

ARCHAIC GREEK FOUNDATION POETRY: QUESTIONS OF GENRE AND OCCASION

Περὶ τῶν γενῶν, ὧ Σώκρατες, τῶν τε ἡρώων καὶ τῶν
ἀνθρώπων, καὶ τῶν κατοικήσεων, ὡς τὸ ἀρχαῖον
ἐκτίσθησαν αἱ πόλεις, καὶ συλλήβδην, πάσης τῆς
ἀρχαιολογίας ἥδιστα ἀκροῶνται...

(Pl. *Hippias Maior* 285d)

FROM the eighth to the sixth centuries BCE the Greeks settled an astounding number of new cities on foreign lands from the Black Sea to the coast of Spain, and these new civic foundations generated narratives designed to record and celebrate a city's origin. In general, the Greeks loved to speculate about beginnings; the births of heroes, the origins of cults, and the founding of cities all formed part of their aetiological repertoire. While tales of city foundations appear prominently in archaic literature, I will argue that foundation (or *ktisis*) poetry does not, as is commonly assumed, function as an autonomous literary genre in the archaic period. Genre is determined by type of occasion, not by content, at this time, and there is no evidence for any one specific occasion for which *ktisis* poetry was intentionally composed and performed. Instead, the foundation narrative always functions as part of a larger project; we find it embedded in many different poetic genres. For these reasons, the *ktisis* is better understood as a literary *topos* or theme which adds geographical detail and aetiological focus to a variety of poetic contexts and thus is performed on more than one occasion.

Scholars have persisted in considering *ktisis* poetry to be an authentic archaic genre. A brief review of the evidence adduced for this genre, however, will show that in every case, there is good reason to believe that the foundation account is but part of a larger poetic programme.¹ A city's foundation will appear as part of a geographical catalogue or begin a local history; it will provide the spoof in a satire or motivate praise in a victory ode. An autonomous genre of *ktisis* poetry probably did exist in the Hellenistic period, however, and I will suggest that this Hellenistic genre has influenced both ancient and modern discussions of the role foundation poetry played in the archaic period.

A passage from Aristophanes' *Birds* exemplifies the wealth of poetic contexts available for celebrating a city foundation. Once Pisthetairos has founded his new city of Cloudcuckooland, a poet appears on the scene singing and calling upon the Muses to honour the new city in song.² And when Pisthetairos demands to know what this is all about, the poet replies as follows, offering a mixed bag of poetic genres in praise of Cloudcuckooland:

¹ Among discussions of foundation poetry, the work of one scholar, P.B. Schmid, *Studien zu griechischen Ktissagen* (Freiburg 1947) (hereafter Schmid), has proved particularly influential. Although he is very careful at each step to acknowledge, especially for the early poets, the hypothetical nature of his evidence, nevertheless, he comes to the conclusion that poets of the archaic period were writing *ktisis* poetry and that we can isolate certain components and characteristics of that genre. From the fragments and book titles which remain, he argues that as the archaic colonization movement unfolded, elegiac poets began to treat foundation stories in their works, and 'in der Folge entstand eine eigene Literaturgattung, die der Ktiseis, welche, wie der Name schon besagt, Stadtgründungserzählung zum Gegenstand hatte' (xiii-iv). F. Lasserre, 'L'historiographie grecque à l'époque archaïque', *QSt* iv (1976) 113-142 (hereafter Lasserre); E.L. Bowie, 'Early Greek elegy, symposium and public festival', *JHS* cvii (1986) 13-35 (hereafter Bowie), and A.P. Burnett, 'Jocasta in the west: the Lille Stesichorus', *CA* vii (1988) 107-154 also seem to believe in a genre of *ktisis* poetry although it is not clear what their definition of that genre would be.

² Ar. Av. 904-906.

μέλη πεποίηκ' εἰς τὰς Νεφελοκοκκυγίας
τὰς ὑμετέρας, κύκλιά τε πολλὰ καὶ καλά,
καὶ παρθένεια, καὶ κατὰ τὰ Σιμωνίδου.

(Ar. Av. 917-19)

The poet goes on to sing a bar or two of a poem which is a fairly clear parody of a Pindaric hyporcheme, but in the whole scene with the poet, there is no mention of this being specifically a *ktisis* song.³ Instead, the poet has come to sing a song in honour of the newly founded city, and he shows that he can embed this praise in a variety of poetic forms—a cyclic poem, a poem performed by choruses of young girls, the kind of choral song (epinikia, paians, threnoi) that both Pindar and Simonides are famous for singing.⁴ In short, this passage does not identify an occasion for the *ktisis* song, nor does it suggest what form such a song would take. Rather, the hymning of a new city serves as an aetiological topic common to a variety of songs, and a brief overview of this *topos* as it appears in archaic poetry will show that in every case, the *ktisis* forms part of a larger poetic context.

