MYTHICAL HISTORY & HISTORICAL MYTH

Blurred Boundaries in Antiquity

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ABSTRACTS

(1) History and Myth in Imperial Mythography: Lycos' Polemarchy

Stefano Acerbo (University of Lille)

Mythical tales are usually set in a vague and, at least partially, conventional pre-political context. Also, in an imperial work as the *Library*, the heroic world described is ruled by *βασιλεῖς* similar to the Homeric ones. This fact obviously does not mean that ps. Apollodorus' account is not affected by historical changes, and, in some circumstances, we can find clear references to historically attested institutions and to political magistracies. These references are rare, but, because of their manifest anachronism, provide a useful hallmark to investigate the diachrony of the materials that come together in the mythographical texts, since they allow us to recognize one of the historical contexts in which the tale was shaped. In this paper I will consider the ascension to the power of Lycos in the Theban section of the *Library*. This event marks a break in the legitimate Cadmean dynasty and the vocabulary employed by the mythographer reveals the penetration of a political institution in the heroic world: Lycos, accepted as a citizen by the Thebans, is elected as polemarchus. Polemarchy, no mentioned elsewhere in the mythographical texts, is actually attested in Thebes as a magistracy of the Boiotian League. I will show that the description of Lycos' reign presents many points of contact with the account given by Xenophon and Plutarch of the historical polemarchy, held in a tyrannical way by Leontiades. The comparison will provide an extraordinary case to investigate the role played by historical events in the shaping of the mythical traditions.

(2) Empire, Ethnicity, Exegesis: Lucian on Interpretations of Greek Myth in the Roman Mediterranean

Joel Allen (The City University of New York)

This paper examines four of Lucian's texts (*On the Syrian Goddess*, *Toxaris/Friendship*, *Heracles*, and *Amber/The Swans*) to trace the author's interest in the primacy of Greek myth and its reception among the far-flung populations of the empire. In the first three of these, Lucian describes in varying levels of detail how Syrians, Scythians, and Celts, respectively, have re-interpreted themes, plots, and characters from Hellenic mythologies to suit their own, contra-Hellenic understanding of history and ethics. To Celts, for example, Heracles may be a brute wielding a club, as inherited from Greek prototypes, but to their view he is a god of eloquence and so his tongue is featured in their iconography. To a Scythian, the story of Orestes is an exemplum of friendship and not a tale of war, as it is for Greeks.

As Lucian tells it, ironies pile up in these 'conversations in mythology': the non-Greek interlocutors by definition lack paideia, but nevertheless deploy exegetical techniques of Greek culture, and furthermore, do so to challenge the very Greek orthodoxy they seek to resist. By contrast Lucian's contemporary Athenians, as evident in the final text, take mytho-history comically literally, failing to appreciate their own myths' symbolisms or metaphorical qualities.

Lucian thus reveals that although the cosmopolitan Mediterranean of which he was a part was dominated by a single mythology, it harbored a mess of meanings, each "blurring the lines" that are the focus of this conference. Any one (hi)story could support a multiplicity of beliefs, consonant with the empire's many fraught ethnicities.

(3) The Funeral Oration:
Thucydides' Engagement with *τὸ μυθῶδες* and Athenian Intentional History

James Andrews (Ohio University)

N. Loraux's *Invention of Athens* greatly advanced our understanding of the Athenians' customary epitaphios logos and its role in political ideology. More recently, the impetus given by H-J. Gehrke and others to our understanding of "intentional history" in ancient Greece invites further study of the custom, this time in terms of the cultivation of collective memory and the social group's self-perception and self-categorization, evidence for which is found not only in the epitaphioi logoi but in such spheres as diplomacy, public monuments, tragedy and historical elegy (Gehrke 2010:16). Together, these two approaches give us the means to improve our understanding of Pericles' Funeral Oration and its place in the pages of Thucydides, who in other respects seem to shun those Athenian perceptions that tend toward chauvinism and that the author brands as *τὸ μυθῶδες* (Flory 1990).

(4) "Turning History to Story: The Case of Aeschylus' *Persians*"

Andreas Antonopoulos (University of Patras)

There is only one complete "historical" tragedy – which also happens to be the oldest surviving dramatic play – Aeschylus' *Persians*, but we know that other playwrights produced similar works; for instance, Phrynichus presented a *Miletou Alosis*, "The Sack of Miletus" (by the Persians), and was fined by the Athenians for reminding them the misfortunes of a fellow Ionian city. Staged in 472 BC, the Aeschylean play reflects on the events of the -victorious for the Greeks- sea battle of Salamis in 480 BC, of which the poet himself was a veteran and an eyewitness. The present paper explores the poet's adaptations of recent history, so as to create a story suitable for a tragic *didaskalia*: moving the scene of action to the Persian court and presenting the story from an imaginary viewpoint of the Persians, Aeschylus interprets their defeat as a result, not so much of Greek bravery, but of Xerxes' *hybris*. This way, at the same time as modestly celebrating the Greek victory, Aeschylus finds an opportunity for a great lesson on cosmic order.

(5) Authority, Power and Governability in the *Odyssey*: The Mythical Birth of the *Polis*

Constantin Antypas (Independent Scholar)

Is there a government in Ithaca before and after Odysseus' departure for Troy? How can his lieutenant, Eurylochus, disobey openly his orders? Is Odysseus the commander of the Ithacan flotilla, or he commands only his own ship? Why Odysseus did not order the other eleven ships of the flotilla to moor off the trap port of the Laestrygonians, as he did? What could be the result of the conflict between Odysseus and the angry relatives of the murdered suitors?

The *Odyssey*, between many other things, is a narrative of power and authority struggles. Maybe these struggles reflect the political fermentations who resulted in the birth of the Greek city-state, the *polis*. This paper will try to discuss the connection between the Odyssean political myths and the evolution of many Greek polities into grown up *poleis*.

(6) Myth and History in Dionysius of Halicarnassus' *Roman Antiquities*

Eva Astyrakaki (University of Crete)

In ancient times the boundaries between myth and history were often tangled. This is of particular interest in times when authority couldemploy myths as carriers of a specific message. Such a period was the first century B.C. in Rome. Even in the absence of an organized and systematic propaganda mechanism in favour of Octavian, we can observe tangible signs of the construction of the imperial myth, to which end the visual language of the era also contributed significantly. Therefore, the view of a Greek-speaking historian, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, is of paramount interest.

The first book of *Roman Antiquities* is of great interest because Dionysius focuses on the origins of the Romans and concludes that they were descended from Greeks, by using not only the testimonies of past chronographers and historians, but, mainly, Greek myths (i.e. the myths of Oinotros, Evander, and Dardanus).

In the second book of *Roman Antiquities* he explores the myth of Romulus. The virtues he confesses to Romulus constantly revoke the principles governing the Augustan cultural renewal of the state, as proclaimed by Octavian himself.

In this paper we will examine how Dionysius involved myths in his history and what purpose this served. Whether Dionysius was a fervent supporter of Octavian or not is a rather controversial subject. However, his historical work, *Roman Antiquities*, exhibits enough evidence thatindicates, sometimes explicitly and sometimes implicitly, his admiration for the grandeur of Rome and his gratitude for what he had been offered.

(7) The Argive Women, Beards and Democracy

Natasha Bershadsky (Center for Hellenic Studies)

I discuss the tale of heroic defense of Argos by the Argive women, led by the poet Telesilla after the battle of Sepeia (Plut. *Mor.* 245c–e, Paus. 2.20.8–10). I argue that this tale was employed by the Argive democratic regime in 460s BCE as an aetiological myth portraying a transition of Argos from oligarchy to democracy. The key image is that of the Argive women driving out the army of Demaratus from an entity called Pamphyliacum (Plut. *Mor.* 245e): it evokes major tribal reforms, which took place in Argos sometime before the middle of the fifth century BCE.

The tale of the Argive women married to the *perioikoi* of Argos after the battle of Sepeia, and obliged to wear beards while sleeping with their husbands (Plut. *Mor.* 245f) is a related contemporary article of democratic Argive myth-making. It represents a subjugation of communities of the Argive plain by Argos in the first half of the fifth century as a domestic cohabitation between the *perioikoi* and the Argive women, and provides an *aition* for the cross-dressing festival of Hybristica.

Herodotus, who does not mention the story of the defense of Argos by women, probably visited Argos after 450 BCE, in the period of the oligarchic reconstruction, by which point thatdemocratic myth might have been suppressed. I consider a variant of an oracle to the Argives that Herodotus presents (6.77.2) and propose that the image of an uncoiled snake (*Anth. Gr.* 14.90) is connected to the bawdy celebration of Hybristica.

(8) Myth and speculative history in the Laws: the case of primordial cannibalism.

Przemysław Biernat (Jagiellonian University)

According to the account of prehistory argued by Athenian Stranger in the Laws, the world that we know today emerged after a great cataclysm, the flood (677a). As its result, earlier forms of social life and material culture were forgotten, and humanity had to invent them once again (677c-d). Narrowing his interest to everchanging alimentary habits of humanity, Athenian Stranger asks: "Are we to believe, then, that vines, not previously existing, appeared at a certain stage; and olives, likewise, and the gifts of Demeter and Kore? (...) And during the period that these fruits were as yet non-existent, must we not suppose that the living beings turned, as they do now, to feeding on one another?" (Lg. 782b, trans. R.G. Bury, slightly adapted). Speaking of the gifts of Demeter and Kore Plato refers to a well-rooted tradition, known to his readers from poetry, iconography and official ideology of polis, whereas the motif of cannibalism of the first humans seems to be a novelty on the ground of the classical tradition Plato refers to. Moreover, in a way Plato puts it, the idea of primordial cannibalism provokes questions which are not answered in the text itself. The primordial cannibalism is not a necessary logical consequence of the assumption that cultivation of crops was invented at some point of human development and it is also unclear how we should understand the correlation between the ignorance of agriculture by humans and carnivorism of living beings in general, which the interlocutors of the Athenian Stranger accept without reservation. It is possible, then, that there is some specific narration on the condition of primordial humanity in context of which these perplexing statements become obvious. In my paper I will explore the intersections of myth and speculative history, which we happen to encounter in this passage of the Laws, demonstrating the possible mythological narrative behind Plato's account and how it functioned in later rationalized accounts on early days of humanity.

