# MYTH AND THE *POLIS* IN BACCHYLIDES' ELEVENTH ODE*

**Abstract**: Bacchylides' eleventh epinician ends not with renewed praise of the victor but with an extension to the ode's main myth which forges a link between the Arcadian cult of Artemis founded by Proetus and his daughters and the foundation of the victor's home city of Metapontum by Achaean colonists identified with the heroic captors of Troy. The culmination of the ode in praise of a successful colonial foundation, it is argued, is the key to the principles on which Bacchylides has selected and moulded the mythological elements that he deploys in the rest of the ode. Proetus' foundation of Tiryns resolves the civil strife which threatened to destroy Argos and commends colonization as a means of social and political progress; while the cult of Artemis at Lousoi, founded to expiate the Proetids' offence against Hera, emphasizes the role of marriage in maintaining the strength and solidarity of the community. The emphasis in both these myths on the divine intervention which rectifies human error links them to the experience of the victor and to the theme of the proper cultivation of the gods that is emphasized in the ode's conclusion. In constructing mythical narratives that are exemplary for the victor and his community, Bacchylides departs from mythological tradition in significant respects and in ways which suggest that the ode's argument reflects both the victor's status in the community and perhaps also the circumstances of its own performance.

BACCHYLIDES' eleventh ode celebrates a Pythian victory in the boys' wrestling event won by a certain Alexidamus of Metapontum. Its date is unknown.[1] The ode praises Alexidamus' Pythian victory, but also contrasts it with a previous defeat at Olympia, attributed to the error of the judges (24-36). This setback, the poet affirms, has now been remedied by the intercession of Artemis, worshipped at Metapontum (113-20) and responsible for the present victory (39). It is Artemis who provides the point of contact with the poem's mythical narrative, which embeds the tale of the foundation of Tiryns within an account of the madness that drove the daughters of Proetus from Tiryns to the wilds of Arcadia. In gratitude for Artemis' role in their release the maidens established a cult in her honour (96), a cult brought to Metapontum by its 'Achaean' founders.

Recent scholarship has given us Maehler's great commentary;[2] fine interpretations of the ode as a whole;[3] detailed accounts of the elaborate ring-structure;[4] expositions of its thematic antithesis of civilization and savagery;[5] and suggestions regarding the relation between the mythical narrative and the experience of the victor.[6] There are also notable recent contributions to an extensive literature on the relation between the various versions of the Proetid myth.[7] There is, however, no single study which combines a comprehensive account of Bacchylides' handling of all his mythological material with a full exposition of its encomiastic function. Myth is central to the rhetorical purpose of all Bacchylides' longer epinicians; but this is even more true of this ode, in which the mythical elements, articulated *via* a pervasive series of structural and thematic links between them, are the main vehicle of the poem's argument. In this paper, I argue that, in so far as we can establish the detail of previous mythographic tradition, Bacchylides exploits it with a single consistent purpose, namely to set the present victory in the context of praise of the victor's city as a successful and divinely favoured colonial foundation.

[1] Mertens-Horn (2001) 80 claims that the ode's date tallies with that of a mid fifth-century marble head of a boy wrestler found at Metapontum, but neither artefact can be dated precisely enough to warrant this claim, and the identification of the subject of the sculpture with Alexidamus is no more than wishful thinking.

[2] Maehler (1982); abridged in English, but in essentials unaltered in Maehler (2004).

[3] Carey (1980); Burnett (1985) 100-13.

[4] See esp. Hurst (1983).

[5] See Stern (1965); Burnett (1985) 107-13; Segal (1998).

[6] See Carey (1980) 229-40; Garner (1992); MacFarlane (1998).

[7] See Seaford (1988); Dowden (1989) 71-95; Johnston (1999) 66-70.

## I. THE FOUNDATION OF METAPONTUM

In order of disposition, the poem's three mythological elements are: (i) the healing of the daughters of Proetus; (ii) the dispute between the brothers Proetus and Acrisius and the settlement of Tiryns; and (iii) the foundation of Metapontum by the 'Achaeans'. The last of these to be deployed is the latest in chronological sequence and clearly intended as the culmination of the entire ode. Though Ode 11 has the tripartite structure typical of a Bacchylidean myth ode, it is unusual in that the final section (113-26) does not return explicitly to praise of the victor, but rather constitutes a pendant to the ode's central myth. Though this section exhibits formal and thematic echoes of the poem's beginning (in its references to the victor's city, 116, *cf.* 10; to justice, 123-4, *cf.* 9, 26-7; and to the central theme of the role of the divine in human success and failure, 121, *cf.* 34, 37-9), the victor himself is present only in so far as the cult of Artemis at Metapontum (115-20) explains the goddess' role in his victory (37-9) and the present victory may be regarded as one of the past, present and future 'deeds of valour' of the Achaeans (126; *cf.* ἀρετᾶς, 7). The persistence of a mythical element in the closing section of the ode thus creates a powerful concluding emphasis on the foundation of the victor's city and the establishment of one of its cults. It is this that provides the link between the local deity's role in the victor's success and the central narrative of myths from the Greek homeland.[8]

Two local traditions appear to have argued for (in some sense) an 'Achaean' foundation of Metapontum: (i) the city was founded by Pylian followers of Nestor when driven off course on their return from Troy;[9] (ii) there was a later refoundation by settlers from Peloponnesian Achaia summoned by the Achaeans of Sybaris in the course of a dispute with the Spartan colonists at Tarentum.[10] The former refers to Achaeans only in so far as all the Greeks at Troy are Achaeans, and (since there is no evidence of Bronze Age Greek settlement at Metapontum)[11] presumably constitutes a later mythologizing attempt to provide a colonial city with a pre-colonial heroic origin.[12] Bacchylides, however, not only represents the Achaean foundation of Metapontum as an exploit of Homer's Achaeans, he conflates these with the Tirynthians led by Proetus who founded the temple of Artemis at Lousoi (the cult travelled 'from there' (113) with the Achaeans). Lousoi, however, is not in Achaia, but in neighbouring Arcadia, and the mythical origins of its cult (as narrated by Bacchylides) are Argive/Tirynthian, not Achaean. This may be a sign that Bacchylides is grafting a myth of Metapontum's Achaean origins onto a more widely known Argive myth; but it has also been suggested that the cult of Artemis at Lousoi may indeed have been brought to Metapontum by Achaean settlers who nonetheless regarded the Arcadian Artemision at Lousoi as a focus of their own cult.[13] This is not unreasonable; but the fact that Bacchylides has an agenda in identifying (a) the adherents of the cult at Lousoi with (b) the Achaean founders of Metapontum and (c) the Achaean conquerors of Troy suggests that the sleight of hand which equates (c) and (b) may also extend to the equation of (b) and (a). On the other hand, it is at the least suggestive that the earliest of several depictions of the healing of the Proetids in art (a fourth-century red-figure vase showing a Dionysiac version of Melampus' cure of the Proetids in a sanctuary of Artemis, *LIMC* 7, Proitides 4)[14] comes from neighbouring

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[8] For praise of a colonial city by connecting its traditions with those of the motherland in Pindar, see Carey (1980) 238.

[9] Strabo 5.2.5, p. 222, 6.1.15, p. 264; Vell. Pat. 1.1.1.

[10] Antiochus, *FGrHist* 555 F12 *apud* Strabo 6.1.15, p. 264.

[11] Carter (1994) 162.

[12] See Prinz (1979) 164-5; Bacchylides will be an early witness to this development of South Italian foundation myths, which Prinz (1979) 165 identifies as more typical of the late Classical/Hellenistic period.

[13] See K. Tausend (1993) 16, 24 (on the hypothesis that among the Achaeans who settled Metapontum were Azanian, i.e. Arcadian, inhabitants of Achaean Pellana) and Morgan (1999) 419 (suggesting that Lousoi may have been a cult centre for southern Achaeans as well as northern Arcadians). For doubts about Tausend's hypothesis, see Nielsen and Roy (1998), esp. 23-6, 36-9.

