

priate food (Tantalus feeds his friends on the food of Olympus; Persephone is fed upon the food of the underworld); (4) the child's return to earth, ordered by Zeus, or by the immortals in general; and (5) the obligation that continues to bind the lovers even after the return to earth of one of them.²²

It seems probable that, having selected the Pelops-story as a paradigm for the chariot-victory that Hieron hoped to win at Olympia, Pindar modified it in order to accentuate its structural similarity to the central myth of his laudandus' patron goddess (using the stories of Ganymede and Achilles as subordinate structural models). In this sense, we could say that he used the Demeter-myth as a 'hypogram' for his version of the Pelops-story.²³

Two things are particularly remarkable about the structural similarity of the Demeter-myth and Pindar's Pelops-myth. The first is that the similarity accounts for the residue of details in Pindar's text that are not explained by the Ganymede-paradigm: the means of abduction (golden car rather than whirlwind), the parent most grieved by the abduction (mother rather than father), and above all the ultimate fate of the raped mortal (returned to earth rather than remaining forever on Olympus). The second point to be noted is that, by modelling the figure of the young Pelops upon Ganymede and the figure of the mature Pelops upon Achilles, Pindar has accentuated the notion of a *rite de passage* from boyhood to sexual knowledge. In so doing, he has created a figure with two distinct aspects. Krischer writes, [*h*]aben wir doch gewissermassen zwei Pelopsgestalten vor uns, den Knaben, der Ganymed gleicht, und den Herangewachsenen, der, selbst um den Preis des Lebens, zum Kampf entschlossen ist.²⁴ This aspect of Pindar's Pelops-narrative is loosely paralleled by the Demeter-myth, for the daughter of the goddess who is raped and carried off as Kore, the Girl, returns to the earth after her sexual initiation in a form sufficiently changed by her underworld experience that she even bears a new name, Persephone.²⁵

The structural similarity between the two stories highlights the emotional difference between them. The story of Demeter is a frankly ghoulish form of 'Tod und das Mädchen'. By contrast, the myth of Pelops is bright, even in spite of the customary Pindaric *chiaroscuro* that plays the light of victory off against the darkness of human mortality (esp. lines 97-9 where the victor's 'good weather' is limited by his state as a mortal, subject to the day). The basic movement of the myth of Demeter is one of descent and return. The basic movement of the Pelops-myth, by contrast, is one of ascent and return. This movement is emphasized by two

²² Three of these stages are also continued in different form in the Ganymede-myth, namely [1] abduction (by whirlwind instead of chariot) (*Hymn. Hom. Ven.* 202-3 and 208), [2] grief and uncertainty of parent (father) over whereabouts of child (*Hymn. Hom. Ven.* 208-9) and [3] connection between worlds established by love (Zeus' gift of horses to Tros) (*Hymn. Hom. Ven.* 210-7). See Kakridis 176-7.

²³ The term 'hypogram' is suggested to me by Professor Emmet Robbins. M. Riffaterre writes, *Semiotics of poetry* (Bloomington and London 1978) 23, '... the production of the poetic sign is determined by hypogrammatic derivation: a word or phrase is poeticized when it refers to (and, if a phrase, patterns itself upon) a preexistent word group. The hypogram is already a system of signs comprising at least a predication, and it may be as large as a text.'

²⁴ Krischer 72.

²⁵ Zuntz 75-83; Richardson pp. 16-20.

factors. First, the punishment of Tantalus (*Ol.* 1.56-8) arguably takes place upon Olympus and not in the underworld, as some have thought.²⁶ If so, the Olympian brightness remains even in the darkest corner of Pindar's myth. Second, Pindar establishes this movement by rejecting the usual version of the story in which Pelops is killed (line 49) upon Sipylus (38), thereby entering the underworld, and then resurrected to continue his earthly existence. The movement of the hero in this version parallels the descent and return in the Kore-myth, and Pindar's overt rejection of this version emphasizes the contrasting movement in the version he champions.

In this context it is worth noting that the ode Bacchylides wrote for the same victory as *Ol.* 1 also contains an allusion to the Demeter-myth. Bacchylides *epin.* 5.16-30, which describes the poet flying like an eagle in spite of all obstacles to carry the message of Zeus, is modelled on *Hymn. Hom. Cer.* 380-3, which describes the chariot of Aidoneus returning Persephone to the earth.²⁷ Like the Persephone-myth, the central myth of Bacchylides' ode (the *κατάβασις* of Heracles, lines 56-175) features an explicit descent to the underworld followed by an implicit return.

