CALLIMACHUS' TALE OF SICYON (*SH* 238)

NOEL ROBERTSON

A PAPYRUS SCRAP PUBLISHED IN 1967 gives the beginning of an episode from Callimachus' *Aetia*, Book One or Two, in which "Sicyon" is named.[1] The ten lines partially preserved have so far proved more puzzling than enlightening, but it may be possible to advance the interpretation.

I shall argue first that two material points in the papyrus text have been missed: the bird omen that Callimachus expounds is one peculiar to Sicyon, in which the hoopoe, *epops*, takes the place of the standard raven; and "Sicyon" as named is not the city but the person so called, a hero of considerable standing (section I). Previous attempts to identify the story do not conform to these and other details, though they rightly insist on the hoopoe's evocative name (section II). The story will be one that is at least glanced at in Pausanias' account of early Sicyon, since Pausanias and Callimachus almost certainly draw on the same source, the *Sicyonica* of Menaechmus (section III). It appears to be the story of the earliest conflict between Sicyon and Argos, a story that was probably invented by Menaechmus, though he made use of some pre-existing details (section IV). Menaechmus like other local historians told stories of early days to explain the origin of shrines and festivals (section V). The story of the war with Argos led up to the foundation of an important shrine on the acropolis of Sicyon, which had formerly been associated with the hero Epopeus (section VI). In Menaechmus' aetiology Epopeus was replaced with the *epops* omen (section VII).

I. THE PAPYRUS TEXT

The passage runs as follows (*SH* 238 = *P Antinoop.* 113, fr. 1 (a) "recto").[2] (The last line on the papyrus matches the former fr. 625, quoted in a Homeric scholium.)

5 .....]οσηρατον[.]ρ[.].ῳε̣[.]μουν[
.....].ιδων οἱ λιπαροὶ κόρακες
.....]πλέουσιν ἐπώπια καλὸν α[
.....]'Ερατὼ δ' ἀνταπάμειπτο τά[δε·
.....]κο[τ]' ἔκηδον ὁμώλακες . . γα . ε . [

[1] Barns 1967: 9–14; Fleischer 1969: 644; Parsons 1970: 86; Giangrande 1970: 66–67; Uebel 1974: 341; *SH* 238; Hollis 1990b and 1992: 11–13; Massimilla 1996: 1.148–149, 2.429–433; d'Alessio 1996: 2.440–441; Borgonovo 1996. I shall throughout differentiate the hero "Sicyon" from the city Sicyon by inverted commas.

[2] The text is that of *SH* (Lloyd-Jones and Parsons 1983), but with a correction called for by Hollis 1990b: 127, n. 4 (at the beginning of line 5, there is space for eleven letters instead of nine) and a reading authorized by Parsons *apud* Hollis 1992: 12, n. 56 (in line 12, με̣[instead of μ.[).

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10 .....]αιανι . [.]ν ἣν ὑπὸ πάντα δόρε[ι
.....]ς ἔποψ εὖτέ σφιν ...δ ....[
..]ανος αἰχμηταῖς ἵκτο μᾳ [
..]ναέταις Σικυῶνος επι[
.....] ἠβα⌜ι⌝ὴν οὔ τι κατ⌜ὰ πρόφασιν

Callimachus begins the *aition* (another was concluded in the lines just before this) by asking a question to which a Muse replies, a device distinctive of Books One and Two of the *Aetia*.[3] The question is why certain birds and their behaviour constitute a favourable omen for seafarers (lines 5–8). The Muse replies (line 8) by describing the course of a certain war (lines 9–14). We must try to grasp how the question was put, so that a local war gave the answer. And then we must gather up the details of the war; the most important comes in the last two lines.

As to the question, one kind of bird is unmistakable in line 6, either "ravens" or "cormorants" (the two meanings of κόραξ). In the next line, the new word ἐπώπια seems to be part of the favourable omen, and also resembles ἔποψ "hoopoe" in line 11. Here, at a critical moment of the war, a hoopoe appears, undoubtedly as an omen. If the hoopoe is so prominent in the answer, it must have been somehow indicated in the question. Line 7, we may suppose, employed a paraphrase for the hoopoe, whether Callimachus meant to identify the bird outright, or to start the reader guessing.[4]

Yet the question and the answer do not seem to match. Question: Why do *both* the raven (or the cormorant) and the hoopoe (or an ἐπώπια-bird) constitute a favourable omen? Answer: On one great occasion, a hoopoe proved to be such. Furthermore, the question is much too general. Callimachus' *aitia* are explanations of local customs throughout the Greek world. Each local custom has been chosen for its oddity; it is not found elsewhere, and often makes a contrast with ordinary usage. The question that introduces the custom (at least in the format of Books One to Three) will specify the locality at the outset.[5] Why, at

[3] It is Callimachus' practice to address the Muses collectively, and d'Alessio (1996: 2.440) restores line 5 in this sense. The other instances are listed in Lloyd-Jones and Parsons 1983: 90; perhaps add *Aetia* fr. 2a, line 47 (Pfeiffer, *Callim.* 2.104, add.). They give no support to the suggestion of Fleischer (1969: 644) that the choice of Erato was somehow determined by the subject matter.

[4] For ἐπώπια, E. A. Barber (*apud* Barns 1967: 13) proposed the meaning "crest" (a notable feature of the hoopoe), as if it were a compound of -ωπιον, from ὤψ "face" or "eye." But as we shall see, both the hoopoe's name ἔποψ and all similar names of the form ἐποπ-, ἐπωπ- were quite insistently linked with ἐπόψομαι (and ὄπωπα), and taken to signify a "watching." Callimachus could hardly do otherwise. Of the two proposals mentioned by *SH*, *cristam erigit* (ἀ[ειρ-]) and καλὸν ἀ[είδει], the latter is much to be preferred. ἐπώπια is then the object, "auspiciously sings its watchful notes." Similarly Barns 1967: 13 ("sing a watcher's song").

[5] The following questions can be made out, all in *Aetia* 1–3 or unplaced; it is not apparent that any episode in *Aetia* 4 was expressed as question and answer. (1) Why, on Paros, do worshippers of the Charites use neither flutes nor crowns? *Aetia* 1, fr. 3, and schol. Flor. 21–23. (2) Why, on Anaphe and at Lindus, do they respectively use obscene and insulting language in the cults of Apollo and

one city, do worshippers behave so oddly? Why, at another, does a statue take such an odd form?

The setting of this episode appears to be Sicyon (line 13). An alternative view makes it rural Attica; this is rejected below (section II), but even if it were right, the rule would hold that the locality must be mentioned at the outset. Now the first of the two birds, if it is the raven, is the commonest of all Greek birds of omen, possibly of all such birds anywhere. About the cormorant nothing relevant is known, and it is an unlikely candidate for that reason.[6] Callimachus could not have wished to tell us why, at Sicyon or in rural Attica or somewhere else, it is the raven that constitutes a favourable omen: it does so universally. On the other hand, the hoopoe has a fairly modest role in superstition, but a definite one. We even hear of its association with a particular place, Megara, where the bird was sighted for the very first time above the grave of Tereus (Paus. 1.41.9). We could credit other associations of the kind.

Accordingly, Callimachus must have put the following question. Why, at Sicyon (or at X), is it *not* the raven but the hoopoe that constitutes a favourable omen? The papyrus remnants are conformable. At the end of line 5, where the question begins, a dative form μούν[οις] or μούν[ηι] can be restored with reference to the local people or city, named just before or after. In the next line, the phrase οἱ λιπαροὶ κόρακες may be ironic and dismissive, "those splendid ravens." For οἱ is a demonstrative, and the adjective as used of ravens seems hyperbolic. [τίν]ος ἦρα ... μούν[οις] ... οἱ λιπαροὶ κόρακες ... πλέουσιν ἐπώπια καλὸν ἀ[είδει κτλ].[7] "Now why," for Sicyonians "alone," are "those splendid ravens" of

