

# Studies in Early Greek Poets

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## I

### Neleids in Naxos and Archilochos

WHEN MIGRANTS SAILED FROM ATTICA to found settlements in Asiatic Ionia, those who went to Miletos were led by Neileos.<sup>1</sup> He was one of the Neleidai, and his grandfather Melanthos had escaped from Pylos to Athens when the Herakleidai expelled the family.<sup>2</sup> Melanthos became king of Athens, and his son Kodros succeeded him. Kodros, who died in battle against the Peloponnesians by the river Ilisos,<sup>3</sup> was the father of Neileos, the founder of Ionian Miletos.<sup>4</sup>

According to tradition Neileos was driven by a storm to land in Naxos, where he was held by contrary winds. Being at a loss, he was commanded by soothsayers to purify his followers. This he did by sacrificing a lad. Neileos then sailed for Miletos, but part of his force stayed behind in Naxos.<sup>5</sup> We are also told that Neileos left two of his sons in the Cyclades with orders to conquer the islands. Of the two, Hegetor took many islands, but Hippokles was able to capture Mykonos only.<sup>6</sup> These traditions imply, then, that princes of the Neleid line settled in the Cyclades during the Ionian migration.

The presence of Neleidai in Naxos is also attested in the tale of

<sup>1</sup> Herodotos 9.97. See also J. P. Barron, *JHS* 82 (1962) 6. For the spelling of the name *Νηλεύς* or *Νεῖλεως* see Pfeiffer on Callimachus fr. 80, 17.

<sup>2</sup> Pausanias 2.18.9.

<sup>3</sup> Pausanias 1.19.5.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Hellanikos 4 F 125.

<sup>5</sup> Aelian *VH* 8.5.

<sup>6</sup> Zenobius, *Prov.* 5.17. Leutsch/Schneidewin, *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum* (Hildesheim, repr. 1958) 122. Hippokles is the *Ἰππικλός* of the codd. in Schol.Dionys.Per. 525 (*GGM* 2.451). The *genos* Hegetoridai at Kolophon (L. Robert, *Rev.de Phil.*<sup>3</sup> 10 [1936] 162–164) and the *chiliastys* Hegetoreioi at Ephesus (J. Keil, *Jahreshefte* 16 [1913] 245) perhaps take their names from the victorious brother of Hippokles, Hegetor the Neleid.

Akontios of Keos and Kydippe of Naxos related by Callimachus in the *Aetia*.<sup>7</sup> The story was taken by Callimachus from the historian Xenomedes,<sup>8</sup> who wrote shortly before the Peloponnesian war.<sup>9</sup> Xenomedes was a Keian, and the details given by Callimachus evidently come from local tradition. It was said that Akontios saw Kydippe at a festival in Delos. Determined to win her, he put in her way a quince on which was written *μὰ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν Ἀκοντίῳ γαμοῦμαι*.<sup>10</sup> Kydippe took the fruit and read aloud, "By Artemis, I shall be the bride of Akontios." Later Kydippe fell ill, because the goddess was angry since the girl had not fulfilled her unwitting vow to marry Akontios; and the fever did not relent until Apollo<sup>11</sup> appeared to Kydippe's father to explain the cause of the disease, and the marriage was arranged. This story is the *aition* for the presence of a *genos* Akontiadaí in the Keian city of Ioulis.<sup>12</sup>

The god calls the father of Kydippe *Κοδρείδης*,<sup>13</sup> that is, a descendant of the Neleid king of Athens Kodros. Kydippe then was a Neleid; but she was not a descendant of Neileos son of Kodros, for Callimachus calls her *Προμηθ[ίς]*<sup>14</sup>. This is an allusion to the story of Damasichthon and Promethos, two more sons of Kodros, who were said to have brought Ionians to Kolophon, where the princes fell out.<sup>15</sup> After killing Damasichthon, Promethos was forced to flee to Naxos, where he died. His body was then taken back to Kolophon and received by the sons of Damasichthon. It was from this Promethos, who took refuge in Naxos, that Kydippe was descended. Callimachus does not tell us when he thought Kydippe lived, but if his mention of a Lygdamis<sup>16</sup> refers to the Kimmerian leader of that name, then the poet dated Kydippe later than 650 B.C. but before the time of Xenomedes.

