian, for Hellanikos tells that Corcyra had by Poseidon a child called Phaiax⁵¹, behind which story we can surely discern the hand of Eumelos, on account of the remarkable similarity to the tale of Sinope. Having obtained all this information from Eumelos, Apollonios adapted it to his own needs, and used it for two islands instead of one. If Eumelos created Phaiax, he must have included some episode involving the Phaiacians in his story of the Argonauts. Another early epic poem, the Naupactia, depicted Jason as going to live on Corcyra after the death of Pelias,⁵² but whether this was so in the Corinthiaca we cannot say. We only know that Jason returned from Corinth to Iolkos, from which he might have gone to Corcyra.

There is another reference to the work of Eumelos which may reflect the adventures of the Argonauts in the Black Sea area.⁵³ This is given by Tzetzes, who, commenting on the Works and Days, says that Eumelos named three Muses as daughters of Apollo, namely Kephisous, Apollonis, and Borysthenis. Borysthenis was the name given to the river now called the Dnieper, flowing into the northern Black Sea.⁵⁴ In classical times, it

⁵¹Hellanik. 4 F 77 J (Steph. Byz. s.v. Φαίαιξ).

⁵²F 10 K (Paus., II, 3.9).

⁵³Eumelos F 17 K.

⁵⁴Herodot., IV, 53.

was also given to a Greek colony, probably on a promontary, now an island (Berezan in Russian), at the river mouth.⁵⁵ There are no Greek remains earlier than the seventh century, but it is likely that Eumelos knew of the place before colonisation, and, in any case, was probably referring to the river. It seems impossible to conjecture where among the adventures of the Argonauts the episode could have come, whether on the outward or homeward journey.

Also worthy of consideration in respect to Eumelos and the myth of the Argonauts may be a fragment of the Nostoi⁵⁶, since the Scholia to Pindar, Olym., XIII, 31 refer to τὸν Εὐμόλοπον ὄντα Κορίνθιον καὶ γράψαντα νόστον τῶν Ἑλλήνων. In view of the word Κορίνθιον it is clear that for Εὐμόλοπον, Εὐμηλον, should be read. In support of this reading, it is noteworthy that Pindar obviously used the work of Eumelos for Olympian XIII, 54 ff., as can be seen from the Scholia. If we accept it, it means that a νόστος was attributed to Eumelos, and since this fragment is about the myth of the Argonauts, it is possible that it comes from Eumelos' νόστος:

Αὐτίκα δ' Αἰσὼνα ἔθηκε φίλον κόρον ἠβῶντα
 γῆρας ἀποβύσας εἰδυῆσι πραπίδεσσι,
 φάρμακα πολλ' ἔψους ἐνὶ χρυσεῖοισι χέβησιν.

This story of the rejuvenation of Aison suggests that the version attributed to Pherekydes and Simonides⁵⁷ that Medea

⁵⁵Boardman, Greeks Overseas, p. 259.

⁵⁶Nostoi F 6 K.

⁵⁷Argum. ad Eur. Med. (Schol. IV, 1. Dind.)

rejuvenated Jason was due to a confusion on the part of a copyist who wrote ΙΑΣΩΝ for ΑΙΣΩΝ. There can be no doubt that a rejuvenation of Aison is much more likely than one of Jason, and it is fitting that the aged father should be rejuvenated on his son's victorious return. It is worth noting that this fragment does not imply that Aison was boiled, but only that various drugs were boiled, and in some way applied to Aison. The process of cutting-up and boiling the "patient" would seem to be later, and one of the steps in the development of the concept of the barbaric evil Medea, which was to become current in the play of Euripides.

It will be seen that Eumelos was distinctly different in his treatment of the story of the Argonauts. Neither Hesiod nor Homer indicated any real relationship between the saga and the Peloponnese, but Eumelos depicts Aietes as living at Corinth before going to Colchis, and also brings Jason and Medea to Corinth after their return to Iolkos. There can be no doubt that he was manipulating myths in the Corinthian interest, other examples of which are his story of Marathon, an Attic hero⁵⁸, and of Leda, an Aitolian figure.⁵⁹ His attachment of the Argonauts to Corinth seems to have contributed the Corinthian Hera to the myth, and it also led, in time, to the expanded "Corinthian" version, as depicted in Euripides' Medea.

⁵⁸_F 4 K.

⁵⁹_F 6 K.

Clearly Apollonios was indebted to Eumelos on several points, especially the daughters of Asopos, and even borrowed lines from him. There can also be no doubt that, by the time of Eumelos, the myth was firmly settled in the Black Sea area, though we can hardly say whether he was responsible for that localisation.

The available evidence indicates that he derived his material from north-west Greece, notably Thesprotia, a conclusion which is also suggested by the Naupactia, the fragments of which must be examined next.

CHAPTER VI

THE MYTH IN THE FRAGMENTS OF THE NAUPACTIA

A work referred to several times in the Scholia to A.R. is the Naupactia. We know very little about this poem, of which the author is not known, being generally referred to as ὁ τῶν Ναυπακτικῆ ποιήσας. The poem is mentioned a number of times by Pausanias, who says (X, 38, 11): τὸ δὲ ἔπη τῶν Ναυπακτικῶν ἐνομαζόμενα ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων ἀνδρῶν ἐσποιούσιν οἱ πολλοὶ Μιλησίῳ Χάρων δὲ ὁ Τυθεῶ φησὶ κατακτείναι Ναυπακτικὸν Κάρκινον. ἔπειθε δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς τῆ τῶν Λαμψακτικῶν ἔδῃ. τίνα γὰρ καὶ λόγον ἔχει ἄλλοτε ἀνδρὸς Μιλησίου πεποιημένους ἐς γυναῖκας τετινηναὶ σφίσι βῆμα Ναυπακτικῶν;
Thus Pausanias dismisses the tradition that a Milesian composed this epic. In this opinion he was probably influenced by the name of the poem, on the analogy of the *Cypria* attributed to Stasinus of Cyprus, and also by the nature of the poem, ἔπη ἐς γυναῖκας πεποιημένα, which suggests a mainland epic of the catalogue type. In support of the claims for Milesian authorship it may be said that there is a tradition of a festival at Naupaktos¹, and a Milesian could have been there to compete. However, no name is ever attached to the proposed Milesian author, and Charon of Lampsakos is an early authority, so that it may well be best to accept Pausanias' opinion and attribute the poem to Karkinos of Naupaktos. For the date of the poem there is no evidence, except such as can

¹Hesiod is said to have died there (Paus. IX, 38.3). Also, there seems to have been a school of genealogical poetry in the area (see P-W, Real-Encyc., XVI, 1984).

be drawn from an examination of the fragments themselves, and which must, inevitably, be tentative and inexact. Perhaps the uncertainty over the poem's authorship can be taken as evidence for a very early date. The presence of Medea would make the story of the Argonauts a suitable subject for ἔπη ἐς γυναῖκας πεποιημένα.

Most of the fragments referring to the myth of the Argonauts are cited in the Scholia to A.R. One such reference is F 3 K: Κεουθμῶνα Κρήτης· κοιλίῳ τῆς Κρήτης κτερόσαν. ταῦτο δὲ φησὶ καὶ Νεοπτόλεμος. ὃ (δὲ) τῷ Ναυπακτικῷ πελάγῳ καὶ Φερεκύδης εἰς τὸ φάειν εἰς τὸ σπέος αὐτῶς φυγεῖν τῆς Κρήτης τὸ ὑπὸ τῷ λόφῳ τῷ Ἀργινούντι.²

Hence the Naupactia obviously included the episode of Phineus and the Harpies. Pherekydes gave the same version, and it is likely that he followed the Naupactia for the whole Phineus episode. Hence in his account of the chase, his version is probably the same as that of the Naupactia: ὅτι διὰ τοῦ Αἰγαίου πόντου καὶ τοῦ Σικελικοῦ αὐτῶς ἐδίωκον, Φερεκύδης ἐν ἔκτῃ φησίν.³
The Boreads pursued the Harpies across the Aegean and Sicilian Seas, and the Harpies took refuge in the cave in Crete, under the hill Arginous. This account differs from the usual one, given by Hesiod, Antimachos, and Apollonios, whereby the Boreads turned back at the islands called Strophades.⁴ These three authors are also named together by the Scholiast to A.R., II,

²Schol. A.R. II, 299.

³F 28 J (Schol. A.R. II, 271).

⁴Hes. F 57 Rz²; Antim. F 13. B II, 291; A.R. II, 296.

297a, because they agree in stating that the Harpies were not killed. On the Phineus episode, the Naupactia and Pherekydes seem to stand together and apart from Hesiod, Antimachos, and Apollonios. Hence in view of the Scholiast's statement, it is likely that, in the account by the Naupactia and Pherekydes, the Harpies were killed. This is supported by a reference by Philodemos (πιεύσεβ. 46 b lp. 18 G): γέγραπεν ὁ [τῶ ΝΑΥΠΑΚΤΙΚῶ] ποιῆτος καὶ Φερεκύδης ὁ Ἀθηναῖος. Αἰσχύλος δ'... καὶ Εὐβούκος καὶ 5 Τελέεστος... τὰς Ἀρπυῖδας θνητοκότους ὑπὸ τῶν Βορέου παίδων. It seems certain that the lacuna should be filled by the words τῶ ΝΑΥΠΑΚΤΙΚῶ or τῶ ΝΑΥΠΑΚΤΙΩΝ in view of the relationship between the poem and Pherekydes as regards the episode with Phineus and the Harpies. Hence it is probable that in the Naupactian version the Harpies were killed by the Boreads.

