

SHARDS FROM KOLONOS:  
STUDIES IN  
SOPHOCLEAN FRAGMENTS

Edited by  
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LEVANTE EDITORI - BARI

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## Sophocles and the West: the evidence of the fragments

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In this paper I examine Sophocles' treatment of Italy and Sicily in his fragmentary plays, and I ask how far his 'western' allusions reflect contemporary Athenian preoccupations with that part of the Greek world.\* Greek mythology stretched out to the west from early dates, corresponding to the historical movements of identifiable groups of Greeks. That is expressed with deliberate caution: ancient historians nowadays are chary of talk about 'colonization', a word which carries an excessively Roman-style suggestion of state-organized activity<sup>1</sup>. Attention has accordingly moved from the quest for 'precise foundation-

\* This paper was first read in Nottingham at the conference on the fragments of Sophocles organized by Professor A.H. Sommerstein. The paper was subsequently read at the University of Florence, at the Institute of Classical Studies in London and at the Classics department of the University of California in Los Angeles (UCLA). I would like to thank the organizer for putting the conference together and all four audiences who generously made their contributions during discussion. I would like to extend my special thanks to Professor Simon Hornblower of University College London (my own graduate University) for his valuable insights and kind generosity.

<sup>1</sup> Osborne (1996, 1998).

dates to the study of such intriguing topics as myths of return, *nostoi*, of such Homeric heroes as the Argive Diomedes<sup>2</sup>. Such traditions were not simply the invention of scholarly historians and poets such as Callimachus. The actual discovery, by pure chance, of the islands of Diomedes in 1993 was clinched by a piece of pottery with part of the name Diomedes on it<sup>3</sup>. That must reflect some very old tradition indeed. But my concern is not the first period of settlement, but the fifth century BC, in particular the possible contribution of the tragedian Sophocles to the development of western myths.

Myths about the west, like all myths, underwent changes according to political circumstances. Talk of propaganda is usually too crude when speaking of the ancient world. It is however reasonable to examine with particular care the way in which western myths were presented in Attic tragedy; that is, the way in which they were presented for the consumption of the Athenians who showed such hunger for the west throughout the Pentekontaetia and finally launched a great fleet against Sicily in 415 BC. Nikias, according to Thucydides, called his fellow-countrymen 'ill-starred lovers of the distant' (6.13.1) and he was referring, in this strikingly poetic word *δυσέρωτες*, to their passion for distant Sicily and Italy. But the same Thucydides is tantalisingly thin on the pre-416 background to the great expedition. Perhaps we shall be able to supplement him from the poets and their handling of the myths. Does he show awareness of the tragedians on particular points? (That is, I am not here referring to general tragic influences on his diction and handling of episodes). There is nothing explicit — in the History at least, though a fine epitaph on Euripides was ascribed to Thucydides in antiquity<sup>4</sup>. But it is usually thought that by making Alkibiades come first, second and fourth in the Olympic games of 416 he is correcting Euripides who made him come first, second and third (Thuc. 6. 16. 2, contrast Plut. *Alc.* 11.3 = *PMG* 755). And in a famous passage which I have discussed elsewhere<sup>5</sup>, he

<sup>2</sup> Malkin (1998).

<sup>3</sup> R.C.T. Parker (1999a).

<sup>4</sup> Page 1981: 307-8.

<sup>5</sup> Zacharia (2001).

rejects the attempt, which was surely Sophocles' attempt, to connect the historical Thracian king Teres and the mythical Thracian Tereus. Finally, Soph. fr. 590 from *Tereus* ('only the god is *tamias*, steward, of the future') seems to be echoed by Hermokrates' use of the same *tamias* metaphor in Thucydides (6.78.2) and by Alcibiades earlier in the same book (6.18.3). *Tereus* was close in date to the historical Sicilian expedition, though Thucydides' composition date was of course some time later than 413.

It may seem paradoxical to link Sophocles with the west, or indeed with any particular region. In the first place, Sophocles' loyal refusal to leave Athens, despite invitations from wealthy foreign rulers, was the subject of ancient biographical anecdote. In the second place, the tragedian who was biographically associated with the west was not Sophocles but Aeschylus, just as Euripides was associated biographically with the north, in fact with Macedonia. But one of my aims is precisely to turn the focus away from Aeschylus' western interests, which have often been remarked, to those of Sophocles, as evidenced from his writings. After all, Mary Lefkowitz's destructive work on the lives of the Greek poets<sup>6</sup> has left much of the biographical tradition about them all in ruins. Her chapter on Euripides even closes by doubting whether he visited Macedonia at all: perhaps (she suggests) his exile there was invented to explain references in the plays. As for Aeschylus, she dismisses the various fanciful ancient explanations for his Sicilian visit, such as exile or the poet's own dissatisfaction with Athens, and she notes that the biographies ought to have been content with saying that he went to Hiero's court simply because, like Simonides and Pindar, he was invited there. But she does not actually doubt the historicity of the visit.