The first instance of a city foundation tale in Greek poetry appears in the *Iliad*; an account of the settlement of Rhodes is told as part of the *Catalogue of Ships*:

Τληπόλεμος δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν τράφ' ἐνὶ μεγάρῳ εὐπήκτῳ,
αὐτίκα πατρὸς ἐοῖο φίλον μήτρῳα κατέκτα
ἦδη γηράσκοντα Λικύμνιον, ὄζον Ἴαρος.
αἴψα δὲ νῆας ἐπηξε, πολὺν δ' ὄγε λαὸν ἀγείρας
βῆ φεύγων ἐπὶ πόντον· ἀπέλησαν γὰρ οἱ ἄλλοι
υἱέες υἱωνοὶ τε βίης Ἡρακλεΐης.
αὐτὰρ ὁ γ' ἔς Ῥόδον ἴξεν ἀλώμενος, ἀλγεα πάσχων·
τριχθὰ δὲ φκηθεν καταφυλαδόν, ἠδ' ἐφίληθεν
ἐκ Διός,

(Hom. *Il.* ii 661-69)

It has been argued that this passage is modelled on the earliest example of a *ktisis*, fully developed and in written form, and that the brief outline we find in the *Catalogue* must have as its source an *epos* on the founding of Rhodes.⁵ Furthermore, from this Iliadic passage, these scholars have isolated and defined certain components of a *ktisis*—the oikist's genealogy, reasons for colonization, preparation, the voyage, arrival at the foundation site, and the subsequent development of the new city.⁶

It is not necessary, however, to assume a full-fledged, literary epic on the founding of Rhodes as the source of the Iliadic passage; the poet is much more likely to be working here, as elsewhere in the *Catalogue*, from oral traditions. Furthermore, it is clear that this account of the founding of Rhodes is not itself a *ktisis* poem, but part of a catalogue incorporated into an epic poem. Instead of developing theories about hypothetical poetic sources for the founding of Rhodes episode in the *Catalogue of Ships*, it makes more sense simply to observe that an account of a city's foundation was an appropriate thematic component of catalogue poetry. After

³ Ar. Av. 926-30; cf. Pindar *fr.* 105a Snell 'Σύνεξ ὁ τοι λέγω, ζαθέων ἱερῶν ἐπάνυμε πάτερ, κτίστορ Αἴτνας'. Ar. Av. 939, the poet describes his song as a 'Πινδάρειον ἔπος'.

⁴ It is unclear what kind of poetry is meant by κύκλια; it is most often read as a reference to the circular choruses of dithyrambic poetry; cf. *Nub.* 333. On the circular nature of the dithyramb, see A.W. Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb, tragedy and comedy*² (Oxford 1962) 32; C. Calame, 'Réflexions sur les genres littéraires en Grèce archaïque', *QUCC* xvii (1974) 77-84.

⁵ E. Norden, *Die germanische Urgeschichte in Tacitus' Germania* (Leipzig 1922) 16; Schmid 4-8.

⁶ Schmid 6.

introducing Tlepolemos as the leader of the Rhodian contingent, the poet elaborates upon this hero and his past exploits. Since much of the material treated in the *Catalogue of Ships* is geographically oriented—listing where the Achaian heroes live and what cities they rule—it is understandable that foundation legends would appear in such a list. In fact a little earlier in the *Catalogue*, we find a shortened version of just such a legend:

Οἱ δ' ἐκ Δουλιχίου Ἐχινάων θ' ἱεράων
 νήσων, αἱ ναίουσι πέρην ἄλδος Ἥλιδος ἄντα,
 τῶν αὖθ' ἡγεμόνευε Μέγης ἀτάλαντος Ἄρηϊ
 Φυλείδης, ὃν τίκτε Διὶ φίλος ἱππότης Φυλεύς,
 ὃς ποτε Δουλίχιόνδ' ἀπενάσσατο πατρὶ χολωθεῖς
 (Hom. *Il.* ii 625-30)

Left undeveloped in this passage is the story of a quarrel between father and son which resulted in the settlement of Doulichion, a common motif in colonial traditions.⁷ Although Homer chooses not to elaborate here as he does later in the passage on Rhodes, it is still clear that colonial foundation legends work well within catalogue poetry.

Another poetic genre that incorporates foundation tales is narrative elegy. In the archaic period, elegiac poets such as Kallinos, Mimnermos, and Xenophanes began to compose long poems of local history, poems that related events from both the recent and distant past of a given city or area, and E.L. Bowie has persuasively suggested that these elegies were too long to be sung at symposia and were performed instead at public festivals.⁸ As we will see, public festivals are exactly the kind of civic celebrations at which foundation narratives would play an appropriate role.

Let us begin with Kallinos of Ephesos whose poetry included an account of the founding of Hamaxitos in the Troad. According to Strabo, Kallinos was the first to produce an account of the Cretans who settle a site in Asia minor 'where they are attacked by the earthborn':

Τοῖς γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Κρήτης ἀφιγμένοις Τεύκροις, οὓς πρῶτος παρέδωκε Καλλίνος, ὁ τῆς ἐλεγείας ποιητής, ἠκολούθησαν δὲ πολλοί, χρησμός ἦν αὐτόθι ποιήσασθαι τὴν μονήν, ὅπου ἂν οἱ γηγενεῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιθῶνται· συμβῆναι δὲ τοῦτ' αὐτοῖς φασὶ περὶ Ἀμαξιτόν· νύκτωρ γὰρ πολὺ πλῆθος τῶν ἀρουραίων μυῶν ἐξανθήσαν διαφραγεῖν, ὅσα σκύτινα τῶν τε ὀπλων καὶ τῶν χρηστηρίων· τοὺς δὲ αὐτόθι μείναι.

(fr. 7 W)

Again, it is unlikely that this testimonium refers to a poem limited to the foundation of Hamaxitos; what Strabo says is that Kallinos, an elegiac poet, was the first to hand down (παρέδωκε) an account of Hamaxitos' origins. There is no further mention of how he treats it, to what extent, or for what occasion. While it has been assumed that Kallinos wrote a *ktisis* poem (and that Strabo's evidence implies a connection between elegiac poetry and the *ktisis* genre),⁹ a look at the other testimonia to Kallinos' poetry suggests that his treatment of Hamaxitos' foundation was part of a larger elegiac narrative. From Strabo, for example, we learn that Kallinos was Kallisthenes' authority for the latter's account of the Kimmerian

⁷ The colonial legend of Ozolian Lokris was also motivated by a quarrel between father and son; see Plut. *Mor.* 294e. Other cities were founded as a result of familial conflict between two brothers; see, for example, Bacchyl. 11.59-81 on the conflict between Proitos and Akrisios and the founding of Tiryns; Paus. vii 2.1 on the conflict between Neleus and Medon and the colonization of Ionia; Hdt. v 42 on the conflict between Kleomenes and Dorieus that prompted Dorieus to set out on a colonial expedition. Schmid does not mention the Doulichion account in his discussion of the Rhodes *ktisis*.