The presence of Neleidai in Naxos helps to elucidate two mutilated

<sup>7</sup> Fr. 67-75 Pf.

<sup>8</sup> Fr. 75, 54.

<sup>9</sup> *FGrHist* 442 T 1.

<sup>10</sup> *Dieg. Z* 1, 3-4 to Callimachus fr. 67. Cf. Aristainetos 1.10 (Hercher, *Epistolographi* p. 141.)

<sup>11</sup> Callimachus fr. 75, 21ff.

<sup>12</sup> Fr. 75, 51-52.

<sup>13</sup> Fr. 75, 32.

<sup>14</sup> Fr. 67, 7.

<sup>15</sup> Pausanias 7.3.3. The Kolophonian *genos* Prometheioi perhaps had their name from Promethos, who was buried in a tomb near Kolophon at a place called Polyteichides (Paus. *loc.cit.*). See L. Robert, *Rev.de.Phil.*<sup>8</sup> 10 (1936) 162-164.

<sup>16</sup> Fr. 75, 24.

fragments of Archilochos in the *Monumentum Archilochi*.<sup>17</sup> The fragments must be given in their full context:

40 [. .<sup>x</sup> .] φον (?) δὲ τὸ[ν χρυσόν] | [π]άντα τοὺς Θρ[ᾶκας λέ]-  
γουσιν Πάριοι ἐα[υτοῖς] | ἀποκατιστάνα[ι πάλιν δι]α-  
σαφεῖ δὲ τ[αὐτά] | [καὶ] αὐτὸς ὁ [ποιητῆς λέγων].

[. .]ατ[. .]φυλ[. .<sup>x</sup> .] | [. .]ο[. .<sup>12</sup> .]σαι[. .<sup>12</sup> .]ιαι  
45 [. .<sup>x</sup> .] || γρα[. .<sup>12</sup> .]εκεσ[. .<sup>10</sup> .μ]ένω[. .].  
πολλ[υ<sub>ϵ</sub>ϵ] | εἶπε ἀστ[υ<sub>ϵ</sub> : -] πάϊς Πεισιστράτου  
ἄνδρας[-]ω|λοῦντας αὐλὸν : καὶ λύρην ἀνῆρ' ἄγων  
εἰς Θάσον κυσὶ | Θρ<έ>ξιιν : δῶρ' ἔχων ἀκήρατον  
χρυσόν· οἰκείω<ι> | δὲ κέρδει ξύν' ἐποίησαν κακά,

50 ὅτι τοὺς Θρᾶκας || ἀποκτείναντες αὐτοὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ὑπὸ  
Παρί|ων ἀπώλοντο, οἱ †ληστὰς Σάπας ὑπὸ τῶν Θρα|[κ]ῶν.  
μετὰ ταῦτα πάλιν γίνεται ἄρχων Ἀμ|φ[ί]τιμος, καὶ ἐν  
τούτοις διασαφεῖ πάλιν, ὡς | ἐ[ν]ίκησαν καρτερῶς τοὺς

55 Ναξίους λέγων || [ο]ὔτω·

τῶν δ' Ἀθηναίη μάχη

ἴλαος παρασταθεῖσα, | παῖς ἐρικτύπου Διός,  
καρδίην ὄρινεν αὐτῆς †τῆς πολυ|[κ]λαύτου λεώ·  
†κέπὶ †τῶν [. . .]λα κείνης ἡμέρης ἐπαύ|[λι]α  
ἄλλον ἤτησεν· τόσους γὰρ ἐξεχώρησεν γύας

