THE DORIAN MIGRATION AND CORINTHIAN RITUAL

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I. THE PROBLEM OF THE DORIAN MIGRATION

"We may consider the Dorian invasion as one of the few indubitably certain facts of earlier Greek history." So wrote Eduard Meyer,[1] and many historians, probably a huge majority in the present generation, would agree with him. The opposite point of view is so seldom heard nowadays that it may be worth restating briefly. The distribution of the Greek dialects in historical times, and the relatively near affinity among them, suggest that the Late Bronze Age already saw West Greek speakers in the Peloponnesus and elsewhere in the Mycenaean world; and it seems likely, too, that the social organization peculiar to Doric speakers developed within Mycenaean Greece and was carried abroad during the constant intercourse of the Mycenaean period, especially from the Argolid to Rhodes, since ties between these two very close congeners are lacking in the Geometric period. The first inference is not belied by the conformation of Greece in Homer, whose "Achaeans" presumably include the forebears of the later "Achaeans" of Thessaly, the Peloponnesus, and Italy, all West Greek speakers; the second is confirmed by Homer's two notices of the Dorian tribes as existing in Rhodes and Crete before the Trojan War and as reaching Rhodes from the Argolid. To place any other construction upon the evidence is much less feasible than to dismiss out of hand the lore of ancient poets and historians about the posterity of Dorus and of Heracles.

It was a position similar to this which K. J. Beloch urged with more pungency than suasion over many years.[2] It would not be easy to maintain that subsequent research, above all the intensive archaeological exploration and analysis of recent years, has proved him wrong. In one respect it might even be held to vindicate his method and results. After discarding the conventional view, Beloch offered several conjectures in its place, the most important of them concerning the spread of the dialects overseas: because Greek settlers must have come to Rhodes before Cyprus, and because the original settlers of both islands are likely to have brought the dialects which we find in the historical period, Rhodes "may have already received its Doric population from the Argolid in the thirteenth century, while Cyprus would have been colonized by the pre-Doric population of Laconia

1. *Geschichte des Altertums*, vol. 2 (Stuttgart, 1893), p. 73. The declaration, provoked by Beloch's skepticism, was not repeated in the revised edition (cf. *Gesch. d. Alt.*, vol. 2.1² [Stuttgart, 1928], pp. 569–73), doubtless because the thing seemed too obvious to need saying.

2. Most fully at *Griechische Geschichte*, vol. 1.2² (Strassburg, 1913), pp. 76–96. For a compendium of Beloch's and kindred pronouncements, see A. Gitti, *Mythos: La tradizione pre-storiografica della Grecia* (Bari, 1949), p. 35, n. 2.

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in the twelfth century."[3] In 1913 this was indeed pure conjecture, for few Mycenaean traces had then been recognized on Rhodes and Cyprus. Today the pattern of Mycenaean settlement overseas is known at least in outline, and its most striking features are, first, the pervasive Mycenaean culture of Rhodes during LH IIIA and IIIB, which is indistinguishable in origin from the Mycenaean culture of the Argolid, and, second, the massive influx of Mycenaeans into Cyprus at the beginning of LH IIIC, which will not be unconnected with the massive exodus of Mycenaeans from Laconia and Messenia at the same moment. I cannot think of another instance in Greek prehistory where the archaeological evidence so exactly fits a large hypothesis put forward on quite independent grounds.

By contrast, the doctrine of the Dorian invasion makes a very poor showing. Whereas in Beloch's day there were hardly any doubts about bringing the Dorians south from Thessaly at the end of the Mycenaean period, we are now confronted with the most diverse views of the migration, some no less remote from the literary tradition than complete disbelief; and, despite many confident and elaborate reconstructions, no agreement exists about any aspect whatever—about the date and duration, or the starting point and routes and stages, or even the general direction.[4] The reason, of course, is that archaeology can show no convincing evidence of migrating Dorians, although scholars have been prepared to look as far afield as Bronze Age Danubia and Iron Age Albania. The Dorian host who in Pindar's words "came rushing from Pindus" (*Pyth.* 1. 66) have proved to be, so far as the archaeological record is concerned, the stealthiest infiltrators ever to transform the social and linguistic makeup of a nation.

Thus the sole evidence for the Dorian migration is still the ancient myth or legend that the Dorians, led by the posterity of Heracles and chiefly of his son Hyllus, left their home in Thessaly or thereabouts to attack and conquer the Peloponnesus. Before we can be confident that the Dorian migration is illusory, we must understand how this tradition arose. No sufficient explanation has yet been proposed.[5] It is very well to say that the story as we have it is clearly partisan, designed in the first instance to legitimate the dynasties of Archaic Corinth, Argos, and Sparta, and in the next to sanctify the Dorian order in the Peloponnesus after this came into competition with other loyalties; and also that the need and the scope to improvise existed from the start because Homer and the older cycles of myth failed to provide any likely ancestors or to mention the ethnic name "Dorian." This much has been conceded in the past by some who believe

3. *Gr. Gesch.*, 1.2^2:96.

4. The theory that Doric speakers first inhabited the Dodecanese and Crete and thereafter sailed to the Peloponnesus and Thessaly saves a few of the phenomena, but may be fairly described as a ***reductio ad absurdum*** of the literary tradition.

5. Beloch's treatment of myth or what he took to be such is always unconvincing, and never more so than in the instance to be considered below: the name of Corinth's founder, Aletes or "Wanderer," bespeaks a "light-god" identical with Bellerophon, a wanderer in the plain of Lycia, "the land of light," and equivalent to such other light-gods as Odysseus, Theseus, Zaleucus, and Charondas (*Gr. Gesch.*, 1.2^2:256–58). Sallies like this have done as much as anything to obscure the merits of his case.

in the substantial authenticity of the tradition.[6] The various elements of the Heraclid genealogies—the names, the affiliations, the intervals of time—might be discounted; the Heraclid connection with the Dorians might be simply ascribed to the example of Tlepolemus, whose followers at *Iliad* 2. 654–55 and 668–70 are Dorians in fact if not in name, and perhaps also to a purely fortuitous similarity between the names "Hyllus" and "Hylleis," the son of Heracles and the Dorian tribe (the analyses of the mythographic tradition currently in the field are not convincing in detail, but the accession of many important papyrus fragments of the Hesiodic *Catalog* offers better hope for the future). Yet even if all this could be taken as proved, it would not touch the heart of the problem.

What needs to be accounted for is the theme of migration and conquest, of a people advancing from obscurity to the center of power, of leaders at first repulsed and then triumphant. The Dorian migration and the return of the Heracleidae do indeed explain why the historical seats and dynasties of the Peloponnesus differed, actually or apparently, from the Homeric; but the migration and the return are not themselves suggested by anything in Homer. Homer gives no reason that the Heracleidae should be obliged to make their way back to the Peloponnesus against continual stiff resistance; on the contrary, not only Tlepolemus but "the rest of the sons and grandsons of Heracles" were settled in the Argolid before the Trojan War (*Il.* 2. 665–66), a circumstance which always embarrassed the tradition of the return. Homer was familiar with many details of the Heraclean cycle, as repeated allusions testify, and this compendious reference to the posterity of Heracles is not likely to be untrue to the outlook of the cycle. In any case there is little or nothing in the Heraclean cycle as otherwise known to us to justify the total displacement of the Heracleidae; the rancor of Eurystheus, the charity of Aegimius or Ceyx, are incidental or secondary motifs. As for the Dorians, if Homer says nothing of such people in the Peloponnesus, he also provides no warrant for placing them anywhere else in the Greek world. Once given the theme of migration, it is not so surprising to find the Dorians in Phthia as the near posterity of Deucalion, or in the wild uplands of Pindus as the subjects of the pastoral king Aegimius, or in Doris as the forebears of their historical namesakes, or in still other stations. It is the theme which remains puzzling: the notion of a whole people migrating from one land to another is quite foreign to early epic poetry, which speaks rather of errant scions ousted by blood feuds or by other personal imbroglios.

If this is a fair statement of the problem, we must look for something which suggested the themes of migration, conquest, and renewal of leadership, and also associated these themes with the Dorian people. The answer which I propose is ritual. It seems to me that many rites in early Greece, as elsewhere in the Mediterranean and the Near East, had to do with these themes, or rather with various piacular, restorative, and prognostic

6. See E. N. Tigerstedt, *The Legend of Sparta in Classical Antiquity*, vol. 1 (Lund, 1965), pp. 35–36, 329–31.

measures on behalf of the community which have left a mythical imprint in these and related themes. To argue this thesis on a broad front would require a book, and so the present installment will be confined to a part of the story of the Dorian migration which is both typical of the whole and separable from the rest, namely, the story of the Dorian settlement of Corinth under Hippotes and Aletes. The Corinthian story can be profitably studied by itself. It has always been obvious that this story is largely independent of the comprehensive story of Dorian foundations in the Peloponnesus,[7] whatever conclusion may be drawn from the independence (fundamentalists would say that Corinth was settled independently of the other places).[8] In the next section we shall see how few and frail are the points of attachment between the Corinthian and the comprehensive stories; the burden of the remaining sections (III–V) will then be to show that the Corinthian story is itself an amalgam of the *aitia* of three Corinthian rites.

