

ARCHILOCHUS AND APOLLO¹

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The Rush Northward: Πανελλήνων ὄξυς ἐς Θάσον συνέδραμεν (fr. 88)²

When about 720 or 708 B.C.³ the Cycladic island of Paros sent a colony north to Thasos with Tellis as oikist,⁴ the colonizing movement was already at least a generation old. The old debate over whether the prospect of expanded trade possibilities or the pressure of overpopulation was the dominant motive in early Greek colonization was based on an unreal distinction, for the two motives seem to have been intertwined in most cases. To take as an example the earliest western colony, Pithecusae (modern Ischia), founded by Chalcis and Eretria ca 770-760 B.C.: the latest archaeological finds confirm Blakeway's thesis that, at least here and at Cumae, trade came before permanent settlement;⁵ at the same time, the sites seem to have been chosen with an eye to opportunities for agriculture as well,⁶ and the implication is that the colonizing states were looking for places to which they could export groups of colonists who would be self-supporting. Coldstream concludes judiciously: "The Euboean settlers in Pithecusae and Cumae may have been impelled by land hunger to leave their native cities; yet some of their number, at least, were not blind to the possibilities of trade in their new homes."⁷ What these Greek traders sought to import seems to have been, in the first place, metals, in which Old Greece was almost entirely lacking; the Euboean merchants were lured to southern Etruria by, in Coldstream's words, the "mineral wealth of the hinterland."⁸ In return for metals and other raw materials, the mother cities exported to their colonies manufactured products which have left their traces in the painted pottery of

¹An earlier version of this paper was read to the Classical Association of Canada in June, 1967. I wish to thank Professors M. E. White and C. A. Roebuck and Mr W. G. Forrest for reading a draft and making useful suggestions (which does not, of course, imply their agreement with my conclusions).

²Citation of Archilochian fragments and *testimonia* as in J. Tarditi's edition (Rome 1968), whose re-numbering is here followed. (See pp. 217 ff. for a complete set of concordances with the numerations of Diehl, Bergk, and Lasserre-Bonnard.)

³The earlier date is that of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, the later the Lydian Xanthus' (*FGrHist* 251 F 3 = Tarditi T 59).

⁴Paus. 10.28.3; T 121.

⁵A. Blakeway, *BSA* 33 (1932-1933) 200 ff. At Pithecusae scattered pottery has been found "of late MG II character" (J. N. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery* [London 1968] 354-355), whose absolute date is "early eighth century" (*ibid.*, 321).

⁶R. M. Cook, *Historia* 11 (1962) 113-114.

⁷Coldstream (above, note 5) 370.

⁸*Ibid.*, 371.

decoration distinctive enough to enable archaeologists to identify its source, and so to reconstruct patterns of trade among the states in question.

It needs to be emphasized how compelling a motive the search for metals must have been in an unsettled period when wars on various scales were frequent, and the quest must have become more intense with the introduction of the hoplite panoply in the latter part of the eighth century and the consequent need which most Greek states would have felt to change over to the new weaponry and tactics.⁹

In the first instance, then, what drew the Parians northward may have been the search for land to accommodate a crowded island population, but opportunities for trade will not have been ignored. Ultimately the most important source of the new colony's wealth was to be the gold mines, both on Thasos itself and on the neighbouring mainland, on whose productiveness Herodotus was later to remark.¹⁰ Although control of these mines was soon to become a hotly contested prize, it is uncertain whether they formed part of the original lure for the Parians' sending their colony northward.¹¹

Thasos was not Paros' only colonial venture at this time. In the Propontis just beyond the inner entrance of the Hellespont, Parium was founded by Paros, Erythrae, and Miletus.¹² If Eusebius' date of 709 B.C. is correct, this may have been an early attempt to gain a foothold in what was to become a lucrative trading area. It is instructive to stop and take a closer look at Paros' colonizing partners. Of Erythrae we hear nothing else in a specifically colonial context, although she participates vigorously (as we shall see) in various military and diplomatic enterprises during the seventh century. Miletus, notorious even in antiquity for the number of her colonies,¹³ seems to be at the beginning

⁹This point is emphasized by C. A. Roebuck in *2ème Conf. int. d'hist. économique* (Aix-en-Provence 1962 [Paris 1965]) 98 ff., who remarks that "the initial stimulus to Greek expansion from the Aegean was to acquire metals and luxury goods" (103). For a date before 700 for the introduction of hoplite armour see A. D. Snodgrass, *JHS* 85 (1965) 110-122.

¹⁰Hdt. 6.46. Thucydides (1.100.2) significantly mentions "trading posts" on the mainland, which were, along with "the mine," sources of trouble with Athens in the fifth century B.C.

¹¹Gold-mining on Thasos is attributed by Herodotus (6.47) to early Phoenician settlers, but what evidence he had is unknown. Cadmus was said to have discovered the mines near Mount Pangaeum on the mainland (Plin. *HN* 7.57 [56]).

¹²Strabo's positive statement (13, C 588) is to be preferred to Pausanias' vague remark that Parium was "originally colonized from Ionia and Erythrae" (9.27.1). Cf. Rubensohn, "Paros," *PW* 18 (1949) 1808.

¹³Strabo 14, C 635; Seneca gave the figure of 75 colonies and Pliny 90 (refs. at A. J. Graham, *Colony and Mother City in Ancient Greece* [New York and London 1964] 98). The evidence for Miletus' colonizing activity in the northeast is conveniently assembled by J. Bérard, *L'expansion et la colonisation grecques* (Paris 1960) 98-99, with notes.

of her steady advance into the Black Sea, and Parium will have provided a convenient station along the route to the northeast; trade-relations between Paros and Miletus have further been inferred from the similarity of their alphabets.¹⁴ Also of significance in this connection is the proportionally large amount of "Ionian" pottery dating from the second half of the seventh century found at Thasos and the Milesian colony of Istros.¹⁵ Archaeological evidence supplements the literary tradition to produce a picture of rapidly spreading Thasian influence in the Northern Aegean. Oisyme, on the Thracian coast near Amphipolis, was remembered as the first Thasian colony, and near by they settled Galepsus.¹⁶ Closer to home Thasos sent a colony to Neapolis (modern Kavalla), where there is ceramic evidence of occupation from the third quarter of the seventh century.¹⁷ Further to the east, the Thasians settled at Stryme, but only after overcoming opposition from Chian settlers at Maroneia.¹⁸

This burst of activity cannot have been welcomed by Naxos, near neighbour and so potential rival of Paros. She had taken part in the first wave of the westward movement, joining Chalcis and giving her name to their co-foundation at Sicilian Naxos.¹⁹ Naxos is not heard of again in a specifically colonial context (with the possible exception of a reference in the *Monumentum Archilochi*, to which we shall return), and it is conceivable that the socio-economic pressures which led other Aegean states to colonize were in Naxos' case satisfied by continuing, if anonymous, co-operation with Chalcis. There exists, however, an account of hostilities between Naxos and Miletus which, according to Plutarch, "went on a long time and brought many disasters."²⁰ Although the war is not dated, it may fit into the pattern of seventh-century rivalries in the Aegean.