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Heracles? *Aetia* 1, fr. 7, and schol. Flor. 39–41. (3) Why, at Argos, is a month named for "lambs"? *Aetia* 1, frs. 26–31a, Dieg. 8 ff. (Pfeiffer, *Callim.* 2.108, add.). (4) Why, on Leucas, does the image of Artemis have a mortar on its head? *Aetia* 1, frs. 31b–e, Dieg. 2–5 (*Callim.* 2.110, add.). (5) Why, at Haliartus, do we find a Cretan festival and a Cretan herb? *Aetia* 2, fr. 43, lines 84–92. (6) Why, at Nemea, is the victor's wreath of parsley? (This is a subsidiary question.) *Aetia* 3, fr. 59 = *SH* 265. (7) Why, in Attica, are girls excluded from the Thesmophoria? *Aetia* 3, fr. 63, lines 9–12. (8) Why, at Elis, is an armed man present at a wedding? *Aetia* 3, frs. 76–77, Dieg. 1.3, lines 2–9. (9) Why is Isindus barred from the Panionia? *Aetia* 3, fr. 78, Dieg. 1.11 ff. (10) Why do women in childbed call on the virgin Artemis? *Aetia* 3, fr. 79, Dieg. 1.28–36. (11) Why, at Teuthis, does the statue of Athena have a bandage on its thigh? *Aetia* 3, *SH* 276, cf. fr. 667. (12) Why, on Icos, does a girl carry an onion in the cult of Peleus? *Aetia*, fr. 178, lines 25–30. (13) How did the custom arise of clasping hands? *Aetia*? fr. 189. (14) Why, at Athens, is an army not sent out before the seventh of the month? *Aetia*? *SH* 277. Questions 1–9, 11–12, and 14 are all specific to a given place. Question 10 is a general custom, which is, however, paradoxical, as a bird omen could not be. Only question 13 deals with ordinary usage, and it is too uncertain to signify.

[6] The meaning "cormorant"—which rests on a single mention of ὁ καλούμενος κόραξ at Arist. *Hist. an.* 8.3 593b—is upheld by W. G. Arnott *apud* Hollis 1990b: 130; W. S. Barrett, *ibid.*, also leans this way. Though λιπαρός may well be apt for the cormorant's "glossy, metallic sheen" (so Arnott), it is also a word much more broadly applied to someone with a comfortable look ("sleek"), or to something that strikes the eye ("splendid"): it will certainly do for the raven.

[7] [τίν]ος ἦρα: Barber. ἐπώπια καλὸν ἀ[είδει]: "auspiciously sings its watchful notes": see above, n. 4. In line 6, [ἀπὸ πρα]πίδων?

no account, but instead the hoopoe (or a quaint little bird) "auspiciously sings its watchful notes to seafarers"?

Next, the war. "Erato thus replied . . . Once neighbours were ravaging . . . was all beneath the spear . . . When the hoopoe to them . . . to spearsmen came . . ." (lines 8–12). The war is between neighbours; one side is thoroughly defeated; a hoopoe appears; and, we may assume, fortunes are soon reversed. Though the general sense can be made out, there is little to identify the conflict.

Unless we restore [Π]αιανιέ̣[ω]ν in line 10. The sense would be "beneath the spear of the Paeanians," demesmen of eastern Attica. The restoration occurred to Barber, but he dismissed it as unsuitable; so did the editors of *SH*.[8] Since then it has dominated the discussion of the fragment.[9] To adopt and press such a restoration is most unwise. If nothing else will fit the traces, then they cannot be relied on.[10] In fact the second ι is written in a corrector's hand above the line; the next two letters are lost. Six lines before this, in the last line of the previous *aition*, the letters χαιρ' α[.]παυσα are presumably a double error for χεῖρ' ἀνέπαυσε.[11] In all fourteen lines of *SH* 238, only twenty-three words can be made out with certainty.

It is lines 13–14, the last two preserved, that say something about "Sicyon." In line 13 the genitive Σικυῶνος is preceded by either [ἐν]ναέταις or, after a monosyllable, ναέταις, both meaning "inhabitants." The compound is much more likely, for Callimachus affected this word, as we have learnt from papyri.[12] A reader groping through the fragmentary context immediately thinks: "inhabitants of Sicyon." So far as the record shows, everyone has jumped to this conclusion.[13] But we should reflect.

The land that was invaded by its neighbours was somehow identified at the outset, in line 9, either by name or by a pronoun referring to the name already given in the question. It was probably Sicyon. A name for Sicyon or its people readily fits: [Μηκώνην] or [Αἰγιαλόν] or [Αἰγιαλεῖς] at the beginning of line 9, or else Ạ̣ἰ̣γ<ι>ά̣λ̣ε̣ι̣[αν] or Ạ̣ἰ̣γ<ι>α̣λ̣ε̣ῦ̣[σι] at the end.[14] In line 11 these people

[8] "It is hard to see what the name of an Attic deme would be doing here" (Barns 1967: 14, after Barber); "nihil ad rem, nisi metonymice 'Atheniensium'" (Lloyd-Jones and Parsons 1983: 91).

[9] Hollis 1990b and 1992; Massimilla 1996: 2.430–431; Borgonovo 1996.

[10] The only other proposal, Giangrande's [π]αιᾶνι (1970: 66), must be rejected. It is hardly metrical, and leads nowhere. Giangrande points to the "paeans" for Asclepius and Dionysus which Isyllus and Philodamus respectively associate with the "inhabitants" of Epidaurus and Eleusis, as if this paean would go just as well with the supposed "inhabitants of Sicyon" in line 13.

[11] So Barber (*apud* Barns 1967: 12), followed by Barns (1967: 12–13), *SH*, Hollis (1990b: 128, n. 5), Massimilla (1996: 1.149, 2.431), and d'Alessio (1996: 2.440).

[12] It was proposed by Barber, approved by Lloyd-Jones, and placed in the text of the *ed. pr.* (Barns 1967), though not in that of *SH*. Cf. below, n. 17.

[13] Cf. Parsons 1970: 86 ("Sicyonians"); Hollis 1990b: 128 and 1992: 13 ("inhabitants of Sicyon"); Massimilla 1996: 2.431 ("abitanti di Sicione"); d'Alessio 1996: 2.441 ("abitanti di Sicione").

[14] Lloyd-Jones suggests [Μηκώνην] or [Αἰγιαλεῖς] at the beginning; [Αἰγιαλόν] can be added. The space is given as seven letters, but the latter words might fit with their iotas. At the end of the

are referred to again as σφιν: the hoopoe [appears] "to them." The people and the place did not need to be named once more in line 13, or not so downrightly as "inhabitants of Sicyon."

With the other approach mentioned above, line 9 must name a part of Attica, the deme Erchia. [Ἐρχιέας] can be restored at the beginning of the line;[15] the Paeanians, it is held, are named next, in line 10; in line 11 σφιν will refer back to the Erchians. So lines 9–12 give a capsule view of a local war in Attica. Lines 13–14 are then explained as a relative clause describing a quite different war, in Sicyon. If all this were granted, the phrase "inhabitants of Sicyon" might not be unsuitable. But this line of argument fails on substantive grounds, as we shall see in section II.

As to the purported phrase, the assumption has been that [ἐν]ναέταις takes a genitive. It need not. This compound form of ναέτης, not attested before Isyllus, is a favourite of Hellenistic and later poets, much more than the simple form.[16] Callimachus' usage is not quite clear, for the instances are all fragmentary.[17] Yet it was surely similar to that of Apollonius. In the *Argonautica*, the plural ἐνναέται is used by itself to mean "the natives," "the local people," when the place has been mentioned already:[18] it is the poetic equivalent of οἱ ἐπιχώριοι. Much less commonly the genitive is added, and only in phrases in apposition.[19] Such a phrase is unlikely in our brief narrative. The word [ἐν]ναέταις will mean "natives," without further qualification.

The genitive Σικυῶνος may depend on another word; or it may be part of a genitive absolute. Either way, it can hardly be the place-name. The place-name by itself, like the purported phrase, would be redundant if it were the same land and people as in lines 9 and 11. Much more likely, it is a person, the eponym "Sicyon" who gave his name to a place formerly known by other names, such as "Aegialus." One of those names may have been given just before, in line 9.

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line, Barber thought of Αἰγ<ι>άλ̣ε̣ι̣[αν]; "there is, however, no trace of a correction above γα" (Barns 1967: 14). Or [αἶαν ὅλην] κο[τ]' ἔκηδον ὁμώλακες Αἰγ<ι>α̣λ̣ε̣ῦ̣[σι]? Words in ὁμ–, e.g., ὁμέστιος, ὅμορος, are often accompanied by a dative.

[15] So Hollis 1990b: 129 and 1992: 12.