(9) Odysseus into the Unknown: 'Historical' Geography as Pretext for Personal Objectives

Ronald Blankenborg (Radboud University Nijmegen)

This paper demonstrates that narrators searching their memory easily envisage a (partly) fictitious environment for recollections of past events. This process is well-known from recent observations from the field of neurocognitive (pseudo)sciences. The more fantastic the 'recollection', the further removed from genuine geography the envisaged environment turns out to be. Alternatively, and turning things around: if a recollected geographical setting cannot be located in the real world, the recollection itself is probably false and invented.

The clearest example of the workings of this process in archaic literature is the recollection of past events by Odysseus, during his visit to the Phaeaceans. Odysseus' account (or 'autobiography') takes his listening audience to remote places, and presents them with unbelievable eventualities. Are these stories to be considered imaginative renderings of actual places (C. Dougherty, *The raft of Odysseus. The ethnographic imagination of Homer's Odyssey*, Oxford 2001; cf. B. Haller, 'Geography, the Odyssey' and J. Romm, 'Odysseus' wanderings' in M. Finkelberg (2011), pp. 309-311, 584-588)? De Jong (*Space in ancient Greek literature. Studies in ancient Greek narrative, volume three.* Leiden/Boston 2012) states that Odysseus' tales are authenticated by the primary narrator (p. 38), but she allows for 'focalized space' (p. 27), the notion that Odysseus description of places and events merely serves to highlight his own objectives when telling a story.

In this paper I will argue that the use and the development of 'historical' geography in Odysseus' *Apologoi* are in many ways reminiscent of the way narrators (or patients in clinical settings) 'map' memories and recollections. The mythological geography of his 'autobiography of the past ten years' suggests that the lack of authentication for most of his adventures is a reason to doubt whether the others are true at all, rather than to accept that the non-authenticated elements are equally reliable.

(10) Ecclesiastical Stories: The Historicization of Myths in Socrates of Constantinople

Tommaso Braccini (University of Turin) & Gemma Storti (The Ohio State University)

Ecclesiastical histories can be interpreted as one of the latest evolutions of earlier historiography. Given their rise in the Christian milieu at the beginning of the fourth century and their official status, they might be expected to be purged from mythology. Nevertheless, such histories appear to be more liable to the reception of myths than one may assume.

Socrates of Constantinople is a late fourth-century author of an *Ecclesiastical History* that has not been thoroughly studied and, as its author declares, rests on the use of both written and oral sources. The present paper will focus on two episodes that reveal Socrates' appropriation and 'historicization' of mythological narratives.

The first example deals with the desecration of the classical myth according to which Orpheus' head continues to sing and prophecy even after his death. Echoes of this tale are to be found in Socrates' account of the strife occurring in Alexandria of Egypt between pagans and Christians.

The second example revolves around the so-called Anastasia church in Constantinople, which is first moved elsewhere in the city and is subsequently brought back in a wondrous way. We will illustrate how this episode can be identified with a well-known 'migratory legend,' i.e. a genre of folktale that has been closely associated with myth by scholars of folklore.

Our analysis will thus emphasize how the connection between myth and historiography also entered the ecclesiastical history, a genre apparently immune to such a contamination.

(11) Myth and Rivalry in the Archaic Peloponnese: The Case of Argos and the Myth of Opheltes at Nemea

Jorge Bravo (University of Maryland)

The myth of the child hero Opheltes, who was ominously slain at Nemea during the visit of the Seven Against Thebes, served as the aetiology of the historical Nemean Games, traditionally established in 573 BCE, and was celebrated at his shrine within the Sanctuary of Zeus.

This paper explores the value of projecting this myth into the history of Nemea within the context of rivalry among the Archaic city-states of the Peloponnese. Because the myth associated the festival with the Seven Against Thebes, who were an integral part of Argive identity, it thus reinforced the claim of Argos to manage the festival in the Nemea Valley, lying at the outskirts of Argive territory. Since the Seven Against Thebes was already a part of Panhellenic epic, moreover, the myth of Opheltes, by association, bolstered the prestige of the Games, which was one among several new forms of competition among Greek city-states. The myth of the hero Opheltes should thus be seen as one among several examples of the use of hero cult to tie the mythic past to the realities of rivalry and competition within the Archaic Peloponnese. Other examples include Sparta's relocation of the bones of Orestes, Corinth's establishment of the cult of Melikertes at Isthmia, Elis's institution of the cult of Pelops at Olympia, and the displacement of the cult of Adrastos in favor of the cult of Melanippos at Sikyon.

(12) Aristotle's 'Constitution of the Ithacans' and the *Odyssey*

Jonathan Burgess (University of Toronto)

The constitution of the Ithacans by Aristotle is lost, but testimony of it survives. Most interesting is an account by Plutarch (*Quaest. Graec.* 14; fr. 507 Rose)of the exile of Odysseus after the slaughter of the suitors. In both Aristotle and Apollodorus political intrigue in the area of the Ionian Islands seems to underly the exile. As at Apollodorus (*Epitome* 7.40), Neoptolemus serves as a judge. For the Aristotelian constitution, one suspects contemporary maneuvering by Epirotes who claimed lineage from Neoptolemus. But Neoptolemus was linked with Molossians in the *Nostoi*, an association that may have already existed by the time of the *Odyssey*. The acceptance of a story of the exile of Odysseus by the constitution suggests that historical Ithacans claimed descent from families of the suitors. But the constitution is balanced, as one would suspect for an island that commemorated the hero with coinage and cult; payment is also made by the suitors to Odysseus and Neoptolemus. Of further interest is reference to clans descended from Eumaeus and Philoetius, which would seem to reference promises by Odysseus at *Odyssey* 21.213ff. The constitution would thus seem to be a historical document that reflects Ithacan historicization of Archaic Age myth and literature, including both Homeric and Cyclic epic.

(13) The "Myth" of the Tyrannicides: The People versus the Historians

Thomas Carpenter (Ohio University)

In the popular imagination of Athenians, the Tyrannicides, Harmodios and Aristogeiton, who killed the Peisistratid Hipparchos in 514 BC, were heroes who liberated the city from the rule of tyrants. The Athenians set up statues of them in the Agora and even established a cult in their honor. Nearly a century later, the historians Herodotus and particularly Thucydides, tried to dismiss the popular perception of the Tyrannicides by pointing to what they saw to be serious misconceptions, but to no avail. The honors given to the heroes and even to their descendants continued on for generations.

Statues of Harmodios and Aristogeiton by the sculptor Antenor, were set up in Agora probably soon after 509 BC, the only mortals to receive this honor before the 4th century BC. The fact that the Persian king Xerxes took Antenor's group with him to Persia in 480 after the sack of Athens demonstrates that he understood how important the myth of the Tyrannicides was to the Athenians, as does the fact that only three years later the sculptors Kritios and Nesiotes replaced Antenor's group with new statues. Tradition has it that Alexander returned the original group to Athens in the 320s; Pausanias tells us that he saw them both when he visited Athens in the 2nd century AD.

The Tyrannicides provide us an opportunity to see the popular elevation of mortals to heroic status and at the same time to see the inability of intellectuals to diminish that popular fervor.

(14) Plato's Unfinished Symphony: The Alternative (pre)history of the Atlantis Myth

Nikos Charalabopoulos (University of Patras)

As a sequel to the *Timaeus*, Plato's *Critias* features the same cast and setting of its prequel, namely Socrates and his friends celebrating the Panathenaea of 429 BC at Critias' house with a feast of speeches (*Tim.* 17a) delivered by each one of the four participants. Plato's audience gets privy only to Timaeus' deliverance(27d-92c). Except for a succinct but brief summary of its highlights (17c-19a), Socrates' speech is never to be heard for it has already been delivered the day before (17b1). Critias' own contribution breaks off in the midst of a sentence (*Crit.* 121c5) while Hermocrates' promised performance (*Tim.* 20d) is never to be realised.

In terms of their textual identity as narratives, these speeches could not be more different. Socrates summary suggests an a-historic, static political utopia (19b-c), reminiscent of but not identical to, the Kallipolis of the *Republic*. Timaeus talks about his great cosmological and anthropological account as if it were alikely story, a plausible myth (*εἰκότα μῦθον Tim.* 29d2, 68d2). Only Critias claims that what he is about to say goes ultimately back to an official record, preserved by Aegyptian priests, of the war between Athenians and Atlantians around 9430 BC (*Crit.* 108e2). That is why his own story may serve as an expedient means to turn Socrates' mythical narrative (*ὡς ἐν μύθῳ Tim.* 26c8) of an ideal city into concrete historical truth (*ἐπὶ τἀληθές* 26d1). At the same, the Atlantis story bears some of the hallmarks of a Platonic myth, such as the mode of aetiology and the account of a distant, primordial past – much like the narratives about the origin of writing in the *Phaedrus* or the cosmic rotation in the *Statesman*.

In the present paper I will argue for Critias' performance as an alternative prehistory, that is an account at the intersection of (Platonic) myth, (Athenian) history, and (political) utopia. This interpretation may help us realise why the *Critias* should be read as an independent dialogue, not as an appendix to the Timaeus, as modern scholarly orthodoxy has it. It may also shed some light to one peculiar, but intriguing feature of the extant text of the *Critias*: the lack of direct speech.

(15) Histori(ci)zing Homer's Myth in the Homeric Epigrams

Menelaos Christopoulos (University of Patras)

This paper tries to convey some thoughts concerning the Homeric Epigrams, a group of short epic poems which have been –falsely– attributed to Homer and are supposed to depict particular instances of his life.The whole corpus of these poems is preserved in a *Life of Homer*, a text approximately dated between the 1st and the 2nd centuries CE, at least 8 centuries later than the historical period in which Homer may have lived; the authorship of this *Life* is (also) falsely ascribed to Herodotus. Most of these Epigrams are much older than the Testimonia in which they are included. In the history of classical literature the Homeric Epigrams borrow the impact of the greatest Greek poet and in exchange they try to supply their supposed creator with the historical existence which he lacks.In this paper I will try to focus on some particular aspects of the Epigrams which better illustrate their supposed relationship with the poetical persona of Homer who is more often perceived like a mythical figure rather than a historical one.