¹⁴Rubensohn, *PW* 18 (1949) 1804; Hiller von Gaertringen, *PW* 5 A (1934) 1313.

¹⁵L. Ghali-Kahil, *Etudes thasiennes VII* (Paris 1960) 27, 141; P. Alexandrescu, *Studii Clasice* 4 (1962) 56-58. The Eusebian date of 657 B.C. for Istros is confirmed by archaeological evidence (D. M. Pippidi, *I Greci nel basso Danubio* [Milan 1971] 37-38; *ibid.* 40 for the commercial nature of the Istros foundation).

¹⁶Oisyme the "first" Thasian colony, Ps.-Scymnus 656-657; location of Galepsus on the Thracian coast east of Amphipolis seems likelier than Herodotus' placement of it on the middle, "Sithonian," tongue of Chalcidice (cf. Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor, *ATL* 1.477, 2.85).

¹⁷D. Lazaridis in *Le Rayonnement des Civilisations (VIII^e Congr. int. d'arch. class.* [Paris 1965]) 295-297.

¹⁸Philochorus, *FGrHist* 328 F 43, "citing Archilochus as evidence" (fr. 284); Herodotus (7.108) calls Stryme "a Thasian polis."

¹⁹Naxos' participation should not be questioned; see Dunbabin, *Western Greeks* 8; R. van Compernelle, "La fondation de Naxos et les sources littéraires," *Bull. inst. belge de Rome* 26 (1950/1) 163 ff. (I owe this reference to Dover, *Hist. Comm. on Thucydides* IV [1970] 214); Nik. Kontoleon, "Zur Gründung von Naxos u. Megara auf Sizilien," in *Europa, Festschrift Grumach* (Berlin 1967) 180-190.

²⁰Plut. *Mor.* 254b-e; for the variants in the story see P. A. Stadter, *Plutarch's Historical Methods* (Cambridge, Mass. 1965) 93-97.

Miletus is said to have had "many allies," chief among them Erythrae (their co-operation in founding Parium should be recalled), but in the course of the fighting and subsequent siege of Naxos the Erythraean general performed an act which, when all the amorous trappings have been stripped from it, can only be interpreted as one of betrayal; the siege was lifted as a result and many Milesians lost their lives. It may have been as a reaction to this Erythraean treachery that Miletus joined Chios in the latter's war against Erythrae,²¹ and sent to her old ally, Paros, an embassy mentioned by the *Monumentum Archilochi* as having come to grief in the straits between Paros and Naxos.²²

The pattern which emerges, then, is of an interlocking complex of hostilities: Miletus against Naxos, first aided, then betrayed, by Erythrae; Miletus then joining Chios and calling upon Paros for help. What effects an inclusion of Chios in the Miletus-Paros alliance may have had it is impossible to be sure of; from the archaeological evidence it appears that Chians were "well received" in Miletus' colonies.²³ Although the settlers on Thasos colonized Stryme, as we have seen, only against the objections of the Chian colonists at Maroneia, relations between Thasos and Chios seem to have improved: Chios appears to have exerted a strong artistic influence upon Thasos—perhaps even exporting Chian vase-painters there—in the late seventh and sixth centuries.²⁴

About the middle of the sixth century²⁵ a series of events occurred which seems to signal a shift of existing alliances and an attempt to regroup along different lines. Our source of information is again Plutarch.²⁶ A joint expedition from Chalcis and Andros sailed to Thrace "for purposes of settlement;" they chose an area, the Chalcidice peninsula, which had probably already been explored by the "senior" partner.²⁷ The native settlement of Sane at the narrowest point of the eastern, Athos, peninsula was seized with the connivance of some of its inhabitants. The natives fled from neighbouring Acanthus, but a dispute arose between the partners over whose this additional colony was to be. The matter was submitted to an arbitration-board consisting of Erythrae, Samos, and Paros; Erythrae joined the Samians in voting for Andros, while Paros adjudicated in favour of Chalcis' claims. From the way Plutarch tells the story it may be inferred that Andros had expected Paros to vote in favour of her claims, and that Paros' deciding for Chalcis represented

²¹Hdt. 1.18.3, with perhaps Plut. *Mor.* 244f-245a.

²²*FGrHist* 502 F 1 (Demeas) = T5 Tarditi, lines 10-12.

²³John Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas* (Harmondsworth 1964) 250.

²⁴*Ibid.*, 239.

²⁵655, Eusebius-Jerome (p. 956 Helm).

²⁶Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 30.

²⁷It seems likely that the Chalcidians had already founded Torone at the tip of the middle tongue, although there is no ancient foundation-date.

something of a *volte-face*, and gave Andros a nasty shock. Although Paros' negative vote made no difference to her possession of Acanthus—Thucydides makes this clear in calling Acanthus an Andrian colony (4.64)—, Andros cursed the Parians (hence the origin of the "question" which is Plutarch's starting-point), and interdicted the giving or taking of women in marriage with them in future.

We may look for plausible motives to explain Paros' decision. At the colonial level, it is not difficult to see why Paros should have wished to avoid having a new and potentially threatening power in the neighbourhood of her own colony, Thasos; the threat was not groundless, for Andros, once she had established a foothold in the area, soon extended her influence by founding Stagirus and Argilus, the latter uncomfortably close to the mines of Mount Pangaeum.²⁸ It was suggested above, on the basis of archaeological evidence, that Thasos and Chios were on friendly terms; if so, that will have given Paros an additional motive for taking up on this occasion an opposing position to that of Samos, Chios' rival. The collusion between Erythrae and Samos in deciding for Andros can best be understood with reference to those two states' Ionian rivalries. Geographical proximity meant competition between Erythrae and Chios, as between Samos and Miletus. What is not at all easy to explain is why Paros should now be siding with Chalcis when such a move would almost certainly be construed as an unfriendly gesture by Paros' ally, Miletus. For the friendship between Miletus and Chalcis' arch-enemy, Eretria, was notorious.²⁹ It seems likely, then, that some change had occurred on the international scene to account for such a drastic realignment of Paros' allegiances. What that change might have been will appear from a closer look at the career and writing of the Parian Archilochus.