[16] Isyllus *Coll. Alex.* 132–138, line 38; Callimachus (possibly four occurrences) and Apollonius (ten occurrences), as cited in nn. 17–19; thereafter, epigrammatists (seventeen occurrences) and Oppian (five occurrences) and Nonnus (three occurrences). (I also count the infrequent forms ἐνναέτις, ἐνναετήρ, ἐνναέτειρα.) Ostensibly, the earliest instance is ps.-Dem. 7 *Halon.* 40 = *Anth. Pal.* 9.786 (Page, *FGE* 69), an epigram inserted in some of the orator's mss., but not in the best. Despite Page, we can be quite sure that it was fabricated for the purpose, as it merely repeats phrases in the speech. If the fabricator knew any poetry at all, he knew Callimachus and Apollonius. Cf. Barrett *apud* Hollis 1990a: 359.

[17] *Aetia* fr. 177 (*SH* 259), line 36, perhaps "occupant," *sc.* of a house; fr. 186, line 24, [some emotion] "seized the inhabitants"; *SH* 253, line 10 (restored), "a dream agreeable to the inhabitants."

[18] Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.921, 1048; 2.517, 1085, 1273; 4.1140, 1174; so too the epigram in ps.-Dem. 7 (above, n. 16).

[19] Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.1126, 1180; 2.1033. Elsewhere, as in Isyllus, the genitive appears in vocative phrases.

In line 14, which is almost completed for us by the former fr. 625, someone is acting from a personal motive—"for no small consideration." It must be the hero "Sicyon."

"Sicyon" was a prominent person, one of the most full-bodied eponyms we hear of anywhere.[20] According to Pausanias (2.1.1, 6.5), he was variously portrayed in respect of genealogy by the poets Eumelus, Asius, Hesiod, and Ibycus, and by local tradition. It is no surprise to find him again in Callimachus.

"Sicyon" then came to the war-ravaged land "for no small consideration," perhaps as "an ally," ἐπι[κλήτου] or ἐπι[κλήτοιο]. For example,

ἥρ]ανος αἰχμηταῖς ἵκτο μέ̣[νος στιβαρόν
ἐν]ναέταις Σικυῶνος ἐπι[κλήτοιο ἄνακτος·
ἦκε γὰρ] ἠβαιὴν οὔ τι κατὰ πρόφασιν.[21]

As succour to their warriors there came the great might that was Sicyon, an ally chief for the natives; and he came for no small consideration.

His intervention reversed the tide of war, and was somehow commemorated.

II. CURRENT OPINION

Two suggestions have been made about Callimachus' subject, by Lloyd-Jones and Hollis respectively.[22] Lloyd-Jones thinks of the war between Sicyon and Thebes over Antiope, Hollis of a war otherwise unknown between the Attic demes Paeania and Erchia. Only the second has been argued at any length. Yet both seize on some essential points, and will repay examination.

As to the war between Sicyon and Thebes, the case rests mainly on two names, Κόραξ and Ἐπωπεύς as successive kings of Sicyon, of whom the latter fought the war (Paus. 2.5.8–6.4).[23] Κόραξ "Raven" recalls the κόρακες of line 6, and Ἐπωπεύς resembles both the ἐπώπια of line 7 and the ἔποψ of line 11. Now the long list of Sicyonian kings which we find in Pausanias touches on bird lore at more than one juncture, as follows.

Besides Κόραξ there is his father Κόρωνος "Crow" (2.5.8). Since these well-known birds of omen are both sacred to Apollo, it is fitting that "Crow" father of "Raven" is himself born of a love-match between Apollo and a princess. We are reminded of the famous old myth of Coronis. (Coronis herself was honoured in the cult of Asclepius at Titane, but this cannot be directly relevant to Coronus the king.) A later king, Lamedon, took an Athenian bride named Φηνώ "Vulture" (Paus. 2.6.5: he afterwards summoned an Athenian ally, "Sicyon"). Here is another bird as notable as crow or raven: φήνη is the bearded vulture or

[20] Alas, he is omitted from *RE*, though the numbered heading for the city, "Sikyon 1" (*RE* 2A 2 [1923] 2528), hints at his existence.

[21] [ἥρ]ανος: Barber *apud* Barns 1967: 14.

[22] Besides Giangrande 1970: 66–67 (see above, n. 10; below, n. 33).

[23] See Barns 1967: 13 and Lloyd-Jones and Parsons 1983: 91.

lammergeyer, the largest European bird of prey. In a transformation story that is probably due to Boeus, the vulture is again a queen, whose husband the king becomes an eagle.[24] The bird was generally believed to be a doting mother of its brood (as with other vulture species), and more strikingly, to rescue and rear the eagle's young when they were ejected from the nest. Boeus, if it is he, says that the sighting of a φήνη is "favourable to every human enterprise."

We have then three standard birds of omen: crow, raven, vulture. They give reason to suppose that Callimachus took the hoopoe omen from the writer who produced the Sicyonian king-list (other reasons, much more decisive, are set forth in section III). Yet this choice of birds, whatever else may have been said about them, is far from showing that the writer was deeply versed in bird lore. We might expect the hoopoe omen, if from the same hand, to display the bird's leading characteristic, such as it was for the Greeks.

Despite ἔποψ and ἐπώπια, Callimachus' subject cannot be King Epopeus and the war with Thebes, for although the Thebans invaded Sicyon, they are not "neighbours" like the invaders of line 9. If the fighting takes place in Sicyon, the enemy are a neighbouring people of the northeastern Peloponnesus.

Hollis, followed by P. Borgonovo, locates the "neighbours" in quite a different quarter, in a putative war between Paeania and Erchia.[25] He restores (as was said) [Π]αιανιέ̣[ω]ν in line 10, after Barber, and points to the god or hero Ἔποψ who receives sacrifice in the inscribed calendar of Erchia (the entry is discussed in section VI below).[26] On this footing, Hollis supposes that both Callimachus and the calendar pay tribute to a hero of legend named Epops who came to help Erchia against Paeania, and that Callimachus somehow equates this Epops with Epopeus king of Sicyon.[27]

An outright war between two districts of rural Attica would be a striking addition to our knowledge. We must then wonder why, in all the remnants of the Attic chroniclers, no such thing is heard of; instead they harp on the abiding unity of primeval Attica, with a fourfold or a twelvefold

[24] Ov. *Met.* 7.399–400; Ant. Lib. 6.4. In Antoninus the story lacks the usual ascription, but it is in Boeus' manner, and in Ovid comes in a series of bird transformations one of which is traceable to Boeus (*Met.* 7.390 = Ant. Lib. 18). For beliefs about the φήνη, see Thompson 1936: 303, s.v.

[25] Hollis 1990b and 1992: 11–13; Borgonovo 1996: 49–51, 53–55.

[26] Hollis (1990b: 128, n. 11 and 1992: 11, n. 53) also quotes the local designation πρὸς Παιανιέων ("next to Paeania") which the calendar attaches to one of two sacrifices to Apollo *apotropaios* on 8th Gamelion: *BCH* 87 (1963) 606–610 = *LSCG* 18, A 31–36, cf. B 31–37. A boundary, or perhaps a road leading to it, would seem a natural place for this deity, whether or not we postulate some more definite hostility between the demes (so M. H. Jameson *apud* Hollis 1992: 11, n. 53). In any case, we learn no more than we knew before: Erchia and Paeania are neighbours, with the usual neighbourly disposition.

[27] Borgonovo (1996) offers further hypotheses. Callim. fr. 571, *incertae sedis*, is an exhortation to pederasty ascribed to one Ἐρχίος, possibly the deme eponym, though Pfeiffer does not think so. Perhaps, says Borgonovo, the exhortation belongs in a military context, in the war between Erchia and Paeania. And perhaps again it was linked by Callimachus, in a programmatic statement near the beginning of the *Aetia*, with his own experience as a pederast handicapped by poverty.

organization.[28] We must wonder too how the town or deme of Erchia could be joined in story with far-off Sicyon. Hollis speaks of "the numerous mythical connections between Athens and Sicyon," but they consist solely in symbolic genealogy.[29]

To equate Epops of Erchia with Epopeus of Sicyon only makes the difficulty worse.[30] Sicyon is a centre of ancient legend, and Epopeus is far and away its most famous hero, bruited in epic and in tragedy.[31] Euripides' *Antiope*, a very popular play (frs. 231–278 Mette), stood in the way of any later author who might think of giving Epopeus a new dimension in Attica. And our papyrus text does not respond well to this treatment. According to Hollis, Callimachus describes in quick succession two apparently unrelated wars, a small war in Attica and the great war between Thebes and Sicyon. After the war in Attica, lines 13–14 are restored as a relative clause saying that Epops (*qua* Epopeus) inflicted a war on Sicyon.[32] Unfortunately, there is no room for a word meaning "also" or "previously" or "afterwards."