60 Νηλέ|[ως τοῦ] παντός· ἀλλὰ θεῶν Ὀλυμπίων νόωι  
Νη[

Sosthenes, the author of the monument, following Demeas,<sup>18</sup> the writer of a Parian local history, quotes as evidence for a war against the Naxians won by the Parians two fragments of trochaic tetrameters by Archilochos. This is shown by the remark, “And he (Archilochos) again makes clear that they (the Parians) soundly defeated the Naxians, with the words . . . .” (lines 53–55). The use of the word *καρτερῶς* here is Archilochean<sup>19</sup> and no doubt comes from the poet himself. Again, it is clear in lines 49 to 51 that *αὐτοὶ* are the Naxians, in spite of the mutilation of the text. The meaning is that some of the Naxians were killed by Parians, others by Thracians, and that the Naxians had

<sup>17</sup> Archilochos fr. 51 Diehl.<sup>3</sup> *ALG* fasc. 3, pp. 19–21, lines 44–59.

<sup>18</sup> *FGrHist* no. 502.

<sup>19</sup> See fr. 23 Diehl.<sup>3</sup>

themselves killed Thracians.<sup>20</sup> Since Thracians are mentioned, the battles are likely to have been fought in Thasos, at the time of the Parian colonisation of that island, or on the Thracian mainland nearby; though it is worth noting that there was a tradition of Thracian settlement in Naxos itself.<sup>21</sup> The Naxians' defeat forced them to give ground: "So many acres of the whole land did Neleos abandon,"<sup>22</sup> said Archilochos (lines 58–59). The first fragment concludes with the statement, "For their own gain, they made their troubles others' too." From the explanation that follows it is clear (isn't it?) that the subject is the Naxians, whose leader, it seems, received pure gold from the Thracians (line 48). His name is 'the son of Peisistratos' (line 46). Now it may well be that the Naxian leader is the same man in both fragments, his name being Neleos son of Peisistratos. A man with such a name and patronymic could hardly be other than a Neleid, for the name Peisistratos is common amongst the Neleidai. It was borne for instance by the Neleid Peisistratos,<sup>23</sup> tyrant of Athens, who at one time was master of Naxos as well.<sup>24</sup> To sum up: we may suggest that the leader of the Naxians defeated by the Parians in the time of Archilochos was a Neleid, Neleos son of Peisistratos.<sup>25</sup>

There may have been Neleidai in the Cyclades long after the time of Archilochos, for a Hellenistic inscription<sup>26</sup> of the Naxians settled at Arkesine in Amorgos mentions a Melanthos, the adopted son of another Melanthos, who boasted before the assembled citizenry of his distinguished ancestry. But we cannot prove that this Melanthos was a Neleid.

It is well known that Neleidai were still powerful in Miletos in the fifth century B.C.<sup>27</sup> and in Athens in the sixth; the purpose of this

<sup>20</sup> See S. Luria, *Philologus* 105 (1961) 186–187 and F. Lasserre/A. Bonnard, *Archiloque. Fragments* (Paris 1958) 33. Cf. J. Pouilloux, *Recherches sur l'Histoire et les Cultes de Thasos* 1 (Paris 1954) 31.

<sup>21</sup> Diodoros 5.50.

<sup>22</sup> *Νηλέ[ως]*, Diehl's supplement, is an acceptable nominative, though we would expect *Νείλεως*. Cf. n.1 *supra*. Lasserre/Bonnard give *νηλεῖ[ς] ἕκ παντός* (*op.cit.* p. 33). For a bibliography of Hiller v. Gaertringen's writings about this inscription see Diehl, *op.cit.* p. 17.

<sup>23</sup> Herodotos 5.65.

<sup>24</sup> Herodotos 1.64.2.

<sup>25</sup> Even if 'the son of Peisistratos' and Neleos are not the same man, their names still link the two Naxian leaders with the Neleidai.

<sup>26</sup> IG XII, 7 (1908) no. 50. For the Naxian settlement in Amorgos see Steph. Byz. s.v. *Ἀμοργος*.

