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the southwestern limit of the Melas Gulf, 6 near Suvla Bay. Coins and an inscription mentioning the Alope-konnesians were found thereabouts during the Gallipoli campaign. 7 Across the Melas Gulf, beyond the Sarpedonian Cape lay a peninsular site close to the mouth of the southern channel of the Hebros. Here, at Polytymbria or Ainos, Aeolians from Alopekonnesos settled, who were followed by ἔποικοι from Mytilene and Kyme. 8

Since Alkaios in exile compared himself with Onomakles, it is possible that the Athenian was driven out from Elaious to his neighbours in Alopekonnesos, and from Alopekonnesos he could have gone to Ainos. That is conjecture. What is clear is that an Athenian could easily have had dealings with Alopekonnesians in the time of Alkaios, because Elaious and Alopekonnesos were neighbours in the Thracian Chersonese. 9

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- 6 Strabo vii fr. 52 Meineke. Skylax §67 (GGM i 55). ATL i. 468.
- ⁷ C. A. Hutton, BSA xxi (1914/5 and 1915/6) 166-8.
- ⁸ Ephoros FGrH 70 F 39. Apollodoros 244 F 184 (Steph. Byz. s.v. 'Alvos', p. 52, 9–10 Meineke). Topography of Ainos: F. W. Hasluck, BSA xv (1908/9) 249–57. J. M. F. May, Ainos. Its history and coinage (Oxford 1950) 1–7.

⁹ In P. Oxy. 3711 ii 36 who are the Thracians and what are they doing? Near Alopekonnesos in the Chersonese they would be Dolonkoi (Herodotos vi. 34.1–2). At Poltymbria-Ainos they would be Apsinthioi: "Αψινθος was another name of Ainos (Steph. Byz. p. 52.1 Meineke). Apsinthians were warlike (Herodotos loc. cit.) and engaged in human sacrifice (Herodotos ix. 119.1); so the settlers at Ainos are likely to have been attacked. Compare the Klazomenians whom Thracians drove from Abdera (Herodotos i. 168).

Bowie on Elegy: A Footnote

It may be desirable to draw attention to an item of some interest for the history of literary genres which has just appeared in a Greek periodical which is not, as yet, widely accessible.

Angelos Matthaiou (HOPOΣ iv [1986] 31-4) publishes two grave stelai from Nikaia, between Athens and Piraeus. The script is unusual, in that the texts are written retrograde and from the bottom to the top of the stele. The obvious parallel for this is a funerary text discussed by Miss Jeffery in BSA lvii (1962) 136 no. 42 and dated by her around 540; one of her last scholarly observations was to confirm that the new texts appeared to be in the same hand.

One of the new texts is hopelessly fragmentary; the other runs:

Αὐτοκλείδο τό|δε σξιμα νέο π|ροσορον ἀν|ιόμαι / καὶ θα|νάτοι ΤΑΥ[. .]ΑΝ[---c.7-10--]

Ample parallels exist for the cretic in the first foot when a proper name is involved (Hansen *CEG* nos. 14, 138, 320). The substantial point is that, whatever is going on in the second line, a nameless first person is expressing feelings about the dead. It has generally been thought that this should not happen in a grave epigram. Now that it is clear that it can, there is, as Dr Hansen points out to me, no reason to doubt the reading of the stone in a second text (Willemsen, *Ath. Mitt.* lxxviii [1963] 118–22 no. 4 = *SEG* XXII 78 = Hansen, *CEG* 51; ca. 510?):

οἰκτίρο προσορδ[ν] παιδὸς τόδε σέμα | θανόντος:

Σμικύθ[ο] | hός τε φίλον ὅλεσε[ν ἔλπ' ἀγαθέν.

Although Willemsen's proposal to emend the first word to οἴκτιρο⟨υ⟩ was followed by Hansen, Peek (ZPE xxiii [1976] 93 n. 1) was right to reject this.

These two texts somewhat weaken the general refusal (Wilamowitz, Sappho und Simonides, 211; Friedländer-Hoffleit, Epigrammata 68–9; West, Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus, 21; Page, Further Greek Epigrams, 295) to see a sepulchral epigram in Anth. Pal. vii 511

σήμα καταφθιμένοιο Μεγακλέος εὖτ' ἄν ἴδωμαι, οἰκτίρω σε τάλαν Καλλία, οῖ' ἔπαθες.

At least, we now have parallels for an anonymous first person mourner, though not for a reference to a third person. So Bowie (JHS cvi [1986] 23) could still be right to see this one as consolatory, not threnodic. I cannot help thinking, however, that the existence on stone of two sixth-century texts of lamentation goes some way to breaking down the dividing-line between the funerary epigram and a hypothetical threnodic elegy and offers more support for the existence of the latter than Bowie is prepared to allow.

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Helen, her Name and Nature

To put forward ideas on the name and nature of Helen¹ may seem hazardous. As to her name, Chantraine's 'il est vain de chercher une étymologie' is fair warning, and as to her nature, the views of Wilamowitz and Martin Nilsson, diametrically opposed as they are, reveal the uncertainty of the evidence. Nevertheless an attempt to outline the problems shall be made, and if any solutions are proposed, it must be understood that they are meant to be tentative.

When Euripides wrote his play representing Helen as guiltless, telling his audience that it was an image of her that went to Troy with Paris whilst the real Helen went to Egypt, he followed a version of the story that was used a hundred or more years before him by Stesichorus. Stesichorus had earlier told the tale of the adulteress, and struck blind by the goddess Helen he wrote his famous palinode: οὐκ ἔστ' ἔτυμος λόγος οὖτος, οὐδ' έβας ἐν νηυσὶν εὐσέλμοις οὐδ' ἵκεο Πέργαμα Τροίας. We may discard the story of the blindness, either as sheer invention or as a misunderstanding of his saying that he was blind and now saw the truth. It is, however, known now, thanks to POxy 2735, admirably discussed by M. L. West in ZPE iv (1969) 142 ff., that Stesichorus went to Sparta, where Helen was indeed worshipped as a goddess. He may there have come across the story of the image, or possibly, having known it before, he now used it in order to please his Spartan hosts. Possibly, for, as we shall see later, the story of the image may be old and go back to Indo-European times. Old also, though

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