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Μυρμιδόνων Πόλις

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MAY 1906.

Μυρμιδόνων Πόλις.

THAT Homer must be interpreted by Homer was a truth known to Aristarchus and Strabo, and they acted upon the maxim with success, the latter especially, in as far as geography is more important than criticism. The Homeric poems are now returning to the position which they held in Strabo's eyes: they are again becoming recognised as the oldest historical document for Greece. The linguistic attack upon their age may be said to have at last definitely failed, and archaeology has erected an apparently indestructible buttress for their defence. Many delusions, however, of an earlier generation still encumber the ground, and it is one of these which I now wish to remove.

Strabo's principle by no means finds general acceptance: instead of recognising that the Homeric period is a law to itself in civilisation, events, and topography, the modern critic compares the Homeric account with a later century, and finding it disagree thinks that the Homeric account cannot be genuine; and that the discrepancy is the work of the many-handed, omnipresent, and unwearied adapter, call we him diasceuaist, harmonist, interpolator, or simply faker. Take the Homeric Hymns: the Hymn to Demeter, though describing the great Athenian worship of Eleusis, has no mention of Athens, and the daughter of Demeter has not the Athenian title of Kora. The Hymn is late, heterogeneous, and a pasticcio, says the historian of religion: but the truth is the document mounts to times before 'Virgin' was a title in religion, and before Athens assimilated Eleusis. The latter part of the Hymn to Apollo describes the in-

stitution of the worship at Delphi: and the simplicity of the account compared to that given by the tragedians—the absence of games, agon, Pythia, chasm, vapour, donations, and crowds of pilgrims, has induced Mr. Verrall, ever ingenious, to invent a subtle poet with a hidden spring of purpose compelling him to give this machiavellian account of the rite. This is clear *ὑστερον πρότερον*. Mr. Oppé in *J.H.S.* 1904, pp. 214 *sq.* has proved in detail that the chasm and the vapour are additions and late additions: the games we have always known began in the sixth century: Theognis is the first to mention the Pythia. The Hymn's simplicity is that of age, not design. It may go back to the earliest post-Dorian times. The age of the Hymn to Hermes too may receive respectability from a point in which it represents an important ancient topographical condition. The cows which Hermes steals he drives across Peloponnesus and stalls in a cave at the Alphean Pylos. In the other accounts of the legend, in Apollodorus and Antoninus Liberalis, it is the Messenian Pylos which receives them. The facts relating to Pylos have lately been put in their proper light by Victor Bérard in his admirable book, of which the account of Triphylia is one of the most convincing parts. As Strabo held, Nestor's seaport was in Triphylia, and Strabo searched for a site for Pylos in that district. It was the port of West Peloponnesus, and a drover would take his cattle there to ship them to the islands, to rejoice the hearts of princes and pirates. A record of the legend in the Triphylian region may remain in Pausanias' account

v. 5. 5: γενέσθαι δὲ οἱ Λεπρεᾶται σφισιν ἔλεγον ἐν τῇ πόλει Λευκαίου Διὸς ἱερὸν καὶ Λυκούργου τάφον τοῦ Ἀλλέου καὶ ἄλλον Καύκωνος. τούτῳ δὲ καὶ ἐπίθημα ἄνδρα ἐπεῖναι λύραν ἔχοντα. As the tomb of Caucon had disappeared before Pausanias' time we cannot tell if 'the man with the lyre' was Apollo or Hermes. When the lagoons and sandhills gained the day, name and site passed away. Nestor was transferred to the remaining sea-board Pylos, Coryphasium, where the simple Pausanias placed him; and the mythographers diverted, by a most improbable route, Hermes and his unwearied cows to the same place. The author of the hymn wrote while the old conditions obtained, and this brilliant piece of epic writing in so far gains antiquity. The Doloneia is persistently written down,¹ and readers, ancient and modern, are unable to tolerate vivacity or humour in antiquity; but the world did not begin with Homer, and so far as we see it gained in seriousness with age. It was Xenophanes, a critic of the sixth century—the age to which the determined critic relegates these documents—who took exception to Homer. All these arguments from probability or suitability—the stock weapon of the Alexandrians and Plutarch—can be reversed. What ground have we to suppose that the religion of Minos or Ariadne would have been shocked at Demodocus' lay?

I do not mean, however, to dwell upon questions of taste or comparative morality, but with the kingdom of Peleus. One portion of Homer that has been unanimously decried is the Catalogue. Its place in the *Iliad* must depend upon the view we take of the composition of that poem. It is not unnatural it should be thought unoriginal where it stands. In itself, however, as a table, according to regions, of Agamemnon's forces, it bears every mark of venerable antiquity, and the failure of critics to recognise this quality in it is surprising. What is the one simplest test of the antiquity of a document of this sort? Surely the portrayal of a state of things, political and topographical, which never recurred in later history; and which no one had any interest to invent, or even the means for inventing. This character is written all over the Catalogue: the absence of the states of Megara and Messenia, the separation of Orchomenus from the rest of Boeotia, Thebes represented by Ὑποθήβαι and in no sense predominant, the vanished kingdom of Nestor (Pylos and the ford of Alpheus)—none of these con-

¹ I quite agree with Mr. Andrew Lang that it has always held its present place.