⁸ Bowie 27-34.

⁹ Schmid 8-11 on Kallinos as *ktisis* poet; on the connection between *ktisis* and elegy, 9: 'Gründungssagen besungen bereits die ersten Elegiker'.

invasion and the sack of Sardis.¹⁰ Kallinos also commented on the prosperity of the Magnesians, successful in war against Ephesos,¹¹ and he mentioned that Kalchas died at Klaros and treated the subsequent fate of the Pamphylians.¹² In short, it appears that Kallinos, an elegiac poet from Ephesos, wrote a poem (or poems) not just about the founding of Hamaxitos in the Troad, but in which events in western Asia Minor from the seventh century and earlier figured. And in this broader context, his treatment of the founding of Hamaxitos makes more sense. The evidence does not point specifically to a *ktisis* of Hamaxitos, a work that begins and ends with the foundation, but rather to a treatment of the founding of Hamaxitos within a larger narrative elegy of historical focus.

Mimnermos also included at least one city foundation legend within his elegiac poetry. Strabo preserves two fragments (attributed to a poem called the *Nanno*) which may come from an account of the foundation of Kolophon. In the first, Strabo mentions that Mimnermos says that Andraimon of Pylos founded Kolophon.¹³ The second reference provides us with the following excerpt from the same work about the capture of Smyrna:

ἡμεῖς αἰπὺ Πύλου Νηλήϊον ἄστυ λιποντες
 ἱμερτὴν Ἀσίην νηυσὶν ἀφικόμεθα,
 ἐς δ' ἐρατὴν Κολοφῶνα βίην ὑπέροπλον ἔχοντες
 ἐξόμεθ' ἀργαλέης ὕβριος ἡγεμόνες·
 κεῖθεν δ' Ἀστήεντος ἀπορνύμενοι ποταμοῖο
 θεῶν βουλή Σμύρνην εἴλομεν Αἰολίδα.
 (Strab. xiv 1.4 = 9W)

These lines, too, have been attributed to an elegiac *ktisis* of Kolophon, but once again, they could easily have formed part of a larger historical narrative.¹⁴ Strabo tells us that both references come from a work entitled the *Nanno*; while he gives us no hint as to the genre of that poem, he does not refer to it specifically as a *ktisis*.

The nature of the *Nanno* has given scholars a great deal of trouble; even in antiquity there appears to have been some confusion about its contents.¹⁵ Porphyry tells us that Mimnermos wrote two brilliant books.¹⁶ Callimachus, in the preface to the *Aitia*, refers to and contrasts these two books of Mimnermos' poetry:

τοῖν δὲ] δυοῖν Μίμνερος ὅτι γλυκύς, αἱ κατὰ λεπτόν
] ἢ μεγάλη δ' οὐκ ἐδίδαξε γυνή.
 (Callim. *Aet.* i 11-12)

The Callimachus passage suggests that Mimnermos wrote one book of small poems (αἱ κατὰ λεπτόν) and one long poem (ἢ μεγάλη...γυνή). Only two titles remain for Mimnermos' work,

¹⁰ Strab xiii 4.8 = *Fr.* 5bW.

¹¹ *Fr.* 3W; cf. Athen. 525c: 'the Magnesians of Magnesia on Maeander were destroyed, as we read in the Elegiac Poems of Kallinos and in Archilochos, by excessive luxury, their city being captured by the Ephesians.'

¹² *Fr.* 8W. None of these citations refers to a specific work by title; Strabo only says that Kallinos wrote elegiac poetry.

¹³ *Fr.* 10W.

¹⁴ Schmid 13-16; see esp. 14: 'Im Folgenden, ein wenig weiter unten zitiert er (Strabo) sodann einige Verse, die deutlich auf die *Ktisis* von Kolophon Bezug nehmen.' He further suggests that in this poem, Mimnermos may have put these words into the mouth of the oikist himself. In his subsequent discussion, Schmid also concludes that both passages belong to the same work, and he suggests (182-88) that the theme of the *hybris* of the founder expressed in the fragment is a common theme of foundation literature.

¹⁵ For more detailed discussions of the evidence, see M.L. West, *Studies in Greek elegy and iambus* (Berlin/New York 1974) 72-6; A.W.H. Adkins, *Poetic craft in the early Greek elegists* (Chicago 1985) 93-5; Bowie 29-30.