<sup>27</sup> J. P. Barron, *JHS* 82 (1962) 1–6.

paper is to suggest that a branch of that famous family was also of political importance in Naxos from the time of the Ionian migration until the age of Archilochos and perhaps later still.<sup>28</sup>

THE QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY, BELFAST

*April, 1964*

<sup>28</sup> V. R. D'A. Desborough, *The Last Mycenaeans and their Successors* (Oxford 1964) 152, remarks that there was little or no interruption of habitation in Naxos at the end of the Late Helladic III C period. He observes a link between Naxos and East Attica, and considers that the first movement of the Ionian migration passed through the Cyclades at the time of the transition to Protogeometric. It is possible, I think, that the relative importance of Naxos in this period has something to do with the arrival of Neleidai in Naxos from Athens and with the tradition of Hegetor's conquest of the other Cyclades: but this is conjecture. Herodotos notes that the Naxians were Ionians from Athens (8.46.3) but has nothing to say about Neleids in Naxos.

## II

### Alcman's Κολυμβῶσαι

THE SUDA *s.v.* Ἀλκμάν (i 117 Adler, Alcman fr. 158 Page) state:  
 ἔγραψε βιβλία ἕξ μέλη καὶ Κολυμβώσας.

The title *Κολυμβῶσαι*, which means 'Women Swimming' or 'Women Diving,' has for long been a puzzle, but there is no reason to think it corrupt. That Alcman did write a poem or poems called *Κολυμβῶσαι* is also suggested by a remark of Photius (Ptol. Heph. Nov. Hist. ap. Phot. Bibl. 151a7seqq. Bekker): τελευτήσαντος Δημητρίου τοῦ Σκηψίου τὸ βιβλίον Τέλλιδος πρὸς τῇ κεφαλῇ αὐτοῦ εὐρέθη· τὰς δὲ Κολυμβώσας † Ἀλκμάνους † (Ἀλκμᾶνος *coni.* Casaubon, Ἀλκιμένους Meineke) πρὸς τῇ κεφαλῇ † Τυρονίχου † (Τυννίχου *coni.* Valesius, Naeke) τοῦ Χαλκιδέως εὐρεθῆναι φησιν κτλ. Since Photius' remark at least shows that there existed a poem or poems called *Κολυμβῶσαι*, we have to explain the title in the Suda *s.v.* Ἀλκμάν and should not attempt to emend it away.<sup>1</sup> Meineke's Ἀλκιμένους, though approved by G. Kaibel (*RE* 1 [1894] 1541, 31ff), is most implausible: the Athenian comic poet Alcimenes (Suda i 117, 16–17 Adler) is nowhere stated to have written a work on women diving.

The words of the Suda *s.v.* Ἀλκμάν may mean that the *Κολυμβῶσαι* were included in one of the six books of Alcman's μέλη, or the *Κολυμβῶσαι* may have been thought to have been a separate, seventh, book; or possibly there were five books of μέλη and a sixth called *Κολυμβῶσαι*.<sup>2</sup> In fr. 20 (Page) a fifth book is cited, and in fr. 19 (Page) a fifteenth, but here Schweighaeuser's change from ἵε to ἑ should be accepted, as is done by Page. There is no sign in the editions of the Suda that the number six in the article on Alcman is corrupt; so we can accept that there were six books,<sup>3</sup> but whether the *Κολυμβῶσαι* were part of them or not remains uncertain.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. J. A. Davison, "Notes on Alcman," *Proc. IX Int. Cong. Papyrol.* 1958 (Oslo 1961) 35–38.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Lobel *ad P. Oxy.* 2388 fr. 1.10.

<sup>3</sup> C. M. Bowra, *Greek Lyric Poetry*<sup>2</sup> (Oxford 1961) 126 supposes, perhaps correctly, that the collected works of Alcman comprised six books. W. Schmidt and O. Stählin, *Gesch. d. Gr. Lit.* I.i (Munich 1929) 467, write of 'Die 5 Bücher μέλη . . .'.

