

SHORTER NOTES

ΛΕΥΚΑΣ ΠΕΤΡΗ*

In the second *Nekyia* Hermes conducts to Hades the souls of the suitors slain by Odysseus:

ἦρχε δ' ἄρα σφιν
 'Ερμείας ἀκάκητα κατ' εὐρώεντα κέλευθα.
 παρ δ' ἴσαν Ὠκεανοῦ τε ῥοὰς καὶ Λευκάδα πέτρην,
 ἥδ' ἐπαρ' Ἡελίοιο πύλας καὶ δῆμον ὀνείρων
 ἦϊσαν· αἴψα δ' ἴκοντο κατ' ἀσφοδελὸν λειμῶνα,
 ἐνθα τε ναίονσι ψυχαί, εἶδωλα καμόντων.

Od. 24.9–14

Even in antiquity the identification of the *Λευκὰς πέτρη* was a conundrum. It would seem that no ancient Greek scholar could plausibly locate this rock. According to the scholion in the codex *Venetus Marcianus* 613, one of the many reasons Aristarchos gave for athetising the whole of the second *Nekyia* was ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἔοικεν εἰς Ἄιδου λευκὴν εἶναι πέτραν.¹ Certainly Hades had πέτραι, but traditionally they were 'black-hearted' or 'blood-red',² not λευκαί. As an example of the lengths to which scholiasts were driven to justify the epithet *Λευκὰς*, the scholion in the British Library codex Harley 5674 has the unhelpful explanation οἱ γὰρ νεκροὶ ἐκλείψαντος τοῦ αἵματος λευκοειδεῖς ὀρώνται. Eustathios' attempt is not much better; he writes ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι Λευκάδα μὲν πέτραν ὁ μῦθος πρὸς τῷ Ἄιδῳ πλάττει ἢ κατὰ ἀντίφρασιν, μέλας γὰρ ἐκεῖ σκότος, ἢ καὶ διὰ τοὺς ἐσχάτους τῆς ἐκεῖ γῆς τόπους, οὓς εἰκὸς τὸν ἥλιον ἔτι διαλευκαίνειν δυνάμενον. At *Od.* 10.515, in commenting on the πέτρη where the *Pyriphlegethôn* and the *Kôkytos* flow into the *Acherôn*, he ventures the suggestion ἴσως δὲ εἴη ἂν αὕτη ἢ ἐν τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα λεχθησομένη *Λευκὰς πέτρα*, which is obviously a mere guess. It would be a waste of time to record the conjectural attempts of modern scholars to locate the *Λευκὰς πέτρη* in Hades, for if the 'Rock Leukas' was across the Ocean, near the 'Gates of the Sun' and the 'Land of Dreams', we cannot reasonably hope to identify it. The ancient Greeks knew their own mythology far better than we ever shall, and if they lacked the information to recognise the *Λευκὰς πέτρη* in a more familiar rock, we shall never succeed where they could not.

Many modern scholars³ have attempted to identify the *Λευκὰς πέτρη* with the

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¹ W. Dindorf, *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Odysseam* (Oxford, 1855), ad *Od.* 24.1.

² Aristophanes, *Ranae* 470–1.

³ E.g., T. W. Allen, 'The Homeric Catalogue', *JHS* 30 (1910), 306–7; A. Shewan, 'Leukas – Ithaka', *JHS* 34 (1914), 239; 'Beati Possidentes Ithakistae', *CPh* 12 (1917), 136; L. Büchner, 'Leukas', *RE* 12 (1925), 2236; E. Janssens, 'Leucade et le Pays des Morts', *AC* 30 (1961), 381 ff.; R. Hope Simpson and J. F. Lazenby, *The Catalogue of the Ships in Homer's Iliad* (Oxford, 1970), 101.

The earliest extant reference to the island Leukas as the *Λευκὰς πέτρη* occurs at Anacreon, fr. 94 (ed. B. Gentili, Rome, 1958):

Ἄρβεις δηῖτ' ἀπὸ Λευκάδος
 Πέτρης ἐς πολλὸν κύμα κολυμβέω μεθύων ἔρωτι.

