

Aeschylus' Satyr-Play *Heralds* Reconstruction, Political Context, and Tetralogy

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Abstract This paper attempts a reconstruction of Aeschylus' satyr-play *Heralds*. As the myth of Erginus' heralds and their mutilation by Heracles is shown to be unconvincing on many grounds, it explores the possibility that the satyrs turned up or out as 'heralds', i.e. 'sacrifice attendants', in the Eleusinian preliminary sacrifice, sought by Heracles (polluted by the slaughter of the Centaurs) before his descent to Hades. To complete this conjectural picture, the potential topicality of such a plot is emphasised in relation to the *genos* of Ceryces and of Callias (II), who in the 480s was able to avoid ostracism. Moreover, a tragic trilogy is conjecturally set out as revolving around Ixion's marriage, crime, purification, sacrilege, and around his son Pirithous (stepbrother to the Centaurs) joining the Calydonian boar hunt and thus having to do with Meleager (a figure linked, in many ways, to Heracles). As to topicality, it is suggested that the trilogy would thus cast a negative light on Thessaly. Finally, Aristophanes' *Clouds* may contain allusions to this (hypothetical) tetralogy, and the so-called Dike-fragment may belong to *Heralds*.

Keywords Aeschylus. Satyr-drama. Herald. Erginus. Heracles. Eleusinian initiation. Sacrificial pig. Lesser Mysteries. Topicality. Aetiology. *Genos* of Ceryces. Callias. Tetralogy of Herald. Women of Perrhaebia. Ixion. Atalante. History of Thessaly in the early fifth century B.C. Aristophanes' *Clouds*. 'Dike-fragment'.

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1 Introduction

This article aims at challenging the *communis opinio* on Aeschylus' satyr-play *Heralds* (Κήρυκες σάτυροι), which relates it to Heracles' maiming the envoys of the Minyan king Erginus, and at developing a reconstruction based on the title interpreted as 'sacrifice attendants/cooks'. Such reconstruction is then shown to have an enormous potential in topicality, providing an aetiology to the setting up of the Lesser Mysteries, and to the Eleusinian function of the *genos* of Ceryces. It also allows to set out, admittedly by conjecture, a suggestive tetralogy (*Women of Perrhaebia*, *Ixion*, *Atalante*, *Heralds*). The study of lost plays, known by fragments (hence the word 'thrausmatology')¹, is notoriously haunted by speculation. I am aware that this article of mine labours under the same problem, and that its sections cannot be regarded as progressive inferences on account of circularity. I put forward all this as a compact set of speculations, a sort of take-it-or-leave-it proposal, in the hope of contributing to the understanding of Aeschylus and fifth-century culture nonetheless, since readers may look at the whole sceptically, but appreciate single parts.

2 What Remains of the Play

A play *Heralds* (Κήρυκες) is mentioned in the *Catalogue* of Aeschylus' plays;² the witnesses to three of the extant fragments (frr. 108-110), Pollux and Photius 'Galeanus' add the label "satyr-play" and make clear that the title indicates a function held by the satyrs at some point in the action,³ as often is the case (one can compare e.g. Aeschylus' *Sacred delegates* or *Net-haulers*). Fr. 108, presumably part of an iambic trimeter, deals with a vessel (ἀμφορεύς), as Pollux says (10.68 εἴρηται δὲ τοῦνομα ἐπὶ ἀμφορέως):

στενόστομον τὸ τεῦχος
the vessel has a narrow neck.

Many thanks to the anonymous referees of *Lexis*, whose learned and discerning comments have greatly improved this article. I am also grateful to Dickinson College, Carlisle (PA), US, whose library resources have made my work easier.

¹ Harvey 2005.

² Radt 1985, T 78d 8. Fragments of Aeschylus will be quoted from this edition throughout the present article. All translations given in this article are by the author.

³ Poll. 10.68 ἐν σατυρικῶι δράματι Κήρυξι τοῖς Αἰσχύλου, 10.186 Αἰσχύλου μὲν ἐν Κήρυξι σατύροις (CL: σατυρικοῖς B, σατυρικῶς FS) λέγοντος κτλ., Phot. π 1576 Theodoridis Αἰσχύλος ἐν Κάρυξι (g z: Κήρυξι G. Dindorf) σατύροις.

The remark may fit a wine vessel and may be uttered by someone annoyed at dripping rather than spilling.⁴ Heracles' actual involvement in the action seems to be made certain by references to *the* lion-skin in fr. 109 (part of an iambic trimeter):

καὶ τῆς σισύρνης τῆς λεοντέας
and of the lion-fur coat,

and to a lion in fr. 110

πυρσοκόρου λέοντος
of red-maned lion.

On this point there is a large scholarly consensus.⁵ The other fragments consist of single words: fr. 111 *κακοποιεῖν*, 'to do evil', fr. 112 *λογγάσω*, 'I will delay', fr. 113 *νοσσός*, 'chick'. Each of the latter two forms is blamed by Atticist authors as incorrect, the one instead of *μέλλειν*, *διαμέλλειν*, *στραγγεύεσθαι*, by Pollux (9.136 *φαῦλον γὰρ τὸ λογγάζειν ἐν τοῖς Κήρυξι τοῖς Αἰσχύλου*); the other as a poor variant of *νεοσσός* by Phrynichus (*Ecl.* 177 Fischer) *λέγε οὖν νεοττός, νεοττίον, ἴνα ἀρχαῖος Ἀττικὸς φαίνοιο*).

3 The Mythical Content of *Heralds*

From the above-quoted fragments nothing can be inferred concerning the plot except, as I have said, Heracles' involvement. In the paucity of evidence on the play, one may turn to the title in order to get some clues to the specific mythical episode of the Heracles myth treated here. One option consists in taking 'heralds' in the meaning of diplomatic envoys. The play would dramatize the mythical episode whereby Heracles maims the envoys of Erginus, the king of Orchomenus, when they arrive in order to get of the Thebans the agreed tribute, one hundred cattle. The satyrs would be those en-

⁴ Ahrens 1846, 253 has a similar remark («Deinde quum bibitur, vasis os sive apertura videtur compotantibus angustior esse»); see also Krumeich, Pechstein, Seidensticker 1999, 156.

⁵ See e.g. van Groningen 1930; Lloyd-Jones in Weir Smyth 1957, 419; Sutton 1980, 22; Radt 1985, ad fr. 108-113; Krumeich, Pechstein, Seidensticker 1999, 155-6 (although with a sceptical attitude); Sommerstein 2008, 118. On the contrary, nothing certain can be said about the content of *Heralds*, not even that Heracles featured among the characters, according to Wagner 1852, 51. See also Morani, Morani 1987, 663, fn. 2.

voys.⁶ The main literary sources for this episode are Pseudo-Apollodorus (2.67-68 Wagner):

ἀνακάμπτοντι δὲ αὐτῶι (sc. τῶι Ἡρακλεῖ) ἀπὸ τῆς θήρας (sc. τοῦ Κιθαιρωνείου λέοντος) συνήνητησαν κήρυκες παρὰ Ἐργίνου πεμφθέντες, ἵνα παρὰ Θηβαίων τὸν δασμὸν λάβωσιν. ἐτέλουν δὲ Θηβαῖοι {τὸν} (del. Hercher) δασμὸν Ἐργίνωι δι' αἰτίαν τήνδε (...) ἐπὶ τοῦτον τὸν δασμὸν εἰς Θήβας τοὺς κήρυκας ἀπιόντας συντυχὼν Ἡρακλῆς ἐλωβήσατο· ἀποτεμῶν γὰρ αὐτῶν τὰ ὠτα καὶ τὰς ῥίνας, καὶ διὰ σχοινίων τὰς χεῖρας δήσας ἐκ τῶν τραχήλων ἔφη τοῦτον Ἐργίνωι καὶ Μινύαις δασμὸν κομίζειν.

When he [sc. Heracles] was coming back from hunting (sc. the lion of Cithaeron), he was encountered by heralds whom Erginus had sent so that they might collect the Thebans' tribute. The Thebans used to pay a tribute to Erginus for this reason (...). Heracles, having stumbled upon the heralds who were going to Thebes for this tribute, maimed them: after cutting off their ears and noses, he tied their hands to their necks with ropes and enjoined them to bring such tribute to Erginus and the Minyans;

and Diodorus Siculus (4.10.2-3):

ἔφηβος ὢν πρῶτον μὲν ἠλευθέρωσε τὰς Θήβας, ἀποδιδοὺς ὡς πατρίδι τὰς προσηκούσας χάριτας. ὑποτεταγμένων γὰρ τῶν Θηβαίων Ἐργίνωι τῶι βασιλεῖ τῶν Μινυῶν, καὶ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ὠρισμένουσ φόρους τελούντων, οὐ καταπλαγεῖς τὴν τῶν δεδουλωμένων ὑπεροχὴν ἐτόλμησε πράξιν ἐπιτελέσαι περιβόητον· τοὺς γὰρ παραγενομένουσ τῶν Μινυῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπαίτησιν τῶν δασμῶν καὶ μεθ' ὕβρεουσ εἰσπραττομένουσ ἀκρωτηριάσας ἐξέβαλεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεωσ.

as he was coming of age, first of all he restored the freedom of Thebes, showing due gratitude to this city as though it were his own homeland.⁷ For, as the Thebans were under the sway of Erginus, the Minyans' king, and had to pay fixed tributes every year, without being dismayed at their superiority, he dared to accomplish a deed which became famous. As a number of Minyans turned up in

⁶ This proposal goes back to van Groningen 1930. It is accepted, among others, by Mette 1963, 154; Ussher 1977, 296; Simon 1982, 138-9; Sommerstein 2008, 118-19; it is mentioned as possible by Lämmle 2013, 208 fn. 245. The proposal, supplemented with the hypothesis that the 'Dike fragments' belonged to *Heralds*, is backed up by Sutton 1983b.

⁷ This is in keeping with the former narrative about Amphitryon's taking to Thebes as an exile after Heracles was born (D.S. 4.10.2), whereas the majority of sources has the latter's conception and birth take place in Thebes.

order to gather those tributes, and began to do it with arrogance, he maimed and expelled them from the country.⁸

Admittedly, this is a fitting mythical episode, as it deals both with heralds and Heracles, although in Diodorus the Minyan envoys are not even called 'heralds'; however, the whole case is rather weak. First, the alleged iconographic evidence⁹ for a satyr-play on that myth is only apparently relevant. A black-figure Attic *lekythos*, dated to the first decade of the fifth century¹⁰ represents Heracles preceded by two bound satyrs, whereas two more satyrs, still free, run away (one on the right-hand, the other on the left-hand of the main group). The strange object Heracles holds in his right hand is interpreted either as a razor,¹¹ or as a sandal.¹² Independently from this tool, nothing reminds one of the Erginus myth. As satyrs are often depicted as stealing Heracles' weapons while the hero is asleep,¹³ or as being threatened, pursued or captured by him,¹⁴ one may imagine their being fettered to be another stock image rather than a specific allusion to a dramatic action.¹⁵

The other vase-painting alleged in support of the Erginus myth occurs on another black-figured Attic *lekythos*:¹⁶ it shows four bound satyrs, two behind, two before a single herald (occasionally interpreted as Hermes)¹⁷. Again, the connection with Aeschylus' *Heralds* seems to be very weak, as one can easily imagine many a mythical situation or indeed many a satyr-play in which those creatures could become prisoners because of some mischief. It is highly probable that in Aeschylus' play the satyrs of the chorus turned up, or out, as κήρυκες. It is too nonchalant in respect of the title to state about the

⁸ Further literary sources are Paus. 9.25.4, 9.37.2, Tz. *Chil.* 2.226-228; a mere reference to the tribute owed by the Thebans to the Orchomenians can be found in Isoc. 14.10, Str. 9.414 C.

⁹ On the debated question of representations of dramas on vase paintings, I favour a moderate position (expressed in Poli Palladini 2013, 302-3). See e.g. Taplin 2007, 2-46, and the essays included in the first part ("Questioni di metodo") of Bordignon 2015.

¹⁰ Athens, Nat. Arch. Mus. 516. Beazley 1956, 508; Brommer 1959, 37 figs. 30-32.

¹¹ Sparkes in Simon 1982, 138, fn. 107. See also Olshausen 1979.

¹² R. Vollkommer, s.v. "Erginos", *LIMC* III (1986) 819. J. Boardman, s.v. "Heracles", *LIMC* V (1990) 157 no. 3241.

¹³ J. Boardman, s.v. "Heracles", *LIMC* V (1990) 156-7 nos. 3230-3238.

¹⁴ J. Boardman, s.v. "Heracles", *LIMC* V (1990) 157 nos. 3239-3245.

¹⁵ According to Boardman; Palagia; S. Woodford, s.v. "Heracles", *LIMC* IV (1988) 820, one should beware of linking vase-paintings with Heracles and satyrs to particular satyr-plays, as those images may simply belong to a repertoire. See also Krumeich, Pechstein, Seidensticker 1999, 154.

¹⁶ Münster, Univ. Mus. 784.

¹⁷ Krumeich, Pechstein, Seidensticker 1999, 154 fn. 11.

satyrs that they either were Erginus' heralds or accompanied them, and then to treat this *lekkythos* with bound satyrs as iconographic evidence for the play.¹⁸

Secondly, if the satyrs of the chorus worked as heralds, one may wonder if they were not too many for carrying out Erginus' task. On one hand it is hard to imagine having on stage twelve satyr-heralds; on the other, it is unsafe to suppose that only a few of them endorsed that function.¹⁹ Whoever is going to defend the Erginus hypothesis must invoke some difference between myth and dramatization, imagining that «the satyrs might have usurped the rôle of the heralds (...), changed sides out of fear of Heracles and/or because of a promise of reward, and encouraged him in his confrontation with the real heralds when they arrived».²⁰ Admittedly, satyrs can usurp tasks which are not their own and intrude in myth episodes which originally do not include them;²¹ however, in the case of the Erginus myth such a possibility is not particularly attractive.