[14] Naples Mus. Naz. 82125 = Trendall, *LCS* 114.589.

Tarentum (*cf.* the later fourth-century Sicilian kalyx-krater, *LIMC* 7, Proitides 5). Dörig further speculates that the seventh-century New York ivory group often held to depict the Proetids' madness (*LIMC* 7, Proitides 3) is of Tarentine workmanship.[15] Thus there is (albeit slight) evidence for the popularity of the Proetid myth in South Italy at a period not long after (and possibly, if Dörig is right, even before) the composition of Bacchylides' ode. But this is not specifically Metapontine evidence, and the popularity of the Proetid myth in Laconian Tarentum does not in itself argue either for or against its being an authentic element of the colonial traditions of Achaean Metapontum. As Bacchylides' account of the 'Achaean' foundation of Metapontum is designed to reflect the maximum possible credit on the city's origins, we should be alert to the possibility of encomiastic manipulation of the mythological tradition. It is conceivable that the Achaean founders of Metapontum could have brought with them the myth of the Proetids' foundation of the cult at Lousoi; and if the Proetid myth was important to the Metapontines, they will doubtless have known tales of the earlier stages of Proetus' career.[16] But (as we shall see) other versions of Proetus' departure from Argos and the madness of his daughters are even more firmly embedded in Argive tradition and genealogy than the one narrated by Bacchylides. We can assume that the culmination of the ode in praise of the city and its origins reflects the agenda of those who commissioned it;[17] but one may well doubt whether all of the mythical resonances exploited by the poem, though very much to the Metapontines' credit, sprang fully formed from their own traditions. More likely, I suspect, is a fruitful interaction between the local traditions of the patrons and the inventiveness and rhetorical skill of the poet.

As the τέλος of the ode, this focus on the victor's home city, and especially its cult of Artemis, is the decisive factor in the choice of all the mythical elements that underpin the poem's argument, though this does not become fully apparent until the performance of the poem is complete and all its mythical elements narrated.[18] The 'desirable grove beside the Casas with its abundant waters' to which the poet refers in 118-19 has been identified with a sanctuary of Artemis by the river Basento at San Biagio, some 6km from Metapontum.[19] Prominent among the attributes of Artemis here, as far as one can tell from the site, its location and the votive offerings found there, are the goddess' functions as huntress, mistress of animals and κουροτρόφος, as well as her associations with girls' rites of passage.[20] The local goddess' reversal of Alexidamus' previous defeat at Olympia (24-39) sets up the argument of the rest of the ode in several different ways. First, the epinician topos of 'the victory that got away' is turned by Bacchylides into the first in a sequence of troubles and human errors resolved by divine intervention;[21] thus a minor epinician topos encompasses two major ones, that of vicissitude/alternation and the importance of divine favour in success. Second, the introduction of the goddess, with its two pairs of contrary epithets ('of the golden distaff, Agrotera, Hemera, bow-famed', 37-9), sets up the dialectic between civilization and savagery that informs the rest of the ode (especially the myth of the Proetids). Next, the intervention of the goddess, to be seen (no doubt) as recognition of the piety of the victor, his family and their fellow-citizens, is (together with the favour of her divine sibling, Apollo, 15-17) crucial in allowing the current communal festivity (10-12); and the

[15] Dörig (1962) 81-4.

[16] For the view that there is a genuine continuity of tradition from Bronze Age Tiryns to Archaic and Classical Metapontum, see Dowden (1989) 93-4.

[17] *Cf.* Maehler (1982) 2.241-2. On the basic supposition that the agenda of an epinician ode is ultimately the patron's rather than the poet's, see Mann (2000).

[18] *Cf.* Carey (1980) 230, 236. That the goddess' cult at Metapontum is the *raison d'être* for the foundation myth of the cult at Lousoi helps refute the hypothesis of Merkelbach (1973) that the ode celebrates a victory at the Hemerasia at Lousoi; see further Köhnken (1976).

[19] See Olbrich (1976) esp. 398; Carter (1994) 168-9; De Siena (2001b) 25-6; contrast Zancani Montuoro (1975).

[20] Olbrich (1976); Carter (1994) 181; De Juliis (2001) 96-107; *cf.* in general Adamesteanu (1974) 55-65.

[21] For the 'the victory that got away', *cf.* Bacch. 4.11-13, Pind. *Nem.* 6.61-3, 11.22-9. These parallels suggest that MacFarlane (1998) 43 is wrong to find the inclusion of such a detail 'strange' in an epinician.

communal festivity is itself a sign of the flourishing of a city that stands in the right relation with the gods. The theme of the 'god-honoured city' (12) is then paralleled at crucial points in the rest of the ode: the favour of Zeus (towards the rulers and inhabitants of 'god-loved Argos', 60) permits the settlement of Tiryns with its beautiful Cyclopean walls (73-9) and 'god-built' streets (58); the sacrifices and choruses of women whose establishment accompanies the dedication of the temple at Lousoi (110-12) right the Proetids' wrong and restore the goodwill of the gods towards Tiryns; and the 'Achaeans' create the conditions both for the flourishing of Metapontum and for the success of the victor by bringing Artemis' cult from the motherland and establishing by the banks of a Metapontine river a precinct like that which Proetus and his daughters established at the waters of Lousoi (95-6, 113-20).

In their chronological (but not in their narrative) progress the poem's myths present a long journey, from the leaving of Argos (60, 81) to the arrival at Metapontum (113-20), a journey which entails a series of foundations of cults and cities: the city of Tiryns (Τίρυνθα ... κτίζειν, 71-2; *cf.* ναῖον, 61, 80); the altar at Lousoi (β]ωμὸν κατένασσε, 41; τέμενος βωμόν τε τεῦχον, 110; *cf.* the building of Tiryns' walls, 77-9); the city of Metapontum (113-20, including ναίεις, 116, and 'established an ἄλσος' in 118-20).[22] As Segal observes, city and altar are 'parallel expressions of man's civilizing power';[23] but it is notable that the dedication of a temple is described by a verb meaning 'to settle' (people in a place: κατένασσε, 41; *cf.* perhaps 119-20); somewhat similarly the migration of Proetus' Argive faction to the already existing city of Tiryns (founded by its eponymous hero, according to Pausanias 2.25.8) is presented as *de novo* foundation (κτίζειν, 72);[24] in this poem which concludes with a version of a colonial city's foundation myth, the stress is on the creation of the new community. The ode's final section draws together all that has gone before, its flattering application of the city's own traditions confirming the centrality of the community to the ode and its myths.

## II. THE QUARREL OF PROETUS AND ACRISIUS

The earliest chronological stage in the poem's mythical narratives is represented by the quarrel of Proetus and Acrisius, leading to the former's settlement and fortification of Tiryns (59-81). Bacchylides is the earliest source for this myth, though it is no doubt much older. Later sources agree with Bacchylides that the brothers quarrelled and that the outcome was an agreement that Acrisius should rule in Argos and Proetus in Tiryns: in Pausanias there is a battle between them,[25] but it is indecisive and leads to reconciliation; in schol. Eur. *Or.* 965 Acrisius overcomes his brother in battle and it is decided that Proetus should be exiled; before departing, however, he amasses an allied force of Argives, Lycians and Aetolians, and Acrisius' side come to terms; in Apollodorus (2.2.1), Proetus and Acrisius are twins who quarrel in the womb and later wage war over the kingdom; Acrisius wins and exiles Proetus, but the latter returns with an army of Lycians granted him by his father-in-law, the king of Lycia, and takes Tiryns by force. These accounts come to very much the same thing; all include the information that the war between the brothers was the first to be fought using shields.[26]

Bacchylides has a reference to 'battles' between the brothers (68), but seems to suggest something less than the full-scale civil war of the later sources; 'painful necessity' threatens (72), but is averted, both by the success of the people in dissuading the brothers from strife and by the goodwill of Zeus. The poet places all emphasis on the community and its welfare: in the

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[22] On the text of 119-20, see now Maehler (2004) 155 *ad loc.*; the sense is, however, clear.