ditions ever existed again in the world, and it never became anyone's interest to invent or restore them. The intangibility of the Catalogue is, however, most strikingly shewn by the insignificant position of Athens. Modern opinion has allowed itself to be dominated by the idle legends of lines added here and there by Pisistratus and others: even these legends betray the all-but total absence of such attempts, and their ill-success. The Athenians in Homer appear as the unimportant tribe they were: a remnant perhaps of the prae-Pelopid inhabitants, at all events brigaded with leavings and effeminate peoples, Locrians, Epeans, Ionians, bowmen who did not wear armour, and whose position was defined as 'opposite Euboea.'² If the διάκοσμος is a conglomerate, why did not the Athenians, in whose hands the text is supposed to have lain, and may have lain, give themselves a better place? Why but that the Catalogue came down from the times it describes, and that tradition and tribal jealousy were too strong to allow any *nouvelles couches* of peoples to tamper with it? The most remarkable case of discrepancy between the conditions of the Catalogue and later history is that of Agamemnon and his Argos, a parallel in some respects to Peleus and the Pelasgic Argos. Agamemnon, king of men, is seated at Corinth: he holds Corinth, Sicyon, and the whole of the later Achaean riviera: to the south of Corinth he has his castle Mycenae at the south foot of the pass, but of the plain of the Inachus not an inch, and no access to the sea. Argos the town, Tiryns, Asine, the whole of the Hermionic peninsula round to Troezen and Epidaurus, even Aegina, are in the hands of Diomedes, son of the Aetolian fugitive, Sthenelus, who represented the old Argive house, and Euryalus. In tragedy Agamemnon lands at Nauplia, and is signalled at Mycenae. But in history Nauplia was not his: he sailed from and returned to Corinth. The beacons at Mycenae would have had nothing

² οἱ ναλοῦσι πέραν ἱερῆς Εὐβοίας B 535. The lesser is defined by the greater. It is perverse to insist that πέραν must mean 'beyond' and prove the writer to have been an Asiatic. Πέραν, 'across from,' is a variation on the fuller expression in 626 πέραν ἁλὸς Ἡλιδος ἄντα (which in its turn has produced the v. ll. on 535); both words meet in οἱ τ' ἡπειρον ἔχον ἢ δ' ἀντιπέραν ἐνέμοντο 635. The description is 'objective,' that is, independent of personal standpoint, as in the parallel Δοκροὶ οἱ τε καλούμενοι Ὀδῶναι καὶ οἱ πέραν Εὐβοίας, Paus. x. 8. 5 (cf. vii. 4. 3 περὶ Ἀναίαν τὴν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ τῇ πέραν): Scymnus 587 uses a synonym, ἀπέναντι δ' Εὐβοίας κατοικοῦσιν Ἀχαιοί. If the 'personal' sense were obligatory, B 626 would land us in a contradiction, for on the same evidence the writer of that line would be a Peloponnesian!

to signal. In later days the Doric kingdom of Argos, and that chamaeleon-name itself, established Agamemnon in the valley of the Inachus, where Argos stood, plain to see. The relation of the Pelopid Corinthian dynasty to what came before and after is not easy to establish: Pausanias (ii. 4. 2) felt the difficulty. But the greater the difficulty and the greater the discrepancy between Homer and later history, the less likelihood is there that the entry in the Catalogue is due to interest, policy, or imagination. Apart from this, the locality corresponds to Agamemnon's position in Homer: with the Isthmus, Corinth, and Sicyon, the long Achaean riviera, his rear protected by Mycenae, he was clearly the greatest force in Greece. His sea-board gave him ships and men, and enabled him to take off the Arcadians, who came down to Aegium or Aegira; his naval strength in the West may explain why he was able to offer the Messenian coast-villages of Cardamyle, Enope, etc. to Achilles (I 150); were his 'many islands' also in the West? Pausanias vii. 24. 2 has preserved the tradition that he summoned the Greek notables to Aegium, one of his Achaean towns, to consult on the plan of operation against Troy: whereas for the rendezvous of the armament, having no harbour of his own on the East coast, he appointed the safe and central roadstead of Aulis.¹ Agamemnon's political situation is wholly unlike anything which was seen afterwards in the Greek world, and would have been lost to us but for the religious preservation of the Catalogue. The fidelity of the document is no less manifest when we look at the great district known in classical times as Thessaly.

In later times Thessaly in the wider sense extended from the extreme N.E. of Greece to Othrys and the Malian gulf, and was divided into Thessaliotis, Pelasgiotis, Hestiaeotis, and Phthiotis. Homer it is unnecessary to say knows of no Thessaly and Thessalians and no four great divisions of the area. The region between Pieria and Oeta is in various hands, without connection, political system, or generic name. The Catalogue after dealing with Rhodes and the

Sporades, returns to Greece, which it had left with Aetolia, and enumerates: (681) Achilles in the Pelasgian Argos, Protesilaus at Phylace, Pyrasus, Iton, and so on: Admetus at Pherae and Iolcus, Philoctetes at Olizon: Podalirius and Machaon at Tricca, Eurypylos at Ormenium and Mt. Titanus, Polypoetes at Oloosson, etc., Gouneus from Cyphus with the Enienes and Peraebians, Prothous with the Magnetans from the Peneus and Pelion. Although very few early place-names have survived in Thessaly,² most of these divisions have been approximately fixed: the celebrity of Achilles, and the local rivalry of the historical Greeks, have misled critics, both ancient and modern, in their account of one of these provinces, the kingdom of Peleus.

This is defined, B 681, thus:

νῦν αὖ τοὺς ὅσσοι τὸ Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος
ἔβαιον,
οἱ τ' Ἄλον οἱ τ' Ἀλόπην οἱ τε Τρηχῶν
ἐνέμοντο,
οἱ τ' εἶχον Φθίην ἥδ' Ἑλλάδα καλλιγύναικα,
Μυρμιδόνες δὲ καλεῦντο καὶ Ἕλληνες καὶ
Ἀχαιοί,
τῶν αὖ πεντήκοντα νεῶν ἦν ἀρχὸς Ἀχιλλεύς.