¹⁶ Porph. on Hor. *Epist.* ii 2.99.

the *Nanno* and the *Smyrneis*, and most scholars assume that they refer to these two different works: *Nanno* is considered to be the title of the collected small poems, and *Smyrneis* refers to a long, historical poem of the type which Callimachus scorns.¹⁷ The *Smyrneis* is undoubtedly the elegy mentioned by Pausanias' about the battle of the Smyrnaeans against Gyges and the Lydians.¹⁸ Bowie believes it to have been 'a substantial narrative, long enough to acquire a title of epic form ... It probably concentrated on recent conflicts with Lydia—otherwise Pausanias' description would be odd—but also dealt with Smyrna's foundation'.¹⁹

Some problems arise, however, when it comes to assigning the extant fragments to either one of these two books, for the very fragments that treat historical topics suitable for the *Smyrneis*, such as the foundation of Kolophon, are said to come from the *Nanno*. Bowie offers two explanations: either Strabo misattributed the fragments, or the two books overlapped to some extent in content.²⁰ But there may be another solution. It is not impossible that the *Nanno* and the *Smyrneis* are but different titles for the same poem, namely, a longish elegy about the legendary and historical past of the city of Smyrna. West, although he believes the *Nanno* to be a collection of short works, suggests that the poems need not be completely devoted to the girl, Nanno, but may have just mentioned her name a couple of times.²¹ This same argument would account for the title *Nanno* even if it were a longer narrative poem, which might also have been called by a more descriptive title, *Smyrneis*. Certainly, the fragments about the founding of Kolophon, ascribed to the *Nanno*, would fit well within a more broadly focused historical narrative as suggested in the case of Kallinos of Ephesos, or they could come from a completely different kind of poem.²² But problems of attribution aside, no matter what kind of poem the *Nanno* was, the fact remains that the *ktisis* fragments in question are cited by Strabo in a larger poetic context. They come from another poem, perhaps a narrative elegy about Smyrmaean history, perhaps a collection of shorter pieces, but in either case, they do not comprise a poem described explicitly anywhere as a foundation poem.²³

Xenophanes may also have composed an elegiac local history. From Diogenes Laertius, we learn that Xenophanes was exiled from his homeland and subsequently lived in Sicily. It has

¹⁷ Cf. Bowie 28: 'I accept West's [1974] reconstruction of Mimnermos' *oeuvre* as consisting (at least for the Hellenistic period) of two books, referred to by the titles *Nanno* (at least six times) and *Smyrneis* (once). It is difficult not to conclude that *Nanno* is the title of one book, *Smyrneis* of the other, and West made a strong case for *Nanno* being a collection of short poems'. C.M. Bowra, *Early Greek elegists* (Cambridge, MA 1938) 27 says that the 'large woman' is the *Nanno*; West (n. 15) 74-6 and Adkins (n. 15) 93-4 argue that Callimachus uses 'the tall woman' to mean the *Smyrneis*.

¹⁸ Paus. ix 29.4: 'Mimnermos, in the Prelude to the elegiac lines he writes on the battle between the Smyrnaeans and Gyges and his Lydians ...'

¹⁹ Bowie 29.

²⁰ Bowie 29-30.

²¹ West (n. 15) 75-76. See p. 75 on the problem of the accuracy of the titles for Mimnermos' poems.

²² The smaller poems referred to by Callimachus need not be titled either *Nanno* or *Smyrneis*; they may not have received a book title at all. Even though two titles of Mimnermos' work survive, and Callimachus says that he wrote two books, given the problematic and inconsistent nature of poetic titles, we need not conclude that the two titles we have refer to two separate books. Indeed, Smyrna is the name of an Amazon who may have been celebrated as the eponymous foundress of that city, and Callimachus could be alluding to the Amazonian title by calling the poem 'a tall lady'. Bowie 28 suggests that Callimachus may be contrasting the *Nanno*, whose title perhaps includes a play on *vûvoç*, dwarf, with the tall lady, but Bowie also notes in n. 81 that there may be equal wit in alluding to the personal name Nanno by the expression 'tall lady'. Bowie insists that this reading of the evidence still leaves us with the problematic reference to the *Smyrneis* as *αἱ κατὰ λεπτὸν*. But, as I have suggested, this phrase may refer to a completely different collection of short poems.

²³ Lasserre 124-5 includes the *Smyrneis* within his discussion of historical, narrative epic as the beginning of historical writing in the archaic period.

been suggested that he took part in the colonization of Elea with the Phokaians.²⁴ In addition, Diogenes provides us with the following title or titles: Κολοφῶνος κτίσις καὶ τὸν εἰς Ἑλέαν τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀποικισμὸν.²⁵ Again these works of Xenophanes' are thought to be examples of *ktisis* poetry.²⁶

It is a tricky business at best to discuss works written by archaic poets known only by titles provided by post-Alexandrian sources; it is not even clear whether Diogenes refers to one or two works here. While Bowie acknowledges this problem, he believes Xenophanes to have composed an elegiac poem in the tradition of Mimnermos—containing an account of Kolophon's foundation and early history.²⁷ Jacoby thinks these are two different works and dismisses them both as the work of the third century forger, Lobon.²⁸ Even if these works of Xenophanes are genuine, nothing survives specifically attributed to this *Ktisis of Kolophon* that could give us an idea of their contents. Nevertheless, scholars have suggested that an unattributed fragment of Xenophanes (one which mentioned the originally tough Kolophonians who turned soft with Lydian influence) might come from the *Ktisis of Kolophon*.²⁹ This is possible, but once again, it is also plausible that the fragment comes from a more general narrative elegy, just to mention one possibility.³⁰ Furthermore, in the case of the poem on the settlement of Elea, this work, if indeed separate from the Kolophonian poem, need not have treated the colonization of Elea in isolation either. Another fragment preserved by Aristotle mentions the volcanoes of Lipara and suggests that Xenophanes might have been interested in and written about more than that one particular western Greek settlement.³¹ In any event, if we take the conservative view of the evidence, we have only two titles and one unattributed fragment—not enough to justify the conclusion that Xenophanes composed specific *ktisis* poems; rather he included accounts of city foundations in larger poems which unfortunately have not survived in their entirety.