[23] Segal (1998) 271.

[24] *Cf.* Kenyon (1897), Jurenka (1898), both *ad loc.*; Meiser (1904) 6.

[25] Paus. 2.25.7; *cf.* Hsch. *s.v.* Δαῦλις.

[26] A different tradition (found in Ov. *Met.* 5.238-41, Hyg. *Fab.* 64) has Proetus overcome Acrisius and seize the kingship of Argos, only to be killed by the latter's grandson, Perseus.

brothers' strife (64-72), the focus is on the objective fact of its harmful consequences for the people; division and faction among the ruling family are condemned (67-8), but neither brother is singled out for blame. Both, indeed, immediately accept a reasonable solution proposed by the community itself, a solution which puts the interests of the community before their own. Proetus leaves with his followers to settle Tiryns, still a 'much-envied king' (63). In return for being reasonable and putting the interests of the people first, Proetus receives superhuman assistance in the fortification of his city, and the whole project has the support of Zeus, who likewise exhibits a concern for the welfare of the community and is impartial in favouring neither of the two brothers over the other (73-6). Tiryns, as a successful foundation designed to resolve a crisis and end civil strife, can thus serve as a paradigm for Metapontum.[27]

Similar is Bacchylides' version of the origin of the quarrel: this is a 'small beginning', though it leads to 'strife not to be overcome' (64-5). In Apollodorus (2.4.1), however, the cause is Proetus' seduction of his niece, Danae, and schol. ABD on *Il.* 14.319 attribute this version to Pindar (*fr.* 284 S-M); for Maehler and Seaford Bacchylides' formulation is an allusion to the seduction;[28] but it is unlikely that, in an account that otherwise effaces the negative elements of the tradition, Bacchylides would wish the adjective βληχρᾶς ('small', 'trivial') to allude to such a thing – anyone who caught the allusion would also be struck by the inappropriateness of the description and driven to take an attitude to the quarrel that Bacchylides seems to wish to pre-empt. More likely he intends deliberately to distance his account from that of Pindar – whatever the beginning of the quarrel was (and he does not say) it was a trivial matter, not a great offence against family loyalty and assault upon a brother's honour. This places the brothers' quarrel within the theme of human fallibility that permeates the poem.

Proetus, founder of a 'famous city' (78) with 'god-built streets' (58), can then, with the negative elements of his presentation removed, serve as a paradigm for the victor.[29] To become so, however, he must first solve a further crisis, the madness of his daughters which has its analogue in the 'strange thought' that 'struck' him (πλᾶξεν, 86) as madness struck them (παραπλῆγι φρένας, 45). The dissolution of his household that results from his daughters' departure to roam the wilderness is likewise mirrored in Proetus' own inner division (85-91, especially δοίαξε, 87), a crisis that corresponds to the division (διχοστασίαις, 67) which threatened the community of Argos and is resolved in a similar way, by the appeals of others (*cf.* 69-72 with 89-91).[30] The pain caused by his daughters' mental disturbance and wandering once healed (by Artemis, as a result of prayers that recall those of the people of Argos which elicited the beneficence of Zeus, 69-76), Proetus can stand as an exemplar for Artemis' ending of Alexidamus' pain, caused by the wandering wits of the Olympic judges (35).

[27] For civil strife as a typical motivation for colonization, see Dougherty (1993) 17, 131. The purification of the Proetids is probably also a reflection of the typical presence of that motif in foundation-myths, but if so, the motif has been transferred from its standard location in the sequence as resolution of the crisis which led to departure from the mother city (see Dougherty 35-40 and *passim*); here purification takes place ten years after the foundation of Tiryns, and so Bacchylides' narrative cannot be said to represent 'the founding of the city [of Tiryns] as a purificatory act' (Dougherty 131).

[28] See Maehler (1982) 2.228, and (2004) 149, on 11.65; Seaford (1988) 132.

[29] See Garner (1992).

[30] On the analogy between psychological and social division, see Seaford (1988) 132. For διχοστασία as a political term, see Sol. 4.37 West (quoted in a political context by Dem. 19.255) and Thgn. 78 (quoted by Pl. *Leg.* 630a); *cf.* Hdt. 5.75, Crat. *fr.* 458 Kock (not accepted by Kassel-Austin: see *PCG* 4.239, *post fr.* 232).

## III. THE MADNESS OF THE PROETIDS

The story of the daughters of Proetus constitutes the poem's main myth. Bacchylides' is a simple and coherent version; but it is also a unique one.[31] In our poem, the Proetids, still virgins, offend Hera by comparing her wealth (i.e. that of her temple) unfavourably with that of their father. The goddess sends them, mad, into the wilderness, where they roam for thirteen months until, at the stream of Lousos in Arcadia, their father secures their release by praying to Artemis, who persuades Hera to relent. This contrasts markedly with the fullest version of the Proetid myth, found in Apollodorus (2.2.1-2). Here the maidens, Lysippe, Iphinoe and Iphianassa, on becoming full grown, are driven mad either because they refuse to accept the rites of Dionysus (a version the author attributes to Hesiod) or because they are contemptuous of the wooden image (ξόανον) of Hera (attributed to the early fifth-century Argive genealogist, Acusilaus (*FGrHist* 2 F28 = Fowler)).[32] The Proetids then roam throughout the Argolid, Arcadia and the rest of the Peloponnese 'with all sorts of disorder/unseemliness'. The seer Melampus offers to cure them in exchange for a third of Proetus' kingdom, but Proetus refuses, whereupon his daughters' condition worsens and affects the rest of the women, who leave their homes, kill their own children and range over the wilderness. Proetus now has to give in to Melampus, but the latter now demands two-thirds of the kingdom, one for himself and one for his brother, Bias. Proetus capitulates, and Melampus leads the young men of the city in a chase which pursues the women, 'with ritual cries and a sort of possessed dancing' (μετ᾽ ἀλαλαγμοῦ καί τινος ἐνθέου χορείας), from the mountains to Sicyon. In the chase, Iphinoe dies, but the others are married to Melampus and Bias. Proetus himself later has a son, Megapenthes.

It is clear that this is a synthesis of originally distinct traditions.[33] First, the madness has two stages, associated with an increase in Melampus' demands: he offers to cure the Proetids in exchange for one-third of the kingdom, but when Proetus refuses, the rest of the women go mad, and Proetus is forced to relinquish two-thirds of his kingdom to secure their release. Proetus' folly in rejecting Melampus' original terms occurs in a passage of Herodotus (9.34) that suggests that it was a proverbial example of such a situation; but here it is only the women of Argos who have been driven mad – there is no mention of Proetus' daughters. Other versions confirm that the madness of the women of Argos is indeed a distinct tale: Apollodorus himself twice refers to its essentials without introducing the Proetids;[34] and in Diodorus Siculus (4.68.4) and Pausanias (2.18.4) a connection of the madness of the Argive women with that of the daughters of Proetus is ruled out by the fact that the former occurs in the reign of Anaxagoras, Proetus' grandson (Diodorus) or great-grandson (Pausanias). Though in Herodotus it is Proetus who is compelled to relinquish two-thirds of his kingdom to Melampus and his brother in order to release the women from their madness, the fact that this role can be allocated to Anaxagoras in Diodorus and Pausanias indicates that the story of the madness of the women of Argos need not be associated with Proetus and his daughters.[35] Only Apollodorus 2.2.2 includes the Proetids in an account of the madness of the matrons of Argos, and the two-stage process by which he does so bears all the hallmarks of conflation.[36]

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[31] For a thorough and convincing account of the relevant traditions, on which I rely heavily in what follows, see Dowden (1989) 71-95.

[32] Dated to 'before the Persian Wars' by Joseph. *Ap.* 1.13.

[33] *Cf.* in general Robert (1917) 310; Radke in *RE* 23.1 (1957) 120, 122-3; Schwartz (1960) 371, 374 n.3, 375; Vian (1965) 30; Dowden (1989) 78-9; Jost (1992) 176-7.