As for Sophocles, much of the more fanciful biographical tradition about him goes the same way, but even she accepts three basic facts:

- a. The first is that he himself came from the deme of Kolonos, the setting for his *OC*.
- b. The second is that he was a hellenotamias in 443 BC (the word does not mean 'state treasurer' as Lefkowitz says; it was not a civic Athenian office but an imperial one. The point is not trivial for our purposes,

<sup>6</sup> Lefkowitz (1981).

since we shall be interested in Sophocles' treatment of a wider world than that of Athens).

The evidence for facts one and two is absolutely secure and has been doubted only by a couple of eccentrics. The proof is the mention of [Σ]οφοκλῆς Κολο[ν]θευ[ε]ν ἡλλενοταμί]ας in large letters in the twelfth of the so-called Athenian Tribute Lists, which are generally accepted to have begun to be inscribed at Athens in 454 BC, bringing us to 443 for Sophocles' tenure of office.

c. The third fact accepted by Lefkowitz is Sophocles' generalship in the Samian war of 441/0; this is attested by the contemporary Ion of Chios (*FGrH* 392 F 6) and also by the reliable fourth-century historian Androtion of Attica in a passage whose main problem does not concern Sophocles<sup>7</sup> (*FGrH* 324 F 38).

d. Curiously, Lefkowitz nowhere even mentions a fourth hard fact about Sophocles, accepted as such by a scholar of the stature of Michael Jameson, namely his much-discussed service as *proboulos* in the aftermath of the Sicilian expedition of 415-413 and before the establishment of the oligarchy of the Four Hundred in 411. The fact is from the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle and it implies that Sophocles reluctantly acquiesced in the regime of the Four Hundred. Again, as biographical evidence goes, this is an item of early date and high quality<sup>8</sup>.

That still leaves plenty of dubious material for Lefkowitz to sweep away. Even the heroization of Sophocles under the name Dexion, which survived Robert Parker's examination as recently as 1996 in his *Athenian religion: a history*, came under attack from Andrew Connolly in *JHS* two years later<sup>9</sup>. But the four items accepted by good and sceptical scholars as authentic remain impressive evidence that Sophocles, unlike the two other great tragedians, did indeed hold high Athenian and imperial office. It is the imperial aspect I shall be examining in particular.

It will not be enough merely to list passages or fragments which refer

to the west in a vague sort of way. To such a procedure it can only too easily be objected that the references may be purely decorative, or that they can in any case be paralleled in the writings (surviving and fragmentary) of the other two tragedians. Thus Aeschylus' *Aitnaiai* had a clearly Sicilian setting and mentioned the local cult of the Palikoi known from Diodorus. Again, the river Eridanos featured both in the *Heliades* of Aeschylus (where the river could be Italian not Spanish, as Diggle thought<sup>10</sup>) and in the *Hippolytus* of Euripides (722-42), where it is the Po. And there is a famous reference at the end of Euripides' *Electra* linking the Dioskoroi, Sicily and the idea of saving ships; Zuntz refused, in a couple of crushing pages, to see here a reference to the relief expedition sent to Sicily in 413 BC, but the idea is periodically revived<sup>11</sup>. A contemporary resonance can hardly be excluded, though there is risk of circular argument about the play's date; but even if we accept the resonance, the allusion is a glancing one. So too in the parodos of the *Troades* (220-3) the western material, though detailed and intriguing, is really just elaboration of one of the regions the chorus would like to escape to (river of Thourioi that dyes the colour of hair), Athens the great taker-in of refugees being their first choice; the 415 date of this play gives it interest in view of the Sicilian expedition. Interesting again is the connection between *Melanippe Desmotis* and Metapontion. Metapontion or Metabos was married to Arne or Melanippe or various other women; Eur. fr. 496 says that according to Euripides in the *Melanippe Desmotis* Siris (a town in south Italy, connected to Themistokles by Herodotus) was named from a woman called Siris<sup>12</sup>.

To return to Sophocles, what we need to look for is evidence that he chose specifically western myths for the central themes of a play or that he added important western twists to existing myths and themes. Of the

<sup>10</sup> Diggle (1970) 27-32; but see Leigh (1998) 88-90.

<sup>11</sup> Zuntz (1963) 64-71; against, see Burelli (1979).

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *Ion* 209-10 with Burelli (1979) 141-8 on Enkelados; *IT* 582-94 with Burelli (1979) 159, ?allusion to Nicias' letter at Th. 7. 10-14. See also appendix in Burelli (1979) 162-6; she enumerates all the more casual references in Eur., including mention of Daedalos in *Hek.* 838, isles of the blest in *Hel.* 1676ff. and the fragmentary *Cretans* (fr. 471-2) which mentions Minos, Daidalos and Ikaros.

<sup>7</sup> The problem is that Androtion appears to list eleven generals rather than ten.

<sup>8</sup> Hellenotamias: IG i<sup>3</sup> 269 (for the demotic see Meritt 1959:189); for the events of 413-411: Jameson (1971). For scepticism see Avery (1973a).

<sup>9</sup> R.C.T. Parker (1996) 184f.; Connolly (1998).