[28] The twelvefold organization which ps.-Aristotle renders with the co-ordinate terms trittys, phratry, and *ethnos* (*Ath.* fr. 3), and which Philochorus describes as so many *poleis* (*FGH* 328 F 94), will also stand behind Thucydides' account of competing entities with their own council houses and town halls (2.15.1–2); it is not to his purpose to give a definite number. Admittedly, and notoriously, Thucydides says that these entities sometimes made war, with Eleusis as an instance (and indeed the only conflicts that are ever mentioned are on the border, at Eleusis and Eleutherae). But this is entirely to his purpose, to demonstrate the age-old independent style of country life. Hollis (1992: 11) cites Kearns (1989: 114) for the remark that "the traditions of what must have been many local wars and skirmishes between the towns of Attica seem to have crystallised into this one war between Athens and Eleusis." The remark is in fact unexpected, since in this section of her excellent study Kearns emphasizes the theme of unity in Attic myths (1989: 112–119); she even discounts Thucydides on Eleusis ("it is doubtful whether he knew of further examples"). We should also be aware that the embroilment of Erechtheus and Eumolpus is not a legend presupposing any actual war but an aetiology of Athens' threshing festival (Robertson 1996: 52–56). The affair at Eleutherae, or at Melaenae, is likewise an aetiology (Robertson 1988: 205–224).

[29] Hollis 1990b: 129–130, citing only "Paus. 2.6.5." More fully, Castor *FGH* 250 F 2 nos. 13–14; Paus. 2.1.1 (Eumelus *FGH* 451 F 1a = *PEG* fr. 4 = *EGF* F 5), 2.3.10 (Eumelus *FGH* 451 F 2a = *PEG* fr. 5 = *EGF* F 3a), 2.5.5–6 (Asius *PEG* fr. 11 = *EGF* F 11; Hesiod fr. 224 M-W). "Sicyon" comes from Athens to Sicyon, and so do "Pheno" and "Ianiscus," and "Marathon" goes back and forth.

[30] Hollis does not shrink from difficulty. He further equates Epops of Erchia with a supposed Epops of Euboea (1990b: 129 and 1992: 13), whom I shall confine to this footnote. He is but a creature of outdated handbooks, after ps.-Probus on Verg. *Ecl.* 2.48, where the manuscript reading *Euppo* was corrected by Egnatius to *Epope*, by Schneidewin to *Epopeo*, and by Keil to *Ellope*. Only the last has any chance of being right; Ellops son of Ion was of some importance on Euboea (Str. 10.1.3, C.445; Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἑλλοπία). Whoever he was, this person killed Narcissus. How that could possibly be relevant Hollis does not say. Yet he would restore Callimachus' line 12 so that Epops of Euboea comes to Erchia with a contingent of fellow Euboeans: ἶκτο μᾰ [τ' Ἐλλοπίοις] (1992: 13); i.e., Hollis would venture the ethnic name of which Ellops is the eponym—but he trips on the form (and Callimachus uses the very name at *Hymn* 4.20), which should be Ἐλλοπιεῦσιν. He also restores lines 13–14 so that the same Epops goes on from Erchia to Sicyon (see below, n. 32). This was truly a migratory bird.

[31] Hollis (1992: 13) says no more of Epopeus at large than that he was "better-known" than "the obscure" Epops: a considerable understatement.

[32] [ὃς] ναέταις Σικυῶνος ἐπὶ [στονόεντας ἀέθλους / ἤγαγεν] (Hollis 1992: 13).

Hollis' starting point was the Erchia calendar. Its real contribution is to show that Ἔποψ is a "watching" deity —just like Zeus ἐπωπετής, who elsewhere in the calendar receives the same sacrifice at the same site, namely Pagus "Hill," but a few days earlier in the same season. The hero Epopeus, as we have always known from Pausanias, is associated with a hill-top shrine at Sicyon. Hollis is right to ask how these names, and also ἔποψ "hoopoe," are related. But the answer he gives is very unconvincing.

Both of the foregoing suggestions have focused our attention on a curious nomenclature, Epopeus and ἐπώπια and ἔποψ, which also involves the bird omen.[33] We shall come back to it further on (sections v–vii). For the moment, it is better to put this question aside in favour of the straightforward details which serve to identify Callimachus' subject (sections iii–iv). We are looking for a war between neighbouring states in which the hero "Sicyon" intervenes as an ally "for no small consideration."

III. MENAECHMUS' *SICYONICA*

The place to look is Pausanias' *archaiologia* of Sicyon, consisting mainly of a list of kings, twenty-four in all, from the autochthonous Aegialeus to the Dorian usurper Phalces (2.5.6–6.7). It is a long and prominent account (three pages, as against seven on the monuments of Sicyon, and three-and-a-half on Aratus); Pausanias refers to it again at the beginning of the *archaiologia* of Achaea (7.1.1). The source of this account was also used by Castor of Rhodes for an important element in his tables of history. With a few adjustments, the line of kings was made to reach back a thousand years before the Dorian invasion, so that Aegialeus is coeval with the first king of Assyria—and Sicyon is the oldest city in Greece (*FGH* 250 F 2, cf. "Apollod." *FGH* 244 F 86).

Pausanias professes to follow a living tradition ("The Sicyonians say . . ."),[34] but this is only a convention, clearly discernible as such at many points in his work.[35] Even without Castor, we would postulate some leading authority on Sicyon. The authority was firmly identified by F. Jacoby as the Sicyonian Menaechmus, author of *Sicyonica*, among several other works.[36] No one has disputed him, and it would not be easy to do so. For the history of this important city, no other authority

[33] It might be mentioned too that Giangrande (1970: 67) compares ἐπώπια and ἔποψ with the category of ἐπόπται ("witnesses") at the Eleusinian Mysteries, for the "inhabitants" of Eleusis are described as such in Philodamus' "paean" for Dionysus: see above, n. 10.

[34] 2.5.6 (Σικυώνιοι δέ . . . λέγουσιν), 5.6–8, 6.1, 3, 5 (φασί *ter*, λέγουσι *bis*, νομίζουσι); 7.1.1 (λόγωι μὲν τῶν Σικυωνίων). Pausanias is still sometimes taken almost at his word, as by Griffin 1982: 34–36 ("important as showing what was believed by later generations") and Vermeule 1987: 132–133 (partly "invention," partly "genuine oral tradition").

[35] In one remarkable instance, at Phigaleia, the account that is first presented as a living tradition is revealed as a book when it is subsequently contrasted with actual inquiries which Pausanias made on the spot (Robertson 1992: 235–240).

[36] Jacoby on Castor *FGH* 250 F 2 and on (lxvii Sicyon) 551 *Anhang* F 2 (= Pausanias). Pfister (1913: 534–535) sets forth the argument more fully but spoils the conclusion by assuming that Menaechmus and Pausanias both drew on some local "chronicle."

is heard of, apart from an Aristotelian *Constitution* (fr. 580 Rose[3]). At one point Pausanias agrees strikingly with Menaechmus as reported elsewhere.[37] Another work of Menaechmus seems to be used by Pausanias at Delphi.[38]

Menaechmus wrote in the late fourth century and was available to Callimachus. For the many curious rites and myths paraded in the *Aetia*, Callimachus relied chiefly on works of antiquarian local history, similar to Menaechmus' *Sicyonica*. The plainest debts are to the *Argolica* of "Agias and Dercylus"—perhaps an earlier Agias revised by a later Dercylus—and to Xenomedes of Ceos and Leander (if that is the name) of Miletus; there is a doubtful one to Phanodemus *qua* historian of Icos. Agias and Dercylus are cited by papyrus scholia as Callimachus' source for three stories of *Aetia* Books One and Three: for Minos sacrificing to the Charites on Paros, for Linus torn by dogs at Argos, and for the differing efficacy of certain Argive springs.[39] "Old Xenomedes" is named by Callimachus himself in Book Three as the source for Acontius and Cydippe.[40] In Book Four, for Melicertes on Tenedos, Callimachus cites "the old stories of [Le]ander."[41] And the slaying of the Delphic serpent, also recounted in Book Four, was probably given in Leander's version, for a scholium on Apollonius reports that Leander and Callimachus were in agreement on the serpent's name, an unusual one.[42] An unplaced story about Peleus' exile on Icos may come from Phanodemus.[43]

Several of the Attic chroniclers have contributed, though we cannot name them with assurance. One or other of their number supplied a tale about the Attic or Athenian Thesmophoria in Book Three, and in Book Four the

[37] See Jacoby on Menaechmus 131 F 10, and his n. 7 to 551 *Anhang* F 2. In his n. 8, as in the introduction to Menaechmus, Jacoby doubts that Pausanias consulted Menaechmus directly. This is merely the usual grudging view of Pausanias as an amateur who depended on late intermediaries; it does not affect any question of substance, at least for the moment. Section IV will show that Pausanias made his own purposeful selection from Menaechmus. In the celebrated case of the Messenian Wars, it can again be seen that Pausanias selected from the original Hellenistic authorities (Robertson 1992: 170, 224–227).