It is sometimes said, e.g. by Farnell⁶, that the author of the Naupactia knew of the murder of Apsyrtos. In this connection, it will be remembered that we have cited Pherekydes as the earliest authority for this episode.⁷ Farnell's belief is based on a reference which, in Kinkel's text, is as follows: Apoll. Rhod. III, 242. Τὸν μὲν (Ἀψύρτον) Καυκασίῃ νύμφῃ τέκεν Ἀστερόδεια: Ull. Schol. ὁ τῶ ΝΑΥΠΑΚΤΙΚῶ πεποιηκὸς Εὐρυλύτην αὐτὴν λέγει. 8 This suggests that the Naupactia called Apsyrtos' mother Eurylyte, and this reference has led Farnell to assume the murder

⁵3 F 165 J.

⁶Farnell, Pindar, II, 146.

⁷3 F 32 J.

⁸Naup. F 4 K.

of Apsyrtos. But, in fact, the scholia here are confused, and the comment should refer to A.R., III, 240⁹: $\sigma\upsilon\nu\ \xi\hat{\eta}\ \nu\alpha\acute{\iota}\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon$

$\delta\acute{\iota}\mu\alpha\tau\iota$, that is, it is merely a reference to Aietes' wife.

Hence all that can be drawn from the fragment is that Aietes' wife was called Eurylyte in the Naupactia, and the poem probably did not even know of Apsyrtos, let alone his murder.

The name Eurylyte referring to Aietes' wife is also given in an actual fragment of the text of the Naupactia¹⁰. In this point the poem again shows a difference from Hesiod who called Aietes' wife Iduia.¹¹

Most of our other references are concerned with events at Aietes' city. The first of these is given by the Scholiast to A.R., III, 515-21: $\delta\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \text{'}\text{Α}\text{πολλώνιος}\ \text{π}\text{ο}\text{ύ}\text{τος}\ \text{ἔ}\text{φη}\ \text{π}\text{ρ}\text{ο}\text{α}\text{ρ}\text{ε}\text{ῖ}\text{σ}\text{θ}\text{αι}\ \text{ζ}\text{ε}\text{ῦ}\text{θ}\text{αι}\ \text{το}\text{ὺ}\text{ς}$

$\beta\omicron\upsilon\sigma\text{.}\ \delta\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \text{τι}\ \text{Ν}\text{α}\text{υ}\text{π}\text{α}\text{κ}\text{τ}\text{ικ}\acute{\alpha}\ \text{π}\acute{\alpha}\text{ν}\text{τ}\text{α}\ \text{ἄ}\text{ρ}\text{ι}\text{θ}\text{μ}\acute{\epsilon}\text{ι}\ \text{το}\text{ὺ}\text{ς}\ \text{ὄ}\text{π}\text{α}\ \text{ἀ}\text{ὐ}\text{το}\text{ῦ}\ \text{φ}\text{ε}\text{ρ}\text{ο}\text{μ}\acute{\epsilon}\text{ν}\text{ο}\text{υ}\text{ς}\ \text{ἀ}\text{ρ}\text{ι}\text{σ}\text{τ}\acute{\epsilon}\text{ι}\text{ς}.$ ¹²
Clearly, then, the yoking of the bulls was in the story, and

the Naupactia must have given quite a number of names, if

$\acute{\alpha}\text{ρ}\text{ι}\text{θ}\text{μ}\acute{\epsilon}\text{ι}$ is used in its literal sense. In Apollonios' version, after the task had been imposed, six heroes offered to undertake it, but then Argos thought of obtaining the aid of Medea.¹³ The Scholion to III, 523 runs as follows: $\acute{\alpha}\text{λ}\lambda\acute{\iota}\ \text{τι}\nu\ \text{ὄ}\text{π}\omega\ \text{μ}\eta\ \text{τ}\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\ \text{ἐ}\mu\eta\varsigma\ \text{δ}\acute{\upsilon}\text{να}\text{ται}\ \text{φ}\eta\sigma\text{ει}\nu\ \text{ἢ}\ \text{μ}\eta\ \text{τ}\eta\varsigma\ \text{ἢ}\ \text{ἐ}\mu\acute{\eta}\ \text{π}\epsilon\text{ῖ}\sigma\alpha\text{ι}\ \text{τ}\eta\text{ν}\ \text{Μ}\acute{\eta}\delta\epsilon\text{ι}\alpha\text{ν}\ \text{σ}\text{ο}\text{υ}\text{ε}\text{ρ}\gamma\eta\sigma\alpha\text{ι}\ \text{τ}\acute{\omicron}\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\theta\lambda\omicron\nu\ \text{ἐ}\nu\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \text{το}\iota\varsigma\ \text{Ν}\alpha\text{υ}\text{π}\alpha\text{κ}\text{τ}\text{ικ}\acute{\omicron}\iota\varsigma\ \text{'}\text{Ι}\delta\mu\alpha\text{ν}\ \text{ἀ}\nu\alpha\sigma\tau\eta\varsigma\ \text{'}\text{Ι}\delta\mu\alpha\text{ν}\ \text{κ}\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\text{ει}\ \text{ὕ}\text{π}\text{ο}\sigma\tau\eta\eta\alpha\text{ι}\ \text{τ}\acute{\omicron}\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\theta\lambda\omicron\nu\ \text{.}$ ¹⁴

⁹See Wendel's note on III, 240, p. 227.

¹⁰F 8 K (Schol. A.R. IV, 86).

¹¹Theog., 958, 960.

¹²Naup. F 5 K.

¹³A.R. III, 504-39.

¹⁴Naup. F 6 K.

As the text stands in these two scholia, the situation would seem to be that, in the Naupactia, firstly, all the heroes offered to undertake the task, and then Idmon got up, and urged Jason to undertake it himself. This is strange, and it would seem that all is not right with the scholia. The chain of thought in Schol. III, 523 is very difficult to follow, the second sentence not fitting very well with the first. Nor does the statement that Idmon urged Jason to undertake the task accord with the comment of Schol. III, 515-21. Clearly some emendation is required, such as: Schol.

III, 515-21: ὁ μὲν Ἀπολλώνιος τοῦτους φησὶ προαιεῖσθαι ζεύξαι τοὺς βόας, ἐν δὲ τοῖς Ναυπακτικοῖς Ἰδμων ἀναστὰς Ἰάσονα κελεύει ὑποστῆναι τὸν ἄθλον.
 Schol. III, 523-4: ἀλλὰ τιν' οἴω μητρὸς ἔριος δύναιτο, φησὶν, ἢ μήτηρ ἢ ἔρη πέσαι τὴν Μήδειαν συνεργῆσαι τὸν ἄθλον.
 The redundant ὁ δὲ τῶ Ναυπακτικῶ κ τ λ. would seem to have

been a comment on a reference which has dropped out, the most likely phrase being in v. 521: οἳ δ' ἄλλοι εἰζόντες ἀκὴν ἔχον.

The emended scholia would then read as follows:

Schol. III, 515-20: ὁ μὲν Ἀπολλώνιος τοῦτους φησὶ προαιεῖσθαι ζεύξαι τοὺς βόας, ἐν δὲ τοῖς Ναυπακτικοῖς Ἰδμων ἀναστὰς Ἰάσονα κελεύει ὑποστῆναι τὸν ἄθλον.
 Schol. III, 521: οἳ δ' ἄλλοι εἰζόντες ἀκὴν ἔχον: ὁ δὲ τῶ Ναυπακτικῶ πάντας κριθεὶ τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ φερομένους ἄριστεργ.
 Schol. III, 523-4: ἀλλὰ τιν' οἴω μητρὸς ἔριος δύναιτο, φησὶν, μήτηρ ἢ ἔρη πέσαι τὴν Μήδειαν συνεργῆσαι τὸν ἄθλον.
 This reading would indicate the following situation in the

Naupactia: none of the heroes offered to undertake the task, they all shrank back, and Idmon got up and urged Jason to do it himself. Hence we have a more exciting dramatic situation than the old reading would suggest. That all the Argonauts

should be ready to perform the task does not do much for Jason's heroic standing, which must have been considerable in such an early epic. The magnitude of the task is greatly increased by the fact that the other Argonauts were afraid, and unwilling to face it.

It will be noticed that a central figure in this episode is the seer Idmon, and he also has an important part in the events depicted in Fs 7-8 K. These two fragments are best considered together, and since Kinkel attributes one scholion to the wrong line, and publishes an unsound text of the Scholia to A.R., it will be better to give the references as they are in Wendel's text. The first is in Schol. A.R.,

IV, 66a: <τὴν δ' αἰψὰ πόδες φέρον·> παρὰ [δὲ] τῶ τὰ Ναυπακτικὰ πεποιηκότε εὐκ ἔστι κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν προἰρρασίαν ἔβριεσσα ἢ Μῆδειαν, ἀλλ' ἔφ' ἔστῳσιν καλυκμένων τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν κατ' ἐπιβουλήν, ἐνοσπάντος τοῦ τῆς ἀναίρεσεως αὐτῶν καιροῦ, προτραπομένου δὲ τοῦ Αἰήτου ἐπὶ τὴν Εὐρυλύτης τῆς γυναικὸς σκουσίαν, Ἰδμόνος ὑποθεμένου τοῖς Ἀργοναύταις ἄποδιδράσκειν, καὶ Μῆδειαν συνεκπλεῖ.