*Tereus* we can say confidently, as my other paper argues<sup>13</sup>, that its Thracian setting and character was absolutely central; that it was made central by Sophocles; and that the play's theme had to do with historical Athenian involvement with Thrace — both political involvement and private involvement in the form of aristocratic marriages of individuals. Can we say anything of the sort about the west? I should say at this point that I hope some disclaimers can be taken for granted; thus I shall not bother issuing the usual warnings about the dangers of building big hypotheses on small fragments of plays whose structure we know little or nothing about. However, attention paid to the fragments of the lost plays, whose total ran into three figures, can only be healthy if it stops us generalizing about Sophocles on the basis of the seven surviving plays. After all, virtually nothing in the surviving oeuvre could have prepared us for the outré, sombre and exotic content of *Tereus*, and we should be prepared to be open-minded about some other titles as well.

I start however with the surviving plays. The west does occasionally feature; the most interesting allusion is *Antigone* 1119 which places Dionysos in Italy. To be sure, there is no need to emend this to Ikaría or anything else: recently found Bacchic-Orphic material from south Italy greatly strengthens the case for retention, already made by Jebb. Jebb however adduced Athens' Thourioi project of 443, shortly before the traditional date of the play, as supporting evidence<sup>14</sup>. This is hardly necessary in view of the cultic evidence for Dionysiac cult in that part of the world, and both Lloyd-Jones and Wilson in *Sophoclea* and now Mark Griffith in his recent commentary stress these as the main grounds for keeping Italy in the text, and cite the work of Albert Henrichs<sup>15</sup>. In fairness to Jebb, he too gave this as one of his reasons; the point is, the evidence

<sup>13</sup> Zacharia (2001).

<sup>14</sup> Jebb (1906): 199.

<sup>15</sup> Soph. *Ant.* 1115-19: πολώνυμε, Καδμείας ἄγαλμα νύμφας, καὶ Διὸς βαρυβρεμέτα γένος, κλυτὰν ὅς ἀμφέπεις Ἴταλιαν, 'God of many names! Glory of the Kadmeian bride [Semele]! Child of loud-thundering Zeus! You who watch over famous Italy'. Trans. Jebb, adapted (1906). See Lloyd-Jones & Wilson (1990); Griffith (1999) both *ad loc.*

has increased greatly since Jebb's time. Here then, the right conclusion seems to be that an Italian allusion should be retained, but that it should not be made to bear a heavy political load.

Let us move on to the fragmentary plays. Another warning is appropriate here: we should be as alert to what Sophocles does *not* do or say about the west as to what he *does* do and say. A good example, of great interest to investigators of myths about early Rome, is from the *Laokoon* (fr. 373), quoted by Dionysius of Halicarnassus. It deals with Aeneas' escape from Troy and seems (the text is difficult) to describe how he was joined by a host of people who wanted to take part in this migration, *apoikia*, of the Phrygians. Now Dionysius has just set out at length how Sophocles' contemporary, the Atthidographer Hellanicus of Lesbos, made Aeneas go west (Rome is the most famous destination, but in the third century we find him going to Segesta in Sicily<sup>16</sup>). Sophocles however does not, on Dionysius' evidence, specify Aeneas' ultimate destination but has him go to Mt Ida not far from Troy. How should we interpret this?

I do not want to burden this paper with the names of modern scholars but on this issue I shall do so, in order to illustrate how good scholars can diverge startlingly. For the North Italian scholar Lorenzo Braccesi, the Phrygian *apoikia* is Rome; that is, Braccesi takes *apoikia* in a concrete sense and argues that Sophocles knew of the Rome story. Malkin on the other hand says that Stesichorus, for whom Aeneas went west, was 'unlike Sophocles', who had him merely going to Mt Ida. Now Dionysius does not quite draw this contrast; he makes clear that Hellanicus too described how Aeneas regrouped on Mt Ida first, and departed only after that; then follows the citation from Sophocles, who is really being quoted not for radical disagreement but for a characteristic Sophoclean religious detail, the alarming portents interpreted by Anchises. Nevertheless Malkin is right in a way: as Vanotti acutely notes, if writers of the Augustan period could have cited a dramatist of Sophocles' stature for the story that Aeneas founded Rome, they would have done so like a shot<sup>17</sup>. That these

<sup>16</sup> Gruen (1990) 12-13.

<sup>17</sup> Austin (1964) on *Aeneid* 2. 797 and 800 shows that Virgil knew Sophocles' *Laokoon*.

writers did not cite him suggests they could not; that is, Sophocles was simply not specific on Aeneas' destination. Incidentally Dionysius cites Sophocles' *Laocoon* verbatim, showing that he knew the play at first hand, not from a summary by an earlier writer. So much for Aeneas. That is what I mean by paying attention to what Sophocles does *not* say. But when Malkin says that Sophocles' version was *unlike* that of Stesichorus who had Aeneas go west, and that Sophocles made him go in another direction - to Mt Ida - this goes too far. All we can say is that Sophocles was non-committal on where if anywhere Aeneas went *after* Mt Ida<sup>18</sup>.

