

would never have permitted Philip to keep his other wives at court or even to continue to consort with them, but this is clearly false. Satyros explicitly tells us that Philip 'brought home' Thracian Meda as another wife besides Olympias (around 342),<sup>28</sup> just as he later did with Kleopatra.<sup>29</sup> Once Alexander was the well-established crown prince, say by about 339, Olympias' influence may have risen considerably; perhaps Philip sent his other wives to live away from court around this time (also partly to enhance his image as a Hellene by removing the stigma of an 'oriental harem'). But during the first decade of Philip's reign, Olympias cannot have had overwhelming influence over her husband: she was not Philip's first wife, nor his only high-born one, nor (as yet) the mother of the certain successor. And it was probably during these years that Karanos and most of Alexander's other rival half-brothers were born.

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<sup>28</sup> See Ellis (n. 2) 166–7.

<sup>29</sup> Satyros (n. 5). The same verb *ἐπεισάγω* is used in each case.

### Hesiod's Titans

In the opening lines of the *Eumenides* Aeschylus' Pythia says that the first prophetic deity at Delphi was Gaia. She was followed by two of her daughters in succession, Themis and Phoibe. Phoibe gave the oracle to Phoibos as a birthday present, and it is from her that he had his name.

Gaia and Themis are mentioned elsewhere as early proprietors of the oracle,<sup>1</sup> and they have other associations with prophecy. Phoibe, however, is not otherwise mentioned in this connexion. Indeed, she is not much spoken of at all. Hesiod lists her among his Titans, and makes her the mother of Leto and Asteria by her brother Koios (*Th.* 136, 404 ff.); she is thus the grandmother of Apollo, Artemis, and Hecate. A few authors repeat this genealogy, but for the rest, there is no more to say of her. Antimachus referred to her as *Γαιηῆς* (fr. 116 Wyss), but we do not know what for.

It is understandable that Wilamowitz should have dismissed her as 'eine leere Füllfigur' among the Titans, 'die ihren Namen von dem Sohne der Leto hat'. In the *Eumenides* too, he considers, she is merely a stopgap: Aeschylus took the name from Hesiod to make the transition from Themis to Phoibos.<sup>2</sup> There is, however, no apparent reason why any intermediary between Themis and Phoibos should be necessary. Pindar, Euripides, and Aristonoos are all quite content for Apollo to take over directly from Gaia and/or Themis, whether by force or peaceably; in Ephorus' account he and Themis established the oracle together.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pind. fr. 55, Eur. *IT* 1245–69 (cf. *Or.* 164), Ephorus *FGrH* 70 F 31, Aristonoos i 21 f. (Powell, *Coll. Alex.* 163), Diod. xvi 26.3 (cf. 5.67.4), Ov. *M.* i 321, 4.643, Lucan v 81, Apollod. i 22, Plut. *Pyth. Orac.* 402d, *Def. Orac.* 421c, 433e, Paus. x 5.5–6 (citing Musaeus, DK 2 B 11), Orph. *H.* 79, sch. Pind. *Pyth.* hypoth. p. 2.6 Dr., Harpocr. (Phot. *Suda EM*) s.v. *θεμισσεύειν* (citing Aeschylus); Themis sitting on the tripod, RF vase Berlin 2538.

<sup>2</sup> *Sitz. Ber. Preuss. Ak.* 1929, 44 = *Kl. Schr.* v(2) 170 = *Kronos und die Titanen. Zeus* (Darmstadt 1964) 16. In my note on Hes. *Th.* 136 I took a similar view.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Plut. *De Herod. malign.* 860d.

I think we should regard Phoibe not as Aeschylus' arbitrary interpolation into the succession but as a figure given to him by Delphic tradition. It would not seem to have been a tradition of much vigour or substance. What it said, in essence, was that before Phoibos became the god of the oracle it belonged to a goddess who had the same title, Phoibe. With this much given, it was natural to postulate a genetic relationship between the two. Phoibos could not be the son of Phoibe, because he was Apollo, was he not, and Apollo's mother was undeniably Leto. Leto was not an oracular goddess,<sup>4</sup> and could hardly be identified with Phoibe. But Phoibe could be made her mother and Phoibos' grandmother. It was from his grandmother, then, that Phoibos acquired the oracle. And since he came into possession of it on his birthday, the seventh of Bysios (for this was, in cult, the day when his return to Delphi was celebrated, and in early times the one day in the year when oracles were given<sup>5</sup>), it was natural to say that she gave it to him as a birthday present.