(16) Myth and Stereotypes: Thessaly as the Land of Magic

Eleni Chronopoulou (University of Florence)

It is well known that during antiquity, Thessaly marked by the presence of Medea there, was considered the place of sorcery and the witches of Thessaly appear stereotypically in the ancient literary sources. However, the origin of this reputation is dubious and the different theories that have been proposed so far (Phillips 2002; Mili 2015), although they have considerably contributed to a better understanding, they have not resulted in a full analysis of the subject. In this paper, I aim to re-approach these theories making some remarks, and then to exam the ancient sources in order to verify if and in which degree was possible an interaction between myth and reality that could justify the existence of this literal topos.

(17) Re-writing a Sicilian Myth: The Palici and Aeschylus' *Aetnaeae*

Paolo Cipolla (University of Catania)

The story of the Palici, the twins born from the Sicel god Adranos, was rearranged by Aeschylus in the Aetnaeae. The play was produced in the 470s to celebrate the new foundation of Catania by Hiero of Syracuse, who called the town 'Aitna' and replaced its Chalcidian inhabitants with Dorian soldiers. The scanty remains of the play seem to suggest that the tragedian, by making Zeus the father of the Palici and introducing abnormal changes of scene from mount Aetna to Xouthia (a place near Leontini), then again Aetna, Leontini and Syracuse, attempted to provide an aetiological legitimation of Greek (i.e. Dorian and Syracusan) dominion over these lands and their ancient inhabitants (Sicels and/or Chalcidian colonists).

(18) *Τεκμηριοῖ δὲ μάλιστα Ὅμηρος* **(Thuc. 1.3.3.1) – Extracting data**

History and Myth in Thucydides' Homer

Luigi De Cristofaro (University of Rome)

Thucydides' sentence suggests that he considered Homer as a historical source for the very ancient past, reporting the origin of the *Hellenes* stated at *Il.*2.684: Achilles' Myrmidons are identified with the *Hellenes* and *Achaioi*, so connecting the first Greeks to Thessaly, to Aeolic environments and components, both linguistic and genealogical.

Then he describes the early seminomadic state of the first populations on Greek mainland and coasts. They practiced piracy as a legal and honorable means in acquiring goods, and Thucydides connects this custom to the pre-Archaic world (1.5). His terminology strongly recalls some elements of Homer's language.

Finally, he refers to the Argive-Trojan cycle, alluding to pre-Doric Peloponnese and to actual Greek experiences in Anatolia, although embellished by poetry and myth (1.9-12).

These three points give rise to the question of whether it is possible to identify unintentional recording of real data within the epic traditions. The answer can be found in the linguistic analysis, the examination of the Homeric pieces, and the comparison with the ancient sources.

I refer here, respectively, to *Il.*2.681-694, to the Homeric texts where *ληΐς/ληΐζομαι* are found, to *Il.*6.119-236. These hexametric groups and sections are mostly made up of independent lines, arranged in regular and recurring modular blocks: a mark of oral-extemporaneous composition-in-performance, related to the early processing of Homer's *Songs*. The Hittite *Ahhiyawa Texts* confirm Greek experiences in LBA Anatolia and the connection to pre-Archaic environments.

These topics represent some exemplary cases in extracting historical evidences from myth, also showing Thucydides' effort in distinguish them.

(19) Narrative in Bacchylides 17

Malcolm Davies (University of Oxford)

Bacchylides 17 has sometimes been thought to reflect contemporary historical issues (e.g. the founding of the Delian League, Ionian vs Athenian). I argue that instead it takes over from folktale the story pattern of a hero's 'preliminary adventure' with an ambivalent helper figure, an adventure which shows that the hero possesses the qualities which will allow him to succeed in his climactic adventure. The choice of preliminary rather than climactic adventure for subject-matter also anticipates a technique of Hellenistic poetry.

(20) (Plot)holes in the Wall and Hollow Horses

Ioannis Doukas (NUI Galway)

It goes without saying that the traditions about the Trojan Horse belong to the array of mythical narratives which rose to proverbial heights and subsequently acquired metaphorical uses.

In this paper, we are going to focus on both the literary sources, which originally dealt with the story of the Horse and provided specific technical details on its construction, and on classical scholarship, especially from the first half of the 20th century, which attempted to identify incongruities and reach tenable conclusions on the rationale behind the myth.

More specifically, we turn our attention to two Late Epic re-workings of the Trojan War, the *Posthomerica* by Quintus of Smyrna and the *Fall of Troy* by Triphiodorus, and analyze the passages containing the building of the Horse (QS 12.104-156 and Triph. 57-105) and the catalogue of heroes volunteering to enter it (QS 12.306-335 and Triph. 152-183).

We compare the passages between them, but also with potential common sources, and interpret their narrative deviations from each other under the light of poetic efforts for ekphrastic accuracy and an impression, at least, of credibility.

We also walk through a series of articles, published between 1925 and 1944 (see below), which discuss discrepancies in the above versions of the myth and attempt logical explanations on the ritual origins of the story and the logistics of the whole scheme as far as size, material and capacity were concerned.

Through these case-studies, we expect to demonstrate the shifting attitudes towards myth and its foundations, both in literary adaptations and scholarly analysis.

(21) Mythologizing Croesus in Bacchylides 3

Hanne Eisenfeld (Boston College)

Croesus, king of Lydia, saw his kingdom fall in the mid-sixth century BCE; some eighty years later, he headlined a mythical narrative in an epinician ode composed by Bacchylides for Hieron, tyrant of Syracuse. In that myth, the historical disaster of Croesus' defeat by Cyrus becomes the backdrop to an epinician celebration of Croesus' piety: thanks to the many dedications Croesus had made at Delphi, Apollo saves him from the pyre on which he had determined to end his life. Because Bacchylides uses the motif of Delphic dedication to explicitly associate Croesus with Hieron, also a frequent Delphic dedicator, the myth of Croesus has usually been read as an unproblematic projection of Hieron's praise (Crane, Segal). This interpretation, I argue, misses the tensions created by repackaging a recent historical figure to fit the contours of myth.

By mythologizing Croesus, Bacchylides invites Hieron – Croesus' potential analog - to reconsider his aspirations for his own posterity. An epinician ode, like a votive dedicated at a sanctuary, is an opportunity for self-fashioning, for crafting one's own enduring identity. Once Croesus has entered the mythical tradition, he is no longer defined by the *persona* he fashioned for himself, but rather becomes a poetic possession, available to be reshaped according to the needs of future mythmakers. Thus, Hieron's status as epinician *laudandus* – in contrast to Croesus' status as epinician myth - demonstrates Hieron's control over his own memory.

(22) Ἀρχαῖοι μῦθοι or λόγοι δυνάμενοι? The Mythical History and its Political Impact under the Argead Dynasty

Alejandro Díaz Fernández (University of Málaga)

According to a passage from Aeschines' speech *On the Embassy*, when Athenians sent a delegation to Philip to negotiate the peace in 346, the envoys defended the Athenian dominion over Amphipolis and the so-called Ἐννέα Ὁδοί by claiming that one of the sons of Theseus had received the land as the dowry of his wife. Aeschines nonetheless stresses that the embassy did not only adduce ἀρχαῖοι μῦθοι, but also more convincing arguments based on recent deeds (Aeschin. 2.31). Shortly after Aeschines was prosecuted by his role in the embassy, Speusippus, Plato's nephew and his successor as the director of the Academy, sent to Philip a controversial letter in which he justifies some of the recent conquests of the Macedonian king (Amphipolis included) by means of mythical stories that Speusippus defines as λόγοι δυνάμενοι τὴν σὴν ἀρχὴν ὠφελεῖν (Speus. *Phil.* 8), "strong arguments in support of your rule" (translation by A. F. Natoli, *The Letter of Speusippus to Philip*, Stuttgart, 2004, 107). Speusippus' asseveration clash with Aeschines' commentary, leading us to wonder about theactual value of themythical history in such controversies. The question is particularly relevant in the case of the Argead dynasty, whose kings repeatedly made use of the myth to draw the remote past of Macedonia and to support their political aspirations within the Greek world. In sum, this paper focuses on the use of the myth both in the historical narrative and in the political discourse by the Argead kings, from Alexander Philohelenus to the rise of Alexander the Great.

(23) PTSD in Herodotus: The Mythical Diagnosis of Epizelus

James Ford (University of Oxford)

The story of Epizelus (later Polyzelus) in Herodotus 6.117 'has puzzled commentators', says Lawrence Tritle in his article for the Cambridge Companion to Herodotus, 'some of whom ignore it, while others have misunderstood it'. Most of these 'commentators', including Tritle, have argued that Epizelus is the first recorded instance of anxiety-related battlefield trauma: Post Traumatic Stress Disorder or one of various related conditions like hysterical blindness or Conversion Disorder (in which otherwise unexplained neurological symptoms are traced back to a psychological trigger). Lack of consensus over the diagnosis taps into a more general issue over the validity of attempting to diagnose conditions using ancient mythic-historical texts like the Histories. Herodotus does not systematically record reliable facts about medical issues, so the usefulness of collecting these and using them to generate a diagnosis has been questioned. Partly in light of such difficulties of diagnosis in Herodotus, scholars have retreated from the idea that Epizelus' blinding is a historical occurrence. Nonetheless, it is still typical to value the episode as at least representative of a real phenomenon, if not a real event: the passage is usually treated as 'entirely credible'; yet the explanation that Epizelus gave, through Herodotus, appears to be 'quite irrational'. These distancing methods all attempt to make Herodotus a palatable historical document: they do not acknowledge the meaningful mythical and moral elements of the texts. Doing so allows for a completely different reading of the passage, compared with earlier ones that have focused on it as a record of historical battlefield trauma. This paper instead argues that by insisting on the significance of the mythical elements, we can read the Epizelus episode as a tale intended by Herodotus to teach a religious moral: that the gods were unknowable to mortal men.