II. THE LITERARY TRADITION OF CORINTH'S FOUNDING

The story,[9] as we might reconstruct it from a variety of sources (many to be cited in due course), told how Hippotes, descended from both Heracles and Iolaus, shared with the posterity of Hyllus the command of the Dorian host at Naupactus, but was banished for a misguided act of violence and afterward sailed from the Malian Gulf; and how his son Aletes came to Corinth at first to reconnoiter and then to take the city by surprise and thus to establish a dynasty which lasted through the Bacchiads.[10] No doubt the story was complete or nearly so by the time we find the first partial notices in Theopompus (*FGrHist* 115 F 357), Ephorus (*FGrHist* 70 F 18*b–c;* cf. Diod. Sic. 7. 9. 2), Duris (*FGrHist* 76 F 84), and Aristotle or an Aristotelian writer (frag. 554 Rose). On the other hand, it was probably

7. The only dissenter that I know of is G. Vitalis, *Die Entwicklung der Sage von der Rückkehr der Herakliden* (Greifswald, 1930), who holds that the Corinthian story does indeed presuppose the comprehensive story.

8. Thus F. Miltner, "Die dorische Wanderung," *Klio* 9 (1934): 54–68, inferred that a small party of seagoing Dorians landed in the Corinthia before the main body landed in the Argolid.

9. The true facts of Corinth's "founding," or rather of patterns of settlement in the Corinthia during the Mycenaean period and the Dark Age, do not bear on our inquiry, inasmuch as these facts, so far as known from archaeology, have left no trace anywhere in the literary tradition. A Dark Age community on the site of Corinth dates from about 900 B.C. (C. Roebuck, "Some Aspects of the Urbanization of Corinth," *Hesperia* 41 [1972]: 101; J. Salmon, "The Heraeum at Perachora and the Early History of Corinth and Megara," *BSA* 67 [1972]: 193); it is commonly thought to mark the arrival of the Dorians, trekking south across the isthmus or ranging north from the Argolid. But how can such things be squared with the adventures of Hippotes and Aletes as the near posterity of Heracles and Iolaus? Literary sources have much to say about the end of the Sisyphid dynasty, about Aletes' wiles and Glauce's treachery, about the immolation of Timander's daughters. Pure fantasy, for power and royalty dwelt far from Corinth until the Archaic period. In Mycenaean times the Corinthia was merely a prosperous rural dependency of Mycenae: the area has been as thoroughly explored as any part of Greece, and not the slightest vestige of the usual trappings of Mycenaean power, no Cyclopean wall or chamber tomb, has ever come to light. It was to fill such a profound vacuum that Corinthian poets under the Bacchiads arrogated the Homeric glories of Ephyra, Sisyphus, and Bellerophon.

10. Most of the details and the sources are set forth by C. Robert, *Die griechische Heldensage*, vol. 2 (Berlin, 1921), pp. 659–60, 663–64, but he has overlooked Hippotes' sea journey.

unknown to Archaic poetry. A line in the *Great Eoeae* mentioning Hippotes ([Hes.] frag. 252. 3 Merkelbach–West) is either doctored or interpolated, as we shall soon see. The body of epic poetry entitled *Corinthiaca* and ascribed to Eumelus (*FGrHist* 451) presumably contained much that was once deemed germane to Corinth's origins and advancement, and yet it seemingly contained nothing about Hippotes, Aletes, or "Dorians," to judge from the scattered fragments and, more cogently, from Pausanias, who drew on Eumelus (admittedly in a later prose version) for the earliest dynasties of Corinth (2. 1. 1, 2. 3. 10–11) and on a different source for the later, including the Dorian newcomers (2. 4. 3–4). And there is no reason to think that the tragedians ever touched on the story.

Aletes, however, was a substantial figure of Corinthian folklore. In 464 B.C. Pindar addressed the Corinthians as παῖδες Ἀλάτα (*Ol.* 13. 14; the poem, honoring a Corinthian patron, bristles with chauvinist detail). According to the *Suda* (s.v. πάντα ὀκτώ) Corinth traced her synoecism and her tribal and regional organization to Aletes. Since the tribes and regions in question, eight in number, were based on a territorial scheme like Cleisthenes' and have nothing to do with the ancient Dorian tripartition, it was not in his quality as Heraclid and Dorian champion that Aletes sired the constitution of historical Corinth;[11] the evidence suggests rather that Aletes was renowned as the founding father of Corinth before Heraclids and Dorians became an issue and that, when he fell heir to these claims as well, his earlier renown dictated his place in Heraclean genealogy—where his ancestors include two bearers of the transparent name Φύλας, "Tribesman." At any rate, the means by which the Corinthian story has been spliced together with the comprehensive story are perfectly clear: (1) Hippotes' momentary appearance at Naupactus and (2) Hippotes and Aletes' peculiar pedigree.

Hippotes' route *after* his dismissal from Naupactus must be examined first. In a story ascribed to "Aristotle," perhaps from the Aristotelian *Constitution of Malis* (frag. 554 R.), Hippotes cursed the Malians for refusing to sail with him to a new home; because they objected that the boats leaked and their womenfolk were ailing, the curse condemned them to leaky boats and domineering women ever after. That the Malians should be concerned in the Dorian migration is not surprising, inasmuch as Ceyx, their mythical king, sheltered the Heracleidae for a while ([Hes.] frag. 251*a* M.–W.; Hecataeus, *FGrHist* 1 F 30; Diod. Sic. 4. 57. 1–2; Apollod. *Bibl.* 2 [167] 7. 8. 1),[12] and inasmuch as Malian territory, at least down to

11. The eight tribes are directly attested for Classical Corinth by boundary markers (see R. S. Stroud, "Tribal Boundary Markers from Corinth," *CSCA* 1 [1968]: 233–42). How far back they go is open to conjecture: to the Cypselids, on the commonest view; L. H. Jeffery, *Archaic Greece* (London, 1976), p. 153, prefers the sixth-century oligarchy in view of Nicolaus, *FGrHist* 90 F 60; C. Roebuck, "Some Aspects," pp. 114–16, puts a case, speculative but not implausible, for the Bacchiads.

12. It seems at least a possibility that the *Wedding of Ceyx* ([Hes.] frags. 263–69 M.–W.) told of Heracles' entrusting his children to Ceyx's care, though Merkelbach and West have nothing to say about it in their discussion of the poem, "The Wedding of Ceyx," *RhM* 108 (1965): 300–317. At any rate, the reason that the two sons of Butes, about to marry the two daughters of Hyllus,

the late fifth century, lay under historical Doris and the realm of Aegimius as conceived by Ephorus (*FGrHist* 70 F 15).[13] We are not expressly told that Hippotes sailed from the Malian Gulf, but the Malians at large are most unlikely to have accompanied Hippotes to Naupactus, and we need not suppose that Hippotes followed the route of the other Dorian heroes, either in the sequel to his banishment or in a separate version of his career. On the other hand, a Dorian embarkation in the Malian Gulf is not at all improbable, since another Dorian founder, Tectaphus son of Dorus, who sailed to Crete with a following of Dorians, Achaeans, Aeolians, and Pelasgians (Andron, *FGrHist* 10 F 16; Diod. Sic. 4. 60. 2, 5. 80. 2), must have taken ship either in the Gulf of Pagasae or in the Malian Gulf. That Hippotes' route lay along the east coast is also indicated by the legend attached to the hill of Solygeia (modern Galataki) on the east coast of the Corinthia, which the Dorians are said to have occupied before attacking the Aeolian inhabitants of Corinth, that is, the Sisyphid dynasty (Thuc. 4. 42. 2; cf. Paus. 2. 4. 3).

Thus the story known to "Aristotle" in the late fourth century, and probably to Thucydides in the late fifth, brought Hippotes from the Malian Gulf to the coast of the Corinthia. Other writers (cited in section III) report that Hippotes suspected and killed a seer Carnus at Naupactus and was banished in consequence. The earliest notice of Hippotes' misadventure at Naupactus appears to be Theopompus (*FGrHist* 115 F 357 = schol. Theocr. 5. 83*b*, assuming that the slayer of Carnus left unnamed by the scholiast can only be Hippotes).[14] It is not unlikely that in the eyes of "Aristotle" and Theopompus the departure from Malis was a consequence of the misadventure at Naupactus; at any rate matters were bound to be thus represented when the history of all the Heracleidae and all the Dorian cities of the Peloponnesus was combined and systematized. Yet there are several grounds for thinking that Hippotes' misadventure at Naupactus was no part of the original story of Corinth's Dorian settlers. Although the Heracleidae, conformably with the importance of their mission, endure repeated disappointments in successive generations, Hippotes' misadventure does not change his own or the others' prospects; above all, it does not retard or magnify the advent of the Dorians at Corinth, for Hippotes

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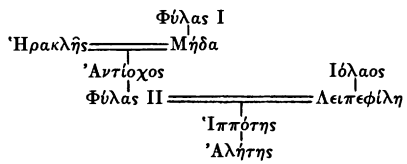
are found resorting to the house of Ceyx in a papyrus scrap of the *Catalog* or *Great Eoeae* (frag. 251*a* M.–W.) is that Ceyx has reared the girls. The editors of Hesiod miss the point: "sed quomodo Butidae cum Ceyce cohaereant, incertum," they say, while printing an impossible supplement in line 2. The line should be restored as follows: τὰς δ' αὖ Βουτίδαι [ἱέμενοι γαμέειν ἀφίκοντο] / Κήϋκος ποτὶ δῶ[μα κτλ., or rather, for the sake of the meter, τὰς δ' αὖ Βουτ⟨ε⟩ῖδαι [γαμέειν μεμαῶτες ἵκοντο].