[34] In 1.9.12 Melampus heals the women of Argos, maddened by Dionysus, in exchange for a share of the kingdom; and in 3.5.1 Dionysus, having maddened the women of Thebes, comes to Argos and does the same, forcing the women, who refused to honour his rites, on to the mountainsides, where they devour their own children.

[35] See Dowden (1989) 73-6, 80; *cf.* Friedländer (1905) 32; Nilsson (1967) 613; Radke in *RE* 23.1 (1957) 118-19; Vian (1965) 30; West (1985) 78; Johnston (1999) 69.

[36] The two stories (Proetids and Women of Argos) are so similar in basic structure as to be virtual doublets (see Eust. 288. 28 on *Il.* 2.556 = 1.445.3-4 Van der Valk, and

Apollodorus' conflation of the two myths goes some way towards explaining his attribution to Hesiod of a version of the Proetid myth in which Dionysus and not Hera was the offended deity. The Hesiodic origin of this lies not, as many have guessed, in the *Melampodia*,[37] but in a passage of the *Catalogue of Women* which, Dowden has persuasively argued, refers not to Melampus' healing of the Proetids, but to that of the women of Argos, maddened by Dionysus.[38] With this passage in mind as a source for an account which sees the madness of the Argive women and of the Proetids as elements of the same narrative, Apollodorus has somehow managed to overlook the fact that the *Catalogue*'s version of the Proetids' madness traces its cause to the anger of Hera, despite using it as his source (cf. *Cat. fr.* 129 with the beginning of Apollodorus' account at *Bibl.* 2.2.1).[39] The name of the goddess may be preserved in the obelized line 48 of *fr.* 129 M-W, but is in any case confirmed by two citations, one from Probus' commentary on Virgil, *Eclogue* 6.48 (*fr.* 131 M-W) and one from Philodemus' *On Piety*.[40] *Fr.* 129 names Proetus' daughters as Iphinoe and Iphianassa, with Lysippe a certain restoration from Apollodorus. The girls are old enough to marry (*fr.* 130), but offend the deity most closely associated with marriage. Sexual behaviour, the μαχλοσύνη for which Hera destroys their beauty (*fr.* 132), is part of their offence, and part of their punishment is a skin disease which renders their skin blotchy and white.[41] The *Catalogue* thus agrees with Acusilaus and Bacchylides (and probably also with Pherecydes: see below) that Hera was the offended deity. All early versions of the Proetid myth therefore give it an initiatory character, concerned with girls' passage from maidenhood to marriage, and Bacchylides does not have to reckon with his audience's familiarity with versions of the Proetid myth in which the girls offended Dionysus.[42] In this respect he seems rather to be following the standard version.

He departs from previous versions, however, in omitting the role of Melampus. If (as seems likely) the notes of Probus and others on Virgil, *Eclogue* 6.48 (the source of *Cat. fr.* 131 M-W) give the Hesiodic original accurately,[43] then that version will have included the role of Melampus in healing the Proetids. If Acusilaus' main reason for recounting the story of the Proetids was genealogical, his account may also have contained the healing of the Proetids by Melampus and the division of the kingdom between Proetus, Melampus and Bias. And Melampus must have

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*cf.* Rapp in Roscher, *ML* 3.2.3004-5); this has created a mutual attraction between the two. Thus versions of both basic stories include Melampus, Bias and the division of the kingdom (*cf.* the 'Women of Argos' version, Paus. 2.18.4ff., on the threefold descent of the Argive throne from Anaxagoras, Melampus and Bias, with the 'Proetid' version in schol. Pind. *Nem.* 9.30b on the descent from Proetus, Melampus and Bias); likewise Melampus' marriage to one Iphianeira, daughter of Anaxagoras, in Diod. 4.68.4 is clearly a doublet of his marriage to Iphianassa, daughter of Proetus, in Apollodorus.

[37] See Löffler (1963) 37; *cf.* Robert (1926) 247; Radke in *RE* 23.1 (1957) 123; Schwartz (1960) 547; Dörig (1962) 87; Vian (1965) 30; Burkert (1983) 170; Jost (1992) 178.

[38] See *fr.* 37 M-W with Dowden (1989) 75-6 and 218 n.10; *cf.* Schwartz (1960) 373-5 and contrast West (1985) 78.

[39] On the difficulty of this, *cf.* Dowden (1989) 218 n.12. For the belief that Apollodorus is simply mistaken, see Nilsson (1967) 613 n.2; Radke in *RE* 23.1 (1957) 119; *cf.* West (1985) 79.

[40] Referred to *fr.* 132 in the apparatus of Merkelbach and West, but, if the reconstruction by Henrichs (1974) is correct, more closely related to *fr.* 133.

[41] If this affliction has a ritual counterpart in maidens' daubing their bodies with white spots so that they become, ritually, 'cows' (see Burkert (1983) 170; Dowden (1989) 88, 91-3), Probus' report of the maidens' bovine delusion may well go back to *Cat.*

[42] *Pace* Seaford (1988) 126, 130-1.

[43] The text is: 'Hesiodus docet ex Proeto et Stheneboea natas [lacuna unius lineae] has, quod Iunonis contempserant numen, insania exterritas, quae crederent se boves factas, patriam Argos reliquisse, postea a Melampode Amythaonis filio sanatas ita uti [lacuna].' Some (e.g. Fowler (2000) on Acus. 2 F28) suppose that Probus' Hesiodic citation ends with the lacuna after *natas*, but what follows is also in indirect speech, and the lacuna may be supplemented by fuller versions of what is essentially the same scholion (such as Servius auctus *ad loc.*), which suggests that Probus merely gave the girls' names as in Hesiod. The second lacuna with which Probus' note ends would then be filled by the terms on which and the methods by which Melampus healed the Proetids; so Dowden (1989) 95.

featured in the account of Bacchylides' contemporary, Pherecydes of Athens,[44] for although (as Carl Robert long ago argued) the scholion (on *Od.* 15.225 = Pherecydes, *FGrHist* 3 F114 = Fowler) that purports to give us Pherecydes' version in fact contains details that most probably derive from Bacchylides,[45] the scholiast has cited Pherecydes precisely in order to provide further information on a passage of the *Odyssey* that deals with Melampus and it is thus all but certain that Melampus featured in Pherecydes' account.[46]

Bacchylides, on the other hand, has no role for Melampus and attributes the healing to Artemis. The same tradition is represented by Callimachus in his hymn to Artemis (3.233-6), and by Pausanias (8.18.8), who attributes the cure to Melampus in the sanctuary of Artemis Hemerasia (*sic*) at Lousoi (*cf.* Stephanus of Byzantium, *s.v.* Λουσοί).[47] Though Callimachus may be following Bacchylides' poetic version, the attachment of the (attested) cult-title to the Proetid myth is more likely to be a genuine local aetiology than a Bacchylidean invention. In any case, associations with other cult-sites, especially with temples supposedly dedicated to commemorate the healing of the Proetids, confirm Bacchylides' association of their madness and cure with Hera and Artemis, and thus with girls' maturation rites.[48]

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[44] Pherec. *agnoscitur* 455/4 BC, according to Eusebius; his handling of Philaid genealogy (F2; *cf.* F60) dates him to a period before the ascendancy of Cimon, according to Jacoby (1947) 31, but to the time of Cimon himself, according to Huxley (1973) (*cf.* Figueira (1993) 211-12).

