ARGOS AND ARGIVES IN THE *ILIAD*

ROBERT DREWS

FOR almost a century, from Heinrich Schliemann's discovery to Michael Ventris', it was the preponderant opinion that the heroes of the Homeric poems were at home in Mycenaean Greece, the palaces of the LH III period. The Linear B tablets, however, have revealed a society fundamentally different from the society the *Iliad* describes, and scholars who disagree on much else are agreed that Mycenaean Greece no longer seems to furnish a credible model for the heroic society. There has been, as a result, a tendency to accept M. I. Finley's thesis that "the world of Odysseus" existed during the Dark Age of Greece—especially the tenth and ninth centuries—and apparently on both sides of the Aegean.[1] That thesis, too, has been undermined, mostly by excavations at Lefkandi, Smyrna, Argos, Fortetsa, and other Dark Age sites. What archaeologists have found there does not square with the "Homeric" picture of the Dark Age which Finley has drawn. The difficulty has been stated forcefully and concisely by A. M. Snodgrass, who finds the world which Homer describes "unimaginable in dark age Greece."[2] Nor, finally, can Homer's own eighth century have supplied much to his picture of heroic society. The world of the Euboean and Corinthian traders which has come to light at Al Mina, Pithecusae, and Eretria may be reflected here and there in the *Odyssey*, but it seems far removed from the world recalled in the *Iliad*.

Since the heroic society has not been found where many had expected to find it, it may be worthwhile to revive an old hypothesis. A century ago William D. Geddes published an argument that the Homeric epics originated in the area which in classical times corresponded to Malis, Achaea Phthiotis, and Thessaly,[3] and which for the sake of convenience I shall call "Thessaly." Geddes' suggestion received vigorous though dubious support in Germany during the 1880s, when August Fick, convinced that the epics had indeed originated in Thessaly, "translated" the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* back into

This article grew out of an underclass seminar at Vanderbilt University in the spring of 1976. Participants in the seminar were Wayne Childers, Yunghi Choe, Mary Quint, Celia Rawlings, and Thomas Surface. For the *Iliad*, I have used the translation of Lang, Leaf, and Myers (London, 1897); for the *Odyssey*, Butcher and Lang (New York, 1906); for Strabo and Pausanias, the Loeb editions of H. L. Jones (London, 1927) and W. H. S. Jones (London and New York, 1918), respectively. Translations from other Greek authors are my own.

1. *The World of Odysseus* (New York, 1954; rev. ed., 1965), pp. 40–43; cf. G. S. Kirk, *The Songs of Homer* (Cambridge, 1962), pp. 126–38. The convenient anthology edited by C. G. Thomas, *Homer's History: Mycenaean or Dark Age?* (New York, 1970), expresses in its title the present range of choices.

2. *The Dark Age of Greece* (Edinburgh, 1971), p. 392; cf. the same scholar's "An Historical Homeric Society?" *JHS* 94 (1974): 114–25.

3. *The Problem of the Homeric Poems* (London, 1878). The theory, in rudimentary form, was first put forward by Giambattista Vico.

0009-837X/79/7402-0002$02.00

the Aeolic dialect of that region.[4] Because of, or despite, such efforts, the Thessalian hypothesis seemed about to prevail. R. C. Jebb stated matter-of-factly his belief that the *Iliad* was descended from a poem written in Thessaly in or after the eleventh century.[5] The fullest exposition of the thesis appeared in Paul Cauer's *Grundfragen der Homerkritik*, published initially in 1895 and in a second edition in 1909.

Even before Geddes' book had been published, however, Schliemann's finds at Mycenae had begun to make headlines in Europe and America. With his subsequent discoveries at Tiryns, and then Sir Arthur Evans' on Crete, there stood revealed "the whole pre-Hellenic Aegean civilization. . . . Herewith was swept away at once the whole fabric of assumptions on which the theories of the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century were based." Those were the words of Walter Leaf,[6] in 1915. Needless to say, Leaf was fascinated with Mycenaean and Minoan Greece and had nothing but scorn for the Thessalian hypothesis. By Martin Nilsson's time there was no longer much doubt that the Peloponnese was the heart of the heroes' world. As for the Thessalian hypothesis, Nilsson noted with satisfaction that "the popularity of this view has vanished to a certain extent."[7] It is time, I think, to revive it.

The advantages of such a hypothesis are considerable. If Thessaly was the home of the heroes, it would be less mysterious that Mt. Olympus was the home of the gods or that Thessaly was, as H. J. Rose pointed out, such "a very ancient and fruitful source of mythology."[8] If southern Greece borrowed its heroic notions from the north, it would be easier to understand why it took its Hellenic name from an otherwise undistinguished people on the Malian gulf. Agamemnon's ad hoc suzerainty over the other Achaean kings could be explained as analogous to the practice of the Thessalian *koinon*, whose otherwise independent barons recognized the hegemony of a *tagos* in wartime.[9] And a Thessalian origin of the Greeks' tradition about the Trojan War would account for the Aeolisms in Homer's Greek.

These and other considerations were as apparent in the nineteenth century as they are today. To the arguments marshalled by Geddes and Cauer, however, must now be added the discovery that, in what might be called "mainstream" Greece (Attica, Boeotia and Euboea; the Isthmus and Peloponnese; and, eventually, Ionia), there is little room for a heroic society during either the LH III or the Submycenaean and Protogeometric periods. This area was characterized during the Mycenaean period by a "rationing" economy and society which were centered in the palaces,[10] with Thebes

4. *"Odyssee"* (Göttingen, 1883); *"Ilias"* (Göttingen, 1886).
5. *Homer: An Introduction to the "Iliad" and the "Odyssey"*[5] (Boston, 1894), p. 168.
6. *Homer and History* (London, 1915), p. 2.
7. *The Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology* (Berkeley, 1932), p. 232.
8. *A Handbook of Greek Mythology* (New York, 1928), p. 256.
9. H. D. Westlake, *Thessaly in the Fourth Century B.C.* (London, 1935), pp. 25–26, described the *koinon* of the Thessalian baronies during the Archaic and Classical periods: "Its main function was in the event of war to elect a national commander and to mobilize a national army. This commander, who was known as a ταγός, was in theory appointed only for the duration of the current crisis."
10. M. I. Finley, *The Ancient Economy* (Berkeley, 1973), p. 28, suggested the adjective.

the northernmost site at which the symbols of that society, Linear B tablets, have been found.

North and west of Boeotia lay the hinterland. The tumulus burials which have recently been excavated in the Haliacmon valley, north of Mt. Olympus, suggest ties to the central Balkans rather than to the more civilized Mediterranean world.[11] For the area south of Olympus, unfortunately, archaeology does not provide much more than an argumentum ex silentio. Vincent Desborough noted that the Spercheus valley "has been singularly unproductive of Mycenaean remains of any sort. . . . If any conclusion on this meagre evidence is legitimate, it is that the region was rather marginal so far as the Mycenaeans were concerned."[12] Archaeologists have had slightly more success in Thessaly proper. Early in this century A. J. B. Wace and M. S. Thompson reported that "Mycenean wares . . . are found in certain quantities in Thessaly, but before North Greece could become civilised, all civilisation for a time was swept away."[13] Although some *tholos* tombs were visible near Dhimini, Sesklo, and Marmariani, and although Mycenaean pottery was found at some sites near the coast, Wace and Thompson concluded that "Mycenean influence never succeeded in permeating Thessaly, which always continued in a backward and barbarous state of civilisation."[14] Since Wace and Thompson wrote, more Mycenaean pottery has been found in Thessaly, and at Iolkos there has been unearthed a building which its excavator, D. R. Theochares, designated as a "palace."[15] Overall, however, the material record of Late Bronze Age Thessaly is not very impressive. To be sure, in contrast with Macedonia to the north, the physical remains in Thessaly are to some extent "Mycenaean." But when one compares Thessaly proper (to say nothing of the Spercheus valley) with southern Greece, the difference is striking. From Gla and Orchomenus southward there are imposing Mycenaean remains, and in Boeotia as well as in the Peloponnese there manifestly were palaces. In all of Thessaly one palace has been reported. Most important, no Linear B tablets have yet been found at Iolkos, and thus there is no evidence that in Thessaly during the LH III period life and society were organized in the Mycenaean fashion. The region as a whole was apparently innocent of literacy, bureaucracy, massive fortifications, and the other blessings of civilization which stamp Mycenaean Greece as an advanced society.

There is also linguistic evidence that Thessaly was not a part of Mycenaean civilization. Abandoning the view that successive "waves" of Greeks hurled themselves into Greece during the second millennium, linguists are now concluding that all the Greeks arrived at once, bringing with them a

11. For a summary of the finds at Vergina, see N. G. L. Hammond, *A History of Macedonia*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1972), pp. 271, 328–36.

12. *The Last Mycenaeans and Their Successors* (Oxford, 1964), pp. 126–27.

13. *Prehistoric Thessaly* (Cambridge, 1912), p. 249.

14. Ibid., p. 255. Although some of the tombs are from the Bronze Age, more seem to date from the beginning of the Iron Age; cf. M. S. F. Hood, "*Tholos* Tombs of the Aegean," *Antiquity* 34 (1960): 166–76.