13. Others placed Aegimius in northwestern Thessaly (Diod. Sic. 4. 37. 3; Apollod. *Bibl.* 2 [154] 7. 7. 2), and I think it likely that Ephorus, in telescoping the earlier stages of the Dorian migration, transplanted Aegimius and also "Pindus" from Thessaly to Doris and made the latter into a notional village which completed a notional Dorian tetrapolis (cf. Strabo 427).

14. Two sources, schol. rec. Pind. *Pyth.* 5. 106 and schol. Callim. *Ap.* 71 (both printed by R. Pfeiffer, *Callimachus*, vol. 2 [Oxford, 1953], p. 52), speak of Aletes, not Hippotes, as the slayer of Carnus. If this evidence were reliable, it would show that the Corinthian story was attached to the comprehensive account in different ways. But the two sources are so inferior to all the others that mere confusion is much more likely.

himself still fares forth, and his son Aletes is untouched by the events at Naupactus. Neither Corinth nor any other Dorian city had any reason to invent or cherish this episode. On the other hand, Hippotes' misadventure has the effect of introducing and accrediting a complete newcomer, Oxylus the settler of Elis, who is rather inconsequently designated to succeed Hippotes as "leader." It is remarkable that we never hear of the circumstances in which Hippotes met his end or gave way to Aletes, though they must once have been important to the Corinthian view of the Dorian migration; it appears that a motif which belonged to the alternation of Hippotes and Aletes has been turned to other purposes (more of this in section III). Finally, Naupactus complicates a route otherwise straightforward: Malis, as already intimated, is a logical starting point for a Dorian founder, who will then come straight from Phthia or from Doris, from the Dorian homeland or from a later Dorian station.

Not only the route but also the genealogy of Hippotes and Aletes sets them apart from all the other Dorian ancestors of the Peloponnesus, both those of the three great realms and those of such secondary places as Sicyon, Phlius, and Troezen. Whereas the others without exception issue from Hyllus son of Heracles and Deianeira, the ascending line of Hippotes reaches back to Heracles through several obscure peripheral figures as follows (cf. Apollod. *Bibl.* 2 [174] 8. 3. 2; Paus. 1. 5. 2, 2. 4. 3, 9. 40. 5–6, 10. 10. 1):



This is a strange family. Phylas I and his daughter belong to a fluctuating tale about a raid of Heracles which was localized in different places; Antiochus is eponym of the Athenian tribe Antiochis; Phylas II and his wife are at home in Central Greece; Hippotes and Aletes are Corinthian. The recurrence of the same name in different generations of a mythical stemma always betokens artifice, and it is clear from the start that the lines descending from Phylas I and II respectively were once independent. I shall take the two halves of the stemma in order.

As for Phylas I, the several versions of Heracles' raid differ as to the names of the king, the princess, and the son whom she bore to Heracles; the names, as well as the setting of the raid, occur in various permutations. The name Phylas can be traced back to Pherecydes (*FGrHist* 3 F 80), who made him grandfather of Tlepolemus, not Antiochus. Now the Homeric passage which speaks of Heracles' begetting Tlepolemus on a princess of Ephyra (*Il.* 2. 658–60) leaves the king of Ephyra unnamed, and later poets and others supplied the omission in various ways, known to us mainly from two

learned scholia on Pindar *Olympian* 7. 42 (1. 210–11 Drachmann).[15] The name most current in Archaic poetry, including the Hesiodic *Catalog* (frag. 232 M.–W.), and so perhaps actually deriving from the *Heracleia* which stands behind Homer, was Ormenus, later situated in Thessalian Orminium as a bogus eponym, but probably native to Parnassus in the first instance (Strabo 439, reproducing the argument of Crates of Mallus).[16] Pherecydes, however, identified the king as Phylas, no doubt of Parnassus; late mythographers who elaborate and systematize Heracles' career link Phylas of Parnassus with the Heraclid Ctesippus or Antiochus (Diod. Sic. 4. 37. 1; Paus. 4. 34. 9; *IG*, 14. 1293A = *FGrHist* 40, lines 68–76), and his doubleganger Phylas of Thesprotia with Tlepolemus.[17] In making Tlepolemus the grandson of "Tribesman," Pherecydes meant to explain the peculiar arrangement of Tlepolemus' followers, who "dwelt in three groups, by tribes" (*Il.* 2. 666). "Tribesman" was also a suitable forebear for the eponym of the Athenian tribe Antiochis—which always had last place in the official order of tribes, even during the eras of twelve and thirteen tribes, until it became second last with the creation of Attalis. At the time of Cleisthenes' reform the hero Antiochus was obviously a mere cypher, for the official genealogy competed with another, altogether different (Apollod., *FGrHist* 244 F 162, perhaps from Pherecydes).[18] When the Delphic oracle

15. The two scholia have been commonly misunderstood. The purport of both is the same, as follows. Pindar's name for the king, Amyntor, is eccentric, and "probably" comes from oral tradition in Rhodes (so the second scholium) or from "the Achaean historiographer" (so the first scholium: the term is not to be emended, least of all to produce a familiar figure like Hecataeus or Acusilaus, for what we require is a very obscure but reputedly early writer on Rhodian antiquities, such as the Telecleides, known only from Athen. 282E). To illustrate the tradition which Pindar defies the first scholium says only that Homer thought of the king as Actor; thus the scholiast had the name not from poetry but from Homeric exegesis (in my opinion it is the Eleian Actor, subserving the Eleian Ephyra of Hippias and Demetrius of Scepsis). The second scholium canvasses first the princess' name, then the king's, in Archaic poetry; the princess' name differed as between Homer and Hesiod, either Astyocheia or Astydameia, but for the father's name we have only Ormenus, in both Hesiod and Simonides. On the subject of the princess' name the scholiast inserts a parenthesis: Pherecydes differed from both Homer and Hesiod, naming Astygeneia daughter of Phylas; "some," i.e., later writers outside the scope of Pindaric exegesis, make this Phylas and Antigone the parents of Tlepolemus (thus extruding Heracles and dissociating Tlepolemus from the Dorian migration, and yet providing in Phylas, "Tribesman," a paternity which suits the founder of Rhodes). As my paraphrase shows, the name Phylas is ascribed in the first instance to Pherecydes; it is misguided to hedge about the ascription (so Jacoby on Pherecydes, *FGrHist* 3 F 80), still more to describe Phylas as the "usual" name for the king (so Wilamowitz, *Pindaros* [Berlin, 1922], p. 366, n.1).

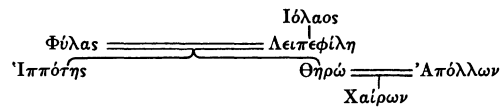
16. That Homer thought of the princess' father as Ormenus and of his realm as the Parnassus region is by no means impossible. If all the lore of multiple Ephyras in late Archaic poetry, local history, and Homeric exegesis were swept away as fanciful or partisan or recherché, as well it might be, one would naturally understand Homer to refer throughout to a single great city, and a site on the coast of Phocis would best satisfy all the indications (the target of Heracles' raid, the seat of Sisyphus and other dynasts, a neighbor of the Phlegyans, the source of poison for Odysseus and Telemachus and of armor for Phyleus of Dulichium); and we could then christen the massive fortress of Ay. Georghios, the most spectacular Mycenaean site in Greece which still lacks a name (for "Crisa" is merely another name of the harbor town and has no place in the older cycles of myth).

17. It was the equation of Ephyra with Cichyrus in Thesprotia that caused Phylas and Tlepolemus to be transplanted to Thesprotia. Thuc. 1. 46. 4, an irrelevant digression on Ephyra, shows that the equation was then novel and tendentious; it was probably due to Hecataeus, if he is the source of Thucydides hereabouts, as argued by N. G. L. Hammond, *Epirus* (Oxford, 1967), pp. 443–80.

18. See Wilamowitz, *Der Glaube der Hellenen*, vol. 2^2 (Basel, 1955), p. 16, n. 5.

ratified Cleisthenes' reform, it presumably established the descent of the last tribe from the "Tribesman" of Parnassus.

