

PHOCIANS IN SICILY: THUCYDIDES 6.2

In the course of his ethnography of Sicily, Thucydides gives this account of the settlement of Eryx and Egesta in the west of the island (6.2.3):

Ἰλίου δὲ ἀλίσκομένου τῶν Τρώων τινὲς διαφυγόντες Ἀχαιοὺς πλοίοις ἀφικνοῦνται πρὸς τὴν Σικελίαν, καὶ ὁμοροὶ τοῖς Σικανοῖς οἰκήσαντες ξύμπαντες μὲν Ἑλυμοὶ ἐκλήθησαν, πόλεις δ' αὐτῶν Ἐρυξ τε καὶ Ἐγεστα. προσυνώκησαν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Φωκέων τινὲς τῶν ἀπὸ Τροίας τότε χειμῶνι ἐς Λιβύην πρῶτον, ἔπειτα ἐς Σικελίαν ἀπ' αὐτῆς κατενεχθέντες.

Upon the fall of Troy, some of the Trojans, fleeing the Achaeans by ship, came to Sicily and settled as neighbours to the Sicans; as a group they were called Elymi, while their cities were called Eryx and Egesta. There joined with them in the settlement also some Phocians who were carried from Troy on the same occasion first to Africa by a storm, later from there to Sicily.

These Phocians have troubled commentators, for Phocian settlers in Sicily are otherwise not surely attested. Pausanias (5.25.6) is commonly invoked as the only further testimony for them, but his independence of Thucydides has been doubted. Many have thought to see an error, whether textual or conceptual, for Phocaeans, famous as active colonists of the west, though of course in a later age.¹ I argue here that the problem is more drastic than this idea would suggest.

Two objections are fatal to the received text. First, Thucydides in the ethnography is especially conscious of national groups; he takes pains to distinguish even the Dorian and Ionian Greek colonists (6.4.5, 6.6.2). It is impossible that he can have transmitted without any comment a report of Greek Phocians joining as one with the Trojan founders of Egesta who constituted the Elymi. Second and more serious, this is his barbarian paragraph (βάρβαροι μὲν οὖν τοσοῦδε 6.2.6, followed by Ἑλλήνων δὲ πρῶτοι 6.3.1). He recounts the migrations of Sicans, Trojans, 'Phocians', Sicels, and Phoenicians – settlements which he assures us occurred 300 years before the coming of the Greeks (6.2.5), to whom he then turns: of the Greeks, the first were Chalcidians from Euboea, and so forth. Thucydides cannot have written these statements, or even organized his narrative in this manner, if he thought that Phocian (or for that matter Phocaean) Greeks had settled in Sicily at the time of the Trojan War. Φωκέων is a textual error pure and simple: and for some barbarian name.

Now the wanderings of these Phocians bear a marked similarity to those of Aeneas.² The departure from Troy, the forced landing in Africa as a result of a storm, the permanent fusing of much of this group with the Trojan settlement already well established by Acestes near Mt Eryx – all this is familiar to us from the *Aeneid*. Virgil has the Trojan Elymus make his only appearance in the poem on the occasion of this fusion – lest any reader forget the name of the Elymi (*Aen.* 5.73, 300ff.). One difference in the two versions is that the *Aeneid* has the wanderers come twice to Sicily, stopping

¹ Recent comments are F. Schober, 'Phokis', *RE* 20 (1941), 481; F. Zucker, *Würzb. Jahrb.* 4 (1949/50), 335–8; R. Van Compernelle, *Phoibos* 5 (1950/1), 200–1; G. K. Galinsky, *Aeneas, Sicily, and Rome* (Princeton, 1969), 78, 90–3, 98–9, 113–14; Dover in Gomme, Andrewes, Dover, *Historical Commentary on Thucydides* IV (Oxford, 1970), 212. Galinsky (p. 99) surmises that the Phocians felt that Sicans 'could not be entirely trusted' and preferred to live with the barbarians with whom they were familiar – Trojans.