Similarly, the Suda tells us that Panyassis wrote a history of Ionia, a poem of 6,000 verses about Kodros and Neleos and the Ionian colonies.³² As in the cases discussed above, once again we need not assume that this work limited itself to accounts of the founding of the Ionian colonies; it certainly included their beginnings but probably treated other material as well.³³ In fact the passage from the *Ionika* cited as evidence for a *ktisis* is a mythological account of the birth of Adonis, son of Smyrna, probably the eponymous heroine of the city of the same name.³⁴ In other words, this very passage provides proof once again that accounts of the

²⁴ D.L. ix 18: 'Banished from his birthplace <he lived> at Zancle in Sicily, <took part in the settlement of Elea by a colony from that city, and taught there> (Diels' supplement) ...' We know that he lived in Elea (Arist. *Rhet.* ii 1400b55; Pl. *Soph.* 242d), but he did not necessarily take part in the colonization.

²⁵ D.L. ix 20.

²⁶ Schmid 24-35.

²⁷ Bowie 32: 'The title of the Colophonian section—κτίσις—shows that foundation (and, presumably, early history) was a major theme.'

²⁸ See F. Jacoby, *Atthis* (Oxford 1949) 364 n. 62 and his commentary to *FGrH* 450 T 1.

²⁹ Athen. 526a = *Fr.* 3W on the τρυφή of the Kolophonians; discussed by T. Bergk, *Poetae Lyrici Graeci* (Leipzig 1900) at Xenophanes *fr.* 3: Schmid 26.

³⁰ Pollux preserves a fragment that might also come from a narrative elegy in which Xenophanes discusses the possibility that the Lydians were the first to strike coins (*Onom.* ix 82). The unattributed fragment could also come from Xenophanes' philosophical poetry.

³¹ Arist. *Mir. Ausc.* 833a16.

³² Suda s.v. Πανύασσις: 'he wrote ... an *Ionika* in pentameter, that is, a work about Kodros and Neleos and the Ionian colonies in 6,000 verses.'

³³ Jacoby (n. 28) 363-4 n. 62 is doubtful about the authenticity of this work as well, and once again suggests Lobon as the author of the title. He argues that it is remarkable for a work of this size not to be cited.

³⁴ Apoll. iii 14.4 cited by Schmid 36-42.

origins of cities alone do not comprise an autonomous literary genre in the archaic period; they are part of larger poetic projects.

The above passage suggests that narrative elegy, especially if, as Bowie argues, narrative elegy was performed at public festivals, is another kind of generic context which easily accommodates tales of city foundations. The following selection attributed to Archilochos about the founding of Syracuse may belong to such a poem, or perhaps to the kind of iambic satire for which he was famous:

Τοιοῦτος ἐγένετο καὶ Αἰθίοψ ὁ Κορίνθιος, ὡς φησι Δημήτριος ὁ Σκῆπιος, οὐ μνημονεύει Ἀρχίλοχος· ὑπὸ φιληδονίας γὰρ καὶ ἀκρασίας καὶ οὐτος, μετ' Ἀρχίου πλέων εἰς Σικελίαν, ὅτ' ἐμελλε κτίζειν Συρακούσας, τῷ ἑαυτοῦ συσσίτῳ μελιτοῦττης ἀπέδοτο τὸν κλῆρον, ὃν ἐν Συρακούσαις λαχὼν ἐμελλεν ἔξειν.

(Athen. 167d = Archil. fr. 293W)

It has been assumed that either Archilochos himself composed an elegy about the founding of Syracuse or that his use of this anecdote is based on an earlier poetic *ktisis* of Syracuse, composed perhaps by Eumelos of Corinth.³⁵ But a look at the rest of the Archilochean corpus finds no reason to limit the Athenaeus passage to the context of a *ktisis* poem. The tone of the anecdote, as it survives, does not serve to glorify the founder, Archias, as has been suggested, but rather to mock the greed and gluttony of Aithiops, and this theme is not unfamiliar to the reader of Archilochos' poetry which often makes satirical reference to historical figures of the recent past.³⁶ Several tetrameter fragments also survive that relate the colonial conflicts between the Parians and the Thracians on Thasos, and they, too, provide an alternative generic context for city foundation poetry.³⁷ In the absence of other more persuasive evidence, we can only conclude that Archilochos was aware of Syracuse's colonial history and included it within one of his poems. Oral traditions recounting the foundation of Syracuse were no doubt in circulation, and the biographical evidence which has been introduced in support of Archilochos as *ktisis* poet could just as easily be used to explain Archilochos' choice of a colonial expedition as the historical backdrop for a biting satire on Aithiops, the glutton.

In addition to the more narrative genres of catalogue poetry or elegy, foundation traditions also appear in choral contexts like the epinikion, drama, or the paian.³⁸ In the case of choral

³⁵ Schmid 12-13 suggests that Archilochos wrote an elegiac *ktisis*. He brings circumstantial biographical evidence to his argument. Archilochos' father, Telesikles, was the founder of Paros' colony, Thasos in the North Aegean, and Archilochos himself probably took part in the early stages of the colony, especially in the subsequent wars against the native Thracian tribes. Furthermore, a fragment of Archilochos' poetry leads us to believe that he went to the colony of Siris in southern Italy before going to Thasos. Lasserre 120-21, on the other hand, argues that Archilochos had to use a written poem as his source for his poem, and he deduces that it was a *Ktisis of Syracuse* written by Eumelos of Corinth. His argument, however, is not persuasive. He uses evidence from the chronology of Clement of Alexandria and notes that Clement dates Eumelos with respect to Archias and Archias with respect to Archilochos. 'Il fallait donc non seulement qu'Archiloque ait évoqué Archias, ce que nous pouvons vérifier, mais aussi qu'Eumélos lui ait fait une place dans l'un de ses poèmes.' Lasserre also brings in an oral tradition about the founding of Croton and Syracuse which associates the founder of Syracuse with potential wealth (Strab. vi 2.4) and argues that this is the same theme as Archias benefitting from Aithiops' folly. Neither of these arguments proves that Archilochos used a written *ktisis* as his source.

