

Notes on Fragments of Three Historians

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I

Stephanos of Byzantion *s.v.* Ἀκαμάντιον

THE ARTICLE in the *Ethnika* of Stephanos on Akamantion begins: Ἀκαμάντιον, πόλις τῆς μεγάλης Φρυγίας, Ἀκάμαντος κτίσμα τοῦ Θησέως, ᾧ συμμαχήσαντι πρὸς τοὺς Σολύμους τὸν τόπον δέδωκε. A name of a person has obviously fallen out, since δέδωκε lacks a subject. Meineke in his edition (p.56, 12) suggested Ἴσανδρος, who in the *Iliad* (6.197 and 203) is a son of Bellerophon and dies fighting against the Solymoi—though not in alliance with Theseus, who, a generation or so before the Trojan war, would have been his contemporary. Meineke's suggestion is plausible, but only if ᾧ refers to Theseus in the notice of Stephanos. In fact, however, it refers to Akamas, who was not a contemporary of Isandros: this can be seen from Stephanos *s.v.* Σύνναδα (p.592 Meineke), where it is stated that Akamas wandered to Phrygia after the Trojan war. There he came to the help of a local dynast and, having been given land, founded a city. The notice adds that he collected many settlers from the 'Macedonians' who had come from Hellas to Asia; hence the place was called Σύνναια, a name corrupted by the local population to Synnada. Akamantion in Phrygia would have been founded at the same time by Akamas.

The Macedonians in the article are a difficulty. In the context they can hardly be Macedonian settlers who arrived in Asia Minor in the aftermath of Alexander's conquest. L. Robert¹ would replace *Μακεδόνων* by *Λακεδαιμονίων*, thereby giving the city a distinguished origin indeed: a Theseid founder with Spartan settlers. *Μακεδόνων* can perhaps be kept, however. The 'Macedonians' who settled at Synnada could well be Phrygian immigrants who came into Asia

¹ *Villes d'Asie Mineure*² (Paris 1962) 251 n.1. See also L. Robert, "Sur de types de monnaies impériales d'Asie Mineure," in *Centennial Publication of the American Numismatic Society* (New York 1958) 582 n.27.

Minor in the heroic age—after the Trojan war, according to Xanthos of Lydia (*FGrHist* 765 F 14). Herodotos (7.73) believed that Briges or Phryges had originally dwelt with the Macedonians before they crossed to Asia. The notice in Stephanos *s.v.* *Σύνναδα* suggests therefore that Akamas may have settled Phrygian immigrants in his new city after he had been in alliance with a local dynast, whose name is also missing in the article *s.v.* *Ἀκαμάντιον*. Who, then, was the dynast?

Coins of Synnada include types showing *AKAMΑΣ*, presumably as a founder-hero. Others show a bearded local hero *ΘΥΝΝΑΡΟΣ*.² I suggest that the two names belong together: that is, Thynnaros gave the land to his ally Akamas, who founded the city. Thus in Stephanos *s.v.* *Ἀκαμάντιον* the subject of *δέδωκε* may well be Thynnaros, whose name would also seem to have fallen out of the entry *s.v.* *Σύνναδα* after the words *καταλαβείν πολιορκούμενον τὸν τῶν τόπων δυνάστην <Θύνναρον> . . .*

The source of Stephanos here is not certain. Dionysios the Chalkidian, who wrote about 350 B.C. or earlier, is quoted by Lysimachos of Alexandria on the subject of foundations in the Troad for which Akamas was responsible; but Dionysios says nothing here about reputed foundations inland in Phrygia by the Theseid,³ whose alleged activities thereabouts may be inventions of the Hellenistic age, for the most part. On the other hand, Ps.-Apollodoros, many of whose sources are early, refers to Greek heroes in the epoch of the Nostoi settling on the banks of the river Sangarios.⁴ So the story of a visit to Phrygia by Akamas could be relatively early—even if not as early as the epic *Nostoi*. He also wandered as far as Kypros (Strabo 683) and even, according to Stesichoros, to Egypt.⁵ The immediate source of Stephanos, however, for the story of Akamas at Synnada and at Akamantion may well be Alexander Polyhistor, as Meineke supposed in his edition (p.592). Alexander wrote extensively on Phrygia and is named several times in the *Ethnika* as an authority on Phrygian toponymy.

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² B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum*² (Oxford 1911) 686. At Synnada there was a religious association called *Θυνναρίδαι*: G. Türk, *RE* 6A (1936) 720 *s.v.* THYNNAROS.