I move on to the *Triptolemos*, a play dated with relative precision and unusual plausibility to about 468 (Pliny's word in *Natural History* 18. 65 is 'fere', and is too often overlooked in modern discussions, which tend to treat the date 468 as absolute and secure). Two fragments of the play (598, 600) are about Italy: one has Demeter giving Triptolemos directions for his mission (Oinotria i.e. south-western Italy, the Etruscan gulf and Liguria), the other speaks of the grain and fertility of Italy. 468 is the high point of the era of Kimon's prominence, and indeed anecdotes connect Kimon and Sophocles' victory over Aeschylus on this very occasion. Let us disregard them. Kimon was active in Thrace in the 460's rather than in Sicily, but scholars<sup>19</sup> have nevertheless managed to tie Sophocles in with Kimonian policies in this period, by pouncing on fr. 604 which mentions Charnabon, king of the Getai, a Thracian people. The modern argument is then elaborated by reference to the *Antenoridai*, a play I shall say more about in a moment. Like Aeneas, Antenor and his sons left Troy to go west, but they went via Thrace. There is a whiff of treachery about the story because a leopard-skin was placed above Antenor's house in Troy as a sign to the Greeks to spare it. An early date for this play is said to be indicated by the representation of Antenor and the leopard-skin by Polygnotos in about 461 in a famous Delphic painting of the fall of Troy. To these two strands of literary evidence, modern Italian scholars add the alleged Athenian commercial interests in the Adriatic, as attested by, for

<sup>18</sup> Braccesi (1984) 47; Malkin (1998) 193; Vanotti (1979) 111.

<sup>19</sup> Cerrato (1985).

instance, Attic vases at Spina (Ferrara museum)<sup>20</sup>. One must be cautious about this sort of archaeological evidence; historians have generally rejected the correlation between the distribution of painted pottery and western imperialism made by Cornford nearly a century ago<sup>21</sup>.

Let us stick with the *Triptolemos* for the moment. That the popularity of the Triptolemos theme had an imperial aspect is very likely: Twenty years ago Raubitschek<sup>22</sup> examined the iconographic evidence for the Mission of Triptolemos and concluded that the main phase of the theme's popularity did indeed coincide with the most glorious period of Athenian Empire, that between the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars, when Eleusinian motifs were certainly exploited for imperial purposes; he connects details on the painted pottery with Sophocles fragments, such as the dragons which pulled Triptolemos' chariot and Demeter's instructions to Triptolemos. That the play pointed west is clear. We must not overdo this because it was of the essence of Triptolemos' mission that it was universal: Christopher Jones in his recent book on kinship diplomacy<sup>23</sup> notes how, in a speech at Sparta in 371, Kallias the ancestral *Keryx* of the Eleusinian mysteries reminded the Spartans that it was to the Peloponnese that Triptolemos had first taken the gift of grain, and that he first showed the secret ritual objects to Heracles the Spartans' ancestor. Nevertheless, the prominence of Demeter in the religion of Magna Graecia (such as the cult of Demeter Malophoros at Selinous<sup>24</sup>) makes the western angle specially appropriate for Sophocles to stress, and the Eleusinian aspect to Athenian imperial policy<sup>25</sup> means that the play can have carried an imperial sub-text. But I doubt if we need bring Kimon into it. It would be more plausible to connect the allusions to Oinotria and the Etruscan gulf, that is the south-western and central-western Italian seaboard, to a definitely attested Athenian act of colonization, the colony sent to Naples

<sup>20</sup> Cerrato (1985) 173 and n. 35 citing Braccesi.

<sup>21</sup> Cornford (1907); a better view in de Ste Croix (1972).

<sup>22</sup> Raubitschek (1991).

<sup>23</sup> Jones (1998) 32.

<sup>24</sup> Jameson etc. (1992) 132-3.

<sup>25</sup> Meiggs and Lewis (1988): no. 73.



and mentioned by Strabo (5.4.7) who says: 'after Dikaiarchia comes Neapolis, a city of the Kymaians. At a later time it was re-colonized (ἐποικίσθη) by Chalkidians and also by some Pithekoussans and Athenians and hence for this reason was called Neapolis'. We should also recall a fragment of Timaeus (fr. 98) about the Athenian admiral Diotimos' visit to Naples in the 430s where he founded a torch-race as an act of expiation. He was a 'western expert', because Thucydides says that Diotimos son of Strombichos led the Athenian squadron to Kerkyra in 433 BC (Thuc. 1.45). Martin Frederiksen, in his posthumous *Campania*, left a brilliant account of this important but poorly-attested fifth-century Athenian involvement in Campania<sup>26</sup>. Comparing Strabo 5.4.7 with Timaeus fr. 98 and the date of Diotimos from Thucydides 1.45 on the Kerkyran squadron, we get (following Frederiksen) a mid century date for this Athenian settlement. This Athenian involvement in Campania culminated in an event overlooked by Thucydides, the sending of Campanian cavalry to help the Athenians in Sicily during their ill-fated expedition (D.S. 13.44).