Thirdly, was Heracles going to maim them?²² Fourthly, the myth is regarded to express the rivalry between two Boeotic cities with hegemonic pretensions, i.e. Orchomenus and Thebes.²³ It is far from clear how Aeschylus could make this episode meaningful and relevant for an Attic audience. For one thing, the Erginus episode does not belong to the iconographic repertoire of either vase-painting or sculpture;²⁴ this strengthens the impression that it was a local myth.

A different mythical reference, namely to the Nemean lion labour, is apparently more charming, as the episode is more widely known and can involve a herald, Copreus. Myth goes that from that moment onwards Heracles is bid to deposit his scaring spoils just outside Mycenae and Eurystheus is going to impart instruc-

¹⁸ Simon 1982, 138.

¹⁹ Van Groningen 1930 suggests that only two or three satyrs played as heralds, one speaking and the other(s) dumb. Against this suggestion, see Radt 1985, ad fr. 108-113. Sutton 1980, 23, and 1983b, 23 does not conceal those difficulties.

²⁰ Sommerstein 2008, 119.

²¹ Di Marco 2000, 53; Lämmle 2013, 203-15.

²² Krumeich, Pechstein, Seidensticker 1999, 155 are sceptical on the Erginus hypothesis also because that episode has mutilation as its acme, an action hard to deal with on stage.

²³ R. Vollkommer, s.v. "Erginos", *LIMC* III (1986) 818-19. This scholar remarks that the most ancient mentions of Erginus occur in two Boeotic poets: Hes. fr. 77 Merkelbach-West (where his father Clymenus is in fact mentioned), Pind. *Ol.* 4.19-27 (as a participant in the Argonaut expedition). One may also add the fragment of a commentary on a Pindaric paean, which mentioned Erginus: Pind. fr. 52 i Snell-Maehler (= *P. Oxy.* 2242 fr. 29). On Orchomenus' regional hegemony before the end of the eighth century, see Buck 1979, 97-8.

²⁴ The first certain occurrence of Erginus in the visual arts is a Roman relief from the time of Hadrian: R. Vollkommer, s.v. "Erginos", *LIMC* III (1986) 819 no. 1.

tions on him through that envoy, as narrated by the Pseudo-Apollodorus (2.75-76 Wagner):

ἦγεν (sc. ὁ Ἡρακλῆς) εἰς Μυκήνας τὸν λέοντα. Εὐρυσθεὺς δὲ καταπλαγεῖς αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀνδρείαν ἀπέϊπε τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτῶι εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσιέναι, δεικνύειν δὲ πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐκέλευε τοὺς ἄθλους. φασὶ δὲ ὅτι δέισας καὶ πίθον ἑαυτῶι χαλκοῦν εἰσκριβῆναι ὑπὸ γῆν κατεσκεύασε, καὶ πέμπων κήρυκα Κοπρέα Πέλοπος τοῦ Ἡλείου ἐπέταττε τοὺς ἄθλους.

He (sc. Heracles) drove the lion to Mycenae. Eurystheus, shocked at his bravery, forbade him from that time on to enter the city, ordering instead to show his spoils in front of the city-gate. They say that out of fear he even got a brazen jar made under earth so that he might hide himself in it; he also imparted the other labours sending the herald Copreus, the son of Pelops the Eleian.

However, such reconstruction demands pairing up *Heralds* with another satyr-play, clearly devoted to the Nemean lion labour, i.e. *Lion* (fr. 123). Although it is true that Λέων follows on Κήρυκες in the same column of the Catalogue, and an ἦ in between may have gone lost,²⁵ nonetheless we had better be cautious before disposing of the evidence that mentions the two plays separately.²⁶

Another option about the interpretation of title in our satyr-play consists in taking κήρυκες as sacrifice or anyway religious servants or attendants, as the Latin word *minister*.²⁷ Casaubon was the first who emphasized that in the passage of Athenaeus devoted to the *genos* of Ceryces (14.660 a-b), one has to understand the word as «sacrorum administri, popis et victimariis non dissimiles», with the warning: «inepte facias si veritas hic κήρυκες *praecones*». ²⁸ A sacrifice used to be followed by a banquet: this helps imagine Heracles in his ludicrous rôle of glutton and squares well with fr. 108.²⁹ The satyrs as sacrifice attendants may come near to sacrifice cooks. (Interestingly enough, a banquet in Odysseus' house³⁰ has 'heralds' attend the guests with

²⁵ Wagner 1852, 51, 56. Hartung 1855, 77 maintains the identity between *Heralds* and *Lion*.

²⁶ On the thorny issue of double titles, see Sommerstein 2010, 18-20, 28.

²⁷ Thus Welcker 1826, 318; Droysen 1842, 529 (κήρυκες 'Opferpriester', also with reference to Heracles' gluttony). Radt 1985, ad fr. 108-113 favours this interpretation. See *OLD*, s.v. "Minister", 2.

²⁸ Casaubonus 1600, 593.

²⁹ The remark is already in Ahrens 1846, 252-3.

³⁰ *Od.* 1.143 κήρυξ δ' αὐτοῖσιν θάμ' ἐπώιχτο οἰνοχοεύων, 1.146 τοῖσι δὲ κήρυκες μὲν ὕδωρ ἐπὶ χεῖρας ἔχευαν, 1.153-4 κήρυξ δ' ἐν χερσὶν κίθαριν περικαλλέα θῆκε | Φημίωι κτλ.

pouring wine, and water for the hands.) Clidemus, a fourth-century Attidographer and an expert in sacred law and ceremonial ritual (ἔξηγητής)³¹ is reported by Athenaeus (10.425 e)³² to have stated that 'butchers', or 'cooks', were called 'heralds':

Κλείδημος τοὺς μαγείρους κήρυκας φησι καλεῖσθαι
Clidemus says that the butchers are called 'heralds'.

Interestingly, the same Clidemus, in the first book of his *Atthis* (probably identical with the work *Πρωτογονία* attributed to him), deals with the Lesser Eleusinian Mysteries held at Agrae, a spot along the Ilissus, south-east of the Acropolis and the Olympieum, just outside the Themistoclean walls.³³ He also has so much to say about the rôle of Ceryces in sacrifices as special ministers, that Athenaeus quotes him (14.660 a) in his discussion (14.660 a-e) of the great importance, in days long past, of cooking:

ὅτι δὲ σεμνὸν ἦν ἡ μαγειρικὴ μαθεῖν ἔστιν ἐκ τῶν Ἀθήνησι Κηρύκων. οἶδε γὰρ μαγείρων καὶ βουτύπων ἐπεῖχον τάξιν, ὡς φησιν Κλείδημος ἐν Πρωτογονίας πρώτῳ. (...) ἔδρων οἱ Κήρυκες ἄχρι πολλοῦ βουθυτοῦντες, φησί, καὶ σκευάζοντες καὶ μιστύλλοντες, ἔτι δ' οἰνοχοοῦντες'. Κήρυκας δ' αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ κρείττονος ὀνόμαζον. ἀναγέγραπται τε οὐδαμοῦ μαγείρῳ μισθός, ἀλλὰ κήρυκι.³⁴ (...) ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς Ἀθίδος Κλείδημος φῦλον ἀποφαίνει μαγείρων ἐχόντων δημιουργικὰς τιμὰς, οἷς καὶ † τὸ πλῆθος ἐνεργεῖν † ἔργον ἦν (ἐυεργετεῖν Schweighauser: οἷς καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ πλῆθους ἱεουργεῖν sive οἷς καὶ τὰ τοῦ πλῆθους ἐνεργεῖν Siebelis: οἷς καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἀγείρειν ἔργον ἦν Jacoby, ἀγείρειν Wilamowitz).³⁵

One can understand that the butcher's profession was prestigious from the Athenian Ceryces. For these held the rôle of cooks and ox-butchers, as stated by Clidemus in the first book of his *First birth*. (...) The Ceryces, he says, used to offer sacrifice for a long time, slaying oxen, dressing and cutting up (the meat), and pouring out wine besides. They used to be called 'heralds' after the higher sense of the word (or 'after the nobler of their tasks'). Nowhere is salary recorded for a cook, but (everywhere) for a her-

31 Harding 1994, 2: 10-13; Harding 2008, 7. For the fragments of Clidemus see *FHG* I 359-365; *FGrH* 323. Note that Jacoby's numbering of fragments is not identical with Müller's.

32 *FGrH* 323 fr. 5c.

33 *FGrH* 323 fr. 1.

34 *FGrH* 323 fr. 5.

35 *FGrH* 323 fr. 5b.

ald. (...) In the first book of his *Atthis*, Clidemus shows a stock of butchers who enjoyed privileges typical of craftsmen, and whose task was to sacrifice for the people (?).

It is by now clear that Clidemus dealt with the Athenian clan of Ceryces and explained their traditional rôle in cult as sacrifice attendants rather than diplomatic envoys. As we shall see later on, it is possible that an aetiology existed in Athens about that clan in connection with Heracles' purification, performed through the sacrifice of a piglet, prior to his initiation to the Eleusinian Mysteries. (The latter hero carries the piglet for initiation, or preliminary purification, also on the famous relief *hydria* from Cumae, the so-called 'regina vasorum'.)³⁶ Therefore, Clidemus' statement about some people who were made sacrifice and dining-fellows of Heracles may belong to the same context (Ath. 6.235 a):³⁷

Κλείδημος ἐν τῇ Ἀτθίδι φησί· 'καὶ παράσιτοι δ' ἠιρέθησαν τῶι Ἡρακλεῖ'

Clidemus in his *Atthis* states: "They were also chosen as dining-fellows of Heracles".

The noun παράσιτοι in the meaning of 'priests/religious attendants who get meals off the public sacrifices' is illustrated by Athenaeus' context and attested also by the historian Polemo of Ilium (second century B.C.), quoted as well in the *Banquet of the learned* (Ath. 6.234 d-f).³⁸

τὸ δὲ τοῦ παρασίτου ὄνομα πάλαι μὲν ἦν σεμνὸν καὶ ἱερὸν. Πολέμων γοῦν (...) γράψας περὶ παρασίτων φησὶν οὕτως· τὸ τοῦ παρασίτου ὄνομα νῦν μὲν ἄδοξόν ἐστι, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις εὐρίσκομεν τὸν παράσιτον ἱερὸν τι χρῆμα καὶ τῶι συνθοίνωι παρόμοιον. ἐν Κυνοσάργει μὲν οὖν ἐν τῶι Ἡρακλείωι στήλῃ τις ἐστίν, ἐν ἣι ψήφισμα τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου, γραμματεὺς δὲ Στέφανος Θουκυδίδου· λέγεται δ' ἐν αὐτῶι περὶ τῆς προσηγορίας οὕτως· 'τὰ δὲ ἐπιμήνια θυέτω ὁ ἱερεὺς μετὰ τῶν παρασίτων. οἱ δὲ παράσιτοι ἔστων ἐκ τῶν (Μεῖερ:

³⁶ St. Petersburg, Hermitage 525 (B 1659), from Cumae, dated to about 330 B.C. See Clinton 1992, 78-81, 134, figs. 17-19. One may add also a comparable representation on the 'Lovatelli urn' (Rome, Mus. Naz. Rom. 11301, from a *columbarium* on the Esquiline): see e.g. Mylonas 1961, 205-7, fig. 83; Richardson 1974, 211-13. The Torre Nova sarcophagus (Rome, Palazzo Borghese, Spanish Embassy), usually included in the same discussion of Eleusinian preliminary rites, is instead associated to different mystery cults of Demeter by Clinton 1992, 137-8.

³⁷ *FGrH* 323 fr. 11.

³⁸ *FHG* III 137-8 fr. 78.