[38] Pausanias' account of the early musical contest (10.7.2–3) differs from the mainstream version, presumably ps.-Aristotle's, but matches Menaechmus' *Pythicus* in a significant detail (*FGH* 131 F 2). See Robertson 1978: 56–58, 61, n. 5, 66.

[39] Charites on Paros: *FGH* 305 F 8 = Callim. *Aetia* 1, fr. 7 *init.* Perhaps Agias and Dercylus came to the rite on Paros after representing the Charites as offspring of Zeus and Argive Hera, a genealogy discounted by Callimachus; for the preferred one, see *SH* 271–274, adn. Linus at Argos: *FGH* 305 F 8 *bis* (III B p. 757, add.; III b, *Kommentar*, 2.399, add.) = Callim. *Aetia* 1, fr. 26–31 a (Pfeiffer, *Callim.* 2.107–108, add.). The Argive festival Arneides is now assignable to the spring; see Charneux 1990: 399–401 on the month Arneius. Argive springs: *FGH* 305 F 4 = Callim. *Aetia* 3, fr. 65 adn. No doubt Agias and Dercylus are somewhere behind the *Bath of Pallas*, an Argive festival. But the Teiresias episode cannot be so attributed, as in Bulloch 1985: 17–25; for its relevance to the action, see Robertson 1996: 50–51.

[40] *FGH* 442 F 1 = Callim. *Aetia* 3, fr. 75, lines 53–4.

[41] *FGH* 491/2 F 5 = Callim. *Aetia* 4, fr. 92.

[42] *FGH* 491/2 F 14 = Callim. *Aetia* 4, fr. 88. Jacoby unwarrantably doubts the connexion with the serpent-slaying of Book Four.

[43] *Aetia* fr. 178, cf. *FGH* 325 T 7.

punishment of Leimonis, the Pelasgian wall-building, and "the hero at the stern," *sc.* Androgeos.[44] And one of them provided details of the cult of the Eumenides.[45] The last line of Book Two alludes to the Altar of Pity, the earliest trace of this celebrated monument; the name was probably conferred by an Attic chronicler.[46] Callimachus pays a passing tribute to Erigone daughter of Icarius, and so perhaps to a certain version of her story, which might then be Phanodemus'.[47] *Hecale* draws at length on two other chroniclers—on Philochorus for Hecale, and on Amelesagoras for the crow's denunciation of the Cecropids.[48]

On this showing, Menaechmus' history of Sicyon was a work that Callimachus could not fail to have used in the *Aetia*, if he spoke of Sicyon at all. It is next to certain that the papyrus episode comes from Menaechmus, and, equally so, that we shall find it in Pausanias, who reproduces Menaechmus.

IV. THE WAR BETWEEN SICYON AND ARGOS

In Pausanias the neighbours who go to war with Sicyon are those of the Argolid. Near the end of the king-list, Agamemnon compels the submission of Sicyon to Mycenae (2.6.7), an event which accounts for Agamemnon's realm in the *Catalogue of Ships* (*Il.* 2.572; cf. 23.299). In the next generation Phalces son of Temenus attaches Sicyon to the Dorian domains (Paus. 2.6.7). Though these are broils with neighbours, they do not otherwise resemble Callimachus' story. Both bring defeat, but in Callimachus we must assume that Sicyon prevails. There is, however, an earlier war with Argos in the generation after the war with Thebes,

[44] Thesmophoria: *Aetia* 3, fr. 63, with Robertson 1996 [1998] 377, n. 156. Leimonis: *Aetia* 4, frs. 94–95, cf. ps.-Arist. *Ath. init.*; Heracleid. *Epit.* 1. This story was bound to be told by all or most Attic chroniclers, since the girl's father was a king or archon whose cruelty brought a constitutional change. Pelasgian wall-building: *Aetia* 4, fr. 97, cf. Philochorus *FGH* 328 F 99–101, with Jacoby's comments at *FGH* III b *Supplement*, 1.412, 2.340, n. 10. "Hero at the stern": *Aetia* 4, fr. 103. Despite Jacoby, III b *Supplement*, 1.440 (on Philochorus F 111), Philochorus need not be excluded for "the hero at the stern"; see Robertson 1992: 130.

[45] Fr. 681, *incertae sedis*. Callimachus may have remembered similar details in Aeschylus and Sophocles, as Hollis (1992: 8) suggests; he may even have amused himself by transferring the epithet "sober" from the offerings to the priestesses. But an antiquarian source was still needed for the priestly title "Hesychides," which refers to a hieratic *genos*. A further reference to a calendar superstition is unplaced and dubious. According to Photius s.v. ἐντὸς ἑβδόμης (*SH* 277), "Callimachus in the *Attica* has stated the reason" why Athens would not send out an army before the seventh of the month. Latte *ad* Hesychius s.v. makes it "*Aetia*," *SH* "Ister the Callimachean."

[46] *Aetia* 2, fr. 51. The suppliants whom we later find at the Altar of Pity are in tragedy situated at an altar of Zeus: Eur. *Heracl.* 23, 69–71, 78–79, etc.; *LIMC* 1.1 (1981), Akamas et Demophon no. 20 (U. Kron).

[47] Callim. *Aetia*, fr. 178, lines 3–4, cf. Phanodemus *FGH* 325 F 11, with Pfeiffer 1922: 105–107. Callimachus in *Hecale*, fr. 305 = 85 Hollis (with a doubtful restoration) = Philochorus 328 F 229 (dub.), spoke of another custom of the third day of the Anthesteria, dances at Limnae, as existing in the time of Theseus, but it is impossible to say if this is indebted to any particular authority; cf. Phanodemus 325 F 11–12 and Philochorus F 5, 57, with Robertson 1993: 242–250.

[48] Hecale: Philochorus *FGH* 328 F 109 = Callim. *Hecale*, test. 9 Hollis. Crow: Amelesagoras *FGH* 330 F 1; cf. Callim. *Hecale*, *SH* 288, lines 17–43 = frs. 70, 73 Hollis.

though Pausanias happens not to describe it as such. Lamedon the successor of Epopeus went to war with Archander and Architeles the sons of Achaeus (2.6.5). This pair is not identified until a later page.

In the *archaiologia* of Achaea, which begins with a cross-reference to that of Sicyon (7.1.1), Pausanias offers to explain why, in the Peloponnesus, the name "Achaean" was once given to the inhabitants of Argos and Lacedaemon, and to them alone (7.1.6–8; cf. 7.6.3). He tells a curious story that was already known, though with slightly different detail, to Herodotus (2.98.2; cf. 1.145). Whereas Achaeus son of Xuthus had gone back from Achaea, then called "Aegialus," to his father's ancestral home in Thessaly (he had failed, so to speak, as an eponym), Achaeus' two sons Archander and Architeles made the opposite journey, from Thessaly to Argos. They settled there, and married two of Danaus' fifty daughters, and became powerful both at Argos and at Lacedaemon, and conferred the name "Achaean" on all the people of this realm. Pausanias insists upon their transforming role at Argos. "They give proof of having fixed their abode at Argos especially in this, that Archander called his son Metanastes 'Immigrant'." As for Achaea, it did not get its name until the Achaeans of Argos and Lacedaemon were driven out by the Dorians and in turn drove out the Ionians of "Aegialus."