I have already mentioned the *Antenoridai*; unlike the *Laokoon*, this play did specify the ultimate destination of the Trojan heroes of its title: they went to the Venetic region at the head of the Adriatic. I do not want to stop for long over this play, which has been much studied, naturally enough, by North Italian scholars, notably Lorenzo Braccesi and his pupils<sup>27</sup>. And Leigh (1998) has greatly strengthened the case for seeing Sophocles as interested in the Adriatic region; his starting point is the bird, 'herald and minister', of fr. 137, which he ingeniously and plausibly suggests was a crow or raven which guided the settlers, like the famous crows which in Aristobulus' version guided Alexander the Great to the Siwah oasis. (Ptolemy's variant had some talking serpents do this particular job). Leigh further conjectures that in the Roman period Accius took this a bit further and produced a foundation story for the Roman city of Patavium, modern Padua. But except for the painted pottery already

<sup>26</sup> Strabo 5.4.7 and *FGrHist* 566 F 98 with Frederiksen (1982) 104-7.

<sup>27</sup> Vanotti (1979); Braccesi (1984); Cerrato (1985).

mentioned there is little specifically to connect Athens with the northern Adriatic region, as opposed to Campania, south Italy and Sicily.

Before we confront that big question (i.e. whether these western allusions have anything to do with Athenian foreign policy) we must look at my final exhibit, the 'Minoan' plays, as we may call them, i.e. the *Minos*, the *Daidalos* and above all the *Kamikoi* or *Kamikioi*. The second and third of these, or perhaps all three, dealt with the story of Minos' visit to Kokalos the king of Sicilian Kamikos, in search of Daidalos who had escaped from Crete; Minos was killed by Kokalos' daughters. Of the three Sophoclean plays, the *Minos* survives in only a single fragment, and it has been suggested that the other two, again perhaps all three, were satyr-plays. Seaford<sup>28</sup> accepts this for the *Daidalos* at least. And since — as Seaford says — one element in satyr-plays is their interest in ingenious, marvellous inventions, it is possible that the *Kamikoi* too was a satyr play, both because it specifically mentions one ingenious contrivance, and because of the general consideration that the play dealt with Daidalos the great inventor. The ingenious contrivance was a sea-shell which Daidalos threaded by making an ant go through the shell with a thread tied to the little creature; this is what gave away Daidalos' hidden presence because no one else could have been so clever (fr. 324). That Aristophanes also wrote a *Kokalos* and a *Daidalos* may indicate that the 'Minoan' plays belonged relatively late in Sophocles' output, that is, if Aristophanes had them in view. However, an intertextual relation with Aristophanes would not necessarily settle the question whether the 'Minoan' plays of Sophocles were satyr plays or not. For a satyr play with a Sicilian setting, the obvious parallel is the *Cyclops* of Euripides: Seaford accepts the gruesome suggestion that Euripides' picture of Greeks trapped in the cave of the Aitnaian cannibal may have reminded the Athenians of their fellow-citizens in the Syracusan stone-quarries. How this would have gone down with an Athenian audience I do not know.

But let us examine the Daidalos myth, specifically in its Athenian and western dimensions. The whole topic has been put on a new footing by Sarah Morris' thorough and wide-ranging book *Daidalos and the origins*

<sup>28</sup> Seaford (1984) introduction.

of Greek art<sup>29</sup>. She makes two important points relevant to our topic: first, that Daidalos' 'Athenian connection, new since epic and archaic poetry, [was] introduced at least as early as Sophocles' *Kamikoi*'. This invites us to make the obvious further conjecture that it was Sophocles himself who introduced it, but there are problems about that as we'll see. Her second suggestion is that 'even Sicily may have entered the story via Athens, no surprise in a period when Athens' ambitions expanded west to include Magna Graecia'.

I take the second of these suggestions first. Morris goes on to cite Herodotus' account (7. 169-170) of how Minos came west, but was killed at Kamikos, after which the Cretans set out from Crete to avenge him but after besieging Kamikos unsuccessfully they went off to Iapygia in Italy instead and founded Hyria, 'becoming Iapygian Messapians instead of Cretans', as Herodotus puts it, an interesting attempt to give a Greek pedigree to people who were not in fact Greeks at all. (Malkin<sup>30</sup> summarises this slightly inaccurately by saying that after Minos' death his 'now leaderless followers' went to Italy; actually they set off from Crete as part of a second expedition, Minos' apparently solitary pursuit of Daidalos being the first.) Morris evidently assumes that Herodotus picked the story up in Athens; this is a possible source, but so is Delphi: in Herodotus, the full version of the story is triggered by the Delphic response to the Cretans of 480 BC who consulted the oracle when the Greeks tried to enlist them against Xerxes. The oracle told the Cretans not to forget that whereas the Cretans had helped the other Greeks recover Helen from Troy, this good turn had not been reciprocated because the Greeks gave the Cretans no help in their attempts to avenge Minos' death in Kamikos. Herodotus' story goes on to describe how the Cretans became Iapygian Messapians, and concludes the narrative with a tremendous slaughter of the Greeks of Tarentum and Rhegion inflicted by the Messapians. Now it is certainly true that Delphic sources were in a position to know about these Iapygians or Messapians or Peuketians:

<sup>29</sup> Morris (1992) 216.

