

Two Notes on Hellenistic Poems

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I

The Mortar of Leukadian Artemis

ONE OF THE SUBJECTS discussed by Kallimachos in the *Aitia* was the reason why the ξόανον of Artemis in Leukas wore a mortar on the head. The Diegesis to fr.31b–e Pfeiffer (*P.Oxy.* 2263 fr.1 ii 9–30) quotes the poet's initial words of enquiry to the Muses and then gives the explanation.

- 10 τῶ]ς μὲν ἔφη τὰς δ' εἶθαρ ἐμὸς πά-
λιν εἶρετο θυμὸς τῆς ἐν Λευ-
καδίαι Ἀρτέμιδος τὸ ξόανον
ἐ]πὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς θυ<ε>λίαν ἔ-
χει δι' αἰτίαν ταύτην. Ἦπει-
ρῶται τιν . . η . [.] . . η [.] . . .
- 15 κατατρέχ[ο]ντες τὴν Λευκά-
δα ἐκύλων, ἐλθόντες δὲ καὶ
εἰς τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν εὖ-
ρον τὴν θεὸν ἐστεμμένην
χρυσῶι στεφάνωι. τοῦτον ἐπι-
20 χλευάσαντες ἀφείλον καὶ
τὴν θυ<ε>λίαν ἐν ἧι σκόρδα τρ{ε}ί-
ψαντες ἔφαγον τῆι θεῶι ἐπέ-
θηκαν. ἐπι ν . [.] . . δ' οἱ Λευ-
κάδι[οι] . . θ' ἡμ[έ]ρα[.] ἔ]τερον
- 25 κατεσκεύασαν στέφανον καὶ
ἀντὶ τῆς θυ<ε>λία[ς] ἔθηκαν ἀπο-
πεσόντα δ' αὐτὸν προσήλω-
σαν τῶι ξοάνωι. πάλιν δὲ με-
θ' ἡμέ[ρας] τρεῖς ἐπιτιθεμέ-
30 νου κα[ὶ] . . με[ί]να[ν]το[ς] . .] ης

venerated by Kephallenians, not by Leukadians. *θειάν* from *θειάαν* is an easy correction.³ The Herakleidean excerpts are notoriously inconsequential, but enough is preserved to show that Aristotle had already given a version of the tale found in Kallimachos. In the *Aitia* the story is set in Leukas, but Aristotle brings the Molottians to Kephallenia—or just possibly to a mainland sanctuary to which the Kephallenians had access.

An epithet of Artemis common in northwestern Greece (notably at Kalydon) is Laphria. Aristotle's Kephallenian Artemis is almost certainly Artemis Laphria, because Antoninus Liberalis (40.2, p.66 Papathomopoulos) identifies the Laphria of the Kephallenians with Britomartis, who is the equivalent of Artemis.

To conclude: in northwest Greek lore a statue of Artemis lost its wreath to Molottian or Epeirote raiders, who put a mortar on the head of the goddess. The wreath substituted by the Leukadians or the Kephallenians could not be kept on the head of the *ξόανον* and it became clear, perhaps after Apollo had been consulted, that the goddess did not want the substitute. Versions of the tale were given by Aristotle and Kallimachos, both of whom explained that the goddess wore a mortar because the raiders had put one on her head in jest.⁴

³ As suggested by W. H. Willis.

⁴ For the possibility that the mortar was made of lead see Pfeiffer, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.1) 109, on fr.31d. Kallim. fr.605, *ἴν' ἐτήρησαντο μωωτόν*, E. Lobel suggests, may come from the story of the mortar (*P.Oxy.* XX p.129).

II

Midas and Odonia (Nicander fr.74.11–13)

IN BOOK XV Athenaios quotes from Nicander's *Georgika* Book II a long fragment describing flowers which are suitable for wreaths (683A–684D=fr.74 Schneider). The poet recommends the cutting of rose shoots and the planting of them in trenches (lines 9–10). Next he mentions famous kinds of rose—Emathian, Nisaian of Megara, Phaselite, and the roses of Magnesia *ad Maeandrum*. The Emathian roses are specially praised (lines 11–13):

πρῶτα μὲν Ὀδονίηθε Μίδης ἄπερ Ἀκίδος ἀρχὴν
 λείπων ἐν κλήροισιν ἀνέτρεφεν Ἡμαθίοισιν
 αἰὲν ἐς ἐξήκοντα πέριξ κομόωντα πετήλοισι·

11 Ὀδονίηθε Schweighäuser, Ὀδονίηθε A. 12 Ἡμαθίοισιν Weston, ἡματίοισιν A.