³ *FGrHist* 382 F 9. For other fragments of Dionysios see *FHG* 4.393–96, and for his date, *RE* 5 (1905) 929 *s.v.* DIONYSIOS 107.

⁴ *Epitome* 6.15 (2.256 Frazer).

⁵ *POxy.* 2506, fr.26 col. i.

II

Stephanos of Byzantion *s.v.* Δάρδανος

IN HIS ENTRY *s.v.* Δάρδανος Stephanos gives a long quotation from a Mnaseas; a Mnaseas is also mentioned in four other passages of the *Ethnika*. In every instance the person named may well be the man of Lykian Patara,¹ sometimes said to be of Patrai in Achaëa;² the same writer may be the Mnaseas mentioned by the Suda (*s.v.* Ἐρατοσθένης) as a follower of Eratosthenes. Here we are concerned less with the identity of Mnaseas than with the text of Stephanos.

The quotation begins: Δάρδαμος ἐκ σι[ca. 4] ἐκ τοῦ νεῶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τὸ παλλάδιον ἀράμενος ἀφίκετο εἰς Σαμοθράκην . . . He arrives in Samothrake in company with his siblings Harmonia and Iasion. Kadmos welcomes them there and after the death of Telephasse (or Telephae) marries Harmonia. Kadmos sends Dardanos and his companions to Asia to Teukros at Troy, where Teukros, after recognising him, gave Bateia to him as wife and bequeathed the kingdom. Dardanos then founded the town of Dardanos and named Dardania the land which formerly had been called Teukris.

Such was the tale told by Mnaseas, who seems again to have mentioned Samothrake elsewhere in his writings, because the scholia to Apollonios Rhodios (1.917, p.77 Wendel) refer to a discussion of Kabeiroi in the island by a Mnaseas.

The gap after ἐκ σι. . . presents a problem. Holsten proposed to supplement it σι[δῶνος]. A place name is needed here, assuredly: Berkel's ἐξιῶν (adopted in *FHG* 3 p.154, fr.28) is weak because the quotation would then fail to explain where the temple of Athena stood from which Dardanos took the Palladion. But ἐκ σι[δῶνος] can hardly be correct here; the statement that Teukros recognised (ἀναγνωρίσας) Dardanos strongly suggests that the latter had been in the Troad before he went to Samothrake. We may supply therefore ἐκ Σι[γίου] or ἐκ Σι[γείου]. The temple mentioned by Mnaseas is a fictitious predecessor of Athena's shrine at Sigeion, in which the Athenians hung up the arms of Alkaios (Hdt. 5.95.1). Hellanikos

¹ *POxy.* 1611, fr.2.128–29.

² Laqueur prefers Patara to Patrai, owing to the mention of Patara in *POxy.* 1611, fr.2: see *RE* 15 (1932) 2250–52 *s.v.* ΜΝΑΣΕΑΣ 6.

discussed Trojan dynasts in his *Troika* (FGrHist. 4 F 138), and the migration of Dardanos from Samothrake to Troy (4 F 23); the historian may well be a source of Mnaseas here, for Bateia was mentioned in the first book of that work, as Stephanos reports (s.v. *Βατία* = FGrHist 4 F 24a).³

In this fragment Mnaseas seems to be claiming an Asiatic origin for Dardanos; he is also, it seems, asserting that the Palladion was venerated in the Troad before it was taken to Samothrake.⁴ A similar claim to priority is to be found, for example, in Ps.-Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 3.12.3), where we are told that Zeus let the Palladion fall outside the tent of Ilos, when Ilios was founded. Ilos, the mythographer adds, built a temple for it. Mnaseas, however, places the temple at Sigeion and dates the presence of the Palladion in the Troad at least a generation earlier than Ilos, in the time of Dardanos. When Dardanos returned to the Troad from Samothrake he would, according to Mnaseas, have taken the Palladion back with him, presumably, though the words quoted by Stephanos do not refer to his having done so. We do not know that the prior Trojan claim to the Palladion in Mnaseas was already made in the *Troika* of Hellanikos, in which, it seems, Dardanos was said to have been born to Elektryone in Samothrake (4 F 23); but part of the tale is found much earlier than Hellanikos, in Homer, who tells of the founding of Dardania by Dardanos before holy Ilios was built (*Iliad* 20.215–17).⁵

Stephanos in his article s.v. *Σίγειον* does not cite the form *Σίγειον*; so in the quotation s.v. *Δάρδανος* from Mnaseas it is better to supply *ἐκ Σί[γείου]*.