Archilochus: Θεράπων Ἐνναλίοιο ἄνακτος (fr. 1)

Attempts to pin down Archilochus' dates by connecting him with some otherwise datable event with which he was involved have so far proved futile. The eclipse to which he is apparently alluding in fr. 114 might be that of 14 March 711, 27 June 660 or 6 April 648.³⁰ What Archilochus' connections were with the original Parian colonizing expedition to Thasos is uncertain, although as early as the fifth century B.C. it was believed

²⁸The dates are uncertain. Thucydides merely notices them as *apoikiai* of Andros (Argilos 4.103.3, Stagirus 4.88.2; see Burn, *Lyric Age* 96, with map at 94–95).

²⁹Hdt. 5.99, the well known "Lelantine War" reference.

³⁰Blakeway championed 711 ("The Date of Archilochus," *Greek Poetry and Life* [Oxford 1936] 34–55), Jacoby 648 ("The Date of Archilochus," *CQ* 35 [1941] 97–109 = *Kleine philologische Schriften* [Berlin 1961] 1.249 ff.). Burn offered as a third possibility an eclipse of 660 which was "total at Thasos but not at Paros" (*Lyric Age* 159).

that Archilochus "went to Thasos from Paros because of poverty,"³¹ and it was latterly maintained that he "led a contingent of settlers."³² In any case the foundation date of 720 or 708 gives us only a *terminus post quem*, and is thus no more helpful than the elusive eclipse.

A more promising approach has started from the reference to Gyges in fr. 22. If we may trust a comment by a late grammarian, there was considerably more of the Gyges story from Archilochus' pen, for we are told that he *Gygae fabulam optime complexus est*.³³ Gyges' dates are now almost uniformly accepted as having been 682 to ca 650 B.C.,³⁴ but the wealth and extra-legal position for which Archilochus singles him out for mention must have been his very soon after he took power. We do not know whether fr. 22 was a work of Archilochus' youth, maturity, or old age; all that can safely (and somewhat unhelpfully) be said is that it was composed some time after about 680 B.C.

It seems then that we must give up, for the time being at least, the pursuit of exact dates and rest content with the obvious fact that Archilochus was—somehow—intimately involved in the northward movement outlined above. Perhaps the most tantalizing evidence of this involvement is the late narrative account contained in the so-called *Monumentum Archilochi*, an inscription set up apparently in a shrine honouring Archilochus on Paros by a Parian gymnasiarch of the early first century B.C., Sosthenes;³⁵ the narrative, however, is based on the historical account of a local Parian chronicler, Demeas, whose work antedates the inscription by some two hundred years.³⁶ According to what is preserved or can readily be restored of the beginning of the inscription,³⁷ "Demeas

³¹Critias DK⁶ B 44 (from Aelian *VH* 10.13); Tarditi, *Test.* 46.

³²Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* 6.7.8, citing Oenomaus; Tarditi, *Test.* 116. There are references to Thasos in the poems (esp. 88 and 120), and if the identity of the son of Peisistratus of fr. 120 could be discovered, the mystery might be solved.

³³Juba, a Roman metrician of the second century A.D., who may be following the Alexandrian grammarian Heliodorus (Keil, *Gram. Lat.* 6.563; see H. Lloyd-Jones, *PCPhS* 182 [1952–53] 39). In this article Lloyd-Jones put forward the attractive suggestion (which he later withdrew) that Herodotus and perhaps also the author of the "Gyges Drama" were following Archilochus closely. O. Crusius thought that the story of the love-affair between Gyges and a certain "Magnes," told by Nicolaus of Damascus (*FGrHist* 90 F 62) might derive from Archilochus ("Archilochus," *PW* 2 [1896] 489).

³⁴The chronological evidence for Gyges is discussed thoroughly by R. Van Compernelle, *Etude de chronologie et d'histoire siciliotes* (Brussels and Rome 1959) 63–138.

³⁵"Sosthenes II" in A. J. Gossage's stemma, *RhM* 94 (1951) 219.

³⁶*IG* 12.5.445, *FGrHist* 502 (Tarditi T5). For general treatments one may consult A. Hauvette, *Archiloque* (Paris 1905) 3–11; Hiller v. Gaertringen, "Noch einmal das Archilochosdenkmal von Paros," *GGN*, phil.-hist. kl., n. f. 1 (1934) 41–56; C. M. Bowra in Powell's *New Chapters*, 3rd ser. (1933) 60–62. For Demeas as possible author of the *Marmor Parium*, Hiller, *art. cit.* 56; *FGrHist* 3.b, 420–421.

³⁷I follow the text and supplements of Hiller in *GGN* 1934, 41 ff.; cf. also E. Diehl, *Anth. Lyr. Gr.* 3³ (Leipzig 1954) fr. 51; *FGrHist* 502.

recorded each of the things done and written by Archilochus year by year, and began first with the archonship of Eur***" (lines 8-10).

The account then begins with the story of a certain Koiranos, who had been aboard a "penteconter bringing to Paros ambassadors from Miletus [which], as it was returning [?] from Miletus, was wrecked in the Naxian strait" (Col. 1. 10 ff.; the stone goes on to tell how Koiranos was rescued by a dolphin³⁸ and taken to a cave in the "harbour of the Syrians," whose location is uncertain). The implication of Demeas' account as reported by Sosthenes is that this is the first "public" event alluded to by Archilochus for which a Parian archon-date existed,³⁹ and it can thus be inferred that the Milesian embassy (which, as was suggested above, may have come to enlist Parian assistance in Miletus' war with Naxos) occurred early in Archilochus' poetic career—all the more regrettable, then, that Archilochus' dates continue to be elusive.