<sup>30</sup> Malkin (1998) 134-5.

fifth-century Delphic inscriptions<sup>31</sup> record the dedication of spoils taken by the Tarentines from the Peuketians and Messapians; evidently the battle honours between the Tarentines and their troublesome neighbours were not all one way.

But in favour of Morris' suggestion it is extremely attractive to suppose a lively Athenian interest in these peoples. We happen to know from Thucydides that in 413, Artas the dynastic ruler of the Messapians provided the Athenians with javelin-men and that the Athenian commanders 'renewed an old friendship' with this Artas (7.33.5). We can say a little more about Artas: a comic poet Demetrius, quoted by Athenaeus, shows that he was actually an Athenian *proxenos*<sup>32</sup>. Athenaeus is evidently drawing on Polemon, a man famous for his epigraphical interests, and Michael Walbank, in his collection of the Athenian proxeny decrees, thinks that Polemon saw an inscription conferring the proxeny<sup>33</sup>. For the Athenians in the latter part of the fifth century, diplomatic contacts with the local enemies of pro-Spartan Taras would be of great value. After all we know from Thucydides and from inscriptions<sup>34</sup> that Athenians had help from Etruscans and even make diplomatic approaches to the Carthaginians, not to mention the Campanians whom I have already cited.

In light of this it becomes of great interest that Sophocles dealt with the legend of Minos and the Kamikioi. We might indeed wonder whether Sophocles, like Herodotus, had the Iapygian and Messapian sequel to the death of Minos. The Athenians were familiar with the Messapian Artas, who was well enough known to be mentioned by Demetrius the comic poet. It would be a nice piece of kinship diplomacy if it was Artas' friends at Athens who equipped him and his people with a Cretan (i.e. Greek) myth of origins; after all Crete was famous for its light-armed skirmishers, above all archers and slingers<sup>35</sup>, so a Cretan origin for javelin-men, also light-armed skirmishers, would be plausible. Did Sophocles

<sup>31</sup> Dittenberger (1915-1924) nos. 21 and 40.

<sup>32</sup> Demetrius I fr. 1 K-A.

<sup>33</sup> Walbank (1978) no. 70.

<sup>34</sup> Th. 6.103 and 7.53-4 (Etruscans); 6.88 and Meiggs and Lewis (1988): no. 92 (Carthage).

<sup>35</sup> Th. 6.25 and much Hellenistic evidence.

know of Herodotus' myth of the Cretan origins of the Messapian Iapygians? It is possible; Stephanie West has recently argued that *Antigone* shows plentiful knowledge of Herodotus 3<sup>36</sup>.

There is however a second possible argument against Morris' suggestion of an Athenian origin for the Sicilian twist to the Minos-Daidalos story. In 1957 G. Pugliese Carratelli claimed, appropriately enough in the then new periodical *Kokalos*, to detect a sculptural reference to Minos' death in the 6th-cent. reliefs at Foce del Sele near Paestum<sup>37</sup>. Minos was supposedly boiled by Kokalos' daughters in a cauldron and Carratelli thinks that this, rather than the more famous death of Pelias, is represented in the relief. Morris does not mention this guess: it is no more than that.

What of Morris' other suggestion, namely that Daidalos was connected with Athens only in classical times (whether or not Sophocles himself was the first to make the connection)? The crucial item here is Sophocles' mention of Daidalos' killing of 'a man who bore the name of a bird, Perdix, upon the famous hills of the Athenians' (fr. 323). This refers to the legend that Daidalos, who in this version has to be an Athenian, became jealous of his nephew who had invented the potter's wheel and the compass, and killed him by throwing him off the acropolis; the boy's mother then hanged herself in grief. In one version, the boy is himself called Perdix, and that seems to be Sophocles' version; in another, that given by among others the mythographer Apollodorus (3.15), the boy was called Talos or Kalos and it is the mother who is called Perdix. We find this version as early as Hellanicus (*FGrHist* 323a F 22b) who has him tried by the Areopagus. There is however no doubt that this myth makes Daidalos an Athenian not a Cretan; he goes to Crete only after the murder. Was Sophocles responsible?