² Only William Ridgeway (*infra*) seems to have noted and exploited the resemblance. The resemblance is the more striking when compared with the far more diverse accounts that Dionysius of Halicarnassus was able to read (*Ant. Rom.* 1.49–53).

there before Africa as well as after: this gives Virgil opportunity to bury Anchises there and thus prepare for the funeral games that occupy Book V and precede the permanent settlement of some of Aeneas' people with Acestes. Another is of course that Virgil has some of the voyagers go on to Italy; this is perhaps not at variance with Thucydides, who is concerned only with the settlement of Sicily.³ There is however a more basic divergence between Thucydides' brief statement and the famous story: for Virgil, the followers of Acestes and of Aeneas are alike Trojans; not so Thucydides, who applied some other ethnic to the late-comers from Africa, concealed beneath *Φωκέων*. What is this likely to have been?

As is well known, the most common appellation of Virgil's wanderers, after Trojan, was Phrygian. This, I submit, is what Thucydides wrote, not *Φωκέων* but *Φρυγῶν*. The alteration is slight, and the gain substantial.

I find that this emendation was urged by William Ridgeway one hundred years ago.⁴ His arguments were rather different from those offered above – weaker, in my view, but still attractive: (1) Thucydides elsewhere is seen to believe that the Egestaeans are barbarians; therefore they cannot have had Phocian blood.⁵ (2) Pausanias (5.25.3), usually evoked here for his reference to a 'Phocian element' in Sicily, does not support the reading *Φωκέων* in Thucydides, because Pausanias does not say where his Phocians are; they could as easily be the *Φωκείς* attested by Thucydides (5.4.4.) in the population of Leontini.⁶ (3) Thucydides' account is consistent with the stories of the emigration of Aeneas and of Acestes.⁷ 'The corruption probably arose from a copyist thinking that *Τρώες* and *Φρύγες* were the same, and that therefore *Φρυγῶν* must be wrong.'

Pausanias' brief ethnography of Sicily (5.25.6), regularly cited by commentators on Thucydides' Phocians, is possibly more telling than has been realized. Like Thucydides, he lists first barbarians and then Greeks: of barbarians, the Sicans, Sicels, Phrygians (some by way of Italy, the rest from the Troad), and Phoenicians.⁸ Of Greeks, the Dorians and Ionians, and also a small portion of the Phocian and the

³ The burning of the ships at Eryx, however, suggests an account that had the voyage end here: see most recently F. Solmsen, *HSCP* 90 (1986), 106–7.

⁴ *CR* 2 (1888), 180. This was dismissed by Steup in Classen and Steup, *Thukydides VI* (Berlin, 1905), 5 (repeated in C. F. Smith [Boston, 1913]): 'from the whole context it is clear that only Hellenes returning from Troy are in mind'. Steup was nodding: there is no other mention here of Hellenes returning from Troy, only of the defeated leaving Troy upon its capture. Ridgeway's emendation is noted without comment in the editions of Spratt (1905), Hude (BT: 1911), Marchant (1914), and Jacoby (*FGrHist* 577 F 9: 1950). Already at the start of the nineteenth century Dobree, surprised that Greeks would join with barbarians, thought the word *Φωκέων* might be corrupt: P. P. Dobree, *Adversaria* (Berlin, 1874), 63.

⁵ Thus not only their inclusion in 6.2, but Nicias' *βάρβαροι* at 6.11 and the list at 7.57. One might answer that by the fifth century men may have considered that the early Phocian population at Egesta had been long subsumed under the barbarian (so both Steup and de Romilly, *ad* 6.2, justify the mention of Greek Phocians in this chapter). But the crucial point is that Thucydides classifies as barbarians not only Egestaeans but also his 'Phocians'.