15. "Iolkos," *Archaeology* 11 (1958): 18. For the pottery, see Desborough, *Last Mycenaeans*, pp. 131–35.

single, uniform "proto-Greek" language; and that, as the Greeks spread out in their new homeland, their language became differentiated into various dialects.[16] In the south, innovations were frequent and led to the formation of "Mycenaean Greek." This dialect, which by historical times had again bifurcated into Arcado-Cypriote and Attic-Ionic, seems to have extended throughout mainstream Greece—from Cnossus and the Peloponnese through Euboea and Attica into Boeotia. The language of the recently published tablets from Thebes, at any rate, is not detectably different from that attested at Pylos, Cnossus, and Mycenae.[17] Those Greeks who were linguistically most conservative—the ancestors of the Dorians and West Greeks—perhaps lived in and beyond the Pindus range. The Aeolic dialect seems to have emerged in the buffer zone between the innovating southerners and the isolated northwesterners.[18] If, by the end of the Bronze Age, the form of Greek spoken in the south had diverged from the form of Greek spoken west and north of Boeotia, then it is logical to assume that there had also been some cultural divergence. More than that, if proto-Aeolic was more conservative than Mycenaean Greek, then one may assume that in proto-Aeolic Greece social change (specifically, Minoanizing and Orientalizing tendencies) had been less in evidence than in mainstream Greece, although neither area could have been so isolated as the land occupied by the ancestors of the Dorians.

It is ironic that our thesis requires a demonstration that Thessaly was less civilized than southern Greece. It was precisely because Thessaly seemed so backward that Leaf and others assumed that heroic society must have been centered in the Peloponnese. Nilsson, for example, believed that Greek mythology and the Homeric epics sprang from the splendid Mycenaean capitals. A place so primitive as Thessaly, "which never . . . was penetrated by either the Mycenaean or the historical Greek culture," could have played no part.[19] I doubt that anyone would use such an argument today. To the contrary, the fact that Thessaly was generally more backward than Mycenaean Greece now speaks in favor of a Thessalian origin for the Greeks' heroic traditions. It is precisely because mainstream Greece, in both the Late Helladic period and the Dark Age, appears too domesticated, too settled, too orderly, that we are obliged to look elsewhere for the heroic society.

It is reasonable, then, to suggest that Troy VII*a* was sacked by warriors from Thessaly. Traces of the fact may adhere to the tradition. Achilles came from the Spercheus valley; and two other Thessalian heroes—Protesilaus and Philoctetes—were also crucial to the story,[20] although

16. For the current consensus on this matter, see R. A. Crossland, "Retrospect and Prospects," in *Bronze Age Migrations in the Aegean: Archaeological and Linguistic Problems in Greek Prehistory*, ed. R. A. Crossland and A. Birchall (Park Ridge, N.J., 1974), p. 343.

17. T. G. Spyropoulos and J. Chadwick, *The Thebes Tablets*, vol. 2 (Salamanca, 1975), p. 85.

18. See J. Chadwick, "The Greek Dialects and Greek Prehistory," *G&R*, n.s. 3 (1956): 48. The conclusions reached by W. Wyatt, Jr., "The Prehistory of the Greek Dialects," *TAPA* 101 (1970): 627–28, seem compatible with this, although Wyatt does away with the conventional nomenclature.

19. *Mycenaean Origin*, p. 237.

20. Cf. Kirk, *Songs of Homer*, p. 155.

neither figures in the action of the *Iliad*. We need not imagine that so modest a place as Troy VII*a* succumbed to a fleet of more than forty or fifty ships. The expedition against Troy was probably not an international venture joined by kings from as far away as Crete and Pylos, but rather a raid, led by three or four of the coastal barons of Thessaly. That the peoples of this region conducted such raids is certain, since by the dawn of the first millennium the Troad and much else in the northeast Aegean had been taken over by speakers of the Aeolic dialect.[21] A legend embedded in the Catalog of Ships credits Achilles with the sacking of two other cities in the Troad, Thebe and Lyrnessus; and for Oileus (father of another Thessalian baron) the cataloger uses the epithet, "sacker of cities."[22] Although we need not list them among the Sea Peoples, it is at least probable that toward the end of the Bronze Age the less civilized Greeks of Thessaly participated in various and sundry raids upon the cities within their horizon.

In attempting to prove the Thessalian hypothesis, Cauer used a variety of arguments,[23] some of which seem still convincing, others farfetched. An argument which is potentially conclusive was stated by Cauer in his chapter, "Achäer, Danäer, Argeer." Briefly stated, the argument is that each of the three names which Homer uses for the heroes who went to Troy—Achaeans, Danaans, Argives—originally applied to peoples in Thessaly.

To Cauer's brief treatment of the Danaans[24] I can add nothing. As for the Achaeans, since 1924 many scholars have identified them with the Ahhiyawa mentioned in Hittite texts.[25] This identification seems capable of neither proof nor disproof, and there is still a lively debate about where the Ahhiyawa lived. The most recent study of the Achaean name concluded, as did Cauer, "che nell'epos in origine il nome di Achei indicasse solo un popolo della Tessaglia, la patria di Achille, e che quindi non sia originario per l'Acaia peloponnesiaca il nome di Acaia, ma solo per l'Acaia Ftiotide."[26] (It is therefore distressing to observe that there is a growing tendency among linguists to refer to the dialect of the LH Peloponnese as "Achaean" rather than "Mycenaean." The admonitions of R. A. Crossland on this point should be heeded.[27])

Cauer's presentation of the names "Argos" and "Argives"[28] needs reinforcement. A fresh look at the old evidence in the light of the new should

21. Like the "Dorian Invasion," the migration of Aeolic Greeks into the northeast Aegean left little or no archaeological imprint; cf. Desborough, *Last Mycenaeans*, p. 255.

22. *Il.* 2. 691, 2. 728.

23. *Grundfragen der Homerkritik*[2] (Leipzig, 1909), pp. 191–237.

24. Ibid., pp. 220–22.

25. For an up-to-date discussion of the problem, see J. D. Muhly, "Hittites and Achaeans: Ahhijawā *redomitus*," *Historia* 23 (1974): 129–39.

26. A. Sacconi, "Gli Achei in età micenea ed in Omero," *Živa Ant.* 19 (1969): 15.

27. "Retrospect and Prospects," p. 341.

28. *Grundfragen*, pp. 223–35. Cauer, in turn, was indebted to the "glänzende Vermutung" arrived at almost simultaneously by G. Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte*, vol. 1[2] (Gotha, 1893), p. 223, and K. J. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, vol. 1 (Strassburg, 1893), p. 157, "dass die homerischen Dichter ursprünglich unter Argos nur das thessalische verstanden haben."

leave little doubt that in the heroic tradition those terms originally had Thessalian rather than Peloponnesian connotations.

In a note on the meaning of "Argos" in Homer, D. L. Page[29] states that "'Αργος may denote (*a*) the town Argos, (*b*) the district Argos, especially as the home of Agamemnon (the epithets πολυδίψιον, ἱππόβατον presumably refer specially to the Argive plain); (*c*) Greece in general, sometimes with special reference to southern Greece (the Peloponnese as a whole), sometimes comprising the country entire, the place from which all the Achaeans came to Troy,—this I take to be a usage derived from the paramount importance of the district governed by the great overlord." Page's set of definitions, and the explanation thereof, was in more rudimentary form first hammered out by Strabo, and has been repeated ever since.[30] A complete listing, as found in G. Autenrieth's dictionary,[31] would include yet another meaning. I suppose that this other meaning was ignored by Page (as it certainly was by Leaf[32]) because it occurs in the Catalog of Ships. But it is for that reason the most important of all for our purposes. Leaf regarded the Catalog as a late and supposititious document. But if, as Page has so forcefully argued and as most other scholars today agree, the Catalog of Ships is a very old poem (composed in either the LH IIIC or, more likely, the Submycenaean period),[33] then the meaning of "Argos" in the Catalog is our best clue to the evolution of the name.

There is, in the Catalog of Ships, a reference to the city of Argos in the Peloponnese, and we shall examine that reference in due course. On the other hand, the cataloger does not seem to have used the names "Argives" and "Argos" in the sense in which they are so familiar in the *Iliad* proper, as equivalents for all the Greek heroes and their homeland. The Argives in this broader sense do appear, it is true, at *Iliad* 2. 725, in the entry on Philoctetes. That hero had been left with his wound on the island of Lemnos; "yet were the Argives soon to bethink them beside their ships of king Philoctetes." But the entry on Philoctetes, like that on Protesilaus, was not composed by the cataloger. Our Catalog of Ships, it is generally agreed, was at one time a survey of the contingents assembled at Aulis; with a few

29. *History and the Homeric "Iliad"* (Berkeley, 1959), p. 164, n. 33.

30. Strabo 8. 6. 5. The set of meanings offered by Cauer, *Grundfragen*, pp. 226–28, is less vulnerable than Leaf's (*Homer and History*, pp. 193–95), but is still very much influenced by Strabo's analysis and presuppositions.

31. *A Homeric Dictionary*[4], trans. R. Keep (New York, 1888), s.v.

32. In his discussion of the meanings of "Argos" in Homer, Leaf (*Homer and History*, p. 193) declared that "the problem of its use is, for our purpose, somewhat simplified when we notice that the much discussed Pelasgian Argos of *Il.* ii. 681 is not a Homeric term, but occurs only in the Catalogue."