I turn for exegesis to the justly esteemed commentary of Mr. Leaf, and this is what I find: 'it is hardly possible to read this and the two following lines without feeling that originally Achilles was the leader of the whole of the Thessalians, and that his restriction to three paltry towns in 682 is merely a device to make room for the localisation of other Thessalian heroes. As it stands the effect is almost like "all the peoples of Britain who dwelt in Greenwich and Woolwich and Blackheath, and were named Saxons and English and Danes." The Pelasgian Argos, properly the central plain of Thessaly about Larissa, a long way from Phthia, is in the sequel stretched to comprise Thessaly in the widest sense and even Dodona in Aetolia. There can be little doubt that Hellenes, Myrmidons, and Achaeans were originally three distinct tribal names of Thessaly, all under the suzerainty of Achilles, as the South was under the suzerainty of Agamemnon.' I quote Mr. Leaf because like a good mirror, he reflects what he sees—or reads: but I cannot help protesting that one should not believe all one reads, and that his note is a cage-full of extinct forms of animal life, and the 'suzerainty of Achilles' is the worst dodo.

² Strabo 430, 433, 434, notices how political change obliterates topography.

¹ This reason, and nothing more recondite nor fraught with mystery, explains the selection of Aulis. A fleet composed of contingents from Cephallenia, Arcadia, Pylos, Sparta, as well as from Iolcus and Trachis, bound for Troy, must have had its rendezvous somewhere about Euboea. Nowadays international squadrons meet at Piraeus, before they seize the customs of Tenedos. Agamemnon chose for his 'mille rates' the all-but land-locked straits of Aulis.

Some of them may be traced to antiquity : in antiquity also there were οἱ τοῖς ἀληθέσιν ἐποικοδομοῦντες ἐψευσμένα (Paus. viii. 2. 6.), and my next step is to examine the painstaking account of Strabo.

Strabo (431) says that the section relating to Achilles was ἐν ἀντιλογίᾳ. Some held that the Pelasgian Argos was a town near Larissa, no longer existing ; others that it was the plain of Thessaly, οὕτως ὀνομαστικῶς λεγόμενον (sc. with ἄργος as a common noun = πεδίον). Some also held that Phthia was the same as Hellas and Achaia ; others separated them. Strabo holds that in Homer they are separate, but cannot tell if they were towns or districts. However he gives local claims : those who made Hellas a district stated that it extended from Palaeopharsalus to the Phthiotid Thebes, at the head of the Crocian plain ; as a town Hellas was claimed by the Pharsalians, and by the people of Melitaea, who lived higher up on the waters of the Enipeus.—Some of these views may be traced further back : Dicaearchus (iii. 2, Geogr. graec. min. p. 109) says the Myrmidons lived in the Thessalian Phthia, the Hellenes between Pharsalus and Melitaea, the Achaeans still inhabited Melitaea, Larissa, Cremaste, and the Achaean Thebes (earlier called Phylace). Parmeniscus, an Aristarchean, made Phthia a region (Steph. Byz. in Φθία) ; Apollodorus, another Aristarchean, whose book on the νεῶν κατάλογος is one of Strabo's best sources, held that the Pelasgic Argos meant τὰ τῆς Θετταλίας πεδία (id. in Ἀργούρα) ; recent opinion (οἱ νεώτεροι) identified the δστυ Μυρμιδόνων with Pharsalia (schol. δ 9).

Strabo continues (432) to observe, and the remark shews his superiority to the Alexandrians, that the Phthians are not Achilles' subjects only, but belong also to Protesilaus and to Philoctetes, quoting N 685 sq., where at the ships of Ajax Oilei f. and Protesilaus we find Boeotians, Locrians, Iacones, Phthians, and Epeians. The Phthians are under Medon who lived in Phylace and Podarces, son of Iphiclus of Phylace. Strabo thinks that Eurypylus' men (B 734 sq.) may have been Phthians also. In the Catalogue Philoctetes' men (B 727) are under Medon, while Podarces commands Protesilaus'. The name Phthian was applicable to both Protesilaus' and Philoctetes' subjects. Although Eurypylus' and Philoctetes' territory came under the name Magnesia, Strabo thinks the race was the same. He continues that Antron, Protesilaus' first town, forms the limit to Peleus' kingdom, which he thus defines : μέχρι δὲ τῆς ὑπὸ Πρωτεσιλάῳ πόλεως

Ἀντρώνος . . τὸ πλάτος ἀφορίζεται τῆς ὑπὸ Πηλεΐ καὶ Ἀχιλλεΐ γῆς, ἀπὸ τῆς Τραχυνίας καὶ τῆς Οἰταίας ἀρξαμένοις· τὸ δ' αὐτὸ σχεδὸν τι μῆκός ἐστι τοῦ Μαλιακοῦ κόλπου. The Maliaic gulf, in the lower part of the Spercheus valley, is what Strabo as well as Bursian (*Geogr. Griechenlands*, i. p. 64 n.) regards as Peleus' territory, and it is the only possible conclusion from the words of Homer. Neither geographer, however, influenced I suppose by the higher critics so far their inferiors, has taken the next step, and seen that if Peleus' kingdom is confined as to N. and S. to the Maliaic gulf, and if Peleus inhabited the Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος, the Pelasgic Argos, the Maliaic gulf, and the delta of the Spercheus, are all different names for the same place.