παράσιτοι ἓνα τῶν ἐκ τῶν codd.) νόθων καὶ τῶν τούτων παίδων κατὰ τὰ πάτρια. ὃς δ' ἂν μὴ θέλῃ παρασιτεῖν, εἰσαγέτω καὶ περὶ τούτων εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον'. ἐν δὲ τοῖς κύρβεσι τοῖς περὶ τῶν Δηλιαστῶν οὕτως γέγραπται· 'καὶ τὼ κήρυκε ἐκ τοῦ γένους τῶν κηρύκων τοῦ τῆς μυστηριώτιδος. τούτους δὲ παρασιτεῖν ἐν τῷ Δηλίῳ ἐνιαυτόν'. ἐν δὲ Παλληνίδι τοῖς ἀναθήμασιν ἐπιγέγραπται τάδε· ἄρχοντες καὶ παράσιτοι ἀνέθεσαν οἱ ἐπὶ Πυθοδώρου ἄρχοντος στεφανωθέντες χρυσῶι στεφάνῳ ἐπὶ Διφίλης (Meier: ἐπὶ δὲ φυλῆς codd.) ἱερείας. ** παράσιτοι Ἐπίλυκος Στραττίου (Preller: ἐπὶ Λυκοστράτου codd.) Γαργήττιος, Περικλῆς Περικλείτου Πιτθεύς, Χαρίνος Δημοχάρους Γαργήττιος'. κὰν τοῖς τοῦ βασιλέως δὲ νόμοις γέγραπται· 'θύειν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τοὺς Ἀχαρνέων παρασίτους'

The name 'parasite' a long time ago used to be revered and sacred. At least Polemo (...) writing about parasites Polemo speaks thus: "The name 'parasite' is now disreputable, whereas among the people of old we find that the 'parasite' was a sort of sacred institution, similar to the dining-fellow. Indeed, in the sanctuary of Heracles at Cynosarges there is a slab inscribed with a decree by Alcibiades, with Thucydides' son Stephanus as secretary: it deals with this appellation thus: "Let the priest carry on the monthly sacrifices with the 'parasites'. Let the 'parasites' be chosen from bastards and the latter's sons according to tradition. Let one prosecute for these very reasons whoever should refuse to act as a parasite". Among the ancient laws displayed on the turning panels, in those about the sacred delegates to Delos, it is written thus: "And two heralds of the Ceryces clan, that in charge of the mystic truce.³⁹ These will be 'parasites' for a year". In the sanctuary of Athena at Pallene, votive-gifts bear this inscription: "Offered by the chief-officers and 'parasites' who received a golden crown in the year of the archon Pithodorus and of the priestess Diphile. (...) the 'parasites' (were) Epilycus of Gargettus, son of Strattius; Pericles of Pitthus, son of Periclites; Charinus of Gargettus, son of Demochares". Moreover, in the king-archon's laws it is written: 'Let the 'parasites' of Acharne sacrifice to Apollo'".

The point of quoting this long excerpt is that it shows how common such 'parasites' were in archaic and classical cult, and that the *genos* of Ceryces enjoyed special privileges also in this kind of function. Athenaeus rounds off Polemo's passage with a number of other authorities (6.234 a-235 f): among others, Clidemus (quoted above); an inscription in the Anaceum with regulations on sacred

39 For the translation 'mystic truce', see Parker 1996, 300-1.

banquets, priests, and 'parasites'; and a quotation from Philochorus.⁴⁰ It is worth noting that the Anaceum was a sanctuary in Athens dedicated to the Dioscuri, the ἄνακες, i.e. ἄνακτες, who were believed to have received Eleusinian initiation despite their being foreigners, just as Heracles.⁴¹ On the other hand, Philochorus' passage from the work *Tetrapolis* is no less interesting for the mention of the 'parasites' that were enrolled for Heracles.

In conclusion, interpreting the title of our satyr-play as 'sacrifice ministers' is very promising as it allows us to catch a glimpse of multiple meanings and references: myth narrative, religious aetiology, political topicality. I shall follow this path in my reconstruction of Κήρυκες. However, I shall keep using the translated title *Heralds*, not only lest an impression of certainty should be given about a mere interpretation; but also because the above quoted passages by Clidemus suggest that the word κήρυκες, while keeping its basic meaning 'heralds', could be extended to cover other functions in order to make them more honourable.

4 Reconstruction of *Heralds*

My suggestion is that Aeschylus' *Heralds* was taking up an aetiological myth which had been contrived and divulged, possibly in an epic poem written by an Athenian or by a poet close to Athens,⁴² and certainly in visual art,⁴³ in the second half of the sixth century, during Pisistratus' tyranny, in all likelihood in his third period of power (about 534/533-528/527 B.C.).⁴⁴ A story was then forged about Heracles' wish to be initiated in the Eleusinian Mysteries before descending to Hades after Cerberus, so that Persephone might treat him with the utmost degree of benevolence (this detail varied on the tradition whereby Heracles resorted to violence in order to catch Cerberus). The end of such myth-making was to charter a number of momentous political acts: Athens' conquest of Eleusis with subsequent take-over

⁴⁰ *FGH* 328 fr. 73.

⁴¹ The sanctuary seems to have lain on the northern slope of the acropolis, close to Agraulus' cave: see Dantas 1983, 60-3. The cult of the Dioscuri in Athens, with the spread of charter myths and related iconography, dates to the sixth century: Shapiro 1989, 149-54.

⁴² Lloyd-Jones 1967, 211-29; Robertson 1980.

⁴³ See, with quotation of black-figure evidence, the argument developed by Boardman 1975. See also the section "Herakles and Eleusis: Herakles mystes" by J. Boardman, O. Palagia, S. Woodford, s.v. "Herakles", *LIMC* IV (1988) 803-8. More generally, see Walton 1952, 113.

⁴⁴ For this aetiology see Boardman 1975. See also Mylonas 1961, 77; Shapiro 1989, 67-83.

of the Mysteries; the organization of the latter, under the authority of the *archon basileus*, helped by hereditary officials belonging to two *gene*, the Eumolpidae (from Eleusis) and the Ceryces (of Athens); the foundation of the Lesser Mysteries in the city, likewise supervised by the *archon basileus* (possibly with refurbishment of a pre-existing temple at Agrae, beyond the Ilissus);⁴⁵ the building of a city Eleusinium.⁴⁶ A new, larger *Telesterion*, commonly thought to have been built at the Eleusis sanctuary by the Pisistratidae (over the period 528/527-511/510), is yet another consequence of Athenian control over Eleusis.⁴⁷ The mythical episode we are discussing was also firmly set in Heracles' career after the slaughter of the Centaurs, which puts him in a state of pollution and thus justifies a rite preliminary to initiation proper; and before his descent to Hades, for which initiation could be shown to work as a warranty of success, just as initiates would expect happiness after death. It is debated whether the detail of Heracles' adoption by a certain Pylus, initiation being forbidden to foreigners, may be authentic or a later embroidery.⁴⁸ A link with an ancestor, real or fantastic, of Pisistratus, whose *genos* was alleged to originate from Pylus, has been maintained.⁴⁹ The main literary source for this episode is the Pseudo-Apollodorus (2.122 Wagner):

δωδέκατον δὲ ἄθλον ἐπετάγη Κέρβερον ἐξ Ἄιδου κομίζειν. (...) μέλλον οὖν ἐπὶ τοῦτον ἀπιέναι ἦλθε πρὸς Εὐμόλπον εἰς Ἐλευσίνα, βουλόμενος μυηθῆναι. [ἦν δὲ οὐκ ἐξὸν ξένοις τότε μυεῖσθαι, ἐπειδήπερ θετὸς Πυλίου παῖς γενόμενος ἐμνεῖτο.] (del. Heynius, prob. Wagner) μὴ δυνάμενος δὲ ἰδεῖν τὰ μυστήρια ἐπέειπε οὐκ ἦν ἠγνισμένος τὸν Κενταύρων φόνον, ἀγνισθεὶς ὑπὸ Εὐμόλπου τότε ἐμυήθη

As twelfth labour, he was bidden to fetch Cerberus from Hades. (...) Therefore, when he was going to go after it, he visited Eumolpus at Eleusis, with the intention of being initiated. Foreigners at that time were not allowed to be initiated, since he was only after being adopted by Pylus. Being forbidden the sight of the mysteries as polluted by shedding the Centaurs' blood, he was cleansed by Eumolpus and then initiated.

⁴⁵ See Mylonas 1961, 239-43; Boersma 1970, 192; Travlos 1971, 112-14. Note, however, that Miles 1998, 27-8 rejects any link between Pisistratus and the city Eleusinium.

⁴⁶ Mylonas 1961, 246-7; Boersma 1970, 135; Travlos 1971, 198-203; Thompson, Wycherley 1972, 150-5; *Athenian Agora* 1976, 142-7; Parker 1996, 73. One has to mention that Miles 1998, 28 conjecturally dates the second archaic *Telesterion* with related fortification wall to the last years of the fifth century, and therefore sees it as a public edifice built by the new democracy.

⁴⁷ Mylonas 1961, 78-91; Boersma 1970, 24-5, 126, 135-6; Parker 1996, 72.

⁴⁸ Accordingly, the corresponding section in Pseudo-Apollodorus is deleted.

⁴⁹ Boardman 1975, 6.

Other sources, which provide few diverging details, while they agree in the main, are the following. Diodorus Siculus (4.14.3):

οὐκ ἄξιον δὲ παραλιπεῖν οὐδὲ τὰς ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν αὐτῷ δοθείσας δωρεὰς διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν. (...) Δημήτηρ δὲ πρὸς τὸν καθαρμὸν τοῦ Κενταύρων φόνου τὰ μικρὰ μυστήρια συνεστήσατο τὸν Ἡρακλέα τιμῶσα

It would not be fair to pass under silence also the gifts that were given to him by the gods on account of his bravery. (...) Demeter set up the Lesser Mysteries out of respect for Heracles, so that he might be purified of the Centaurs' bloodshed.

Diodorus again (4.25.1-26.1):

ἔλαβε πρόσταγμα παρ' Εὐρυσθέως τὸν ἐξ Ἄιδου Κέρβερον πρὸς τὸ φῶς ἀγαγεῖν. πρὸς δὲ τοῦτον τὸν ἄθλον ὑπολαβὼν συνοίσειεν αὐτῷ, παρήλθεν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ μετέσχε τῶν ἐν Ἐλευσίνι μυστηρίων, Μουσαίου τοῦ Ὀρφέως υἱοῦ τότε προεστηκότος τῆς τελετῆς. (...) οὗτος γὰρ κατὰ τοὺς παραδεδομένους μύθους καταβάς εἰς τοὺς καθ' Ἄιδου τόπους, καὶ προσδεχθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς Φερσεφόνης ὡς ἂν ἀδελφός, Θησέα μὲν ἀνήγαγεν ἐκ δεσμῶν μετὰ Πειρίθου, χαρισαμένης τῆς Κόρης, τὸν δὲ κύνα παραλαβὼν δεδεμένον παραδόξως ἀπήγαγε καὶ φανερόν κατέστησεν ἀνθρώποις

(...) he received from Eurystheus the order to bring to sunlight the underworld dog Cerberus. Supposing that this would be useful to him for such labour, he went to Athens and took part in the Eleusinian Mysteries, as Orpheus' son Musaeus was upon that time the leader of the rite. (...) According to traditional tales, after descending to the regions of Hades and being welcomed by Persephone, as a brother would be, he led up Theseus with Pirithous, setting them free from their bonds, thanks to Core's gracious concession; beyond any expectation, he received, tied to a chain, and carried away the dog, so as to get it seen by mankind.

Euripides (*HF* 610-613):

ΑΜΦΙΤΡΥΩΝ ἦλθες γὰρ ὄντως δώματ' εἰς Ἄιδου, τέκνον;
 ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ καὶ θῆρά γ' ἐς φῶς τὸν τρίκρανον ἤγαγον.
 ΑΜ. μάχηι κρατήσας ἢ θεῶς δωρήμασιν;
 ΗΡ. μάχηι· τὰ μυστῶν δ' ὄργι' εὐτύχησ' ἰδῶν

AMPHITRYON Did you really go to Hades' house, my child?
 HERACLES Yes, I did; and I led to sunlight the three-headed beast.

AMPH. Did you achieve this by prevailing in a fight or thanks to the goddess' gift?

HER. By a fight; but I enjoyed good fortune because I had seen the rites of the initiated.

Pseudo-Plato (Ax. 371 e):

καὶ τοὺς περὶ Ἡρακλέα τε καὶ Διόνυσον κατιόντας εἰς Ἄιδου πρότερον λόγος ἐνθάδε μνηθῆναι, καὶ τὸ θάρρος τῆς ἐκέεισε πορείας παρὰ τῆς Ἐλευσινίας ἐναύσασθαι

There is the tale that when Heracles and Dionysus were going to descend to Hades, first they were initiated here, and they borrowed courage for the journey to that place from the Eleusinian goddess.

Plutarch (*Thes.* 30.5, 33.1-2):

οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἂν τις πρόσχοι τοῖς πολλάκις ἐντυχεῖν αὐτοὺς (scil. τὸν Θησέα καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα) ἀλλήλους ἱστοροῦσι· καὶ τὴν μῆσιν Ἡρακλεῖ γενέσθαι Θησέως σπουδάσαντος καὶ τὸν πρὸ τῆς μῆσεως καθαρμὸν ὡς δεομένῳ διὰ τινὰς πράξεις ἀβουλήτους. (...) οὐδὲν γὰρ (scil. οἱ Τυνδαρίδαι μάχη νικήσαντες) ἤξιωσαν ἀπάντων κρατούντες ἀλλ' ἢ μνηθῆναι, μηδὲν ἦττον Ἡρακλέους τῆι πόλει προσήκοντες. καὶ τοῦτο οὖν ὑπέηρξεν αὐτοῖς, Ἀφίδνου ποιησαμένον παῖδας, ὡς Πύλιος Ἡρακλέα

Rather, one may heed to those who maintain that they (scil. Theseus and Heracles) often met one another; also Heracles' initiation and preceding purification, needed on account of some unwitting crimes, took place thanks to Theseus' insistence. (...) For, despite defeating everybody, they (scil. the victorious Tyndaridae) did not demand anything but initiation, as they were related to the city no less than Heracles. Therefore, this was made possible, since Aphidnus adopted them, as Pylus had adopted Heracles.