33. In the most recent full-length study, R. Hope Simpson and J. F. Lazenby, *The Catalogue of the Ships in Homer's "Iliad"* (Oxford, 1970), pp. 156–67, conclude that the Catalog was composed during the LH IIIC period. Because I believe that the cataloger was profoundly mistaken about both the nature of the Trojan War and the character of Mycenaean society, I prefer to place him in the Submycenaean rather than the LH IIIC period. Unlike the Catalog of Ships, the Catalog of Trojan Allies (*Il.* 2. 816–77) was perhaps a creation of Homer's own time; cf. J. M. Cook, "Two Notes on the Homeric Catalogue," *Studi micenei ed egeoanatolici*, 1967, pp. 103–9. I have presented a supporting argument in "The Earliest Greek Settlements on the Black Sea," *JHS* 96 (1976): 20–22; cf. S. Burstein, "Fragment 53 of Callisthenes and the Text of *Iliad* 2. 850–55," *CP* 71 (1976): 339–41.

minor alterations, this ancient poem was fitted to its present function—a review of all the host besieging Troy in the tenth year of the war. Now, although Philoctetes and Protesilaus were both alive and well at Aulis, by the tenth year of the war the one was dead and the other languishing on Lemnos. Their two entries in the Catalog, therefore, had to be revised in order to fit the new context. All of this has been noted frequently;[34] what is important for our purposes is the corollary that the "Argives" of 2. 725 were not put there by the original cataloger. There is thus no evidence that in the days of the cataloger "Argos" and "Argives" had yet acquired their Panhellenic connotations (nor were the Achaeans at this time anything other than the subjects of Achilles).[35]

We come, then, to the meaning disregarded by Leaf and Page. After listing the contingents from all the rest of the Greek world—from Boeotia through the Dodecanese—the cataloger continues:

> Now all moreover that dwelt in the Pelasgian Argos and inhabited Alos and Alope and Trachis and possessed Phthia and Hellas the home of fair women, and were called Myrmidons and Hellenes and Achaians; of all these, even fifty ships, Achilles was captain.
>
> [*Il.* 2. 681–85]

Such a translation of 681 implies that the Pelasgic Argos was part of Achilles' kingdom, perhaps a town like Alos or Alope, or a district like Hellas or Phthia. Both the translation and the implication are wrong. The Greek text for these lines is as follows:

> *νῦν αὖ τοὺς ὅσσοι τὸ Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος ἔναιον*
> *οἵ τ' Ἄλον οἵ τ' Ἀλόπην οἵ τε Τρηχῖνα νέμοντο*
> *οἵ τ' εἶχον Φθίην ἠδ' Ἑλλάδα καλλιγύναικα*
> *Μυρμιδόνες δὲ καλεῦντο καὶ Ἕλληνες καὶ Ἀχαιοί*
> *τῶν αὖ πεντήκοντα νεῶν ἦν ἀρχὸς Ἀχιλλεύς.*

The translation of Lang, Leaf, and Myers, it will be noted, does nothing at all with the *τοὺς* of 681 and incorrectly renders the *νῦν* of the same line, not as a temporal adverb, but as a colorless conjunction. These are small but deadly errors. Every serious philological analysis of 681 has concluded that the line is not part of the entry on Achilles' kingdom (682–85), but rather a proem which introduces the entire Thessalian section (682–759) with which the Catalog closes. And so the Pelasgic Argos, far from being merely a part of Achilles' kingdom (as it appears, for example, in the maps provided by R. Hope Simpson and J. F. Lazenby[36] or by F. Stubbings[37]), was the cataloger's term for all nine Thessalian baronies which this section contains.

34. See, e.g., V. Burr, ΝΕΩΝ ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ: *Untersuchungen zum homerischen Schiffskatalog*, Klio Beiheft 49 (Berlin, 1944), pp. 129–30, 136; Page, *History and the Homeric "Iliad,"* p. 149; Kirk, *Songs of Homer*, p. 155; Hope Simpson and Lazenby, *Catalogue*, pp. 159–60.

35. See p. 130.

36. *Catalogue*, map 7 (p. 127).

37. *CAH*, vol. 2^2, pt. 2 (Cambridge, 1975), map 9 (p. 344).

On a grammatical problem such as this, our best authorities are the ancient scholars. In explanation of 681, one scholiast remarks that for τοὺς the reader must supply a "tell me" or an "I shall sing" from the first proem (μακρόθεν ὑπακούεται τὸ "ἔσπετε" ἢ τὸ "ἐρέω"). Another scholiast observes that at this line the poet "makes a second beginning of the Catalog; for Thessaly is a large and low plain." A third scholiast found in 681 the artistry τοῦ Ὁμήρου φιλοτέχνως ὥσπερ προοιμιαζουμένου.[38]

Modern editors agree with the scholiasts. D. B. Monro explained the line as marking "a transition to a different part of the map. τούς is used as if ἐρέω or some equivalent word were to follow."[39] Leaf himself admitted as much, but found the line just one more proof that the Catalog was the work of a botcher.[40] For Viktor Burr, the line was the most obvious indication that the Thessalian section of the Catalog (681–759) was originally an independent, self-contained entity: "Dies tritt schon rein äusserlich dadurch in die Augen, dass B 681 mit νῦν αὖ τούς an den Beginn des Prooimion (B 484) erinnert und direkt an ἐρέω (B 493) oder an ἔσπετε (B 484) anknupft."[41] Günther Jachmann saw in 681 the solemnity "eines emphatischen Introitus."[42] Alexander Pope's translation, "Now, Muse, recount Pelasgic Argos' powers," preserves both the solemnity and the meaning of the line.

For a definition of the Pelasgic Argos, the best evidence is the Catalog itself. Ancient commentators on the Catalog gave their opinions, and most of them suggested Thessaly *tout court*. That is certainly possible, since historical Thessaly might have been perceived as a unit (and so might have had a name) before the arrival of the Dorian Thessali. The Pelasgic Argos is mentioned in a very early oracle, but we cannot be sure what Apollo meant by it, or even that he knew what it was:[43]

> Best of all is the land of the Pelasgic Argos,
> The horses of Thessaly, the women of Lacedaemon,
> And the men who drink the waters of fair Arethusa.
> But better still than these, are they who dwell
> 'twixt Tiryns and Arcadia, rich in flocks,
> Argives in linen corslets, goads of war.
> But you, Aegians, are neither third nor fourth
> Nor twelfth, nor in the count nor of account.

Strabo has a great deal to say about the Pelasgic Argos, as about other places mentioned in the Catalog. At 5. 2. 4, in his explanation of "Pelasgic,"

38. This scholiast reports Zenodotus' observation that without the proem of 681 the Thessalian section of the Catalog would be "ill-joined" with what precedes it. For all scholia, see the edition of H. Erbse, *Scholia Graeca in Homeri "Iliadem,"* 4 vols. (Berlin, 1969).

39. *Homer: "Iliad" Books I–XII*[3] (Oxford, 1890), ad loc.

40. *The "Iliad,"* vol. 1[2] (London, 1900), ad loc.

41. *Schiffskatalog*, p. 87.

42. *Der homerische Schiffskatalog und die "Ilias"* (Köln–Opladen, 1958), p. 184.

43. H. W. Parke and D. E. Wormell, *The Delphic Oracle*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1956), 2:1 (no. 1). Parke and Wormell (1:82–83) date the oracle to the early seventh century.

he is precise about the geographical limits:

> Thessaly is called "the Pelasgian Argos" (I mean that part of it which lies between the outlets of the Peneius River and Thermopylae as far as the mountainous country of Pindus) on account of the fact that the Pelasgi extended their rule over these regions.

He discusses the term again at 9. 5. 5:

> Some take the Pelasgian Argos as a Thessalian city once situated in the neighborhood of Larisa but now no longer existent; but others take it, not as a city, but as the plain of the Thessalians, which is referred to by this name because Abas, who brought a colony there from Argos, so named it.

Both the detail of 5. 2. 4 and the lame speculation of 9. 5. 5 show that Strabo and his contemporaries knew nothing about the name other than what could be deduced from the Catalog itself. A careful reading of 681, as we have seen, excludes the possibility that the Pelasgic Argos was a Thessalian city and shows that it must have the definition which Strabo gives it at 5. 2. 4. Originally it may not even have been a proper noun. The article (or demonstrative), *τό*, suggests a common noun.[44] Strabo states that in Thessaly and Macedonia *argos* was the word for "plain," and he is supported by a number of ancient texts. The argument has been fully stated by T. W. Allen, and I shall add only (*contra* Allen) that the plain in question must certainly have been the great Thessalian plain, far and away the largest in Greece.[45] However that may be, by the cataloger's time "the Pelasgic Argos" was no longer a common noun, since for him the term embraced not only the plain, but also the Pelion-Ossa range and the mountainous country of Phthiotic Achaea and Malis.

We may conclude that, when the Catalog of Ships was composed, "the Pelasgic Argos" was a term used for the entire area from the Spercheus river north to the Peneus, and from the sea west to the Pindus range. We may infer, furthermore, that before the composition of the Catalog of Ships there was already in circulation a poem celebrating the contingents which had sailed against Troy from the Pelasgic Argos. This inference is based on the proemic nature of 681 and also on the otherwise inexplicable position of the Thessalian section at the end of the present Catalog.[46] In

44. T. W. Allen, *The Homeric Catalogue of Ships* (Oxford, 1921), p. 108: "The word . . . is a common noun (for we must not invent a city bound only to disappear)."

45. Strabo 8. 6. 9. Allen, *Catalogue*, pp. 108–9, identified the Pelasgic Argos with the Spercheus valley. Allen's discussion of the line entirely omits the grammatical difficulties, and is devoted to a defense (*contra* Leaf) of its antiquity. Hope Simpson and Lazenby, who retain Allen's identification, hardly deal with 681 at all; their comments (*Catalogue*, p. 175, n. 106) ignore both the *νῦν* and the *τούς*.