The story about the two sons of Achaeus (elsewhere they are grandsons) supersedes the original story, as it undoubtedly was, about Achaeus himself: after his father Xuthus came to Athens (or thereabouts), Achaeus came to Achaea and conferred the name. That story, though first appearing in Euripides, is already implied by the genealogy of the Hesiodic *Catalogue*, whether or not the poet went on to tell the story.[49] For the eponyms of the *Catalogue*, such as Achaeus, are meant to explain the ethnic names that were current at the time, and not those that might be postulated for some earlier period, like the "Achaeans" of Argos and Lacedaemon. The subsequent story about the two sons or grandsons who flourish in Argos and Lacedaemon is inspired by Argive chauvinism: the names "Archander" and especially "Architeles" are borne by prominent Argives.[50] It too is fairly early: witness Herodotus and the range of later variants.[51]

[49] Ps.-Hes. *Cat.* fr. 10a M-W, lines 20–24. In this context nothing more was said of Achaeus than that he was son of Xuthus and brother of Ion, and he need not have been mentioned again. So West (1985: 59), who also (57–58) thinks that Xuthus originally went to Euboea, not Athens. Thereafter, Eur. *Ion* 1591–94; Conon *FGH* 26 F 1.27.2; ps.-Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.7.3.2.

[50] Mitsos (1952: 46, 49) gives one instance of "Archander" (fourth century B.C.) and three of "Architeles" (sixth/fifth to second/first century B.C.).

[51] In Herodotus (2.98.2), Archander son of Phthius son of Achaeus is son-in-law to Danaus; Stephanus, s.v. Ἑλλάς, knows Phthius son of Achaeus. Despite their Argive names, Archander and Architeles are recruited for the tale of Peleus and Neoptolemus as sons of Acastus ruling in Phthia (schol. *Il.* 24.488; schol. Eur. *Tro.* 1128; cf. ps.-Apollod. *Epit.* 6.13). To say that Achaeus himself brought the name "Achaean" to Lacedaemon, whence it passed to Achaea (Str. 8.7.1, C.383–384), is to telescope the older story. At Argos Archander and Architeles wed Automate and Scaea (Paus. 7.1.6); in virtue of this, we may infer, the two girls are said by ps.-Apollodorus to be almost the

Now the story of the two sons has been spliced into Pausanias' *archaiologia* of Achaea from another source, *sc.* Menaechmus. This *archaiologia* is mainly about the Ionians and their many migrations. Pausanias himself avowedly inserts the story to explain the name "Achaean": "My account will take up the conflict between Ionians and Achaeans as soon as I have explained" the origin of the latter name (7.1.6). Explanation is needed because Pausanias says at the outset that Achaea was originally named "Aegialus" after Aegialeus king of Sicyon, a doctrine which he ascribes to Sicyonian tradition, i.e., to Menaechmus ("others say" that the name simply denoted a coastal region). Thus we see that Menaechmus had adopted the familiar story about the two sons of Achaeus and turned it to his own purpose. During all the time that the name "Achaean" was confined to Argos and Lacedaemon, said Menaechmus, the actual Achaea bore a name attesting the power of Sicyon.

In a similar spirit, Menaechmus feigned that Archander and Architeles launched an attack from Argos against Sicyon, which is duly related in Pausanias' *archaiologia* of Sicyon.[52] Though Pausanias does not elaborate, we can guess what the episode signified for Menaechmus. The sons of Achaeus had come to lord it over both Argos and Lacedaemon, so that the people were called "Achaeans"; their descendants would drive out the Ionians and occupy the north coast of the Peloponnesus. Yet when Archander and Architeles matched themselves with Sicyon, they were repulsed. In those days Sicyon was still paramount.

The episode took an exciting turn. In the course of the war, Lamedon sought help from abroad: he was evidently losing. "He invited Sicyon from Attica to fight with him as an ally, and gave him to wife his daughter Zeuxippe; and after Sicyon became king the land was called 'Sicyonia' and the city 'Sicyon' instead of 'Aegiale'" (2.6.5). Menaechmus like the poet Asius made "Sicyon" son of Metion son of Erechtheus. This affiliation points to a definite background at Athens (section VI).

The hero "Sicyon" was often spoken of by the poets, but to various effect.[53] In Eumelus, "Sicyon" and Corinth were the two sons of Marathon son of Epopeus; Epopeus and Marathon had each been sole ruler of the two domains called

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first-born among Danaus' fifty daughters, all known by name (*Bibl.* 2.1.5.3). It is not credible, however, that the story (not to speak of the list of names) goes back to the Hesiodic *Catalogue*, as proposed by Robert 1920–26: 1.276.

[52] Robert (1920–26: 3.2, 2, 1456, n. 7) thinks of a war against "King Lamedon of Corinth" that took place before Archander and Architeles reached Argos. But while in passage they had no resources to fight a war, and the story would be pointless. I do not know whether Lamedon is so described by inadvertence or because the Sicyonian king-list is taken to apply to the notional joint realm of Corinth and Sicyon.

[53] The Darius Painter in his rendering of a scene from Sophocles' *Thyestes in Sicyon* includes the figure of a youthful "Sicyon," so labelled, in order to indicate the setting: see Vermeule 1987: 123–128; *LIMC* 7 (1994), s.v. Pelop(e)ia 1, no. 1 (Polyxeni Xourgia). This does not evoke any story about the eponym but is another token of his celebrity.

"Asopia" and "Ephyraea," which were now divided between the two sons and renamed after them (Paus. 2.1.1, 3.10). As for Marathon, he withdrew at the end, as he had done once before, to the east coast of Attica. In ps.-Hesiod, "Sicyon" was simply Erechtheus' son, not a grandson as in Asius (Paus. 2.6.5). In Ibycus, "Sicyon" was son of Pelops (*ibid.*).[54] Whether the poets also told stories of "Sicyon" does not appear. If they did, the stories like the genealogies must have differed somewhat.[55] Menaechmus then caught hold of a few stock figures, "Sicyon" and the two sons of Achaeus, and made a place for them in the war between Sicyon and Argos. This war was probably invented by Menaechmus; he certainly supplied most of the details. What was previously said about Lamedon and his milieu, if anything, is unknown.[56]

Returning to Callimachus, we find ourselves confronted by Menaechmus' war. Sicyon is invaded by "neighbours," *sc.* the Argives. When the outlook is desperate, the hero "Sicyon" intervenes and is perhaps described as "an ally." He comes "for no small consideration," *sc.* the hand of the king's daughter.

Yet our feathered friend who gives an omen has left no trace in Pausanias. As others have remarked (section II), both ἔποψ and the term ἐπώπια much resemble Ἐπωπεύς, a name resonant as no other at Sicyon. The clue cannot be followed up, however, until we understand the real point of the story, the grand conclusion that was visibly attested ever after.

V. MENAECHMUS AS AETIOLOGIST

Menaechmus had a definite aim in his story-telling. It is an aim common to the tales of early kings in every local history that we know anything about.

[54] So is the eponym "Corinth" in schol. Eur. *Or.* 4, an extended list of Pelopids which is rather wishfully ascribed to Hellanicus by Robert (1920–26: 1.218).

[55] "Sicyon" among other heroes is briefly mentioned in Jameson's study of Corinthian pretensions vis-à-vis Sicyonian (1986: 7).

[56] Another figure in Menaechmus' king-list, Zeuxippus son of Apollo and the nymph Hyllis (Paus. 2.6.7), has lately reappeared in Ibycus' poem for Polycrates (*SLG* 151 = *PMGF* 242–244, lines 39–41, as interpreted by J. P. Barron). Ibycus, however, describes Zeuxippus as a beautiful youth, whether king or prince does not appear, who joined the expedition to Troy; whereas Menaechmus makes him a king who died just before the Trojan War. Zeuxippus' beauty agrees with his parentage and must be an original trait; we cannot tell if it was retained by Menaechmus. The reason why Menaechmus introduced a different figure, "Hippolytus son of Rhopalus son of Phaestus," as ruling at the time of the Trojan War is, at least in part, that to accord with Homer he must be a vassal of Agamemnon. The Sicyonians of early days had no such compunction when they extolled the beautiful Zeuxippus. Hippolytus too was a beauty, beloved rather than begotten by Apollo (Plut. *Num.* 4.8, perhaps from Menaechmus). When Castor on chronological grounds adjusted Menaechmus' king-list and struck the last three names (counting Phalces), Zeuxippus now came at the end, to be succeeded by the Dorian priests of Apollo *karneios* (*FGH* 250 F 2, cf. Apollod. Ath. *FGH* 244 F 86). Yet Castor did not (as if heeding an old tradition) make Zeuxippus contemporary with Agamemnon and the Trojan War, but rather his two predecessors, Polypheides and Pelasgus. Pfister (1913: 531–534) explains these adjustments fully and conclusively. Jacoby on Castor F 2 goes astray, and with him Barron (1961: 186–187).