Now Antigonus of Carystus (*Mir.* xxiii (27), p. 8 Keller) introduces a fragment of Alcman (fr. 26 Page) with the following words: 'The males amongst the halcyons are called *ceryli*. When they grow weak through old age and can no longer fly, the females take them on their wings and carry them. And what Alcman says is associated with this tale: for he says that through the weakness of old age he is unable to be carried round with the choir or with the dancing of the maidens.' The lines of Alcman are next quoted:

οὐ μ' ἔτι, παρσενικαὶ μελιγάρυες ἰαρόφωνοι,  
 γυῖα φέρην δύναται· βάλε δὴ βάλε κηρύλος εἶην,  
 ὅς τ' ἐπὶ κύματος ἄνθος ἄμ' ἀλκύνεσσι ποτήται  
 νηδεὲς ἦτορ ἔχων, ἀλιπόρφυρος ἰαρός ὄρνις.

'No more, maidens of honey tones and holy voices, can my limbs carry me. O, would that I were a kingfisher, who flies with the halcyons over the flower of the wave, with a fearless heart, a sea-purple, holy bird.' In the last line *νηδεὲς* is a suggestion of Boissonade. Photius had *ἀδεὲς*, but the text of Antigonus gives *νηλεὲς*, which is perhaps correct, for *νηλής* can mean 'resolute' as well as 'cruel.' Now Antigonus' story of the aged *ceryli* being carried on the backs of the females is very pretty, and it has appealed to the imaginations of many readers of this fragment of Alcman; but nothing in the lines quoted proves that the poet thought of the *cerylus* doing anything but *flying*. As Page says: "*ἄμ' ἀλκύνεσσι ποτᾶται, non φορεῖται hic cerylus.*" Moreover there is nothing in the verses to show that the maidens had been dancing, though they may have been singing. Again, Aristophanes (*Birds* 250–251) imitates the lines of Alcman, but says nothing about the males being carried on the backs of the females:

ὦν τ' ἐπὶ πόντιον οἶδμα θαλάσσης  
 φύλα μετ' ἀλκύνεσσι ποτᾶται. . . .

Let us consider the verses by themselves. Alcman is old (or tired), he says. His limbs can no longer support him. If only he were a kingfisher who flies over (or into) the wave's crest. He would then be a foil to his companions, the maidens who are the halcyons. We can now picture the scene. The maidens have been diving and swimming like halcyons in the sea. They then suggest to Alcman that he too should plunge in. The poet replies that he is too old for swimming, or possibly that he is too tired to swim any more. His limbs will not keep him

afloat. We infer, then, that the maidens are *Κολυμβῶσαι*, on a visit to Gytheion perhaps, and the fragment quoted, and over-interpreted, by Antigonus comes from a poem or book with the title, 'The Diving Maidens,' whom the poet compared with those birds beloved of the sea nymphs, the halcyons which dive to catch fish off the Laconian coast and were said to calm the waves on which they rested.<sup>4</sup> It was, perhaps, on one such visit to the coast that Alcman learnt of the sea-god Porcus,<sup>5</sup> who seems to have been the Old Man of the Sea at Gytheion, a divinity thought by Pausanias to have been none other than Nereus (3.21.9).<sup>6</sup>

THE QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY, BELFAST

*February, 1964*

<sup>4</sup> D'Arcy W. Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds* (Oxford 1936) 48.

<sup>5</sup> D. L. Page, *Alcman, The Partheneion* (Oxford 1951) 38-42.

<sup>6</sup> I thank Mr T. C. W. Stinton and Professor W. M. Calder III for helpful discussions.



### III

## On a Fragment of Panyasis

PANYASIS, an uncle or cousin of Herodotus,<sup>1</sup> was naturally interested in the mythological prehistory of the country near his native city Halicarnassus. Indeed, since the poet's name was Carian, he may well have been partly of Carian descent himself and so have had a particular liking for non-Hellenic, Anatolian, traditions. Hence it is not surprising that one of the epic fragments ascribed to him is concerned with the Tremilai, or Termilai, of Lycia, who called themselves in their inscriptions *trēmili*<sup>2</sup> and were neighbors of the Carians.