46. As Hope Simpson and Lazenby, *Catalogue*, p. 175, n. 6, note, "the isolated position of the Thessalian contingents at the end is, in any case, a problem. Allen, *Catalogue*, p. 39, maintained that it reflects the fact that Thessaly was the last area of the Greek world conquered by the Mycenaeans. Jachmann, *Schiffskatalog*, pp. 184 ff., suggested that the cataloger chose to end with the

this early form of the tradition, at least nine chieftains—among them, Achilles, Protesilaus, and Philoctetes—were said to have supplied three hundred ships for the venture. This figure in the present Catalog has puzzled many scholars. Hope Simpson and Lazenby observe that "the numbers from Thessaly seem out of all proportion to the rest," and Page warns that "the figures for Thessalian districts . . . are much too high."[47] The puzzle disappears if one accepts the Thessalian hypothesis: in the earliest stage of the heroic tradition about the sack of Troy, the "Argives" were all Thessalian.

During the period in which the Catalog of Ships was composed (perhaps the Submycenaean period), what had until then been sung by Aeolic bards as an exploit of the Pelasgic Argives became a far grander event. At a time when the geography of Mycenaean Greece was still remembered, but the character of its civilization had been forgotten, the descendants of the southern, Mycenaean Greeks enlisted their own ancestors in the Trojan War. (The borrowing may have taken place in Boeotia, where at the end of the LH III period speakers of the old Mycenaean dialect seem to have been joined by newly arrived immigrants from the Aeolic north.) But the collective name which bards had been using for the warriors and their homeland did not change. Instead, "Argos" became synonymous with the homelands of the Mycenaean as well as of the Aeolic forebears. For the bards of the Dark Age, "Argos" was heroic Greece, and heroic Greece included all those regions from which warriors were now claimed to have gone to Troy.

So it happens that, in the *Iliad* proper, "Argos" and "Argives" no longer have Thessalian connotations. Even the formula, "horse-pasturing Argos," though probably coined for the Thessalian plain,[48] has a new meaning. According to Autenrieth, Ἀργεῖος in Homer means "an inhabitant of Ἄργος; frequently in plural as collective designation of Greeks." The noun, Ἄργος, is defined by the same authority as "in widest sense, the whole of Greece."[49] These definitions are convenient, but they are not entirely accurate. "Argives" was not an eighth-century word for "Greeks"; it did not apply to Homer's contemporaries nor even to all the Greeks of Agamemnon's day (the Dorians, for example). Instead, Homer's Argives were quite simply "the heroes who fought against the Trojans." The Argives (or the Achaeans,

Thessalians because their heroes were much more renowned than those of the Dodecanese. I agree with Burr's description of *Il.* 681–759 (*Schiffskatalog*, pp. 86–87): "Diese Verse bilden einen selbständigen, in sich abgeschlossenen zweiten Hauptteil des Katalogs." Burr (pp. 106–7) also suggested that the lines originally described a mustering of ships at Thessalian Halos.

47. *Catalogue*, p. 161; *History and the Homeric "Iliad,"* p. 152.

48. "Best of all," said the oracle, were "the horses of Thessaly," and that was probably as true for the LH period as it was for the early seventh century. Leaf's identification (*Homer and History*, p. 194) of Peloponnesian Argos as the original "pasture-land of horses" was an *ex cathedra* verdict: "in the pools which fringe the marshy land along the southern shore brood mares can still [!] be seen from the train plashing with their colts through the rank grass; and with this fact falls to pieces a whole tissue of theory which assumes that a 'horse-breeding Argos' must be in Thessaly."

49. *Dictionary*, s.vv.

or the Danaans) and the Trojans are the two parties in the conflict. The dichotomy is clearest where both opponents are mentioned: "Why must the Argives make war on the Trojans?" Or, as Achilles says to Patroclus, "Would that not one of all the Trojans might escape death, nor one of the Argives."[50] Similarly, Argos in the *Iliad* is the land across the Aegean whence these heroes have come, with primarily narrative rather than geographical connotations. If one must supply an equivalent, "the home of the Argives" will be safe, though circular; "heroic Greece" will do (Homer's own Ionia, for example, was obviously not included), although "the heroic Greek mainland" (as opposed to the surrounding islands) may occasionally be required. All the heroes besieging Troy had come from Argos, and all hoped to return to it. At *Iliad* 15. 372 Nestor prays Zeus not to let the Trojans triumph, "if ever one of us in wheat-bearing Argos did burn to thee fat thighs of bull or sheep." And Odysseus promises Achilles at *Iliad* 9. 283 that, "if we win to the richest of lands, even Achaian Argos," Agamemnon will treat Achilles as a favorite son.

Aside from the reference, in the Catalog of Ships, to the Pelasgic Argos, there are 217 instances of the noun, "Argos," and the adjective, "Argive," in the *Iliad*.[51] Of these, 209 (ninety-six percent) carry the common meaning set forth above. As for the eight other passages, the reference in six of them is to the city on the Inachus river, in the northeast Peloponnese; in the other two passages the reference may be either to the city of Argos or to the "home of the Argives." Those are the only meanings which "Argos" and "Argive" have in the *Iliad*.

Other definitions are not only superfluous but wrong. Here belong Autenrieth's (or Leaf's, or Page's) second and third definitions: the kingdom of Agamemnon, and the Peloponnese. The lists presented by Autenrieth and other modern scholars are more elaborate, and therefore more mischievous, than the list in Strabo (8. 6. 5) on which they depend. Although I cannot quote in full Strabo's long discussion, it may be useful to quote from it, so that the quality of Strabo's analysis can be assessed. For it is on that analysis that the conventional views are founded:

> Let me mention in how many ways the term "Argos" is used by the poet. . . . In the first place, the city is called Argos: "Argos and Sparta," "And those who held Argos and Tiryns." And, secondly, the Peloponnesus: "In our home in Argos," for the city of Argos was not his [i.e., Agamemnon's] home. And, thirdly, Greece as a whole; at any rate, he calls all Greeks Argives, just as he calls them Danaans and Achaeans.

The perceptive reader may be unconvinced of the necessity of Strabo's second definition, for, although it is true that Agamemnon did not live in the city of Argos, nothing prevents us from giving to "Argos" in this

50. *Il.* 9. 337–38, 16. 98–99.

51. To the passages listed in the index of the OCT "*Iliad*," s.v. 'Αργεῖος, should be added 12. 37.

passage (*Il.* 1. 30) its usual meaning—"the home of the Argives."[52] Nor are Strabo's supplementary proofs any more convincing:

> To prove that by Argos the poet means the Peloponnesus, we can add the following examples: "Argive Helen," and "There is a city Ephyra in the inmost part of Argos," and "mid-Argos," and "and that over many islands and all Argos he should be lord."

Not many readers, I think, will be persuaded that by "Argive Helen" the poet must have meant "Peloponnesian Helen." As for Strabo's second example, even if Ephyra should be identified with Corinth (as Strabo thought), it could hardly be described as lying μυχῷ Ἄργεος ἱπποβότοιο (*Il.* 6. 152).[53] Whatever "mid-Argos" means, the phrase appears only in the *Odyssey*. Strabo's final proof is no more acceptable than the rest, but in the interest of economy I shall use its demolition to bring down another section of the Argological labyrinth.

Autenrieth, Leaf, and others declare that in the *Iliad* "Argos" may also stand for Agamemnon's own kingdom in the northeast Peloponnese. This misconception, though not fostered by Strabo, was common in antiquity in a slightly different form. The Attic tragedians refer to Agamemnon's capital as either Mycenae or Argos, and in one and the same play Euripides vacillates so often between the two names that he appears to be using them as synonyms. Strabo noted this equivocation and explained it as an understandable result of the fact that the two cities were only fifty stades from each other.[54]

In the *Iliad*, however, Homer did not confuse the two. Agamemnon's city is always Mycenae; and in those few passages where the city of Argos appears, it is sometimes Diomedes' capital, never Agamemnon's. Homer's clarity on this matter is what we would expect from a good storyteller. We would not expect of Homer what Autenrieth, Leaf, and others seem to believe: that Homer occasionally used the name of Diomedes' capital as a metaphorical equivalent for "Agamemnon's kingdom" (as, I suppose, a modern poet might refer to France as "London").

On what texts is such a bizarre thesis based? Here let us return to *Iliad* 2. 108; for, although Strabo opined that in this line "Argos" stands for the Peloponnese, Autenrieth presented it as the definitive example of "Argos" in the sense of "Agamemnon's realm." The context of this passage is the assembly of all the Achaeans, called and addressed by Agamemnon. The assembly was restive and would not cease from noise until Agamemnon

52. *Contra* Strabo, Autenrieth, *Dictionary*, s.v., believed that at *Il.* 1. 30 "Argos" was intended not as the Peloponnese but as the realm of Agamemnon. Autenrieth therefore offers only one passage from the *Iliad* (6. 152; see n. 53) in which "Argos" supposedly means "the Peloponnese." Leaf, *Homer and History*, pp. 194–95, lists seven such passages, but all are from the *Odyssey*.

53. There were four or five Ephyres in Greece (for the evidence, see Leaf, *Homer and History*, pp. 177–79), all of them unfortunately suspect: they tend to be either the "ancient" names of real places or the real names of places whose existence cannot be verified. I believe that the Ephyre of the Bellerophon story was originally either Aetolian or Thessalian Ephyre. Eumelus, who seems to have written his Corinthian epic ca. 700, claimed that Ephyre was the "ancient" name of Corinth (*Corinthiaca* frag. 1 Kinkel). But "Corinth" seems to be one of the oldest place-names in Greece.