Each story would typically lead up to the establishment of a Sicyonian shrine and festival (from which the story may in part have been deduced). Two of these connexions between king and cult were copied from Menaechmus by Castor, and from Castor by Varro, so that we see a blurred remnant in Augustine. Others are mentioned by Pausanias, and he offers some interesting detail.

King Telxion, says Augustine, was worshipped after death with sacrifice and games, and King Thurimachus was worshipped somehow at his "tomb" (*De civ. dei* 18.2–3). Since the festivals in question were conceived as honouring these kings, Θελξίων and Θουρίμαχος, they must have borne the like names. Now a festival Τελχίνια actually appears in a Delphic inscription, and a ritual so called, though it need not always constitute a festival, is implied by the divine epithet Τελχίνιος or Θελχίνιος or Θελξίνιος, which is very widespread (and is also characteristic of several deities).[57] At Sicyon, Τελχινία is on record as another early name for the city (Steph. Byz. s.vv. Σικυών, Τελχίς), and Menaechmus' king-list gives us two equivalent figures, Τελχίς and Θελξίων, the third and fifth kings in both Pausanias and Castor. In short, it was a name to conjure with, and Menaechmus did.

Pausanias in his prefatory *archaiologia* for the most part simply lists the kings without their stories and their cult foundations, though from time to time the line of descent passes through a deity, pointing unmistakably to the respective cult. Afterwards, in his tour of Sicyon, he ascribes a few shrines to early kings.[58] In two cases, we can still catch the drift of Menaechmus' story.

King Plemnaeus founded a sanctuary of Demeter on the slope of the early acropolis, after the goddess in disguise preserved a royal infant by nursing him. It is a usual site for a precinct of Demeter,[59] and a usual episode in the tale of Demeter and Persephone, a tale which everywhere explains the origin of Demeter's autumn festival, whether it is the standard Thesmophoria or the Mysteries of Eleusis.[60] The tale will also say that the local king first received the gift of agriculture and its techniques. Πλημναῖος is named for πλήμνη, the

[57] Festival Τελχίνια: *Corpus des inscriptions Delphiques* I 9, D 9–11. It fell in spring or early summer, in a Delphic month corresponding to Elaphebolion, Munichion, or Thargelion. For the distribution of the epithet Τελχίνιος, see G. Rougemont *ad loc.* At Erchia, Hera is styled Θελχινία (*LSCG* 18 A 7–8, 10th Metageitnion). Hesychius glosses the form Θελξινία as an Athenian epithet of Hera; cf. the alternating kings at Sicyon, Τελχίς and Θελξίων. The ritual also gives rise, though we cannot say how, to the stories of people or creatures called Τελχῖνες, as in Callim. *Aetia, init.* The words were commonly linked with θέλγειν, whence the variant forms; this is doubtless why the reign of King Thelxion was said to be uniquely calm and happy (so Augustine *loc. cit.*). Whether it is a feasible etymology is hard to say; see Wilamowitz 1931–32: 1.280, n. 1. Oddly, the etymological dictionaries of both Frisk and Chantraine, s.v. θέλγω, promise a separate discussion of the word Τελχῖνες—and then forget.

[58] Plemnaeus and Demeter: 2.5.8, 11.2. Epopeus and Athena: 2.6.3, 11.1; cf. 5.6. Epopeus and the pair Artemis and Apollo: 2.11.1. Adrastus and Hera: 2.11.2. Phalces and Hera: *ibid.*

[59] Cole (1994: 205–215) describes the many hillside sanctuaries of Demeter, most on an acropolis.

[60] Local versions of the rape of Persephone are listed by Richardson 1974: 149–150. To these we must, however, add all the places where Demeter came in her search, for it is the whole story, from

wheel-nave of a farmer's wagon, and is thus a variation of archetypal Boeotes, the son of Demeter and Iasion who invented the wagon and was translated to the sky.[61]

King Epopeus founded a shrine of Athena on the acropolis of the original city and performed ἐπινίκια "victory rites" to signal his victory over Theban invaders; Athena showed her favour by causing olive oil to flow in front of the shrine. These features are diagnostic. At Athens Erechtheus too wins a great victory over dangerous invaders, to be commemorated by a festival of Athena that is again described as "victory rites";[62] a sacred olive tree stands within the shrine (Hdt. 8.55). It is the festival of the threshing, at Athens called the Scira, a time in early summer when olive trees blossom propitiously.[63] As so often, threshing is imagined as a battle against an enemy who personifies every looming threat to the vital crop.

For other kings there is only the indication of paternity. Peratus is begotten by Poseidon; Coronus, and later Leucippus, by Apollo; Polybus by Hermes (Paus. 2.5.7–8, 6.6–7). The first and last are named for the god's domain, for seafaring and for pasturing, which will have been conspicuous in the cult. Indeed the name Πέρατος, of unique occurrence, is very likely taken from Poseidon's ritual, from *περατά "crossing [rites]," celebrated on behalf of sailors or fishermen at some due season.

This is all we have of the extensive aetiologies which filled Menaechmus' book. Augustine, and probably Varro before him, had no interest in such material except as showing how men are worshipped as gods. Pausanias mentions the stories pertaining to two actual shrines, Athena on the early acropolis and Demeter on the nearby slope. We might have expected him to say much more. But Sicyon had been greatly changed since Menaechmus' time, by Demetrius the war-lord and by natural disaster.[64] The stories which Pausanias tells of other shrines have nothing to do with the king-list and are probably of later origin, as some of the shrines may be.

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rape to conciliation, that serves as festival *aition*. It is a secondary development, a staking of a claim in the literary tradition, when a given episode is held to be distinctive of a given place.

[61] Hyg. *Poet. astr.* 2.4.7 (Hermippus fr. 99 Wehrli; Petellides *FGH* 464 F 1).

[62] Proclus on Pl. *Tim.* 53d (p. 173 Diehl) speaks of a festival of Athena as νικητήρια "victory rites"; an ephebic decree records a separate procession and sacrifice for Athena Nike (*IG* II^2 1006, lines 14–15). The myth of Erechtheus as the festival *aition* harps on νίκη "victory": Eur. *Erechtheus* (ed. Austin), fr. 50, line 51, and fr. 65, lines 6, 18, 89; *Phoen.* 855, 858; likewise the summary accounts, e.g., Lycurg. *Leoc.* 98. A trophy on the field makes the victory official (Eur. *Erechtheus* fr. 65, lines 12–13). This and the fierce σφαγαὶ βουκτόνοι of the ritual (fr. 65, line 79) are depicted on the balustrade of the Nike temple.

[63] The olive's magic power is exemplified again by the aetiological legend of Hdt. 5.82. To improve their harvests, the Epidaurians fashion cult statues out of Athenian olive wood. When this works, they give thanks at the Athenian festival of Athena and Erechtheus, i.e., the Scira.

[64] For the remains on the ground, see Griffin 1982: 6–24. They do not suffice to illustrate the changes.

VI. SICYON'S SHRINE OF THE "WATCHING" DEITY

What then was the point of our story about the war with Argos and the intervention of "Sicyon"? "Sicyon" was an Athenian, the son of Metion son of Erechtheus (section IV). Turning to Athens for a moment, we find that the Athenian king-list gives a definite place to Metion and his several sons, who in this context are unnamed.[65] They oust a king already ruling, Pandion, and are themselves ousted by the sons of Pandion. All the early kings of Athens are linked with shrines and festivals of the Acropolis. As Pandion is the eponym of the Pandia, a spring festival of Zeus, we may suppose that his rival Metion typifies another festival at another season. The sons of Metion also belong to real life. "Metionidae" is the name of one of the hereditary groups, *gene*, who were entrusted with Athens' oldest public rites.[66]

Such was the baggage which the hero "Sicyon" carried with him to his new abode. As a hero arriving from abroad, and bringing help in a crisis, and ruling in turn as king, "Sicyon" resembles Epopeus. Menaechmus, as was noted above, said that Epopeus defeated invaders, the Thebans, and established the shrine and festival of Athena. Yet this is not quite Epopeus' original role. On the early acropolis Pausanias saw a mound, said to be the grave of Epopeus, and beside it images of "the Averting Gods" (2.11.1). The mound is close to Athena's shrine, but still distinct. Now the victory over Thebes which Menaechmus asserted does not account for the so-called grave. Menaechmus said rather that Epopeus survived the war but died later of a wound (Paus. 2.6.3). It was only then that he was buried beneath the mound: i.e., the ritual there came at a later time of year. In another version of the war with Thebes, Epopeus is killed outright.[67] Here the mound is well explained, but Epopeus has no opportunity to honour Athena.