(24) Artemis in Roman Crete: The Greek Past and the Roman Present

Jane Francis (Concordia University)

The worship of Artemis on Crete is attested by inscriptions from the third century BC and it continues well into the Roman era. At least eleven sites are claimed to have had shrines or temples to the deity, and she may also have formed part of the rituals to multiple deities in sacred caves. Statuary representations of Artemis are slower to appear, and a small group of only seven examples is known from sites across the island; these sculptures range in possible dates from the late first century BC through the fourth century AD, but most are clustered in the second century AD. An examination of these seven statues reveals much about the culture of Roman Crete. Three of the sculptures depict Artemis in a manner that overlaps with statues of Diktynna and Britomartis. These goddesses are affiliated with Artemis and by the Roman era have absorbed her fertility and nature qualities, and, although known throughout Greece, by the Roman period their main cult centers were on Crete, where they functioned as a major draw for religious tourism. These statues thus place Artemis in the realm of practiced religion, in a cultic context. The other four Artemis statues are more conventional in that they reproduce the compositions of replica series distributed throughout the Roman world and privilege the mythological context: the Artemis Versailles Type and the Artemis from the Niobids myth. These two groups of statues (one deriving from or influenced by local Cretan deities and the other relying on well-known, longstanding motifs from Greek art) demonstrate both a division and an intersection of Artemis' meaning on Crete. The more cosmopolitan, globalized version of the goddess may reflect non-Cretan patronage, perhaps to display connections with the broader world, while the more local Artemis, with echoes of more exotic Cretan deities, may indicate native pride, a desire to promote Cretan identity and origins, or even a more insular world view.

This paper investigates the Artemis statues from Roman Crete and places them in a cultural and ritual context, both within the island and within the broader eastern Mediterranean. Findspots and function are considered, as are the sculptures' artistic antecedents, chronologies, and material. This research can then demonstrate how images of a well-known deity can fulfill several social, cultural, and even political roles and elucidate Cretan attitudes towards the Greek past and the Roman present.

(25) Myth and History in Prayers in Performance

George W.M. Harrison (Carleton University)

Conflation of myth and history is a typical feature of prayers performed as part of religious festivals and in epinician odes. This paper looks at some Greek rituals, such as the Anthesteria at Athens for which some action (*opsis*) is known or can be reasonably inferred. A distinction is drawn among observances in which (1) there is participation by attendees in singing at least parts of the liturgy from (2) the showing/revealing of some sacred object by a priest who intones the service to a largely mute audience, from what is the primary focus of this paper, (3) rituals for which there must have been one or more people performing the action of the ritual. The role of Pindar, whose odes were composed for competitions within the religious framework of panhellenic sanctuaries in aggressively and knowingly blurring the boundaries between myth and history is raised as an adjunct to 'prayer in performance' because of the circumstances of the composition and first performance of his odes.

(26) The Legend of Palamedes in the Ancient Theatre. Historical Origins and Political Connotations

Eleni Karabela (University of Patras)

The legend of Palamedes belongs to the Trojan mythical cycle, although it is not mentioned even once in Homer. However, all three tragedians have used the myth in their own art to provide a path of individual self-awareness and political self-consciousness. In the Palamedes myth, it is not only the unjust murder of the wise benefactor which causes emotion, since his benefits are not recognized, and instead of returned favor he receives disgrace, absolute loneliness and death. Above all, it is envy, as a merciless force that nobody can resist, and which finds support in all sorts of human weaknesses. In the case of Euripides' *Palamedes,* in particular, as we have more fragments and the major context of the Trojan trilogy, as well as the exact historical context of its creation, we can trace the connections of the tragic myth to the painful reality of 415 BC, but also another sort of tragic situation, in which man is destroyed by his own cultural creation, when it is appropriated by immorality and pure selfishness.

(27) To be Buried or Not to be Buried? Civic Order, Athenian Legislation, and Sophocles' *Antigone*

Efimia Karakantza (University of Patras)

Sophocles' *Antigone* is an exceptional treatment of the myth of the Labdakids. For one thing, her overstressed role in the aftermath of the War of the seven against Thebes is probably the poet's invention. Second, her defiance of Creon, which influenced both Euripides and the later interpolator in the Aeschylean *Seven*, presupposes the prohibition of the burial of Polyneices, which was not attested up until the production of the Sophoclean play. The narrative, as we all know, deals with the prohibition of the burial of a traitor, as was also the case with Sophocles' *Ajax*, produced a few years earlier. My examination will place the story against the background of references to contemporary Athenian legislation dealing with high treason and to the harshness of punishment handed out to offenders. In all such cases there is an explicit prohibition of burial. In this light Creon's decree is 'politically correct' and his argument that the needs of the *polis* should be prioritised over those of the family chimes with democratic ideology. In stark contrast, Antigone, by violating Creon's decree threatens civic order, potentially reviving civic strife, which had been painfully restored only the night before the opening scene of the play. A final question will be raised, as to Sophocles' intention(s) in revisiting the 'hot' issue of the denial of burial that strikes at the heart of civic order.

(28) "Myth and History in the Libanius' Imperial Speeches"

Grammatiki Karla (National & Kapodistrian University of Athens)

Libanius, a 4th c. CE orator and rhetorician, wrote speeches which address Emperors Constantius and Constans, Julian and Theodosius. In these speeches myth and history are often employed to serve as rhetorical exempla. My study purports to examine first, how myth and history interlock (often inextricably) in the exempla narrative, and then, the position of these exempla within the speech structure, as well as their function and impact. I am particularly concerned to investigate whether myth and history operating through an exemplum simply work as figures of adornment (ornamenta) or essentially advance argumentation strategies; how they meet the intended audience expectations and what communicative function they serve.

(29) Domestic and Political Order in the 'Foundation Myths' of *Partheneia*

Vasiliki Kousoulini (University of Athens)

During the archaic and the early classical times, the clear division between myth and history did not exist. Ancient Greeks seem to recognize in myth the presence of historical memories of their past. Taking this fact into consideration, it is extremely attractive for a contemporary scholar to examine whether or not Greek lyric poetic production contains traces of the political and military history of a Greek *polis*, or in other words, if Greek lyric poetry could have played a part at the early stage in the development of Greek historiography. Foundation myths seem to contain narratives of the recent history of their *polis*. Foundation myths, particularly those about the beginnings of cities and societies, played an important role in the dynamics of identity construction and in the negotiation of diplomatic relationships between communities.

Foundation myths appeared in literature in different poetic genres, but choral poetry provided an excellent civic performative context well-suited to the ongoing reenactment and public negotiation of the story of a city's origins. Aristophanes seems to regard *partheneia* as a *genre* that could incorporate narratives of the origins of a city. Fragments of *partheneia* seem to contain myths dealing with violence between men, abduction, and rape of women. The aim of this paper is to demonstrate that in the existing fragmentary corpus of *partheneia* we can discover traces of myths that contain the history of the origins of many Greek cities. In these myths, it is implied that the domestic and political order are closely interwoven.

(30) The Nobles Have Never Yet Destroyed the City: Chronological Poetics of the *Theognidea*

Lawrence Kowerski (The City University of New York)

The *Theognidea*, as a collection of archaic Greek elegy, provides a unique opportunity for considering the way in which Greek sympotic song culture engages with the past, present and future along the terms we call myth and history. This engagement is signaled at the outset of the collection in the four hymns which open the collection. These hymns blend past, present and future time through expressions aimed at the generic future (1-4), the mythical past (5-10) and a general sense in which this past bears on the present. At the heart of this blending is the overall concern for how the past, as tradition, informs the present and creates a future existence in terms of literary memory and remembrance as is emphasized in the *sphragis* poem (19-38) and the famous claims by the poet to give Cyrnus immortality (237-54). The aim of this paper is to further explore how the opening section of *Theognidea* (1-254), though its generic aphorisms and bits of moralistic advice, presents a past, as tradition, in relation to a present as a means of generating memory in the future. This paper claims that this is a literary device that situates the collection in the symposia while also links the *Theognidea* to other elegiac verses that seem to meld the concepts of myth and history toward the end of creating poetic posterity such as the so-called new Simonides on Plataea (fr. 11W2) and the new Archillochius on Telephus and the Achaeans at Mysian.

(31) The Phoenix in the Propaganda of Imperial Rome: A Myth at the Service of History

Françoise Lecocq (University of Caen)

The myth of the phoenix, periodically dead and reborn, is as old as the historical genre: Herodotus evoked the wonderful bird of the Sun in the book of its investigation on Egypt. It had not many success in Greece: few texts, no images. But its legends preads and develops in Rome, in ethnography, scientific literature, and poetry, as well as in popular belief, on the walls of Pompeii. During the Empire, the theme of the return of the rare bird, as an augural sign of a new Golden Age, is often used in political propaganda at certain key dates: the death of an emperor, the beginning of a century, the anniversary of the Eternal City. The animal, supposed real and allegedly exhibited in the forum under Claudius, becomes an imperial symbol on the currencies, from the Antonines to the Constantinians and beyond; under Trajan, the historian Tacitus devotes a long note to the phoenix, which allows us to understand the choice, the context, and the success of this new official emblem, at the time of the return of a long astronomical cycle, the sothiac period, towards 140 CE. At the same time, the figure of the bird is adopted by Christianity, for different reasons, but not without rivalry, and one can see the phoenix summoned and integrated not only into politics, but also into religious history, as particularly evidenced by the two major poems of Lactantius and Claudian on this topic with antithetic values, a century apart.

(32) Seeking Agariste: A Herodotean Betrothal Myth Revisited

Olga Levaniouk (University of Washington)

Nothing is certain about the story of Agariste's betrothal in Herodotus except that it represents a puzzling mixture of history and myth. Almost every combination has been proposed, from essentially all myth to essentially all history, and everything in between. Does the oral tradition or Herodotus himself transmit a grain of truth cloaked in fancy? Does Cleisthenes model his actions on epic? Is this story a variation on the Indian fairytale of the Dancing Peacock, or a mythologized reflection of six-century interstate relationships? Or does this myth belong to fifth-century Athens?

I re-examine this story, taking into consideration several parameters that are rarely, if at all, brought into discussion. Cleisthenes' epic aspirations (real or mythic) can be viewed against other examples of such behavior (e.g. Alexander's emulation of Achilles). The question "Why choose *this* myth?" needs revisiting. Above all, the effacement of Agariste herself from Herodotus' tale has to be examined. The bride usually plays a larger role in such tales, including the Dancing Peacock. What does the absence not only of Agariste but of any interest in her say about the workings of Herodotus' narrative? The story of Agariste's betrothal is a test-case which brings into question the very categories of myth and history. I propose an analysis of their fusion and fission which takes into account the typology and distinct features of this story both (potentially) in the sixth century and at the time of narration when the distinction between history and myth begins to emerge.