54. Strabo 8. 6. 19; cf. Eur. *Or.* 98, 101, *IT* 508, 510.

stood up, bearing the scepter which was wrought by Hephaestus, conferred by Zeus, and held successively by Pelops, Atreus, and Thyestes.

> . . . and Thyestes in his turn left it to Agamemnon to bear, that over many islands and all Argos he should be lord. Thereon he leaned and spoke his saying to the Argives.
>
> [*Il.* 2. 107–9]

I shall not belabor the obvious point that the "Argos" of 108 and the "Argives" of 109 should not be completely unrelated. The whole story of the scepter's descent is told in order to explain why Agamemnon is lord—not over his own realm back at Mycenae, but over all these Argives assembled before Troy. It was the scepter which marked his authority to preside over the assembly (so far as I can find, no other Argive king at Troy had a scepter; when Odysseus wished to admonish the assembly, he had to borrow Agamemnon's).[55] A third piece of evidence that "Argos" in 108 stands for all of heroic Greece is the close parallel with passages in which that meaning is clear. At *Iliad* 1. 79 Calchas fears lest by his speech he might anger Agamemnon, who "ruleth all the Argives with might and whom the Achaians obey." Similarly, at *Iliad* 10. 32–33 a troubled Menelaus goes to wake his brother, who "mightily ruled over all the Argives."

So much for Autenrieth's major example. His second instance of Argos as Agamemnon's own kingdom comes a few lines further on (*Il.* 2. 115), when Agamemnon complains that, although Zeus had promised him that he would not return until he had wasted Troy, "now I see that he planned a cruel wile and biddeth me return to Argos dishonoured, with the loss of many of my folk." The line is repeated at *Iliad* 9. 22, Autenrieth's third instance. Although nothing prevents one from equating "Argos" in these lines with Agamemnon's kingdom (or, for that matter, with Mycenae or even with Clytemnestra's bed), one would not make such an equation except to support a preconception. There is no need to interpret "Argos" here in anything other than its normal sense—"the home of the Argives"—especially since in both instances the poet expressly presents Agamemnon as speaking his doleful words to "the Argives." And where there is no need, *entia non sunt multiplicanda*. The same must be said for *Iliad* 1. 30 (Agamemnon vows that he will not release Chryses' daughter: "Nay, ere that shall old age come on her in our house, in Argos, far from her native land"); for *Iliad* 13. 379 (Idomeneus, having slain Othryoneus, rails at the corpse: "We would give thee the fairest daughter of the son of Atreus, and bring her from Argos, and wed her to thee, if only thou wilt aid us to take the fair-set citadel of Ilios"); and for *Iliad* 4. 171 (after Menelaus is wounded,

55. In the *Iliad* kings have scepters when they are acting as kings (9. 156: Agamemnon will give to Achilles seven cities which he will rule with a scepter; cf. the sceptered king depicted on the shield of Achilles at 18. 557). Among the Argives assembled at Troy there was one scepter—Agamemnon's; see esp. 1. 279, 9. 38, 9. 99. For Odysseus' borrowing of the scepter, see 2. 46 and 2. 186. At 6. 159 we hear that Bellerophon had been driven by Proetus out of "the land of the Argives, whom Zeus had made subject to his sceptre." In other words, in an earlier day Proetus held the same overlordship among the Argive heroes which Agamemnon enjoys in the *Iliad*. For the *tagos* of the Thessalian *koinon*, see n. 9.

Agamemnon reckons with the possibility that his brother will die: "Yea in utter shame should I return to thirsty Argos"). Finally, in Autenrieth's seventh passage (*Il.* 15. 30) Zeus reminds Hera how, after she had driven Heracles off to Cos, "him did I rescue thence, and lead again to Argos, the pasture-land of horses." The "Argos" of this passage may have been intended either as the city of Argos or, since Cos was across the Aegean from heroic Greece, as "the home of the Argives."[56]

In summary, there is no support for the assertions of Strabo and Autenrieth that the poet of the *Iliad* sometimes used "Argos" as an equivalent for the Peloponnese or for Agamemnon's own kingdom. These "intermediate definitions" arose, as mentioned earlier, from the erroneous assumption that the name "Argos" as a synonym for Greece was borrowed from the city on the Inachus River.

That assumption was as widely held in antiquity as it is today. In his description of the city of Argos, Strabo states it as his personal opinion (8. 6. 9): "I think the fame of this city brought it about that the other Greeks were named after it." But it was the common opinion of all Greeks, promoted and exploited, to be sure, by the citizens of Argos. According to the *Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi*, the people of the city of Argos set up a statue of Homer in gratitude for the great honor he had brought to the city. The statue was set up, we are told, following Homer's recital in Argos, whither he had come after similar recitals in Delphi, Athens, and Corinth. For his performance at Argos the poet had sung, from the Catalog of Ships, the entry on Diomedes' kingdom.[57] Although we will dismiss the biographical items as amusing fantasy, we may be sure that long after the time of Homer the city of Argos did show its gratitude to the poet by a permanent memorial. In late antiquity, as the description left by Pausanias shows, the city of Argos was festooned with a bewildering number and variety of mythical memorabilia and relics, and about each monument the guides could tell interesting stories (Pausanias observed that, although the guides themselves did not always believe the stories, they continued to recite them because the citizenry insisted that the stories were true).[58]

Not only in the city in question, but throughout Greece, it was believed that Homer had called the Greeks "Argives" because of the towering prominence of the city of Argos in the Heroic Age. The Attic tragedians seem to have moved Agamemnon from Mycenae to Argos because they thought that in his day Argos was the greater of the two cities. Herodotus, in his playful description of the abduction of Io (2. 2. 2), casually notes that the Phoenician merchants came to Argos, since "in those days Argos stood out over everything in what is now called Greece." Pindar, celebrating the city in his Tenth Nemean, admits that the past glories of Argos are too

56. In the Catalog of Ships two heroes (Antiphus and Pheidippus) are listed as coming from Cos (2. 678), but they do not appear in the rest of the *Iliad*.

57. *Cert. Hom. et Hes.* 325.

58. Paus. 2. 23. 6. Pausanias (2. 16–24) itemizes the forest of monuments which the city of Argos had erected to the many "Argive" heroes. In one extraordinary precinct there were displayed Palamedes' dice (in the Temple of Tyche), the statues of the Seven and of the Epigoni, Danaus' tomb, and the cenotaph of the Argives killed at Troy (2. 20. 4–6).

many and too large for him to rehearse, although he does allude to Perseus and Danaë, Io, Danaus and the Danaids, Adrastus and the Seven against Thebes, Heracles, and Diomedes.

Bronze Age Argos retained its prestige until very recently. Allen spoke admiringly of "the powerful Argive monarchy (its power is shown apparently by the submission of the Theban Heracles to Eurystheus of Mycenae, certainly by the two wars which Argos waged against Thebes, which extirpated the house of Cadmus and left such a lasting impression on the Greek recollection)."[59] N. G. L. Hammond reckons the city as a leading power in the LH period: the Danaan name in the *Iliad*, he suggests, "may derive from the eponymous Danaus, whose dynasty at Argos was founded in the fifteenth century. The term Argeioi may derive from the same dynasty, or from the leadership imposed by Adrastus of Argos in the recent war of the Epigoni against Thebes."[60] Even R. A. Tomlinson, who admits that Bronze Age Argos was overshadowed by its neighbors, nonetheless assumes that "its name is used by Homer as a synonym for Greece" (as evidence, Tomlinson cites *Il.* 2. 108 and Strabo 8. 5. 5).[61]

All of this, I suggest, is fundamentally wrong. Our review will show that Homer's Argives are named for the Pelasgic Argos, not for the city of Argos; and I shall suggest the same for the "Argives" who assaulted Thebes. The limits of this study do not permit a detailed examination of the rest of the image, but I believe that the "Argives" in most of the "Argive" myths probably had Aeolic origins.

Although such depreciation of the city of Argos may appear radical, it is not entirely new. Nilsson did not attach these myths to the Pelasgic Argos, it is true, but he was convinced that they were not the patrimony of the city of Argos: "When Argos became the capital of the province, it tried of course to build up a mythology of its own; we have noticed these efforts, but they cannot deceive anybody."[62]

Nilsson's skepticism about the importance of Bronze Age Argos was awakened by the lack of any material evidence for it.[63] I have argued that the lack of palaces and Cyclopean walls, far from ruling out Thessaly as the home of the heroes, actually commends it to our attention; for we now know that the society characterized by these artifacts was quite unlike Homer's heroic society. Concerning the city of Argos, we have a very different question: was it one of the leading powers of the time? Was it powerful enough, for instance, to have rivaled Mycenae and Tiryns, and to have launched an expedition which destroyed distant Thebes? The Greeks of historical times recalled that Cnossus, Mycenae, Tiryns, Pylos, Thebes, and even Iolkos had once been preeminent, and the traditions have been confirmed by the archaeological record. The traditions about the city of Argos, on the other hand, are not supported by the material remains. This

59. *Catalogue*, pp. 61–62.
60. *A History of Greece to 322 B.C.* (Oxford, 1959), p. 66.
61. *Argos and the Argolid* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1972), p. 1.
62. *Mycenaean Origin*, pp. 67–68.
63. Ibid. p. 38 (survey of the Mycenaean remains at Argos).

was true when Nilsson wrote, and it is still true today, despite two decades of careful work at Argos by French archaeologists.[64] We are, in fact, only now able to state with some precision when Argos did become a significant center: in the late eighth century.

