

Iphis and the Dolopians of Skyros

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IN Schol. T, *Iliad* 9.668b (II p.538,6 Erbse) there is a quotation from an anonymous epic writer:

ἔπλεον εἰς Σκῦρον Δολοπηΐδα.

Erbse comments “cf. O. Schneider ad Call. fr. an. 333: ‘Putaverim autem fragmentum esse ex cyclo epico. Δολοπηΐς agnoscit etiam Steph. B. 235, 20’. Fragmentum iam a Bekkero publici iuris factum spreverunt Kinkel, Allen, Bethe.”¹ The fragment, indeed, deserves to be discussed. The main question to be asked about it is, “What is the context?”

The article in Stephanus *s.v.* Δόλοπες (p.235,19–20 Meineke) states ἔθνος Θεσσαλῶν ἔγγιστα, ἀπὸ Δόλοπος· ἡ χώρα Δολοπία καὶ Δολοπηΐς. For the epic use of Δολοπηΐς Schneider could also have mentioned Apollonios Rhodios, *Argonautica* 1.68, where Eurydamas is said to have inhabited Κτιμένην Δολοπηΐδα. The word therefore is a genuinely epic form.

Schneider, who preferred ἐς to εἰς in the quoted fragment, thought of three possible contexts:²

(1) An attack of Achilles on Dolopians in Skyros was said to have been made at the time of the muster at Aulis. This is the explanation preferred by the scholiast on *Iliad* 9.668b: εἶλε δὲ τὴν Σκῦρον, ὅτε εἰς Αὐλίδα ἐστρατολόγουν διὰ τὸ εἶναι ἐκεῖ Δόλοπας ἀποστάντας τῆς Πηλέως ἀρχῆς· “ἔπλεον εἰς Σκῦρον Δολοπηΐδα.” τότε δὲ καὶ τὸν Νεοπτόλεμον ἐπαιδοποιήσατο. In the summary of the *Kypria* in Proclus’ *Chrestomathy* there are two musters at Aulis,³ but the scholiast does not distinguish them. The summary makes no mention of a voyage made by Achilles from Aulis to Skyros, but since the scholiast on *Iliad* 9.668b takes the anonymous epic fragment to refer to such a voyage, he thinks ἔπλεον to be first person singular and Achilles to be the speaker; or he

¹ *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem (Scholia Vetera)* II (Berlin 1971) 538–39.

² *Callimachea* II (Leipzig 1873) 773–74.

³ *Homeri Opera* V p.104 Allen.

supposes Achilles and his companions to be described sailing from Aulis to Skyros, if ἔπλεον is third person plural.

(2) Schneider suggested as a second possibility that the context was the voyage of Odysseus, Phoinix and Nestor to Skyros to summon Achilles to war.

(3) His third suggestion was that the voyagers to Skyros were the heroes sent to fetch Neoptolemos. Neither (2) nor (3) takes account of the scholiast's belief that the subject of the fragment was Achilles.

We must also bear in mind two other epic references to voyages of Achilles to Skyros:

(4) The context in *Iliad* 9.666–68 cannot be left out of the discussion:

Πάτροκλος δ' ἑτέρωθεν ἐλέξατο· παρ δ' ἄρα καὶ τῶ
 Ἴφικ ἐύζωνος, τήν οἱ πόρε δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς
 Σκῦρον ἐλὼν αἰπεῖαν, Ἐννῆος πτολίεθρον.

Homer does not explain when the raid happened in which Iphis was captured.

(5) Achilles, having wounded Telephos in Mysia, put to sea; the fleet was scattered by a storm, and Achilles was driven to Skyros, where he wed Deidameia daughter of Lykomedes (*Kypria* p.104,6–9 Allen). The same occasion is mentioned in a fragment of the *Little Iliad* (fr.4, p.130 Allen= fr.5 Bethe):

Πηλείδην δ' Ἀχιλῆα φέρε Σκῦρόνδε θύελλα,
 ἔνθα γ' ἐς ἀργαλέον λιμέν' ἔκετο νυκτὸς ἐκείνης

[*possis ἐρεμνῆς*]. Achilles is driven by a storm; the voyage is not a deliberate raid, and it results in the marriage with Deidameia. It is different therefore from the voyage (4) which led to the capture of Iphis.