The trouble with any such theory is the impressive evidence that Daidalos already had Athenian connections before the fifth century. Certainly, Daidalos is Cretan in Homer (*Iliad* 18.590ff., the Shield of Achilles), and it is Morris' main thesis that Daidalos and Greek art generally come from even further east. But he was somehow brought to

Athens; and who more obvious to do the bringing than Theseus? We find this explicitly alleged as early as the fourth-century Attidographer Cleidemus (fr. 17, from Plutarch's *Life of Theseus* 19). But there is sixth-century evidence too, the Athenian deme Daidalidai, which if it contains the name Daidalos, would prove, in Morris' words 'the appropriation of Daidalos as a newly native son, perhaps as early as the Kleisthenic constitution, which used his name for a deme'<sup>38</sup>. It is perhaps unlikely that Kleisthenes gave his demes new names; they were old-established cult and settlement centres. Emily Kearns in her *Heroes of Attica*<sup>39</sup> collects the evidence for Daidalos' worship at the Daidaleion and for his very distinguished Athenian genealogy (grandson of Erechtheus on one account). She also discusses the cult of Perdix, and notes the unclarity about whether this was a hero cult or a heroine cult; the Suda, under Πέρδικος ἱερὸν says that the Athenians honoured her (i.e. Perdix the sister) after she had hanged herself, but the same Suda entry goes on correctly to say that Sophocles in the *Kamikioi* makes Perdix the name of the boy.

It would then be rash to say that Sophocles was the first to connect Daidalos with Athens. But I would like to draw attention to one detail of the Perdix story. The vital fragment says that Perdix bore the name of a bird, ὄρνιθος ἦλθ' ἐπώνυμον πέρδικος. Indeed he does: *perdix* is Greek for a partridge. Now strictly the story of the actual metamorphosis or ornithification of Perdix is, as Forbes-Irving insists<sup>40</sup>, no earlier than Ovid (8. 236ff.) who has Perdix turned into a partridge by Athena. But since we are certain that the connection between the bird-name and the human Perdix was made by Sophocles, it seems perverse to deny that the transformation featured in his play. Now Sophocles seems to have had a bit of a 'thing' about birds: not only is there the bird we have met already, that which guided the Trojans to the north Adriatic in the *Antenoridai*; there are, above all, the famous three ornithifications in the *Tereus*. I suggest that one of Sophocles' contributions may have been to provide the aetiology of the Perdix cult and thus to anchor Daidalos' origins securely

<sup>36</sup> S.R. West (1999).

<sup>37</sup> Pugliese Carratelli (1956); cf. Lloyd-Jones (1996) 180.

<sup>38</sup> Morris 1993: 361.

<sup>39</sup> Kearns (1989) 154 and 194, entries on Daidalos and Perdix.

<sup>40</sup> Forbes-Irving (1990) 256-7.

in Athens. The Perdix story is however a disturbing one with its theme of jealousy and violence, involving (on Hellanicus' version and perhaps in Sophocles' too) an Areopagus trial obviously reminiscent of the trial of Orestes in the *Eumenides* of Aeschylus.

Was this a satyr play? Or something more tragic<sup>41</sup>? The few fragments do not allow us to say. But the murderous Daidalos becomes an uncomfortable character. Uncomfortable; but not altogether unsuitable for a play with a western imperial subtext. It is, we have recently been told, 'murder to found a colony'<sup>42</sup>. The narrative of Thucydides' Athenian expedition to Sicily has been well analysed as a narrative of would-be colonization<sup>43</sup>, a sequel to the Athenian colonization of Naples and Thourioi. Sophocles may not have been the first to send Daidalos to find a new home in Sicily, i.e. to make him a western colonizer, or to make him an Athenian. But he may have contributed something distinctive, by adding the grim Athenian story of Perdix and its consequences — the boy's ornithification, and Daidalos' journey to Crete and Sicily. I am in fact suggesting that Sophocles in the *Kamikioi* turned the story of Daedalus and Perdix into a violent colonising myth about the west. He may also, though this is a guess, have taken over Herodotus' story of the Cretan origins of the Messapians whose ruler Artas was such a good friend of the Athenians at the time of their greatest political-military interest in Sicily and the west.

How far any of this western topicality contributed to Sophocles'

<sup>41</sup> When I read this paper in London in January 2001, Nick Lowe (to whom I am indebted for the observation) remarked in discussion that the existence of an attested comic play by Aristophanes called *Kokalos* reduces the likelihood that there could have been a satyr play which dealt with roughly the same theme (if it did). I note that in the new collection of the fragments of the satyr plays (Krumeich, Pechstein and Seidensticker 1999) the *Kamikioi* does not feature as a satyr play or possible satyr play with its own entry. It is mentioned briefly only at 389 n. 90 where Lloyd-Jones is cited for the suggestion that *Daidalos* (which Krumeich *et al.* do regard as a possible satyr play, see their pp. 389-90) was identical with either *Kamikioi* or *Minos*. On the problems of determining whether a particular play is tragic or satyric, see the essays in Part VI of this volume.

<sup>42</sup> Dougherty (1993).

<sup>43</sup> Avery (1973b).

extraordinary success as a prize-winning dramatist is an interesting but perhaps unanswerable question; I hope to have shown that the topicality was there and that it is not only Aeschylus' output which has a definite western dimension. The title *Kamikioi* is no less explicitly Sicilian than Aeschylus' *Aitnaiai*, and unlike the *Aitnaiai* the content of the *Kamikioi* has a provably Athenian aspect. That is about as far as we can go.