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²⁶ See *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* xxvii (1986) 5-13.

²⁷ Bacchyl. *epin.* 5.16-30:

..... βαθύν
δ' αἰθέρα ξουθαῖσι τάμων
ύμοῦ πεπερύγεσσι ταχεί-
αις αἰετός ...
.....
οὐ νιν κορυφαὶ μεγάλας ἰσχοῦσι γαίας,
οὐδ' ἄλός ἀκαμάτας
δυσπαίπαλα κύματα· νομά-
ται δ' ἐν ἀτρύτω χάει
λεπτότριχα σὺν ζεφύρου πνοι-
αῖσιν θειραν. ...

Hymn. Hom. Cer. 380-3:

ρίμφα δὲ μακρὰ κέλευθα διήνυσαν, οὐδὲ θάλασσα
οὐθ' ὕδωρ ποταμῶν οὐτ' ἄγκρα ποιήεντα
ἵππων ἀθανάτων οὐτ' ἄκριες ἔσχεον ὀρμήν,
ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν βαθύν ἥρα τέμνον ἰόντες.

The similarity of the two passages has been discussed by H. Maehler, *Bacchylides: Lieder und Fragmente* (Berlin 1968) 13, and *Die Lieder des Bacchylides, I: Die Siegeslieder*, vol. II *Kommentar* (Leiden 1982) ad 5.16-30 (page 93), M. R. Lefkowitz, *HSCP* lxxiii (1969) 45-96 at 95-6, and *The victory ode* (Park Ridge, N.J. 1976) 46, and Richardson ad *Hymn. Hom. Cer.* 383 (page 280).

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Sophocles and the Cult of Philoctetes*

Amongst the legendary heroes who appear in leading roles in the surviving plays of Sophocles, it is noteworthy that Oedipus, Ajax and Heracles all received some form of divine worship in Attica, not to mention localities more readily associated with each of them.¹

My thanks to Professor Hugh Lloyd-Jones, Dr Emily Kearns, Dr Oliver Taplin and anonymous referees for some most helpful amendments and suggestions.

¹ Sample evidence for the Attic cults of Sophoclean heroes: Pausanias i 30.4 (Oedipus), Diodorus Siculus iv 39.1 (Heracles), Pausanias i 35.3 (Ajax).

Sophocles is not unaware of this aspect of each of these figures, but where the future prospect of their cult is alluded to in the plays, such allusions are not always prominent or explicit; though the future cult of the Oedipus of the *Oedipus Coloneus* is crucial for the play, it is only directly mentioned in a few passages,² while the Ajax of *Ajax* is seen as a future receiver of cult only in a single unusual scene of supplicating his dead body,³ and it is unclear in the *Trachiniae* whether the audience is intended to supply a future cult on Oeta and apotheosis for Heracles.⁴ I should here like to argue that in *Philoctetes* Sophocles again consciously employs a hero destined to receive worship after his death, and that this is subtly suggested at the end of the play.

When Heracles intervenes to solve the crisis at the end of *Philoctetes*, he promises that, if Philoctetes goes to Troy, he, like Heracles himself, will gain undying renown (1418–22):

καὶ πρῶτα μὲν σοὶ τὰς ἐμὰς λέξω τύχας,
 ὄσους πονήσας καὶ διεξελθῶν πόνους
 ἀθάνατον ἀρετὴν ἔσχον, ὡς πάρεσθ' ὄραν.
 καὶ σοὶ, σάφ' ἴσθι, ταῦτ' ὀφείλεται παθεῖν,
 ἐκ τῶν πόνων τῶνδ' εὐκλεῆ θέσθαι βίον.