(6) Achilles had voyaged to Skyros when he was placed there by Thetis or by Peleus in his youth to be educated with the maidens at the court of Lykomedes ([*Apollod.*] *Bibl.* 3.174, p.156 Wagner; Schol. *BTD Il.* 19.326). Pausanias (1.22.6) considered that Homer did well to have Skyros raided by Achilles (after voyage 4, *supra*), “quite differently from what they say about Achilles in Skyros living among the young girls, the story Polygnotos painted.” *A fortiori*, therefore, Pausanias shuns the version of the tale in which Achilles, while still disguised as a maiden, begat Neoptolemos on Deidameia (Schol. *D Il.* 19.236). Homer, it is true, ignores the tale of Achilles' upbringing in

Skyros, or the poet does not know it; but a raid on Skyros (4) is not inconsistent with the hero's having been brought to be educated there (6), since we are not told that Achilles attacked Lykomedes in the raid in which Iphis was taken.

We can leave aside voyages 2 and 3 because the scholiast's belief that Achilles was the or a subject of ἔπλεον need not be doubted. The scholiast also states that Achilles begat Neoptolemos after a voyage from Aulis to Skyros; we have seen that according to the *Kypria* and to the *Little Iliad* Achilles had made a stormy voyage from Mysia to Skyros, but the scholiast's mention of a voyage by Achilles from Aulis to Skyros prior to the begetting of Neoptolemos is not unique. Such a voyage was mentioned by Douris of Samos (*FGrHist* 76 F 88), who said that Iphigeneia, having been stolen away by the hero to Skyros, became the mother of Neoptolemos. Douris also stated that Iphigeneia was a daughter of Helen and Theseus (*FGrHist* 76 F 92); the latter tale is found in Euphorion (fr.105 Scheidweiler) and, much earlier, in Stesichoros (fr.191 Page); so the taking of Iphigeneia to Skyros may also be a quite early story. In the *Kypria*, however, if the *Chrestomathy* is to be trusted, Artemis took her to the Tauroi (p.104,18–19 Allen), not to Skyros; the connexion of Iphigeneia with Skyros therefore does not belong to the earliest attested versions of her legend. The pertinent feature of Douris F 88 is that the Samian knew of a journey of Achilles from Aulis to Skyros; to the tale Douris or his source added the idea that Achilles took Iphigeneia with him.

The scholiast on *Iliad* 9.668b gives as a reason for Achilles' journey from Aulis the need to take recruits from amongst Dolopians in Skyros. Since the Dolopians had revolted (ἀποστάνας *loc.cit.*) from Peleus' kingdom, they were fugitives from the mainland, and Achilles would have taken the recruits by force. The Dolopians would have been kin of the Dolopians whom Peleus had placed in the charge of Phoinix at the limit of the kingdom (*Il.* 9.484). If we connect the capture of Iphis (*Il.* 9.667–68) with the punitive attack on the Dolopian immigrants, then far from raiding Lykomedes, Achilles was protecting him from the threat posed by the Dolopian newcomers and making the island a safe place for the upbringing of Neoptolemos, τοῦ γέροντος θρέμμα Λυκομήδους (*Soph. Phil.* 243).

A defensible answer to the question "What is the context of the epic fragment?" is therefore "a voyage of Achilles to Skyros." It is clear, moreover, that in one version of events occurring during the muster,

Achilles sailed from Aulis to Skyros. This may well have been the occasion of the capture of Iphis and of the attack on the renegade Dolopians. We cannot be certain that the scholiast on *Iliad* 9.668*b* correctly associated the fragment ἔπλεον εἰς Σκῦρον Δολοπηΐδα with the journey from Aulis, but we have no evidence that he was mistaken. Nor can we prove erroneous Schneider's suggestion that the fragment comes from the epic cycle. Homer knew not only that Achilles had attacked Skyros (*Il.* 9.666–68) but also that Neoptolemos had been brought up there (*Il.* 19.326 and 332, *Od.* 11.509). It would have been strange if Achilles had attacked the very persons to whom he had later entrusted his son; the story of the Dolopians provided a welcome escape from the seeming inconsistency.

