

Aetolian Hyantes in Phrynichus

George Huxley

HYANTES according to tradition were early inhabitants of Boeotia. They had ties with Onchestus;¹ their name gave occasion to the proverbial expression *Βοιωτία ὕς*;² and a reminder of them survived in the name of Hya or Hyampolis in Phocis, whither Hyantes were driven from Boeotia.³

Hyantes are also reported to have been present in Aetolia. The Aetolian connexion is found in the *Pleuroniae* of Phrynichus. The plot of the tragedy is not known—there are but two fragments; but events later than the death of Meleager were treated, since one of the two fragments mentions the hero's decease after his mother had allowed the brand to burn out.⁴ As for the play's title, the Pleuronian women may have been at Pleuron, but they could also be handmaids or captives at Calydon.⁵ What is beyond reasonable doubt is that the story was set in Aetolia and after the death of Meleager. The burned-out brand should not be assumed to be central to the plot, because according to Pausanias (*supra* n.4) the brand was mentioned by Phrynichus only in passing (*προσαψάμενος δὲ αὐτοῦ μόνον*).

Here we are concerned with the fragment mentioning Hyantes. There are textual difficulties, and I give the four lines first as Snell prints them, together with his *apparatus criticus*.⁶

στρατός ποτ' εἰς γῆν τήνδ' ἐπεστρώφα ποδί,
Ἵαντος ὅς γῆν ναῖεν, ἀρχαῖος λεώς,
πεδία δὲ πάντα καὶ παράκτιον πλάκα
ὠκεία μάργοις φλόξ ἑδαίνυντο γνάθοις.

1 cf. Eur. *Teleph.* fr.102, 16 p.68 Aust. | ποδί] 'fort. πολύς' Nauck | non post ποδί, sed post Ἵαντος interp. Scheer || 2 ὅς] ὁ Paris. |

¹ Σ *ad* Ap. Rhod. 3.1242–43a (p.255.1–4 Wendel). See also Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἵαντες, ἔθνος περὶ Ἀλαλκομένιον (p.644.11 Meineke).

² Σ *ad* Pind. *Ol.* 6.148b (I 187.7–14 Drachmann).

³ Strab. 401 and 424 Cas. A possible prehistoric context for the Hyantes is discussed by M. Sakellariou, *Ἱστορία τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἔθνους* I (Athens 1970) 362.

⁴ Paus. 10.31.4 (=fr.6 Snell).

⁵ R. C. Jebb, *Bacchylides* (Cambridge 1905) 470, reports some guesses about the women.

⁶ Phrynichus fr.5 Snell (*TrGF* I [Göttingen 1971] 74) = Σ *ad* Lycoph. *Alex.* 433 (II 160.2–6 Scheer).

Ἵαντος γῆ, i.e. Ἰάμπολις? Wil. Kl. Schr. 4, 543,1 | ναίων ἀρχαίων Paris. | Ἵαντος ἦν ἔναιεν Unger || 3 δὲ om. Vat., Pal. | παράκτιος Paris. || 4 ὠκεία Vat., Ambr., Pal., ὀκοῖα, superscr. ὀποῖα Paris. (cf. F 6,1; *flamma celeris, rapida, velox*: Thes. 1.L.VI 1,865,33sqq.).

If, with Scheer, a comma is placed after Ἵαντος in line 2, the meaning is that a roaming Hyantian army invaded Aetolia, dwelt there, and was an ancient people. If, with Snell, a comma is placed after ποδί, the meaning is that an army roamed into Aetolia and was an ancient people who formerly dwelt in the land of Hyas. According to both versions the invaders put the plains and coastland to the torch (lines 3f). However, there are doubts about the presentation of line 2 in Snell's edition. ὅς after Ἵαντος is suspiciously dittographic, and γῆν results from γῆν in line 1. The Greek runs more smoothly if we take Ἵαντος with ἀρχαῖος λεώς, eliminate ὅς, and convert the duplicate γῆν to a needed relative pronoun. Such were Unger's corrections of the line, and they were adopted by Nauck:⁷

στρατός ποτ' εἰς γῆν τήνδ' ἐπεστρώφα ποδί,
Ἵαντος ἦν ἔναιεν ἀρχαῖος λεώς,
πεδία δὲ πάντα καὶ παράκτιον πλάκα
ὠκεία μάργοις φλόξ ἔδαίνυντο γνάθοις.