A *Scholium vetus* to Aristophanes: ad *Pl.* 845 Chantry (= *Scholia in Aristophanem* Koster, Holwerda, III 4a, 142):

845b α. παίζει παρὰ τὸν Ἐλευσίνιον νόμον· ἔθος γὰρ ἦν, ἐν οἷς τις ἱματίοις μνηθείη, εἰς θεοῦ τινοῦ ταῦτα ἀνατιθέναι (...) 845f μυστήρια δύο τελεῖται τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ Δήμητρι καὶ Κόρηι, τὰ μικρὰ καὶ τὰ μεγάλα· καὶ ἔστι τὰ μικρὰ ὡσπερ προκάθαρσις καὶ προάγνευσις τῶν μεγάλων

The poet is jesting about the Eleusinian law: for it was customary to dedicate as an offer in the sanctuary of a god the clothes worn on being initiated (...). Two sets of Mysteries are carried out every

year in honour of Demeter and Core: the Lesser and the Greater ones. The Lesser Mysteries are a sort of purification prior to the Greater ones.

The *Scholium recentius* to the same passage: in Aristoph. *Pl.* 845f Chantry (= *Scholia in Aristoph.* Koster, Holwerda, III 4b, 222):

μεγάλα καὶ μικρὰ μυστήρια ἐτελοῦντο ἐν Ἐλευσίνι τῆς Ἀττικῆς. μὴ ὄντων δὲ πρόσθεν μικρῶν, ἐλθόντος Ἡρακλέους καὶ θέλοντος μυηθῆναι, ἐπειδὴ νόμος ἦν Ἀθηναίοις μηδένα ξένον μνεῖν, αἰδεσθέντες τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀρετὴν καὶ ὅτι φίλος τε ἦν τῆς πόλεως καὶ υἱὸς τοῦ Διὸς ἐποίησαν μικρὰ μυστήρια, ἐν οἷς αὐτὸν ἐμίησαν

The Greater and the Lesser Mysteries were carried out at Eleusis in Attica. As the Lesser ones did not exist in the past, when Heracles came up to be initiated, given the Athenian law that no foreigner could be initiated, out of reverence for his bravery and on account of his friendly disposition towards the city, beside his being a son of Zeus, they established the Lesser Mysteries, where they initiated him.

In the vase-paintings that illustrate the Eleusinian variant of the Cerberus mission, Hermes' presence can be explained in connection with the Athenian genealogy of the Ceryces, which made them the offspring of a certain Ceryx, the son of Hermes and one of Cecrops' daughters (either Aglaurus, or Herse, or Pandrosus). Such genealogy had soon to confront the Eleusinian one, according to which they descended from Eumolpus.⁵⁰ The iconographical prototype of Ceryx is thought to represent a torch-bearer;⁵¹ alternatively, it is suggested that a herald-like attire, very much similar to that of Hermes (with mantle, large-brim hat, and sandals), may suit Ceryx according to the Athenian genealogy.⁵² Interestingly enough, the genealogy of Ceryces from Ceryx the son of Hermes shows that in Greek mind no sharp distinction existed between κῆρυξ 'herald' and κῆρυξ 'sacrifice minister', but rather the sacrificial function could be regarded as added to, and coexisting with, the diplomatic one. This is in keeping with Clidemus' statement, quoted above, that the *genos* of Ceryces owed its name to the higher sense of the word, or to the nobler

⁵⁰ Paus. 1.38.3; Poll. 8.103; *FGrH* 10, Andron Halicarnassensis, fr 13. On all this, see W. Quandt, s.v. "Keryx (1)", *RE* XI.1 (1921) 348-9; Mylonas 1961, 234; Boardman 1975, 8-9; Shapiro 1989, 79.

⁵¹ E. Simon, s.v. "Keryx", *LIMC* VI (1992) 36-8.

⁵² Harrison 2000, 279-80. However, Clinton 1992, 78 interprets the fact that Keryx is nowhere clearly represented as a sign of the lesser importance of this figure in comparison with Eumolpus.

of their tasks. Therefore, in reconstructing *Heralds* we may surmise a sacrificial function as well as a connection with Hermes.

My proposal is therefore that *Heralds* dramatized such a recasting of the episode of Heracles' initiation to the Lesser Eleusinian Mysteries as to make room for the satyrs. These, at first, may have been a kind of Centaurs (given the great similarity between Centaurs and satyrs or silens, especially in the earlier iconography),⁵³ survived to Heracles' fury at Pholoe by fleeing to Eleusis, according to the otherwise unintelligible detail in the Pseudo-Apollodorus (2.86 Wagner):

οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ τῶν Κενταύρων φεύγουσιν ἄλλος ἀλλαχῆι, καὶ τινὲς μὲν παρεγένοντο εἰς ὄρος Μαλέαν, Εὐρυτίων δὲ εἰς Φολόην, Νέσσοσ δὲ ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Εὐήνον. τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ὑποδεξάμενος Ποσειδῶν εἰς Ἐλευσίνα ὄρει κατεκάλυπεν

The other Centaurs fled in different directions, and some of them arrived at Mount Malea, Eurytion at Pholoe, Nessus at the River Euenus. The others were received and hidden by Poseidon at Eleusis under the mountain.

As the reasons why some Centaurs should have fled to Eleusis of all places and be protected by Poseidon under the Eleusis hill are quite obscure, it is legitimate to suspect that the Pseudo-Apollodorus (or his source) is drawing on a particular literary or dramatic treatment of the story.⁵⁴ Poseidon's temple, shared with Artemis Propylaea, at Eleusis is well attested.⁵⁵ The close connection in cult between Poseidon and Demeter is variously interpreted: either as a vestige of an ancient belief (Poseidaon = 'Spouse to Earth', i.e. Demeter),⁵⁶ or as a contiguity of domains (fish and bread as the staples of Greek diet).⁵⁷ However, the same connection is documented also at Agrae, in the Ilissus area; here, a small hill, named Helicon, was the site of a sanctuary of Poseidon.⁵⁸ Finally, Poseidon's relevance is also indicated by his being regarded as father to Eumolpus.⁵⁹

Were the satyrs attracted by wine scent, as a character, presumably Heracles, tried to pour wine (fr. 108) and was the chorus' entrance

⁵³ In the earlier iconography, satyr-silens have equine hind legs and human forelegs: see E. Simon, s.v. "Silenoi", *LIMC Suppl.* VIII (1997) 1108-33.

⁵⁴ However, the question of Greek drama as a source to Pseudo-Apollodorus is a thorny one: see Huys 1997.

⁵⁵ Paus. 1.38.6. Mylonas 1961, 167-8.

⁵⁶ Cassola 1975, 23. Burkert 1985, 136 casts some scepticism on this hypothesis.

⁵⁷ Shapiro 1989, 102.

⁵⁸ *FGrH* 323, Clidemus, fr. 1; Travlos 1971, 291; Shapiro 1989, 102.

⁵⁹ [Apollod.] 3.201 Wagn., Hyg. *Fab.* 157, Steph. Byz. s.v. "Αἰθίοψ", Lycurg. in *Leocr.* 98.

thus motivated (with a further resemblance of satyrs to Centaurs in the Pholos episode)?⁶⁰ We cannot say. I find it tempting to imagine the satyrs fleeing to Eleusis from Mount Pholoe in order to avoid Heracles' fury as ludicrous equals, or slaves, to the Centaurs; this would leave the Pholos episode in the background as *Vorgeschichte* to the action of the satyr-play, set in Eleusis. The satyrs, then, would be reconciled with Heracles (either out of fear of him or relief at being set free). The latter would have turned up either after them or directly seeking initiation. Then, they all would be directed to Agrae for preliminary purification. I cannot see any difficulty in envisaging the satyrs first fleeing Heracles and then, after reconciliation, helping him carry out a sacrifice necessary to his purification as κήρυκες 'sacrifice attendants'. One can quote Euripides' *Cyclops* with the satyrs unwillingly being slaves to Polyphemus and then helping Odysseus blind him. However, it must be conceded that the satyrs' presence at Eleusis may be presented as a matter of fact, without any motivation, and that the antecedent episode at Mount Pholoe is neither proved at all, nor by any means necessary.

In an Eleusinian context one should expect the offer of a piglet to be appropriate.⁶¹ Let it suffice to recall here Trygaeus' words (Aristoph. *Pax* 374-375):

εἰς χοιρίδιόν μοί νυν δάνεισον τρεῖς δραχμάς
 δεῖ γὰρ μυηθῆναι με πρὶν τεθνηκέναι

Then lend me three drachmae for a piglet:
 I have to be initiated before dying.

It is therefore tempting to refer here a number of Aeschylean fragments from unknown dramas,⁶² which Athenaeus quotes in a row (9.375 e) thus suggesting that they belong to one and same play (although he may simply be drawing them from Chamaeleon's work *On Aeschylus* [fr. 39 Wehrli], mentioned immediately after, and they may have been put side by side for the sole reason of talking of a sacrifice piglet). They are fr. 309:

⁶⁰ See this episode in [Apollod.] 2.83-84 Wagn. The Pseudo-Apollodorus also makes Silenus Pholus' father (2.83 Wagn.).

⁶¹ On the 'mystic pig', which could be eaten, see Parker 1983, 283. On the pig as "emblematic" of the Eleusinian Mysteries, see (with a photograph of a statuette representing a sacrificial pig) Mylonas 1961, 250, pl. 66.

⁶² Most scholars regard these three fragments as satyric: references are given by Radt 1985, ad fr. 309; see also Krumeich, Pechstein, Seidensticker 1999, 209-12; López-Eire 2003, 408. Radt himself considers them all part of a single play (ad 310); for fr. 310 and fr. 311 this is maintained by Droysen 1842, 529 and Ahrens 1846, 253.

ἐγὼ δὲ χοῖρον καὶ μάλ' εὐθηλούμενον
τόνδ' ἐν νοτοῦντι κριβάνωι θήσω. τί γὰρ
ὄψον γένοιτ' ἂν ἀνδρὶ τοῦδε βέλτιον;

I will put this piglet, fatted up as it is,
in a damp oven.⁶³ For which dish
could a man have better than this one?

Fr. 310:

λευκός - τί δ' οὐχί; - καὶ καλῶς ἠφευμένος
ὁ χοῖρος· ἔψου μηδὲ λυπηθῆις πυρί.

The piglet is white - is it not? - and well singed:
let yourself be cooked and do not be distressed by the flame.⁶⁴

Fr. 311:

θύσας δὲ χοῖρον τόνδε τῆς αὐτῆς ὕος,
ἦ πολλά γ' ἐν δόμοισιν εἴργασται κακά,
δονοῦσα καὶ τρέπουσα τύρβ' ἄνω κάτω

And after sacrificing this piglet, born of the same swine,
that has wrought many evils in the house
by whirling and turning everything upside down, he ...

However, it must be mentioned that D.F. Sutton⁶⁵ interprets these fragments differently. She regards the mention of the piglet, and the performance on stage of its sacrifice, as the divulgation of the Eleusinian Mysteries with which the poet was charged in a prosecution for sacrilege. Among the plays indicated by an ancient source⁶⁶ as those culpable of such sacrilege (*Archeresses*, *Priestesses*, *Sisyphus the stone-roller*, *Iphigenia*, and *Oedipus*), she indicates *Sisyphus the stone-roller* as the one to which fr. 308-310 in her proposal belonged.

⁶³ I wonder if the variously interpreted object (either as an *omphalos* or as a rock or as an altar or as a sacred cake, the *pelanos*), painted in white on the 'Ninnion tablet' (Athens, Nat. Mus. 11036, from Eleusis, dated to about 370 B.C.) may be a portable clay oven, to be used for roasting the sacrificial pig. On this artifact see Mylonas 1961, 213-21, and Clinton 1992, 136, frontispiece, pl. 73.

⁶⁴ I take the verbs as passive, addressed to the piglet in a humorous way; alternatively, one can refer them, as middle, to the attendant: "cook it (for yourself) and do not harm yourself with the flame" (or "do not be distressed by the flame [for the sake of the piglet]").

⁶⁵ Sutton 1983a.

⁶⁶ Radt 1985, T 93b (= Anon. in Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 3.2, 1111a 8).



Figure 1 Gela, Mus. Arch. Naz. 35694, Siceliot (?) *skyphos*, side A. Photo by courtesy of 'Assessorato Regionale dei Beni Culturali e dell'Identità Siciliana – Museo Archeologico Regionale di Gela'.

This suggestion does not persuade me, first because the piglet sacrifice was no secret at all;⁶⁷ therefore, we are not bound to place those fragments in one of the allegedly scandalous plays. Second, the list of those plays may have been written down as a learned conjecture, given Aristotle's testimony on Aeschylus' prosecution.⁶⁸

Whether or not any of all of the fr. 308-310 belonged to *Heralds*, I regard a scene with sacrifice and cooking of the sacrificial piglet as very likely. I easily imagine the satyrs most willingly help Heracles and/or another character (Eumolpus rather than Triptolemus; or Hermes, a traditional assistant to the hero in the Cerberus labour) in mincing, roasting and of course eating up the meat. Heracles would make one of his first apparitions in the glutton's rôle. Visual evidence proves that Heracles sacrificed a piglet in a satyr-play, although we must guess which. This piece of evidence is a red-figure *skyphos*, from the acropolis of Gela⁶⁹ [fig. 1], either Siceliot (dated to 340-330 B.C., at-

⁶⁷ See a similar objection in Krumeich, Pechstein, Seidensticker 1999, 212.

⁶⁸ Radt 1985, T 93a (= Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 3.2, 1111a 8).