Another escape was to suppose that the Skyros said to have been attacked by Achilles was not the island but a place closer to Troy. Schol. A on *Iliad* 9.668*a* (II 538,94 Erbse) remarks that Skyros is an island and a city of Phrygia and formerly of Kilikia. The purpose of the reference to, or invention of, a Kilikian Skyros was to disconnect the raid of Achilles from Lykomedes and to bring it into connexion with Thebe Hypoplakie, a city of the Kilikes; this place lay south of Troy, beyond Mount Ida, and was sacked by Achilles in the Great Foray (*Il.* 6.414–16). Wilamowitz pointed out that in the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo* (3.34–35) a Skyros is mentioned between Ida and Autokane, but the order of place-names in this part of the Hymn is too inconsequential to permit the fixing of this Skyros in the northwestern coastlands of Asia Minor; the island off Euboa could well be intended by the poet, who has just mentioned Samothrace (line 34) and soon refers to Imbros and Lemnos (line 36).⁴

⁴ Contrast Wilamowitz, *Die Ilias und Homer* (Berlin 1916, repr. Berlin/Zürich/Dublin 1966) 445–46: "Die Insel der Doloper kann das nicht sein. Da sieht man, daß Aristarch seine Gründe hatte, den Vers I 668 nicht auf diese zu beziehen, sondern auf einen Ort im Gebiete der homerischen Kiliker, also wirklich zwischen Ida und Autokane." The fact that there was ἀχέλλητος | ἄσκυρ[έ]ων in *Mathymna* (IG XII.2 504,7–8; Wilamowitz, *loc.cit.*) is interesting, but it does not help in the identification of the Skyros in *Iliad* 9.668. Wilamowitz returned to the alleged Kilikian Skyros (*Kl.Schr.* V.2 [Berlin/Amsterdam 1971] 123 n.2). Walter Leaf in his second edition of the *Iliad* (London/New York 1900, repr. Amsterdam 1971) I 420 says of the Phrygian Skyros simply, "This is of course a mere guess founded on the distance of the island from Troy. Nothing else is known of such a town in Phrygia." In *Troy, A Study in Homeric Geography* (London 1912) 251, he sees a "bare possibility that in the ancient poem," *sc.* in the Great Foray, "it may have been a city of the Kilikes in the plain of Thebe."

That the Skyros in *Iliad* 9.668 is none other than the island situated off Magnesia and Euboia is clear from Homer's description of it as 'Ενυήος πτολίεθρον. In the *Κρητικά* of Diodoros (5.79.2) Enyeus is listed as the founder of a Cretan colony in Skyros—in the island, that is; the colony was sent out by Rhadamanthys. In Schol. T *Iliad* 9.668c (II 539,11–12 Erbse) Enyeus is said to have been the founder of Skyros and a son of Dionysos and Ariadne. We are led to infer that Skyros in *Iliad* 9.668 is the island off Euboia.

Enyeus belongs to the epoch of Ariadne and Rhadamanthys in myth. So Homer's words do not entail that the Cretan hero was still king of Skyros at the time of the Trojan War; they mean only that Enyeus had once been king there. Similarly, the poet does not wish to imply that Erechtheus was king of Athens when Athena in the *Odyssey* (7.81) visited his house or when the δῆμος 'Ερεχθῆος paraded in the *Iliad* (2.547). The king of Skyros in the epoch of the Trojan War was not Enyeus but Lykomedes, at whose home Achilles and Neoptolemos stayed. Like Enyeus, Lykomedes had ties with Crete (Hesiod fr.202 M.-W.). The memory of Cretan voyaging to Skyros was preserved into historical times by the name of the Kresion harbour on the west coast of the island.⁵ It was Lykomedes who had pushed the exiled Theseus over a cliff in Skyros;⁶ if a word of the Attic hero's actions at Knossos had come to Skyros, then Lykomedes, being a Cretan, had good reason to fear him.⁷ Skyrian lore may well have claimed Lykomedes to have been a son of the Cretan Enyeus, but the local affiliation is not, so far as I know, attested. The relevant point here is that when Achilles raided Skyros, he did not attack Enyeus (for he was already dead), nor did he attack Lykomedes (for the king had been his guardian); he attacked Dolopian immigrants, of whom Iphis may well have been one.

⁵ IG XII.8 p.175 and map, *loc.cit.* In Plut. *Cim.* 8.3 (*Vit.Par.* I.1 ed. Ziegler [Leipzig 1960] p.342,6) *Κρήσιον* must be corrected to *Κρήσιον*. Ziegler compares schol. *Il.* 19.326 *Σκυρος*. *ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ Εὐβοίᾳ (sic) νῆσος, λυμένας ἔχουσα Ἀχιλλεῖον καὶ Κρήσιον*. For the Cretan settlement in Skyros see also Ps.-Skymnos 578–86 (GGM I 219).