(33) Myth, Memory, Massacre:

Reinterpreting an Elegiac Lament from Archaic Ambracia (*SEG* 41.540A)

Ephraim Lytle (University of Toronto)

This paper interprets through the lens of mythical geography a sixth-century BC monument from Ambracia that comprises perhaps our most important evidence for the history of the Corinthian colony and its relationship to the indigenous Epirotes during the Archaic period. The monument included an epitaph consisting of five elegiac couplets lamenting the death of four Ambraciots at the hands of the "sons of the Pyrhaeboi" while accompanying an embassy (Andreou [1991]; Mattheou [1993]; Bousquet 1992; Cassio 1994; D'Alessio 1995). Although the inscription has been much discussed by scholars interested in the development of elegy and epigram (e.g. Day 2007; Passa 2008; Faraone 2008; Bowie 2010), its historical context has received less attention. Recent discussions follow a standard interpretation whereby the city, beset by marauding transhumant pastoralists, was unable to guarantee the security of citizens travelling between the *polis* and its port (Bousquet 1992; Cassio 1994; Randone 2013).

That interpretation, which assumes the historical reality of the inscription's Pyrhaeboi and identifies them both with the Homeric Perhaeboi mentioned in the *Catalogue of Ships* (*Il.* 748-52) and with populations of Perrhaeboi attested only east of the Pindus in the Classical period, is implausible for a range of reasons. I argue rather that the poem's "sons of the Pyrhaeboi" marks a deliberate and careful deployment of a mythical geography intended to locate the massacre in the region of Dodona. Every feature of both text and monument can be better explained by positing that the Ambracians died while escorting a Corinthian delegation to the oracle of Dodona.

(34) The Myth of Troy turned into History: Thucydides' Archaeology

Nanno Marinatos (University of Illinois)

Surprisingly enough, the so-called rationalist Thucydides takes the Trojan war very seriously as an important event that occurred during the early history of Greece. He analyses Agamemnon's strategic decisions meticulously, exactly as one might expect from him since he was a general. And his analysis indicates that he had thought of the Trojan war as an expedition similar to the Athenian expedition to Sicily of 415.

As well, Thucydides addresses the issue of what established memory in the minds of men: is it monuments or stories?

(35) Arsinoe among the Nymphs.

Myth, History and Power in School Texts from Ptolemaic Egypt

Chiara Meccariello (University of Göttingen)

In this paper I investigate the presence of mythological and historical contents, their intersection, and their relationship with the broader cultural and political environment in Greek school texts from the Hellenistic period. My primary focus is on P. Cairo JE 65445, a papyrus roll from third-century BCE Egypt, which happens to be the earliest extant school textbook in Greek, and one of the best preserved. The roll contains heterogeneous material, seemingly in order of difficulty, including two passages of Euripides, a Homeric passage and two Hellenistic epigrams (on a fountain featuring a statue of Arsinoe among the Nymphs, and on a shrine of Homer dedicated by Ptolemy IV).

Leveraging this rich material, I elucidate three main strategies informing the educational project of the roll, namely: 1) the use of poetry that either immortalizes the presence of myth in the contemporary landscape (epigrams) or alludes to the mythical past of places relevant to recent policies (Homer); 2) the use of texts highlighting the assimilation of historical and mythical figures in religious cult (epigrams); 3) the use of mythological literature as a source of moral values particularly relevant to Ptolemaic political propaganda (Euripides).

On these grounds, I demonstrate that myth and (recent) history, and their blending, were used to portray and disseminate among students a moral and religious landscape in which several policies of the Ptolemies resonated. Ultimately, in school practices of the third century BCE, mythicized history and historically relevant myth appear to have concurred in legitimizing Ptolemaic power.

The Case of the Tyrannicides and the Marathonomachoi

Marion Meyer (University of Vienna)

Harmodios and Aristogeiton who slew one of Peisistratos' sons in 514 BC and the Athenians who defeated the Persian invaders in 490 BC were, according to the modern definition, historical persons. Their achievements, however, soon became "founding myths" that helped to constitute an identity of "the Athenians". We do not know when exactly the statues of the Tyrannicides made by the sculptor Antenor were erected and what they looked like. The focus of the paper will be on the decade after the end of the Persian wars, when the replacement of both statues looted by Xerxes was among the first public activities of the demos after the Persian sack and when the men who had won the battle of Marathon were glorified as the prime examples of war heroes. The Tyrannicides and the Marathonomachoi have in common that they were constructed as the ultimate fighters for freedom. It will be analyzed why the second statue group of Harmodios and Aristogeiton, known by later illustrations and Roman copies, was designed the way it was, and why the celebration of the defenders of Athens concentrated on the hoplites who had fought at Marathon (and continued to do so). This will throw light on the Athenians´ perspective on and interest in "history".

(37) Myth, History, and the Indomitable In-Between: How Mythology has shaped Thessalian History and Archaeology

Kristen Millions (University of Oxford)

In the 6th c. B.C., the semi-mythical figure, Aleuas the Red of Larisa, divided Thessaly into four distinct *tetrads*. The three most powerful cities of these tetrads were Larisa and Pherae in Pelasgiotis and Pharsalos in Pthiotis. During this period, the power structure in Thessaly was divided between several aristocratic families, which allowed for a very complex and tumultuous political, economic and social structure. Among these families were the Aleuads of Larisa, the Skopads of Krannon, and the Echekratidae, Menonids and Daochids of Pharsalos. As for the regions surrounding the tetrads of Thessaly (*periokoi*), they seem to have been closely tied to the region of Thessaly as either economic dependents, allies, or even subjects, though they were not ethnically Thessalian.

As much of what we know of Thessaly is myth- historical in nature, we cannot be certain whether what is presented as 'history' are actual historical events which took place, or if they have been meaningfully construed for underlying political or sociological reasons. These relationships between elite families, regions, and *ethne* result in a very rich fabric of Thessalian society, as well as a fierceness to remain inextricably linked to the ancient past. This is reflected both in ancient displays of monumental architecture, as well as modern practices in the region. This paper will take an in depth look at the relationship between ancient mythology and legitimization in the region of Thessaly, and ways in which people use mythological history to form the human landscape which surrounds them.

(38) The Macedonian Foundation Myth and the Creation of Identities: A Post-Colonial Critique

Orestes Mitintzis (King's College London)

The older version of the foundation myth of the Macedonian kingdom, or the Macedonians themselves as a historical entity, is provided by Herodotus. According to his narration three brothers, Perdikkas, Aeropus and Gauanes, descendants of Temenos, after a period of wondering, settle in a place called 'Gardens of Medas' and they found the city of Aegae, which will eventually become the capital of the Macedonian Kingdom (Herodotus 8.137-138). In the process of expanding their kingdom the three brothers expatriate the local tribes of the surrounding territory establishing their kingdom. The story, probably narrated to Herodotus when he visited the royal court of the king Perdikkas the II, is assumed to represent the official foundation narrative of the Macedonian Kings themselves. Many researchers today, following the old scholarly tradition tend to take the story at a face value, failing to recognize what social sciences have taught us regarding incidences of ethnogenesis, tribal identities and cultural history. In this paper I stress the role of post-colonial discourses on our understanding of identities and how a more in depth reading of the Macedonian foundation myth can provide a meaningful understanding of the Macedonian identity and early history. Archaeological information from the ever-expanding number of Macedonian sites seems to validate the aforementioned case.

(39) Mythical History and Historical Myths on the Acropolis of Athens: The Case of the Erechtheion

Ioannis Mitsios (University of Athens)

The Acropolis of Athens formed the religious centre of the city. From all the temples and sanctuaries on the Acropolis, the Erechtheion was undoubtedly the most important of all; for there was placed the sacred xoanon of the goddess, a sacred relic of the distant past. Besides Athena, on the Erechtheion (and its wider area) several other Gods and Heroes received cult, including Erechtheus, Boutes, Hephaistos, Pandrosos and Kekrops.

The Parian Marble dates the kingship of Kekrops, the first mythical king of Athens, during 1581/0 B.C. The discovery of five child tombs, dated to Middle Helladic/Late Helladic I, of the same era (circa 1600/1500 B.C.), in the wider area of Erechtheion, indicates a close association (and interaction) between mythology, topography and history. In fact, the archaeological findings have been interpreted by some scholars as proofs of the historicity of the mythological traditions.

On this paper we will examine the intersection between mythology and history/archaeology; more specifically the tradition related to the early kings of Attica, and the topography of the Erechtheion (and its surrounding area). Were the prehistoric ruins traces of the mythological past or the visual engagement with the prehistoric remains gave birth to the myths? Our examination will have a multidisciplinary approach, taking into consideration the philological (literary sources, studies on ancient Greek religion), historical (epigraphic), as well as the archaeological evidence (iconography and topography).

(40) *Mythos*, *Logos*, Love, Slavery in Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*

William Owens (Ohio University)

In Longus, *mythos* indicates pleasurable fiction in contrast to an actual account, or *logos*. Thus, Daphnis and Chloe regard Philetas' account of the epiphany of Eros as *mythos* rather than *logos* because it gave them so much pleasure (2.7.1). Still, Longan *mythos* contains "higher truths than mere fact" regarding love and the human condition (Morgan 2004) and is no less true and useful than *logoi* such as Thucydidean history, from which the mythological element (Thuc. 1.22.4, τὸ μυθῶδες) is excluded. In announcing that his novel would be "a delightful possession" (Pr. 3, κτῆμα τερπνόν) of use to anyone who was, is, or will be in love, Longus rejects the historian's false choice between pleasure and utility (Cueva 2004).

However, the "higher truths" of Longan *mythos* obscure other truths, ones that involve social domination and exploitation. Pan's rescue of Chloe from slavery (and rape) because Eros intended "to create a myth about her" (2.27.2), diverts attention from the peasants seized with her (2.20.1), who remain as slaves until their forced return (3.2), characters in another story, a Thucydidean *logos*, perhaps, about the fortunes of war. Each of the inserted tales is a *mythos* that obscures the destruction of a young woman through the pleasure it affords its audience.