⁶⁹ Gela, Mus. Arch. Reg., 35694.

tributed to the Manfredi-Lentini Group,⁷⁰ more precisely to the Painter of the Lugano *pyxis*⁷¹; or Campanian, an import from Paestum (dated to 350-325, attributed to Asteas)⁷². It represents, on side B, a satyr with a horse tail, and a maenad; on side A, an old satyr (Papposilenus?), who holds out a piglet, and a young Heracles, who holds up a *kantharos*; the setting includes an altar, a box (of the *kalathos* type, with a few ears of corn coming out of it), a *stele*, and hanging votive plaques (*pinakes*). The latter image is interpreted by Anna Calderone⁷³ as the satyric version of the sacrifice preliminary to Heracles' Eleusinian initiation. Her arguments, which fully account of each detail in the picture, and quote literary sources on Heracles' initiation, and on the Eleusinian piglet, are utterly convincing. However, I do not understand why she points to Sophocles' *Satyrs at Cape Taenarum* as a 'source' to this vase-painting. Although very little remains of Sophocles' drama Ἐπι Ταϊνάρῳι (or Ἐπιταϊνάρῳι) σάτυροι,⁷⁴ we gather from one of the scraps of evidence about it that it featured the satyrs as Helots.⁷⁵ Therefore, beside the commonly admitted dramatic stuff related to Heracles' descent to, or ascent from, Hades through a cave by Cape Taenarum,⁷⁶ there was topical exploitation of the setting, in the fifth century B.C. the seat to an important sanctuary of Poseidon,⁷⁷ where the Spartans allowed fugitive helots to enjoy the right of asylum.⁷⁸ It is tempting to link Sophocles' satyr-play to the period of the Peloponnesian war, with its open anti-Spartan propaganda. The image on the Gela *skyphos*, side B, refers to an Eleusinian context (see the *kalathos*), or at least to the cult of Demeter and Persephone, and the sacrifice is set in a sanctuary (see the *pinakes*). There is no evi-

70 Calderone 1977; Fiorentini 1985, 20. See the notice of finding given by the latter scholar in De Miro, Fiorentini 1976-77, 446-7 pl. XL, fig. 3a. See also Todisco 2012, I 359 no. S II.1.7.

71 Trendall 1983, 274 no. 46 c. On the Painter of the Lugano *pyxis* see Trendall 1980; this attribution is accepted by Boardman, Palagia, Woodford, s.v. "Herakles", *LIMC* IV (1988) 799 no. 1339. Note, however, that the same scholars a little later (on p. 801) describe the same artifact as "an Attic vase".

72 Panvini 1996, 115, pl. 59. On 'phlyaciac' vases found in Gela, see in general Orlandini 1953.

73 Calderone 1977, quoted in disapproval by Krumeich, Pechstein, Seidensticker 1999, 211 fn. 33.

74 Radt 1977, fr. 198a-198e.

75 Radt 1977, ad fr. 198a-198e (Eust. *ad Il.* 2.594-600 [297, 35-37 Van der Valk]) Εἰλωτες ... οὐ μόνον δουλικοῦ εἰσιν ὀνόματος ἀλλὰ καὶ τι ἕτεροῖον δηλοῦσιν· ἐν γοῦν τοῖς Ἡρωδιανοῦ εὔρηται ὅτι Εἰλωτες οἱ ἐπὶ Ταϊνάρῳι σάτυροι).

76 [Apollod.] 2.123, 126 Wagn. has Heracles' descent through Taenarum (as in Eur. *HF* 23-25), ascent at Troezen. Strabo, describing Taenarum, mentions the cave through which, according to myth, Cerberus was brought to light from Hades by Heracles (8.5.1, 363 C).

77 See Mee, Spawforth 2001, 234-6; Torelli, Mavrogiannis 2002, 292.

78 Th. 1.133. See Cartledge 1979, 214.

dence for any such cult or sanctuary at Taenarum. Hence, although fr. 198a of *Satyr at Cape Taenarum* mentions a “piglet” in a comparison (τοιγὰρ ἴωδιή† φυλάξαι χοῖρον ὥστε δεσμίαν, “for ... watch ... as a pig worthy of bonds”)⁷⁹, it is safe to rule out any Eleusinian development for its plot. Likewise, by the same argument, *Heralds* stands as a likely candidate in connection to the Gela *skyphos*. (Albeit we must admit we cannot say why Heracles is represented on it as visibly young.) Let us also bear in mind that representations of Aeschylean dramas on vases were very popular in the Greek West.⁸⁰

In my reconstruction of *Heralds*, I would also make room for another development: the satyrs' task as κήρυκες would be established for generations to come, possibly with Hermes' approval or at least a reverent visit, on their part, to a herm. A number of red-figure vase-paintings show satyr(s) in herald-like attire paying reverence to a herm:⁸¹

1. red-figure Attic *psykter*, from Cerveteri, signed by Duris, dated to his early middle period (i.e. 490-480 B.C.): satyrs bestowing wild symposiastic behaviour except one, who stands in herald, Hermes-like outfit;⁸²
2. red-figure Attic *pelike*, dated to 470-460 B.C., attributed to the Alcimachus Painter: side A: a satyr, with draped dress and leaning on a walking stick, raises one hand towards a herm;⁸³
3. red-figure Attic column-*krater*, dated to about 470 B.C., attributed to the Geras Painter: side A: a satyr in Hermes-like journey attire (long tunic, draped mantle, large-brim hat) raises a tree-bough to a herm;⁸⁴
4. red-figure Attic bell-*krater*, dated to 430-420 B.C., attributed to the Licaon Painter: side B: gathering of two satyrs with draped clothes and staffs, and a maenad with *thyrsos* around a herm;⁸⁵
5. red-figure Attic *kalyx-krater*, from Camarina, dated to about 430 B.C., attributed to the Group of Polygnotus, Painter of Pantoxena: side A: in the middle a clothed, ithyphallic herm with *skyphos* in one hand, herald's wand in the other; on the left side a torch-bearer satyr; on the right, a maenad with *thyrsos*.⁸⁶

⁷⁹ See Radt 1977, *ad loc.* for proposals of emendation.

⁸⁰ See Poli Palladini 2013, 302-8.

⁸¹ See G. Siebert, s.v. “Hermes”, *LIMC V* (1990) 303.

⁸² London, BM E 768; Beazley 1963, 446 no. 262. This vase painting is connected with Aeschylus' *Heralds* by Webster 1950, 86; Webster 1967, 142. The herald-like satyr is variously interpreted: see G. Siebert, s.v. “Hermes”, *LIMC V* (1990) 361 no. 891; E. Simon, s.v. “Keryx”, *LIMC VI* (1992) 38.

⁸³ Dresden, Staatl. Kunstsamml. ZV 2535; Beazley 1963, 531 no. 29, 1658.

⁸⁴ Geneva, Mus. HR 85; G. Siebert, s.v. “Hermes”, *LIMC V* (1990) 303 no. 130 bis.

⁸⁵ Warsaw, Nat. Mus. 142355; Beazley 1963, 1045 no. 6.

⁸⁶ Syracuse, Mus. Arch. Reg. 22934; Beazley 1963, 1050 no. 4; *LIMC V* (1990) 303 no. 132.

To the objection that these are representations of the diplomatic function, I reply by referring to my previous remark on 'herald' being so extended as to include 'sacrifice attendant/ cook'. Moreover, the word κῆρυξ admits only one visual translation, i.e. a Hermes-like attire.

As to the other meager vestiges of the play, let us try to reconcile them with the proposed content. In the suggested reconstruction, it is tempting to imagine that the non-Attic or anyway incorrect words λογγάσω (fr. 112) and νοσσός (fr. 113) characterized Heracles and/ or the satyrs as linguistically influenced by dialects spoken in regions other than Attica. Given the Syracusan gloss λογγῶνες,⁸⁷ 'holed stones for mooring cables', one may suppose Heracles was represented as one who had acquired a western *patina* during one of his latest labours, that after Geryon's cattle.⁸⁸

One final point: one ought to allow the possibility,⁸⁹ although there is no way to go beyond the mere speculation, that a passage in Aristophanes' *Frogs* (886-7 = fr. **467):

ΑΙΣΧ. Δήμητερ ἡ θρέψασα τὴν ἐμὴν φρένα,
εἶναί με τῶν σῶν ἄξιον μυστηρίων

AESCH. Demeter, you, who have nourished my mind,
give me to be worthy of your Mysteries,

echoes, or quotes, an utterance by Heracles in *Heralds*, made after the preliminary sacrifice and banquet (hence Demeter's nourishment would concern his stomach rather than his mind). These words, being spoken by the character Aeschylus, would produce in the Aristophanic passage a ludicrous effect in relation to the judiciary troubles undergone by historical Aeschylus⁹⁰ (who was born at Eleusis, but not himself initiated, a decisive fact for his acquittal when he faced prosecution, as mentioned above).⁹¹

⁸⁷ EM 569.41-45, cf. *Suid.* λ 662 Adler.

⁸⁸ On the Dorian *patina*, see Dettori 2016, 8; on the language of satyr-drama and its use of dialects, see, although with reference mainly to Sophocles, López Eire 2003, 391-3; Redondo 2003, 420-2.

⁸⁹ The lines, or at least the first one, have more than once been considered Aeschylean, at times with indication of *Eleusinians* as the original context: see with references Radt 1985, ad fr. **467.

⁹⁰ Thus also Charlesworth 1926, 4-5.

⁹¹ Radt 1985, TT 93a-d. I surmise that Aristotle's testimony (T 93a) warrants the historicity of the prosecution.

5 Topicality of *Heralds*

My contention is that the content of *Heralds* was relevant to the *genos* of Ceryces⁹² in the time of Aeschylus' activity. The family had been favoured by Pisistratus. Callias (I), possibly the first to hold the task of torch-bearer (δαϊδοῦχος) in the Eleusinia, was born shortly before 590. He, who won in equestrian competitions both at Pythos and at Olympia, had a son called Hipponicus (I). This sired Callias (II) between 520 and 510, who, in 490 or shortly before, became torch-bearer.⁹³ (Given his young age, it is believed that the office was hereditary within his family.) He resided in the *demos* of Alopece, just as his cousin Aristides.⁹⁴ The family, unlike the Alcmaeonidae, does not stand out in the sources for opposition to Pisistratus and his sons.⁹⁵ Anyhow, the changed political climate of the early 480s may have led many Athenian aristocrats to emphasize their real or alleged anti-Pisistratid stance.⁹⁶ Indeed, it is now clear that, when Hippias was forced to leave Athens in 511/510, only few of his supporters, in fact close relations, followed him, whereas many others stayed back in Athens. Likewise, many Athenians kept being amicable towards the Pisistratidae and all their friends up to 490, when the Marathon campaign exposed the antipatriotic side of Hippias and his supporters.⁹⁷ In the early 480s ostracism for friends of the tyrants, and Medizers at that, was a real threat (it first hit Hipparchus the son of Charmus, thought to be Hippias' grand-child, in 488/487).⁹⁸ The name of a *demos*-fellow of Callias the son of Hipponicus, Callias

⁹² On the Ceryces, see Dittenberg 1885; Feaver 1957, 127-8, 130, 140; Mylonas 1961, 234-5. For the literary sources and epigraphic evidence, see Parker 1996, 293-7, 300-2. The 'house of the Ceryces' is the only subsidiary building in the Eleusis sanctuary to have been identified with certainty: see Travlos 1949, 141-2; Mylonas 1961, 234; Torelli, Mavrogiannis 2002, 152-3. Krumeich, Pechstein, Seidensticker 1999, 211, fn. 34 merely propose a link between *Heralds* (*qua* sacrifice attendants) and the *genos* of Ceryces, but they do not develop it.

⁹³ Plu. *Arist.* 5.6-8.

⁹⁴ On the kinship between Aristides and Callias (II) see Davies 1971, 257. The association and kinship between Aristides and Callias have led a scholar to integrate an Agora *ostrakon* (P 9945) thus: "Arist(ides), the broth(er) of the (torch-bearer)": Robertson 1999.

⁹⁵ Even if Callias (I) is reported (Hdt. 6.121.2) to have bought Pisistratus' confiscated property whenever the latter fled as an exile out of sheer hostility, one should take this information with caution. Either the story was a later fabrication; or a real datum (the purchase) was distorted as to its aim (e.g. preserving a friend's property).

⁹⁶ On Callias (I) and Callias (II) see H. Swoboda, s.v. "Kallias (1), (2)", *RE* X.2 (1919) 1615-18; Davies 1971, 254-6. See *LGNP* II (1994) 245, s.v. "Καλλίας (2)" 82. See also Shapiro 1989, 71-4. The sheer sympathy bestowed by Herodotus towards the Ceryces is explained as religiously motivated by Mazzarino 1983, 1: 183.

⁹⁷ See Arnush 1995.

⁹⁸ *Arist. Ath.* 22.4.

the son of Cratius, was scratched on 760 potsherds in the 480s, once with the addition of the abusive epithet ὁ Μῆδος, another with accompanying caricature of him as a Persian.⁹⁹ Callias (II) not only succeeded in avoiding popular anger so well that his name turns up on merely a dozen extant potsherds dated to 486,¹⁰⁰ and in keeping a probably hereditary proxy with Sparta¹⁰¹ without being hated as a Laconizer; but also enjoyed the fruits of his connection to Cimon (as a brother-in-law), as long as the latter was successful, and later shifted to Pericles' sides, by divorcing Elpinices, Cimon's sister, and having his son marry Pericles' relation and former wife (about 455).¹⁰² So much for historical facts.

My view is that in the early 480s Callias (II) wished to distance himself from the Pisistratidae, justify the hereditary rôle of Ceryces as owing nothing to Pisistratus, increase his popularity, and shun ostracism; in order to reach such goals, I suppose he took advantage of his great wealth by sponsoring a number of public works.