The description of Philoctetes' final reward (εὐκλεῆ θέσθαι βίον, 'make your life famous') seems to point to a glory which will be enjoyed during the hero's life, i.e. the sack of Troy, as Heracles goes on to say. However, there does seem to be some sort of hint at reward after death: ὡς πάρεσθ' ὄραν clearly points to the visible divine status of Heracles, whether this is indicated by a conventional laurel-wreath or by a radiantly youthful appearance,⁵ and Heracles' strong stress on his own apotheosis after his labours seems to indicate that he is promising something of the same kind to Philoctetes (καὶ σοὶ) as a happy issue out of all his afflictions—a pattern which also occurs in the *Oedipus Coloneus*, where the mysterious passing and apparent transfiguration of Oedipus is anticipated by the Chorus (1565–7):

πολλῶν γὰρ ἂν καὶ μάτνα
 πημάτων ἰκνουμένων
 πάλιν σφε δαίμων δίκαιος αὔξει

'Many were the sorrows that came to him without cause; but in requital may a just god lift him up' (Jebb, adapted). Is there a hint at a similar cult in the similar passage of the *Philoctetes*?

At first sight Philoctetes appears unpromising: no Attic hero-cult is attested for him, indeed none anywhere on the Greek mainland. However, one clear indication of cult elsewhere in the Greek world is given by Lycophron in the *Alexandra* (927–9):

ἐν δ' αὖ Μακάλλοις σηκὸν ἔγχωροι μέγαν

² On the references to heroic cult in O.C. cf. C. M. Bowra, *Sophoclean tragedy* (Oxford 1944) 319–20, R. P. Winnington-Ingram, *Sophocles: an interpretation* (Cambridge 1980) 254–5.

³ On the allusion to hero-cult in the corpse-supplication scene of the *Ajax* cf. P. Burian, *GRBS* xiii (1972) 151–6.

⁴ On the issue of whether we are to recall the apotheosis of Heracles on Oeta at the end of *Trachiniae* cf. P. Holt, above pp. 69–80, Bowra 159–60, H. Lloyd-Jones, *The justice of Zeus* (Berkeley 1970) 128–9, P. E. Easterling, *ICS* vi (1981) 56–74, T. C. W. Stinton in *Greek tragedy and its legacy: essays presented to D. J. Conacher* (Calgary 1986) 84–91. In *Philoctetes*, of course, there is no doubt about the matter (727–9, 1420).

⁵ Jebb ad loc. suggests the laurel-wreath, Webster (supported by D. Seale, *Vision and stagecraft in Sophocles* [London 1982] 45) the youthful radiance, also seen in divine depictions on vases.

ὑπὲρ τάφων δείμαντες αἰανῆ θεῶν
 λοιβαῖσι κυδανοῦσι καὶ θύσθλοισι βοῶν.

'But in Makalloi the inhabitants will build a great shrine above his tomb, and will give him glory as an eternal god with libations and offerings of oxen'. The language seems to point clearly to a cult of Philoctetes (an 'everlasting god' honoured with libations and sacrifices). Makalloi was a Greek city of Bruttium in the foot of Italy, and there are several strands of tradition associating Philoctetes with this area.⁶ Another reference to this connection of Philoctetes with Magna Graecia also seems to hint at cult ([Aristotle] *Mir. Ausc.* 107):

παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Συβαρίταις λέγεται Φιλοκτῆτην τιμᾶσθαι . . . λέγεται δὲ καὶ τελευτήσαντα ἐκεῖ κείσθαι αὐτὸν παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Σύβαριν.

'It is said that Philoctetes is honoured by the Sybarites . . . it is said, too, that he died there and was buried by the river Sybaris'. The mention of honours and burial site again suggests hero-cult for Philoctetes. This might derive from Timaeus, the common source of the *Mir. Ausc.* and Lycophron;⁷ an additional source for the *Mir. Ausc.* may be the epic *Philoctetes* of Euphorion, quoted for much the same story by Tzetzes on Lycophron *Al.* 911 and 927, though Euphorion may not have used the final ending of hero-cult.⁸

Thus there is reasonably good evidence for a cult of Philoctetes in Magna Graecia. We must now return to Sophocles' play. Would the Attic author and audience of the *Philoctetes* in 409 BC know of this cult in Italy? The possibility is perhaps not altogether excluded, for since 415 the Athenians had of course been engaged in campaigns in Sicily and southern Italy, indeed in the very area associated with Philoctetes. In June 413 the Athenian generals Demosthenes and Eurymedon were preparing to advance on Rhegium from the north, driving straight for the Sybaris river, the burial-site of Philoctetes according to *Mir. Ausc.* (cf. Thucydides vii 35.1 ἐπὶ τῷ Συβάρει ποταμῷ ἦγον); their campaign was of course to end a few months later in disaster and humiliation in Sicily. This last factor, together with the comparative obscurity of an Italian cult of Philoctetes, leads to some difficulty, and the notion that an Athenian audience of 409 could or indeed would wish to pick up a covert allusion to a minor cult in Greek Italy where Athens had recently come to grief begins to seem less attractive. If Sophocles is to hint at a cult for Philoctetes, it should be one which is more familiar and less ominous to an Attic audience.