With so much support from Strabo and Bursian we may next examine the actual data in Homer. In the section about Achilles six place-names are given : Pelasgian Argos, Alos, Alope, Trachis, Phthia, and Hellas ; three names of the inhabitants, Myrmidons, Hellenes, and Achaeans. Alos, Alope and Trachis have always been regarded as towns : the latter retained its name to historical times, and lay to the south of the Spercheus, commanding the road which led by the coast through Pylae. The position of Alos and Alope may easily be defined. To the south the Epicnemidian Locrians under Ajax Oilei f., whose chief town was Opus, came as far East as Σκάρφη (B 532), the historical Σκαρφία ; Alope therefore cannot be the Ἀλόπη between Daphnus and Cynus, and must be that fixed by Steph. Byz. in voc. on the N. coast of the gulf between Ἐχίνος the modern Akhinó and Larissa Cremaste. Again, as under the dominions of Protesilaus (695 sq.) Pyrasus, Iton, Antron, and Pteleon are included, that is to say the whole of the Crocian plain, our Alos cannot be the Halos or Alos, home of Athamas, in the south of that plain and more or less between Iton and Pteleon, although Artemidorus of Ephesus (ap. Strab. 432) thought so. Such an enclave cannot be imagined, and Parmeniscus (in Steph. Byz. s. Ἄλος) justly said there were two places of the name. Ἄλος or Ἄλος is a common name between Sunium and Volo ; and this Alos must have been either another port on the N. side of the Maliaic gulf, or by the mouth of the river.

The possible extension of Peleus' kingdom along either coast is to Antron on the N., to Scarphia on the S., and probably the defile of Pylae will have been its southern boundary.

No one suggests this kingdom extended to

the S. of Oeta: it was barred along the coast to the N. by Antron, and to the N.E. by Othrys, which attains its greatest height at this point, as well as by Protesilaus, whose possessions reached to Pteleon (the modern Ptelio) and Antron on the sea, and Phylace (perhaps the later Thebes) and Iton in the hills. There were only two ways in which it could expand—to the N.W. across the pass of Othrys into the tableland of Xyniae and towards the later Pharsalus, and up the Spercheus-valley, to the W. The height and danger of the pass, the *Μαλιακὸς δρυμός* described by Leake (*Northern Greece*, i. 461), make the former supposition improbable. It was a gloomy *malpasso*, Xerxes and Metellus avoided it; and we do not find valley-people naturally overflowing their boundaries. It would be enough if Peleus planted a post at the top, and something—unnamed in Homer and early literature, but later known as *Λαμία* and *Zitouni*—at the bottom. Up the valley there was no obstacle, and the prominence of the Spercheus in the *Iliad*, when the Enipeus or the Apidanus, not to say the Peneus, might have been invoked, shews that it was the national river.

Menesthius, one of Achilles' five generals of division, II 173, was the son of Spercheus; Patroclus, though no Myrmidon, Phthian, or Hellene born, but of Opus, was, as a ghost, to take Achilles' hair to the Spercheus, to fulfil Peleus' vow to offer hair and fifty sheep to the river,

ἐς πηγάς, ὅθι τοι τέμενος βωμός τε θυήεις.

Peleus and Achilles possessed the 'springs of Spercheus' and there was a sacred place there. The restless modern critic, eternally dissatisfied, explains *πηγαί* away, to mean only 'waters' (Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, on *H.F.* 390. Mr. Leaf follows obediently). This meaning of *πηγαί* is unhomeric: B 523 οἷ τε Λαίαν ἔχον πηγῆς ἐπὶ Κηφισοῖο is an exact statement. The sources of the Spercheus, by which I do not mean the actual but the reputed sources, that is to say the spot where the river began to be of some size—must have been high up the river's course, and very likely at the place called Spercheae by Livy in his account of the Aetolian raid into Thessaly in B.C. 198 (xxxii. 13). A river often gives its name to a hamlet upon it near, if not at, its source. We have alas not enough ancient place-names to make a Greek gazeteer, but in well-surveyed countries examples may be found in any county: take Windrush, Evenlode, Chervelltown, Lambourn, in the Thames basin. In Greece Thespieae on the Thespius, Cephi-

sia on the Attic Cephissus, and Nemea high up on the same river, are parallels. The Spercheus-valley, from Tymphrestus to Trachis, will have been an ancient Valtellina, important for its command of passes—the coast-road from Antron, the Maliac thicket, the next track to the W., falling upon Hypata (Leake, *N.G.* i. 460), another still further to the W., by which the Aetolians broke up from Spercheae and Macracome to South Thessaly; on the south Thermopylae, and the hill-road from Trachis through Doris to Amphissa, the Sacred Pilgrims' Way from Thessaly to Delphi. As in the Valtellina, the hill villages on both sides provided a contingent (2500) of fighting men; and the earth the wild Adda, I mean the Spercheus, brought down, gave the plain at its mouth its fertility—

γῆς πάσης τὸ Πελασγικὸν ἄργος ἄμεινον,

(oracle in schol. Theocr. xiv. 48, al., Hendess No. 178)¹ While the Achaean civilisation kept the river in order, the harbours of Trachis and Lamia (viz. Anticyra and Phalara) were busy ports. The height of the mountains on both sides made it an impregnable kingdom,² and under divine rulers it was more important than the neighbouring Locris, Croecian plain, or even Pherae.

We have next to give a meaning to the place-names Phthia and Hellas, and the descriptions Hellenes and Achaeans.