³⁶ Lasserre 120-21, for the glorification of Archias. For satirical comments on historical figures, see, e.g., fr. 19W (Gyges); 114W (στρατηγός).

³⁷ Fr. 92-105W; see also 20-22W.

³⁸ Other narrative poems which appear to have included foundation material include an *Archaeology of the Samians* by Semonides of Amorgos (see Schmid 16-21; Lasserre 125-6; Jacoby *FGrH* 534 T1 commentary) and an elegiac poem on Chios by Ion of Chios (see A. von Blumenthal, *Ion von Chios* (Stuttgart/Berlin 1939) 15-18; Schmid 43-52; F. Jacoby, 'Some remarks on Ion of Chios', *CQ* xli (1947) 5. Genealogical poetry would also incorporate foundation tales, especially those with eponymous heroes. See, for example, the work of Asios of Samos included in Schmid 21-24.

poetry, it becomes even more clear that the account of a city's foundation does not function as its own genre. Instead, it provides local detail and focus (just as a myth about Herakles or Achilles would) to a poem in honour of an athletic victor or one in thanks for a military victory. The account of Tlepolemos and the colonization of Rhodes, which appears in the *Catalogue of Ships*, also plays an important part in Pindar's seventh Olympian ode. In order to praise Diagoras of Rhodes, victorious in the boxing competition at Olympia, Pindar compares the athlete to his city's founding hero. Tlepolemos killed his uncle, Likymnios, fled Argos, and subsequently colonized Rhodes:

καὶ γὰρ Ἀλκμήνας κασίγητον νόθον
 σκάπτῳ θενῶν
 σκληρᾶς ἐλαίας ἔκτανεν Τί-
 ρυνθι Λικύμνιον ἐλθόντ' ἐκ θαλάμων Μιδέας
 τᾶσδὲ ποτε χθονὸς οἰκί-
 στήρ χολωθεῖς. αἱ δὲ φρενῶν ταραχαὶ
 παρέπλαγξαν καὶ σοφόν. μαντεύσατο δ' ἐς θεὸν ἐλθῶν.
 τῷ μὲν ὁ χρυσοκόμας εὐ-
 ῶδεος ἐξ ἀδύτου ναῶν πλόον
 εἶπε Λερναίας ἀπ' ἀκτᾶς
 εὐθὺν ἐς ἀμφιθάλασσον νομόν
 (Ol. 7.27-33)

In his role as city founder, after death Tlepolemos receives annual heroic honours from the city (games and processions), and Pindar tells the story of the founding of Rhodes within *Olympian 7* in order to suggest that Diagoras, by virtue of his boxing victory, achieves a similar heroic status within his community. Here there is no question of suggesting that this passage is a *ktisis*, for it clearly is something else—an epinikian ode.³⁹

Pindar's *Pythian 5*, a victory ode for Arkesilaos of Cyrene, also includes a colonial legend within the larger context of epinikian poetry. Pindar structures his praise of Arkesilaos' athletic accomplishments to be heard as an echo of Battos' heroic exploits as city founder—each successfully performs daring deeds; each puts his city on the map. *Pythian 5* opens with praise for Arkesilaos; he is blessed as king of Cyrene and as victor in the chariot races at Delphi. The poet reminds Arkesilaos that all his good fortune is due to Apollo and suggests that in this respect the victor imitates Cyrene's founder and first king, Battos, a man similarly favoured by Apollo. Pindar then provides a brief précis of Cyrene's colonial legend:

κεῖνόν γε καὶ βαρύκομποι
 λέοντες περὶ δειματι φύγον,
 γλώσσαν ἐπεὶ σφιν ἀπένεικεν ὑπερποντίαν·
 ὁ δ' ἀρχαγέτας ἔδωκ' Ἀπόλλων
 θήρας αἰνῶ φόβῳ,
 ὄφρα μὴ ταμίᾳ Κυρά-
 νας ἀτελῆς γένοιτο μαντεύμασιν
 (Pyth. 5.57-62)

Pindar's allusive treatment of Cyrene's foundation by Battos of Thera corresponds with Herodotus' more detailed account. Trouble at Thera (either a seven-year drought or Battos' stutter) led the Theraeans to consult Delphi, and in response, the oracle commanded Battos to

³⁹ Schmid, for example, does not include this passage in his discussion of the *ktisis* genre. For a fuller discussion of this poem and its use of a colonial narrative, see C. Dougherty, *The poetics of colonization* (Oxford 1993) 120-35 (hereafter Dougherty).

lead a colonial expedition to Cyrene.⁴⁰ In *Pythian 5*, as in *Olympian 7* and other epinikian odes, Pindar uses Battos, Cyrene's city founder, as a model of praise for the victor. Both owe their success to Delphic Apollo, and both share their heroic status with the city at large. For while the epinikian is concerned with praising the victor's extraordinary athletic skill and daring, its function is also a communal one. An athlete, especially a victorious one, temporarily steps outside the boundaries of common experience; he approaches the world of heroic activity, and while his experience there can bring fame and power to his native city, that transferral must be carefully and publically negotiated. To orchestrate the victor's re-integration into the city at large is the goal of the epinikian ode. As epinikian poets, both Pindar and Bacchylides include foundation traditions in their poems. The story of how a victor's native city was founded is both a persuasive source of praise for that victor and provides the link between his achievements and the public arena.⁴¹

The epinikian is not the only choral genre to make use of founding traditions. Aeschylus composed a tragedy, *Aitnaiai*, in celebration of Hieron's fifth century foundation of Aitna, and he too incorporated important colonial traditions into the play.⁴² In addition a close reading of Pindar's second Paian shows how the themes and conventions of foundation traditions coincide with those of the paian. While any historical narrative of a city or region would logically open with an account of that city's origins, foundation traditions function a little differently in choral contexts. Participation in a chorus is a public activity, and it is the job of the chorus to represent the city at large.⁴³ Colonial legends help a city reconfirm its civic identity, and since choral poetry literally includes the community within its performance, it provides an ideal forum for a public restaging of its civic origins.