As for Phylas II, Pausanias (9. 40. 5–6, apropos of Chaeroneia) quotes six lines of the *Great Eoeae* (frag. 252 M.–W.) to this effect:



Two points need to be made about the passage, touching Phylas and Hippotes respectively. It is most unlikely that Phylas was here conceived of as the son of the Athenian eponym Antiochus and as the great-grandson of another Phylas, for the context is extremely parochial (and in this respect typical, so far as we can judge, of the *Great Eoeae*). Chaeron is the eponym of Chaeroneia and his mother Thero, properly Θουρώ, of a hill nearby.[19] Chaeroneia lay on the border of Boeotia and Phocis, and Thuro is connected with Thebes on her mother's side, with Phocis on her father's. Iolaus, a Theban hero whose importance faded in later days, had a shrine outside the Proetid Gate (Paus. 9. 23. 1) where lovers swore fidelity in the homosexual pairing characteristic of Theban soldiers and ephebes (Arist. frag. 97 R.); Λειπεφίλη as the name of Iolaus' daughter is a pun upon their oath, which probably included the words οὐ λείψω τὸν φίλον (cf. οὐδὲ λείψω τὸν παρασταθην in the oath of the Athenian ephebes [*GHI*, 204. 7]). As for Thuro's father, we have already met Phylas as a king of Parnassus: possibly "Tribesman" was once a general ancestor of the Phocians, whose tribal unity was unusually strong and is clearly marked in myth as in history; in any case Thuro's paternity points to Phocis. The upshot is that the *Great Eoeae* was concerned to magnify Chaeroneia, as it elsewhere magnified Hyria and Hyettus (frags. 253, 257 M.–W.), by introducing the local eponyms on a somewhat larger stage. Hippotes and Aletes as the Dorian ancestors of Corinth have no business here, and this brings us to the second point. Hippotes is plainly intrusive in the passage quoted by Pausanias. The verse announcing his birth is unmetrical, †Ἱππότην† δέ οἱ υἱὸν ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἔτικτε, and no sort of emendation (Ἱπποτέα Boissonade, ἡ δέ οἱ Ἱππότε' υἱὸν Sylburg) can vindicate this essentially unmetrical name, which is out of place in epic poetry. Hippotes comes from a different background and has been smuggled into an epic genealogy at a convenient point. It is likely that Hippotes has replaced another name at the beginning of the line, whether a name beginning with Ἱππο- or something quite different, and that he was able to do so because the other name belonged to some local worthy of eastern Boeotia or Phocis and was relatively unfamiliar (and so

19. Θηρώ and Apollo as parents of Chaeron, also known to Hellanicus, *FGrHist* 4 F 81, evoke the hill Θούριον above Chaeroneia and the worship of Apollo Θούριος at the foot of the hill (Plut. *Sull.* 17. 7–8); since Plutarch expressly associates the toponyms with the myth of Θουρώ, Apollo, and Chaeron, there is no doubt that Θηρώ is a deformation of the local name; Plutarch is a safe guide to Chaeroneian names in general and to the background of Chaeron in particular, since he gave this name to a son (*Cons. ad ux.* 609D).

quite irrecoverable now). For Hippotes and Aletes as for Antiochus, "Tribesman" was the right ancestor.

Thus Phylas I and Phylas II come from the same background and are in a sense the same person, who in different contexts acquired incompatible attributes. In the *Great Eoeae* Phylas was no more than a significant name chosen to represent Phocis; the son-in-law of Iolaus was not identified with, or related to, the involuntary father-in-law of Heracles.[20] On the other hand, later systematizers were bound to connect the two. If the *Great Eoeae* said that the daughter of Heracles' nephew married Phylas of Phocis, and if Pherecydes said that Heracles himself had his way with the daughter of Phylas, what could be neater than to represent the one Phylas as descended from the other in the third generation? Hence the stemma Phylas I—daughter=Heracles—son—Phylas II. We cannot tell whether Meda and Antiochus on the one hand, or Hippotes and Aletes on the other, were enrolled as the posterity of the simple Phylas before they became the posterity of Phylas I and II respectively; but Hippotes' place in the composite stemma as the great-grandson of Heracles squares with his appearance at Naupactus among other great-grandsons of Heracles.

The refinements which we have examined—Hippotes brought to the pan-Dorian staging ground at Naupactus and Oxylus substituted for Aletes, Hippotes smuggled into the *Great Eoeae* and his ascending line carried back to Heracles—were doubtless made at the time when the Corinthian story first attracted literary notice and obtained a place within the comprehensive story of Dorian foundations; and this time was very likely the fifth or fourth century. But the literary chronology has no importance here.

III. THE CHANGE OF LEADERSHIP

We may now turn to the connection with Corinthian ritual. In this section I shall argue that much of the story of Hippotes and Aletes is the *aition* of a military rite which belonged to the Dorian festival Carneia.[21] Hippotes' part in the story, seemingly known to Theopompus (*FGrHist* 115 F 357), is most fully told by Conon (*FGrHist* 26 F 1, ch. 26. 1–2), Pausanias (3. 13. 4), and Apollodorus (*Bibl.* 2 [174–76] 8. 3). Together with the posterity of Hyllus, he commanded the Dorian host at Naupactus, but misguidedly killed the seer Carnus, bringing famine and confusion. At the bidding of an

20. J. Schwartz, *Pseudo-Hesiodeia* (Leyden, 1960), p. 439, argues for the identity of Phylas the son-in-law of Iolaus and Phylas the king of Thesprotia on the grounds that Heracles and Iolaus are found together in the contest with Cycnus, that in the Hesiodic *Shield* (lines 353–54) they meet Cycnus on the way to visit Ceyx in Trachis, and that in Apollodorus Heracles comes to Ceyx not so long after the raid on Phylas in Thesprotia. These are no grounds at all, for Heracles had much to do with Ceyx in Archaic poetry, as indeed he has still in the mythographers (Apollodorus puts the encounter with Cycnus *between* visits to Ceyx!), and the passing mention of Ceyx in the *Shield* is probably meant to evoke a typical rather than a specific juncture. Anyway poor Phylas of Thesprotia was too old, too remote, and too unfortunate in his dealings with Heracles to marry a daughter of Iolaus.

21. The connection between Hippotes' killing of Carnus and the Carneia was usefully discussed by H. Usener, "Göttliche Synonyme," *RhM* 53 (1898): 359–65, 377–78, although consistently with his principles he took the myth as prior to the rite and went on to interpret the myth as representing the struggle between winter (Hippotes) and summer (Carnus).

oracle Hippotes was banished for nine years and another leader chosen in his place. In memory of the seer the Dorians established the worship of Carneian Apollo and the festival Carneia (so Theopompus and others after him); according to Photius' summary of Conon, Hippotes' victim was in fact "a phantom of Apollo, by name Carnus." The events at Naupactus are also expressly connected with the festival in a lexical entry describing part of the ritual as "an imitation" of the sea journey across the narrows (*Anecd. Bekk.* 1. 305, s.v. *στεμματιαῖον*). So much for Hippotes; Aletes, named for his father's wanderings, finally won Corinth after fulfilling the terms of another oracle: he received a clod of earth in response to his begging, and he arrived on a festal day, when the citizens were gathered outside the city, among them the daughters of Creon, whom he induced to betray Corinth by promising to marry the younger (schol. Pind. *Nem.* 7. 155). This rigmarole like the other is obviously suggested by ritual. In truth the actions of Hippotes and Aletes complement each other and reflect a single rite, hitherto unrecognized.

The Carneia lasted nine days and the program was correspondingly diverse.[22] We are concerned only with the ceremony called *ἀγητόρια* (Hsch., s.v. *ἀγήτης*), performed by the war leaders, *ἡγήτορες*. As we shall see, it was a secret ceremony of investiture for the new leaders of the tribal contingents: the retiring leaders slew an animal victim which was used to purify or rather invigorate their successors. The effect was similar to the general rite of purification for a newly mustered army. In this rite, widely practiced in early Greece as elsewhere in the Near East, the army was marched between the severed halves of a victim, and the reeking flesh imparted strength and valor, for the victim was a male animal of a warlike species, most often a dog.[23] In the Agetoria the victim was a ram, chosen as the leader of the flock; how the purification was effected we do not know, but afterward the flesh was disposed of completely so as to leave no trace of the proceeding. Our evidence for the rite comes from Corinth, Argos, and Sparta;[24] although the story of Hippotes and Aletes refers to the Corinthian instance, details attested for Argos or Sparta can be used to establish the pattern, since the Carneian festival was common to all Dorian cities, and the Agetoria is clearly one of its original elements. But first it will be useful to look at a cognate Theban rite evoked in Plutarch's *De genio Socratis* (578B–C). The Theban rite has the advantage of a clear and connected description (in the mouth of a conspirator of the year 379/78) which will put the Agetoria into focus.

At Thebes the retiring hipparch took his successor by night to a secret

22. See M. P. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste* (Leipzig, 1906), pp. 118–29; W. Burkert, *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche* (Stuttgart, 1977), pp. 354–58.

23. See Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, vol. 1[3] (Munich, 1967), pp. 106–7; O. Masson, "L'ex-voto de Cypsélos à Delphes: le symbolisme du palmier et des grenouilles," *RHR* 137 (1951): 5–25.

24. Zeus Agetor is directly attested for Sparta by Xen. *Const. Lac.* 13. 2 and Nicolaus, *FGrHist* 90 F 103*z* 14; for Argos by schol. Theoc. 5. 83*b* (after the citation of Theopompus, *FGrHist* 115 F 357). It is not clear whether Hsch., s.v. *ἀγήτης*, like some other lexical entries touching the Carneia, refers to Sparta or to Dorian cities in general.

place, supposedly the grave of Dirce, where they performed certain rites without fire, then scattered and obliterated the traces, and finally parted and went each his way. By this means the emblems of office, a scepter (*δόρυ*, of which more below) and a seal, were handed over to the new hipparch. At Corinth and Sparta the Agetoria likewise concerned the leaders of the horse. In the myth reflecting the Corinthian rite, the retiring leader is Hippotes, "Horseman," and his successor is a horseman—or a rider on a mule—who fulfills a riddling oracle; the oracle prescribes a "three-eyed leader," and either the rider or his mount lacks an eye (Apollod. *Bibl.* 2 [175–76] 8. 3. 3–5; Paus. 5. 3. 5–6; *Suda*, s.v. *τριόφθαλμος*). The narrative motif of the riddling oracle emphasizes that Hippotes' successor must be a "Horseman" too. At Sparta the evidence is indirect but still sufficient. On the road from Sparta to Arcadia, beside a shrine of *Κράνιος Στεμματίας*, the "garlanded ram-god" of the Carneia, was a "monument of the horse," *ἵππου καλούμενον μνῆμα* (Paus. 3. 20. 9); the story went that here the suitors of Helen were sworn to avenge any future injury, and that the victim used to administer the oath was a stallion. The story preserves a memory of the warlike purposes of our rite, and perhaps also of the treatment of the victim, for the animal instrument of an oath as of a purification ceremony was slaughtered and dismembered and then discarded; these are the rites "without fire" at Thebes. The victim of the Agetoria, however, was a ram, not a horse, and the name of the monument more likely refers to the Spartan cavalry of early days, *ἡ ἵππος*. The connection of the cavalry with the Agetoria can also be deduced from Xenophon's account of the Spartan army at *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians* 13. 2.[25]