⁶ Ridgeway gives *Φωκείας* (accusative) as the toponym (*Φωκείας τε τῆς πόλεως τί τῆς Λεοντίνων χωρίον καλούμενον*); in fact the authorities vary between *Φωκείας* (EFG: Arnold, Hude, Smith, de Romilly) and *Φωκαίας* (AB: Bekker, Goeller, Boehme, Herwerden, Poppo, Fowler, Graves, Jones). Gomme (*Commentary*, iii.634) remarked, 'Presumably there had been some special friendships with Ionian Phokaia which caused the name to be given to this quarter' of Leontini (similarly Fowler). This is a puzzle in its own right, whatever the reading.

⁷ Acestes' story is cited from Dion. Hal. 1.52, cf. 47.2 and 63.2 (he left Troy at once, whereas Aeneas first lingered in the Troad and then followed a wandering course).

⁸ *Σικελίαν δὲ ἔθνη τοσάδε οἰκεῖ, Σικανοὶ τε καὶ Σικελοὶ καὶ Φρύγες, οἱ μὲν ἐξ Ἰταλίας διαβιβηκότες ἐς αὐτήν, Φρύγες δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Σκαμάνδρου ποταμοῦ καὶ χώρας τῆς Τρωάδος ... τοσαῦτα μὲν ἐν Σικελίᾳ ἔθνη βάρβαρα. Ἑλλήνων δὲ Δωριεῖς (κτλ.).*

Attic races (καὶ τοῦ Φωκικοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἀττικοῦ γένους ἑκατέρου μοῖρα οὐ πολλή). Several details show that this brief statement is independent of Thucydides. On the Greek side, the Attic item is absent from Thucydides; we might well conclude that so is the Phocian. More important, Pausanias has not misplaced his Phocians among the barbarians. His barbarians, I suggest, are the same as those in Thucydides (though not in quite the same order): what our MSS of Thucydides give as Trojans and 'Phocians', Pausanias describes as 'Phrygians who crossed over from Italy and Phrygians from the Scamander River and the Troad'. Pausanias' term 'Phrygian', at his date, can prove nothing; but his two branches of Trojan colonists and the care with which he distinguishes barbarians and Greeks lend support to attributing similar rigor to Thucydides 6.2, by reading *Φρυγῶν*.

If this emendation is correct, what version of the wanderings of the fugitives from Troy did Thucydides know? The question is important, for this passage will be one of our earliest sources on the western migration.⁹ That Aeneas survived the fall of Troy was already an old story. That he went as far west as Italy may have been told by Stesichorus, but our evidence for this authority (the *Tabulae Iliacae*) is weak and dubious. Dionysius seems to attribute to Hellanicus a version in which Aeneas founded Rome, but this attribution too has been questioned.¹⁰ Hellanicus derived the Elymi from Italy, not Troy, and before the Trojan war; he certainly was not Thucydides' source for Elymi from Troy.¹¹ Some account of the populating of Sicily was in Antiochus of Syracuse, whom Thucydides may have read. Whatever his sources, two elements in Thucydides' version are arresting.

First is the storm that forces the voyagers to Africa – a detail made famous by the *Aeneid*, though absent in the composite account of the wanderings of Aeneas that Dionysius summarized from his readings (1.49–53). The common belief is that Thucydides derived his Sicilian ethnography from Antiochus of Syracuse.¹² But the arguments for that authority derive in the main from the usages of Thucydides' chronography of Greek colonization, which are not found in his far shorter survey of barbarian settlement. In the latter he begins by demythologizing tales from the *Odyssey* and proceeds to argue subsequent settlements from nomenclature and geography: the explicitness of his reasoning here stands in contrast to the unexplained year-intervals claimed for the Greek colonies. Thucydides may well be doing his own work on the barbarians, and his source or sources need not be simple or the same as for the Greek portion.¹³ Possibly a poem rather than a prose account lies behind Thucydides' explicit mention of the storm.

Second, Thucydides' two ethnics. Already before his time 'Trojan' and 'Phrygian'

⁹ Important recent discussions are T. J. Cornell, *PCPhS* n.s. 21 (1975), 1–32; A. Momigliano, *Stettimo contributo* (Rome, 1984), 437–62; Solmsen, pp. 93–110; and those of N. Horsfall (*infra*).