Phthiotis in historical days extended from the Maliac gulf to the plain of Thessaly, *πλατυνόμενα μέχρι Φαρσάλου καὶ τῶν πεδίων τῶν Θετταλικῶν*, Strabo 430, and such a meaning for Phthia may be traced as far back as the Hesiodian Catalogues, fr. 81:

ἡ οἷη Φθίῃ χαρίτων ἀπο κάλλος ἔχουσα
Πηνειοῦ παρ' ὕδωρ καλὴ ναίεσκε Κυρήνη.

I presume the Peneus stands for its tributary, Enipeus or Apidanus. The historical

¹ Bursian i. 88 notes the fertility of the valley, now principally rice-fields. Herodotus vii. 198 describes the dimensions of the argos: 198 *περὶ δὲ τὸν κόλπον τοῦτον ἐστὶ χώρος πεδινός, τῇ μὲν εὐρύς, τῇ δὲ καὶ κάρτα στενός*, 199 *ταύτῃ* (sc. at Trachis) *δὲ καὶ εὐρύτατον ἐστὶ πάσης τῆς χώρας ταύτης ἐκ τῶν ὀρέων ἐς θάλασσαν, κατ' ἃ Τρηχίς πεπόλισται· δισχίλιό τε γὰρ καὶ δισμύρια πλέθρα τοῦ πεδίου ἐστί.* The delta had grown far below the bridge by the time of Brennus, B.C. 279 (Paus. x. 20. 6).—It will hardly be believed that this oracle supplies the only other mention of the Pelasgian Argos—this imposing pre-Homeric, pre-Mycenaean kingdom—in the whole of independent Greek literature, if we except Euripides, who (in the *Orestes*) applies the name to Argolis.

² Herodotus vii. 198, the *Τρηχίνια πέτραι*.

Pharsalians believed their town was Phthia, the *δορυ Μυρμιδόνων* (schol. δ 9).¹ It is unnecessary to deny that Peleus' rule may have included the table-land, Xyniae and its lake, between the two passes; but as Pharsalus, Thaumaci (Domokó) and Proerna are not in Homer, it is the less likely that he stretched over the uninviting Furka.² Graubünden still holds much of the Valtellina, but we do not find Venosta or Pallavicini stretching up to Pontresina. Bursian, i. p. 75 thinks Pharsalus a foundation of the Thessalians, presumably to secure the pass from the North. In Homer's day, if we judge from the presence of *Φθιοι* under Ajax and Protesilaus, and perhaps on the other side of the Pagasaeon gulf, Phthia was a non-political name, attached to a wide region, and dating from an earlier political condition, we do not know what. As Picardy and Provence, the Veneto, Lombardy and the Terra di lavoro, East Anglia and Leinster, remain in use though their legal force is dead, Phthia was the property of no chief; and as an inhabitant of Florence or Siena, Dieppe or Caen, Aix or Toulon, may talk of going back to Tuscany, Normandy or Provence, Achilles may say 'they never wasted my crops in Phthia' (A 155), 'I will go to Phthia' (*ib.* 169), 'there are many Achaean girls in Hellas and Phthia' (I 395), or Odysseus 'Peleus sent you from Phthia' (I 253). The old Phthia, prae-Homeric, divided between Peleus, Protesilaus, perhaps Philoctetes, and with stragglers in Locris, and with the *Δόλοπες* on its edge (I 484), may well have covered the later Phthiotis, and the subsequent identifications of Pharsalia with Phthia are easy to explain. Achilles with his kingdom, by Homer's genius became an enviable ancestor, and as Pharsalus, unknown to Homer and founded it would appear by the incoming Thessalians, was within Phthia, the cousins of the Scopadae and the Aleuadae at Fersala, appropriated Achilles as the Dorian Argives claimed Agamemnon; and as the classical Argives interpreted Homer's Argos in their sense, the Pharsalians took Homer's Phthia to mean *their* Phthia or Phthiotis—as if the Val d'Arno, being Tuscan, implied the whole

of Tuscany. The old divisions never came back, and only the attentive geographer, Strabo or Bursian, was aware that Homer would not suit the new conditions.

Hellas is a vaguer name, and its later complications are even greater than those of Phthia. In Homer it is always local: *ἐγχείη δ' ἐκέκαστο Πανέλληνες καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς* B 530 means that the lesser Ajax, though a small man, was the best spearman in his countryside; Bathycles, Π 594 *Ἑλλάδι οἰκία ναίων*, was a great man among the Myrmidons. It never gave a name, like Phthia, to an historical district, but blossomed out, how, it is still a mystery, into the Greek name of Greece. Accordingly its original connotation is lost beyond recovery. The district with which it was sometimes identified, viz. that between Palaeopharsalus and the Phthiotid Thebes (Strabo, *l.c.*), fell within the historical Phthiotis. A slight indication of its relative position is offered by the story of Phoenix, who fleeing a blood-taboo took refuge, from the north, as Patroclus from the south, with Peleus. Phoenix says:

I 447 οἶον ὅτε πρῶτον λίπον Ἑλλάδα καλλι-
γύναικα
φεύγων νείκεα πατρός Ἀμύντορος Ὀρ-
μενίδαο.

478 φεύγον ἔπειτ' ἀπάνευθε δι' Ἑλλάδος
εὐρυχόροιο,
Φθίην δ' ἐξικόμην ἐριβόλακα μητέρα
μήλων,
ἐς Πηλῆα ἀναχθ'.