Archaeologists tell us that in the mid-sixth century the enclosure wall of the city Eleusinium was enlarged so as to encompass a double surface, and that in the middle a new temple was built. Its foundations, excellent for material and execution, date to 490; before completion of the temple, its plan was slightly enlarged to the south and east. In order to level the sloping ground, a great amount of earth filling was heaped up; so the temple was conspicuous to see from a distance. From this sanctuary many an inscription (dated to the period 510-480 B.C.) has been found containing cult regulations concerning the *genos* of Ceryces.¹⁰³ To me it is tempting to see Callias' money behind the project, either the whole or only the later variant. Likewise, the *Telesterion* at Eleusis¹⁰⁴ may have benefited from Callias' wealth. For it is ascertained that it was rebuilt and made bigger in the early fifth century (from 25.30 x 27.10 m to 50 x 27.10 m): when exactly, it is a matter of dispute. The *communis opinio* holds

⁹⁹ Thomsen 1972, 93-9. See *LGNP* II (1994) 245, s.v. "Καλλίας" 83. On a conjecture, he was a cousin to our Callias, and coincided with one of the friends of the tyrants, left unnamed by Arist., *Ath.* 22.5-6, who was ostracized on 486/485: see Shapiro 1982.

¹⁰⁰ Thomsen 1972, 94-5, 102.

¹⁰¹ Xen. *HG* 6.3.3-4.

¹⁰² Plu. *Cim.* 4.3, *Per.* 24.5. Davies 1971, 259, 262-3.

¹⁰³ Travlos 1971, 198-203; Thompson, Wycherley 1972, 150-5. Miles 1998, 28, 31-3 maintains a different sequence (first *peribolos* in the first half of the sixth century; enlargement of the precinct wall at the beginning of the fifth century). See the inscriptions in Jeffery 1948; Miles 1998, 64-6, 200-1. The inscription *IG* I³ 6, made up of several fragments, and remarkable for regulations concerning Eleusinian cult, and the rôles of Eumolpidae and Ceryces, is now believed to have originally stood in the city Eleusinium: see Meritt 1945, 61-81; Meritt 1946, 249-53.

¹⁰⁴ Boersma 1970, 35, 184-7; Torelli, Mavrogiannis 2002, 147-50.

that such work was made necessary by Persian devastation of 480-479, and carried out in the period of Cimon's prestige, i.e. in the 470-460s.¹⁰⁵ However, it is also maintained that the project was begun after 490 and had not yet been completed in 480; after the damage brought about by the Persians, it was left unfinished until, in the time of Pericles, a larger plan was implemented.¹⁰⁶ On this reconstruction, it would be likely that Callias the torch-bearer, and the 'pit-wealthy' at that (λακκόπλουτος), supported such expenditure, either wholly or partly. (The days were not long past when the Alcmaeonidae had contributed, out of their pockets, to the reconstruction of the Apollo temple in Delphi.)¹⁰⁷ The same chronological doubt can be cast on the terrace retaining wall and the enceinte wall, which extended the Eleusis sanctuary to the east: whereas they are commonly dated to the Cimonian era,¹⁰⁸ the post-Marathon chronology, if accepted for the *Telesterion*, should be applied also to the *peribolos*, as the two cannot but go hand in hand. Significantly enough, the evidence on the existence of an Athenian law court named Κάλλιον has been related to our man as a public building supported by his euergetism.¹⁰⁹ That Callias lived up to his reputation of fantastic wealth¹¹⁰ is proved by his competing in horse races at Olympia.¹¹¹

To my mind it is also likely that Callias was a *choregos* more than once, although we lack positive evidence.¹¹² In the early 480s, Aeschylus' satyr-play would have met Callias' and other Ceryces'

105 Mylonas 1961, 106-13.

106 Shear 1964.

107 Hdt. 5.62.2-3.

108 Travlos 1949, 141; Mylonas 1961, 108-11; Boersma 1970, 135-6, 163; Torelli, Mavrogiannis 2002, 148.

109 *FGrH* ad 324, Androtion, fr. 59; Davies 1971, 261; Phot. κ 111 Theodoridis Κάλλιον-δικαστήριον Ἀθήνησιν ἀπὸ Καλλίου τοῦ πεποιηκότος ἐπώνυμον, on which it depends, with atheroschediastic addition to fill a lacuna, *Lex. Seguer., Gloss. rhet.* (e cod. Coislin. 345) κ 269 Κάλλιον-δικαστήριον Ἀθήνησιν οὕτω καλούμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ καλλύνειν καὶ κοσμεῖν καὶ λαμπρύνειν, and, more enigmatically, just below κ 270 Κάλλιον-λυπρὸς ναός, ἐξ αὐτοσχεδίου γενόμενος.

110 Such wealth was based not only on rural properties, but also on cult income and mining profits: see Davies 1971, 259-61.

111 He won thrice at Olympia with the chariot according to a *Schol. vetus* in Aristophan. *Nub.* 63a Holwerda, Koster (*Scholia in Aristophanem*, III 1, 25). Dates have been proposed: either 500, 496, 492, or 496, 492, 484: see, with some scepticism, Davies 1971, 258. Besides, an inscription (*IG* I³ 835, dated to about 480) accompanied the offer of a statue on the acropolis by Callias son of Hipponicus, possibly after a victory, either at Panhellenic competitions or of another kind. At any rate, this is another sign of lavishness.

112 If the information on his winning at Panhellenic competitions is trustworthy, we should imagine him not taking advantage of the usual exemption from festival λειτουργίαι mentioned by Wilson 2004, 60. At least Alcibiades was both a *choregos* and a Panhellenic winner: see Davies 1971, 20-1.

wish for advertising the legitimacy of their position through an appropriate charter-myth, whether an explicit request was put to him, or simply was sagaciously understood by the playwright as being in the air. Scholars of tragedy, who in recent times have been inclined to admit of the merely 'broad' political dimension of that genre (as far as communal ideology and mass reception are concerned)¹¹³ do not usually consider as possible the idea that a tragedian may have composed his plays in a way complacent to a personality outstanding either for political weight or wealth or both, whether the latter acted as a *choregos*¹¹⁴ or not. On the contrary, I believe that tragedy was, among other things, yet another form of myth-making, with all that this activity used to entail in relation to the present, and that both Phrynichus' *Phoenician women* of 476 and Aeschylus' *Persians* of 472 owed their outlook in matters political to their *choregoi*, in the order Themistocles and young Pericles.¹¹⁵ When I propose that *Heralds*, featuring Heracles' purification prior to Eleusinian initiation, included an aetiology of the function of the Ceryces *genos*, I am not imagining that a long part of the drama was devoted to that: for a few lines might do: e.g. we may envisage the satyrs being thanked for their help, and their function to be formally established with indication of successors (human Ceryces). Even in *Eumenides*, perhaps the most aetiological play we have, some items, such as the Argos-Athens alliance (669-673, 765-766), and the sanctuary of the Erinyes-Semnai (804-7, 854-857) are chartered more briefly than others, such as the Areopagus law-court (674-710) and Orestes' hero function (767-774). Admittedly, our scanty evidence on satyr-play does not point to aetiology as a recurrent element of the genre. One can suppose that the satyric *Prometheus* of 472 B.C. contained the aetiology of the torch-race in the Athenian cult festival *Prometheia* (cf. Paus. 1.30.2);¹¹⁶ moreover, it is highly probable that *Amymone*, of the late 460s, presented the

¹¹³ For this wide-spread approach see e.g. the majority of the essays included in Easterling 1997.

¹¹⁴ Wilson 2004, 3, 67-8 rules out the possible influence of *choregoi* on tragic topicality as an old-fashioned and far-fetched idea. The use of lot in matching dithyrambic poet and *choregos* is attested for the Thargelia in a speech dated to the period 430-411: Antipho 6.11; it is indeed likely that the same system applied to the Great Dionysia. Yet, such method may have been contrived after 461, when Athenian public life was more and more 'democratized', i.e. freed from the influence exerted by members of the élite. At the same time, in the first half of the fifth century, between poet and *choregos* there may have been a special relation, much like that between patron and epinician composer.

¹¹⁵ Radt 1985, T 55b; Snell, Kannicht 1986, 3, Phrynichus, T 4. On the problem of *choregos* and political content, at least as far as Phrynichus and Aeschylus are concerned, see a nuanced position in Pickard-Cambridge 1988, 90.

¹¹⁶ Sutton 1980, 25-6 quotes vase-paintings which show satyrs holding torches in a foot race (cf. Greifenhagen 1863, although she keeps the notion of only one Prometheus satyr-play).

origin of the Lerna Spring¹¹⁷ as a gift made by Poseidon to Amymone (as in [Apollod.] 2.14 Wagner, Hyg. *Fab.* 169, 169a).

Interestingly enough, on one of the several vases with names inscribed beside the image of satyrs, one can read ΚΑΛ(Λ)ΙΑ[Σ].¹¹⁸ As καλλίας (Ionic καλλίης, Laconic καλλίαρ) is attested as a common noun to denote a 'tamed ape',¹¹⁹ through an antiphrastic use of the derivate from κάλλος with the productive suffix -ίας,¹²⁰ the choice of the proper noun 'Callias' for a satyr cannot but be humorous. To the Greek mind satyrs and apes were similar, so that a species of apes was called *Satyros*; likewise, Latin *simia* and *simus* (adjective) are borrowings from Greek σιμός and perhaps also from the proper name Σιμ(μ)ίας.¹²¹ Has this anything to do with *Heralds* and/or Callias (II)? Unfortunately, we cannot satisfy our curiosity.

6 The Tetralogy of *Heralds*

To complete my conjectural reconstruction of *Heralds*, I wish to put forward a fitting tragic set, namely *Women of Perrhaebia*, *Ixion*,¹²² *Atalanta*, envisaged as a tightly connected trilogy.¹²³ The first tragedy I have mentioned, Περραιβίδες¹²⁴ (fr. 184-186 a), dealt with a myth set in northern Thessaly. This myth narrates that Ixion, king of the Lapiths, marries Dia, the daughter of Deioneus (or Eioneus or Hesioneus), by promising to the latter precious wooing gifts (ἔδνα); but afterwards he refuses to give them up, and even kills his father-in-law with premeditation; he therefore was the first murderer of a next-of-kin.¹²⁵ Perrhaebia is an area north of Thessaly proper, conspicuous

¹¹⁷ Krumeich, Pechstein, Seidensticker 1999, 96, fn. 28 admit the possibility of such an aetiologic element for *Amymone*.

¹¹⁸ Red-figure Attic cup, from Vulci, Brussels, Mus. Roy. R 253 and Vatican, Astarita 306, attributed to Oltus, dated to 520-500; Beazley 1963, 64 no. 104. On side B of fragment I the satyr at left is named ΚΑΛΙΑ[Σ], the maenad in the middle ΛΙΓΕΙΑ, the satyr at right ΕΥ[---]ΟΣ. See Heydemann 1880, 29; Fränkel 1912, 23, 56-7; Kossatz-Deissmann 1991, 156. See also Kossatz-Deissman, s.v. "Callias", *LIMC* V (1990) 935.

¹¹⁹ See *LSJ*^s, s.v. "καλλίας".

¹²⁰ Chantraine 1979, 96.

¹²¹ See *DELL*, s.v.v. "simia"; "simus, -a, -um"; Keller 1909, 1: 5, 10.

¹²² The first two are already linked together by Müller 1827, 670-71; the same does Gantz 1980, 153-4.

¹²³ Hartung 1855, 74-5 proposes an Epigoni tetralogy (*Argives*, *Eleusinians*, *Epigoni*, *Heralds or Leon*); Mette 1963, 148-54 argues for *Heralds* as satyr-play in a tetralogy devoted to Heracles, including *Alcmene* and *Children of Heracles*.

¹²⁴ The title under this form is included in the Catalogue and mentioned in two of the witnesses to the fragments, while the other two have a corrupt form.

¹²⁵ The main sources on this myth are Pind. *Pyth.* 2.21-89, Aesch. *Eum.* 440, 718, *Schol.* in Ap. Rh. 3.62, *Schol.* in Eur. *Pho.* 1185, D.S. 4.69; see a complete list in P.

for the city of Gyrtion(e), where Ixion is occasionally said to live,¹²⁶ although more often his abode is determined only vaguely as Thessaly, or can be inferred to be Larissa from the fact that his son Pirithous is usually said to come just thence as a king.¹²⁷ In the archaic period, the aristocratic leaders of Thessalian cities conquered the surrounding regions, including Perrhaebia, as περίοικοι.¹²⁸ About *Women of Perrhaebia* we can only say that it dealt with Ixion's marriage and first crime, as appears from fr. 184 (uttered by Ixion's father-in-law):

ποῦ μοι τὰ πολλὰ δῶρα κάκροθίνια;
 ποῦ χρυσότευκτα κάργυρᾶ σκυφώματα;

Where are all those gifts and first-fruits of mine?
 Where are the cups wrought of gold and silver?

fr. 185 (words referred to the same gifts)

ἀργυρηλάτοις
 κέρασι χρυσᾶ στόμια προσβεβλημένοις

with drinking-horns of wrought silver
 that have golden mouthpieces affixed,

fr. 186 (a description of the end of Dia's father)

τέθνηκεν αἰσχρῶς χρημάτων ἀπαιόληι
 he has died shamefully with loss of goods by fraud.