¹⁰ For arguments that the western migration cannot be shown to have been in Stesichorus (the *Tabulae*: *PMG* 205, *FGrHist* 840 F 6b) or Hellanicus (*FGrHist* 4 F 84, cf. F 31 [Dion. Hal. 1.72, 45–8]) see N. Horsfall, *JHS* 99 (1979), 26–48, and *CQ* n.s. 29 (1979), 372–90. Sophocles had written of the sons of Antenor after the fall of Troy (pp. 160f. Radt: from Strab. 608), who became the Veneti; but what follows in Strabo, versions of the flight of Aeneas, cannot, given the contradictions, also derive from Sophocles.

¹¹ F 79 b 3; cf. Dover, p. 200. Contrast the version of Apollodorus that combined Troy and Italy: Trojan Acestes went first to Croton with Philoctetes but was sent on by him to Sicily and Egesta: Strab. 6.1.3. (254) (= *FGrHist* 244 F 167), 6.2.5 (272); this surely is what Pausanias has in mind with his group of Trojans who passed through Italy.

¹² So already Ridgeway; see Dover, pp. 198–210, for references and discussion.

¹³ Compare Solmsen, p. 97 n. 11, 'Items of this kind probably reflect widely held views and need not go back to Antiochus of Syracuse.'

had come to overlap and be used interchangeably.¹⁴ Euripides provides more than one hundred instances of the Trojans called *Φρύγες*. In particular, Sophocles in *Laocoon* had described Aeneas at the gate of Troy, his father on his shoulders and surrounded by a crowd 'eager for this colony of Phrygians', *τῆσδ' ἐρώσι τῆς ἀποικίας Φρυγῶν*.¹⁵ For Thucydides, by contrast, Trojans went to Egesta; later they were joined by Phrygians coming from Troy by way of Africa – the two ethnics and nations are kept distinct. So they had been also for Homer: in the catalogue of the eastern allies, the Trojans are led by Hector, the Dardanians by Aeneas and the sons of Antenor, and the Phrygians by Phorcys and god-like Ascanius (*Il.* 2.816ff.). Thucydides' maintenance of the distinction suggests that his source was older than the fifth century.

The later usage that treated Trojan and Phrygian as interchangeable terms involved eventually making Ascanius the son of Aeneas. Thucydides' observance of the distinction may point to a version in which the people who were carried to Africa before reaching Sicily were not Trojans led by Aeneas but Phrygians led by Homer's Phrygian Ascanius, perhaps not yet reduced to being Aeneas' son. And indeed Dionysius knew one account of the migration which, even while making Ascanius a son of Aeneas, held that Aeneas died in the Troad and that Ascanius was leader of the western expedition.¹⁶

Duke University, North Carolina

KENT J. RIGSBY

¹⁴ The equation of terms was much discussed: see Dion. Hal. 1.29.1; Strab. 12.4.4–5 (564), 14.3.3 (665: especially the tragedians confused the words); Eustath. ad *Il.* 2.862 (I 574 Valk: Homer's distinction was the ancient usage, whereas later poets like Aeschylus equated them). Note incidentally the story that Aeneas survived the fall of Troy because he was at the time campaigning in Phrygia (Dion. Hal. 1.48.4).

¹⁵ Fr. 373 Radt (from Dion. Hal. 1.48.2); there is no indication where Sophocles thought the colony was to be.

¹⁶ Dion. Hal. 1.53.4; cf. Agathocles, *FGrHist* 472 F 5 (reported in Latin: Aeneas is buried at Berecynthia, Phrygians are to rule Italy). In Hellanicus, by contrast, Ascanius remained in the Troad, while Aeneas departed with his other sons (F 31, from Dion. Hal. 1.47.5–6); at 1.54.2 Dionysius has Ascanius ruling in Phrygia, consistent with Phrygian Ascanius of *Il.* 2.862.