At the beginning of the Archaic period, Argos was one of the major powers in Greece. King Pheidon, whose floruit has been placed anywhere from ca. 725 to ca. 625 B.C., is said to have taken over Olympia, to have "restored the lot of Temenus," and to have imposed a system of weights and measures on the Peloponnese.[65] These traditions, however faulty, do find some support in the archaeological record: by ca. 725 Argos had become a fair-sized town, at any rate, and at least one remarkably wealthy tomb from the Late Geometric period has been found.[66] Argive Geometric pottery reached its acme in the period 725–700, and during that time exerted influence on the potters of Lacedaemon.[67]

Until the late eighth century, however, Argos was neither large nor prosperous. In his recently published history of Argos, Thomas Kelly has shown conclusively that modern reconstructions of an "Argive empire" during the Dark Age are without foundation.[68] A survey of the archaeological and literary evidence brought R. A. Tomlinson to the conclusion that Dark Age Argos was "a village, its population a few hundred at most, its ruler a village chief."[69] Kelly's verdict is even more emphatic: "its inhabitants were simple farmers, and there is nothing to suggest that they enjoyed any influence beyond the fields immediately surrounding their own settlement at the foot of the Larissa."[70] The historical (as opposed to the mythical) traditions about pre-Pheidonian Argos are remarkably unimpressive. Like all primitive societies, the early Argives recalled the beginnings of their community, and so we have a number of stories about the foundation of Dorian Argos (apparently no earlier than the eleventh century).[71] The subsequent period, through the Dark Age and most of the eighth century, left no traditions other than a defective kinglist. This list, Pheidon's pedigree, supplies the names of only five kings between the reigns of the founder (Temenus) and Pheidon.[72] There is, in short, no reason to think that between its foundation and ca. 725 Dorian Argos attracted any atten-

64. The French excavations are chronicled in *BCH*, beginning in 1953 and continuing to the present. For summaries in English, see J. M. Cook and J. Boardman, "Archaeology in Greece 1953," *JHS* 74 (1954): 152–53; M. S. F. Hood, "Archaeology in Greece," *Arch. Reports*, 1955, pp. 9–10; and Desborough, *Last Mycenaeans*, pp. 80–82. Two chamber tombs, dating from the LH I and LH III periods, were discovered near the Larissa in 1970. See the summary by J.-P. Michaud, "Chronique des fouilles en 1970," *BCH* 95 (1971): 867.

65. On Pheidon, see T. Kelly, *A History of Argos to 500 B.C.* (Minneapolis, 1976), pp. 94–129.

66. P. Courbin, "Une tombe géométrique d'Argos," *BCH* 81 (1957): 322–86.

67. See J. Coldstream, rev. of *La céramique géométrique de l'Argolide* by P. Courbin, *JHS* 88 (1968): 235–37.

68. *History of Argos*, pp. 38–46; cf. H. Bengtson, *Griechische Geschichte* (Munich, 1969), p. 84: "nur ein Phantasiegebilde."

69. *Argos and the Argolid*, p. 68.

70. *History of Argos*, p. 36.

71. These traditions are assembled and analyzed by Tomlinson, *Argos and the Argolid*, pp. 58–63, who also discusses the date of the foundation of Dorian Argos (pp. 64–66).

72. Diod. 7. 17 (citing Theopompus). There are nine names from Heracles to Pheidon.

tion even in its own bailiwick in the northeastern Peloponnese, to say nothing of the Greek world as a whole.

No more imposing was pre-Dorian, Bronze Age Argos. On the hill later known as the Aspis there was an LH III settlement with a cemetery on its southern slope, the Deiras ridge; on the more rugged acropolis to the north, in later times called the Larissa, traces of a fortress have been found. This inventory, which is comparable to the LH III remains at nearby Nauplion, Asine, and Berbati, is somewhat inferior to the material at Dendra (ancient Midea) and is dwarfed by the spectacular ruins of Tiryns and Mycenae. The settlement at Argos was in all likelihood nothing more than a satellite of one or both of the two great citadels. Perhaps the most telling measure of the impression made by Mycenaean Argos is the belief that it has not yet been found.[73]

If the *Iliad* was composed ca. 750, and if its contents are for the most part traditional, it is surprising that the village of Argos receives any mention at all. Yet it is mentioned, perhaps as many as eight times. A skeptic will be forgiven for suspecting that none of the passages is traditional, and that some of them are post-Homeric.

It is quite unlikely, for example, that Dark Age bards sang of "Hera of Argos and Alalcomenean Athene" (*Il.* 4. 8, 5. 908). The adjective Ἀργείη here undoubtedly refers to the city of Argos, just as "Alalcomenean" refers to a town in Boeotia. Pausanias tells us that the shrine at Alalcomenae was famous for an "ancient ivory statue" of Athena. If the statue (statuette?) made the cult famous, it must have been one of the earliest ivory sculptures known in Greece, which suggests an eighth century date for the work.[74] We can with some confidence fix the *terminus post quem* for Alalcomenae's prestige: the town does not appear in the Catalog of Ships, despite the fact that the cataloger treated Boeotia in exquisite detail. That is fairly conclusive evidence that in the Submycenaean period the place had no reputation. So far as the Argive Heraeum is concerned, available evidence suggests that Argos took over the site soon after 750; an elaborate terrace was built (dated by the pottery in its fill to ca. 725), and by the end of the eighth century a primitive temple may have been erected.[75] "Argive" Hera and "Alalcomenean" Athena might therefore have been appropriate epithets at the end of the eighth century. They could hardly have been current in Ionian Greece during the Dark Age.

Equally suspect is the reference to the city of Argos at *Iliad* 4. 52. After Zeus has lamented the eventual fate of his beloved Troy, Hera announces,

> Of a surety three cities are there that be dearest to me, Argos and Sparta and wide-wayed Mykene; these lay thou waste whene'er they are found hateful to thy heart.

73. Cf. J.-P. Michaud, "Chronique des fouilles en 1973," *BCH* 98 (1974): 604. For the LH material, see Kelly, *History of Argos*, pp. 10–12.

74. Archaeological evidence suggests that ivory was not imported to Greece between the thirteenth and the ninth centuries; cf. R. D. Barnett, "Early Greek and Oriental Ivories," *JHS* 68 (1948): 1–25.

75. See Tomlinson, *Argos and the Argolid*, pp. 232–35. The great temple of the Archaic period, which burned in 424, seems to have been erected early in the seventh century.

That Dark Age bards could have put the village of Argos in the storied company of Troy and Mycenae is surprising. The inclusion of Sparta in the same company dissolves belief and has made the line "a well-known anachronism":[76] before ca. 750 it is doubtful that an Ionian audience would have known where or what Sparta was. This is the sole mention of Sparta in the *Iliad*, apart from the Catalog of Ships (which may have circulated in Old Greece rather than in Ionia), where Sparta is listed as one of the nine towns of Lacedaemon which supplied ships for Menelaus. Sparta appears frequently in the *Odyssey*, as the home of Menelaus and Helen; but apparently it had not yet been so identified when the *Iliad* was composed (in the earlier epic Menelaus and Helen are tied only to the district of Lacedaemon). *Iliad* 4. 52 may reflect (as does the *Odyssey*) the prestige which Sparta acquired by her remarkable conquests in the middle and late decades of the eighth century.

There are doubtful references to the city of Argos at *Iliad* 15. 30 and 19. 115, both in connection with Heracles. In the Archaic period the city of Argos claimed Heracles, and Homer may also have associated him with that city. Since, however, Heracles is explicitly tied to Thebes at 19. 99, it is also possible that his association with the city of Argos stemmed from a misunderstanding of 15. 30 or 19. 115. At 15. 30 Zeus recalls how he had once fetched the exiled Heracles from Cos "to horse-pasturing Argos." In two passages in the *Odyssey* and in a fragment from the Hesiodic corpus, "horse-pasturing Argos" stands for the city of Argos,[77] but nowhere else in the *Iliad* does it have that meaning. Perhaps, therefore, the Argos of 15. 30 should have its normal equivalent, "the home of the Argives": Cos lay across the water from heroic Greece, and in restoring Heracles "to horse-pasturing Argos" Zeus brought him from the wrong side to the proper side of the Aegean. In the second doubtful reference (19. 115), Agamemnon tells the story of the births of Eurystheus and Heracles. In order to speed the former, Hera left the peak of Mt. Olympus,

> καρπαλίμως δ' ἵκετ' Ἄργος Ἀχαικόν, ἔνθ' ἄρα ἤδη
> ἰφθίμην ἄλοχον Σθενέλου Περσηιάδαο.

The purpose of Hera's journey was to ensure that Eurystheus rather than Heracles would "be lord among Argives." Since Heracles has already been identified in the story as a Theban, the Argos of which the one or the other would one day be lord cannot be the city of Argos, but must be all of heroic Greece (just as Agamemnon himself, at a later time, would be "lord of all Argos"). The Achaean Argos of 19. 115, like the Achaean Argos of *Iliad* 9. 283, might therefore be "the home of the Argives." But it is also possible,

76. G. P. Shipp, *Studies in the Language of Homer*[2] (Cambridge, 1972), p. 242; Shipp believes that the general context of 4. 52 is linguistically "late."