The victim of the Agetoria was a ram, *κάρνος*, personified in the seer whom Hippotas killed before the Dorian army at Naupactus;[26] in the Spartan version of the myth the seer was called *Κριός* (Paus. 3. 13. 3). The ram embodies the power of leadership which the old leader now yields up to the new; in magical fashion the victim represents the god as the source of power. At Sparta, Cyrene, and elsewhere the god of the Carneia took

25. The leaders of the Spartan army sacrificed to Zeus Agetor at the beginning of a campaign (Xen. *Const. Lac.* 13. 2); Zeus Agetor, patron of army leaders, was honored at the Carneia, no less than Apollo Carneius (schol. Theocr. 5. 83*b*, speaking of Argos). The sacrifice, says Xenophon, was conducted by the king and his tent companions, *καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῶι* (according to a simple and necessary correction; Marchant's *καὶ τοῖν σιοῖν* [*αὐτῶι*] is far off the mark); these tent companions have already been identified as the polemarchs and also three of the *ὅμοιοι*, who were entrusted with the commissariat (*Const. Lac.* 13. 1). This assignment was doubtless incidental, for as tent companions of the king the three must be on a footing with the polemarchs. They are almost certainly leaders of the three hundred ***hippeis*** who served as the king's bodyguard on campaign; their standing as *ὅμοιοι* agrees with what we hear of the recruitment of the ***hippeis***. It is a safe inference that the three hundred ***hippeis*** are based on the three Doric tribes, and the three tent companions will be the leaders of the tribal contingents. Although the ancient tripartition of Dorian society is not much in evidence at Sparta, the celebrants of the Spartan Carneia were so ordered, as we learn from Demetrius of Scepsis (Athen. 141E–F); perhaps then it was the ritual duties of the ***hippeis*** which preserved the tripartition of their ranks when the rest of the army evolved on different lines.

26. Cf. Hsch. *κάρνος· φθείρ, βόσκημα, πρόβατον*. The "noxious insect" is doubtless the "ram-faced" locust otherwise known as *κόρνοψ* (the *-o-* of the first syllable belongs to the familiar alternation of *o/α* before a liquid; cf. *πόρνοψ/πάρνοψ*, probably the same word as *κόρνοψ/*κάρνοψ*).

the form of a ram,[27] and conversely the ram itself was garlanded to signify that it was divinely chosen and endowed. This is why Hippotes is said (by Photius, summarizing Conon) to have killed φάσμα Ἀπόλλωνος, ὄνομα Κάρνος, a phantom or image of Apollo called Ram. The alternative view of Carnus or Crius as a seer is due to the prognostic value of the ceremony, which augurs success for the new leader.[28] At the same time as the new leader acquires power or favor, the old leader signally renounces it and becomes a worthless creature; hence the guilt and exile of Hippotes, whose term of banishment reflects the festival cycle.[29] The pattern emerges still more clearly from another myth, much older than the story of Hippotes, which is likewise inspired by the Agetoria.

In the story of Atreus and Thyestes the talisman of rule which is invoked to end the brothers' contention is a golden ram;[30] what is golden in myth is divine or sacred in ritual. The ram belongs at first to Atreus, who kills and hides it; when Thyestes discovers and produces the animal, he is installed as king. Here is our secret ceremony of investiture; the portentous reversal of the sun's course which attends the proceeding points to the summer solstice, the time of the Carneia. So much of the story, together with the intervention of Aerope to be discussed below, is of interest in this context. In the developed history of the Pelopid dynasty other considerations dictated Atreus' ultimate victory;[31] but originally it was a matter of simple

27. A herm with ram's head found at Gytheium (A. M. Woodward, "Excavations at Sparta, 1909: The Inscriptions," *BSA* 15 [1908/9]: 81–85; *IG*, 5.1. 222) must represent Carneius, who elsewhere receives a votive stele adorned with ram's horns in relief (B. Schröder, "Archaïsche Skulpturen aus Lakonien," *Ath. Mitt.* 29 [1904]: 21–24). The Dorian settlers of Cyrene saw their own ram-god in Zeus Ammon, as Usener, "Göttliche Synonyme," p. 362, first observed. The youthful god with ram's horns seen on coins of Metapontum of the late fifth century (C. M. Kraay, *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins* [London, 1976], p. 180, pl. 34, no. 599) is best interpreted as Carneius, since Metapontum lay beside Dorian Heracleia and Tarentum; in Theoc. *Id.* 5, set in this very part of Italy, the shepherd Lacon speaks of fattening a ram for the Carneia (82–83). It was doubtless Carneius' ramlike shape that induced Wilamowitz to register the god, paradoxically, among *vorhellenische Götter* (*Der Glaube der Hellenen*, 1²: 87–89).

28. Cf. Usener, "Göttliche Synonyme," pp. 362–63.

29. Eight or nine years (nine or ten by inclusive reckoning) is a fairly common term of banishment for mythical homicides (J. Frazer, *Apollodorus*, vol. 1 [London and Cambridge, Mass., 1921], p. 218, n. 1; E. Rohde, *Psyche*, trans. W. B. Hillis [London, 1925], p. 444, n. 40); most cases are pretty clearly sacrificial *aitia* (e.g., the banishment of Cadmus, ostensibly to expiate the dragon-slaying, directly follows the offering of the mantic cow to Athena Onca, another instance of the "inculpatory ox-slaying" discussed in section V); and it is generally allowed that in early days eight or nine years was a common festival cycle, though exemplified for us only in the Delphic Septerium and related observances.

30. The main sources for the story of the golden ram are Euripides' allusions at *El.* 699–763, *IT* 812–13, *Or.* 812, 996–1006; the learned scholia on the *Orestes*, which at line 995 cite as earlier authorities *Alcmaeonis* frag. 6 Kinkel and Pherecydes, *FGrHist* 3 F 133; Apollod. *Epit.* 2. 10–12; and Tzetz. *Chil.* 428–46, who draws on the lost part of Apollodorus. From Euripides onward the ram often becomes a sheep, feminine, conformably with the Greek preference for the female of the species; that it was properly a ram, symbol of kingship, is shown by the form ἀρνειός which schol. Eur. *Or.* 998 has from an epic source. A ritual origin for the story is well argued by W. Burkert, *Homo Necans* (Berlin, 1972), pp. 122–23, but I cannot agree with his allegorical interpretation of the rites in question.

31. Or penultimate victory: for still other considerations, notably the transmission of the scepter in the *Iliad*, might require Atreus to give way at last to Thyestes, as at Apollod. *Epit.* 2. 14 and (much more fully) Hyg. *Fab.* 87–88, both no doubt indebted to Soph. *Thyestes* (cf. A. C. Pearson, *The Fragments of Sophocles*, vol. 1 [Cambridge, 1917], pp. 185–87).

succession in the order Atreus, Thyestes, Agamemnon, as shown by *Iliad* 2. 105–8, where the scepter of kingship passes through these hands in turn. Homer knows of the Agetoria (and alludes to it in the epithets ποιμένι λαῶν and πολύαρνι given to Atreus and Thyestes respectively), for the σκῆπτρον is the emblem of office transmitted by the rite, equivalent to the δόρυ of the Theban hipparchs: δόρυ, "shaft," is an archaic or sacral term for a scepter and is found applied to a relic at Chaeroneia which was revered as the very scepter of the famous passage of the *Iliad* (so Paus. 9. 40. 11, who remarks on the usage; cf. Eur. *Hec.* 9). The ritual background of the myth of Atreus and Thyestes is also evident in Pausanias' notice of a place called "the Rams" on the road from Argos to Mycenae; it passed as the grave of Thyestes, and a monumental ram which stood here was taken to commemorate the golden ram (Paus. 2. 18. 1–3). Of course, the truth is that stone ram and golden ram equally commemorate the ritual victim, and the analogy of Corinth and Sparta confirms that the place called "the Rams," lying at some distance from the city of Argos, was the setting of the Argive Agetoria.