However, the identity of name by itself is not good evidence that Homer and Anacreon intended the same rock by *Λευκὰς πέτρη*, for this appellation was bestowed on many a bare white cliff;

promontory of Leukatas, the southwest cape of the historical island Leukas, but this facile proposal is actually quite improbable. The conjunction of the *Λευκὰς πέτρη* with the *Ῥεκεανοῦ ῥοαί*, with which one may compare the similar couplings of the *Ῥεκεανός* with the Aithiopes (*Il.* 1.423, 23.205–6), the Pygmies (*Il.* 3.5–6), and the Kimmerians (*Od.* 11.13–14),⁴ should indicate that this rock was in the immediate vicinity of the *Ῥεκεανός*, which to the ancient Greeks was the distant body of water which encircled the world and was distinguished from the familiar *θάλασσα*.⁵ Thus the *Λευκὰς πέτρη* should have been far to the west of Ithaka. This much at least was understood by Eustathios and the scholiasts.

If the *Λευκὰς πέτρη* was across the Ocean near Hades, to identify it would be a hopeless task. But if it was a physical rock on the hither side of the Ocean, of one thing we can be sure: the poet would have expected his audience to recognise it immediately, for the mention of an obscure geographical feature would have been both awkward and distracting. Now the Homeric poems were first composed and sung in Aiolis and Ionia, on the Aegean coast and in the offshore islands, whose populations must have included many men who earned their living from the sea, and as has long been recognised, the western wanderings of Odysseus seem to be based partially upon exaggerated tales of the adventures of sailors, very probably Phoenicians,⁶ in the

see H. Philipp, 'Λευκόπετρα' [which of course should be 'Λευκοπέτρα'], *RE* 12 (1925), 2286, for three capes in southern Italy which were given this name. The reference to Leukas at Eur. *Cycl.* 166 *ῥήσας τ' ἐς ἄλμην λευκάδος πέτρας ἄπο* is clearly inappropriate amidst a pastoral scene at the foot of Mount Aetna; the emendation *λίσσάδος*, proposed tentatively by J. A. Hartung, *Euripides' Kyklop* (Leipzig, 1852), 103, *ad loc.*, is virtually certain, for it is supported by Euripides' own words at *Herc. Fur.* 1148

κοῦκ εἶμι πέτρας λίσσάδος πρὸς ἄλματα,

and the same phrase recurs at *Andr.* 533 (cf. also Aeschylus, *Suppl.* 794 ff.).

⁴ I owe these passages to N. G. L. Hammond. Homer's placement of the *Κιμμερίων ἀνδρῶν δῆμος τε πόλις τε* beside the *Ῥεκεανός* seems to be based on the widespread ancient misconception that the Sea of Azov was a gulf of the Ocean (cf. Pliny, *N.H.* 2.168 *paludis Maeoticae, siue ea illius Oceani sinus est, ut multos aduerto credidisse* and A. Herrmann, 'Maiotis', *RE* 14 [1930], 591). The existence of a Kimmerian πόλις, which some have doubted, now finds archaeological support in the fact that several Greek colonies on the Kimmerian Bosphoros, Kepoi, Kimmerikon, Phanagoreia, and Tyri(k)take, were established on the sites of prehistoric settlements, probably Kimmerian; in particular, the inhabitation of the site of Phanagoreia extended back into the second millennium B.C. (*The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites*, Princeton, 1976, s.v.).

⁵ See for example *Od.* 12.1–2 for the distinction between the *Ῥεκεανός* (the outer ocean) and the *θάλασσα*, which is emphasised, among others, by E. Buchholz, *Homerische Kosmographie* (Leipzig, 1871), i (1). 54 ff. Failure to appreciate this distinction vitiates the contention of G. L. Huxley, 'Odysseus and the Thesprotian Oracle of the Dead', *PdP* 13 (1958), 245 ff. and of Janssens (op. cit. 385 ff.) that Homer placed Hades in Thesprotia. Moreover, Homer makes it clear (*Od.* 10.501 ff., 11.1 ff., 12.1 ff.) that he thought of Hades as being far away from the Greek world, whereas he represents the Thesprotoi as being in close contact with the Greeks (*Od.* 14.315 ff., 14.334 ff., 16.65 ff., 16.426 ff., 17.525–6, 19.270–1, 19.287 ff.). Thus Huxley's attempt to resuscitate the long-dead proposal of one Proteas Zeugmatites to substitute the Epirote tribal name *Χεμμερίων* for *Κιμμερίων* at *Od.* 11.14 is quite ill founded. The same must be said of Janssens' proposal (381 ff.) that jumping off the rock Leukas was a preliminary ritual to consulting the *nekyomanteion* in Thesprotia; on p. 393 Janssens is forced to admit that classical authors provide no evidence in support of his hypothesis, and so he is driven to misinterpret a fragment of Menander to try to explain this universal silence. The coincidence between Homer's account of the rivers of Hades and those in Thesprotia, to which both Huxley and Janssens refer, was explained long ago by Pausanias (1.17.5), who stated his belief that Homer had appropriated the names of the Thesprotian rivers for those in his conception of Hades.