The fragment, which is quoted by Stephen of Byzantium in his article *Τρεμίλη*, lists the sons of Tremiles and Praxidike.

*Τρεμίλη· ἡ Λυκία ἐκαλεῖτο οὕτως [οἱ κατοικοῦντες Τρεμιλεῖς] ἀπὸ Τρεμίλου, ὡς Πανύασις (fr. 18 Kinkel)*

“ἔνθα δ’ ἔναιε μέγας Τρεμίλης καὶ ἔγημε θύγατρα  
νύμφην Ὀγυγίην, ἣν Πραξιδικὴν καλέουσι,  
Σίβρω ἐπ’ ἀργυρέω ποταμῷ †παρὰ δινήεντι·  
τῆς δ’ ὄλοοι παῖδες Τλώος Ξάνθος Πιναρός τε

5 καὶ Κράγος ὃς κρατέων πάσας λήϊζετ’ ἀρούρας.”

*<οἱ κατοικοῦντες Τρεμιλεῖς>· Ἀλέξανδρος (Alexander Polyhistor FGGrHist 273 F 137) δὲ “τελευτήσας †τὰς δὲ τοὺς Τρεμιλέας Λυκίους Βελλεροφόντης μετωνόμασεν.” Ἐκαταῖος Τρεμίλας αὐτοὺς καλεῖ ἐν δ̄ Γενεαλογίῳν (1 F 10).*

The corrupt quotation from Alexander Polyhistor perhaps comes from the second book of his *Lykiaka*,<sup>3</sup> in which Kragos son of Tremiles and Praxidike was mentioned. The words are best emended as follows: “τελευτήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Τρεμίλητος τοὺς Τρεμιλέας Λυκίους Βελλεροφόντης μετωνόμασεν.” As the fragment of Panyasis stands, a conjunction linking Tloos to Xanthos is missing in line 4 and the last sentence lacks a

<sup>1</sup> Suda s.v. Πανύασις. See also F. Jacoby, *RE Suppl.* 2 (1913) 216–219.

<sup>2</sup> P. H. J. Houwink ten Cate, *The Luwian Population Groups of Lycia and Cilicia Aspera during the Hellenistic Period* (Leiden 1961) 11.

<sup>3</sup> 273 F 58.

main verb. We could perhaps suppose that after *Ξάνθος* there is a lacuna extending as far as *Πινάρως τε* in the next or a later line. Then line 4 could be completed *τῆς δ' ὄλοοι παῖδες Τλώως Ξάνθος <τ' ἐγένοντο> vel sim.*

Eustathios,<sup>4</sup> however, calls Xanthos a son, not of Tremiles, but of Lapaion, and Stephen of Byzantium<sup>5</sup> states that he was a Cretan or an Egyptian. O. Schneider therefore read *ξανθός* in the fragment of Panyasis, and this gets rid of the problem of the missing conjunction and the possible lacuna. Moreover the historian Polycharmos,<sup>6</sup> according to an inscription from Sidyma, gave the genealogy found in Panyasis but did not name Xanthos beside Tloos, Pinaros,<sup>7</sup> Kragos and their parents. Schneider's *ξανθός* therefore seems to be correct.<sup>8</sup>

The verb *ἔναιε* 'was wont to dwell' does not show whether Panyasis thought of Tremiles as an immigrant to Lycia or not. Herodotos,<sup>9</sup> however, stated that the Termilai came from Crete, and that may well have been the view of his kinsman, too. In line 3 the river Sibros is the Xanthos, which Strabo called Sirbis.<sup>10</sup> One of the prepositions in the line has to be struck out. The best cure is to accept Meineke's suggestion and read *Σίβρω ἐπ' ἀργυρέω ποταμῶ βαθυδινήεντι*. When Panyasis wrote of Kragos "who in his might plundered all the fields," he had the mountain or the town of the same name in mind; evidently he thought of the district as a home of robbers or pirates. Kragos is sometimes taken, perhaps correctly, to be the earlier name of the city of Sidyma.