Mention of occasion brings us to our second reason for dismissing the *ktisis* as an archaic literary genre. In the archaic period, poetic distinctions were made according to a set of generally understood rules based primarily upon the occasion for which a given poem was composed and performed.⁴⁴ The paian is normally sung to Apollo or Artemis; the dithyramb

⁴⁰ Hdt. iv 150-58. The lions, while absent from Herodotus' account, appear in *Pythian 9* as well. For a more detailed discussion of how Pindar's treatment here of Cyrene's foundation works within the larger scheme of colonial representation, see Dougherty 103-19 and 136-56; C. Calame, 'Narrating the foundation of a city: the symbolic birth of Cyrene', in L. Edmunds ed. *Approaches to Greek myth* (Baltimore/London 1990) 277-341; C. Segal, *Pindar's mythmaking: the fourth Pythian ode* (Princeton 1986).

⁴¹ Pindar also uses the founding tradition of Cyrene in *Pythians 4* and *9*; the foundation of Aitna is the focus of *Pythian 1*; Bacchylides includes the founding of Tiryns in Ode 11. See Dougherty 103-56. It is interesting to note that Schmid does not mention any of these epinikian poems as examples of *ktisis* poetry.

⁴² Cf. Dougherty 83-102.

⁴³ Cf. C. Calame, *Les choeurs de jeunes filles en Grèce archaïque* (Rome 1977). Calame's study of the function of the chorus in archaic Sparta has shown that the composition of adolescent choruses depends narrowly on the political structures of the city. In the *Laws* 799 a-b; 828 a-c, Plato explains that in establishing the festivals and religious ceremonies for a new state, choruses will be chosen to reflect the geographical division of the city. Cf. A.P. Burnett, *The art of Bacchylides* (Cambridge, MA 1985) 50 and 175 n. 6 for passages where the epinikian poet equates the chorus and the city. Cf. Pickard-Cambridge (n. 4) 35-7 on the dithyrambic competition in the Dionysia at Athens: each chorus is drawn entirely from one of the ten tribes; there are five choruses of men and boys so all ten tribes compete. The chorus leaders, or choregoi, were chosen by tribal officials and the victory was primarily that of the tribe. Cf. Demosth. xxi 5.6; Lys. iv 3. See also G. Nagy, *Pindar's Homer: the lyric possession of an epic past* (Baltimore/London 1990) 364-68, who argues that civic divisions are reproduced and acted out in the process of establishing and constituting choral performance.

⁴⁴ The genre distinctions we now use for Greek poetry were not fully conceptualized until the time of the Alexandrian poet-scholars in the Hellenistic period, and for this reason, these classifications prove to be problematic when applied to earlier poetry. For more complete discussions of genre distinctions in the archaic period, see M. Davies, 'Monody, choral, lyric, and the tyranny of the handbook', *CQ* xxxviii (1988) 52-64; Calame 1974 (n. 4) 113-128; Calame 1977 (n. 43) 149-76; L.E. Rossi, 'I generi letterari e le loro leggi scritte e non scritte nelle letterature classiche', *BICS* xviii (1971) 69-94; A.E. Harvey, 'The classification of Greek lyric poetry', *CQ* v (1955) 156-75. For a collection of Alexandrian references to lyric genres, see H. Färber, *Die Lyrik in der Kunsttheorie der Antike*

celebrates Dionysos; a hymenaion forms part of the marriage ceremony, and the threnos belongs to a funeral procession.⁴⁵ Since genre is not determined primarily by content, but by occasion, a variety of topics, such as a city foundation, can be embedded in any one poetic context. To say that *ktisis* poetry was a separate literary genre in the archaic period implies a specific occasion for its performance, and there is no evidence for any such occasion. Colonial cities honoured their founders as heroes and celebrated the cult of the founder annually with athletic games and sacrifices. While it is tempting to suggest that this annual celebration would call for a special kind of foundation song, again there is no mention of such a song or occasion. Instead, a city's foundation was celebrated as part of a variety of other civic occasions—victory celebrations (athletic and military), public festivals, religious ceremonies, and the poetry performed on these occasions easily accommodates the themes and details of colonial foundations into its generic context.⁴⁶

Consequently, working with an occasion-oriented concept of literary genre for the archaic period, a close examination of the evidence forces us to conclude that an autonomous genre of foundation poetry did not exist in the archaic period. But if this is the case, how do we account for the misunderstanding? How do we explain the various titles of works which, taken in isolation, seem to point to a *ktisis* genre in early times? Since our testimonia come from post-Alexandrian sources, it makes sense to look to that period in literary history, in order to determine if, in fact, Alexandrian literary influence might be at the root of the problem. Two important phenomena took place in the Hellenistic period, one literary, one historical, both of which are relevant to our problem. First, on the literary front, by the third century BC, the intellectual movement led by the poets Callimachus and Apollonius of Rhodes catalogued and classified Greek literature in a systematic way for the first time. Second, at roughly this same period of time, the Greek world experienced another great period of expansion and colonization begun by Alexander the Great and continued by his successors. The combined effect of these two events, I would suggest, prompted the invention of a specific literary genre of foundation poetry.