⁶ Testimony to Greek contact with Phoenician merchants is provided in *Od.* 13.271 ff., 14.287 ff., and 15.415 ff.

western Mediterranean and the Ocean beyond.⁷ Ancient ships were notoriously dependent on safe harbours, and the crew of any vessel which sailed from the Mediterranean into the Atlantic must have known of the harbour in the Bay of Algeiras, at whose head a Phoenician settlement was established early in the seventh century B.C.⁸ Towering above this haven is the enormous limestone mountain which the classical world called *Κάλπη* and the modern calls Gibraltar. A Phoenician sanctuary, where prayers 'um glückliche Fahrt in den stürmischeren Atlantik' seem to have been offered, was located in Gorham's Cave at the base of the mountain's eastern face,⁹ where the pale grey limestone rises almost vertically to a height of nearly 1400 feet. It would be hard to find a better candidate for the *Λευκὰς πέτρη*¹⁰ if the report of a real rock indeed inspired the poet. Moreover, the line where Hermes and the ghosts of the slain suitors

παρ δ' ἴσαν Ὠκεανοῦ τε ῥοὰς καὶ Λευκάδα πέτρην

gains particular force if they passed the massive limestone cliff which marked the point of departure into the 'streams of the Ocean' beyond.¹¹

This suggestion, which to my knowledge has not been made before, cannot of course be called certain, but at least it allows us to identify the *Λευκὰς πέτρη* with a prominent landmark rather than an obscure rock in Hades whose existence was doubted even by the ancient Greeks.¹²

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⁷ This idea is virtually an *opinio communis*; it is articulated *inter alios* by W. E. Gladstone, *Studies on Homer and the Homeric Age* (Oxford, 1858), iii. 324; W. W. Merry and J. Riddell, *Homer's Odyssey* (Oxford, 1886), i. 399 and 406–7; A. Lang, *The World of Homer* (London, 1910), 18; H. Thomas and F. H. Stubbings, in *A Companion to Homer* (London, 1962), 309. In particular, Odysseus' encounter with the Laistrygones (*Od.* 10.81 ff.), who lived in a land where the day was very long and the night very short and whose harbour bears a striking resemblance to a Norwegian fjord or a Scottish loch, certainly seems to have been inspired by an oft-retold tale of a ship's narrow escape from northern barbarians. On the eastern elements introduced by the Kimmerians and *Od.* 12.3–4 see Merry and Riddell, 503.

⁸ M. Pellicer, L. Menanteau, and P. Rouillard, 'Para una Metodología de Localización de Colonias fenicias en las Costas Ibéricas: El Cerro del Prado', *Habis* 8 (1977), 217 ff.; P. Rouillard, 'Brève note sur le Cerro del Prado, site phénicien de l'ouest, à l'embouchure du Rio Guadarranque (San Roque-Cádiz)', *MM* 19 (1978), 152 ff.; H. Schubart, 'Phönizische Niederlassungen an der iberischen Südküste', *Madridrer Beiträge* 8, *Phönizier im Westen* (Mainz, 1982), 212 ff.

⁹ W. Culican, 'Phoenician Remains from Gibraltar', *Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology* 2 (1972), 110 ff.; C. Hawkes, 'Gibraltar, Gorham's Cave: Ibero-Punic Material with Exotica', *Actas do IV Congresso Nacional de Arqueologia Faro 1980* (non uidi); H. Schubart, op. cit. 214. See J. d'A. Waechter, 'Excavations at Gorham's Cave, Gibraltar', *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 17 (1951), plate 1, for a photograph of the entrance to Gorham's cave.