Gow and Scholfield in their edition¹ comment, “On the ‘gardens of Midas’ in eastern Macedonia and their 100-petalled roses see Hdt. 8.138, Theophr. *H.P.* 6.6.4. The Odones appear to be the same as the Edones, but Emathia is some way west of their district.” The Edones or Odones belong to the neighbourhood of Mount Pangaion in Thrace. Their name is found in various forms: Ἡδῶνες, Ἡδωνοί and Ὀδονες, the last in the *Βασσαρικά* of Dionysios (fr.8 Heitsch) as well as in the *Γεωργικά* of Nicander. The old name Ὀδωνίς² of Thasos shows that Edonians or Odonians were thought to have settled in the island, but there seems to be no substance to the theory in the Lykophron scholia (419, 2.154 Scheer), according to which Ἡδῶνες occupied the coast and Ἡδωνοί the hinterland of Thrace.

The ‘gardens of Midas’ in Macedonia lay at the northwestern extremity of the Emathian plain and the foot of the Bermian range.³

¹ Nicander, *Poems and Poetical Fragments*, ed. A. S. F. Gow and A. F. Scholfield (Cambridge 1953) 211.

² Hesych. s.v. Ὀδωνίς (Ὀδονίς Meineke). ἡ θάλασσο τοῦ πάλασι, and see Chr. Danoff in *Der kleine Pauly* II (1967) 201 s.v. EDONES.

³ For the situation of the ‘gardens of Midas’ in the neighbourhood of Edessa see A. J. Toynbee, *Some Problems of Greek History* (London 1969) 145. Midas also had mines hereabouts: Kallisthenes, *FGrHist* 124 F 54.

Here, according to Herodotos (8.138.2–3), roses grow wild, of themselves (*αὐτόματα*); they have sixty petals each,⁴ and are sweeter smelling than any other roses.

In the passage of the *Historia Plantarum* (6.6.4) mentioned by Gow and Scholfield, Theophrastos describes how the people of Philippi, having gathered roses on Mount Pangaion, used to grow them in their gardens. So Nicander's reference to both Odonia and Emathia is deliberate: Midas, travelling westwards from Asia, collects roses of Odonia on or near Mount Pangaion and later plants shoots from them in his Emathian gardens. Lines 11 to 13 of fr.74 therefore mean: "First those which Midas, when he left his kingdom in Asia, took from Odonia and raised in Emathia, ever crowned with full sixty petals in a ring."⁵

It is a remarkable feature of the Midas tale in Nicander that the king migrates from Asia to Europe. In the original story Briges of Macedonia migrated into Asia, where, according to Herodotos, they changed their name to Phryges⁶ (some of them, however, the *Βρύγοι*, stayed behind in Macedonia).⁷ An eastwards movement of Phrygians into Asia is also reported by Xanthos of Lydia (*FGrHist* 765 F 14), who dated it after the Trojan War. Justin-Trogus (*Epit.* 7.1.7), whose source for the Macedonian Midas story is almost certainly Theopompos of Chios,⁸ related how Karanos the Argive expelled Midas from part of Macedonia—to Asia with Phrygians presumably; and Theopompos himself had told of Silenos and his capture by Midas or Midas' shepherds in Macedonia.⁹

⁴ Tertull. *De Corona* 31 believed them to be 100-petalled: *centenariis quoque rosis de horto Midae lectis* (ch. xiv Migne).

⁵ For the roses of Pangaios or Pangaion see also Plin. *NH* 21.17. Varieties of ancient roses and their cultivation are discussed in *RE* 7 (1910) 774–78 and by W. L. Carter, *Antiquity* 14 (1940) 250ff. Another Thracian mountain whereon roses grew was Rhodope, as its name implies. The Macedonian word for 'rose' was *ἄβαγνον*: see Hesych. *s.v.* *ἄβαγνα ῥόδα, Μακεδόνες*. The reading of **H** in the previous line, *αμαραντων* (α 44 Latte), shows that *ῥόδα* <*ἄμαραντα*> is a possible supplement here. With *ἄβαγνα* P. Kretschmer compares the name **Υαγνις* (*Glotta* 3 [1912] 157). Pierian roses (named after the Macedonian mountain) appear in literature as early as Sappho (fr.55 Lobel/Page).