The inscription then becomes illegible, owing to its having been turned upside down and re-inscribed with a wreath for use as a gravemarker sometime in the third century A.D. When it can be read again the topic has changed: "... the Parians say that the Thracians restored all the gold to themselves;" Archilochus is then quoted in support of this detail and, after several mutilated lines of his tetrameters, we are able to read: "... the son of Peisistratus set sail for Thasos with men who were playing pipe and lyre and brought pure gold, a gift for Thracian dogs; for their own gain they brought evils on all." The inscription continues in prose: "[Demeas tells that] after having themselves killed the Thracians some of them were killed by the Parians, while others . . ." ⁴⁰ (1.40-52).

The passage bristles with unsolved problems, the most pressing being the identity of the men described in lines 49-51 as "killing the Thracians and in turn being killed by the Parians." It seems a safe assumption that they were *not* Parians; can one go further and infer that Demeas was alluding to a passage in which Archilochus assigned these events to the "pipe- and lyre-players" whom Peisistratus' son led to Thasos? We are still left with the puzzle of who this individual and his musical crew

³⁸The tale was to become very famous; see the testimonia collected by Tarditi at fr. 211. Although the sources betray some uncertainty about whether Koiranos was Parian or Milesian, Archilochus' description of him as "one of fifty" seems to indicate that he was a crew-member of the ship, specifically called a penteconter, which was bringing the Milesian ambassadors to Paros (Demeas' use of the term ἀνακομιζομένη in T5, line 11 has not been satisfactorily explained).

³⁹"... elle était le plus ancien événement que Déméas crût pouvoir dater avec certitude d'après la liste d'archontes dont il disposait" (Hauvette, *Archiloque* 7).

⁴⁰The stonemason has omitted at least one, and possibly two verbs; the Sapai (a Thracian tribe; Hesychius, s.v. Σάπαι, Paus. 7.10.6 ["mentioned by Archilochus in an iamb"]) are mentioned, then there follows the phrase "by the Thracians," with which "were killed" is perhaps to be understood from the preceding clause.

might have been. The events immediately following, narrated by Demeas under the archonship of Amphotimos (the interval is not specified but, as the account seems to be annalistic, one may presume that they occurred in the following year), provide a clue: "... they won a mighty victory over *the Naxians* ..."⁴¹ (thereupon a stirring Archilochian account of how "Athena child of loud-thundering Zeus stood near through the fight, and stirred up the heart in her miserable troops" [fr. 121]). Probably therefore those commentators are correct who have identified the unnamed group in the preceding lines as Naxians; Lasserre and Bonnard reconstruct Demeas' synopsis of Archilochus' poem as follows: "a slaughter of Thracians by Naxians, followed by a slaughter of the Naxians themselves, killed both by the Parians on Thasos and by the Thracians in the land of the Sapai."⁴² Huxley accepts this reconstruction and argues from what appear to be references to a "Neleus" in lines 58 and 59 that this latter individual and the "son of Peisistratus" mentioned in line 46 are the same person, a member of the ancient Neleid nobility on Naxos which traced its descent back to the period of the Ionian migrations.⁴³ The precise point of Archilochus' phrase "bringing pure gold as a gift for the Thracians"⁴⁴ remains obscure, but the words may contain a veiled allusion to the gold-mines; perhaps Peisistratus' son and his unwarlike followers (for that is what the disparaging label "players on pipes and lyre" seems to connote) attempted somehow to bribe the Thracians into surrendering to them the lucrative gold-mining rights in the area. Their ruse failed, they resorted to arms ... disastrously, for not only were they killed, but the Parian colonists on Thasos were also embroiled in the hostilities on the side of (it would appear) the Thracians: οἰκέλωι δὲ κέρδει [Archilochus could write with some justification] ξύν' ἐποίησαν κακά (fr. 120.6).

Mention of a victory over the Naxians *καρτερῶς* (T5, A Col. 1. 54) in the magistracy of Amphotimos fits in with the picture presented above of persistent antagonism between Paros and Naxos; there was a tradition that Archilochus lost his life in what was probably a later stage of these hostilities.⁴⁵ We might then wish to ask whether the shipwreck of the

⁴¹Peek's correction <ἀτῆ> τοῦ should be accepted for the stone's αὐτῆς τῆς in line 56 (*Philologus* 100 [1956] 3). Lasserre and Bonnard's defence of the feminine used in "un sens ironique" is far-fetched (*Archiloque, Fragments* [Paris 1958] 33).

⁴²They add: "qu'il s'agisse de Naxiens [in lines 49 ff.] ne saurait faire de doute" (*ibid.*, 32).

⁴³G. L. Huxley, *GRBS* 5 (1964) 21 ff., esp. 24. The story, which carries overtones of Iphigeneia's sacrifice, is told by Aelian *VH* 8.5.

⁴⁴Fr. 120. 5-6; I do not think that Huxley's interpretation, "received pure gold from the Thracians," can be extracted from the Greek.

⁴⁵Plut. *Mor.* 560e (*Test.* 141 Tarditi).

Milesian ambassadors [ἐν τῷ πορθμῷ] τῷ Ναξιακῷ (T5, A col. 1. 11-12) was a mere accident, or may perhaps have been due to foul play.

Columns 2 and 3 have unfortunately been almost entirely obliterated; when the stone becomes partially legible again at Column 4, we are once more in a context of battle (στρατηγ[...], 4. 2, fr. 122.1; μάχη(ι) κρατησ[...], 4.7; ἀνέλες αἰχμη(ι), 4.12, fr. 123.5). The Glaucus mentioned in line 6 is doubtless the staunch comrade who appears often elsewhere in Archilochus' fragments and is now given welcome substantiation in an inscription from Thasos.⁴⁶ The setting is clearly the north Aegean, as is shown by mention of Thasos at 4.14 and 19. Who were the adversaries? There is nothing definite left on the stone; Thracians, probably, in view of the locale, but perhaps also the Naxians of Column 1. For this suggestion some small confirmation may be sought in the mention of Athena in lines 47-48, for she had been "standing by" the Parians in the battle against Naxians described in Column 1, lines 55 ff. "We brought sorrow," the poet wrote, "(upon the enemy?) in our swift . . ." (fr. 126.13). Some traces of the missing opening syllables of this line are fortunately also preserved on a papyrus, where Lobel restores, not implausibly, ν[η]ν[η]σιν θοῆσι,⁴⁷ which suggests a battle against another sea-power, although it remains possible that the action here being described included, as Lasserre and Bonnard suggest, "an attack against the enemy on the Thracian coast."⁴⁸ That some land-fighting was involved is made probable by mention of a "tower" in lines 50 and POxy 2313 fr. 3 (a). 5, (fr. 126.14), and the "quivers" of 3 (a). 8 (fr. 126.18). What Λεσβιω[... in line 52 (fr. 126.10) refers to is unclear; Hiller compares the "Lesbian pipe" of fr. 116.