Phoenix lived in Hellas, the kingdom of his father Amyntor, and fled through Hellas to Phthia: we may therefore assume the two countries touched; but the Hellas of Amyntor cannot be more nearly fixed. Autolycus, who lived 'on Parnassus' (Odyssey τ), raided Eleon, which belonged to the same Amyntor (K 266); but, though there is no reason on this account to have recourse with Mr. Leaf to the Eleon in Boeotia, we know of no Eleon in Thessaly. All is *obscurum per obscurius*. We cannot say if 'Ὀρμενίδαο' is local and means 'of Ormenium'; and even then the Ormenium near Iolcus is out of the question and the other Ormenium (B 734) belonged to Eurypylus, son of Euaemon. So that except that Hellas bordered on Phthia, and was perhaps farther from the *Μυρμιδόνων πόλις* than Phthia, we can say nothing about it. Still people called Hellenes were Peleus' subjects. It looks as though Hellas, as we know Phthia was, was an earlier district-name in Thessaly, perhaps West of Phthia, and

¹ This is the current view in literature: the Pharsalians dedicated Achilles and Patroclus at Delphi (Paus. x. 13. 5); one Theagenes ran *ἐν Φθίᾳ τῇ Θεσσαλῶν*, rivalling Achilles *ἐν πατρίδι τοῦ ὀκίστου τῶν καλουμένων ἡρώων* (vi. 11. 5). Crito, persuading Socrates to escape to Thessaly, says *ἡμαῖ κεν τριτάτῃ Φθίῃ ἐριβόλον ἴκοιο* (Crito 44 B).

² Though these and many other places were enumerated under Achilles' dominions. Strabo 433, 4.

stretched down the slope of Othrys towards the Spercheus; as Tuscany stretches far down into Romagna.

We cannot here omit the fact that the Spercheus is now called Hellada (Leake, *Northern Greece*, I. cix, II. cx, IV. pp. 531 sq.), a statement repeated by Bursian. Mr. Bury, *J.H.S.* xv. 228 questions it; but if the Spercheus like Lamia and Hypata, and how many Italian villages, has again received its ancient name, Hellada would naturally fall into the background. The other name which Mr. Bury heard, Alemanna, appears on Bursian's map as the bridge over the river between Zitouni and Trachis.

I submit that when he mentions Phthia and Hellas, Homer is using older place-names in which Peleus had no exclusive property. In later times, when Achilles influenced the imagination, the later Phthiotis dragged the Pelean Phthia north, and settled the *ἄστυ Μυρμιδόνων* at Pharsalia. Similarly the later Pelasgiotis (I am not called upon to account for this application of such a wandering name) together with the ambiguous term *ἄργος*, transported the Pelasgic Argos to the N.E. plain of Thessaly. In Homer, Pelasgic¹ has not this meaning. It applied, as we see from one clear example, to Melis. Larissa Cremaste, on the Maliac gulf above Echinus, was also called Larissa Πελασγία (Strabo 435); and when Achilles invokes his God as Ζεῦ ἄνα Δωδωναίῃ Πηλεαργικέ, he is not thinking of Gyrton or the Peneus, but of his own valley. The Spercheus is his national river, the 'town of the Myrmidons' is Trachis, and the fertile land of Trachis is the Pelasgic plain or *ἄργος*. As to this word Strabo (372) gives us the invaluable information that *ἄργος* with the Macedonians and Thessalians meant *πεδῖον*, though he denies the use to Homer. Σχεδὸν πᾶν πεδῖον κατὰ θάλασσαν says Steph. Byz. in voc., suiting even better the delta of the Spercheus. An undeniable Thessalian usage is quoted by Stephanus s.v. Δώτιον from the poet Dionysius ἐν α' Γιγαντιάδος,²

καὶ κενὸν κρότησε [sic] λέβης κατὰ Δώτιον
ἄργος,

the Δωτίῳ ἐν πεδίῳ of Hesiod and the Homeric hymns. This was the meaning of the Pelasgic Argos. The valley, a sufficient independent state in the heroic age, lost its

importance later between Thessaly and Boeotia; the Enienses came south and occupied the top of the valley, the Malians (to judge from Dicæarchus' description of the people of Anthedon) were fisher-folk; and the rapid accumulation of the alluvial soil to the S. limited their harbours to Phalara, Echinus, and Alope. The one important point, the road through the Pylæ, was internationalised. The heroic names Phthia, Hellas, Myrmidons, Achæans,³ were moved elsewhere, and only the misunderstood Catalogue preserved the real home of Peleus.

I pass to another epic document which bears on this region, the Hesiodic Ἀσπίς Ἡρακλέους. This is a late composite work of the school, composed according to Aristophanes of Byzantium, who must have had every means of knowing, of fifty-six lines from the fourth book of the Κατάλογοι γυναικῶν or Ἡοίαι, in which the birth of Heracles was told, followed by an account of one of Heracles' feats, the slaying of Cycnus. The Κατάλογοι themselves are later than the Theogony, the last lines of which introduce them; and the Theogony refers to Hesiod as the singer of the Works and Days, and therefore implies that it itself is by another hand. The Works and Days themselves are post-Dorian. The Aspis therefore cannot lay claim to great antiquity, but it is good local epos, and was recognised as Hesiodic by Stesichorus, and by the grammarians Megacles and Apollonius of Rhodes. It may well belong to the period 750-700, the age of the Cyclic poets Arctinus and Lesches, of the great rhapsodes, and apparently of the longer Homeric Hymns.