The evidence of archaeology tends to confirm that at Delphi, as at certain other Greek sites, the dominant male deity of archaic and classical cult was preceded by a goddess. J. N. Coldstream has summarized the picture that emerges from the material record as follows:<sup>6</sup>

In late Mycenaean times, worship of a female deity is suggested by an accumulation of over two hundred female terracotta figurines, mainly of the twelfth century B.C. . . . Her cult lapsed during the Dark Age, but it is unlikely that the sanctity of the place was ever forgotten. Then, after three centuries without votive offerings, the worship of Apollo became firmly established when relations with Corinth were opened around 800 B.C.

Coldstream assumes, as others have,<sup>7</sup> that the Mycenaean goddess was remembered in the Greek tradition as Ge. The problem of continuity, however, is acute, and others again have adopted a sceptical stance. Perhaps the thread of tradition reaches back only to the ninth or eighth century. Even so, it is plausible that it should have preserved genuine memories of a goddess with whom divination was associated before Apollo assumed responsibility for it. At Aigeira, directly across the Corinthian Gulf from Crisa, there was an oracle of Ge, at which the procedure resembled that at Delphi inasmuch as the prophecies were delivered by a priestess who had to be chaste and who descended into a cavern to get her information.<sup>8</sup>

Aeschylus is the only author (except for Sch. Eur. *Or.* 164) who gives a succession of oracular goddesses, and this is evidently a construction to accommodate concur-

<sup>4</sup> See Wehrli, *RE*supp. v (1931) 564.14 ff., for honours she received at Delphi as Apollo's mother; she had no independent significance there.

<sup>5</sup> Callisthenes (*FGrH* 124 F 49) and Anaxandrides *ap.* Plut. *Q. Gr.* 292ef.

<sup>6</sup> *Geometric Greece* (London 1977) 178 f.

<sup>7</sup> E.g. Demangel, *BCH* 46 (1922) 507; M. P. Nilsson, *The Minoan–Mycenaean Religion*<sup>2</sup> (Lund 1950) 467–8; H. W. Parke and D. E. W. Wormell, *The Delphic Oracle*<sup>2</sup> i 7.

<sup>8</sup> Plin. *NH* xxviii 147, cf. Paus. vii 25.13. She had to drink bull's blood (generally considered a deadly poison: Hdt. iii 15.4, Soph. fr. 178 Radt, *Ar. Eq.* 83, etc.). Drinking blood is not attested for Delphi, but at the oracle of Apollo Deiradiotes at Argos, said to have been founded from Delphi, the prophetess drank the blood of a lamb sacrificed in the night before the monthly séance, and this was what brought her into the state of divine possession (Paus. ii 24.1; cf. *Od.* xi 95 ff. (Teiresias), and J. G. Frazer, *The Magic Art (Golden Bough*<sup>3</sup> i [1911]) i 381–3).

rent names. The attribution of oracles to Gaia reflected the old belief that mantic knowledge was to be drawn from the depths of the earth. Their attribution to Themis was a statement of a different order. The oracular pronouncements were themselves *θέμιστες*, ordinances,<sup>9</sup> and the verb *θεμιστεύειν* is used of giving them. To say that they came from Themis herself was the ultimate guarantee of their validity.<sup>10</sup> Themis and Gaia are not in serious competition; we remember how the author of *PV* makes his hero say

ἔμοι δὲ μήτηρ οὐχ ἅπαξ μόνον, Θέμις  
καὶ Γαῖα, πολλῶν ὀνομάτων μορφὴ μία,  
τὸ μέλλον ἤι κρανοῖτο προυθεσπικεῖ

(209–11). And Phoibe? This, I suspect, was the proper cult name of the old oracular goddess. Again there is no conflict with Gaia, for Phoibe may originally have been understood as a title of the earth-goddess herself.

Her consort Koios is an even more obscure quantity. Perhaps he too originally had to do with Delphic divination. There is a word *κοῖα* or *κοῖα*, attested only in Antimachus fr. 89,

κοῖας ἐκ χειρῶν σκόπελον μέτα ριπτάζουσιν.

Hence Hesychius has *κοῖας*: *σφαίρας*, ἢ λίθους, and the *σφαῖρα* interpretation recurs in *EM* 770.7 and Epimer. Hom. *AO* i 401.1, ii 329.9, where the fragment is quoted. I argued nearly twenty years ago that the other interpretation, ‘stones, pebbles’, is more probable for missiles aimed at a rock.<sup>11</sup> Now according to one tradition the earliest form of divination at Delphi was by means of pebbles, which some writers say were kept in the bowl of the tripod.<sup>12</sup> Philochorus and derivative sources state that the oracular pebbles were called *θριαί*, after local nymphs of this name who nurtured Apollo, but this seems to result from a secondary combination; the word suggests fig-leaves, *θρία*, not stones.<sup>13</sup> Some centuries earlier, perhaps, the mantic pebbles had been called *κοῖαι*, and when Phoibe needed a husband so that Leto could be affiliated to her, he was elicited from them.