The Naxians appear again in the more recently discovered "Mnesiepes inscription," dating from the third century B.C., which was found by Kontoleon in 1949.⁴⁹ Stone E₂, lines 15 to 44 (fr. 99), containing the left part of thirty of Archilochus' tetrameter verses, "longer than any previously known fragment,"⁵⁰ takes us once again over the familiar ground of a battle with the Naxians, who are mentioned in the prose introduction and in Archilochus' verses (fr. 99.6), which were, as appears from the Introduction, an exhortation to his fellow-citizens to "come to the aid of the fatherland unhesitatingly" (προθύμως, T4, E₂, col. 1.8; ἀπροφασίστως

⁴⁶Glaucus frs. 15, 91, 95, 107 and perhaps 60.7; BCH 79 (1955) 388 = Test. 1 Tarditi.

⁴⁷POxy. 2313 fr. 3 (a). 3 = col. 4.55. The supplement is accepted by Peek (*Philologus* 100 [1956] 4-5), Lasserre-Bonnard, and Treu. The *dourata* of line 46 are *prima facie* "spears" but may possibly be "ships" (the word so far occurs elsewhere in Archilochus only in the famous fr. 2, where it clearly means "spear").

⁴⁸Lasserre and Bonnard, 36.

⁴⁹Nik. Kontoleon, *Arch Eph* 1952 (1955) 32-95; W. Peek, *Philologus* 99 (1955) 4-50; E. Vanderpool, *AJP* 76 (1955) 186-188 (Tarditi T4).

⁵⁰Vanderpool, (above, note 49) 188.

12). The words *νηυσίν, δέξειαι δ'* (fr. 99. 2, cf. 99. 21) show that it is a sea-fight, and mention of Thasos (fr. 99. 10) indicates that it took place in the north.⁵¹ There is a tantalizing reference to "men of Torone" in the genitive case (fr. 99. 20). Presumably, the lost remainder of the line would have made clear on which side they fought, whether that of the Thasians or of their enemies, but we may deduce from the fact that Torone was a colony of Chalcis the unlikelihood that she was on the same side as an adherent of the Miletus-Eretria alliance. With hardly more than the left-hand third of each line surviving it seems futile to speculate, but it may be that "those in Thasos" (*οἱ μὲν ἐν Θάσῳ*, 99.19) who are somehow involved with (under siege by?) the Toronaïans, are being exhorted to hold out until others (*οἱ δ'*) come in their swift ships (bringing?) fresh (assistance?) from P(aros, Kontoleon's supplement) to their brothers... (fr. 99.21-23).⁵² The citation from Archilochus ends with the poet's address to a certain Erxies, who is named elsewhere in the fragments.⁵³ The inscription then reverts to prose (probably Demeas'), the gist of which seems to be that "the gods heard (?Archilochus') prayers" (T4, E₂ col. 1.45-47), and the word *ἀνδραγαθοῦντα* in line 55 points to an act of valour, probably by Archilochus himself, and *ἀποκτείναντα* in the next line may specify what this was. That the context is military is shown by the words *ἐν ταῖς μάχαις* (49), and the phrases *ταῖς πεντήκοντ[α]* in 53 and *τούτων ἐπιπλε[ουσῶν]* in the following line have been taken, quite plausibly, as referring to ships, perhaps penteconters, to whose sinking there seems to be an allusion in 57, *τὰς δὲ καὶ δυομέν[ας]*. The writing on Columns 2-4 of the stone has regrettably been obliterated.

The "book" fragments too contain echoes, although they are fainter than those of the inscriptions, of Archilochus' involvement in his countrymen's and their allies' efforts to gain a foothold in alien soil. Perhaps the poem which made the greatest impression in antiquity was *ἀσπίδα μὲν Σαῖων τις ἀνείλετο . . .*;⁵⁴ the context suggests that the Thasians were worsted by the Saïoi, a somewhat obscure Thracian tribe, who, like the Sapai, have been rescued from oblivion by Archilochus' verses. In another

⁵¹Not all would agree; see Kontoleon (above, note 49) 82-83. (I find myself on the side of those authorities cited at 82, n. 3.)

⁵²See M. Treu, *Archilochos* (Munich 1959) 211, who, however, admits that "ich auch [as well as Kontoleon] die Erwähnung von Torone nicht recht erklären kann." Some have seen here a reference to the story that Heracles captured Thasos and then Torone on his way back from slaying Laomedon at Troy (Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.5.9; cf. Pindar, fr. 140a Snell), but that this was described in the missing parts of Archilochus' verses or that "Archilochus was the source" of the story (Kontoleon, [above, note 49] 89; cf. Lasserre and Bonnard 26) is sheer guesswork.

⁵³Fr. 100 and perhaps 98 (Tarditi's emendation of the *ms'* *ἔρξω*).

⁵⁴Fr. 8 (with Tarditi's notes for the poem's notoriety); Alcaeus *ap.* Hdt. 5.95; Hor. *Carm.* 2.7.

poem, which survived long enough to be used as evidence by Philochorus, Archilochus described "a dispute between the Thasians and the Maroneians over Stryme,"⁵⁶ hostilities in which Thasos must ultimately have prevailed, for Stryme was described by Herodotus as a colony of Thasos.⁵⁶ If the first of the so-called "Strasbourg Epodes" is indeed by Archilochus,⁵⁷ the poet shows some familiarity with the rough waters at the western end of the Black Sea: he imprecates upon an unnamed enemy shipwreck there and plunder at the hands of "the top-knotted Thracians . . . at Salmydessus."⁵⁸ The individual is evidently a merchant, or at least a sea-captain, as the first words which the papyrus preserves, κύμ[ασι] πλα[ζόμε]νος, make clear; Archilochus perhaps heard of the dangers of the Salmydessian coast from some Milesian seafarer who had first-hand acquaintance with it. He must have had opposite news of the other end of the then known world, for he compares some place (Athenaeus, the source of the quotation, said it was Thasos) with the "lovely streams of Siris" (fr. 18). The town was settled in historical times by Colophonians, perhaps a contingent which made its way westward when Colophon was captured by Gyges;⁵⁹ if so, Archilochus will have had an additional reason for being interested in the place.