Praxidike's alternative, non-Greek name is fitting, for a poetical name of the early inhabitants of Lycia was Ogygioi, and it is possible that she herself was the daughter of the Lycian hero Ogygos, who is called a son of Termera.<sup>11</sup> In line 1 *θύγατρα* shows that Praxidike's father or mother had been named just before, and Meineke's suggestion that we should read *γυναῖκα* here for *θύγατρα* is needless. Line 1 may even mean that Tremiles married his own daughter, whose sons are the

<sup>4</sup> *ad* Dion. Per. 129.

<sup>5</sup> *s.v.* *Ξάνθος*.

<sup>6</sup> *FGrHist* 770 F 5.

<sup>7</sup> The inscription has *Πίναλος* (from Lycian *pinele*).

<sup>8</sup> O. Schneider, *Zeits.f. Altertumsw.* 1849, 555 quoted by Höfer in Roscher, *Lex.* 3.2 Kol. 2924 *s.v.* Praxidike.

<sup>9</sup> 1.173.2-3.

<sup>10</sup> C.665.

<sup>11</sup> Steph.Byz. *s.v.* Ὠγγυῖα. See also O. Treuber, *Geschichte der Lykier* (Stuttgart 1887) 31.

eponymous heroes of Tlos, Pinara, and Kragos, all of them places in the Termilian country. It is remarkable that Panyasis wrote τῆς instead of τοῦ in line 4: the feminine perhaps alludes to the matriarchal character of Lycian society.

No other name can definitely be ascribed to the Termilian genealogy of Panyasis, but the inscription<sup>12</sup> from Sidyma already mentioned adds two names to the list in the epic fragment, for Sidymos is called in it a son of Tloos by Cheleidon daughter of Kragos. The barbarian heroine's name is apt, for Greeks often compared the twittering of foreign tongues with the swallow-song.<sup>13</sup>

The presence of a Chel(e)idon in the Termilian genealogy recalls a puzzling passage in the Homeric scholia. A commentator on the *Odyssey* (Schol. PT ε 283) states:

ἐκ Σολύμων· τῆς Κιλικίας εἰσί. ὅθεν καὶ οἱ Σόλυμοι ὠνομάσθησαν ἀπὸ Σολύμου τοῦ Διὸς καὶ Καλχηδονίας (?), ὡς Ἀντίμαχος [fr. 69 Wyss] λέγει (ita P: δηλοῖ T).

*Κιλικίας* may be a mistake for *Λυκίας*, because Herodotos<sup>14</sup> remarks that the Milyans of the land called Milyas were formerly called Soly-moi, and the Milyas is closer to Lycia proper than to Cilicia. Kalchedonia is an unexpected name for a heroine of southwestern Asia Minor, but might be at home near Kalchedon in the northwest. The name requires emendation. Now Stephen of Byzantium (*s.v.* Πισιδία) stated that the Pisidians were formerly called Soly-moi, a people whose name came from Soly-mos son of Zeus and *Chaldene*. Here Buttmann, having compared the Scholium on ε 283, even proposed to read *Καλχηδονίας* for *Χαλδήνης*. There is evident disagreement among the ancient lexicographers about the name of Soly-mos' mother, but Zeus was recognized as his father. Buttmann's emendation of Stephen of Byzantium *s.v.* Πισιδία must be rejected, for the name *Καλχηδονίας* in the Homeric Scholium is itself corrupt.