These hypotheses have interesting consequences for Hesiod. They imply a Delphic constituent in his list of Titans. This is not a matter for astonishment. The Titans as a collectivity, the Former Gods, seem to derive from

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *Od.* xvi 403; Pind. *Pyth.* iv 54, *Paeon* ix 41, fr. 192.

<sup>10</sup> Nilsson, *Geschichte d. gr. Religion* i<sup>3</sup> (Munich 1967) 171.

<sup>11</sup> *Philologus* cx (1966) 156. I compared the Macedonian word *κοῖος* or *κοῖον* ‘number’ (*Ath.* 455de; cf. *calculus*). The Messenian stream Koios (Paus. iv 33.6) may have been named from its pebbly bed.

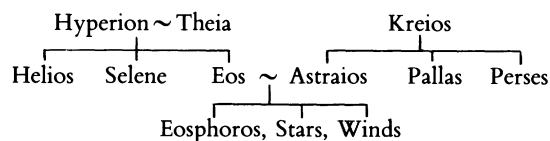
<sup>12</sup> See C. A. Lobeck, *Aglaophamus* (Königsberg 1829) 814 ff.; Wilamowitz, *Der Glaube der Hellenen* i<sup>2</sup> 372–4; Allen & Halliday on *Hom. Hymn.* 4.552; K. Latte, *RE* xviii. 1 (1939) 832; Jacoby on Philochorus *FGrH* 328 F 195; P. Amandry, *La Mantique apollinienne à Delphes* (Paris 1950) 27 ff.; J. E. Fontenrose, *The Delphic Oracle* (Berkeley 1978) 219 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Wilamowitz, *op. cit.* 373–1, and Jacoby l.c.

Mesopotamian mythology, coming to Greece as an organic part of the myth of the succession of rulers of the gods.<sup>14</sup> The succession myth certainly reached Hesiod via Delphi, since he identifies the stone that Kronos swallowed in place of Zeus with a stone displayed at Delphi (*Th.* 498–500). Somewhere along the way the Titans were fitted out with individual identities. Hesiod’s list is as follows:

Okeanos ~ Tethys  
Koios ~ Phoibe  
Kreios (m. Eurybie, dau. of Ge and Pontos)  
Hyperion ~ Theia  
Iapetos (m. Klymene, dau. of Okeanos)  
Kronos ~ Rhea  
Themis (m. Zeus)  
Mnemosyne (m. Zeus)

Okeanos and Tethys come from the oriental myth, though their classification as Titans is secondary and anomalous.<sup>15</sup> Kronos and Rhea play specific roles in the succession story and must have been Titans from an early stage. Koios, Phoibe, and Themis, we must now suspect, represent a Delphic contribution to the list. It was Apollo’s occupation of the oracle that made them into Former Gods. Mnemosyne may be Hesiod’s own contribution: she is the mother of his Muses, and he knows of her from a Boeotian cult (Eleutherai, *Th.* 54). Hesiod might also have added Iapetos, the father of Prometheus whose story so interested him; the fact that Homer names Iapetos beside Kronos as an arch-Titan (*Il.* viii 479) would then be a new indication of Hesiod’s priority. Kreios can again be related to Hesiod’s personal concerns, for he is the father of Perses and grandfather of Hecate. Hesiod is an enthusiastic evangelist for Hecate (*Th.* 411–52), and his brother Perses was presumably named after her father.<sup>16</sup> Kreios’ family is linked with that of Hyperion and Theia in a little cosmogonic scheme:



Possibly this all comes from the same family tradition as the worship of Hecate, that is, from Asiatic Greece. Hyperion as father of Helios is of course Homeric.

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<sup>14</sup> See my *Hesiod, Theogony* (Oxford 1966) 200–1; W. Burkert, *Die orientalisierende Epoche in d. griech. Religion u. Literatur* (Sitz.-Ber. Heidelb. Ak. 1984, 1) 90–1.

<sup>15</sup> See my *Hesiod, Theogony* 201, 204, and *The Orphic Poems* (Oxford 1983) 119–21; Burkert, *op. cit.*, 88–90.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. *Hesiod, Theogony* 278.