[45] See Robert (1917); Jacoby, *FGrHist* ad loc.; Radke in *RE* 23.1 (1957) 120; Dowden (1989) 77 and 219 n.15. Apart from the role of Melampus and the division of the kingdom as the payment for his healing of the madness, everything in the scholion is paralleled in Bacchylides: 'in the thoughtlessness of youth' (διὰ τὴν ἐκ νεότητος ἀνεπιλογιστίαν) is an interpretation of παρθενίᾳ ... ἔτι ψυχᾷ ('with souls still girlish/virginal', 47-8); the offence against Hera is essentially the same (43-52); in both the goddess responds by driving the girls mad; and the parents' (or at least the father's) sharing of the girls' distress is prominent in Bacchylides (85-8). This could be explained in a number of ways; but the detail in the scholion that 'the illness had aleady lasted ten years' shows that only one explanation is possible. No other account makes the girls' madness last so long, and if the myth justifies a period of liminal wildness undergone by maidens prior to marriage, such a duration makes no sense (contrast the Artemisian/lunar/festal significance of Bacchylides' 'thirteen months', 11. 92-3). The scholion's ἤδη γὰρ ἡ νόσος δεκαετής is a verbal reminiscence of Bacchylides' ἤδη γὰρ ἔτος δέκατον (*sc.* since Proetus and his followers left Argos) at 11.59; the scholiast has either read only as far as the beginning of the sentence in Bacchylides or has transferred the reference of the ten-year period in his memory. See Robert (1917) 308-9, and *cf.* Dowden (1989) 77 and 219 n.15. Either an original attribution to both Bacchylides and Pherecydes has been reduced in the MSS tradition to one to the latter alone (so Robert (1917) 313, with a parallel) or the scholiast has remembered details from Bacchylides as if from Pherecydes, or else his attribution to Pherecydes was never meant to exclude the use of other sources. Maehler ((1982) 2.196-7; *cf.* (2004) 134-5) assumes that the scholion is to be identified with Pherecydes and argues ((1982) 2.199) that Bacchylides cannot have influenced Pherecydes, since an ode for an obscure Metapontine

victor would not have been available to a contemporary Athenian mythographer. Even if this were plausible, it does not rule out Bacchylidean influence on a scholiast who is *not* simply paraphrasing Pherecydes.

[46] Since details from the Bacchylidean version are more likely to have merged in the scholiast's mind with that of Pherecydes if their accounts were similar, we can assume that Pherecydes did agree with Bacchylides and Acusilaus that Hera was the offended deity.

[47] Since the cult-title of the goddess at Lousoi is otherwise given as Hemera (*IG* V.2 398, 400 and 403; Call. *H. Dian.* 3.236), A. Wilhelm in Reichel and Wilhelm (1901) 83 argued that the title given in Pausanias derives, by textual corruption, from nom. pl. ἡμεράσια, an athletic festival in the goddess' honour (on which see S. Tausend (1999)); *cf.* Stiglitz (1967) 103 n.437; Jost (1985) 47-8, 419-20.

[48] Thus Hesychius (*s.v.* ἀκρουχεῖ; *cf.* Soph. *fr.* 309 Radt) refers to a temple of Artemis founded by Melampus at Mt Akron in the territory of Argos, Stephanus of Byzantium (*s.v.* Οἴνη) records a temple of Artemis Oinoatis founded at the Argive city of Oinoe by Proetus (*cf.* Paus. 2.25.3), and Pausanias (2.12.2) describes a temple of Hera dedicated by Proetus by the road from Titane to Sicyon. Also relevant is the temple to Peitho in the agora at Sicyon which, Pausanias tells us (2.7.8), Proetus dedicated in gratitude for his daughters' cure, since Persuasion is also an appropriate deity to be associated with legends and rituals centring on maidens' transition to marriage and womanhood (Buxton (1982) 32-7; Seaford (1987) 114 and n.94; Shapiro (1993) 186-207). The Sicyonian agora also featured the tomb of Iphinoe, in which were also deposited the drugs by which Melampus cured the Proetids of the madness sent by Hera (*CEG* 2.656 Hansen = *SEG* 15.195). The importance of the myth of the Proetids for the Sicyonians is further attested by their insistence, in spite of evidence to the contrary, that a bronze statuary group, also in the agora, portrayed them (Paus. 2.9.8). With the Sicyonian Iphinoe, *cf.* Iphinoe, daughter of Alcathous, who died a παρθένος and received the libations and hair-offerings by Megarian maidens before their weddings (Paus. 1.43.4).

Other local legends, however, that associate the cure of the Proetids with Bacchylides' 'fair-flowing Lousos' (96) present it under a different aspect.[49] Several authorities attribute to what is no doubt the same Arcadian stream[50] the anti-Dionysian property of making all those who drink from or bathe in it unable to tolerate the smell of wine.[51] Thus, while there is no evidence for a version of the Proetid myth in which Dionysus is the offended deity, the tale can take on a Dionysiac colouring, manifest not only in the presence of Dionysus, a satyr and thyrsoi in the South Italian vase-painting (above, n.14) which places Melampus' act of healing in a temple of Artemis, but also in the similarity between the three daughters of Proetus in both Apollodorus and the *Catalogue* and the three daughters of both Cadmus (whose grandson is Pentheus; *cf.* Proetus' son Megapenthes) and Minyas, king of Orchomenos.[52] The Minyads' resistance to the new god is an aition for the Orchomenean festival of the Agrionia, a Dionysiac festival in which the madness of the king's (married) daughters is re-enacted by their descendants as they are pursued over the mountainsides by a priest of Dionysus allegedly licensed to kill any woman he catches.[53] This is clearly analogous to the pursuit of the Proetids and the women of the city by Melampus and the youths in Apollodorus;[54] and a connection between the myth of the Proetids and a similar festival, the Agriania at Argos, is attested by two notices in Hesychius (*s.vv.* Ἀγράνια, Ἀγριάνια). The first of these refers to an Argive festival in honour of one of the Proetids, no doubt the Iphinoe of Apollodorus' account, who dies in the course of Melampus' pursuit of the Proetids to Sicyon (and is buried in the agora there: n.48 above). The Dionysiac elements of these traditions no doubt reflect the mutual attraction between myths in which the wildness of virgins is tamed before marriage and those in which married women renew their virginal wildness in the worship of Dionysus.[55]

Later local traditions regarding the cure of the Proetids at Lousoi thus have features in common with other versions and other Peloponnesian traditions that find no explicit place in Bacchylides' version. If later tradition is independent of Bacchylides, it is unlikely that he has simply invented the association between the healing of the Proetids and the temple of Artemis Hemera.[56] Nor has he necessarily simply followed a long-established local tradition in giving the oldest and simplest version of the Proetid myth:[57] we have seen both that Melampus is well established in the mythographic tradition in Bacchylides' day and that his part in the healing need

[49] *Cf.* Radke in *RE* 23.1 (1957) 123.

[50] Lousoi declined (Paus. 8.18.8; *cf.* Stiglitz (1967) 108, 154), so later authors refer to the same area as Azania or Cleitor (see next note). For Jost (1985) 421-2 (*cf.* (1992) 179), these represent different local Arcadian traditions, but these are second-hand reports in later authors who may have given geographical details in the form most accessible to their own audiences. For Pausanias, Lousoi belonged to the territory of Cleitor (8.18.7), and both Lousoi and Cleitor could be reckoned as situated in Azania: see K. Tausend (1993) 14-15; *cf.* Morgan (1999) 416 and Pretzler (1999) 58.

[51] See Eudoxus *frr.* 313-14 Lasserre = Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἀζανία; Phylarchus, *FGrHist* 81 F63 = Athen. 2.19, p. 43f; Isigonus *fr.* 12 Müller = *Paradoxographi Graeci* p. 186 Westermann = ps.-Sotion 12; Vitruvius 8.3.21, Ov. *Met.* 15.322-8, Pliny, *NH* 31.16; Isigonus (*apud* Westermann) and Vitruvius record an epigram, *Anth. Pal.* App. iv.20, which is said to have been inscribed *in situ* and which warns the unwary of the effect the stream has on *bathers*. The healing of the Proetids is associated with other Peloponnesian streams (Paus. 5.5.10; *cf.* Strabo 8.3.19-20, pp. 346-7; Eustath. *In Dionys. Perieg.* 409 Müller; Dowden (1989) 92-3).

[52] Friedländer (1905) 39; West (1985) 147; Dillon (2002) 145-6.