Apollo: ἄναξ Ἀπολλων, καὶ σὺ τοὺς μὲν αἰτίους
σήμεινε . . .

(fr. 30)

In his study of Delphi and Greek colonization, W. G. Forrest showed that the combined interests of Corinth and Chalcis in colonially exploiting the West were furthered by Apollo's oracle at Delphi, which in turn was handsomely rewarded as success after success crowned the western venture; Delphi's reputation was born, so to speak, in Magna Graecia.⁶⁰ As an example of this process we may take Delphi's part in the founding of Sicilian Naxos where, according to Thucydides (6. 3.1), the colonists "built an altar to Apollo Archegetes, at which theoroi about to sail from Sicily first offer sacrifice." In addition to the altar there was also a statue of Apollo which was said to have been "first set up by the Naxians who led a colony to Sicily."⁶¹ An apparent exception to the converse phenome-

⁵⁶Fr. 284 (Harpocration, s.v. Στρώμη; *FGrHist* 328 F 43).

⁵⁶Hdt. 7.108.2.

⁵⁷Fr. 193 *dubium*; G. M. Kirkwood, *TAPA* 92 (1961) 267 ff.; Tarditi 24-25 for further bibliography.

⁵⁸"A horrible place in the frequent north-east winds," along "eighty miles of harbourless shoal coast beyond Byzantion" (Burn, *Lyric Age* 115).

⁵⁹Siris settled by Colophonians, Timaeus, *FGrHist* 566 F 51; Colophon captured by Gyges, Hdt. 1.14 *fin*. Cf. J. Bérard, "Les Ioniens à Siris," in *Charites, Festschrift Langlotz* (Bonn 1957) 218 ff. (esp. 221, n. 13).

⁶⁰"Colonization and the Rise of Delphi," *Historia* 6 (1957), esp. 171 ff.

⁶¹App. *BCiv.* 5.109.

non, Delphi's absence from accounts of the colonial activity of Corinth's competitors, prime among them Miletus, is Delphi's prominence in stories regarding the foundation of Thasos and the career of Archilochus generally; there exists a profusion of oracles and vignettes linking Delphi with this series of events.⁶²

The first stone of Kontoleon's Mnesiepes inscription (E₁) takes us back, so to speak, to the beginning of things: Archilochus is taking a cow to market and meets some ladies who, after certain jocose exchanges, ask him whether he is indeed on his way to sell the cow; when he replies that he is, they tell him they will give him a fitting recompense. Thereupon ladies and cow disappear, and Archilochus finds a lyre at his feet. When he recovers from his bemusement, he returns home, tells his father, Telesicles, of his adventure, and the latter, instituting a search through the entire island but unable to locate the lost cow, gives up on the matter until, at some later time, he is sent to the oracle at Delphi on official business for the city. Upon entering the shrine with his colleague Lycambes (!), Telesicles receives the following oracle:

Immortal your son will be and the subject of song
Among men, the one who first addresses you
When you leap from the shrine to your dear native land.⁶³

The oracle itself was already known, with a more common variant in the third line, from literary sources.⁶⁴ There likewise are recorded two oracles connected with the colonization of Thasos, one to Telesicles,⁶⁵ the other to Archilochus himself.⁶⁶ There are as well the merest traces of a series of events involving a Thracian named Oisydres who was apparently slain in battle against the Parian settlers on Thasos; Thasos was besieged and an oracle was received that the inhabitants should "pay satisfactory compensation to the Bisaltai" (presumably the tribe to which Oisydres had belonged).⁶⁷ Archilochus is not mentioned by name, but it seems a

⁶²See in general G. L. Hendrickson, "Archilochus and the Victims of his Iambics," *AJP* 46 (1925) 121-124; H. W. Parke and D. E. Wormell, *The Delphic Oracle* 1st (1956) 396-397; G. Tarditi, "La nuova epigrafe archiloea e la tradizione biografica del poeta," *PP* 11 (1956) 122-139, esp. 132 ff.

⁶³E₁ col. 2 (= *Test.* 4 Tarditi) 23-52: thorough discussion by H. W. Parke, *CQ* 8 (1958) 90-94. For the possibility that the scene of Archilochus' encounter with the Muses may be depicted on a fifth-century pyxis from Eretria, see Kontoleon, *ArchEph* 1952, 57-59, with plates 1 and 2; *idem*, "Archilochus and Paros" in *Archiloque, Fond. Hardt, Entretiens* 10 (Geneva 1963) 47-50.

⁶⁴T9; Parke and Wormell, *Delphic Oracle* 2 (1956) no. 231 (subsequent refs. to oracles as in this collection).

⁶⁵No. 230 (T.116).

⁶⁶No. 232 (T.114; I take this to be a "doublet" of 230, not a reference to a "second wave" of settlers).

⁶⁷Callimachus fr. 104 Pfeiffer, with the payrus commentary; Treu, *Archilochos* 120.

likely enough assumption that the incident occurred during the period in which Thasos was trying to gain a foothold on the Thracian coast and had to contend with opposition from the natives; if so, we will have evidence for Delphi's intrusion at yet another stage of the Parian venture.

An otherwise unknown incident from Archilochus' life is recorded in the Mnesiepes inscription; unfortunately, since only the left-hand edge of the column survives (T4, E₁ col. 3), obscurity surrounds some of the details.⁶⁸ An attempt by Archilochus to introduce Dionysus' phallus-worship was resisted by his fellow Parians, who were afflicted with impotence for their resistance. When they sought a remedy for their affliction, Apollo prophesied:

Why, in an illegal lawsuit . . . ? (implying perhaps that the Parians
had initiated legal proceedings
against Archilochus)
You have come to P[ytho (or the "Pythia's home")
There is no (remedy?) until . . .
Until Archilochus . . .