77. *Od.* 15. 224, 15. 274: Melampus had once fled from Pylos to Argos *hippoboton*, and now his descendant, Theoclymenus, returns from Argos *hippoboton* to Pylos. In the Catalog of Women (Hes. frag. 25. 36 Merkelbach and West) we are told that Hypermestre, after entering the rich bed of Oecles Ἄ[ρ]γει ἐν ἱπποβότῳ, gave birth to Amphiaraus. Since Argos as "the home of the Argives" would be pointless here, it must refer to the city of Argos.

as Page has eloquently argued,[78] that Agamemnon's entire speech of reconciliation is a late creation; if it is, "Achaean Argos" at 9. 283 and at 19. 115 may have different meanings. In any case, one would be ill-advised to argue from 19. 115 that the city of Argos was celebrated during the Dark Age.

Finally, three certain references to the city of Argos identify it as the home of Diomedes. At *Iliad* 14. 119–20 Diomedes explains to Agamemnon that his ancestors' home had been at Aetolian Pleuron, "but my father dwelt at Argos, whither he had wandered, for so Zeus and the other gods willed that it should be." Diomedes is again tied to the city of Argos at *Iliad* 23. 471. With the chariot race in full swing at the funeral games for Patroclus, the spectators ask Idomeneus (who had the best vantage point) to tell them who is in the lead. Idomeneus answers that the front runner is Αἰτωλὸς γενεήν, μετὰ δ' Ἀργείοισιν ἀνάσσει. A number of ancient and modern critics have athetized these passages for various improprieties. Their substantial arguments, available in commentaries, need not be repeated here. It may be pointed out, however, that the transfer of Tydeus to the city of Argos at 14. 119–20 is difficult to square not only with the first two words of 23. 471 (which suggest that Tydeus begat Diomedes in Aetolia) but also with *Iliad* 4. 99, where Agamemnon refers to "Aetolian Tydeus" and does so in a story which makes sense only if it is understood that Tydeus lived all his life in Aetolia:

> Never did I meet him nor behold him, but men say that he was pre-eminent amid all. Of a truth he came to Mykenai, not in enmity, but as a guest with godlike Polyneikes, to raise him an army for the war that they were levying against the holy walls of Thebes.

If Tydeus is understood as living in the city of Argos, a few miles down the plain from Mycenae, it is incomprehensible that Agamemnon should never have seen him, and that apparently only once (and then as a *xeinos*) did Tydeus ever visit Mycenae (it was because Mycenae and the city of Argos were so close together, Strabo said, that they were confused by the tragedians!).

The *locus classicus* for Diomedes' identification with the city of Argos is *Iliad* 2. 559–68, from the Catalog of Ships:

> And they that possessed Argos and Tiryns of the great walls, Hermione and Asine that enfold the deep gulf, Troizen and Eionae and Epidauros full of vines, and the youths of the Achaians that possessed Aigina and Mases, these were led of Diomedes of the loud war-cry and Sthenelos, dear son of famous Kapaneus. And the third with them came Euryalos, a godlike warrior, the son of king Mekisteus son of Talaos. But Diomedes of the loud war-cry was lord over all. And with them eighty black ships followed.

Let us investigate the possibility that, unlike the rest of the Catalog of Ships, this entry was composed long after the Submycenaean period.

78. *History and the Homeric "Iliad,"* pp. 313–15.

In other entries in the Catalog a high proportion of places were important in the Mycenaean period, but insignificant or even forgotten in historical times.[79] In contrast, eight of the nine towns which are listed in our entry were known in Strabo's time; most of these were more significant in the first millennium than in the second. On the other hand, one very important LH site—Midea—does not appear in our entry, nor do more modest places such as Prosymna and Berbati. Instead, we find Aegina, Troezen, and Epidaurus.[80] Equally remarkable is the magnitude of the kingdom delineated by these towns. What was later called the Argolid—the plain and the headland—is almost entirely contained within the kingdom: this restricts Agamemnon of Mycenae to a curiously gerrymandered state which controlled some undesirable land but none of the rich plain ostensibly guarded by the citadel of Mycenae. The anomaly was seized upon by scholars who denied the cataloger's familiarity with the political geography of the Bronze Age. Leaf, for example, delivered a magnificent tirade on the matter and concluded (unnecessarily) that the entire Catalog was a "curious product of a post-Achaian time."[81] The political argument, however, cannot by itself show 2. 559–68 to be a late concoction. For one can insist, as Page has done,[82] that the mere presence of two citadels—Mycenae and Tiryns—proves that the Argive plain was split into two kingdoms at the end of the Bronze Age. I do not find Page's argument convincing. (Midea was also heavily fortified, and traces of Mycenaean walls have been found, as noted earlier, on the "Larissa" at the city of Argos. Page's argument ought therefore to posit at least four kingdoms for the plain. The various citadels were more likely complementary, guarding the plain against marauders from land or sea.[83]) But the matter will probably remain undecided unless a new cache of Linear B tablets provides an answer.

A more incriminating clue was dropped in line 562, where we read of "the youths of the Achaians that possessed Aigina and Mases." By the eighth century all of the heroes who went to Troy were called "Achaeans," but when the Catalog of Ships was composed the Achaeans were still a specific people in Achilles' realm. In the narrative section of Book 2 (1–494) there are forty-seven references to "Achaeans" in the usual sense of "the heroes opposing Troy." The entire Catalog of Ships has only five references to Achaeans, and all five can be accounted for. The Achaeans of 684 are Achilles' followers. Those of 702 and 722 are, it is true, "Achaeans" in the wide sense, but they appear in the passages which explain the absence of Protesilaus and Philoctetes, passages which by common consent were

79. Page, ibid., pp. 120–22, notes that, of the 164 places named in the Catalog of Ships, "some forty names were known from only one source, the Catalogue."

80. Hope Simpson and Lazenby, *Catalogue*, p. 171, n. 8, regard the omission of Dendra/Midea as the most puzzling omission in the Catalog, There is at present no evidence for LH III occupation of Troezen and Epidaurus (ibid., pp. 62–63).

81. *Homer and History*, pp. 241–42.

82. *History and the Homeric "Iliad,"* pp. 129–31.

83. Leaf, *Homer and History*, pp. 208–9. Hope Simpson and Lazenby, *Catalogue*, p. 71, find it "hardly conceivable" that LH IIIB Mycenae could have been cut off from the Argive plain by independent fortresses at Tiryns and Argos, but think that this might have happened in the LH IIIC period. They assume, in any case, that the fortresses were built by the kings of Mycenae.

composed when the original Catalog of Ships assembled at Aulis was converted to its present function as a "march-past of the host" in the tenth year of the war.[84] In 530, which states that Locrian Ajax excels "all the Hellenes and Achaians," the Achaeans may or may not be the Locrians' western neighbors. Since they are paired with the "Panhellenes," however, they can be explained in only two ways: either both terms are Submycenaean and have a specific rather than a general meaning, or the terms refer to all the Greek heroes and date from the late Geometric period, when the people of Old Greece began to refer to themselves as "Hellenes."[85] Thus, the Submycenaean cataloger does not seem to have used "Achaeans" as an equivalent for "the heroes who fought against Troy." Such a use of the term in 562 seriously compromises the Argolid entry.

A fourth piece of evidence for the entry's late date does not appear in our texts at all. In some ancient texts of the *Iliad*, however, the entry closed with the lines (2. 568*a–b*),

> And in them men skilled in war were ranged in rows,
> Argives in linen corslets, goads of war.[86]

This last line is identical to a line in the oracle which the Aegians received at Delphi during the Archaic period.[87] Since ancient scholars knew that Apollo did not quote Homer, they presumably concluded that 568*a–b* could not possibly be so early as Homer, and accordingly excised them from the Catalog. By so doing, of course, they enhanced the respectability of what remained.

One additional consideration supports the view that the Catalog of Ships did not contain 2. 559–68 during the Dark Age, and this argument will serve as a bridge to another topic. The contingent was led, we are told, by Diomedes, Sthenelus, and Euryalus. Of these, Diomedes is said to have been lord over all; but Euryalus, the son of *anax* Mecisteus, was also of royal stock. The implication is that all three were kings at the city of Argos.[88] The mind boggles at the thought of three monarchical lines coexisting in the city of Argos. Even Pausanias found the situation remarkable: "The Argives are the only Greeks I know who were divided into three kingdoms."[89] On the other hand, we know very well that a number of kings ruled their independent kingdoms concurrently in the vast expanse of that other Argos, the Pelasgic Argos of the Aeolic north.

Throughout the *Iliad*, Diomedes, Sthenelus, and Euryalus are found together. Sthenelus is Diomedes' charioteer and close companion; Euryalus, too, always fights alongside Diomedes; and in the boxing match in Book 23

84. See n. 34.

85. In both the Catalog of Ships and the rest of the *Iliad*, Hellas is a small district on the Malian Gulf. In addition to 2. 683, see 9. 395, 9. 447, 9. 478, 16. 595; cf. Thuc. 1. 3. 2. For the later meaning, see Hes. *Erga* 653, and Hes. frag. 9 M.–W.

86. This is the text as given in *Cert. Hom. et Hes.* 325.

87. See n. 43.

88. For Sthenelus' kingship in Argos, see Paus. 2. 18. 5.

89. Paus. 2. 18. 4.

Diomedes acts as Euryalus' second.[90] The three are associated with each other in the *Iliad* because they were already familiar as comrades from another story. They were among the Epigoni against Thebes, and their fathers had been among the Seven.[91] At *Iliad* 4. 403–10 Sthenelus insists that Diomedes and he were superior to their fathers, Tydeus and glorious Capaneus, since the fathers had failed to take Thebes, whereas the sons had succeeded. At *Iliad* 23. 678 we are told that Mecisteus had vanquished all the sons of Oedipus. Thus, both the fathers and the sons were prominent among the champions of the Argives against the city of Thebes.