[53] See Plut. *Quaest. Gr.* 299e-300a; *cf. Quaest. Conv.* 717a; see further Nilsson (1906) 271-4; Burkert (1983) 173-9; Dowden (1989) 82-5.

[54] *Cf.* Ael. *VH* 3.42, combining an idiosyncratic version of the Proetid myth with an account of the myth of the Orchomenean Agrionia.

[55] See further Henrichs (1974) 301; Burkert (1983) 171; Seaford (1988) 124-8; Dowden (1989) 81-6, 172-3; Johnston (1999) 69, 254. Since according to Hdt. 2.49 it was Melampus who introduced Dionysus' rites to Greece, he may be another Dionysiac element that has entered the Proetid myth (Dowden (1989) 75, 80). For Vian (1965) 30, however, Melampus is originally an initiatory figure at home in the Proetid myth from the beginning, his role reflecting a ritual which brought choruses of youths into contact with choruses of girls. For full discussion, see Dowden (1989) 71-115; *cf.* Jost (1992).

[56] Contrast Burnett (1985) 108 (*cf.* Carey (1980) 236).

[57] As claimed by Friedländer (1905) 32-6; Jacoby, *FGrHist* on Acus. F28; Bornmann (1968) on Call. *H. Dian.* 3.233; Jost (1985) 423; Dowden (1989) 94; Jost (1992) 179; *cf.* Seaford (1988) 121.

not exclude a role for Artemis. Bacchylides must have known at least of the tradition as reflected in the *Catalogue*. He knew, therefore, that his own version of the myth was crucially different from that which was current in his own day. He may have also known versions of the Proetid tale which exhibited a more pronounced Dionysiac character,[58] but in composing his own version he has ignored these in favour of an exclusive emphasis on the myth's initiatory aspects. That this is not a consequence of straightforward recording of local tradition or the selection of one variant among many is suggested by the salient fact about mythical narrative in epinician poetry, that its function is to present the myth in the way that best serves the praise of the victor.

Bacchylides' agenda in this poem is to subsume praise of the victor in that of his city as a successful colonial foundation. To this end the foundation of Tiryns was presented as a divinely sanctioned remedy for civic strife. The healing of division in the *polis* is also implied by the Proetid myth, for although on the level of the mythic narrative it is only the royal household that is affected by their madness, the myth exemplifies a pattern which presents marriage as an issue for the entire community, a pattern in which the resistance to marriage of the daughters of an early king serves as a negative exemplum for their 'descendants', the present-day daughters of the community who must overcome that resistance.[59] Hence the Proetids' offence is fundamentally anti-civic: they prefer their father's 'lovely house' (33-4) and his wealth (51) to the public sanctuary of the city's goddess, the 'virgin soul' with which they insult the goddess (47-8) indicating their commitment to their natal family, to the status of παρθένος as opposed to the conjugal family and the status of γυνή. Their punishment is the wildness that their rejection of marriage in effect signifies; and so it is significant that the deity who intercedes to effect their cure is Artemis, the goddess who typically presides over the wildness of the unmarried/untamed virgin (*cf.* ἄδματοι θύγατρες, 84) and whose propitiation eases their translation to the civilized estate of marriage.[60] The implicit transition from παρθένος to γυνή is underlined by the myth's conclusion: freed of their madness, tamed by Artemis Hemera, their souls no longer virgin (47-8), the previously untamed but now 'bud-garlanded' maidens (108-9) institute 'choruses of women' (112), the emphatic final word γυναικῶν indicating that the celebrations which commemorate the Proetids' release mark the terminus of their rite of passage.[61] Bacchylides' myth places marriage – an institution of the family which nonetheless transcends the family, forging the bonds between families that strengthen the community – at the heart of civic and civilized life.

This point is emphasized in the imagery of the poem, which at once exemplifies the antithesis of wildness and tameness that is typical of Greek thinking about women's sexual and social roles and draws that antithesis into a larger complex of oppositions between civilization and savagery.[62] The antithesis is introduced, as we noted, by means of the epithets allotted to Artemis at 37-9: two antithetical cult-titles, Agrotera (of the wilds, huntress) and Hemera (gentle, she who tames) frame two contrasting epithets, 'of the golden spindle' (χρυσαλάκατος) and 'famous for archery' (τοξόκλυτος), which instantiate the polarity of the domestic and the anti-domestic that the goddess encompasses.[63] As goddess of the wilds ('watcher over beasts', 107), Artemis is an appropriate protectress of the 'untamed daughters' of Proetus (84), but her function here is not primarily as Agrotera, but as Hemera; as Seaford points out ((1988) 120), as goddesses who preside over girls' transition to womanhood Artemis and Hera are complementary

[58] An underlying Dionysiac aspect of the myth may assert itself at line 93 (κατὰ δάσκιον ἠλύκταζον ὕλαν), a (perhaps unconscious) reminiscence of *H. Dem.* 386 ([Demeter] ἤϊξ' ἠΰτε μαινὰς ὄρος κάτα δάσκιον ὕλης); *cf.* 55 with n.66 below; but Bacchylides makes nothing of this, and otherwise excludes the Dionysiac.

[59] See Seaford (1988), esp. 122-4; Dowden (1989) *passim*.

[60] See, e.g., Jeanmaire (1939) 246, 257-63, 283-6, 319, 466, 510-14, 530; Brelich (1969) 240-90.

[61] *Cf.* Burnett (1985) 112. It is entirely in Bacchylides' manner to leave the point of the myth unspoken: *cf.*, e.g., the reference to Deianeira in 5.165-75, and see Rengakos (2000) on Bacchylides' narrative technique.

[62] See Stern (1965); Burnett (1985) 108-13; Segal (1998) 267-72.

[63] *Cf.* Stern (1965) 275-7; *cf.* Segal (1998) 267; on the sense of χρυσαλάκατος, see Maehler (1982) 2.219 on 38.

in function,[64] but there is an element of paradox in this poem in the way that it is Hera, the goddess who typically 'yokes' women in marriage, who here 'yokes' the Proetids to the madness (45-6) which sends them 'to the slender-leafed mountain, uttering hideous cries' (55-6), and Artemis, 'watcher of beasts' (107), but also (here alone, with an epithet typical of Hera) 'cow-eyed' (99), who intervenes to 'lead [the maidens] out' (ἐξαγαγεῖν, 103, a verb used of the leading out of the bride in marriage).[65] This she can do because her nature spans the poles of civilization and savagery, wildness and gentleness, that her epithets in 37-9 express.

The Proetids flee 'to the mountain' (55), a typical locus of feminine wildness in (especially Dionysian) myth.[66] For thirteen months, they wander 'the dusky woods' (93), like Demeter in the *Homeric Hymn*, who, distraught at the disappearance of her daughter, 'rushed like a maenad over the dusky, wooded mountain' (*H. Dem.* 386).[67] Yet this is not a complete wilderness: the flight through the 'dusky woods' takes the Proetids to 'sheep-rearing Arcadia' (94-5) – though in their wildness the Proetids do not belong, they move in their madness through the territory of a community whose civilization is expressed in the husbandry of domesticated animals. Arcadia thus represents the wilds in contrast to the 'streets built by gods' of Tiryns (58), but in the sub-jugation of nature by culture that its animal husbandry represents it resembles the civilized communities of 'heifer-raising' Italy (30), 'horse-pasturing' Argos (80) and 'horse-rearing' Metapontum (114). The chronological progress of the *fabula* that the poem narrates thus takes us from 'horse-pasturing Argos' to 'horse-rearing' Metapontum, and all the communities of the poem are adroitly, in epithets that are commonly stigmatized as 'conventional' and 'ornamental', characterized as dependent upon the ability of civilization to subdue and control, but also to encompass the wildness of nature. Similar is the practice of agriculture that makes Argos rich in barley (70), but the turning of natural forces to civilized ends is more tellingly exemplified in the way that Tiryns' civic strength rests in part upon the work of the 'overweening Cyclopes' (Κύκλωπες ... ὑπερφίαλοι, 77-8), the epithet recalling Homer's description of an uncivilized, lawless race, who are fortunate enough to be able to reap without having to plough or sow.[68] In our poem, the brute strength of these 'overweening' monsters builds 'an excellent wall for the famous city' (77-9). Just so Artemis, protectress of Metapontum, is both wild and tame, and presides, as the Proetid myth proclaims, over the passage of women from wild to tame that keeps the city strong. The Proetids' implicit transition from the status of ἄδματοι, depending as it does on the right relationship with the divine, illustrates the necessity for the city to be θεόδματος (58);[69] for even a 'well-founded' city can fall if it is the gods' will (121-3: [the Achaeans] χρόνωι | βουλαῖσι θεῶν μακάρων | πέρσαν πόλιν εὐκτιμέναν | χαλκοθωράκων μετ' Ἀτρειδᾶν). The myth of the Proetids' resistance to marriage ushers in a sustained exploration of the city's need to channel and control the forces of nature with the help of its religion.