When the protagonist, after his crime, had to flee, did he go to Larissa and was an αἴτιον for historical submission of Perrhaebia to Larissa dramatized? Alternatively, if Ixion was from Larissa and his wife from Perrhaebia (the women of the chorus being e.g. her particular maids), was a similar aetiology exploited (e.g. Perrhaebia made part of Ixion's kingdom as dowry, φερνή, or as a property inherited after Deioneus' death)? Unfortunately, we must leave these questions open. The myth is usually confused about Ixion's family and place of residence: the literary sources indicate six different fathers. Aeschylus gave Antion as his parent: in *Perrhaebian women*

Weizsäcker, s.v. "Ixion", Roscher II.1 (1890-1894) 766-72.

126 Str. 7 a (Excerpta).330 C, 9.439 C.

127 [Apollod.] 1.68 Wagn. On the development of Pirithous' myth see E. Manakidou, s.v. "Peirithoos", *LIMC* VIII (1997) 232-33.

128 See H. Beck, s.vv. "Thessali", "Thessalia", *NPauly* XII.1 (2002) 446.

I think, where Ixion first turns up, rather than in *Ixion* (fr. *89 I):¹²⁹

τὸν δὲ Ἰξίωνα οἱ μὲν Ἀντίονος γενεαλογοῦσιν, ὡς Αἰσχύλος κτλ.
some make Ixion the son of Antion, as Aeschylus.

This genealogy occurs again in Diodorus Siculus (4.69.3), who indicates in Periphas (an otherwise known Lapith king) Antion's father and Ixion's grandfather. Unfortunately, we cannot tell if Diodorus is drawing on a genealogy with an existence outside Aeschylus or not: however, the curious detail of Eioneus seizing Ixion's mares for security for those gifts¹³⁰ appears to be drawn on a literary or dramatic treatment. Whether Aeschylus created Antion or not, he must have intended to eschew common political implications of other current genealogies, such as that which made Ixion the son of Phlegyas (in his turn indicated either as a Thessalian or as a Boeotian king). For it is clear that Thessalian myths fall into two categories: those going back to Mycenaean times and revolving around Iolcus; and those about the Lapiths, caused to overlap with older stories in order to charter Thessalian presence and predominance in the area from the Geometric age onwards.

The next play in the trilogy I propose, *Ixion*,¹³¹ is likely to have dramatized the protagonist's purification through Zeus' benevolence; his being admitted into the gods' company, receiving immortality, and committing his second crime, i.e. attempting to seduce Hera. After report of the intercourse, unfit for the stage, between the Cloud and Ixion – whereby the progenitor of all Centaurs was begotten – the play would be rounded off by Zeus' judgment, and by execution of the sentence, probably through Hermes and Hephaestus, with related moral teaching (one must honour their benefactors). We do not know exactly what was shown on stage; yet, it is likely that the spectacular punishment was.¹³² A number of vase-paintings from Southern Italy showing

¹²⁹ Radt follows Stanley in presenting fr. *89 as part of *Ixion*, but also quotes Hermann's warning that Ixion may have been called through a patronymic periphrasis ('son of Antion') several times in the course of the trilogy: see Butler 1811-16, VIII 19; Hermann 1852, 1: 337, ad fr. 94; Radt 1985, ad fr. 89.

¹³⁰ D.S. 4.69.3 ἔπειθ' ὁ μὲν Ἰξίων οὐκ ἀπέδωκε τὰ ἔδνα, ὁ δ' Ἡϊόνεὺς τὰς ἵππους ἀντὶ τούτων ἠνεχύρασεν. κτλ.

¹³¹ I am not persuaded that *Ixion* was a satyr-play as argued, on the basis of fr. 91, by Blomfield 1826, 79; B. Snell in Austin 1973, ad fr. 350.88. Snell finds the metaphorical use of the verb καταπίνω an unmistakable sign of satyr-drama; yet, compare its figurative use, serious enough, in e.g. Thgn. 680 δειμαίνω, μὴ πως ναῦν κατὰ κύμα πίη. "And the regular pipe quickly swallows up (i.e. covers in sound) the half-size one" is not any bolder than e.g. the money-exchanger metaphor in *Ag.* 437. On different types and sizes of αὐλοί, see West 1992, 89-90. Besides, one should outline a plot for the alleged satyr-play and explain away the testimony of Arist. *Po.* 1455 b34 (Ixion provided stuff for several "pathetical" tragedies).

¹³² The passage Plu. *Mor.* 19 e (= *de aud. poet.*) ὡσπερ ὁ Εὐριπίδης εἶπεῖν λέγεται πρὸς τοὺς τὸν Ἰξίωνα λοιδοροῦντας ὡς ἀσεβῆ καὶ μιαιόν, ὅ μόντοι πρότερον αὐτὸν ἐκ

this scene bear unmistakable theatrical features: first, Ixion is fully dressed; secondly, he is bound to the wheel by means of bands attached on each side by nails, just as Andromeda and Prometheus usually are represented (they look metal, but on the stage they may conveniently have been fabric strips).¹³³ In support of the hypothesis of an *Ixion* ending with the spectacular scene of the execution of the sentence, one may quote a Campanian red-figure neck *amphora*, from Cumae, dated to 330-310 B.C., which shows Ixion bound to the wheel, held on either side by a winged female (either Erinyes or Αὔραι, Breezes), with Hermes, Hephaestus, and an emerging Erinyes in the lower part.¹³⁴ Also an Apulian red-figure volute-*krater*, from Ruvo, dated to about 310 B.C., may have a bearing, as it represents Ixion, fully dressed, on the wheel, held by an Erinyes (or Bia) and by Hephaestus, and a god seating on a throne (Zeus rather than Hades?), plus a goddess (Hera rather than Iris?).¹³⁵ Further support for supposing Hermes took part in the execution may come from an Attic red-figure *kantharos*, from Nola, dated to about 460 B.C., although its connection to tragedy is far from clear: it shows Ixion, naked and standing, held by Ares and Hermes before Hera, who sits on a throne, while Athena holds a winged wheel.¹³⁶ Personally, I do not understand why scholars have usually indicated Euripides' *Ixion*¹³⁷ as a possible tragic source for the South-Italian vase-paintings:¹³⁸ indeed, nothing prevents both Aeschylus and Euripides from having shown the protagonist on the wheel.

As to the third tragedy in this set, I conjecture it was *Atalante*, although nothing is known of this Aeschylean play except its title.¹³⁹

τῆς σκηνῆς ἐξήγαγον ἢ τῶι τροχῶι προσηλωσαί' has often been taken as evidence that Euripides *alone* had the punishment executed on stage; yet, this interpretation puts an unwarranted strain on the anecdote, which is not concerned with poets other than Euripides. On the issue, see, with further references, Aélión 1983, 1: 274.

133 C. Lochin, s.v. "Ixion", *LIMC* V (1990) 860-1.

134 Berlin, Staatl. Mus. F 3023; attributed to the Group of the Ixion Painter: Trendall 1967, 338 no. 787; Séchan 1926, 393-4.

135 St. Petersburg, Hermitage 1717 (St 424), attributed to the Louvre K 67 Painter: Trendall, Cambitoglou 1982, 930 no. 117. This *krater* is thought to reflect Aeschylus' play (Euripides obviously being ruled out on chronological grounds) by Aélión 1983, I 275, Séchan 1926, 394.

136 London, BM E 155, attributed to the Amphitrite Painter, dated to 460-450 B.C.: Beazley 1963, 832 no. 37. Webster 1967, 142 quotes this *kantharos* in connection with Aeschylus' *Ixion*. See also Séchan 1926, 392-3.

137 Kannicht 2004, fr. 424-427.

138 See (for Berlin 3023, St. Petersburg 1717) Webster 1967, 160; Trendall, Webster 1971, 95 no. III 3, 33. The vases other than the Ruvo *krater* are connected with Euripides' *Ixion* by Aélión 1983, 1: 275. For the warning that Euripides often took up myths that had already been dramatized by Aeschylus and so western vase-paintings on those myths may be under Aeschylus' influence no less, or rather, than Euripides', see Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, 9.

139 Only the Catalogue attests this play: see Radt 1985, 136-7.

In my opinion, there are not enough elements for us to suppose that it was a satyr-play: a vase-painting with a huntress chased by a satyr¹⁴⁰ may reflect another play, *if* it reflects a play at all. In order to associate the painting to *Atalante* we should possess at least an independent scrap of evidence on the latter's satyric nature.¹⁴¹ On the other hand, we are not following any sound method, if we resort to the satyric hypothesis lest Euripides should be the inventor of Meleager's love for Atalanta, and lest Aeschylus should appear to have indulged in dramatizing love-affairs in his tragedies.¹⁴² On the contrary, a tragic *Atalante*, provided it was based on the story of the Calydonian boar hunt, would offer a rather satisfactory sequel to the Ixion dramas. Indeed, a perfect sequel is hard to imagine, as Ixion's misdeeds are two instead of three;¹⁴³ nonetheless, moving on to the next generation is a well documented procedure for Aeschylean trilogies. Needless to say, his connected trilogies could deal with three generations in the same family (Theban trilogy, *Orestia*), just as they could dramatize events affecting the same generation (Danaid trilogy). In fact Ixion's son Pirithous,¹⁴⁴ just as Heracles, is among the many a hero summoned by Meleager to face the terrible boar. Meleager himself, though married to Cleopatra, is known from post-Homeric sources to have fallen in love with the brave huntress Atalanta (said to have also killed two Centaurs in order to avoid rape), with gruesome consequences: he ends up by killing his maternal uncles, the Thestiadae, and thus leads his mother to throw into the fire the

140 Attic red-figure stemless cup, from Capua, Giessen, Univ., dated to about 460 B.C., in the manner of the Sotades Painter: see (although the huntress is indicated as Amymone) Beazley 1963, 768 no. 35. The suppositions that Aeschylus' *Atalante* is satyric and that *P. Giess.* 694, *P. Oxy.* 1083 fr. 1, 2-3.32 come from it, can be read in Mette 1963, 176-8. Yet, such attribution is far from evident: see Radt 1977, ad fr. **1130-1132; Lämmle 2018, 51. The connection of the cup to *Atalante* is maintained first by Zschietzschmann 1941, 149-50, pl. I figs. 2-3. It is also put forward as hypothetical (with Artemis as an alternative candidate) by Brommer 1959, 48, pl. 41; 74 no. 35; J. Boardman, s.v. "Atalante", *LIMC* II (1984) 948.

141 Of course the myth of Atalanta could be given a satyric twist just as any other myth: see Lämmle 2018, 57, 61-3; 2019, 10-12.

142 Aélión 1983, 1: 317.

143 Alternatively, one may suppose, with Droysen 1842, 515, that an unknown first tragedy preceded *Women of Perrhaebia* and *Ixion*. With tentative proposal of Θελαμοποιοί as first drama, see Fritzsche 1877, 179. See also Wilamowitz-Möllendorff 1914, 59; Radt 1985, 119. For a different proposal on *Chamber-builders* see Poli Palladini 2013, 93-6.

144 Pirithous is the son of Zeus and Ixion's wife (in later sources named as Dia) according to *Il.* 2.741, 14.317-318, cf. *Od.* 11.631; *FGrH* 4 (Hellan. Lesb.) fr. 134; *Pl. R.* 391 c-d; *Hyg. Fab.* 155.4. His father is Ixion according to most post-Homeric authors: *FGrH* 70 (Ephor. Cym.) fr. 23, D.S. 4.63.1, 69.3, Str. 9.5.9 (439 C), [Apollod.] 1.68 Wagn., *Ov. Met.* 8.403-4, 567, 612-613, 12.210, 338; *Hyg. Fab.* 14.5, 257.1. See E. Manakidou, s.v. "Peirithoos", *LIMC* VII.1 (1994) 232.

magic fire-brand on which his life depends.¹⁴⁵ *Atalante* would show events in the generation after that of Ixion, and would show characters known to be linked to Heracles' descent to Hades: Meleager, the one who in Hades fatally advises Heracles to marry his sister Deianira; and Pirithous, the one who attempts to carry away Persephone, and whom Heracles cannot rescue from Hades.¹⁴⁶ The detail, reported by Xenophon (*Cyn.* 1.2), that Meleager had been instructed in hunting by Chiron, may represent a further link with the Lapith Pirithous. Other thematic connections would be made possible by *Atalante* as third play: the insistence on the nefarious consequences of offending the gods (the boar being sent by wrathful Artemis), killing one's next-of-kin, and of taking wedlock less than seriously. While it is clear from extant fragments that Euripides stressed the amorous and interpersonal side of the story (as often),¹⁴⁷ it is not in principle ruled out for Aeschylus to have dramatized Meleager's partiality (not necessarily represented on stage as a violent passion or a tender feeling) for Atalanta¹⁴⁸ (for which models may have been circulating, such as Stesichorus' *Boar-hunters*, Συσθηῖραι).¹⁴⁹ Vase-paintings about Meleager and Atalanta, beside bestowing no theatre-markers (or one at best, Meleager's elaborate dress instead of heroic nudity), are usually associated with Euripides' *Meleager*,¹⁵⁰ as Sophocles' namesake play is believed to have stood by the Homeric version of the Calydonian hunt (followed upon by a war of Aetolians against Curetes instead of the dispute about Atalanta). I would leave open the possibility of an Aeschylean influence as well, unless we imagine a different situation for Aeschylus' *Atalante*, say Meleager granting the huntress the boar's hide for the sake of justice, as she had struck the first blow, and then being misinterpreted as being in love with her. Other speculations we must leave in the air would concern the aetiolo-

145 The Meleager myth, which in Homer (*Il.* 9.529-599) is especially focussed on the Aetolian-Curete war, is later more concerned with the Calydonian boar and Atalanta: see E. Kuhner, s.v. "Meleager", Roscher II.2 (1894-1897) 2592-8.