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³ See also F. Jacoby, *FGrHist* Vol. I, p.440.

⁴ L. Ziehen (*RE* 18 [1949] 181 s.v. PALLADION) supposes that in the Mnaseas fragment Dardanos comes from Arkadia to Samothrake and thence to Troy (as the hero does in Dion.Hal. *Ant.Rom.* 1.61). He suggests that the temple of Athena referred to by Mnaseas was that at Tegea, but Pallantion, owing to its name, and Pheneos, which some held to have been the home of Dardanos (Serv. *ad Verg. Aen.* 3.167), are also considered by Ziehen. None of the names, however, suits the preserved letters *εκ σι . . .* in Stephanos. L. von Sybel (in Roscher, *Lex.* 1 [1884–86] 962) is closer to the truth, I think, when he states "Dardanos raubt das Palladion aus dem Tempel der troischen Athena, geht nach Samothrake zu Kadmos, nachher zu Teukros, und gründet Dardanos, Mnaseas bei Steph. Byz. *Δάρδανος*."

⁵ The earliest mention of the Palladion is in Arktinos (*Iliou Persis* fr.1 Allen), who seems to have assumed that Dardanos first possessed it in Samothrake, before taking it thence to Troy (Dion.Hal. *Ant.Rom.* 1.68).

III

Neanthes of Kyzikos, *FGrHist* 84 F 1

ATHENAIOS at 3.111D quotes from the *Hellenika*, Book II, of Neanthes (the elder) of Kyzikos a sentence showing that *θρόνος* is the name of a kind of bread: *Θρόνος ἄρτου ὄνομα. Νεάνθης ὁ Κυζικηνὸς (FGrHist 84 F 1) ἐν β̄ Ἑλληνικῶν γράφων οὕτως· “ὁ δὲ Κόδρος τόμον ἄρτου τὸν καλούμενον θρόνον λαμβάνει καὶ ἴκρέας καὶ ἰ τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ νέμουσι.” τοῦ καλουμένου θρόνου Casaubon: “etiam quae secuntur corrupta” Kaibel. νέμει Casaubon. “Res obscura” FHG 3.3.*

When Kodros went out from Athens to die on behalf of the city at the hand of the Dorian invader, he left the kingship to the eldest of his sons, Medon; later Medon's brother Neleus began the migration to Ionia (Hellanikos, *FGrHist* 4 F 125). In the fragment of Neanthes, the combination of Kodros, *πρεσβυτάτῳ*, and the play on the meaning of *θρόνος* shows that the context is the transfer of the kingship before Medon's father went out alone to his certain death. I suggest therefore that the corrupt words *κρέας καὶ* be emended to *γέρας παιδῶν*. The meaning of the fragment thus becomes: “Kodros takes a slice of the bread called *thronos*,” the punning symbol of succession, “and they confer the privilege of kingship on the eldest of his sons.” There is no need to change *νέμουσι* to *νέμει*. The subject of *νέμουσι* is the Athenian *demos*.

By his bravery in the war against the Boiotians, Melanthos, father of Kodros, a Pylian by origin, had secured the kingship of Athens for himself and his descendants (Hellanikos, *loc.cit.*); here in the fragment of Neanthes the Athenians decide which grandson of Melanthos shall be given the *γέρας* of kingship. As a result of this award Medon and the Medontidai became kings of Athens. Neleus and his brothers quarrelled with Medon, who was lame, but had Delphic support; hence the decision, so the legend declared, to migrate to Asia (Pausanias 7.2.1).

Since Neanthes dealt with the Pylian princes in Athens in his second book, the *Hellenika* started at an earlier point in Greek legend, perhaps with the fall of Troy. The emended quotation can now be set out:

“ὁ δὲ Κόδρος τόμον ἄρτου τοῦ καλουμένου θρόνου λαμβάνει καὶ γέρας παιδὶ τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ νέμουσι.” For assignment of a γέρας by the *demos* compare Homer, *Odyssey* 7.149–50, where Odysseus says of the Phaiakian nobility,

καὶ παισὶν ἐπιτρέψειεν ἕκαστος
κτήματ' ἐνὶ μεγάροισι γέρας θ' ὅ τι δῆμος ἔδωκεν.

For the metaphor compare δούλιον ἄρτον ἔδων (Archil. ? fr.79a.6 D³).

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