The meaning of the four lines is thus "Long ago an army roamed on foot into the land which the ancient people of Hyas was inhabiting; and a swift fire with ravening jaws devoured all the plains and the flat land along the shore." Thus Hyantes had already settled in Aetolia before unnamed invaders put the land to the torch.

The proposed interpretation of the four lines accords with a fragment of Apollodorus' studies in the Homeric *Catalogue of the Ships*, preserved by Strabo. The fragment is cited in connection with Strabo's criticism directed at Ephorus' assertion that the Aetolians had never been subject to others but were always exempt from devastation in war: καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος δ' εἴρηκεν ἐκ τῆς Βοιωτίας ἀπελθόντας Ἵαντας ἱστορεῖσθαι καὶ ἐποίκουσ τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς γενομένους.⁸ The words quoted do not confirm what Strabo is claiming: for if Hyantes came from Boeotia as ἔποικοι, they may have mingled peace-

⁷ Fr.5 (p.721 N.). Nauck (*RhMus* 6 [1848] 461) also suggested Ἵαντες ἦν ἔναιον.

⁸ Strab. 464 (*FGrHist* 244F205) [ἐπελθόντας Meinecke, *Strab. Geogr.* II 653.24]. Note also the remark in Steph. Byz. s.v. Αἰτωλία ... πρότερον δὲ Ἵαντις ἐκαλεῖτο (p.55.12 Meineke). K. D. Stergiopoulos, *Ἡ ἀρχαία Αἰτωλία* (Athens 1939) 44, rejects the notion of a migration of Hyantes from Boeotia to Aetolia. He thinks that there were two branches of the people, one having migrated eastward, the other southward.

fully with the previous inhabitants. There is nothing in the fragment to suggest that Hyantes came as conquerors; but Apollodorus attests that according to tradition some Hyantes had settled in Aetolia. Jacoby commented on F205: "A gab mehr als hier steht."⁹ Indeed, part of Apollodorus' ethnography of Aetolia and Acarnania discussed the wild Erysichaioi (F204); and the burners who came to Aetolia some time after the antique Hyantes had settled there would also have been of interest to him.

Who, then, since they were not Hyantes, were the burners? At least a tentative answer to the question can be given. Violent neighbors of the Boeotian Hyantes of Onchestus were the Phlegyae. They lived beside the Cephisian Lake, and Apollo passed by them on his way to Delphi.¹⁰ Folk-etymology connected the Phlegyae with the root φλεγ-, 'burn',¹¹ one of their violent acts having been to burn the sanctuary at Delphi.¹² It is a tolerable conjecture that in the legend used by Phrynichus in his *Pleuroniae* and by Apollodorus in his Aetolian ethnography some Hyantes were driven westward out of Boeotia and Phocis by the Phlegyae; and we may suppose that the Phlegyae, having burned the Delphic temple, went on to lay waste with fire the plains and coastland of Aetolia, where the displaced Hyantes had settled as ἔπαικοι with the indigenous people.

However, the conclusion of this paper does not depend upon the foregoing conjectural train of events. We conclude from the revised text of Phrynichus fr.5 that the poet mentioned the presence, in the remote past, of Hyantes in Aetolia and the subsequent burning of the land by another people. The incendiaries were, we suggest, Phlegyae, whose name was traditionally associated with *φλεγ- and so with φλόξ, the swift flame of the last line in the tragic fragment.¹³

THE GENNADIUS LIBRARY, ATHENS
August, 1986

⁹ *FGrHist* II D, Komm. p.794.3.

¹⁰ *Hymn.Hom.Ap.* 3.277-80.

¹¹ S. Eitrem, *RE* 20.1 (1941) 268 s.v. "Phlegyas."

¹² Σ A *ad Il.* 13.302 (III 457.39f Erbse). Cf. Hieron. *ad A. Abr.* 567: *templum Delfis a Flegyo incensum* (p.47.1f Helm [Leipzig 1913, Berlin² 1956]).

¹³ I thank my colleague Professor John Camp for reading the text of this paper.