Aletes, the son of Hippotes, may also be regarded as his successor in the leadership; and in fact the transaction by which he wins control of Corinth reflects our ceremony of investiture. An oracle told Aletes "to attack on a day of many garlands," and he arrived during "a sacrifice to the dead" which caused the citizens to be "among the tombs," that is, outside the city walls; approaching the daughters of Creon, "he promised that if he should win, he would take the younger of them in marriage; and the girl agrees and betrays the city by opening the gates; and Aletes wins . . ." (schol. Pind. *Nem.* 7. 155). The younger daughter of Creon was Glauce (Hyg. *Fab.* 25. 2), eponym of the imposing fountain house on the west side of Corinth's agora. According to Pausanias 2. 3. 6, Glauce as the victim of Medeia threw herself into the fountain seeking relief from the poisoned garment. The scholium just quoted trails off into other matters, but we may be sure that the traitress was dealt condign punishment, as always in such tales and especially in the similar cases noticed below; Glauce will have ended up again in the fountain.[32] The *aitia* of the Agetoria at Sparta and Argos take a similar turn. As Aletes suborns Glauce, so the Heracleidae suborn the daughter of Crius at Sparta (Paus. 3. 13. 3) and Thyestes suborns Aerope at Argos (Soph. *Aj.* 1295–97; Eur. *Or.* 1009–10; schol. Eur. *Or.* 812, citing Sophocles, and probably meaning the *Atreus*; schol. *Aj.* 1097, citing Eur. *Cressae*; Apollod. *Epit.* 2. 10–11; Tzetz. *Chil.* 1. 441–42, 447). The circumstances are much the same. The Heracleidae met the daughter of

32. Glauce's fate thus rather resembles the fate of Timander's daughters Hellotis and Chryse, or Hellotis and Eurytione together with a child, who were burnt up in a temple of Athena during the Dorian seizure of Corinth and afterward commemorated with the piacular rites of the Hellotia (schol. Pind. *Ol.* 13. 56*b*, *c*, whence *Etym. magn.*, s.v. Ἑλλωτίς; cf. schol. Theoc. 6. 40*a* as emended by Wendel). The two stories, however, are separate *aitia* for separate festivals, the Agetoria and the Hellotia. As we shall see, Glauce was done to death and cast into the spring, just like Dirce, Aerope, and (presumably) the daughter of Crius, because the animal instrument of the Agetoria was so treated. The *Flammentod* of Timander's daughters and a child explains why puppets were flung into the fire at the Hellotia (cf. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste*, pp. 94–95).

Crius as she was drawing water; like the daughters of Creon, she had business which took her outside the city. We are not told what became of her afterward, but at Argos we have the satisfaction of seeing Aerope flung into the sea as punishment. If any doubt remains that these recurring traits bespeak a common rite, we need only turn to Plutarch's literal description of the proceeding at Thebes.

The old hipparch brings the new to a secret place called the "grave of Dirce"; they perform the rite, conceal the traces, and go away separately; the new hipparch now has the scepter and doubtless takes it to his official quarters on the Cadmeia (cf. Plut. *De gen. Socr.* 578C). Dirce is another vicious woman and the eponym of Thebes' most famous landmark, the spring and riverhead on the Cadmeia. In the light of what has been said above, it will be obvious at once that the story of Lycus' struggle against Zethus and Amphion forms the *aition* of the hipparch's investiture, and we can omit to examine the story in detail. The correspondence is made as explicit as could be in the exodus of Euripides' *Antiope*,[33] which as usual in tragedy concludes the myth by establishing the rite. "You two take the scepter of Cadmus and rule this land in my place," says Lycus to the twins (lines 103–4; cf. 72–73), reminding us of the hipparch's scepter and of the scepter of the Argive Agetoria. To signal his retirement Lycus disposes of Dirce's remains, gathering up the scattered bones and casting them into the fountain of Ares, which is thenceforth called by her name (74–79, 106–10).[34] This information completes our picture of the ceremony.

Let us then reconstruct the ritual action by which a war leader was installed in early Greece. The hipparchs at Thebes and the ἡγήτορες in the Dorian cities of the Peloponnesus resort to a place beyond the area of settlement (at Thebes, the "grave of Dirce"; at Corinth, a cemetery outside the walls; at Argos, the place called "the Rams" on the road to Mycenae; at Sparta, the scene of the encounter between the Heracleidae and the daughter of Crius, probably the "monument of the horse" on the road to Arcadia). The animal instrument which confers the power of leadership—a ram among the Dorians—is slaughtered and dismembered by the retiring leader (at Thebes, the fireless rite of the hipparchs and the dismemberment of Dirce; at Corinth, the killing of Carnus by Hippotes; at Argos, the strangling and concealment of the golden ram by Atreus; at Sparta, the dismemberment of the victim at the "monument of the horse"). After assuming the animal's power through some form of contact, the new leader leaves the scene of the rite, removing the still sacred remains, which are afterward thrown into running water or the sea and thus washed away without trace (at Thebes, the concealment practiced by the hipparchs and their separate withdrawal, and also the throwing of Dirce's remains into

33. D. L. Page, *Greek Literary Papyri* (London, 1941), pp. 60–70, no. 10.

34. It might be objected that whereas the Theban hipparchs use no fire, δράσαντες ἀπύρους ἱερουργίας (so Plutarch), Dirce's remains are to be burnt on a pyre, εἰς πυρὰν τιθεῖς and again πυρώσας (*Antiope* 74, 76), before they go in the spring. But these expressions belong to the pretence of formal obsequies which furthers the conciliatory ending of Euripides' play and accords with the seeming honor paid to Dirce after death; in just the same vein Lycus speaks of "interring" his wife in the fountain, Ἄρεος εἰς κρήνην [β]αλῶ / γυναῖκα θάψας (*Antiope* 106–7).

the spring; at Corinth, the like fate presumed for Glauce; at Argos, the throwing of Aerope into the sea; at Sparta, the like fate presumed for the daughter of Crius).[35]

IV. THE SEA JOURNEY

Here we take leave of the Agetoria. A subsequent stage of Hippotes' career can be traced to a different, probably subsequent, stage of the Carneia at Corinth. I mean his sea voyage from Malis to the Corinthia, which gave him occasion to institute two leading features of Malian life, namely, leaky boats and the rule of women (Arist. frag. 554 R.). Like the other Heracleidae at Naupactus, Hippotes was obliged to knock together a fleet of boats to convey his army; it is understandable that the mythical Malians should complain of the boats' leaking, *τὰ πλοῖα ῥεῖν*, and that the unseaworthy craft of historical Malis, the proverbial *Μηλιακὸν πλοῖον*, should remind some observers of the Dorian migration. That seeming boats also figured in the ritual of the Carneia is proved by a lexical entry: *στεμματιαῖον· μίμημα σχεδιῶν αἷς ἔπλευσαν οἱ Ἡρακλεῖδαι τὸν μεταξὺ τῶν Ῥίων τόπον*, "the rite of the garlanded one: a representation of makeshift boats in which the Heracleidae sailed the passage between the Rhium's" (*Anecd. Bekk.* 1. 305). Since *Στεμματίας* is attested as a Laconian epithet of the god of the Carneia (Paus. 3. 20. 9), the entry in the *Anecdota* and also another in Hesychius defining the same term as "a sort of image" in ritual, *δίκηλόν τι ἐν ἑορτῇ πομπέων δαίμονος*, probably refer to the Carneia at Sparta.[36] Some Hellenistic scholar, for example, Sosibius (*FGrHist* 595), saw the mythical boats reflected in a Spartan ceremony. Since the Carneia was much the same everywhere, and since the makeshift boats of Hippotes' journey to the Corinthia are also to the fore, we may postulate the same ceremony at Corinth.

Of course, the Dorians were not the only migrants to take to the sea. Probability suggests and tradition confirms, says Thucydides in his pedantic way (6. 2. 4), that the Sicels crossed from Italy to Sicily *ἐπὶ σχεδιῶν*, "on makeshift boats": how else should they reach the island? Immigrants to the Peloponnesus were not under the same necessity, and it is all the more remarkable, therefore, that the single common element in the story of all the Dorian founders of the Peloponnesus is a sea journey. Hippotes, starting in Malis, may as well come by sea as by land; but why do the other Heracleidae pass from Aetolia (or the extremity of West Locris) to Achaea? Given the motif of a sea journey and nothing more, the name Naupactus and the adjacent narrows will come to mind. There is no other warrant for the route through Naupactus—none in the previous stages of the Dorian

35. A Rhodian form of the rite can be deduced from the story of the island's earliest kings, the brothers Ochimus and Cercaphus, as told by Diod. Sic. 5. 57. 7 and Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 297C–D. Ochimus, the elder brother, married the nymph *Ἡγητορία* and held the kingship first; their daughter *Κυδίππη* was destined for another, but Cercaphus won her by a ruse and thus succeeded to the kingship. It is not surprising that the Rhodian myth most nearly resembles the Argive myth of Atreus, Thyestes, and Aerope.

36. Professor Burkert has drawn my attention to F. Bölte, "Zu lakonischen Festen," *RhM* 78 (1929): 141–43, who inferred from the two entries that a sort of "raft" (say rather a boat) was carried in procession; but the plural *σχεδιῶν* does not favor this idea.

migrations and none in the background of the Heracleidae (succored at times by Ceyx, Aegimius, and the Athenians). The sole explanation for the choice of route comes in the riddling oracle about "the strait way" (Apollod. *Bibl.* 2 [172–73] 8. 2. 6–7; Eus. *Praep. evang.* 5. 20, citing Oenomaus), which is plainly invented for the very purpose. On this showing it is not unreasonable to conclude that ritual is behind the sea journey and the makeshift boats which recur in the stories of both Hippotes and the posterity of Hyllus.