(T4, E₁, col.3.47-50)

Clearly the Parians are being told to drop their opposition to Archilochus' proposal, and espouse the particular form of Dionysus worship he had advised. After Archilochus' death his slayer, a certain Calondas, nicknamed "the Crow," of Naxos, was ordered from the Delphic shrine with the injunction which is often quoted by ancient authors,

You have killed the Muses' squire; leave the shrine.⁶⁹

To Calondas' protests that he had slain Archilochus "in fair fight," that it was "the fortunes of war,"⁷⁰ the Pythia replied (apparently in another, this time riddling, oracle) that he was accursed, *ἐναγής*, and such would he remain until he should go "to 'the Cicada's' dwelling and propitiate Archilochus' shade," an enigmatic allusion, as it appeared, to the *psychopompeion* at Taenarum.⁷¹ Finally, the very idea of founding an Archilocheion on Paros in the third century B.C. was, if not originated, at least given enthusiastic approval by Delphi. Mnesiepes himself tells us as much:

⁶⁸Vanderpool, *AJP* 76 (1955) 188; Tarditi, *PP* 11 (1956) 132; Parke, *CQ* 8 (1958) 93; Treu, *Archilochos* 208-209. The main lines of the story can be recovered from a similar tale told of Dionysus and Athens (*Σ* Aristoph. *Ach.* 243 = Parke and Wormell, *Oracle* no. 546).

⁶⁹No. 4, with testimonia *ad loc.* (T. 67); cf. *Delphic Oracle* 1² (1956) 397.

⁷⁰Tarditi, *Test.* 73, 170.

⁷¹Tarditi, *Test.* 141. Tettix was a settler from Crete; for Delphi's connection with Crete, Forrest (above, note 60) 170-171. (I am not persuaded that "The Cicada" in the Delphic response was merely a reference to Archilochus himself, as Piccolomini argued on the tenuous basis of fr. 167 [*Hermes* 18 (1883) 268-270].)

The god prophesied to Mnesiepes that it was better and more
advantageous
 To honour the poet Archilochus, as [Mnesiepes] intends.⁷²

All this is, to say the least, peculiar, in light of the close connection between Paros and Miletus, which was in the rival colonizing bloc to Corinth's. Delphi ought by all rights to have had little or no place in the Archilochus story; the poet's name, if it was known to Apollo's priests at all, should have been anathema. A way out of the difficulty was suggested by Tarditi, and at first sight his solution appears attractive. Tarditi maintained that Delphi really came into the picture much later, in the fourth century B.C., when Archilochus' reputation had been broadly diffused through Greece by rhapsodes' recitations of his works and embellishments upon the "marvellous" element in his life; Archilochus' real connections were, according to Tarditi, not with Delphic but with *Delian* Apollo.⁷³ Tarditi's most persuasive piece of evidence is the epigram recorded in the Palatine Anthology and ascribed to Theocritus, in which there occurs the line

ἦ ῥά νιν [sc. Ἀρχίλοχον] αἱ Μοῖσαι καὶ ὁ Δάλιος ἡγάπουν Ἀπόλλων.⁷⁴

Additional support for Tarditi's thesis might be sought in what have been seen as lines of artistic and cultic affiliation between Delos and Paros in the archaic period. Thus Kontoleon points out there are similarities between the Delian and Parian alphabets during this period;⁷⁵ he further espouses the view that so-called "Melian" pottery of the orientalizing period, specimens of which have been found in large numbers in the excavations on Delos, is in fact of Parian manufacture.⁷⁶ But neither of these arguments is quite solid: the hypothesis of Archilochian connections with Apollo of Delos must rest on an exclusivity of relation between Paros and Delos—and, as we shall see in a moment, such an exclusive relationship cannot be proven—while Miss Jeffery points out that "the local script of Delos, as far as it can be identified, seems to have been a mixture

⁷²T4, E1, col. 2.14–15. I accept the interpretation of Tarditi that Mnesiepes' original scheme was considerably expanded by the Delphic priests, with the result that Archilochus "partecipa degli onori divini ricevendo un vero e proprio culto" (PP 11 [1956] 123).

⁷³"Tutti gli oracoli relativi ad Archiloco devono esser stati creati quando ormai la sua poesia era diffusa fra i Greci attraverso la recitazione rapsodica e il poeta era diventato celebre" (above, note 62) 134. I choose not to enter here into the debate over whether the biographical details in the Mnesiepes inscription have a specifically Delphic origin, as Tarditi believes (131–132), or were fabricated on Paros (Peek, *Philologus* 99 [1955] 17; Kontoleon, *Fond. Hardt, Entretiens* 10 [1963] 50–51).

⁷⁴See A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page, *The Greek Anthology, Hellenistic Epigrams* (Cambridge 1965) line 3437 (= *Anth. Pal.* 7.664 [T. 178] line 4).

⁷⁵*Fond. Hardt, Entretiens* 10, 66–67.

⁷⁶*Ibid.*, 58, and, most recently, *Aspects de la Grèce préclassique* (Paris 1970) 69 f., a reference I owe to Mr John Boardman. Cf. C. H. E. Haspels, *BCH* 70 (1946) 237.

of Naxian and Parian.”⁷⁷ As for the alleged “Parian” pottery, Rubensohn, the excavator of Paros, maintained that neither in the geometric nor the orientalizing periods did Paros possess clay beds suitable for the manufacture of fine pottery; so-called “Parian” geometric is really from Siphnos or Aegina, and Melian orientalizing is just that, imported into Paros from Melos.⁷⁸ As for connections in cult between the two islands, the archaeological evidence points to a “Delion” on Paros before 700, but it seems probable that Apollo’s worship was far overshadowed by that of his sister, Artemis.⁷⁹ Tarditi’s theory must also face squarely the doubts about whether Apollo’s Delian shrine was an *oracular* one as early as the seventh century B.C. The mention of a *chresterion* in lines 80-81 of the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* seems studiously vague, and no further specific references exist before the Roman period.⁸⁰ Most seriously of all, however, the theory must confront (and, as it seems to me, yield to) the fact that it was Naxos, Paros’ bitter rival, which exercised over the Delian sanctuary in the archaic period a control so extensive that it has been called *une hégémonie religieuse, artistique, politique*.⁸¹ Among the most ancient structures in the Delian sanctuary was the forerunner of the building later known as the “Hall of the Naxians,” whose columns were originally of wood, but which was remodelled at the beginning of the sixth century along the lines which it essentially maintained thereafter.⁸² Nikandra’s *kore* of about 650 and Euthykartidas’ *kouros* of a generation later are but two of the earliest surviving Naxian dedications on Delos, but they cannot have been alone.⁸³ If the lines of connection between Naxos and Delos were as close as the archaeological evidence suggests, it seems

⁷⁷*The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece* (Oxford 1961) 291.