When we abstract from the Aspis the tedious description of the Shield—to which, however, it no doubt owed its survival, as the companion poems the Κήνκος γάμος and that about Aegimius have perished—we are left with an instructive local story. The Theban hero and his nephew and squire Iolaos meet in the temple of Apollo at Pagasæ Cycnus and his divine father Ares. The grove and the altar glowed with the light of their armour (71). Heracles states his purpose to Cycnus

Τρηχίνα δέ τοι παρεαύνω
ἐς Κήνκα ἄνακτα· ὃ γὰρ δυνάμει τε καὶ αἰδοί
Τρηχίνος προβέβηκε—

¹ I am not speaking of the Asiatic Pelasgi, B 840, 843, K 429, P 288.

² This work is indexed in the *F. H. G.* vol. iv. as 'iv. 510. 10,' but the reference is wrong. Susemihl and Pauly-Wissowa do not recognise the poet.

³ In Herodotus' time (vii. 197-200) we find the divisions were—Thessaly as far as the Pagasæan gulf, Achæa with Halus, Melis with Trachis. In the reverse order Aeschylus (Persæ 489) has Μαλιὰ κόλπον—γῆς Ἀχαιῶδες πέδον—Θεσσαλῶν πόλεις.

'as you well know yourself, for you have married his daughter.' We gather then that Cynus blocked the way from Pagasae to Trachis, and the intention with which he did this is also plain: at the end of the poem his tomb is washed away by the Anaurus, the river of Iolcus, at the order of Apollo

ὅτι ῥα κλειτὰς ἐκατόμβας
ὅστις ἄγοι Πυθοῖδε βίῃ σύλασκε διώκων.

He relieved pilgrims to Pytho of their beasts. He commanded what Aelian (*V.H.* iii. 1) calls the Πυθίᾱς ὁδός, the sacred way which led διὰ Θετταλίας καὶ Πελασγίας καὶ τῆς Οἴτης καὶ τῆς Αἰνιάνων χώρας καὶ τῆς Μηλίων καὶ Δωριέων καὶ Λοκρῶν τῶν Ἑσπερίων. The portion of this road south of Iolcus keeps to the coast round the gulf of Volo and the Κρόκιον πεδίων. It was the route followed by Metellus and Xerxes. Hercules and Iolaos, as it were two pilgrims, had reached Pagasae and would soon have doubled Cape Pyrrha, when they found their way blocked by Cynus. How Cynus was able to do this the Hesiodic poet is too vague to explain, but Euripides for once is of use and (*H.F.* 392) gives Amphanaea as Cynus' stronghold. Leake, *N.G.* iv. 371 identifies this with 'the fortress above the cape': it must have held a position something like that of Terracina. (Later writers, ap. Steph. Byz. in voc. mention the place; Scylax 64 marks it on his portulan as south of Pagasae.) This is confirmed by the parallel version in Apollodorus (ii. 7. 7), who says the encounter took place near Iton. Ἴτων, in Homer one of Protesilaus' towns, may well have belonged to Cynus as well as Amphanaea; he will then have held the whole of the Crocius campus in Achaea. So we find him, like a mediaeval baron, barring the coast-road by his port of Amphanaea. Greek antiquity knew of a yet more terrible brigand who kept the road between Corinth and Megara: Cynus was like the Caetani at Capo di Bove, the Odescalchi at Bracciano, and how many other owners of *castellacci*, who blocked the Roman highways, built their stones into fortresses, and took toll of pilgrims to the shrine of the Apostles. Where the road ran across a plain the remedy was simple: the peasant and the pilgrim fetched a compass till the dangerous place was passed; and Nature in time turfed over the abandoned Appia and Anagnina. A sea-road can rarely be turned. The case in Hesiod was complicated: the son-in-law at Amphanaea prevented the old Ceyx at Trachis from receiving his travelling public—as though a young Stockalper at Gondo

skimmed the milk that should have kept its cream for Brieg.

The heroes closed, and the noise of their encounter was heard across the bay and down the coast:

380 πᾶσα δὲ Μυρμιδόνων τε πόλις κλειτή τ'
Ἴαωλκός
Ἄρην τ' ἤδ' Ἑλίκη Ἀνθεία τε ποιήεσσα
φωνῇ ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων μεγάλ' ἴαχον·

and when Cynus was killed and Ares routed, the father-in-law came out and buried Cynus:

472 Κύκνον δ' αὖ Κήρυς θάπτεν καὶ λαὸς ἀπείρων
οἱ δ' ἐγγὺς ναῖον πόλιος κλειτοῦ βασιλῆος
Ἀνθὴν Μυρμιδόνων τε πόλιν κλειτήν τ'
Ἴαωλκόν,
Ἄρην τ' ἤδ' Ἑλίκην.

Where were these places? A limit cannot be put to the penetration of Divine noise, but the people who came to Cynus' funeral must have belonged to that part of the country, 'the neighbours of the town of the mighty prince,' that is of Amphanaea or Iton. The names Arne, Helice, and Anthe are unknown. The story implies they were on or near the road; and as Pagasae and Iolcus have been mentioned, on the road south of Amphanaea, Arne perhaps—though as fluid a name as Argos—may be fixed: Strabo 411 says that Coronea was founded from Arne in Thessaly—of which Phthia was of course part, to him—and the colonists founded a temple τῆς Ἰτωνίας Ἀθηνᾶς, ὁμώνυμον τῷ Θετταλικῷ, καὶ τὸν παραρρέοντα ποταμὸν Κουάριον προσηγόρευσαν ὁμόφωνως τῷ ἐκεῖ. These names, Iton and Cuarius, belong to the Crocius campus, and Arne may have been the port of Iton, if not Iton itself. Even more distinctly he says (435) τῶν Θεττῶν [*sc.* τῶν Φθιωτῶν] δὲ ἐν τῇ μεσογαίᾳ τὸ Κρόκιον πεδίων πρὸς τῷ καταλήγοντι τῆς Ὀθρυος, δι' οὗ ὁ Ἀμφρυσος ρεῖ, τούτου δὲ ὑπέρεται ὁ Ἰτωνός, ὅπου τὸ τῆς Ἰτωνίας ἱερόν, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ, καὶ ὁ Κουάριος ποταμός. εἴρηται δὲ περὶ τούτου καὶ τῆς Ἀρνης ἐν τοῖς Βοιωτιακοῖς. The Scutum may be allowed to confirm Strabo: though without prejudice to the very shadowy Κιέριον—Arne in central Thessaly, where some of the names, or similar ones, recur. With so much established Anthe and Helice can only be further along the road: there are no names resembling them in these regions, except Anthele at the west end of Thermopylae: can Anthe be a variant for Ἀντῶν, and Helice for Halos? Demeter was worshipped