The ceremony seemed to represent the actual boats, πλοῖα or σχεδίαι. What sort of boats would be knocked together by an army on the march? When the soldiers of Cyrus or of Caesar cross larger rivers, they make floats of the hides which they regularly carry for use as tents or tarpaulins. These are not boats, but it would not be hard to contrive something more serviceable from the same materials; skin boats, mostly with round frames, are common enough among people of limited skills and resources, and Greek writers call them either πλοῖα or σχεδίαι (Hdt. 1. 94. 1; Xen. *An.* 2. 4. 28; Strabo 155).[37] The Malians, moreover, who are not otherwise known as a seafaring race, may well have used such boats; thus do the western Irish launch their coracles on the Atlantic. Skin boats, then: what articles conspicuous in the Carneia evoked, by their aspect and their number, the skin boats of the migrating Dorians? The answer, I think, is not in doubt.

"Demetrius of Scepsis in the first book of *The Trojan Muster* says that the festival of the Carneia at Sparta is a representation of military life: there are, he says, nine areas called canopies, as having something similar to tents (σκιάδες δὲ οὗτοι καλοῦνται σκηναῖς ἔχοντες παραπλήσιόν τι); nine men dine in each area, and every step follows the announcement of a command; each canopy has three phratries, and the festival of the Carneia lasts nine days" (Athen. 141E–F, whence Eust. *Il.* 24. 802). The neat and orderly disposition of the celebrants, the seeming discipline of their actions, and the tentlike canopies all put Demetrius in mind of an army. Since the disposition in nine areas and twenty-seven phratries is evidently based on the three Dorian tribes (the subdivisions of the three tribes which provide the oxen of the Coan Dipolieia at *LSCG* 151A, lines 4–19, also number twenty-seven and seem to be phratries), it must be a primitive Dorian army. Demetrius, interpreting the canopies as tents, thought of a Dorian army in camp, but to judge from Athenaeus' report the resemblance to military tents was not self-evident. If, as we may fairly assume, the festival canopies were of hide stretched on a round frame, they would resemble boats at least as much as tents, and together with the orderly disposition and the brisk signals would evoke a Dorian host in the act of migrating.[38]

37. Cf. L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World* (Princeton, 1971), pp. 3–7.

38. What was done by the eighty-one phratry members performing at command we cannot say; it does emerge, however, from a late epigram, *Anth. Pal.* 9. 488, that the musical contest of the Spartan Carneia took place among the canopies. Such evidence as we have for the themes of the contest suggests that Thessaly and Apollo's Thessalian avatars were in favor (Eur. *Alc.* 445–54; cf. *P. Oxy.* 2737 frag. 1 i 19–23 = D. Page, *Supplementum Lyricis Graecis* [Oxford, 1974], S 2, 6)—perhaps a tribute to the supposed Thessalian origins of the Dorian stock.

V. THE "WANDERER"

Finally, the role of Aletes. We have already seen that in winning over Corinth he completes the *aition* of the Agetoria which begins with Hippotes' downfall (section III). One element in the story has yet to be accounted for—the name Ἀλήτης, "Wanderer," and the beggar's guise which the "Wanderer" assumes. This element, no less than the change of leadership and the sea journey, is plainly bound up with the general theme of migration and conquest. I shall argue that the mythical "Wanderer" reflects a portentous rite—the killing and butchering of an ox—which set the officiant apart from the rest of the community. The rite was very widespread in Greece; it happens to be attested for Corinth by Pindar's passing mention of Corinthian songs performed at the ox-droving (*Ol.* 13. 18–19);[39] but for express evidence connecting the rite and the myth of the "Wanderer" we must go to Aeniania and to Athens.

The transparent name Ἀλήτης also occurs in the myths about the struggle for the kingship of Argos (or Mycenae). One of the earliest of these shows Thyestes trumping Atreus with the golden ram, which points unmistakably to the Agetoria. The struggle continues through three generations and many vicissitudes, and finally pits Orestes grandson of Atreus against Aletes grandson of Thyestes. We can hardly doubt that he too derives from Argive ritual, even though the further details of his story, as treated by Sophocles and others, have more to do with Athenian preoccupations. Aletes has a sister Erigone, who after his death at the hands of Orestes is either (1) snatched away by Artemis to become a priestess in Attica (Hyg. *Fab.* 122, perhaps from Soph. *Aletes*) or (2) reduced to suicide by Orestes' acquittal in Athens (*Marm. Par.* = *FGrHist* 239 A 25; Apollod. *Epit.* 6. 25; schol. Eur. *Or.* 1648; *Etym. magn.*, s.v. Αἰώρα, perhaps from Soph. *Erigone*) or (3) married to Orestes (Paus. 2. 18. 6, citing Cinaethon frag. 4 Kinkel; Apollod. *Epit.* 6. 28, whence Tzetz. Lycophr. *Alex.* 1374).[40] Since the main ingredient in these confections is the coincidence of the names Ἀλήτης at Argos and Ἀλῆτις in Attica, and since the latter has a conspicuous place in Attic ritual (as an epithet of Erigone in the Aeora), we may take it that Aletes was correspondingly important in Argive ritual.

We are better placed at Corinth than at Argos to identify the rite in which the "Wanderer" was a principal officiant. In the story of the migration Aletes' success is due not only to the opportunity of seducing Glauce and entering the city but also to a symbolic clod of earth which a country fellow gave the newcomer when he begged for bread; the clod of earth was in fact the oracle's first requirement, and Aletes immediately acknowledged the omen with the words δέχεται καὶ βῶλον Ἀλήτης, "Aletes accepts even a clod" (Duris, *FGrHist* 76 F 84, cited by [Plut.] *Prov. Alex.* 1. 48; cf. Zenob. 3. 22; Diogenian. 4. 27; Hsch., s.v. Διὸς Κόρινθος; schol. Pind. *Nem.* 7. 155). As often, we cannot tell whether the paroemiac was taken from hexameter

39. The lines were interpreted in this sense by Wilamowitz, *Pindaros*, pp. 372–73, who adduced the βοηλασία of Cos and Amorgos.

40. The evidence linking version (1) to Soph. *Aletes* and version (2) to Soph. *Erigone* is slight (Pearson, *The Fragments of Sophocles*, 1:62, 173–74), but the probability that at least one of the versions derives from Sophocles is great.

verse or coined independently; in either case it shows that the clod of earth was prominent in the migration story at least as early as Duris. To say that the symbolic clod is a common narrative motif is true but not very significant;[41] here as generally in Greek myth the narrative motif has been attracted by a ritual feature. Fortunately we can point to a very similar migration story in which the symbolic clod is expressly equated with a ritual transaction. For once conditions are ideal: the rite is fully described and the *aition* is fully reported, and we can trace the correspondence throughout.

In the *Greek Questions* Plutarch twice discusses customs of the Aenianians with a wealth of detail which shows that this backward tribe of the middle and upper Spercheus was not neglected by Hellenistic antiquarians (293F–294C, 297B–C). Like the Dorians, the Aenianians were indefatigable migrants, at least before the dawn of history, following a circuitous route from an original home in the Dotian Plain through stations in Pindus, Molossia, and Delphi (!) to historical Aeniania. At 293F–294C, the events of the last stage are said to be commemorated in a certain rite. As for the events, an oracle intimated that to win the new land the Aenianians must first obtain a symbolic clod which must be freely offered. Τέμων, "a man of note among the Aenianians," came as a beggar to the enemy camp, was mockingly given a clod of earth by the king, and went off happily, until the enemy suddenly grew suspicious, and he took to his heels vowing a commemorative rite.[42] As for the rite, it included an ox-sacrifice to Zeus, at which the descendants of Temon received a special portion called "beggars' meat," πτωχικὸν κρέας.

Plutarch and his source thought that the rite reenacted the events, that the officiants who withdrew with a portion of the sacrificial meat to eat apart from the rest of the worshipers were miming the strategic foray of a brave Aenianian of long ago. They were wrong, for the Aenianian rite conforms to a widespread pattern in which a victim unusually precious, a cow or a bull or, most often, a plough-ox, embodies the wealth and resources of the whole community, and those who slaughter the animal and partake of its flesh are treated as outcasts. The pattern is plainly seen in the Athenian Dipolieia, which is better known to us than almost any other rite because Theophrastus chose to interpret it (somewhat in the manner of Charles Lamb on roast pork) as representing man's first killing and tasting of an animal (frags. 17–18 Pötscher [Περὶ εὐσεβείας] = Porph. *Abst.* 2. 29–31).[43] In the Athenian Dipolieia (as in the Coan, known from *LSCG* 151A) a

41. In Greece the symbolic clod seems to be confined to myth. Elsewhere, notably at Rome, a clod of earth may figure as a magical *pars pro toto* in real life (cf. N. Strosetzki, "Antike Rechtssymbole," *Hermes* 86 [1958]: 7–17, who compares mythical instances in Greek literature, including ours); but there is no sign that actual clods were ever bandied in Greek ritual.

42. The other events related by Plutarch, notably a contest of champions, do not concern us here. The ritual analogue of the contest, which Plutarch leaves unmentioned, is a "prognostic mock combat," as I should call it, of the kind staged by the Macedonian army on the eve of Gaugamela (Eratosth., *FGrHist* 241 F 29), which was once very common in Greek worship (cf. N. J. Richardson, *The "Homeric Hymn to Demeter"* [Oxford, 1974], p. 246).