⁷⁸O. Rubensohn, art. “Paros,” *PW* 18 (1949) 1859–1860; *id.*, *Das Delion von Paros* (Wiesbaden 1962) 84, 107. For a review of the issues, see Coldstream (above, note 5) 172, 177; earlier attributions of Cycladic pottery are synopsized by R. M. Cook, *Greek Painted Pottery*² (London 1972) 343. The most recent survey is by D. Papastamos, *Melische Amphoren* (*Orbis Antiquus* 25 [Münster 1970]), who decides cautiously for probably a Melian provenance (130 ff.). Mr John Boardman tells me (*per litt.*, 31.10.1972) that, on the basis of clay analyses which he is having done, the “Melian” samples “seem unlike the clay used for much Parian subgeometric, but cannot be fixed yet elsewhere.” These may however yet turn out to be Melian, since there were apparently “several clay beds on Melos.”

⁷⁹Rubensohn, *Das Delion von Paros* 43 ff. (the earliest finds date from the Late Geometric period, 8).

⁸⁰W. A. Laidlaw, *A History of Delos* (Oxford 1933) 2, with n. 2 on pp. 18 ff. All the evidence has been examined anew by Ph. Bruneau, who issues a cautious verdict—in the negative (*Recherches sur les cultes de Délos à l’époque hellénistique et à l’époque impériale*, BEFAR 217 [Paris 1970] 142–161), a reference I owe to Professor Roebuck.

⁸¹F. Courby, *BCH* 45 (1921) 241. See also van Compernelle (above, note 19) 181–182; H. Gallet de Santerre, *Délos primitive et archaïque* (Paris 1958) 290–296.

⁸²Courby, *art. cit.* (above, note 81) 233 f.

⁸³The dates are Miss Jeffery’s (*Local Scripts* 291, with Pl. 55).

unlikely in the extreme that Delos would have taken an active hand in enhancing the reputation of the Parian poet who accounted himself (as his own verses testify) a bitter enemy of the Naxians.

If a connection between Archilochus and an oracular Apolline shrine must be sought, it would be more natural to look to the oracle of Branchidae at Didyma, only fifteen kilometres from Miletus as the crow flies, and so under its "protection" from earliest times. Herodotus (1.157) remarks that "an oracle had been established there from of old, which all Ionians and Aeolians were accustomed to consult." Although direct evidence is lacking, the oracle may have played some part in the sending out of Miletus' colonies,⁸⁴ since there is evidence for the prominence of the cult of Apollo at Miletus and her colonies.⁸⁵

If evidence is lacking to support the positive part of Tarditi's theory, however, his objections to the almost universal acceptance of Delphic support for Archilochus remain valid. Highly significant in this connection is the fact (which has not, so far as I am aware, been noticed) that on several points Archilochus seems to be taking a line which brings him into direct conflict with Delphi's patron, Corinth. Archilochus told a story to illustrate the ridiculous profligacy of one of the original settlers of Corinth's colony at Syracuse,⁸⁶ and the poet's outspoken refusal to be impressed by Gyges τοῦ πολυχρύσου (fr. 22.1) should be set against the efforts which the latter was making to find favour at Delphi.⁸⁷ Moreover, Archilochus made claims which were in two particulars challenged by Periander's court-poet Arion. "I know how to lead the lovely song of Lord Dionysus, the dithyramb," Archilochus asserted (fr. 117), but Herodotus (1.23) swallowed the story that it was Arion who "first composed and named and taught the Dithyramb at Corinth." And it looks as though the whole episode of Arion's rescue by the dolphin was fabricated by him to take over and improve upon the story Archilochus had told of Koiranos.

It remains, then, to try to determine when and why Delphi intruded herself into Archilochus' story. Tarditi suggested that it was not until

⁸⁴F. Cauer cites Curtius (*Gr. G.* I⁶. 495) and Gelzer (*De Branchidis* 6-9) for this view, although he himself notes that it "gründet sich nur auf innere Erwägungen" (art. "Branchidai," *PW* 3 [1899] 810).

⁸⁵Collected by F. Bilabel, *Die ionische Kolonisation* (*Philologus*, Suppl. 14 [Leipzig 1920]) 81 ff. (Miletus; Apollo Didymaios 83 ff.), 97-109 (Milesian colonies). Graham (above, note 13) 108, n. 1 cites evidence from the Hellenistic period for offerings to Apollo of Didyma "from the Cyzicenes."

⁸⁶Fr. 279; Archilochus seems to have used the term ἄσματος of the Corinthian Aithiops.

⁸⁷Hdt. 1.14 (Gyges' offerings in Cypselus' treasure-house at Delphi). In this connection should be recalled Archilochus' favourable comment on Siris, whose settlers were driven from their Colophonian home by Gyges (above, 11, with note 59).

the fourth century, but the evidence he adduces is very slight.⁸⁸ Perhaps, however, we should look for the change closer to—possibly even within—Archilochus' own lifetime, and a clue may be found in Plutarch's story of Paros' role in the Acanthus dispute. One need not look very far for a pressing reason why Delphi began to take an interest in the Thasians: their colonizing venture had met with the fantastic success to which the gold mines gave visible and alluring witness. Paros' siding with Chalcis in the Acanthus dispute may then have signalled her desire to change allegiances, or even an overture to try to "break into" the Corinth-Chalcis-Delphi sphere of influence. What did Paros have to offer? The promise of a share for Pythian Apollo in any future dedications from her prosperous colony to the north. And how might Apollo reciprocate? By extending recognition to the outspoken Parian adventurer whose success in battle had begun to be matched by a growing literary reputation. Delphi for her part might well have begun to take an interest in the Thraceward region as a possible future alternative in case her relationship with Corinth should ever grow sour. It may well be that the worship of Pythian Apollo, which was to become one of Thasos' dominant cults in the classical period, was introduced only at this time and as part of the deal which Paros was now willing to do with Delphi.⁸⁹

PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY

⁸⁸On the tenuous basis of Pind. *Pyth.* 2.54–56, an unflattering comment about Archilochus, Tarditi (above, note 62) 137, maintains that the poet "had not yet entered into Delphi's orbit" by the date of the poem.

⁸⁹The Pythion on Thasos dates from the end of the fifth century, but replaces a "much smaller and much earlier" structure which, unfortunately, cannot be firmly dated (J. Pouilloux, *Recherches sur l'histoire et les cultes de Thasos* [*Etudes thasiennes* 3, Paris 1958] 28).