Which Argives? Can anyone who has considered the evidence believe that in the Late Bronze Age Thebes was destroyed (and it *was* destroyed) by an army dispatched from the city of Argos?[92] For that matter, can anyone explain why the village on the Aspis would have launched an expedition against faraway Thebes? Even under Pheidon, when it was at its height, the city of Argos is not known to have meddled in central Greece. To save the classical story, scholars have substituted Mycenae for the city of Argos;[93] but that will not do, for it contradicts the very best evidence we have: Agamemnon says very clearly (*Il.* 4. 381) that, when Aetolian Tydeus came to ask Mycenae's help against Thebes, Mycenae gave none. I do not wish to embark on a full-scale analysis of the legend of the Seven against Thebes; I will merely suggest that the legend could have a historical basis only if the "Argives" who assaulted Thebes (and whose sons took it) are identified as a coalition of Aeolic outlanders, rather than as an expedition from the city of Argos. Such an identification not only makes historical sense—marauders from Aetolia and Thessaly attempting, eventually with success, to sack a rich and attractive outpost of the civilized world—but also fits the oldest evidence that we have: *Iliad* 4. 370–99 and 6. 223, where Diomedes recalls Tydeus' departure "what time the Achaian host perished at Thebes." This phrase seems to reflect a tradition in which the "Achaeans" were still a specific people within Greece. Finally, Hesiod (*Erga* 161–63) says that the Race of Heroes perished at Troy and Thebes, the latter of which they had attacked "for the flocks of Oedipus." The words describe a marauders' raid, not a mission to restore Polynices.

90. Sthenelus and Diomedes: *Il.* 4. 364–67, 4. 403, 5. 107 ff., 5. 241, 5. 318, 5. 835, 9. 48, 23. 411; Euryalus and Diomedes: *Il.* 6. 20, 23. 677.

91. The evidence is presented under the individual entries in W. H. Roscher (ed.), *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, 6 vols. (Leipzig, 1884–1937).

92. That is what we hear from the author of the *Thebais* in the Archaic period and from all subsequent writers. (Aeschylus' *Septem* may preserve an echo of an older tradition. Although Aeschylus thought that the Argives came from the city of Argos, his "Argives" are synonymous with his "Achaeans.") On the destruction of Thebes, see Stubbings, *CAH*, vol. 2^2, pt. 2 (Cambridge, 1975), pp. 166–69, who dates the destruction to the LH IIIB period and attributes it to the rulers of Mycenae (an attribution contradicted by our best evidence and supported by none). Recent discoveries suggest a late date: "the destruction of the 'first palace' has now been dated to c. 1300 B.C. by the burnt floors with early LH IIIB pottery. In the 'second palace' (on a different alignment), the burnt layer where the cylinders and jewellery were found contained *developed* LH IIIB pottery" (Hope Simpson and Lazenby, *Catalogue*, p. 36, n. 47). Thebes and Troy may have fallen in the same generation.

93. M. S. F. Hood, *The Home of the Heroes* (London, 1967), p. 115, thinks that the legends of the Seven and the Epigoni "retain a memory of the overthrow of a rival power at Thebes by the rulers of Mycenae." See n. 92 for Stubbings' view.

Omitting the rest of the legend, we note only the Aeolic heritage of the three "Argives" who are presented at 2. 559–68*b* as hailing from the city of Argos. That Diomedes was of Aetolian birth we have already seen (in the LH III period Aetolia was apparently part of proto-Aeolic Greece).[94] According to a fragment in the Hesiodic corpus, Euryalus was one of the suitors of Hippodamia,[95] and in Apollodorus' *Bibliotheca* he is one of the Argonauts as well as one of the Epigoni.[96] Sthenelus' father, Capaneus (whose glorious exploits ended only when he was slain by a thunderbolt at the gates of Thebes), bears a name which seems to be derived from καπάνα, the Thessalian word for "chariot."[97]

Just as Aeolic bards sang of the destruction of Troy by nine barons of the Pelasgic Argos, so, I would suggest, did they sing of an earlier siege and eventual sacking of Thebes by seven "Argive" barons and their sons. When the Pelasgic Argos had been forgotten, it was inevitable that the city of Argos should be credited with the expeditions against Thebes. When Greeks of the eighth century heard the dichotomy "Argives and Trojans," they understood that the "Argives" were heroic Greeks and that the Trojans were barbarians. The dichotomy "Argives and Thebans" required a different interpretation: since both parties were obviously Greek, the "Argives" here had to be more narrowly defined. In this way, I believe, the "Argive" kings—among them, Diomedes, Sthenelus, and Euryalus—came to be associated with the city of Argos.

The indulgent reader has, I hope, found some plausibility in this analysis of "Argos" and "Argives" in the *Iliad*, and may even agree that my reconstruction makes the best sense out of our varied and puzzling evidence. Assent, however, will probably be withheld unless another question can be answered: how did the city of Argos manage to perpetrate such a monumental fraud, such an outrageous distortion of Greek prehistory?

For an explanation, conspiracy need not be invoked when ignorance will suffice. The career of "Argos" and "Argives" in post-Homeric poetry is entirely reasonable, almost predictable. By the end of the eighth century, the city of Argos had become a city in fact, and was one of a handful of contemporary states in Old Greece which had attained some visibility in Ionia. In the world known to the poet of the *Odyssey*, there was one place in Old Greece named Argos, and that was the aggressive city not far from the ruins of Mycenae. The poet of the *Odyssey* seems to have drawn a conclusion which has been accepted ever since—Homer's "Argives" were named for the city of Argos. At any rate, we find in the *Odyssey* some of the same confusion about the name which we find in ancient and modern commentators. By "Argos" the poet of the *Odyssey* can mean either the

94. V. I. Georgiev, "The Arrival of the Greeks in Greece: The Linguistic Evidence," in *Bronze Age Migrations*, p. 252.

95. Hes. frag. 259*a* M.–W.

96. *Bibliotheca* 1. 9. 16, 3. 7. 2.

97. On καπάνα, see Athen. 10. 418D (quoting Aristophanes); cf. the entry "Kapaneus" by H. W. Stoll in Roscher, *Lexikon*, 2:951.

city of Argos or all of Old Greece, or some intermediate entity such as the Peloponnese.[98]

Although Argos and Argives do not appear in either the *Theogony* or the *Works and Days*, they can be found in the fragments of the catalog poetry, apparently composed in the seventh or sixth century, which went under Hesiod's name. In these fragments we see the city of Argos becoming the home of many heroes. Acrisius, grandfather of Perseus, "reigned in well-built Argos." The sons of Amphiaraus, one of the Seven, came "from nearby Argos" to enlist themselves as Helen's suitors. And a Danaus has been created: "Danaus made un-watered Argos well-watered."[99]

This fragment invites a closing argument. At *Iliad* 4. 171 Agamemnon says that, if Menelaus should die, "in utter shame should I return to thirsty (πολυδίψιον) Argos." The adjective was apt enough for the "home of the Argives," since Old Greece as a whole was "thirsty" in comparison with the wide and green river valleys of Ionia. Problems arose, however, when the "Argos" of 4. 171 began to be equated with the city of Argos: the latter community did not regard itself as deficient in water. Strabo found the epithet incomprehensible, "since the country lies in a hollow, and is traversed by rivers, and contains marshes and lakes, and since the city is well supplied with waters of many wells whose water-level reaches the surface."[100] The epithet had, however, been boldly appropriated. In the opening line of a *Thebais* an Archaic poet prayed unimaginatively, Ἄργος ἄειδε, θεά, πολυδίψιον ἔνθεν ἄνακτες.[101] The Argos about to be celebrated was surely the city of Argos.

Strabo noted that there were various expedients for reconciling Argos' epithet with her water. Several he dismissed as too labored, but one was convincing:[102]

> Now writers agree that the country has plenty of water, and that although the city itself lies in a waterless district, it has an abundance of wells. These wells they ascribe to the daughters of Danaüs, believing that they discovered them; and hence the utterance of this verse, "The daughters of Danaüs rendered Argos, which was waterless, Argos the well watered"; but they add that four of the wells not only were designated as sacred but are especially revered, thus introducing the false notion that there is a lack of water where there is an abundance of it.

To which one can only reply, with the Duke of Wellington, "If you can believe that, sir, you can believe anything."

Thus was Peloponnesian Argos, not always without difficulty, attached to many of the legends which had arisen in Pelasgic Argos. Some stories—

98. City of Argos: *Od.* 3. 180, 15. 224–74, 21. 108. Peloponnese (?): *Od.* 4. 174 and possibly the phrase, "from Hellas to mid-Argos" (*Od.* 1. 344, 4. 726, 4. 816, 15. 80; for the poet of the *Odyssey*, Argos and Hellas together seem to have included all of Old Greece). Realm of Agamemnon (?): *Od.* 3. 309.

99. Hes. frags. 129. 10, 197. 7, 128 M.–W.

100. Strabo 8. 6. 7.

101. *Thebais* frag. 1 Kinkel.

102. Strabo 8. 6. 8.

such as the Argonauts' voyage from Iolkos—retained a northern setting, perhaps because they were tied to Thessaly by an unambiguous place name. Other "Argive" legends, however, must have slipped their moorings and have been floating free by the end of the Dark Age. The city of Argos emerged in the eighth century to provide the reef on which they lodged.

Vanderbilt University