The second passage is in Schol. A.R., IV, 86: φεύγωμεν, πρὶν τόνδε θοῶν· ὁ μὲν Ἀπολλώνιος φησὶ νικτὸς κεφευγέσθαι τὴν Μῆδειαν ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν, Αἰήτου συνέδριον ἔχοντος Κόλχων περὶ διαφθορᾶς τῶν ἡρώων· ὁ δὲ τὰ Ναυπακτικὰ πεποιηκὸς ὑπὸ Ἀφροδίτης φησὶ τὸν Αἰήτην κατακοιμηθῆναι, ἐπιθυμήσαντα τῇ αὐτῷ γυναικὶ συγγενέσθαι, δεδεικνηκότων παρ' αὐτῷ τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν καὶ κοιμημένων, διὰ τὸ βούλεσθαι αὐτὸν τὴν ναῦν ἐμπρῆσαι·

δὴ τὸτ' ἄρ' Αἰήτη πόθον ἐμβυλε δὲ Ἀφροδίτη
Εὐρυλύτης φιλοπῆτι μιγῆμεναι, ἧς ἄλοχοιο,
κηδομένη φρεσὶν ἦσιν, ὅπως μετ' ἄεθλον Ἰήσων
νοστήσῃ οἰκόνδε σὺν ἀγχεμῶχοις ἑτέρωσιν.

ὁ δὲ Ἴδμων συνέηκε τὸ γεγονός καὶ φησι·

‘φευγέμεναι μεγάροιο θοήν διὰ νύκτα μέλαιναν.’

τὴν δὲ Μηδείαν τὴν ποδοπόριαν ἀκούσασαν ἐναστᾶσαν συνεξορμήσαι.
λέγει δὲ καὶ Ἡρόδοτος ταῦτα.

It is clear from these references that the situation in the Naupactian version was very different from that described by Apollonios. Medea did not go out on her own decision to urge the Argonauts to escape.¹⁵ Aietes had deliberately invited the Argonauts to a banquet, apparently intending to burn their ship, and kill them when they fell asleep. But just in time, Aphrodite intervened, and filled Aietes with desire to sleep with his wife. Idmon noticed what had happened, and urged the Argonauts to make their escape. When Medea heard them going, she got up and went with them. This is easily our most detailed early account of events at Aietes' city, and it is noteworthy that Herodorus told the same story, surely using the Naupactia as his source. In view of this, it is likely that other information provided by Herodorus may also have come from the Naupactia: ὁ δὲ Ἡρόδοτος μετὰ τὴν ἀνάξουξιν τῶν ἀγρίων ταύρων ἀποσταλήναι τὸν Ἰάσονα ἀπὸ τοῦ Αἰήτου ἐπὶ τὸ πῦρ, τὸν δὲ παρευθέντα φανεῖσθαι τε τὸν δράκοντα καὶ τὸ κῆρας ἀπνευχεῖν πρὸς Αἰήτην, τὸν δὲ δόλω καλέσαι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ δεῖπνον. ¹⁶

The story of the invitation to dinner strongly suggests that the Naupactia was also Herodorus' source here. Hence, in the

¹⁵A.R. IV, 83 ff.

¹⁶Herodor. 31 F 52 J (Schol. A.R. IV, 87).

Naupactian version, before the banquet, Jason had successfully yoked the bulls, killed the dragon, and brought the Fleece to Aietes. Aietes' plan to kill the Argonauts at the banquet was, therefore, a last desperate attempt to keep the Fleece. In the reference to the escape which we have already noticed, no mention was made of the Fleece, but we learn what happened from the Scholiast to A.R. IV, 87: δίδω δὲ χρύσειον: ὁ μὲν Ἀπυλλώνιος μετὰ τὸ φυγεῖν τὴν Μήδειαν ἐκ τοῦ Αἰήτου οἴκου περιέστητι ὑπερχυμένην τὸ κῶμα τῷ Ἰδμόν· ὁ δὲ τὰ Ναυπακτικῶν γράψας συνεκφέρει τὴν αὐτὴν τὸ κῶμα κατὰ τὴν φυγὴν κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ οἴκον κείμενον. 17

In Apollonios' story Medea fled to the Argonauts before the Fleece had been obtained, but the Naupactia told that she brought it with her from Aietes' palace, when she joined the Argonauts in their escape. We can hardly imagine that the Argonauts forgot about the Fleece, presumably some of them, perhaps the watchful Idmon, had instructed Medea to bring it, or perhaps Aietes had concealed it in a place unknown to the Argonauts.

Several features of the Naupactian version are worth noting. Firstly, there was only one trial, the yoking of the bulls. The episode of the ploughing and the sowing would appear to have entered the myth later, for if these features had been known to the Naupactian poet, surely a man who gave such a detailed account would hardly have omitted them. But it may merely be that the episodes were not part of the

¹⁷Naup. F. 9 K.

particular tradition which came down to the poet of the Naupactia. Although we do not possess a detailed account of the Naupactian version of the actual yoking of the bulls, it would seem likely that Jason accomplished it by his own might, without the use of magic. Medea's magic does not have any part in the story, as is indicated by the fact that Jason killed the serpent without her assistance. This was clearly the early form of the myth, as was said in the chapter on Pherekydes' treatment of the story.¹⁸

The story of the banquet is an episode which is not found in any author subsequent to the Naupactia, except, of course, Herodoros, but it is a good epic motif, and indicates a well-developed story.

Of great interest is the part played by Aphrodite. Apollonios tells how Hera managed to get Aphrodite to assist Jason by making Medea fall in love with him.¹⁹ It is possible that in the Naupactia too Aphrodite made Medea love Jason, but the Naupactian version suggests a much closer relationship between this goddess and Jason than is the case in Apollonios' account. Hera does not enter the picture at all, and Aphrodite acts on her own initiative, *κηδομένη φρεσίν ἦσιν, ὅπως μετ'*

ἔεθλεν Ἰήσων / νεότησῃ οἰκόνδε σὺν ἀρχεμάχῳ ἑτάροισιν

20

¹⁸ see above, p. 55.

¹⁹ A.R. III, 55 ff.

²⁰ Naup. F 8 K.

This is reminiscent of the way in which Hera helped the Argo past the Planktai, ἔπει φίλος ἦεν Ἴησαν, ²¹ and strongly suggests that, in the Naupactia, Aphrodite may have been the protecting deity for the expedition. The goddess had a strong cult in Thessaly, where one of the months was called Ἄφροδος, and that she had a connection with sea-faring is indicated by the titles Ἰοντιὰ and Ἐσπλοία. ²² If Aphrodite was the original protectress of the Argonauts, it would indicate that the theory that Hera only entered the myth at the hands of Eumelos is correct. Certainly, there is no sign of Hera in the surviving fragments of the Naupactia, a fact which suggests that the poem was earlier than Eumelos. Once Hera was established by the version of Eumelos, she became standard, and Aphrodite has no significant part in later versions of the story. ²³

In the account of the escape, there is no reference at all to Apsyrtos, which supports our earlier suggestion that he was unknown to the poet of the Naupactia.

Then there is the part played by Idmon. After the imposition of the task, he urged Jason to undertake it, and

²¹Odyss. XII, 72.

²²P-W., Real-Encyc., "Aphrodite".

²³There may be a hint of her former importance in Pindar, Pyth. IV, 213 ff., where she brings Jason the love-charm.

later it was he who realised that Aietes had fallen asleep, and was thus responsible for the Argonauts making good their escape. In fact, he would seem to have been, in the Naupactia, the most important Argonaut, other than Jason, and, as we have seen, he may also have played a notable part in Eumelos' version.²⁴ Since Herodoros was clearly following the Naupactia for his story of events at Aietes' court, including the presence of Idmon, it is likely that he was also giving the Naupactian version in making Idmon's death take place among the Mariandyni on the return voyage.²⁵

The Naupactia was undoubtedly used as a source by Herodoros, and, in view of the large number of surviving references to that author, it may be possible that some other features were also derived from the Naupactia. This is more likely to be so in features fundamental to the story, especially if the details given by Herodoros differ in any way from the standard version, or from the versions of other authors later than the Naupactia.

One such feature is the return voyage, for Herodoros said that the Argonauts returned by the route whence they came.²⁶ This is at variance with the Hesiodic version, and

²⁴Schol. A.R. III, 1354.

²⁵31 F 50 J (Schol. A.R. II, 815), See above, pp. 47-8.

²⁶31 F 10 J (Schol. A.R. IV, 257/62a).

also with those of Herodoros' contemporaries, Pindar and Hekataios.²⁷ To take such a definite stand, Herodoros must have had good authority, and this could well have been the Naupactia. It certainly seems likely that, in the early form of the myth, the return voyage would be the same as the outward one. It would later be changed to add more interest to the tale, especially when the places mentioned became well-known.