146 Notoriously, even with connected trilogies the satyr-play tended to break the sequence and resume a neglected segment in the story, as do *Sphinx*, *Amydone*, *Proteus*.

147 Kannicht 2004, frs. 515-539. See e.g. S. Woodford, s.v. "Meleagros", *LIMC VI* (1992) 414.

148 Euripides is said to have been the first to introduce Meleager's infatuation for Atalanta by e.g. Kekule 1861, 15. See also Aélion 1983, 1: 315-17. Against the *communis opinio*, a thorough study of Atalanta in myth and iconography shows that she is paired with Melanion in early documents, and that, even in the episode of her wrestling match with Peleus at Pelias' Games, she carries erotic overtones: Barringer 1996.

149 Davies 1991, fr. 221-222 a, Appendix 307-314, fr. 1-35. See Garner 1994.

150 S. Woodford, s.v. "Meleagros", *LIMC VI* (1992) 414-35 no. 26, 37-41. Note that only no. 39 has Meleager dressed with an apparently theatrical costume: Attic red-figure *kalyx-krater*, Würzburg, Wagn. Mus. L 522, attributed to the Meleager Painter, dated to 400-375 B.C.: Beazley 1963, 1410 no. 14.

gy of the ἵυγξ through connection with Ixion;¹⁵¹ the dramatization of Meleager's death,¹⁵² and a striking finale, with the latter and Heraldes' encounter in Hades.¹⁵³

If ever such a trilogy existed, it cast some negative light on Thessaly and its rulers.¹⁵⁴ Such topicality would be in keeping with the one I have supposed for *Heralds*. The Thessalian aristocracy had come to the aid of Hippias in (presumably, but the year is unknown) 512/511 with a 1,000-knight force led by the *tagos* Cineas, according to an alliance¹⁵⁵ which probably had been struck by Pisistratus, since one of his sons was named Thessalus.¹⁵⁶ On this first occasion, the Thessalian allied had been able to repel the Spartans (or mercenaries) led by Anchimolius, whereas the following time, when the Spartans, led by king Cleomenes, marched to Attica by land (511/510), they were defeated and returned to Thessaly.¹⁵⁷ A few years later (after 507/506, possibly in 506/505),¹⁵⁸ when Cleomenes failed to persuade his Peloponnesian allies, especially the Corinthians, to bring back the Pisistratidae to Athens from Sigeum, the Thessalians offered Hippias the lordship over the city of Iolcus (which he, however, refused).¹⁵⁹ In the last years of the sixth century, possibly between 510 and 506, the Thessalians, led by Scopas the Younger, subdued their περίοικοι, 'neighbours,' i.e. Perrhaebians, Magnesians, Phthiotan Achaeans, Malians, Aenians, Oetaeans. Scopas' successor, Aleuas

151 In one of the Meleager-Atalanta vase-paintings, a ἵυγξ is represented close to Aphrodite: Apulian red-figure amphora, from Canosa, Bari, Mus. Arch. 872; attributed to the Darius Painter, dated to about 330 B.C.: Trendall, Cambitoglou 1982, 497 no. 44; *LIMC* VI (1992) 419 no. 41. For the ἵυγξ not only as 'wryneck', but also as 'magic wheel' and 'desire', see H. Gossen, s.v. "Ἴυγξ", *RE* X.2 (1919) 1384-6. For the analogy between Ixion and the ἵυγξ (beside the phonetic similarity) and the latter's rôle in wrong, short-lived, doomed love-affairs, see, with references, Segal 1973, 33-4.

152 One may wonder if a vase-painting with Meleager expiring in Tydeus' arms, plus several other named figures (distressed woman, Aphrodite, Phthonos, Oeneus, Peleus, Theseus), has anything to do with a tragic treatment: Apulian red-figure *amphora*, from Armento, Naples, Mus. Naz. 80854 (SA 11), related to the Lycurgus Painter, dated to 350-325 B.C.: Trendall, Cambitoglou 1978, 424 no. 54; Séchan 1926, 431 fig. 123.

153 It seems the Nekyia Painter had in mind that episode, or a dramatization of it, on the famous Attic red-figure *kalix-krater* now in New York (MMA 08.258.21, dated to 450-425 B.C.): Beazley 1963, 1086 no. 1; *LIMC* VI (1992) 419 no. 44. At any rate, we should hesitate to suppose that Bacchylides' treatment (5.76-175, dated to 476 B.C.) was the only one.

154 On the history of Thessaly between 512 and 485, see Sordi 1958, 55-91.

155 Hdt. 5.63.

156 Th. 6.55.1.

157 Hdt. 5.64.

158 The year 505 is indicated for such events by e.g. Hammond 1986, 195-6. A lower date, 504, is proposed e.g. by Cartledge 2002, 97.

159 Hdt. 5.94.

Pyrrius (about 505-499), a member of the Heraclidae of Larissa,¹⁶⁰ organized Thessaly as a federation of four regions (tetrads): Thessaliotis, Hestiaeotis, Pelasgiotis, Phthiotis. Thessalian control over the Delpho-Pylaic Amphictyony was a consequence of the neighbours' submission by acquisition of their votes; expansion south of Thermopylae in Boeotia and Phocis was a consequence of the efficiency in the new conscription system, in its turn based on the new units, tetrads and *klaroi*, introduced by Aleuas. In the same years, Thessaly seems to have sponsored through Delphi the anti-Athenian coalition made up by Boeotians, Chalcidians and Aeginetans, beside causing Cleomenes to shift from Isagoras' to Hippias' side, as we have just mentioned. Aleuas' aim about Athens is likely to have been to keep that city weak, under a tyrant, instead of either free and growing, or aligned with Sparta to the latter's benefit. Cleomenes, on the other hand, may have accepted this policy in order to gain support against his colleague-king Demaratus, as seems to prove the Delphic response against the latter in 492/491 (or 491/490).¹⁶¹ Sometime between 491 and 486 the Thessalians were heavily defeated by the Boeotians at Ceressus,¹⁶² and by the Phocians at Cleonae by Hyampolis, therefore withdrew from central Greece.¹⁶³ It was probably in reaction to such defeat that they sent envoys to Xerxes, on the latter's accession to the throne (486/485), in order to exhort him to move against all Greece - the same request that was urged on him in Susa by the Pisistratidae (plausibly Hippias' sons) and their soothsayer Onomacritus.¹⁶⁴ It is reasonable that in the early 480s, if not exactly in 486/485, any Athenian wishing to distance himself from the Pisistratidae would likewise part from the Thessalian federation. The latter was not a good partner of Athens from about 512 to 461, first because of their supporting Athenian tyrants, then because of their Medism and openly anti-Spartan stand.¹⁶⁵ Only after Cimon's ostracism, Athens realigned itself and got into alliance with Argos and Thessaly.¹⁶⁶

160 For a discussion of the historicity of this man, and of a legendary halo imposed on him in the Hellenistic era, see Sordi 1958, 68-71.

161 Hdt. 6.61-66.

162 Plu. *Cam.* 19.4, *Mor.* 866 e-f (= *de Herod. malign.*), Paus. 9.14.2. I adopt here a low chronology for this battle, as Sordi 1958, 87-8. Yet, I am aware that higher ones (about 550 or 540 or 520) have been proposed: see e.g., in the order, Musti 1989, 158, 600; Giannelli 1983, 104; Buck 1979, 107-10.

163 Hdt. 8.27-28, Plu. *Mor.* 244 b-d (= *de mul. virt.*), Paus. 10.1.3-4, 10.13.6.

164 Hdt. 7.6.

165 Sordi 1958, 89-104.

166 Th. 1.102.4, D.S. 11.80.1.

7 Aristophanes' *Clouds*

A marginal support to my reconstruction of a tetralogy as devoted to Ixion, Pirithous, and the setting up of the Lesser Eleusinian Mysteries, may come from observation of one of Aristophanes' comedies, *Clouds*, i.e. the incomplete revision we have of the first namesake play, represented unsuccessfully in 423 B.C. First, a great deal of parody or comic imitation of the Eleusinian Mysteries occurs throughout the play in relation to Socrates' teaching, starting from the edifice itself, not a *Telesterion* but a *Phrontisterion*, and so on.¹⁶⁷ Second, the chorus is made up by Clouds, Νεφέλαι, ambivalent beings to say the least: after enticing Strepsiades into 'modernism', by a brusque volte-face they turn conservative, ready to punish him. Indeed they say they have acted on purpose as they usually do with evil men: they affect their ruin, so that they might learn to revere the gods.¹⁶⁸ One cannot help associating them to the deceitful Cloud sent by Zeus to Ixion, in order to catch him in flagrant adultery without really having Hera implicated. The similarity of Aristophanes' *Clouds* to that Cloud lies in working as a means of delusion and retribution. Indeed, justice and retribution are important themes in Strepsiades' story, just as in Ixion's.

8 Could the 'Dike fragment' belong to *Heralds*?

Finally, I wish to stress the possibility that the so-called 'Dike fragment' (fr. 281a, with probable addition of fr. 281b),¹⁶⁹ clearly satyric,¹⁷⁰ comes from *Heralds*, at the end of such a trilogy as I have outlined.¹⁷¹ Dike would appear to the satyrs-Centaurs, who have taken refuge at Eleusis (or at Helikon/Agrae) from Pholoe, where Heracles wreaks havoc, possibly in ignorance of his identity. In a meeting due to chance she might explain them her tenets and ways. The "impetuous/crazy boy" (παῖς μάργος, 31 in the accusative) spoken of by her

¹⁶⁷ See, although some parallels seem to be strained (e.g. on pp. 17-18 between the name of the protagonist's son ending in -(h)ippos and Hipponicus, the father of Callias the torchbearer), Byl 2007. The same author has also published a great number of articles on the same topic over the years 1976-2006 (all quoted in the book, which offers a synthesis).

¹⁶⁸ Aristoph. *Nub.* 1452-1462.

¹⁶⁹ For information and references, the reader is referred to Cipolla 2010.

¹⁷⁰ Cipolla 2010, 141-8.

¹⁷¹ The idea of this fragment as part of *Heralds* is already put forward, as mentioned above, by Sutton 1983b (see a sceptical response in Krumeich, Pechstein, Seidensticker 1999, 106). However, my proposal differs in that it does not involve the Erginus myth.

by way of example, would be Heracles:¹⁷² the story of his past, brigand-like behaviour (33-39) would scare the satyrs to death. His name would be etymologized as “Hera’s glory” (40-41), according to the rare genealogy resorted to – Heracles son of Hera and Zeus. I guess that such isolated motherhood was chosen for the great hero for the sake of rounding off an important theme of the trilogy, wedlock against adultery/attempted seduction. An example of a poet giving a myth a new twist in order to make it more honourable to the heroic or divine individuals involved in it, is Stesichorus with his *Recantations*, Παλινωιδίαι.¹⁷³ Comparison with Pindar shows that in the early fifth century moralizing on old myths at the cost of reshaping them, was not only allowed, but occasionally even sought.¹⁷⁴ Aeschylus himself is known to have often chosen far-fetched versions of myths or unusual cultic epithets for gods, based on likewise unusual genealogies. Themis is Zeus’ daughter in the *Suppliants* (360).¹⁷⁵ In the same tragedy, Hecate is an epithet of Artemis (676); Zeus is said son of the Earth, i.e. Earth is identified with Rhea (892 = 902). From lost works, Poseidon is apparently identified with “marine Zeus” (fr. 46a.10); Achilles is presented as the lover of Patroclus, and therefore as elder than him (fr. *134a); Achilles and Patroclus’ relationship is referred to as having entailed *coitus intercruralis* and many kisses (fr. 135); Artemis is Demeter’s daughter (fr. 333); the Moon is daughter, instead of sister, to the Sun (fr. 375a). Therefore, a far-fetched genealogy for Heracles is not at all out of the question for Aeschylus.

Justice, reciprocity, retribution, the sanctity of wedding- and family-ties would be adequate themes in *Women of Perrhaebia*, *Ixion*, and in the sort of *Atalante I* I have postulated; all this would side well with the apparition of Justice herself in the satyr-play. However, as no evidence supports this hypothesis, which is not necessary for the rest of my proposal, I had better not indulge in it any longer.

172 This was proposed first by Kakridis 1962 (but for *Women of Aetna*). This scholar quotes a Greek epigram from Rome dated to the second century of our era (831 Kaibel), whereby Heracles is indicated as an adoptive son of Dike; a Theban hymn to Heracles, mentioned by Ptol. Chenn. *nova hist.* 3.14, where the hero was said to be the child of Hera and Zeus; and an Etruscan fourth-century inscribed mirror from Volterra (“Hercle Unial clan” i.e. Hercules son of Iuno). Yet, one should note that the latter item seems to represent Heracles’ adoption by Hera, the inscription forming a sentence “Hercules became the son of Iuno”, as shown by Fiesel 1936. Of course, such identification of the “impetuous child” is liable to several objections, and other scholars have preferred Ares: see Cipolla 2010, 139-41. If the Dike-fragment belonged to *Heralds*, Heracles would be a young man, just as he is depicted on the Gela *skyphos* seen above.

173 Davies 1991, Stesich. fr. 192-193.

174 See e.g. Pind. *Ol.* 1.28-66, 9.30-41; at *Nem.* 5.14-18 the poet prefers passing details about Phocus (i.e. his being killed by his own stepbrothers) under silence rather than reshaping them.

175 See, however, other possible explanations in Johansen, Whittle 1980, *ad loc.*

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