Two obvious further sites present themselves for Philoctetan cult because of associations with his story: the region of Oeta, where Philoctetes lit the pyre for Heracles, and the area of Lemnos, scene of his marooning and of Sophocles' play. Oeta is of course prominent at the end of the *Philoctetes* where Philoctetes is instructed by Heracles to return there and lay thank-

⁶ Cf. Strabo vi 1.3, Vergil *Aen.* iii 401–2, Fiehn in *RE* xix 2507.1 ff.

⁷ Cf. F. Susemihl, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur in der Alexandrinerzeit* (Leipzig 1891–2) 274, 478.

⁸ Only a single fragment of Euphorion's poem remains (fr. 44 in Powell's *Collectanea Alexandrina*); it concerns Iphimachus' care for Philoctetes on Lemnos. Tzetzes on Lycophron *Al.* 911 cites Euphorion for the salient details of Philoctetes' career in Italy without mentioning hero-cult, which suggests that this element was not in Euphorion's poem.

offerings on Heracles' pyre, but as that passage implies Oeta was indelibly associated with a larger figure of cult through the apotheosis of Heracles, who was himself worshipped there; there is no sign of cult for Philoctetes, either on his own account or in association with Heracles.⁹ For the area of Lemnos, however, we have clear evidence from the second century AD in a passing mention in Appian (*Mith.* 77—Lucullus overtakes Mithradates' forces in 73 BC):

Οὐάριον δὲ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ Διονύσιον περὶ Λῆμμον ἐν ἐρήμῃ νήσῳ καταλαβόν, ἔνθα δέικνυται βωμὸς Φιλοκτήτου καὶ χάλκεος ὄφης καὶ τόξα καὶ θώραξ ταϊνίαις περιδέτος, μνήμα τῆς ἐκείνου πάθης.¹⁰

'... overtaking Varius, Alexander and Dionysius at a deserted island in the region of Lemnos, where there is displayed an altar to Philoctetes and, all in bronze, a serpent and a bow and a corslet bound with ribbons, a memorial of his suffering'.

This deserted island in the region of Lemnos is clearly that of Chryse, now vanished but said to have been close to the east coast of Lemnos and the site of the sanctuary of its eponymous nymph where Philoctetes was originally bitten by the snake.¹¹ Here, I suggest, with altar and sacred objects, is a cult of Philoctetes which may well have been known to Athenians, and which seems highly relevant to Sophocles' play. It is located on an island only a few miles from Lemnos, the location of *Philoctetes* and strongly linked with Athens in the fifth century—originally annexed by Miltiades in 510 BC, Lemnos had been organized as an Athenian cleruchy in 450, and remained an Athenian possession until the third century BC apart from occasional short spells under the rule of others (e.g. the Spartans in 405–393).¹² Appian's description of the cult as a memorial for suffering (μνήμα τῆς ἐκείνου πάθης) matches the concern of Heracles in Sophocles' play for a happy issue from Philoctetes' tribulations (ἐκ τῶν πόνων τῶνδε—1422), while the appearance of the bow amongst the cult-objects corresponds to its important role in *Philoctetes*. It is of course possible that Appian is inventing or adapting the cult-details to match Sophocles' play, which he no doubt knew; but the details of the cult-objects, especially the θώραξ, not mentioned in Sophocles, suggest that he is reporting accurately. Though Appian's evidence comes from a much later period, there is at least some possibility that this cult of Philoctetes on Chryse existed in the fifth century BC and was known to Sophocles and his audience; it appears to

⁹ For the worship of Heracles on Oeta cf. L. R. Farnell, *Greek Hero-cults and ideas of immortality* (Oxford 1921) 170–4, A. B. Cook, *Zeus* iii (Cambridge 1914–40) 903.