43. The Athenian Dipolieia has often been discussed, sometimes with very curious results. Doxography and polemic are unnecessary here, because the details on which I rely come straight from Theophrastus and are not open to dispute.

number of oxen were driven round a table heaped with cakes of meal until one of them identified himself as the appointed victim by snuffling at the cakes; the animal was immediately slaughtered, flayed, and butchered. The officiants are described as "clans" named after their functions—the "Goaders" who drove the oxen, the "Water-carriers" and the "Sharpeners" who ostentatiously sharpened the instruments of slaughter on a whetstone as the oxen were driven round (to make the victim's act of self-consecration all the more decisive), the "Ox-slayers" who felled the victim with an axe, and the "Butchers" who divided the flesh (frag. 18. 35–38).[44] It is the clan of "Butchers," Δαιτροί, who correspond to "the descendants of Temon," οἱ Τέμωνος ἀπόγονοι, for Τέμων and his clan (Τεμωνίδαι?) are likewise named for the action they perform, τέμνειν. At Athens as in Aeniania the officiants withdraw in haste with the meat. Plutarch's *aition* shows that "the descendants of Temon" ran off as if expecting pursuit; so did the "Butchers" and the other clans at Athens, discarding the victim's hide and the instruments of slaughter, and leaving to others the task of expiating the crime with these remnants.[45] In the *aition* of the Dipolieia Theophrastus speaks, not indeed of migration, but of exile and return (frag. 18. 8–19).

Thus the Aenianian rite in which a portion of sacrificial meat corresponds to the narrative motif of a symbolic clod of earth does not commemorate an actual migration, no more than the Dipolieia commemorates the banishment and return of a ploughman named Sopater (in all the modern exegesis of the Dipolieia no one has ever suggested that Theophrastus' *aition* is accurate in this respect). Instead Temon and Sopater, the migration and the peregrination, have been deduced from ritual. To establish this point about the Aenianian migration we can also appeal to the Dryopians, who are the mythical counterparts of the Aenianians. The Dryopian homeland is sometimes, for special reasons, situated in Doris or even on eastern Parnassus, but in most sources, including the earliest, it is precisely the middle and upper Spercheus, where the "Tree-men" are described as dwellers on Mount Oeta and Mount Typhrestus and as neighbors of the Malians (e.g., schol. Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1. 1212–19*a*, citing Pherecydes, *FGrHist* 3 F 8, 19). Now the Dryopians are the archetypal migrants of Greek literature, straddling myth and history, poetry and scientific prose: the convulsive diaspora which left enclaves of ethnic "Tree-men" in the most unlikely places is already gospel to Herodotus and Thucydides. The Dryopian migrations begin just where the Aenianian migrations end, and have been excogitated from the same Aenianian rite.

44. Porphyry's excerpt names the Κεντριάδαι Ὑδροφόροι, Βουτύποι, Δαιτροί. The Ὑδροφόροι were girls who brought water for the whetstone; the description of the rite makes it very plain that the men who operated the whetstone, οἱ ἀκονήσαντες, were another clan on the same footing as the others. Their name was probably Θαυλωνίδαι, known as a clan of the Dipolieia from Androtion, *FGrHist* 324 F 16, and Hsch., s.v. Βουτύπον. The "ox-slayer" of Hesychius was a "stock, πυθμήν, which used to be set up by the clan of the Thaulonidae"—most likely the support for the whetstone. Whether Θαυλων-δαι is related to θήγω is for a linguist to say.

45. The hide was used to restore the victim in effigy, just as, in the custom of erecting a "trophy" on the battlefield, dress and armor were stripped from a corpse to restore the enemy in effigy. The purpose was the same, to placate the ghost of the plough-ox (man's best friend) or the ghosts of the enemy who lay unburied.

In a famous old story, perhaps first told in the Archaic poem which stands behind a paean of Bacchylides (frag. 4 Snell–Maehler), Heracles forced the Dryopians to emigrate to Argolic Asine after killing the Dryopian Theiodamas for his incivility, and, more significant for us, after killing and eating one of Theiodamas' oxen. That this story, like one or two similar exploits of Heracles, is a ritual *aition* has been conjectured before;[46] now that Callimachus is seen to have treated the story in the *Aitia* (frags. 24–25 Pfeiffer), the conjecture becomes a certainty. The visual details which Callimachus selects will be those important to the ritual; the ox-goad brandished by Theiodamas, a "ten-foot stave" (frag. 24. 6–7 P.), reminds us at once of the "Goaders" of the Athenian Dipolieia. If we ask why the Dryopians remove in the first instance to Argolic Asine, the answer is supplied by Bacchylides' account, in which the transplanting of the Dryopians leads up to the foundation of the famous cult of Apollo at Asine (frag. 4. 50–60 S.–M.). The leading rite at Asine, attended by delegations from other cities, was the βοτάμια, "butchering of an ox" (Thuc. 6. 53). The *Τεμωνίδαι would have felt at home here (especially since the Aenianian festival was addressed in part to Apollo), and the two rites were both similar and distinctive enough for some Archaic poet to invent the Dryopian migration, doubtless to the greater glory of Argos and to the discredit of the earlier inhabitants of Asine whom the Argives had expelled.

To consider further the range and the implications of this ritual pattern—which we might label "the inculpatory ox-slaying," and define as the symbolic expulsion of a part of the community, and compare with other ritual outbursts of collective guilt and anxiety such as the fire festival—would take us far beyond the present topic. Enough has been said to indicate the place of Aletes within the pattern. "Wanderer" as a title or epithet aligns the officiant at Corinth with the partakers of "beggars' meat" in Aeniania; the mythical prototypes of both are said to have scuttled away with a clod of earth. In both places, moreover, the *aition* reflects and preserves a detail of the ritual costume. At Corinth the unfeeling rustic of whom Aletes begged food took a clod of earth from his leather pouch, ὁ δὲ βῶλον ἐκ τῆς πήρας ἀράμενος ἐδίδου (Duris, *FGrHist* 76 F 84). In Aeniania Temon put the proffered clod into his leather pouch, δεξάμενος εἰς τὴν πήραν ἐνέβαλε (Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 294B). Is the leather pouch merely a fictitious detail suggested by the circumstances? One might think so (even though a rustic's pouch would not normally contain a clod of earth, as in the Corinthian *aition*), were it not for Callimachus, who in the parallel *aition* of the Aenianian rite focuses on Theiodamas' pouch: "Quick now," says Heracles, "if the pouch hanging from your shoulder, κα]τωμαδίης ο̣ὐλ̣ά̣δ̣[ος, contains anything to ease a little boy's miserable hunger, give me it, and I shall always be grateful" (*Aitia* frag. 24. 9–12 P.). Thus an actual pouch which figured in the rite has inspired this recurring detail in the different stories—

46. So Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, 1^3:153. To Theiodamas and the Lindian ploughman add Coronus the Lapith (Pind. frag. 168 S.–M.), avatar of a Magnesian rite; the Magnesians too were reputed to have itchy feet (*Inschr. v. Magnesia* 17 = *FGrHist* 482, no. 3; Parth. *Amat. narr.* 5; Strabo 647).

the rustic and his pouch at Corinth, the rags and pouch of Temon's disguise, the pouch of the ploughman Theiodamas. The officiants who butchered the ox would necessarily wear workaday dress, and the pouch in which they carried off the meat was a convenient adjunct.

It might still be objected that, whereas the officiants of "the inculpatory ox-slaying" are abhorred and expelled, their mythical analogues are expelled (or dismissed) from the enemy camp only to triumph on behalf of their own people, Temon winning the new land for the Aenianians, Aletes winning Corinth for the Dorians. This is indeed illogical, but merely proves that so long as ritual is performed with conviction, it can always be interpreted to suit the prevailing point of view. Would it not be natural to regard the slayers and partakers of the ox as the enemy, hereby conquered and driven out? Natural, yes, though not necessary, as can be shown by a case very similar to the Corinthian. The Ionian migration is in view at Polyaenus 8. 43, the strategem by which Cnops of the clan Codridae won Erythrae for the Ionians. A splendid bull, gilded, garlanded, and draped in red and gold, was given to eat of food mixed with a deranging drug; it bolted over to the enemy who happened to be gathered for sacrifice at an altar; they slaughtered and ate the bull, went mad and capered about, and so fell prey to the Ionians. This "strategem," which Polyaenus took from some historian such as Ephorus, is obviously the *aition* of an Erythraean rite cognate with ours (the tainted food gives another twist to the mantic selection of the victim by setting out cakes of meal), and now the partakers are the enemy. The rite always opposes the officiants to the rest of the community; in the imaginary struggle commemorated by the rite either side may be deemed the victors.[47] The name Aletes at Corinth, no less than the term "beggars' meat" in Aeniania, marks the officiant as an outcast; and yet, with the wry or whimsical turn so common in Greek myth, the outcast becomes the conquering hero.

To sum up, the tale of Corinth's Dorian settlers has been traced to three Corinthian rites—Hippotes' misadventure and Aletes' seduction of Glauce to the Agetoria or investiture of the war leader; the sea journey of the Dorian host to the disposition of the celebrants during another stage of the Carneia; and Aletes' symbolic name and gesture to the ox-slaying of an unknown festival. Both the rites and the *aitia* which they have inspired are widely paralleled elsewhere, and there is much more to be said about the transparency of early migrations, Dorian and other. Corinth's share in the story has been selected because it is small and separate, and therefore suited to brief treatment. It is nonetheless a fair test case.[48]

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47. Theophrastus' *aition* of the Dipolieia may be said to have it both ways, for the mythical ox-slayer at first flees to Crete out of chagrin, but the Athenians are bidden by an oracle to fetch him back and establish his family as honorary ox-slayers in perpetuity.

48. Prof. W. Burkert read an earlier version of this paper, and although I remain obdurate on some points I am very grateful for his sympathetic criticism.