It is the poet's emphasis on the city that requires the modification of the Proetid myth: the omission of Melampus as the maidens' healer places the emphasis on piety and on the beneficence of Artemis as the solution to their troubles (95-112), but more crucially avoids the ruinous,

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[64] *Cf.* the presence of statues of both Hera and Artemis in the version of the healing of the Proetids depicted in *LIMC* 7, Proitides 5, with Kahil in *LIMC* 7.1, p. 524.

[65] Noted by Burnett (1985) 112; Seaford (1988) 120.

[66] See, e.g., the ritual cry 'to the mountain, to the mountain' at Eur. *Bacch.* 116, 163, 986, with Seaford (1996) on 116.

[67] See n. 58 above.

[68] *Od.* 9. 106-14; see Segal (1998) 270, and on the sense of ὑπερφίαλοι here, *cf.* Maehler (1982) = (2004) *ad loc.*

[69] Segal (1998) 271; Seaford (1988) 132. In its sole occurrence in Homer (*Il.* 8.519) θεόδματος is to be taken literally, of the walls of Troy built by Apollo and Poseidon

for Laomedon (*cf.* Bacch. 13.163 and 142), though in later usage it can used more loosely (e.g. Bacch. 1.13-14 of Corinth; Soph. *El.* 707 and Eur. *Hipp.* 974, *IT* 1449, of Athens). Here, since the walls of Tiryns were built by the Cyclopes at Zeus's command (77-9), the word is also meant in its most literal sense, and so anticipates the digression for which it prepares. A city that is built by gods clearly enjoys considerable divine favour (*cf.* 73-6), something that Tiryns shares with Alexidamus himself (37-9) and his city (12, *cf.* 115-16). Given that retention of divine favour takes effort on a community's part, it is probably relevant that θεόδμητος is also used of sites that are, whether god-founded or not, primarily thought of as

exogamous division of their father's kingdom.[70] In this poem, the only internal division there is takes place at Argos, rendering the departure from that city of Proetus and his men a positive example for the present-day descendants of the Achaeans who left Greece and founded Metapontum. In the same way, the Proetids' leaving of Tiryns is ultimately positive, if it establishes a cult which has travelled from Lousoi to Metapontum and protects that city, as it once protected Tiryns, by easing the passage to marriage of the community's daughters. In detail, too, Bacchylides' version of the Proetid myth omits much that is negative in other accounts: the daughters are not even numbered, much less named; as anonymous daughters their function is only to underline the necessity for daughters to marry, and their anonymity offers no scope for thoughts either of the death of Iphinoe or of the genealogies resulting from the marriage of the other two to Melampus and Bias. In several respects, Bacchylides' myth seems to reflect the realities of ritual rather than the 'negative tendencies' that myth tends to magnify and ritual seeks to subdue:[71] hence no daughter dies, but in exchange for his daughters' deliverance Proetus promises to sacrifice 'twenty red-haired oxen never yoked' (104-5), in which the parallel between the 'unyoked' (ἄζυγας) oxen and the 'untamed' (ἄδματοι, 84) daughters speaks strongly of ritual substitution.[72] Actual ritual practice seems to intrude further when the sacrifices of the girls themselves, which are no doubt aetiological for practice at Lousoi and/or Metapontum, turn out at 111 to be of sheep, not cattle;[73] further reflections of ritual may be the thirteen-month period of 92, the garlands of flowers of 108 and perhaps the 'hideous cries' of 56, if this is indeed an allusion to the girls' delusion that they are cows, and if that delusion in the myth represents some form of ritual mummery.[74] But if this detail is present, it is so in attenuated form, and is suggested rather than narrated;[75] Bacchylides wants and needs only the error and mental anguish of the girls as parallel to the anguish of the victor caused by the error of the Olympic judges and remedied by Artemis Hemera at Metapontum.

In detail and in overall design, then, Bacchylides' version of the Proetid myth is determined by his encomiastic purpose, which, in this ode for a boy victor whose father was a private citizen of a (probably) democratic city,[76] involves a primary focus on the victor's *polis*. As Burnett first stressed, the implicit conclusion of this version is that the Proetids are now ready for the endogamous marriage that strengthens the community,[77] and the fact that this conclusion must be left implicit suggests that, though Bacchylides wanted to suppress the standard account of the Proetids' marriage, it was too well known for him to be able to replace it with a different one.[78] This in turn supports the view that Bacchylides' revision of the myth, based though it must be in Peloponnesian cult-legends, entails deliberate omission of the role of Melampus, rather than mere selection of a variant which happened already to exclude him.[79] The Proetids' offence against Hera argues for an association with marriage that is fulfilled in other versions by the marriage of two of the girls to Melampus and Bias. In his typically oblique narrative style,[80] Bacchylides' version makes marriage its inevitable conclusion, but leaves it unnarrated and in unspoken contrast to the conclusion of the standard version.

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devoted to the gods as locations of cult, such as Delphi (Eur. *Andr*. 1263) and Delos (Pind. *Ol*. 6.59, *fr*. 33e.1 S-M; *cf*. the Trojan altar mentioned at Eur. *Hec*. 23); divine favour imposes obligations which, implicitly, Alexidamus, the Metapontines and their ancestors meet, and the story of the Proetids is a cautionary tale against neglect of these obligations. The jingle between θεοδμάτους in 58 and ἄδματοι θύγατρες in the lines (82-4) which form a ring with that passage is thus not fortuitous.

[70] See Seaford (1988) 128, 131-3; *cf*. Burnett (1985) 109, 112-13.

[71] See Seaford (1988) 124.

[72] Burkert (1983) 172-3; *cf*. Seaford (1988) 119, 121, 124.

[73] Dowden (1989) 91.

[74] Perhaps reflected in the skin disease of Hes. *fr*. 133.4 M-W; see Dowden (1989) 88, 91-2.

[75] Burnett (1985) 110; Seaford (1988) 119.

[76] The sixth-century Metapontine *ekklesiasterion* could hold 8,000 people, more 'than the probable citizen population of the urban centre of Metaponto': Carter (1994) 165, 182 (quotation); *cf*. De Siena (2001b) 32; Mertens (2001) 65-7.

[77] Burnett (1985) 112-13.

[78] Seaford (1988) 120.

[79] Burnett (1985) 108-9; contrast Seaford (1988) 120-1.

[80] *Cf*. n.61 above.