Finally, Longus has created a *mythos* for Daphnis' slavery, whose life was full of love and pleasure despite its hard work, scarcity, and occasional peril. Here is another aspect of the utility of Longan *mythos*, the masking and justification of power relations.

(41) Myth, History and Politics:

Exploring the Role of the Past in Hellenistic Peloponnesos

Manolis Pagkalos (University of Leicester)

This paper discusses the ways ancient societies would use their past, recent or mythical, real or constructed, for the articulation of claims of present political power. The focus is set on the region of Peloponnesos, which was the theatre of major events during the Hellenistic period. More specifically, I will examine events that unfolded in temporal and regional proximity, to showcase the central role of the past for decision-making and the deep understanding that members of the elite possessed for its potential.

In 281/0, four Achaian *poleis,* Dyme, Patrai, Tritaia and Pharai formed the Achaian League (Plb. 2.41). The (re)formed *Koinon* is connected to the first Achaian League by Polybios, surrounded by a narrative of democracy and unity. This political act coincides with the formation ofan alliance against the Aitolians who occupied Delphoi (280; Just. 24.1). The Spartans, under Areus I (c. 309-265), not only succeeded in reviving a large alliance in Peloponnesos but were also accepted as its leaders – a traditional *topos* for the *polis*– and, once more, wore the mantle of protectors of the sacred land of Delphoi. Both the Spartans and the Achaians, diverse as they were, largely depended on the past not only for the establishment or solidification of a certain identity but in actual political practices.

By focusing on the above case-studies and exploring epigraphic, numismatic and historiographical evidence, the paper demonstrate show ancient societies used myths to consolidate their status and, vice versa, how these myths were, in turn, seen as history, especially when a historian could narrate them.

(42) Nectanebo II and Philip II in Mythic Disguise:

Comedy's Burlesque of History

Athina Papachrysostomou (University of Patras)

It is the current scholarly belief that in Middle Comedy myth and contemporary reality are inextricably intertwined. The traditional myth is comically distorted and accordingly presented in an adapted version that abounds in comic burlesque, twists, and unexpected turns. The present paper studies two cases from the surviving corpus of Ephippus (a Middle Comedy playwright), where contemporary historical figures are presented in mythic, albeit recognisable, disguise: (i) in the play *Busiris* Ephippus uses the mythical persona of the title-figure as a disguise for the Egyptian pharaoh Nectanebo II, and (ii) in his *Geryon* the Macedonian king Philip II can be identified as the historical equivalent of the mythical title-figure. The paper explores the political ramifications and all other implications resulting from Comedy's amalgamation of contemporary history and mythical tradition.

(43) The Interplay of Historical and Mythical Narrative Inside and Outside Roman epic

Michael Paschalis (University of Crete)

Roman Republican epic, starting with Gnaeus Naevius' *Bellum Poenicum* on the First Punic War and continuing with Quintus Ennius' *Annales* on the Second Punic War, remained historical throughout and used mythical and legendary material to bridge contemporary events with the Trojan origins of Rome in a linear, chronological fashion. This narrative model changed in the Augustan Age with Virgil's *Aeneid*, where the mythical origins of Rome became the main narrative and Roman history was incorporated in the form of digressions (Jupiter's prophecy in Book 1; parade of heroes in Book 6;*ekphrasi*s of Aeneas' shield in Book 8).The paradigm shift enabled Virgil on the one hand to exploit the enormous flexibility and literary depth of mythical narrative (like Homer and Apollonius) and on the other to fuse history and myth in the sense that Aeneas was considered not only the founding father of Rome but also the ancestor of the ruling Julian family. This kind of interplay between historical and mythical epic narrative can be seen also outside the genre itself, as for instance in the context of lyric or elegiac *recusatio* (= refusal to write epic and promotion of short non-epic poems, a convention inherited from Callimachus). Among the numerous variations of *recusatio* there are those who set *arma* (heroic or martial epic) against *amor* (entailing also mythological subjects); others where martial and mythological epic are juxtaposed as alternative representatives of the same generic index; and even cases where *recusatio* is subverted altogether, as in 4.15, the last of Horace's *Odes*. In this Ode the generic game between historical / mythological epic and lyric, between exclusion and inclusion becomes uncommonly intricate: the poet begins with a *recusatio* of epic narrating Augustus' military achievements; proceeds with an encomium of the ruler's peaceful achievements, which resulted from and are secured by military power, and a backward look at the rise of Rome from humble beginnings to world power; and concludes the poem by singing at a banquet the Trojan origins of Rome and of the *gens Iulia*. In short, a miniature lyric form houses a novel interplay between historical and mythical epic and the disguised subversion of *recusatio* itself.

(44) Pelops and the Peloponnese:

A Longstanding Rationalization and its Critique

András Patay-Horváth (Eötvös Loránd University)

All the extant ancient sources agree that the name of the Peloponnese was taken tomean the island of Pelops, a mythical ancestor of the Atreids. The problem is, however, that island names with a similar structure (noun + nesos) never contain the name of an important mythical person, but very often that of an animal. Starting from this observation, it is argued that Pelops originally denoted an animal, the aurochs or wild ox, which became extinct already during the Early Iron Age. This idea is also corroborated by the comparative analysis of the mythical tales concerning the human Pelops and by the archaeological finds from Olympia, the most important cult centre of Pelops.

(45) *Βραχέως τε καὶ τοῖς χρόνοις οὐκ ἀκριβῶς ἐπεμνήσθη* (Thuc. I 97)

or Hellanicos' and Thucydides' Conflicting Concepts of Myth and History

Théo Polychronis (Aix-Marseille University)

It is easy to overlook the significance of Thucydides' criticism of Hellanicos' and of his methods in I 97, all the more so since the latter's work has not survived and it is therefore difficult to verify whether Thucydides' objections are well-founded or not. And yet, both this remark and the criticism of the λογογράφοι expressed at I 21 are indicative of two divergent views about the relation of myth to history in these two author's works.

Furthermore, although the relationship between Herodotus and Thucydides have been analyzed in detail, very little attention has been given to Thucydides' relation and reaction to Hellanicos' *Atthis*.

We will therefore analyse Thuc. I 97 so as to understand why Thucydides accuses Hellanicos of having dealt with Athenian history "*βραχέως τε καὶ τοῖς χρόνοις οὐκ ἀκριβῶς*". Our objective will be to highlight the possible ways of interpreting this phrase in order to understand how mythical genealogy and the recent Athenian past were interwoven and organized in Hellanicos' Atthis, how his work could have influenced Thucydides and why, in the end, he was so dissatisfied with it.

(46) Popular Histories

Anna Potamiti (University of Patras)

In their quest for "truth", ancient historians, as well as other writers, distance themselves and their work from popular stories pertaining to events dealt with in their own historical narrative. They disregard such stories, either by omitting them altogether after a brief mention of their existence or, if they choose to include them in their work, they juxtapose their own, it is implied, carefully investigated and, therefore, "correct" version. It is suggested, or stated explicitly, that popular stories are untrustworthy, not least because they often contain fanciful elements or elements that are not amenable to verification. Such elements blur the relation of popular stories to reality, thus undermining their validity as historical sources and consigning them to the realm of myth.

However, people tell stories in which they project, shape, sustain and transmit their own perception of history, shaped by their own experiential realities. Many historical truths are thus forged in informal narratives in the sundry contexts of everyday interaction, truths that are as persistent as are historians' efforts to dispel them – witness the Harmodius tradition.

An investigation of vehicles of oral, non-institutionalized narrative such as popular songs, proverbs, jokes, personal stories etc., is bound to be revealing of undercurrents of historical experience that historians would probably reject as fabulous but for many a layman that would be the only history they would ever know.

(47) The Herodotean Myth on the Origin of the Scythians

Jordi Redondo (University of Valencia)

As known not only among the scholars, but also among all the readers of the Herodotean Histories, its texts do not exclude the insertion of mythical narrations. Some of them are especially attractive, for they do not come from the own Greek tradition but are taken from other sources. In this case we could have in mind a Greek historian and mythographer, but also a comparatist interested in whatever mythical tradition. The boundaries between history and mythography are here involved and mixed with a second frame, that defined by the intrication of Greek and non-Greek culture. This entanglement is much deeper and stronger in those territories shared by Greek colonists and the former owners of the land. This paper will deal with the mythical tale on the foundation of the Scythian nation. We will show the indebtment of our author with mythical motifs already known to the literary Greek culture, as well as his endeavour for presenting an accurate report on such a difficult subject. As the object of our research is the question of how history and myth interacted in the ancient world, we will check all the information given by Herodotus with data of very different kind, e.g. the archaeological sources. The result of this comparison will bring a tenable representation of the historical techniques displayed by Herodotus.

(48) Myth, History, and Argumentation in Demosthenes' *On the False Embassy*

Sandra Lúcia Rodrigues da Rocha (University of Brasília)

In his speech *On the False Embassy* Demosthenes makes an accusation of corruption against Aeschines, who allegedly received bribes from Phillip during an embassy sent to the Macedonian King in 346 B.C. When the case is brought to court approximately three years after this embassy, Demosthenes – in the first half of the speech –attempts to revive jurors' memory about recent Athenian history. The second half contains large quotations of poetry – Sophocles' *Antigone* and a Solon's poem – as examples of figures from the past that the Athenians had punished for corruption. This part of the speech has been considered by scholars as inessential to prove Aeschines' guilt or as containing common cross-genre devices to illustrate Aeschines' reproachable behaviour. In this paper I argue that the quotations of poetry play a more important role in the speech: they resonate old and still idealised patterns of Athenian ethics through their references to mythical characters, especially when considered in parallel to the historical figures' names. In so doing, the references to myth and history build on the general ethical appeal that already appears in the first half of the speech, in which Aeschines' corruption and betrayal are severely and directly criticized. I suggest, based on the relationship we can extract from Aristotle's views on rhetoric, ethics and politics, that such a general appeal, based on idealised ethics, is much more relevant for persuasion in Greek politics than it has been usually assumed; much more so regarding the speech *On the False Embassy* that pertains to a political trial.