Another interesting reference is given by the Scholiast to A.R. II, 1144-50: *Ἡρόδοτος δὲ φησὶ ἐξ Ἀθαμάκων καὶ Θεμιστοῦς γενέσθαι πλοῦς Σχοινέα, Ἐρσίβην, Λεύκωρα, Τίττον, νεωτάτους δὲ Φρίξον καὶ Ἑλλήν, οὓς διὰ τὴν Ἰνέου ἐπιβουλὴν ἐκχώρησαι* ²⁸

Points to note here are that Herodoros calls the mother Themisto, when she is normally known as Nephele, and that he names all the children of Athamas, not only Phrixos and Helle, citing names not given by anyone else. It is probable that differences of name in this myth reflect different traditions. The only other author known to have used the name Themisto for Phrixos' mother is Pherekydes²⁹, who employed the Naupactia as a source for the Phineus episode. Herodoros, too, derived material from the Naupactia, so that this agreement between Herodoros and Pherekydes would seem to point to the Naupactia as the source of the name Themisto. If this is so, it is likely

²⁷Hes. F 64 Rz²; Pindar, Pyth. IV, 25 ff.; Hekat. I F 18 a J (all in Schol. A.R. IV, 257/62a).

²⁸₃₁ F 38 J.

²⁹₃ F 98 J.

that Herodorus also took the names of Themisto's other four children from the Naupactia.

Another relevant reference is given by the Scholiast to A.R. II, 1122a, who tells us that Herodorus called the mother of Phrixos' sons Chalkiope.³⁰ This is one of the common names for her, and was the one used by Apollonios.³¹ However, Hesiod called her Iophossa, and Pherekydes Euenia.³² Hence, the most likely sources for Chalkiope would be Eumelos or the Naupactia, and in view of Herodorus' reliance on the latter, especially for events at Aietes' court, it is most likely that the name occurred in the Naupactia.

Herodorus' account contained another interesting feature, which is mentioned by the Scholiast to A.R. III, 594-8a and 605: νόσφιν δ' εἰ αὐτῶν χάρις δὲ αὐτῶν δῶσειν τιμαρῶν ἔλεγεν τοῖς Φρίξου παῖδων· τοῦτους γὰρ αὐτῶ κακοῖς ἀνέρας ἐπαγγείν, ὅπως αὐτοῦ τῆς βασιλείας ἐγκρατεῖς γένωνται, ὡς καὶ παρὰ τοῦ ἰδίου πατρὸς Ἥλιου ἠκηκόει. ὅτι δὲ χρησμός τὴν Αἰήτην κεδόμενος, ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτοῦ ἐγγόνων ἀπλέσθαι, καὶ Ἄροδωρος ἐν τοῖς Ἡγεμονεύταις ἱστορεῖ.³³ Τούτου ἕνεκα καὶ τὴν Ζεῦξιν τῶν ταύρων λέγει αὐτὸν ἐπινοῆσαι.³³

Herodorus' story is perhaps hinted at by Apollonios in the thoughts of Aietes (III, 597-602):

ὡς ποτὲ βεβῆν

³⁰31 F 39 J.

³¹A. R. II, 1149.

³²Hes. F 152 Rz² (Schol. A.R. II, 1122a); Pher. 3 F 25 J (Schol. A.R. II, 1149).

³³31 F 9 J.

Λευγαλέην οὐ πατρός ἐπέκλυεν Ἥλιος,
 χρεῖώ μιν πυκινὸν τε δάλον βουλῆς τε γενέσθην
 σφαιτέρην ἄτην τε πολύτροπον ἐβαλέσθαι
 τῷ καὶ ἐλθεμένους τέμπειν ἐς Ἀχαιΐδα γαίαν
 πατρός ἐφημῶσιν, Βολιχὴν δὲδον κ.τ.λ

However nothing like this is indicated in other passages in
 the Argonautica, such as the words of Chalkiope in III, 260-7:

Ἐμης οὐκ ἔρ' ἐρέλλει ἀκρήσει με λιπόντες
 τηλόθεν πλάγξασθαι· μετὰ δ' ὄρεας ἔτραπεν αἰετα.
 δειλήν ἐγώ, αἶψαν πόθον Ἐλλέδος ἔκπεδεν ἄτη
 Λευγαλέης Φρίξιο ἐφημῶσιν ἔλεος θε
 πατρός· ὃ μὲν Βηγῆσκον στογυρὰς ἐπετέλειτ' ἀντίως
 ἡμετέρη κραδίη· τὴ δ' ἔκην πόθον ὄρχομενσίο,
 ὅστις ὄδ' ὄρχομενός, κτεάνων Ἀθωϊκάντων ἔκρητι
 μητέρ' ἦν ἀχέουσαν ἀποπρωλιπόντες, ἵκοισθε;

34

Clearly Apollonios has not quite reconciled two different
 versions of why the sons of Phrixos were returning to Greece.
 The task of yoking the bulls was, in Herodoros' version, a
 protection against any unrecognised kinsman who might arrive,
 but Phrixos' sons, the children of Aietes' own daughter, were
 there at his court, so he must have sent them away, just as in
 A.R. III, 601-2. That this was, in fact, the case in Herodoros'
 account is shown by the Scholiast to A.R. II, 531-2: Ἡρόδοτος δὲ ἐπὶ
 τοῦ βωμοῦ φησὶ τεθυκέναι τοὺς Ἀργοναύτας, ἐφ' οὗ Ἄργος ὁ Φρίξου ἐπαινίων
 ἔτεθύκει. This suggests that the sons of Phrixos had re-
 turned to Greece before the Argonauts set sail, a feature also
 known to Pherekydes and Hesiod. It was clearly the early

³⁴ cf. also the words of Argos (II, 1147-53), and of
 Aietes (III, 304 ff.).

version, and Apollonios' alteration of events is not very convincing. Herodoros does not appear to have drawn on Hesiodic sources to any extent, so that his version is likely to have come from the Naupactia. A link with the Naupactia is also suggested by the fact that Aietes' safeguard against a would-be murderer was the task of yoking the bulls, that and nothing else, just as that was the only task facing Jason in the Naupactian version of events at Aietes' court.

A significant difference from the ordinary tradition is found in the name given by Herodoros to Jason's mother, a basic character in the story. The Scholiast to A.R. I, 45-7a shows that he named her as Polypheme, the daughter of Autolykos, while Apollonios and Pherekydes both called her Alkimedea, daughter of Phylakos, and Hesiod named her Polymede.³⁵ As we have noticed, there are several differences between the Naupactia and Hesiod as regards the names of characters in the myth³⁶, so if we may assume that the Naupactia also differed from Hesiod on the name of Jason's mother, it may well have been the source for the name Polypheme, given by Herodoros.

Among the more notable items attributed to Herodoros is his flat refusal to admit Herakles to the expedition for the Fleece.³⁷ Since all versions from Hesiod downwards had

³⁵Herodor. 31 F 40 J; A.R. I, 47 and 232; Pher. 3 F 104 a/b J; Hes. F 18 Rz².

³⁶e.g. Aietes' wife, Aietes' daughter, and probably Phrixos' mother.

³⁷31 F 41 b J (Schol. A.R. I, 1289).

included Herakles at least at the start of the voyage, Herodorus was certainly fighting against tradition. He must have had some grounds for taking this stand, and such could only have been found in an epic of pre-Hesiodic date, namely the Corinthiaca or the Naupactia. There is no evidence that Herodorus drew on the Corinthiaca for any other features of his story, but, as we have seen, he was heavily indebted to the Naupactia. Hence, we can tentatively conclude that, in the Naupactia, Herakles did not enter the myth of the Argonauts.

There is one reference surviving from the Naupactia to events after the return of the expedition, and it is supplied by Pausanias (II, 3.9): *Ἐν δὲ ἔστιν ἐν Ἑλλάδι Ναυπακτικῶν ὀνομαζόμενα τεκτόνητα ἃ ἐν αὐτοῖς Ἴωλκοι ἐκ Ἴωλκοῦ μετὰ τὸν Πηλίου θάνατον ἐς Κόρκυραν μετακίβηται, καὶ οἱ Μέρμεροι μὲν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τῶν παίδων ὑπὸ λεωίνης διαφθάρησιν ἀπεκρίνοντο ἐν τῇ κέρῳ ἡρώδου φέρηται δὲ οὐδὲν ἔστιν ἐν μνήμῃν ἀποδοκίμωνον*. Hence, in the Naupactian version, Jason did not remain at Iolkos after his return. We have also noticed this in the work of Pherekydes and Hesiod³⁸, but neither of those authors tells us where Jason actually went to when he left Iolkos. In both cases, Akastos, the son of Pelias, became king of Iolkos, and this was probably so in the Naupactia too. It is noticeable that, according to the Naupactia, Jason left after the death of Pelias. This seems strange, since we would expect that, on Pelias'

³⁸Pher. 3 F 62 J; Hes. Fs 78-81 Rz².

death, Jason would become king. It can hardly be that Pelias was murdered and Jason compelled to leave the city, for the murder is unlikely to have been in the myth at such an early date, and the word *ἀνάτωρ* does not imply it. Akastos was an Argonaut, and Jason may have given up his claim to the throne in his favour. If so, it would not be surprising that Jason should leave Iolkos to allow the new king a free hand. Another possibility is that originally Jason had no claim to the throne at all, but was a mere adventurer, or the instrument of an oracle, like the "one-sandalled" man. Certainly, no source earlier than Pindar states explicitly that Jason had a legitimate claim to the throne.³⁹ That Jason had, in fact, no claim would be the simplest explanation of the prevalent early tradition that he did not remain at Iolkos.