¹⁰ μνήμα is Schweighäuser's conjecture for the MSS. μίμημα; it is supported both by the sense of the passage (μίμημα τῆς ἐκείνου πάθης would be appropriate for the snake but not for the bow or corslet, and μνήμα seems a much more natural term for a memorial cult) and by the fifteenth-century Latin translation of Appian by Candidus, possibly using independent MS. tradition, which renders the disputed word 'monimentum'.

¹¹ Cf. *Philoctetes* 1326–8, Pausanias viii 33.4. The same passage of Pausanias mentions that by the second century AD Chryse had sunk beneath the sea; the modern Kharos sandbank, some ten miles east of Lemnos, might be a good candidate for its remains. This island Chryse is not to be confused with the coastal city of Chryse in the *Iliad*, home of Chryses and Chryseis (*Iliad* i 431 ff).

¹² Cf. R. Meiggs, *The Athenian Empire* (Oxford 1972), 424–5, and E. Meyer in *Kleine Pauly* iii 554.

be a commemoration of and indeed a compensation for Philoctetes' sufferings on Lemnos, that is, precisely the kind of cult that Heracles seems to promise at the end of *Philoctetes*.

If this is accepted, what we find at the end of *Philoctetes* is in fact a type of cult—ἄτιον familiar in other Greek tragedies, found of course in the *Oedipus Coloneus* but particularly frequent at the end of the plays of Euripides. To quote Barrett on *Hippolytus* 1423–30: 'At the end of all his tragedies save *Tr.*—I exclude the satyric *Cy.* and prosatyric *Al.*; the end of *I.A.* is spurious, of *Ba.* lacunose—Euripides gives a similar prophecy of fifth-century cult or nomenclature or the like; on the lips of the *deus ex machina* if there is one, on other lips if there is none'. On the above argument, this pattern also occurs in *Philoctetes*: Heracles, the *deus ex machina*, prophesies (albeit by an oblique hint) a cult which may have existed in the fifth century BC. A closer comparison with the end of the *Hippolytus* serves to confirm this view. There Artemis, the *deus ex machina* whose close association with Hippolytus resembles that of Heracles with Philoctetes, foretells the Troezenian cult of Hippolytus as a compensation for the hero's dreadful sufferings (1423–5):

σοὶ δ', ὦ ταλαίπωρ', ἀντὶ τῶνδε τῶν κακῶν
τιμὰς μεγίστας ἐν πόλει Τροζηνίᾳ
δώσω . . .

These words bear an interesting resemblance to those of Heracles at *Philoctetes* 1421–2:

καὶ σοὶ, σάφ' ἴσθι, ταῦτ' ὀφείλεται παθεῖν,
ἐκ τῶν πόνων τῶνδ' εὐκλεᾶ θέσθαι βίον.

One feels that the appearance of this aetiological motif at the close of the play owes something to Sophocles' great contemporary and rival; but it has been put to characteristically Sophoclean effect. As Winnington-Ingram has pointed out,¹³ the appearance of Heracles at the end of *Philoctetes* avoids the discontinuity between human action and divine *dénouement* which occurs from time to time in Euripides: Heracles, the former owner of the bow, a previous sacker of Troy and friend of Philoctetes, though a god with consequent powers to solve mortal problems, is also the right figure to convince the hero to change his mind and to seek glory matching that of Heracles himself in taking Troy. Likewise, there is no discontinuity between Philoctetes' treatment in the play and the suggestion of hero-cult at its end. Philoctetes, marooned from normal humanity on his island, has an extra-human aspect, and like the *Oedipus Coloneus* combines physical infirmity with grand passions and sufferings which transcend the measure of mortality and suggest demonic stature. Philoctetes, like *Oedipus*, thus shows himself destined for heroic cult. Following the well-known passage of Aristotle (*Pol.* 1253a), his grand isolation shows him as a non-political animal and therefore 'either a beast or a god'; much emphasis is placed on his bestial aspects in the earlier part of Sophocles' play,¹⁴ but at the end of it his sufferings have earned him a divine reward.

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¹³ *Op. cit.* (n. 2) 299 n. 60.

¹⁴ On the bestial aspects of Philoctetes cf. Winnington-Ingram, *op. cit.* (n. 2) 290–1, B. M. W. Knox, *The heroic temper* (Berkeley 1964) 130–1.