(49) Religio Instrumentum Belli: The Perspective of a General

Stefano Rozzi (Catholic University of Eichstätt – Ingolstadt)

In the last two chapters of his *Strategemata*, after a long presentation of various tactics and techniques of war, Frontinus focuses his attention on one of the more important things in the hands of the generals: the soldiers. The author seems to be aware that to win a battle it is necessary to keep up the moral of the troops and in this context the generals' ethical boundaries appear rather evanescent. To what extent can a commander lie about the Gods? How much can a man challenge destiny?

Through the reading of selected *exempla* drawn from the *Strategemata*, I shall analyse the importance of religion and superstition in various armies of the Ancient World and their influence over the battle, starting with the faked sacrifices of Alexander the Great, up to the complicated relation between Sertorius and his barbaric troops, with a special focus on the figures of the *Dioscuri* on the battlefields. By narrating these episodes, Frontinus, not only demonstrates his high education and knowledge of the art of warfare, but also presents himself as a *proto*-psychologist of the military crowds. War, religion, superstition, myth, ethics and aims, emotions and duties all play a part in this work, redefining each other and highlighting the thin line between right and wrong, as well as holy and profane.

(50) Searching for the Golden Age in Roman 'Real' History

Biagio Santorelli (University of Genoa)

No ancient genre was expected to be closer to reality than satire; and no Roman satiric poet claimed to be describing the contemporary everyday life more than Juvenal: indeed, in the opening of his first satire, Juvenal states that he was pushed into this genre precisely by the disgust for the mythological poems that everybody was composing in Rome. Based on this premise, one would expect that Juvenal would refrain from exploiting the traditional repertoire of Greco-Roman myths; instead, mythology is a pervasive presence in his satires, including those most concerned with the criticism of contemporary society.

Juvenal's exploitation of mythology is a long-debated scholarly issue. In my paper, I will focus on the role of mythology in Juvenal's program of social criticism. I will explore what myths are mostly exploited by the satirist, in what perspective they are interpreted, and what particular meaning they may assume in the criticism of the Rome of 2nd-century AD, as depicted by Juvenal. I aim at showing that Juvenal uses some specific mythological traditions (and especially those he was exposed to in his school training) as a 'golden' term of comparison for the morality of his own times: while the vices of everyday life seem to have brought into reality the worst nightmares of the tragic poets, Juvenal is convinced that at least some places and times of the real history have retained a spark of the mythological golden age.

(51) Acerba Fata Romanos Agunt

Unraveling Rome's Mytho-Historic Foundations: Born to Live or Doomed to Fail?

Katharina-Maria Schön (University of Vienna)

'Bloody' and 'bestial' are two adjectives that might come to our minds when we think of the foundational myth of Rome. The story of the agonistic twin brothers, their upbringing by a she-wolf and their brutal strife to found a new city has received a lot of attention by renowned ancient authors, including Vergil, Horace, Livy, Ovid and Plutarch. My contribution aims at shedding light on different facets and versions of the historical myth of Romulus and Remus, its connections to concepts of the *bellum iustum*, its anchorage in Roman collective memory – for instance via its ritualistic corroboration in the *Lupercalia* (*Fasti* 2.267-452) –, its mytho-historical exploitation to justify the imperial hereditary lineage (*Aeneid* 8.342-654), or its reference as *exemplum* in rhetorical and/or philosophical treatises (e.g. Cicero, *De Re Publica* 2.10-26 and Seneca, *Epistulae Morales* 108.31). Evidence from Roman historians like Livy suggests that they treated the tale not as comparable to history, but truly as history (*Ab urbe condita* 1.4), thus blurring the border between the literary categories of *fabula*/*historia*. By cunningly inscribing details of the 'myth' into Rome's topography, Livy augments the probability of its historical roots and creates a story with bestseller potential. I shall argue that the tale of Romulus and Remus received a diverse assessment due to its adaptable nature, its malleable symbolism and the various argumentative contexts in which it was employed. The final section of my contribution will glimpse at the broad reception which Romulus and Remus received in Neo-Latin literature (e.g. Petrarch).

(52) Hiero II's Propaganda Policy in his Kingdom

Paolo Daniele Scirpo (University of Athens)

One of the protagonists of the history of Syracuse and whole of Sicily was certainly Hiero II, king of Syracuse more than fifty years, to whom we owe the birth of a small kingdom, perfectly inserted in the network of relations between the major Hellenistic monarchies of Eastern Mediterranean. One of the best tools that Hiero used widely was his political propaganda, based on 'myths' and supposedly glorious ancestors. The support of religion has also contributed to forming that positive image that has preserved about him in History, the traces of which appear in its contemporary monuments and artistic expressions. Following the example from Alexander's *diadochi*, Hiero proclaimed himself successor of the Deinomenid Gelo, and created a dynasty that only Syracusians' violent reaction to the underlying danger of the end was abruptly extinguished by drowning her in the blood.

(53)   The Introduction of the Mother of the Gods at Athens: History or Myth?

Richard Seaford (University of Exeter)

At some point in the fifth century BCE the "Mother of the Gods" was introduced into Athens. It was narrated that a *μητραγύρτης* came to Attica and initiated the women into the mysteries of the goddess, whereupon the Athenians killed him by throwing him into a pit. When a plague ensued, an oracle was received telling the Athenians to appease the murdered man. This they did by building a Bouleuterion in which they placed the *μητραγύρτης* and set up a statue of him, consecrating the place to the goddess.

The exotic rejection, plague, and oracle are typical of the aetiological myth of cult. But the introduction of the cult was a historical event. Scholars have therefore disagreed about the whether the narrative is history or myth. It is worth comparing it to other similar narratives (for instance the *Bacchae*, or the introduction of the same goddess (Cybele) at Rome). We should also try to imagine the inevitable tension between anxiety (about divine reprisal for rejection) and hostility towards the surreptitious arrival of new deities in a city. I suggest that the availability of a basic mythical paradigm was useful not only in eventually welcoming the deity but also in accommodating initial hostility with the reassurance that - if there were divine reprisals - they could eventually be overcome by the establishment of the cult. This might then be an interesting example of a mythical paradigm shaping a historical event.

(54) The End of *Trachiniae*: Intentional Silence or Innocent Omission?

Gesthimani Seferiadi (University of Patras)

With my presentation, I will attempt to delve into the intricate notions of Myth and History through presenting the dilemma emerging at the end of Sophocles' *Trachiniae*. More specifically, at the end of the drama we are watching a paradoxical funeral procession with Herakles being transferred at the highest top of the mountain Oeta, where he is to be delivered alive in a ritual fire. This vague ending has caused a serious debate with scholars being divided into those that argue for Sophocles creating an open-ended closure and alluding to the widespread version of Herakles' apotheosis from the pyre, and those that oppose this prospect and interpret the end of the drama *per se* without resorting to extra-dramatic hints. I intend to explore the possibility of an ending that is directing the audience towards the worship of the hero, and consequently the aetiological relationship of the myth with the historical fact of the cults in the hero's honor, which were extremely common throughout Attica.

(55) Marginal Remarks on the Concept of "Time of Origins" in Classical Greek Culture

Chiara Di Serio (University of Rome La Sapienza)

Starting from the definition of 'sacred time' formulated by M. Eliade in his *Traité d'histoire des religions* (Paris 1948) and developed by many other historians of religions, including in particular the representatives of the Roman school, R. Pettazzoni and A. Brelich, this research aims at establishing how this conceptualization works. Considering cases taken from the mythical Greek heritage, it is possible to deal with the correlation between the sacred time of the origins and the historical time and to illustrate the mechanism through which mythical narratives give value to historical reality. Moreover, one can go even further by reflecting on other aspects of the Greek (but also Roman, and Western) cultural tradition where history itself is perceived as a myth: the transmission of an image – through narrative discourses – that gives meaning to the values shared by the collective memory of a people.

(56) *ὑμετέρη ἀρχῆθεν γενεή*:Intertwining the Mythical Past with the Historical Present in Rhianus' Epic Fragments

Manolis Spanakis (University of Crete)

Rhianus of Crete is a Hellenistic epic poet and grammarian of the second half of the third century BC. Foundation stories and cult origins along with mythical *aetia* run across Rhianus' ethnographical poetry. Harder (Callimachus, *Aetia* [2012, 25]) claims that as "the world became larger the need for a shared Greek past became stronger as well". Both genealogy and aetiology leap from the crucial beginning, whether legendary founder or one-time ritual event, to the present, with a tendency to elide all time in between. The powerful aetiological drive of Rhianus' ethnography works to break down the distance and to problematize the nature of epic time. In Rhianus' aetiologies we find a strong connection between the narrative present and the mythical past as a "betrayal" of the Homeric tradition. The absolute devotion of the past in Homer collapses in Rhianus' aetiology, where we find a sense of cultural continuation. In the *Achaica* (fr. 13 Powell) Rhianus recalls Apis' genealogy and the foundation of Apia (Peloponnese)alludes to the revival of the Achaean League by Aratus of Sicyon in 251 BC. In the *Eliaca* (fr. 21 P.) *Λαπέρσα* recalls the mythical origins of a city conquered by the Dioscuri and Amythaon (fr. 24 P.) alludes to the foundation of the Olympic Games. In the *Thessalica* (fr. 25 P.) Rhianus mentions different names that Thessaly successively had (*ἐξαῦτις ... αὖ*) through the mythical ages and the mythical figure of Neoptolemus recalls the later establishment of Pyrrhus Molossus in Epirus (cf. *Thess.* frr. 27-28 P.). Finally, in the *Messeniaca* (fr. 55 P.) Elaion and Lykos are quoted as a proof of the existence of the mysteries at Andania and the cult of Black Demeter is tied to the re-foundation of Messene in 369 BC. In conclusion, I propose that Rhianus chooses places and myths that Greeks of the third century BC, and especially immigrants to Egypt, Syria or Italy, would enjoy reading because they reminded them of mainland Greece and of their Greek identity.