In a nutshell, my main claim is that the plays about Minos, especially the *Kamikioi*, may be much more serious than has previously been allowed. Once we rid ourselves of the unsupported assumption that they were satyr plays, it is possible to treat them as tragedies in the full sense. The *Tereus* is a warning that Sophocles was capable of writing plays which were very different from the fully surviving seven plays and Sophocles may have covered western themes in far more detail and depth than has previously been suspected.

My main suggestion is that the output of this politically involved dramatist may have reflected a dominant motif of Athenian imperialism from the Persian Wars right down to 413, namely a πόθος, a desire, for the riches and delights of Italy and Sicily (Thuc. 6.24.3). Where does this leave us? My contribution has not been the antiquarian one of identifying western allusions in the fragments of Sophocles. I think my conclusions have something more theoretical to offer, specifically on the burning general issue of the purpose of Greek tragedy. The dominant model for the study of Greek tragedy — Goldhill, Connor, and a whole galaxy of French forerunners — is that of social contextualization, though there have been recent attempts to crack the consensus. A vigorous protest against ideological interpretations of Greek tragedy by Jasper Griffin has recently appeared<sup>44</sup>; but Seaford and Goldhill have from different points of view defended the model<sup>45</sup>. The Great Dionysia in its political and imperial aspects has been foregrounded in modern secondary writings<sup>46</sup>, on the

<sup>44</sup> Griffin (1998).

<sup>45</sup> Seaford (2000) and Goldhill (2000).

<sup>46</sup> Goldhill (1986, 1990). There has also been some highly political emphasis laid on the appropriateness of Dionysus Eleuthereus, Dionysus the liberator, at the very beginning of the whole process, namely in the late sixth-century Athens which had just been liberated from the Pisistratid tyranny; see Connor (1989); also Cartledge (1997) 23-4.

basis of some admittedly less than granite-hard evidence such as that of Isocrates's *On the Peace*<sup>47</sup>. So of course Goldhill and others recognize the imperial aspect to the City Dionysia, but the empire, overseas expansion and kinship diplomacy, are not the leading concern of the Cambridge school. My conclusions suggest that the plays I have studied do indeed demand that we see them in their Athenian fifth-century context, but the context is more imperial than domestic. I have tried to show how myth could be exploited in subtle ways for the moulding of opinion and this certainly has important theoretical implications for our view of what Sophocles thought he was doing. Yes, and Euripides and Aeschylus too, but they were not *hellenotamiai*, or generals, or *probouloi*.

<sup>47</sup> The evidence comes from the mid fourth century and refers to physical carrying of tribute by allies, an item already adduced long before Goldhill in Pickard-Cambridge (1968 [=1988]) 58.

Sophocles' fragments cited; trans. Lloyd-Jones (1996):

fr. 373: *Laocoon*  
 νῦν δ' ἐν πύλαισιν Αἰνέας ὁ τῆς θεοῦ  
 πάρεστ', ἐπ' ὤμων πατέρ' ἔχων κεραυνίου  
 μοτοῦ καταστάζοντα βύσσινοι φάρος,  
 κύκλωι δὲ πᾶσαν οἰκετῶν παμπληθίαν·  
 συνοπάζεται δὲ πλῆθος οἱ πόσον δοκεῖς,  
 οἱ τῆσδ' ἐρώσι τῆς ἀποικίας Φρυγῶν.

And now at the gates stands Aeneas, the son of the goddess, carrying on his shoulders his father with his linen robe stained with the discharge caused by the lightning, and about him the whole horde of his servants. And with him follows a crowd, you cannot imagine how great, of those who are eager to take part in this migration of the Phrygians.

fr. 598: *Triptolemos*  
 τὰ δ' ἐξόπισθε χειρὸς ἐς τὰ δεξιὰ  
 Οἰνωτρία τε πᾶσα καὶ Τυρσηνικὸς  
 κόλπος Λιγυστική τε γῆ σε δέξεται

And the regions lying behind you on the right, the whole of Oinotria and the Tyrrhenian Gulf and the Ligurian land shall receive you.

fr. 600: *Triptolemos*  
*et fortunatam Italiam frumento canere candido*  
 ... and that fortunate Italy is white with shining corn

fr. 604: *Triptolemos*  
 καὶ Χαρναβῶντος, ὃς Γετῶν ἄρχει τὰ νῦν  
 ... and Charnabon, who at present rules the Getai...

fr. 137: *Antenoridai*  
 ὄρνιθα καὶ κήρυκα καὶ διάκονον  
 ... bird both herald and minister...

fr. 324: *Kamikioi*  
 ἄλλας στραβήλου τῆσδε, τέκνον, εἴ τινα  
 δυναίμεθ' εὐρεῖν, <ὃς διείρειεν λίνον>  
 If we could find someone to pass the linen through this seashell...

fr. 323:

*Kamikioi*

ὄρνιθος ἦλθ' ἐπώνυμον  
πέρδικος ἐν κλεινοῖσ' Ἀθηναίων πάγοις  
<κτανῶν>

He came after killing a man who bore the name of a bird, Perdix, upon  
the famous hills of the Athenians.