¹⁰ *LSJ* note that the adjective *λευκός* denoted a range of colours ranging from 'the pure white of snow... to the grey of dust'. For colour photographs of Gibraltar, see the *Grand Dictionnaire Encyclopédique Larousse* (Paris, 1982), v. 4791; *La grande Encyclopédie, Librairie Larousse* (Paris, 1974), ix. 5418–19; P. Dennis, *Gibraltar* (London, 1977), front cover. It is also possible that the principal quality denoted by *Λευκός* was the bareness of the *πέτρη*; this is the meaning of the word *λευκόπετρον* used by Polybios at 3.53.5 and 10.30.5.

¹¹ Cf. Juvenal 14.279–80:

...sed longe Calpe relictā
audiet Herculeo stridentem gurgite solem

for an expression of this sentiment in Roman times.

¹² Without becoming mired in two vexed issues, the date of the last book of the *Odyssey* and the chronology of Phoenician penetration of the western Mediterranean, it is safe to say that

the second *Nekyia* was composed no earlier than the eighth century B.C. (and possibly much later) and that the Phoenicians began to settle the south coast of Spain not later than c. 750 B.C., and possibly as early as c. 800 B.C. (H. Schubart, op. cit. 218 ff., with references to excavations at Las Chorreras and the Morro de Mezquitilla near the mouth of the Rio Algarrobo; also see B. B. Shefton, 'Greeks and Greek Imports in the South of the Iberian Peninsula. The archaeological evidence', *ibid.*, 337 ff. for a review of Phoenician commerce in Greek pottery in Spain, especially pp. 342–3 for a fragment of an Attic Middle Geometric (c. 800–760 B.C.) krater found outside the Strait of Gibraltar at Huelva). Thus there is no chronological problem with assuming that a Phoenician report of Gibraltar communicated to Greek sailors or traders lies behind the *Λευκάς πέτρῃ* of the *Odyssey*.

IG II².2344 AND THE SIZE OF PHRATRIES IN CLASSICAL ATHENS¹

Little is known about phratries in ancient Athens. The few surviving pieces of evidence, both literary and epigraphical, do not provide an adequate basis for a convincing reconstruction of most details. It may be possible, however, to say something more about the number and size, even if not about the organization and function, of phratries in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.

The purpose of this note is to show how IG II².2344 is relevant to the question of phratries. It is a list of twenty names with patronymics, comprising three families and two isolated individuals, under the heading,

Διὸς : Φρατρίο : Ἀθηνάας : Φρα[τρίας] | οἷδε φράτερες

The inscription is in the form of a dedication, and after Διὸς : Φρατρίο : Ἀθηνάας : Φρα[τρίας] one should understand *στήλη* or *ἱερὰ στήλη*. There are several other examples of this form of dedication, though none is exactly parallel.² The stele was most likely set up in the sanctuary of the phratry, and that would explain why a list of phratry members should be in the form of a dedication. In the absence of other criteria, the inscription is dated by letter forms to the early fourth century.

Surprisingly enough this inscription has been either ignored or curtly dismissed in the literature concerning the number and nature of Athenian phratries. In 1902 Alfred Körte concluded that this list of twenty names constituted the total membership of a phratry.³ But in 1910 Anton von Premerstein maintained that the list was only of a single thiasos within a phratry.⁴ We know that by the beginning of the fourth century phratries were subdivided into units called thiasoi, which are to be distinguished from the private religious associations of the same name. Von Premerstein argued that the constant appeals of the orators to the testimony of phratry members render it very unlikely that one phratry could be so small as to have only twenty members, even if there were more than twelve phratries altogether.

The view of von Premerstein seems to have been generally accepted.⁵ The main reason for this acceptance appears to be an assumption that the list is impossibly short for a full phratry.⁶ The text of the inscription itself, however, gives no support to the

¹ I would like to thank Professors Alan Boegehold, Charles Fornara, and Kurt Raafaub for their helpful criticisms and suggestions.

² See SIG 921 (= IG II².1237), note 1, where Dittenberger correctly cites as parallels SIG 1021 and SIG 1100 (= IG II².1325).

³ *Hermes* 37 (1902), 582–9.

⁴ *Ath. Mitt.* 35 (1910), 113.

⁵ C. Hignett, *A History of the Athenian Constitution to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford, 1952), 60; Antony Andrewes, 'Philochorus on Phratries', *JHS* 81 (1961), 11. It was also accepted by Krichner (cf. his comments on IG II².2344).

⁶ To quote Andrewes, art. cit. 11, 'The list is impossibly short for a full phratry, and von Premerstein was very probably right to suggest that this was a single thiasos within a phratry.'