But why, in the Naupactian version, did he go to Corcyra? In the version of Apollonios, Corcyra comes into the story as the island of the Phaiacians,⁴⁰ a belief also referred to by Thukydides.⁴¹ From Apollonios (IV, 1002-3) we learn that a party of Colchians passed out of the Black Sea through the Kyanean Rocks in pursuit of the Argonauts.

³⁹Pindar, *Pyth.*, IV, 109 ff. Hes. (*Theog.* 995-6) describes Pelias as a despotic ruler, but does not indicate that he was a usurper.

⁴⁰Schol. A.R. IV, 982/92.

⁴¹Thuk. I, 25.4.

The Scholiast to the passage tells that this party came to Corcyra: οἱ δὲ διὰ τῶν Κιωνέων τὸν ἔκκλον πεισάμενοι Κέλχοι κατήντησαν εἰς τὴν Κέρκυραν νῆσον, ἐν ᾗ καὶ οἱ Ἀργαῖοι ἔτυχον ὄντες. When these Colchians saw that their case was hopeless, they besought Alkinoos to receive them as friends, and they stayed on the island.⁴² Apollonios goes on to tell that, when Corcyra was colonised by the Bakkhiadai from Corinth, the Colchians left the island.⁴³ It may be that the Naupactia reflects this tradition. If Corcyra was inhabited by Colchians who had been reconciled to Medea, it might be a likely place for Jason and Medea to go to. However this move to Corcyra may well have arisen from some other early tradition.

That Jason had only two sons in the Naupactia is made clear by the use of the comparative πρεσβύτερος. A reference to Mermeros occurs in the Odyssey, I, 259 ff., where Athena tells Telemachos that she had seen Odysseus:

ἔξ Ἐφύρας αἰεὶ ὄντα παρ' Ἴλου Μερμερίδαε
 ὤχετο γὰρ καὶ κείσε θεῶν ἰσχυρὸς Ὀδυσσεύς
 φάρμακον ἀνδραφάνου διζήμενος, ὅππῃ δὲ στή
 λους ἀπὸ δαμὶ γαλκῆσεν.

That is, Ilos, son of Mermeros, lived at Ephyra, probably the Thesprotian one, as it is not far from Ithaka. It would have been somewhere in this area that Mermeros met his death in the Naupactian story, so it would appear that the Odyssey

⁴²A.R. IV, 1206-11.

⁴³A.R. IV, 1212-14.

and the Naupactia are reflecting the same tradition in this episode. We will also remember that Eumelos was able to introduce Medea to Corinth because of her connection with Ephyra. Hence, the evidence of Homer, Eumelos, and the Naupactia all indicates that Jason and Medea settled in north-west Greece, which suggests a common tradition for the myth in the early eighth century.

It will be seen that the "reconstructed" Naupactian version gives quite a complete story. There are indications that the poem included the preliminary Phrixos episode, and it probably stated that Phrixos' sons had returned to Greece. During the voyage, the Boreads pursued the Harpies for Phineus, and killed them. On arrival at Aietes' city, Jason was confronted with only one task, the yoking of the bulls, but this was so terrible that all the Argonauts were afraid, but Jason, at Idmon's urging, did it himself. Then he fetched the Fleece, after killing the serpent, and brought it back to Aietes. The latter then treacherously invited the Argonauts to a banquet, intending to kill them, but, through the aid of Aphrodite and the vigilance of Idmon, the Argonauts made their escape, and Medea joined them, bringing the Fleece with her. Probably they returned home by the route by which they had come. Then, after Pelias' death, Jason and Medea went off to Corcyra.

This, then, is the earliest version of the story of the Argo which we can trace. It remains next to consider what were the likely sources for the Naupactian poet, and then to

trace the development of certain episodes from the early myth until the version of Apollonios.

CHAPTER VII

THE ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE MYTH

The Origins

Since the early tradition reflected in the Odyssey, the Corinthiaca, and the Naupactia is unanimous in fixing the final abode of Jason and Medea in north-west Greece, it might seem possible that the story was taken from the folklore of that region. But the fact that the pair settled in north-west Greece is really insufficient evidence for postulating a North-West Greek source for the myth. Since the Naupactia is probably our earliest source for the story, we must try to discover the origins of the tradition which came down to the Naupactian poet.

At this early period, the spread of a tradition is likely to be governed by the influence of one area on another, depending on the quality of the communications between the two areas. Because of the natural barrier imposed by the mountains, Naupaktos can hardly have enjoyed close cultural relations with the North-West, which was always a backward area.¹ Communications are much easier to the North-East,

¹Hammond, pp. 8, 10, 13.

towards Boiotia and Thessaly. The fact that Hesiod came to Naupaktos provides evidence for cultural relation², and the Naupactian ἔτη ἐς γυναῖκας τετοίγηεν are suggestive of the ἦολοι of the Boiotian poet. So if influence is more likely to have reached Naupaktos from the North-East, what speculations can we make concerning the possible origins of the myth of the Argonauts?

One outstanding feature of the story, right down to the Argonautica of Apollonios, is its Thessalian character. Jason and the core of the Argonauts are Minyans, and their voyage starts from Iolkos in the Gulf of Pagasai. For the Naupactian poet, too, it must have been basically a Thessalian tale. We have noticed that the protecting deity of the expedition may well have been Aphrodite, who has her origins in Thessaly, where a month was called Ἀφροίος in her honour.³ The Phrixos episode, too, is wholly Thessalian. Hence not only could Thessalian influence have reached Naupaktos, but there are even Thessalian elements in the Naupactian version. Another such Thessalian feature may be that story, prevalent in early tradition, and which seemed so difficult to explain, namely that Jason and Medea went off to north-west Greece. It may have arisen from a Thessalian recollection that they themselves had originally lived in Thesprotia⁴, or may even

²Paus. IX, 38.3.

³P-W, Real-Encyc., "Aphrodite".

⁴Herodot. VII, 176.

reflect a later overland expedition to the West.

If the myth is Thessalian, what can it reflect? The voyage was generally attributed in antiquity to the generation before the Trojan War, as is shown by the fact that some Argonauts were the fathers of Homeric heroes.⁵ It was on this basis that the chronologists obtained their dates, Eratosthenes giving 1184 for the capture of Troy, and 1225 for the Argonauts, while Eusebios gave 1263-1257 for the Argonauts. Since Blegen now dates the fall of Troy to around 1250,⁶ on traditional reckoning we should put the expedition of the Argonauts at about 1290-80. Can it be possible that the myth actually reflects a real voyage made by the Thessalians around that time? Several things would suggest that it is possible.

As has been remarked, Jason and the core of the Argonauts were Minyans, which suggests that the Minyans were the governing element in Thessaly at the time of the expedition. According to Strabo, the Minyans of Iolkos were colonists from Minyan Orchomenos⁷, and the "Minyan-ware" pottery, so-called since it was first discovered at Orchomenos, is found in Thessaly from 1600⁸, indicating that the Minyans probably

⁵e.g. Admetos, Telamon, Peleus.

⁶C. W. Blegen, "Troy", in W and S, ch. 13, pp. 383 (chronol. table), and 386.

⁷Strabo IX, 2.40.

⁸Miss Bacon, p. 141.

arrived in Thessaly around that time. At any rate, they would have been well-established by the time of the expedition.

Further, there is sound archaeological evidence that there was a prosperous civilisation in Thessaly in Mycenaean times. Tholos or "beehive" tombs have been found at Dhimni and Sesklo, and more recently, a palace has been located at Volos (ancient Iolkos), which has been dated to just the right period, a generation before the Trojan War.⁹ Furthermore, pictures of vessels with many oars have been found on a Middle Helladic vase from the same place.¹⁰

Then there is the evidence of the Homeric poems. Achilles was a Thessalian, and Neleus, who founded the great Mycenaean dynasty at Pylos, was a Minyan.¹¹ More significantly, Thessaly is shown in the Catalogue of Ships to have been a considerable sea-power.¹² She sent nine contingents to Troy, totalling 280 ships, out of a total Greek force of 1186 vessels. This suggests that Thessaly was quite capable of sending out a naval expedition in the generation before the Trojan War.

As we have seen, the myth of the Argonauts was localised in the Black Sea area as early as Eumelos, and there is

⁹P. MacKendrick, The Greek Stones Speak (New York, 1962), p.

¹⁰F. S. Stubbings in W and S, ch.22, p. 541.

¹¹Odyss. XI, 254.

¹²Il. II, 681-759.

little reason to suppose that it was otherwise in the Naupactia. The question now is "could Thessalian ships have penetrated to the Black Sea in Mycenaean times?" Entry to the Black Sea is made difficult by the strong current at the Bosphoros, aggravated by northerly winds in the summer months. This fact has led Rhys Carpenter to the following opinion, "Not until ships were built, and put into efficient service, which were capable of an oar-driven speed of more than four knots, could any Aegean vessel pass beyond the Golden Horn."¹³ He seeks to find these improved ships in the reference by Thukydidēs (I, 1.13) to the vessels built by Ameinokles of Corinth for the Samians around 705/4, and concludes that the vessels concerned were pentekonters. He goes on to say, "There is little probability that Chalkedon...was established for any other reason than its advantageous position as a starting-point for the passage through the Bosphorus."¹⁴ He dates Chalkedon to around 680, and continues, "The years just before or just after 680 B.C. must be our choice for the sensational event which was to become mighty in legend - the first passing of a Greek ship into the Black Sea."¹⁵ In the course of this study, we have noticed several points which might be used to dispute this, but Rhys Carpenter's thesis falls down in several other

¹³Rhys Carpenter, "The Greek Penetration of the Black Sea", in AJA 52 (1948), 1ff.