both at Antron and at Anthele. The similar names in Triphylia, καὶ Πετρεὼν καὶ Ἐλος (B 594) are suggestive. Ἀλιεῖς and Ἀλία were also called Ἀλική (Paus. ii. 36. 1, Scylax 50). Place-names are not subject to ordinary laws, and there is no reason why Ἄλος should like Ἀλαί mean *saline*, salt-pans. At all events we are fairly out of the Pagasetic gulf and into the Malian; and as the only mourners unaccounted for are the Μυρμιδόνων πόλις, and as Ceyx king of Trachis was present, it is clear that the ἄστυ Μυρμιδόνων is again Trachis, and the Boeotian poet was faithful to Homeric topography. The claims of Pharsalus were not attended to by the Heliconian school of 700 B.C.

This is my argument; but if a προκάταλψις is necessary, it is easy to indicate the difficulties of the ordinary view. This requires an alteration of the Catalogue to suit later interests. Achilles was once 'suzerain of Thessaly': he possessed I presume Phthia, Achaea, Hellas, and much more. He was a counter-potentate to Agamemnon. Of all this there is no trace in the Catalogue. The Catalogue must be a late composition, to suit historical interests. Whose? We must suppose the actual residents in Thessaly required a heroic past: they revised their Domesday: they altered the Homeric Catalogue, or possibly, invented it. Did they obtain their end? As I have said, very few of the Homeric place-names survive—Tricca, Oloosson, Pherae, Peneus, Boebeis, Iolcus, perhaps a few more. The Homeric divisions of Thessaly do not correspond to any known partition. Larissa and Pharsalus, Crannon and Gomphi, are not even named. If an ancestor of Menon did tamper with the διάκοσμος, or invent a διάκοσμος, to suit his ends, he was singularly ill served. No American in search of an ancestor would fulfil his contract with such an antiquarian. The Catalogue as it stands is hard of interpretation just because its points of contact with history are so few. To regard it as composed or edited by people of historical times is a contradiction in terms. What the historical Greeks did is plain. They followed the universal method in dealing with Homer. Every one claimed him; he could not be altered, public criticism was too wakeful: he must be explained. The Thessalians put their own interpretation upon the Catalogue. As Larissa was not mentioned, Argissa was Larissa; they moved Oechalia about, they fought for Hypereia, they pinned Arne to Cierium. Hellas had passed beyond a reasonable claim, but as Pharsalus was not mentioned,

and Achilles lived in Phthia, and his other towns were either identified or insignificant, Phthia became Pharsalus, and the Pharsalians had their place in the Libro d'oro. *Pari passu* the antiquarians moved the Pelasgic argos to Pelasgiotis.

It is not only history that is recovered; a considerable misapprehension is removed from Homer. The importance of Achilles and Thessaly in the heroic age has been vastly exaggerated during the last fifty years. Critics have brought themselves to believe in Thessalian epos, a Thessalian Argos; and in a subsequent transference of place and interest to Mycenae and Agamemnon. Archaeology has swept away these cobwebs of the professorial brain. The coincidence of the Mycenaean monuments with epic tradition is a chain not to be broken. I should be glad to think I had kicked away the last props of the old view, which appears in full life as late as Causer's usually judicious handbook (1895, p. 153). In Homer there was no Thessaly. That region was in various hands. We hear more of Eumelus' horses than of the chiefs; there are local legends, Lapiths and Chiron, but nothing to suggest a once ruling race, a centre of gravity of Greece. Achilles, with his fifty ships, was an unique warrior, a perfect knight, but his muscles apart, and his mother, of no great political importance. He did not take Troy: the unimportant events to which his quarrel gave rise somewhat retarded its capture; and when he died the end of the war was as far off as ever. His importance is aesthetic. Homer, the dramatist, by selecting the portion of chronicle to which Achilles' quarrel belonged, and treating it with his art, raised Achilles to the place where he stands. Homer made him the hero of romance. Even in the *Iliad* he is a knight with a following, a Bayard, a Duguesclin, not a monarch. He was a Highlander, from Othrys and Oeta; musical, like a Highlander, and, like all Highlanders, once removed from Zeus. The potentate of Mycenae, installed on the isthmus, with his 100 ships, his brother at Sparta, the Arcadians on his transports, was the Emperor for which Thucydides¹ recognised him. The fierce northern knight from Spercheus chafed at Agamemnon's claim to be βασιλεύτερος (I 160), but could not deny it—

Ἄτρεϊδῃ, ἴδμεν γὰρ ὅσον προβέβηκας ἀπάντων
ἦδ' ὅσσον δυνάμει τε καὶ ἡμασιν ἔπλεν ἄριστος.

T. W. ALLEN.

¹ And Odysseus, i 263, λ 168.