For *Καλχηδονίας* we should read *Χελιδονίας* in the Homeric scholium, Chelidonia being the eponymous heroine of the islands off the southeastern point of Lycia. Antimachus of Colophon, then, stated that Soly-mos was the son of Zeus and Chelidonia, and the genealogy alludes not only to the fact that Zeus Solymeus was worshipped at Termessos

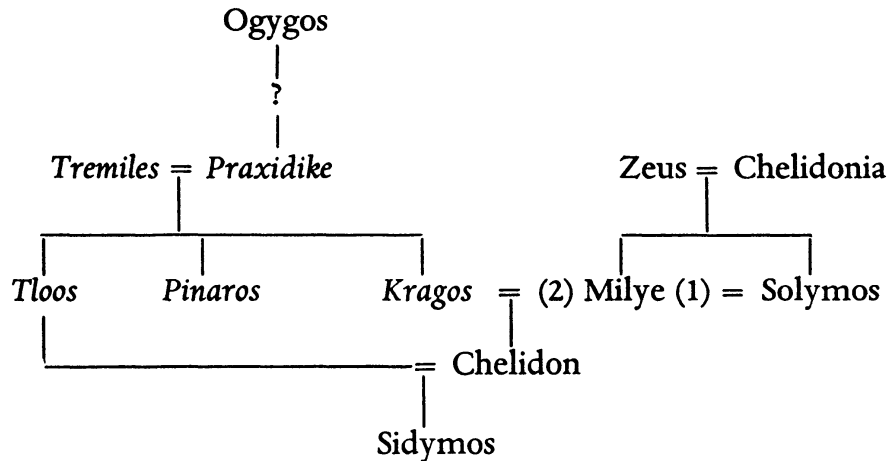
<sup>12</sup> *Tit.As.Min.* (ed. Kalinka) II 1 No. 174 (Polycharmos 770 F 5).

<sup>13</sup> e.g. Aesch. Ag. 1050–1051.

<sup>14</sup> 1.173.2.

near the traditional home of the Solymoi,<sup>15</sup> but also to the presence near the Chelidoniai of a mount Solyma, which, too, preserves the name of that ancient people. Antimachus may well have mentioned Chelidonia in his *Lyde*, for in that elegiac poem Bellerophon's war against the Solymoi was amongst the stories recounted.<sup>16</sup>

Now Antimachus may have taken the parentage of Solymos from Panyasis. His borrowings from the Halicarnassian poet were recognized in antiquity and gave rise to the absurd story that Antimachus had been the slave of Panyasis.<sup>17</sup> Both poets told the story of the birth of Adonis to Theias king of the Assyrians by Theias' own daughter Smyrna,<sup>18</sup> and it is plain that Antimachus followed Panyasis here, not Hesiod, who had stated that Adonis was the son of Alpheisiboia and Phoinix.<sup>19</sup> Milye, wife and sister of Solymos and later wife of Kragos, also fits into the genealogy well.<sup>20</sup> It can now be reconstructed; the italicized names are the only ones known to have been given by Panyasis.



It is not clear from what work of Panyasis the Termilian genealogy comes. No poem specially concerned with the non-Hellenic peoples of Asia Minor is ascribed to him, and his *Ionika*<sup>21</sup> is an unlikely source for the fragment, because the Suda state that the poem was written ἐν πενταμέτρῳ, i.e. in elegiacs, but the genealogy is in hexameters. The

<sup>15</sup> Treuber, *op.cit.* 23. Cf. Strabo 630; ten Cate *op.cit.* 202.

<sup>16</sup> Fr. 68 Wyss.

<sup>17</sup> Suda s.v. Ἀντίμαχος.

<sup>18</sup> Panyasis Fr. 25 Kinkel. Antimachus Fr. 102 Wyss.

<sup>19</sup> Fr. 32 Rzach.

<sup>20</sup> Steph. Byz. s.v. Μιλύαι.

<sup>21</sup> Suda s.v. Πανύσιος (FGrHist 440 T 1).

*Herakleias* is a possibility,<sup>22</sup> for though Herakles does not have strong ties with Lycia, he is said to have broken the head of the savage Termeros,<sup>23</sup> the eponymous hero of Termera; so Herakles' activities did extend to southwestern Asia Minor, even if not quite so far as the land of the Termilai.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Stoessel, *RE* 18 (1949) 890f.

<sup>23</sup> Plutarch, *Theseus* 11.2 (perhaps from Panyasis).

<sup>24</sup> I thank Professor W. M. Calder III for radical criticism of a draft of this paper.