## IV. ARTEMIS, ALEXIDAMUS AND THE YOUTH OF METAPONTUM

The logic of Bacchylides' choice of subject-matter argues for a cult of Artemis by which virgins were reconciled to marriage at Metapontum as well as at Lousoi, and this is at least compatible with the archaeological findings at San Biagio.[81]  Given that the part played by the goddess in reversing Alexidamus' earlier defeat is parallel to the healing of the Proetids in the myth, this motif may also draw on purificatory aspects of the cult of Artemis at Metapontum that were equally reflected at Lousoi.[82]  But a closer relationship between Artemis and Alexidamus, and between Alexidamus and the Proetids, is suggested by the possibility that Artemis may have played a part in the passage of Metapontine youths to adulthood.[83]  If, as seems likely, the Artemis worshipped at San Biagio functioned as κουροτρόφος, she will have presided over the growth to maturity of all the children of the *polis*.[84]  As Agrotera, too, Artemis played a role in male as well as in female transitions: at Athens she received the sacrifices of the newly inducted ephebes.[85]  Metapontine Artemis, then, may be special to the victor, Alexidamus, not just as healer of his pains, but as the deity who has looked after him since birth and whose favour will ease his passage to adulthood.  And this suggests a further relevance of the Proetid myth: Bacchylides' unique version implicitly returns the maidens to their father's house, there to await endogamous marriage to young men of their own community; this preserves the city of Tiryns and is paradigmatic for the city of Metapontum.[86]  If the Proetid myth reflects girls' initiation rites at Metapontum, its inclusion in the ode may also remind us that initiated girls need husbands; Alexidamus is approaching adulthood;[87] Artemis willing, he too will become a warrior in the great tradition of the Achaeans, and he too will become a husband and father.  Odes which can be certainly or plausibly categorized as composed for boy or youth victors frequently emphasize the victor's physical attractiveness (to both sexes), and marriage and marriageability are also frequent topics.[88]  The myth of the Proetids may supply the marriage motif that amplifies the

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[81] See Olbrich (1976).

[82] See Jost (1985) 48, 400, 419-25; *cf.* Mitsopoulos-Leon (1993) 38 on Artemis Hemera as healer at Lousoi.

[83] The fact that the terracotta ex votos found at the site are almost exclusively female does not rule this out: see Carter (1994) 169.

[84] Hadzisteliou-Price (1978) esp. 199-219.

[85] Burkert (1983) 65.

[86] It thus functions somewhat as the motif of marrage commonly does in foundation myths; see Dougherty (1993) 61-80 and *passim*.

[87] His exact age probably does not matter, since even if marriage lies some way off, it is an eventuality which awaits all adolescents and for which the adolescent athlete's beauty bodes well.  This is probably just as well, given that the complex, incomplete and conflicting evidence on the definitions of athletic age-classes makes it difficult to establish the approximate ages of Pindar's and Bacchylides' boy/youth victors: see most recently Golden (1998) 104-12.  Alexidamus, however, is at least not among the youngest of athletes in the boys' category, as he competed at Olympia at least two years before his success at Delphi; nor need he be much short of manhood, as there was in the fifth-century Pythian games no class of 'beardless' youths intermediate between boys and men (Pfeijffer (1998) 21).

[88] Physical attractiveness: see *Pyth.* 10.54-9, *Ol.* 8.19, *Ol.* 9.89-94 (an ode for an adult victor, but the reference to his beauty relates to previous victories in the 'beardless' class; contrast Pfeijffer (1998) 32), *Ol.* 10.99-105, *Nem.* 3.19-20 (where the language suggests that the victor is only on the verge of manhood, *pace* Pfeijffer, *ibid.*), *Isthm.* 7.21-2 (not certainly for a boy victor).  The notion that the victor's physical beauty is matched by the beauty of his deeds is found in an epigram (*AP* 16.2, attributed to Simonides) in honour of a boy wrestler victorious at Olympia in 476 (Scanlon (2002) 205), and it seems likely that reference to the victor's beauty is at least a typical marker of competition in one of the lower age-classes (see Thummer (1968-9) 2.114, 119-20 (*cf.* 1.46, 101) and Hamilton (1974) 107; contrast Pfeijffer (1998) 31-2).  Marriage: see the myth of Peleus and Thetis in *Nem.* 4.50-68, *Nem.* 5.22-39, *Isthm.* 6.25, *Isthm.* 8.27-48 (*cf.* Zeus's fruitful union with Aegina, 17-19), all for boy or youth victors.  On the criteria which lead Pfeijffer (1998) to identify *Isthm.* 8 and *Nem.* 5 as odes for ἀγένειοι, *Nem.* 8, by virtue of its opening hymn to Hora, must surely also qualify; note, then, how Hora ushers in the age of sexual activity for boys and maidens, 2, and the reference to the love-making of Zeus and Aegina, 6-7. Telesicrates competed as a man (4) when he won the victory for which *Pyth.* 9 was composed, but the ode's extensive

reference to the boy's beauty in line 14 (παῖδα θαητ[ὸ]ν Φαίσκου).[89]

It is tempting to speculate that the context in which this ode was performed may have specifically reflected its thematic concerns and its concentration on the cult of Artemis. The only indication of the circumstances of performance is given in 10-14: κῶμοί τε καὶ εὐφροσύ-ναι of strong-limbed youths throng the centre (ἄστυ) of Metapontum and sing in praise of Alexidamus. The κῶμος of strong-limbed youths suggests a chorus of Alexidamus' age-mates, and these might perhaps be imagined as potential husbands for the maidens of the community, who, with the help of Artemis, take the message of the Proetid myth to heart. But while κῶμοί τε καὶ εὐφροσύναι might well form part of a religious festival, they are also perfectly generic designations of the festive context of epinician, and if we take ἄστυ in 12 literally, then a performance at the Metapontine Artemision, in honour of the goddess whose cult so permeates the ode, is not possible.[90] Yet even these bare indications of the circumstances of performance show that the celebration of Alexidamus' victory became a civic occasion, and it is the perspective of Metapontum as a successful, democratic, colonial foundation – a city descended from the heroic Achaeans of the Trojan War, a city free of factional strife, a city strengthened by its cults and rituals, especially those which prepare its adolescents for adulthood and marriage – that conditions Bacchylides' manipulation of his mythical material in this ode.[91]

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focus on sex and marriage and in particular the reference to the victor's beauty, desirability and marriageability in 97-103 suggest that he was as yet unmarried (*cf.* Thummer (1968-9) 2.39-40). Bacchylides' odes for boy victors are mostly very short or lacunose (1, 2, 6, 7, 13), but the union of Minos and Dexithea is prominent in 1 (116-18) and a festival involving choruses of unmarried maidens as counterpart to the youths who perform the ode is a likely context for 13 (*cf.* Power (2000); in 9.27-36 and 47-65 the references to the victor's beauty and the sexual unions of the Asopides (respectively) may indicate that 9 is also for a boy or a youth victor (*cf.* Suárez de la Torre (2000) 79-80, 84).

[89] The adj. θαητός is regularly used to specify conspicuous physical attractiveness (*Pyth.* 4.80, *Pyth.* 10.58, *Nem.* 9.108, *Nem.* 11.12; cf. *Isthm.* 4.23-4; also Bacch. 9.31, φαῖνε θαυμαστὸν δέμας); its visual reference here is confirmed by the following references to the beneficent regard of Apollo (15-17) and the watchful gaze of Helios (22-3).

[90] Thus the ode certainly draws heavily on local myth and cult, and also refers to the circumstances of its own performance (note καὶ νῦ[ν in 10), but these two factors are not as closely linked as they are in *Isthm.* 4 and *Pyth.* 5, which Krummen (1990) locates in the performance contexts of the Theban Heracleia and the Cyrenean Carneia respectively (see also her list of further examples on p. 275). In Bacch. 13, the extended reference to the song of a chorus of maidens (84-99) leads one to speculate that it may have been performed in the context of an Aeginetan festival of which maidens' choral performance formed part (see Fearn (2003a) 60-83 *passim* and *cf.* Power (2000) 80-1), but there is no real evidence, whether text-internal or text-external, that would render this more than a possibility.

[91] In this, ode 11 strongly resembles odes 9 and 13, in both of which a myth based on the traditions of the victor's city is set up by a short and followed by a longer section of city-praise: see Maehler (1982) and (2004) on 11.12. On the centrality of the *polis* in 9, see now Fearn (2003b), and for the *polis*-oriented agenda of the victor in these odes (in contrast to odes 3, 4 and 5 for the tyrant Hieron), see Mann (2000).

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