At Alexandria, during Zenodotos' tenure as librarian, the overwhelming task of cataloguing the library's holdings was begun.⁴⁷ The *Pinakes* of Callimachus were a product of this need to devise a set of principles for organizing literary works, a poetic library card catalogue. Callimachus classified both poetry and prose works, working with broad generic categories, some traditional and some improvised. The works of authors were grouped according to a variety of principles. For example, Simonides' epinikia were grouped by type of athletic event while Pindar's were organized according to festival; Sappho's poems, on the other hand, were grouped by meter. This is also the period of Greek literature when literary genres (as we now think of them) are in fact created, defined, and refined. The need to organize the holdings of the library at Alexandria provided the poet-scholars with the critical distance necessary for such work; they were forced to think along generic lines not only in the context of creating poetry, but as a result of trying to classify it.⁴⁸

In addition, while Callimachus and his contemporary Apollonius Rhodius were at Alexandria,

(Munich 1936).

⁴⁵ Cf. Calame 1977 (n. 43) 117 n. 12 for examples.

⁴⁶ This reveals the extent to which the Greeks liked to connect the present with the past by linking the story of a city's origins with a variety of public occasions like victory celebrations, paians, or drama.

⁴⁷ For discussion of the scholarly movement at Alexandria, see R. Pfeiffer, *History of classical scholarship* (Oxford 1968) 87-151.

⁴⁸ See works by Calame, Harvey, Rossi, cited in n. 44, for discussion of genre in the Alexandrian period.

another great period of colonial expansion was taking place.⁴⁹ Alexander the Great, in the course of his campaigns in central Asia, founded approximately twenty cities. Following in his footsteps, Alexander's successors carried on the expansion; the Antigonids, Seleukids, Attalids all founded new cities. The diffusion of Greek settlers into Asia and Egypt in the hundred years after Alexander's conquests was as far reaching in every way as was the great colonial movement of the archaic period. Ptolemy II Philadelphos, under whose reign Callimachus and Apollonius Rhodius lived and worked at Alexandria, was himself responsible for founding a number of cities.

It makes sense then that as the new period of Greek expansion takes place, contemporary poets once again reflected these events in song, and we do have evidence for such poems by Apollonius and Callimachus.⁵⁰ Schmid argues that Hellenistic poets borrowed the archaic genre in order to apply it, with a few characteristic Hellenistic changes, to the new foundation.⁵¹ But I would suggest, since we have seen that there was no autonomous *ktisis* genre in the archaic period, that both as a result of the new interest in cataloguing and classifying poetry and of the resurgence of colonial expansion in the Hellenistic period, this is the time when the true genre is born. In Hellenistic poetry, one no longer defines a type of poetic discourse solely by its occasion. The poetry and poetic forms of the earlier Greek poets are adopted and modified by the Hellenistic poets with little regard for the function for which they were originally composed since those occasions were no longer a part of the lives of the new poets.

It is extremely likely then that this confluence of events, literary and historical, helps establish foundation poetry as a specific literary genre in the Hellenistic period. Just as single rulers such as Alexander or Ptolemy II founded multiple new cities, so a poet such as Apollonius and Callimachus wrote several *ktiseis* or collections of *ktiseis*.⁵² Any discussion as to exactly what this new Hellenistic genre entails lies outside the scope of this paper, but if we assume that there was a vital Hellenistic genre of foundation poetry, it is possible that later writers were influenced by the Alexandrian genre distinctions and applied them anachronistically to the works of the archaic poets. One way in which we can imagine the effect of Alexandrian influence involves the (mis)use of titles of poetic and prose works. An author might refer to part of a work as if it were a complete work in itself. The individual poems of Stesichoros, for example, were referred to and catalogued as if they were books of poems;⁵³ individual episodes of the Homeric poems had their own names as early as Herodotus.⁵⁴ Consequently, we can imagine the following scenario: an author refers to part of a work by an archaic poet that treats the foundation of a city in the context of a larger work. The author calls the subsection a *ktisis*, for it is the section of the poem which describes the foundation, but at a still later point in time, after the Hellenistic poets do create a separate genre of *ktisis* poetry, this reference is misunderstood by Diogenes Laertius, for example, to refer to a complete poem by that title, and a new work is born.

To sum up, *ktisis* poetry belongs to many different types of occasional literature in the

⁴⁹ Schmid 53-55 discusses the Hellenistic *ktisis* in the context of the new colonial movement, with a description of Hellenistic texts to follow (55-89).

⁵⁰ For Apollonius, see J.U. Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina* (Oxford 1925) fr. 4-12. Some of the titles include Αλεξανδρείας κτίσις; Κάνονος κτίσις; Κνίδου κτίσις. Callimachus included foundation material in the *Aetia* ii fr. 43 *De Siciliae urbibus*, and the Suda gives us the following title: κτίσεις νήσων καὶ πόλεων καὶ μετονομασία.

⁵¹ Schmid 53-5.

⁵² Schmid 64-83.

⁵³ Cf. Harvey (n. 44) 158.

⁵⁴ Pfeiffer (n. 47) 115-16.

archaic period. Instead of functioning as an autonomous genre, colonial legends serve rather as a literary *topos*, one which is both flexible enough to be adapted into many different poetic contexts yet distinct enough to be recognized as such. A survey of the remaining evidence for the poets to which *ktiseis* have been attributed has suggested in every case another generic context for the foundation account—catalogue poetry, narrative elegy, iambic satire, or an epinikian ode, just to name a few of the possibilities. The likelihood of confused titles together with the influence of Alexandrian genre distinctions help explain why later authors may have mistakenly attributed *ktiseis* to archaic poets.

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