¹⁴Rhys Carpenter, in AJA 52,

¹⁵Rhys Carpenter, in AJA 52,

points, which are discussed by Graham.¹⁶ His most telling argument against it, and the one most applicable to our purpose, is that ships were able to sail up through the Bosphoros. The evidence for this is found in the Anaplus Bospori of Dionysios Byzantios, who actually describes the passage of ships against the current. Ships could proceed by sail, helped by oars if necessary, and could also get assistance from counter-currents. Graham shows that, although the prevailing winds are adverse, favourable winds occur quite often, and from his figures I have calculated that suitable winds are found one day in every six at 7 a.m., and one in five at 1 p.m. in the sailing-season. Hence there are adequate opportunities for a sailing-ship to make the passage. The fact that the Bosphoros can be passed by sailing-vessels completely removes Rhys Carpenter's limit for the date of penetration, and must make it possible even for Mycenaean ships. That there was Bronze Age trade through the Hellespont and the Propontis is suggested by Hammond¹⁷, so that it does not seem unlikely that a voyage through the Bosphoros could have been made. It would have been exceptional, but so, of course, must the voyage of the Argonauts.

If we accept, then, that a Thessalian vessel could have entered the Black Sea in the late Bronze Age, what would

¹⁶Graham ?

¹⁷Hammond, p. 53.

(or could) have been the object of such a voyage? Later traditions were unanimous in that the object of the voyage of the Argonauts was to fetch the Golden Fleece. The most obvious interpretation of this is that it represents real early expeditions for metal.¹⁸ Evidence that this could have been so is given by Barnett, who says "... the recent Russian excavations of burials rich in gold and silver at Trialeti in the central Caucasus, belonging to the late Bronze Age, show that the Golden Fleece and the Argonauts need not be considered all a figment of the imagination."¹⁹ Apparently he considers the factual basis of the story to be Bronze Age trading.²⁰ As well as suggesting gold and metals, the Golden Fleece might indicate furs, a suggestion which may be supported by the fact that Simonides and Akousilaos referred to the Fleece as purple.²¹ Furs were among the exports from the eastern end of the Black Sea in classical times²², but we cannot be sure whether they were valuable in very early times. On the other hand, we may, perhaps, wonder whether a commercial venture, however pioneering, is likely to have become a subject for epic poetry. Traders

¹⁸J. B. Bury, A History of Greece (3rd. edit. revised by R. Meiggs. London, 1959) p. 48.

¹⁹Barnett, in Aegean and the Near East, p. 221.

²⁰Barnett, in Aegean and the Near East, p. 228.

²¹Simonides in Schol. Eur. Med. 5, and Schol. A.R. IV, 177; Akous. in Schol. A.R. IV, 1147.

²²Miss Bacon, p. 150.

were not looked upon in a very favourable light, as is shown by the words of Euryalos, himself a sea-faring Phaiacian:

οὐ γὰρ σ' οὐδέ, ξείνε, δαήμονι φωτὶ εἶσκω
 ἄθλων, οἷα τὲ πολλά μετ' ἀνθρώποισι πέλονται,
 ἀλλὰ τῷ, ὅς θ' ἄμα νηὶ πολυκλήιδι θαμίζων,
 ἀρχὸς ναυτῶων οἷ τε πρηκτῆρες ἔασιν,
 φόρτου τε μνήμων καὶ ἐπίσκοπος ἦσιν ὄδωϊων
 κερδέων θ' ἄρ' παλέων· οὐδ' ἀθλητῆρι εἶοικας. (Odys. VIII,
 159-64).

Could it not be that the myth reflects something more dangerous and daring, such as a pirate raid? That piracy was common in early times, and indeed freely admitted, is indicated by the well-known formula of greeting:²³

ὦ ξείνοι, τίνες ἔστε; ποθεν πλεῖθ' ὕγρὰ κέλευθα;
 ἦ τι κατὰ πρῆξιν ἦ μαψιδίως ἀλάλησθε
 οἷά τε ληιστῆρες ὑπεῖρ ἄλα, τοῖ τ' ἀλώονται
 ψυχὰς παρθέμενοι κακὸν ἄλλοδαποῖσσι φέροντες;

Moreover, Odysseus, in his fictitious account of his adventures, thinks nothing of including a pirate raid in Egypt.²⁴ As for the Argonauts, there is one feature in Apollonios' version which does suggest a pirate raid, namely the episode at Cyzicus.²⁵ Apollonios tells how the Argonauts left Cyzicus, but were forced back that same night by a storm, and in the darkness the inhabitants mistook them for raiders. In the ensuing battle King Cyzicus was killed. This story of the

²³e.g. Odys. III, 71-4; IX, 252-5.

²⁴Odys. XIV, 245 ff.; XVII, A25 ff.

²⁵A.R. I, 961-1077.

second landing and mistaken identity sounds like a version created in later times to preserve the reputation of the Argonauts, perhaps after the foundation of the Greek city of Cyzicus.²⁶ Probably it is a memory of a pirate-raid made by the Argonauts on the original, pre-Greek inhabitants of the area. It should not be thought unlikely that a pirate voyage should have taken the Argonauts so far afield as the Black Sea, for in later times, on similar expeditions, the Vikings penetrated to the Mediterranean.²⁷ Also similar in combining exploration with plundering is Drake's voyage round the world in the Golden Hind.²⁸ In view of this, the theory that the story of the Argo arose from an adventurous voyage of piracy and exploration seems very possible. The Golden Fleece could well represent the great riches acquired on such a voyage, which might be gold, silver, or other valuable commodities of which we have no record.

The basic story must have evolved in the period of Dark Ages which followed the collapse of the Mycenaean civilisation, as must many other Greek myths. During this time the story came to be centred around the hero Jason, who, in common with that other Thessalian hero, Achilles, had been educated by the centaur, Cheiron.²⁹ It must soon have included a quest,

²⁶The citizens would be proud to have a link with the Argonauts, albeit a distasteful one.

²⁷Encyc. Brit. (11th ed. Camb. 1910-11), 28, 65.

²⁸Encyc. Brit. 8, 443-4.

²⁹See above, pp. 67-9.

and the bringing-home of the king's daughter. Early on, too, the voyage of Jason must have been associated with another Thessalian myth, the one about the Ram of Phrixos, from which came the idea of the fleece, which was incorporated into the myth. That the Lemnian visit was also a very early element is indicated by the presence of Minyans on the island in historical times.³⁰ During this very early period, the details of the story would have been distorted and exaggerated into "myth". When Greece emerged from the Dark Ages, the story received a great impetus from the re-discovery of the Black Sea area as a result of renewed trading and of the exploration which must have preceded colonisation. The version given in the Naupactia represents the story as it stood at this period.

The Development of Some Features of the Myth

The Story of Phrixos

The story of Phrixos must originally have been quite a separate myth, centred at Orchomenos, where his father, Athamas, ruled.³¹ It would seem to be older than the story of Jason, and its main features must have been settled before it was linked to the other myth. It may originally have included an episode of the return of Phrixos' sons to claim their rights at Orchomenos. When the myth was combined with that of Jason, Phrixos' son, Argos, became the builder of the

³⁰Herodot. IV, 145; Strabo VIII, 3.19.

³¹Schol. A.R. I, 763/4a.

ship which sailed to recover the Golden Fleece. The return of Phrixos' sons before Jason's expedition must have remained a feature of the story until the version of Apollonios. The story that Athamas had four children older than Phrixos and Helle may be the earlier version, but in later tradition, only Phrixos and Helle are mentioned, and must have been so prominent that the others were forgotten. The idea that the Argonauts sailed to recover Phrixos' soul, in addition to the Fleece, is likely to be a late addition by Pindar.³²

Pelias

Pelias is one of the best-established characters of the myth. There are never any variants for his name, and he was in the story at an early date, as the Naupactia clearly knew of him.³³ The poet of the Odyssey knew that he lived at Iolkos, and gives no hint that he was other than the legitimate ruler.³⁴ Pelias' despotic, insolent character was known to Hesiod, who also told that he imposed the labours on Jason.³⁵ At least by the time of Pherekydes, the story had been developed of the oracle given to Pelias to beware of the "one-sandalled" man.³⁶ In Pherekydes' version, Jason had been ploughing nearby, and came on the scene merely as the instrument of the oracle. In the contemporary version of Pindar, however, while

³²See above, pp. 15-16.

³³Naup. F 10 K (Paus. II, 3.9).

³⁴Odyss. XI, 254 f.

³⁵Hes. Theog. 994-6; see above, pp. 64-5.

³⁶3 F 105 J; see above, pp. 40-1.