ὑμετέρη ἀρχῆθεν γενεή:

(57) Mythical History and Historical Myth in Pausanias' *Periegesis.* The Case of the Foundation of the *polis* of Patras

Kerasia Stratiki (Hellenic Open University)

A first reading of the narration provided by *Periegesis* regarding the foundation of the city of Patras suggests that Pausanias divides the city's ancient history into two periods; the foundation of the three settlements of Aroe, Antheia and Messatis signals the first period, while that of the city of Patras the second. These historic periods are symbolically portrayed through the deeds of local heroes, including Eumelos, the first indigenous king and founder of the three settlements, and Patreus, the hero-founder of the city. A meticulous study on the account by Pausanias might as well lead the reader to a different conclusion; the writer agrees to two periods in the ancient history of the city of Patras, recognizing, at the same time, two periods with regard to the city's origins; its foundation by the Achaeans and the founding of a roman colony in the city by Augustus. Likewise, the historic periods are symbolically manifested through the deeds of local heroes, such as Patreus and his father Preugenes, and Eurypylus, an epic hero who introduced a new cult in Patras. Augustus acted similarly later on. Augustus is identified with the three heroes as a foreign founder of the city, which has now acquired roman status, bringing, in the same way like his predecessors, something new to it, respecting, however, its past and traditions. Offering us the most solid testimony of the origins of the city of Patras, Pausanias begins his account in his usual way with a reference to the city's most distant past.

(58) *Hiketeia* and *Asylia* in Ancient Greek Mythical and Political Thought

Ariadni Tatti – Eleni Alexandri – Stergiani Tzirvitsi
(University of Ioannina)

The questions on the boundaries between myth and history are part of a wider discussion, which, at first reading, could be regarded as a purely political issue. Thus, in the context of the international interest in the granting of asylum and the integration of migrants and refugees in host societies, our paper aims to highlight some aspects of *hiketeia* (supplication) and *asylia* (asylum) in Ancient Greece and to present the ways of interaction of mythical narratives and political decisions regarding those issues.

More specifically, we will attempt to investigate the mythical and historical parameters in the supplication and asylum seeking scenes in the context of Ancient Greece thought and especially in the tragic plays and the Attic oratory.

The immigrants, refugees or asylum seekers are people who "approach, asking for protection and help. The literary evidence shows that the granting of asylum, accompanied by the corresponding ritual acts, has been at the heart of tragic inspiration, and that dramatic poetry is filled with suppliants: e.g. Aeschylus' *The Suppliants*, Sophocles,' *Oedipus Tyrannus*, Euripides', *Herakles*, *Heracleidae*, *Medea*. Regarding the oratory, there are also many cases such as Isocrates' *Plataicus*, "the longest record of any act of ancient supplication" a discourse that could have been delivered by a Plataean official before the Assembly in Athens. The terms and the procedures also appear in the corpus of Demosthenes, Aeschines, Lysias, Andocides, Lykourgos, where we find informations on the institutional framework, legislation and political processes.

However, the institution of *hiketeia* and *asylia*, had not taken a definitive form till the 4th c. BC. and the full legal process remains unclear. It is often noted that the dimension between legal and mythical thought is at the same time large and small. The examination, therefore, of the "stages" of supplication and asylum seeking, the terminology, the rhetorical framework, the legal framework, the circumstances, as well as the acceptance or the rejection, highlight the coexistence, incisions and common plots of myth with reason, written and unwritten law, mythology and history.

(59) Myth at the Foundation: Building Identities in Magna Graecia

Mark Thatcher (Boston College)

The Greek settlement of southern Italy in the 8th century BC lies at the boundary between myth and history. Centuries later, a number of stories purported to describe the foundation of these cities. But what can we learn from the narratives of, for example, Myscellus' visit to Delphi before founding Croton and Leucippus' trick that enabled the foundation of Metapontion? Some scholars have read them as essentially historical, valuable insofar as they preserve a kernel of truth (Graham, Malkin), while others see them as purely literary constructs (Dougherty, Calame). By contrast, recent work by Jonathan Hall, and Naoise Mac Sweeney, among others, has shown the value of understanding foundation stories as myths, which express the values and concerns of the communities that retold them. So what work exactly did foundation myths perform in southern Italy? This paper examines this question through case studies of two *poleis* in Magna Graecia and their founders.

Two stories about Myscellus, the founder of Croton, incorporate key distinguishing features of the *polis* – its geography, its athletic success, and the fame of its doctors – as a way of articulating a uniquely Crotoniate *polis* identity. At Metapontion, meanwhile, two competing stories of its foundation intervene in fifth-century territorial disputes, using different claims about the city's origins to place it in different relationships with other nearby cities. Thus, foundation myths helped Italian Greeks unify their local communities and situate themselves in the wider world.

(60) Cyclical Time and History in Seneca's *Naturales Quaestiones*

Christopher Trinacty (Oberlin College)

Seneca concludes the third book of his *Naturales Quaestiones* with a tour de force description of a catastrophic flood that will destroy the human race in the near future. Through quotations of Ovid and intertexts with Vergil's *Eclogues* 4, Seneca makes his flood emblematic of the idea of eternal recurrence – a Stoic conception of the cosmos in which events are destined to repeat in a fixed manner *ad infinitum.* My paper considers this Stoic conception of time within Seneca's *Naturales Quaestiones* and the ramifications of such a theory on myths such as the flood of Deucalion and Vergil's Golden Age, as well as what it means for contemporary Roman history. Such cyclical rhythms question and critique the Roman ideal of *imperium sine fine* (*Aen.* 1.279) and teleological conceptions of historical time. Seneca had opened *NQ* 3 with a jeremiad against historians and their view of history, and his work offers an amended perspective of the way the reader should understand historical events and "heroes" like Alexander the Great. Their successes are puny when considered against the works of god (*sciam omnia angusta esse mensus deum, NQ* 1.pr.17). Both history (ἱστορέω) and natural science (*naturales quaestiones*) stress the role of inquiry for writer and reader, and Seneca shows how his scientific viewpoint not only rethinks formative myths of early human history, but also makes them speak to the political ambitions of Rome and the particulars of ethical behavior under Nero.

(61) Before the Resurrection: Literary Representations of Jesus' Crucifixion and Repose inside the Apocryphal Gospels

Zoe Tsiami (University of Thessaly)

The apocryphal Christian literature revived the events surrounding Jesus' face during the first century. This resurgence encompasses historical elements on the one hand, accompanied, however, by fictional literary elements.

The dividing line between the exposition of historical figures and situations and their literary narration and fiction is quite subtle, as their narrative contains a theological discourse, which is related to the supernatural element. In the forthcoming article, however, the theological issue will not expatiate. The main aim will be the separation of history from fiction, considering the subject of Jesus' death. More specifically, the literary descent of Jesus in Hades and the events during his repose will be considered as types of constructions that complements the historical truth.

Three apocryphal gospels will be used as the basic sources for this article. These are the Gospels of Peter, Nicodemus, and Bartholomew. Through their successful study and analysis, a clear picture of the correlation between literature and ancient history will be formed at first, and secondly conclusions will be drawn about the construction of literary narratives around Christianity and its mythological approach.

Myth and History in the Court of Archelaus

Alexandros Velaoras (University of Patras)

Euripides' *Archelaus* was probably written for Macedonian king Archelaus (413-399 BC) during Euripides' stay in Macedon in the last years of his life and publicly performed at Dion or at Aigai in 408/7 BC. The dramatisation of mythical Archelaus' adventures and the foundation of Aigai is usually assumed to have been meant to consolidate the historic Archelaus' heroic ancestry and descent from Heracles; legitimise his accession to the throne; and confirm the Hellenicity of Macedon. Yet, the Hellenicity of Macedon had similarly been confirmed by Herodotus (5.22 and 8.139), writing around 431-425, and it was not disputed by Thucydides (2.99.3), still writing at the time of Archelaus' death. Moreover, it has been argued that the commissioned performance of *Archelaus* outside Athens, hence in a very different political and social context, suggests that "tragedy as a genre may not have anything *intrinsically* to do with democracy" but that it was "ideologically flexible", open to different interpretations in different performance contexts (Duncan 2011).

My purpose in this paper is to revisit some of these assumptions. I will argue for the precedence of myth (as tragedy) over history in the fulfilment of Archelaus' political aims due to the different conditions of their "performance" and reception; and I will also argue that, despite its non-Athenian context of production, *Archelaus* could still be considered an "Attic" tragedy, in which the ideology of the *polis* must have prevailed.

(63) Myth and History in Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo*

Anke Walter (University of Newcastle)

In his *Hymn to Apollo*, Callimachus constructs a unique sphere of time: a sacred co-presence of the remote past of divine foundations, of human history and the time of myth. The foundation of Cyrene, for instance, is anchored in a moment of time defined by both myth and history: it began with the sixth generation after Oedipus and was completed by Battus (74-6). This human time frame, however, is closely intertwined with that of the god Apollo: witnessing the city's founding, he recalls another, equally foundational event: the killing of the Libyan lion by the nymph Cyrene and his own love affair with her (90-5). Human and divine memory (cf. μνωόμενος, 95, referring to Apollo) as well as historical and mythical types of narration (colonisation vs. the story of Apollo and the nymph) are intimately linked, while the aetiological thrust of the narrative ties the past to the present.

This convergence of different temporal modes is highly fitting for a hymn in honour of a god whose interventions can be traced through all phases of the human past, up to the present. While men are about to encounter Apollo in the present moment evoked by the hymn (cf. esp. 1-16), myth and history, present and past, while remaining distinctive entities, are all sublimated and encapsulated in a sacred simultaneity: a new level of time created by the numinous presence of the god.

(64) *"Let me tell you an ancient deed, of the distant past"*:
The Epic Hero as an "Historian"

Giuseppe Zanetto (University of Milano)

The mythical vision of the world shares with the historical vision the idea that things and facts happen in different dimensions of the time. Like the historians when considering the sequence of the human events, the epic poets know that inside of the heroic past (which is their territory and which is by definition back in the time, because its "pastness" is the key condition of its authority) there are different chronological scenarios: there is, so to say, a past which is "more past", and a past which comes "later". This paper discusses some passages of the *Iliad* where internal narrators (Agamemnon in the 4th book, telling of Tideus' heroic deeds; Phoenix in the 9th, recounting to Achilles the story of Meleager; Nestor in the 11th remembering the glorious deeds he accomplished in his youth) open a window on the heroes of the past generations. By inserting these narrations in his poem, the poet of the *Iliad* makes his audience perceive that the heroic myth has a "vertical" dimension: the warriors who fight around the walls of Troy belong to the generation of the "children", but before them there were the generation of the "fathers" and the generation of the "grand fathers". This chronological articulation makes the mythical account sound more credible, because it makes it appear more similar to the historical narration of real deeds.