⁶ Aristotle, *ap. Heracl.Lemb. Exc.Pol.* 1 p.14,7–8 Dilts. Cf. Plut. *Cim.* 8.5 and *Thes.* 35.7; Paus. 1.17.6; *Suda s.v. Ἀρχὴ Σκυρία* (A 4101 Adler). See also J. P. Barron, *JHS* 92 (1972) 20, and A. J. Podlecki, *JHS* 91 (1971) 141–43, for the 'bones of Theseus'.

⁷ For Lykomedes as a Cretan see Wilamowitz, *SB Berlin* 1900.2 p.847, on Townley Schol. *Il.* 19.240 (Hes. fr.202 M.-W.): *Κρής ὁ Λυκομήδης, ὡς φησὶν Ἡσιόδος καταλέγων τοὺς μνηστῆρας Ἐλένης*. Wilamowitz, however, connects the Cretan suitor with the Lykomedes who fought at Troy (*Il.* 9.84, 12.366, 17.345, 19.240; Paus. 10.25.6 [*Iliou Persis* fr.5 Bethe=Little *Iliad* fr.13 Allen]), not with Lykomedes and the Cretans of Skyros. According to [Apollod.]

It is remarkable that Iphis is found as a name of Iphigeneia in Lykophron, who calls Neoptolemos *Ἰφιδος λέων*, that is to say a son of Iphigeneia (*Alex.* 324). The expression takes us back to Douris F 88 on the secret conveyance of Iphigeneia to Skyros by Achilles. Three stages in the elaboration of the story can now be recognised. (1) Achilles sailed from Aulis to Skyros and raided Dolopians there. (2) Achilles took Iphigeneia secretly with him to Skyros. (3) Since Iphigeneia had been in Skyros, she could be identified with Homer's Iphis, whom Achilles took from Skyros and gave to Patroklos. The latest stage of the elaboration may be no earlier than the time of Douris and Lykophron his younger contemporary; it does not, in any case, help to explain the context of the anonymous epic fragment on sailing to Skyros with which the discussion began. The significant fact in Schol. *T Iliad* 9.668*b* is that even if the words *ἔπλεον εἰς Σκῦρον Δολοπηΐδα* did not refer to a voyage of Achilles from Aulis to Skyros, the statement that Achilles sailed from the muster to attack Dolopians in Skyros has an assured place in Greek mythography. As for the Skyrian Dolopes, they belong to history as well as to myth, since their piracy led to Kimon's conquest of the island.⁸

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Bibl. 3.206 (p.165 Wagner) Aigeus was a son of Skyrios, but the ancestral ties of Theseus with Skyros in legend remain unexplained (schol. *Eur. Hipp.* 11, "A man. recentiss." [II p.6 Schwartz] Ἀριστοτέλης ἱστορεῖ ὅτι ἐλθὼν Θησεύς εἰς Σκῦρον ἐπὶ κατασκοπὴν εἰκότως διὰ τὴν Αἰγέως κυγγένειαν, ἐτελεύτησεν ὡςθεὶς [Schwartz: ὡς Θησεύς A] κατὰ πετρῶν, φοβηθέντος τοῦ Λυκομήδου τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος [lac.]; *Plut. Thes.* 35.5 [the exiled Theseus cursed the Athenians at Gargettos and] εἰς Σκῦρον ἐξέπλευσεν, οὐκ ἔσχε αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς ἐκεῖ φιλίας, ὡς ᾤετο, καὶ χωρίων ἐν τῇ νήσῳ πατρῶων). For the problem see Jacoby, *FGrHist* III B Suppl. II p.339 n.17 (on Philochoros 328 F 108), who remarks "Perhaps Lykos~Lykomedes form the connecting link, and Aigeus and Theseus regarded themselves as heirs of the former. Of course, other relations are possible, except that Pandion adopted a Dolopian." If Lykomedes is a Cretan, then a connexion with the Attic Lykos is not likely (even if the Attic Lykos son of Pandion did join the Cretan Sarpedon amongst the Termilai [Hdt. 1.173.3]). In Pandion's time there may have been in myth no Dolopians in Skyros for him to adopt, since, as we have seen, schol. *Il.* 9.668*b* brings Dolopians to Skyros in the time of Achilles.

⁸ *Thuc.* 1.98.2; *Diod.* 11.60.2; *Plut. Cim.* 8.3-5, *Thes.* 36.1; *Ne pos, Cim.* 2.5.