Jason's appearance fulfilled the oracle, it was also to claim his rights from Pelias, who is thus, for the first time, declared to be a usurper.³⁷ That Pelias was hated by Hera is manifest in Pherekydes' account, and may have originated from Eumelos. At any rate, it persisted right through to the Argonautica of Apollonios. Then there is the question of the murder of Pelias. This feature seems to have developed out of a combination of Hera's hatred and the idea that Pelias was a usurper. There is no reliable evidence for it before that of Pherekydes and Pindar, but it was certainly popular in the fifth century, and must have been present in Euripides' early play, the Peliades. It is more likely that, in the earlier versions, Pelias had an ordinary death, after which funeral games were held in the customary fashion. The story of his murder had entered the myth probably by the end of the sixth century. The manner of his death, by the guiles of Medea, is likely to have evolved from the earlier story of Medea's rejuvenation of Aison.

The Crew of the Argo

Originally all members of the crew must have been Minyans, as is indicated by the facts that the myth originated in Thessaly, and that a Minyan element was retained throughout the subsequent development of the myth. The sons of Phrixos,

³⁷See above, pp. 8-13.

especially Argos, are likely to have been members from a very early date, from the time when the two stories were combined.³⁸ As the story developed, some of the more ordinary Minyans must have been replaced by superhuman outsiders such as the Boreads, who were present at least by the time of the Naupactian version,³⁹ and the Dioskouroi. Various other specialists were thought worthy of a place, such as the keen-sighted Lynkeus.⁴⁰ Some characters, however, must have been quite late additions, for neither Homer, Hesiod, nor Pherekydes included the swift-footed Iphiklos.⁴¹ A seer is likely to have been present from early times, and our earliest evidence indicates that Idmon was the original seer, and an important crew-member.⁴² Another tradition, which was adopted by Pindar, apparently gave Mopsos as seer for the expedition.⁴³ Apollonios, in including both seers, was apparently combining the two traditions.⁴⁴ By the time of Hesiod, Herakles had been added to the crew, but he is clearly not an original member.⁴⁵ In all accounts up to

³⁸ See above; pp. 44-5.

³⁹ Naup. F 3 K.

⁴⁰ A.R. I, 155

⁴¹ Schol. A.R. I, 45.

⁴² See above, pp. 140-1.

⁴³ See above, p. 20.

⁴⁴ See above, pp. 47-8.

⁴⁵ See above, pp. 48-50, 75.

that of Apollonios he left the ship early in the voyage. This story was amalgamated with that of Hylas in what became the standard version of the loss of Herakles.⁴⁶ It was not until a very late date that he was depicted as going the whole way to Colchis. The late sixth century saw the admission of Orpheus to the crew.⁴⁷ If the earlier tradition included a musician among the crew, it is likely that the place was filled by Philammon.⁴⁸ The presence of Orpheus seems to signify that the Orphics saw the myth as a convenient vehicle for their doctrine. The Orphic elements introduced new features to the story, notably the initiation at Samothrake,⁴⁹ and perhaps also the idea that the murderers of Apsyrtos were doomed to wander until they had been purified.⁵⁰ A religious element had been added to the myth. There were no major changes in the composition of the crew hereafter, but it seems likely that local traditions and civic pride were responsible for the introduction into the crew of certain minor characters.

⁴⁶A.R. I, 1207 ff.

⁴⁷See above, pp. 21-4.

⁴⁸See above, pp. 45-6.

⁴⁹A.R. I, 910-21.

⁵⁰A.R. IV, 585-8.

Hera

Hera is, by far, the most prominent deity in the developed myth. She may have superseded the Thessalian Aphrodite as the protectress of the Argonauts in the Corinthiaca of Eumelos⁵¹, and hence forward she is supreme, being found in almost every version of the tale. In the Odyssey she assisted the Argo past the Planktai.⁵² Eumelos had linked her with Medea, and this idea was taken up by Pherekydes, who depicted Medea as the agent through whom Hera punished Pelias for slighting her.⁵³ In Pindar's account, Hera is shown filling the Argonauts with eagerness for their voyage.⁵⁴ Her zeal in the cause of the Argonauts is also seen in the Argonautica of Apollonios, in which she prevailed upon Aphrodite to assist Jason to win Medea's love, and later she obtained the aid of Thetis to help the Argo past the Planktai.⁵⁵ Her favouring of Jason is paralleled by the way in which Athena championed Odysseus in the Odyssey.

Phineus

The episode of Phineus and the Harpies was, as we noticed, part of the Naupactian version, and was thus an early feature of the myth. A likely theory for the origin

⁵¹See above, pp. 116-8.

⁵²Odys. XII, 69 ff.

⁵³See above, pp. 42-3.

⁵⁴See above, pp. 16-18.

⁵⁵See above, pp. 91-2.

of the Rhineus story has been put forward by Barnett, who suggests that it may have been formed as a result of Greek acquaintance with ornaments in the shape of birds with women's heads on the rims of bronze cauldrons imported from Urartu.⁵⁶ He suggests that the name Phineus may even be derived from that of a king of Urartu, Ispuinis or Uspina (ca. 820). Such a date would fit very well with that to which we might assign the Naupactia, ca. 750. In most versions prior to the Argonautica of Apollonios, Phineus must have come into the story of the return voyage of Phrixos' sons, to whom he showed the way to Greece. Similarly, he showed the Argonauts the way to Aietes. He was generally located in Bithynia, and Pherekydes called him king of the Asiatic Thracians.⁵⁷ Hesiod records that he was driven by the Harpies to "the land of the Milk-feeders who live in waggons", indicating the northern side of the Hellespont⁵⁸, but even in this version he may have originated in Bithynia. All accounts agree that he was blinded, but various reasons were given for this, and there must have been a number of versions of the myth. All those we have examined have shown the Argonauts helping Phineus, but there was another tradition, given by Apollodoros and the Orphic Argonautica⁵⁹, that they punished him for

⁵⁶Barnett, in Aegean and the Near East, p. 231.

⁵⁷See above, pp. 50-1.

⁵⁸See above, pp. 72-3.

⁵⁹Apollod. Bibl. III, 15.3; Orph. Arg. 671-9.

cruelty to his children, one of the reasons for which he was blinded. The persecution by the Harpies was another punishment in addition to his blindness. In the early versions, the Harpies apparently were killed by the Boreads.⁶⁰ The story was very popular, and gave a wonderful opportunity for a fantastic chase over an extensive area, in which a poet could display his geographical knowledge, as in Hesiod's version.⁶¹ From his time onwards, the most common conclusion to the episode was that an agreement was made with the Harpies that they would leave Phineus alone, and they were not killed.⁶²

The Symplegades and the Planktai

The story of the Symplegades must have developed very early in the history of the myth, as it probably originated from the experience of passing through the Bosphoros.⁶³ Homer depicted the Argo as also passing the Planktai, in the West, so we must assume that the Symplegades were part of the myth before that. It seems probable that the Homeric reference was the first to link the Argo with the Planktai, which really belong to the voyage of Odysseus. That the Symplegades were a standard feature of the story is shown by the references to them by Simonides and Pindar.⁶⁴ We have no surviving reference to the Planktai between the time of Homer and Apollonios, but since most versions took the Argo into the Mediterranean,

⁶⁰ See above, p. 133.

⁶¹ See above, p. 73.

⁶² See above, p. 74.

⁶³ See above, pp. 88-93

⁶⁴ See above, p. 25.

it is likely that the Planktai episode was often included.

At Aietes' City

The earliest name for Aietes' city seems to have been Aia, which perhaps originally meant no more than "land". At first, it must have been an indeterminate place in the East, but Eumelos placed it definitely in the land of Colchis⁶⁵, and there it remained. By Hesiod's time, it was understood to be near the "Phasis", so that after the founding of the Milesian colony of that name, in the South-east corner of the Black Sea, it was generally identified with that location.⁶⁶

At Aia, there was originally only one trial confronting Jason, the yoking of the bulls.⁶⁷ At some unknown period, this was extended by the inclusion of the ploughing episode. Finally the sowing of the dragon's teeth was added, perhaps by Pherekydes.⁶⁸ Originally, too, Jason must have accomplished the tasks on his own, but, because of Medea's magic powers, a tradition grew that she assisted Jason to perform the trials by giving him antidotes, and our earliest evidence for this is Pindar's version.⁶⁹

⁶⁵Tzetzes, ad Lyc. 1024.

⁶⁶See above, pp. 79-80.

⁶⁷See above, p. 138

⁶⁸See above, pp. 53-5.

⁶⁹See above, pp. 28-9. The lines of Mimnermos (p. 65) may indicate no more than that Medea brought the Fleece, as in the Naupactia.

It seems certain that, in the early versions, Aietes had only one wife, and that his son Apsyrtos did not exist.⁷⁰ The murder of Apsyrtos, like that of Pelias, seems to have been a relatively late addition to the myth. Our earliest reference to it is by Pherekydes, who shows that it was the work of the Argonauts.⁷¹ Later in the fifth century, it was generally attributed to Medea, and that became the accepted tradition.

The Return Route

In the original story, the return voyage was almost certainly made by the same route as the outward. The first sign of any change comes in the Odyssey, where the Argo is said to have passed the Planktai, showing that the return voyage had been extended westwards. Hesiod is the earliest surviving source to cite a completely different route, namely through the Phasis into Ocean, hence to Libya and into the Mediterranean.⁷² The reason for this change would seem to be that, by this time, the western end of the Black Sea was sufficiently well-known as to make an identical return voyage tedious and uninteresting. But the eastern end was still relatively mysterious and unexplored, supplying good epic material. It is in this connection that we have our earliest

⁷⁰See above, pp. 63-4.

⁷¹See above, pp. 56-7.