⁶ *Hdt.* 7.73, noted by Steph.Byz. *s.v.* *Βρύγες*. According to Arabic versions of the purported letter of Aristotle to Alexander the Great an Attalos, seemingly a Macedonian, drove the Phrygians over to Asia. See S. M. Stern, *Aristotle and the World State* (Oxford 1968) 6 and n.1.

⁷ *Hdt.* 6.45; 7.185.2.

⁸ See E. A. Fredricksmeyer, *CP* 56 (1961) 161–62, on Theopompos, *FGrHist* 115 F 393.

⁹ *FGrHist* 115 F 74b and 75a,b,c, and see Arist. fr.44 Rose.

Thus the pre-Hellenistic story of Midas and the Phrygians of Macedonia related how the king and his people migrated from the neighbourhood of the gardens by Mount Bermion to Asia Minor, but Nicander has Midas migrating in the opposite direction. Nor is he the only Hellenistic poet to bring him westwards from Asia. A westward migration is found also in Euphorion, who declared that there were Phrygians, Lydians and people who had crossed with Midas from Asia in the neighbourhood of Edessa (or Aigai) before Karanos settled there;¹⁰ and Lykophron (*Alex.* 1397–1408) has Midas campaigning in Thrace at least as far west as Pallene to avenge the wrong done to his Trojan kin in the sack of Troy.¹¹ There is no obligation to look for historical fact in this construction, but it is clear that Nicander in the three lines of *Georgika* II, in mentioning the migration of Midas to Macedonia, shares an elaborate theory with Euphorion and Lykophron.

It is hard to say who invented the theory and what his motive was. The idea may well have appealed to Euphorion the Chalcidian, who became librarian at Antioch and could identify himself with the far-ranging ambitions of his Asiatic patron, Antiochos the Great, but the inventor of the theory remains unidentified. His motive was to provide more evidence for the continuous clash between East and West: the alleged migration of Midas to Emathia helped to fill the long gap between the sack of Troy and Persian wars, and so, it could be claimed, the Trojans did not have to wait until the time of Xerxes to be avenged by the Asiatics. Lykophron emphasises the alternating struggle of the continents when, between the invasions of Midas and Xerxes, he mentions the many blows of Ares (1409–11):

πολλῶν δ' ἐναλλάξ πημάτων ἀπάρξεται
Κανδαῖος ἢ Μάμερτος ἢ τί χρὴ καλεῖν
τὸν αἰμόφυρτον, ἐστιώμενον μάχαις;

¹⁰ Euphor. fr.30 Scheidweiler (p.36, diss. Bonn 1908)=schol. Clem.Alex. *Prot.* 11.8.

¹¹ Commenting on the words ὁ Φρύξ δ' ἀδελφῶν (v.l. ἀδελφόν) the scholiasts on line 1397 note *περὶ τοῦ Μίδου λέγει, ὅστις πολλὰ μέρη κατέδραμε τῆς Θράκης. ἦτοι ἐπόρθησε. οὗτος οὖν, φησὶ, τὸ αἶμα τῆς Κλεοπάτρας τιμωρούμενος*. E. Scheer (2.385 of his edition) and G. W. Mooney (*in loco*) find the reference to Kleopatra enigmatic. The allusion may be to the bloody blinding of the Phineidai, the two sons of Kleopatra, who as daughter of Boreas suits the Thracian context (for the sons see Jebb on Soph. *Ant.* 966, Pearson on Soph. fr.704 and Jacoby on Arrian 156 f 77). But it is easier to suppose, with Mooney (*The Alexandra of Lycophron* [London 1921] 151), that ἀδελφόν refers to the kinship of Phrygians and Trojans. For the kinship cf. Steph.Byz. s.v. Βρίγες . . . καὶ Βριγία ἢ Τρωική.

To conclude, Nicander uses one part (the westward journey of Midas into Macedonia) of an elaborate geopolitical myth to explain why there were roses in the 'gardens of Midas'—the king transplanted them thither from Mount Pangaion. A version of the myth of perpetual struggle between Europeans and Asiatics is at least as old as Herodotos' first book, but its most exotic developments belong to the Hellenistic age.

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