⁷²See above, pp. 76-81.

reference to the Phasis. Hesiod's version of the return route held the field for a long time, being repeated by Pindar and Antimachos. But presently, in the light of improved geographical knowledge, it came under attack from Eratosthenes and Artemidoros. But, by a strange paradox, this more accurate knowledge led to the adoption of even more fantastic routes. Skymnos and Timaios modernised Hesiod's route into the Tanais-Ocean route, which was really the same thing under another name. Then there was the most fanciful route of all these early versions, up the Istros (Danube) to the Adriatic, into the Eridanos (Po), and down the Rhodanos (Rhone) into the Mediterranean. This route was ascribed to Timagetos, and was the one chosen by Apollonios. The changes in the route were governed by the principle that the voyage should be through unknown regions⁷³, hence, as more areas were explored, the route had to be continually revised.

Jason

Originally, Jason must have been a conventional epic hero in the Achilles mould, educated by Cheiron. Such is the picture presented in the Naupactia and by Hesiod. We cannot be sure whether he had a claim to the throne of Iolkos in the early myth, but the probability is that he had not.⁷⁴ At

⁷³cf. this tendency with the argument of Strabo, above, pp. 84-5.

⁷⁴See above, pp. 146-7.

any rate, definite evidence that he had a legitimate claim is not found until Pindar's account. Even as late as Pherekydes' version, Jason turned up apparently in fulfilment of an oracle, not from any personal grievance against Pelias.

When the magic of Medea was introduced to assist Jason with the tasks, it transformed him from an epic hero into a rather ordinary man, only capable of great deeds through the supernatural aid of a woman. This tendency was carried further in the psychological drama of Euripides, who depicted Jason in a very unfavourable light. By the time of Apollonios, the character of Jason had been greatly altered from the original epic concept, and this must have affected Apollonios' picture of him to some extent. However, it may be that Apollonios meant Jason to be just as he depicts him⁷⁵, for there can be little doubt that the rather anxious "unheroic" Jason of the Argonautica is much closer to a Hellenistic idea of a "hero" than the old epic type would have been. That this was deliberate policy by Apollonios is suggested by the fact that he does include a parody of the old epic "hero", in the character of the boasting, insolent Idas, who is always depicted in an unfavourable light.⁷⁶ So clear is the contrast between Idas and Jason that we can be certain that Apollonios was depicting Jason as a more desirable, "modern" leader, in an epic which is a truer reflection of its period than is

⁷⁵H. Fränkel, in Mus. Helv. 1960, 1-20.

⁷⁶e.g. A.R. I, 151; 462 ff.; III, 556 ff.; 1252.

usually imagined.

Medea

The character of Medea, like that of Jason, underwent a transformation in the development of the myth. At first, she was a sympathetic heroine, who, in the Naupactia, helped the Argonauts in their escape by bringing the Fleece for them.⁷⁷ Hesiod does not even indicate that much; for him she was the coy-eyed maiden whom Jason led away to be his wife.⁷⁸ However these early versions must have known of her magic powers, because they were aware that she was connected with Ephyra.⁷⁹ Our earliest reference to the use of her magic comes in a fragment of the Nostoi, possibly by Eumelos.⁸⁰ In this, she was said to have rejuvenated Jason's father, Aison, by boiling drugs in golden cauldrons. Eumelos greatly increased her importance by linking her with Hera.⁸¹ As a result of this association, she became, at least by the end of the sixth century, the agent through whom Hera enacted vengeance on Pelias, making Medea the murderer of Pelias. Her original function as a healer or rejuvenator was debased, with striking effect, by having her trick Pelias' daughters into thinking

⁷⁷See above, p. 138.

⁷⁸See above, pp. 64, 66.

⁷⁹See above, pp. 103-4, 109-11.

⁸⁰See above, pp. 128-9.

⁸¹See above, pp. 116-118.

that she would rejuvenate Pelias, whereupon she left them with his mutilated corpse on their hands. After this episode, it was not very difficult to ascribe to her also the other murder which entered the myth at this period, that of Apsyrtos. Originally, Apsyrtos' murder was the work of the Argonauts⁸², but such was the growing concept of the "barbaric Medea" that it was not thought too unnatural that she should kill her own brother. By this time, Medea's magic powers had been introduced to the story of the trials, a feature which led to a further increase in the importance of Medea, and a corresponding decrease in that of Jason. This development reached its peak in Euripides' Medea, in which the most shocking crime of all, the murder of her children, was added to her list. When Apollonios came to write his epic, the concept of Medea as a passionate, unprincipled, barbarian had become so much part of the story that Apollonios could not omit it. Hence, although his version does not extend to the Corinthian aftermath, the murder of Apsyrtos is included, with Medea responsible, and this in spite of a sympathetic and understanding account of her love for Jason. However, it is precisely this picture of romantic love which was Apollonios' greatest contribution to the story, and which has made his version so popular, both in ancient and modern times, so that we tend to think not so much of "The Myth of the Argonauts", as of "The Story of Jason and Medea".

⁸²See above, p. 57.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Literary Sources

- Apollodoros, Bibliotheca
Apollonios Rhodios, Argonautica, with Scholia
Eumelos
Herodoros
Herodotos, The Histories
Hesiod, Carmina
Homer, Iliad, Odyssey
Naupactia
Pausanias, The Description of Greece
Pherekydes
Pindar, Pythian IV
Strabo, The Geographies
Thukydides, The Histories

Books of Reference

- Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th edition. Cambridge. 1911.
Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker. edit. F. Jacoby
Lieden Brill.
Liddell and Scott. A Greek-English Lexicon. edit. H. S.
Jones, Oxford Clarendon Press. 1925.
The Oxford Classical Dictionary. Oxford Clarendon Press 1949.
Pauly-Wissowa. Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertum-
swissenschaft Metzlerscher (Stuttgart) 1894- .

- Wace and Stubbings, A Companion to Homer. 1962 London MacMillan.
- Bacon, J. R. The Voyage of the Argonauts. London. Methuen 1925.
- Boardman, J. Greek Art. New York: Praeger 1964.
The Greeks Overseas. Penguin Books 1964.
- Bolton, J. D. P. Aristeas of Proconnessos. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962.
- Bowra, C. M. Greek Lyric Poetry. 2nd. edit. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961.
Pindar. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964.
- Burton, R. W. B. Pindar's Pythian Odes. Oxford; University Press, 1962.
- Bury, J. B. A History of Greece. 3rd. edit. revised by R. Meiggs, London: MacMillan, 1951.
- Carpenter, Rhys. Folk-Tale, Fiction and Saga in the Homeric Epics. Berkeley: Univ. of Cal. Press, 1946.
- Farnell, L. R. The Works of Pindar. London: MacMillan, 1930-2.
- Frazer, J. G. The Golden Bough. London, 1911-13.
- Graves, R. The Greek Myths. Penguin Books, 1960.
- Hammond, N.G.L. A History of Greece till 322 B.C. Oxford. 1959.
- Kirk, G. S. The Songs of Homer. Cambridge, the University Press, 1962.
- Lane, A. Greek Pottery. London: Faber, 1948.
- Linforth, I. M. The Arts of Orpheus. Berkeley, Univ. of Cal. Press, 1941.
- Mackendrick, P. The Greek Stones Speak. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1962.
- Mooney, G. W. The Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis and Co., 1912.
- Murray, G. The Rise of the Greek Epic. 2nd. edit. Oxford; Clarendon Press, 1911.

- Myers, E. The Odes of Pindar. London: Macmillan, 1899.
- Page, D. L. Euripides' Medea. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1938.
- Robert, C. Die griechische Heldensage. Berlin: Weidmann, 1921.
- Stanford, W. S. The Odyssey of Homer. 2nd. edit. London: MacMillan, 1962.
- Wade-Gery, A. T. The Poet of the Iliad. Cambridge, the University Press, 1952.
- Watmough, J. R. Orphism. Cambridge, the University Press, 1934.
- Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, U. von. Hellenistische Dichtung. Berlin: Weidmann, 1924.
- Will, Ed. Korinthiaca. Paris: de Boccard, 1955.

Articles

- Barnett, R.D. "Ancient Oriental Influences on Archaic Greece" in The Aegean and the Near East. (Studies presented to Hetty Goldman). New York: Augustin, 1956, 212-38.
- "Early Greek and Oriental Ivories" JHS 68 (1948) 1-25
- Bowra, C. M. "The Daughters of Asopus" in his Problems in Greek Poetry. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953, (also in Hermes. 1938, Heft 2).
- Burn, A. R. "Dates in Early Greek History", JHS 55 (1935), 130-46.
- Carpenter, Rhys. "The Greek Penetration of the Black Sea", AJA 52 (1948), 1-10.
- Dunbabin, T. J. "The Early History of Corinth", JHS 68 (1948) 59-69.
- Fränkel, H. "Ein Don Quijote unter den Argonauten des Apollonios", Mus. Helv. 17 (1960), 1-20.
- Friedländer, P. "Kritische Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Heldensage. I. Argonautensage", Rhein. Mus. 69 (1914), 299-317.

Graham, A. J. "The Date of the Greek Penetration of the Black Sea" BICS V (1958) 25-42.

Huxley, G. L. "Homerica", GRBS 3 (1960), 17-30.

Wade-Gery, H. T. "Hesiod" in his Essays in Greek History. Oxford: Blackwell, 1958, 1-16.