A mound on Sicyon's early acropolis, close to the shrine of Athena, linked with the ancient name "Epopeus"—this is not an enigma, but another instance of a fairly common pattern. The acropolis, especially its highest point, is where we expect to find Zeus, but he does not appear by name among the several cults noticed by Pausanias. In literature, ἐπόψιος is a fairly common epithet of Zeus.[68] The Erchia calendar gives us Zeus ἐπωπετής instead, and he jostles a god or hero

[65] Ps.-Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.15.5.2, 6.1; Paus. 1.5.3–4.

[66] Toepffer (1889: 161–169) studies the Metionidae in detail. His conclusions, however, as that the hero "Sicyon" personifies "old ties between Attic and Peloponnesian technology" (167), must be largely discounted.

[67] Hyg. *Fab.* 7–8 (Eur. *Antiope*, fr. 233a Mette); ps.-Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.5.5.6; perhaps *Kypria*, Procl. *Chrest.* 80 Severyns, *PEG* 40 = *EPF* 31.

[68] As in the passages of Callimachus and Apollonius mentioned below. A solitary instance on stone, a solstice marker dedicated to Zeus ἐπόψιος (*SIG*^{3} 1264 = *ICret* III 4.11, fourth century B.C.), perhaps owes more to literature than to cult. The enigmatic last line of a boundary stone found near the Agora, ὅρος | ἱεροῦ | Διὸς | ἔξου (*Athenian Agora* vol. 19, H 19), has been interpreted by some (Cook, Meritt, Wycherley) as ἐξοψ(ίου); this however is very doubtful. Pausanias' roll-call of mountain cults in Attica, mostly of Zeus, includes Apollo προόψιος on Hymettus (1.32.2). But as

Ἔποψ.[69] Though the form Ἐπωπεύς is not demonstrably applied to Zeus, he often fits the circumstances. Sicyon's Epopeus vies with Zeus as lover or consort of Antiope, daughter of Nycteus "Night."[70] Epopeus king of Lesbos is entangled with another creature of the night, his own daughter Nyctimene, who is changed to an owl and so forever shuns the bright sky, as the tale expressly avows.[71] In the region of Priene, a god or hero Epopeus has a shrine high up on Mount Mycale.[72]

Zeus ἐπόψιος is worshipped on high places, says Callimachus (*Hymn* 1.81–85); the places have related names like Ἐπώπη.[73] To be sure, these are not as a rule identified as cult-sites, and the names might be taken as descriptive of a secular "Look-out" (like some other place-names). But again, the circumstances often point to Zeus: for example, it was on Corinth's Ἐπώπη that Sisyphus saw Zeus abduct the nymph Aegina.[74] At Sicyon too there must have been a related place-name, inasmuch as Demeter on the nearby slope was called Ἐπωπίς (Hsch. s.v.). If then the ritual nomenclature is all about "watching," ἐποπ– or ἐπωπ–, it is understandable that the power in question was sometimes "hypostasized" as Epopeus or Epops. At Erchia, as we are about to see, the same ritual was performed twice, ten days apart, and the respective powers were differentiated as Zeus and as a lesser deity.

There is evidence to tell us when, and to suggest why, the watching power was invoked. The Attic deme Erchia honoured Zeus ἐπωπετής on 25th Metageitnion, Ἔποψ on 5th Boedromion; both received the same drastic form of sacrifice on Pagus "Hill" (above, note 61). This is early or mid September. In Apollonius' *Argonautica*, Zeus ἐπόψιος makes a decisive appearance at just this time (Argo's journey is marked in the calendar, as on the map, by successive *aitia*). After sailing all summer, the Argonauts reach the Isle of Ares, the final landfall before Colchis (2.1090–1230). Here they take on board their destined allies, the sons of Phrixus, who as it strangely happens were driven to the island by storm. Of course it was Zeus who raised the storm, and when they meet, both the Argonauts and the sons

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Parker (1996: 32, n. 13) remarks, the word suits a shepherd's vigilance or providence (cf. *Il.* 8.559), and Apollo is a pastoral deity.

[69] *BCH* 87 (1963) 606–610 = *LSCG* 18, Γ 19–25 (Ζεὺς ἐπωπετής), Δ 18–23 (Ἔποψ), Ε 9–15 (Ἔποψ). F. Sokolowski, commenting on *LSCG* 18 Γ 20, notes that both figures receive the same sacrifice (he might have added, at the same site, at the same season) and asks if it is not "the same divinity." On the other hand, Daux (1963: 622, n. 2) flatly denies "any connexion," and R. Parker (*apud* Hollis 1990b: 127, n. 1) doubts it.

[70] Paus. 2.6.3 (Asius *PEG* fr. 1 = *EGF* F 1); Hyg. *Fab.* 7–8 (Eur. *Antiope*, fr. 233a Mette).

[71] Ov. *Met.* 2.589–595; Hyg. *Fab.* 204; schol. Stat. *Theb.* 3.507; perhaps Callim. frs. 326, 519, 608, 803. *a cunctis expellitur aethere toto*, says Ovid (*Met.* 2.595).

[72] *I.Priene* 363, fourth century B.C., line 24.

[73] Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἐπώπη (Acrocorinth); Str. 6.1.7, C.259 (Ἐπῶπις, a hill at Rhegium); Plin. *NH* 2.203 (Epopos, a mountain on Pithecussa).

[74] So too the hill at Rhegium (above, n. 73) matches Zeus ἐπόψιος at Locri (Callim. *Aetia* 3, fr. 85, lines 14–15); the mountain shrine on Mycale (above, n. 72) matches the Argonautic *aition* discussed below, for Miletus is behind most of the *aitia* in Propontis and the Black Sea.

of Phrixus acknowledge this: they refer repeatedly to Zeus ἐπόψιος as a deity who watches the affairs of men (1123, 1133, 1179). But it is also the time for storms, the rising of Arcturus, and Zeus acted also for that reason (1098–99). The rising is variously dated by Greek astronomers to 6, 12, or 15 September.[75]

The end of summer brings uncertain weather: wind and rain and sudden storms that may be ruinous on both land and sea. The power behind the weather has grown more active; he is "watching." It was natural for the poets to moralize this watching, like other seasonal appearances of the weather god; it was also natural to say of a given storm that it was designed.[76] The design was not always to chastise, for the wind may blow some unexpected good. It blew the sons of Phrixus into the way of the Argonauts; at Sicyon, it once blew Epopeus of Thessaly, and later "Sicyon" of Athens (it is always a north wind). In other words, these stories about the sudden advent of a saving ally are inspired by the season and the belief in a watching power.

The watching power on Sicyon's acropolis was especially prominent, and many a story was told through the ages. At first it was about the like-named hero, Epopeus. But this figure became so celebrated by the poets that his connexion with the cult was not always maintained; Menaechmus chose to make him founder of another acropolis shrine, Athena's, probably because it was the premier shrine at the time. It must have been Asius who first associated "Sicyon" with the watching power; for he made him a son of Metion, i.e., an instrument of Zeus. In Asius, we may assume, "Sicyon" intervened against the Thebans, perhaps when they attacked a second time. Pausanias tells us that whereas Epopeus repelled the Theban attack under Nycteus, another was expected under Lycus, but did not occur (2.6.3). Instead, the next war was with Argos, and "Sicyon" was the saving ally. This looks like Menaechmus' way of adapting the war with Argos to earlier tradition.

According to Menaechmus, then, "Sicyon" arrived at the end of summer, defeated the Argive invaders, and established the shrine and festival of the watching power. Menaechmus was bound to explain why this shrine and festival were an appropriate commemoration of the hero's achievement; he was bound to explain the ἐποπ–, ἐπωπ– nomenclature. He turned to ἔποψ "hoopoe."

VII. THE HOOPOE

The hoopoe is often considered an interesting bird; it has a certain place in Greek bird lore.[77] But much of what is said is due not to its appearance or its habits or indeed to any kind of authentic observation, but simply to its name,

[75] Roscher 1884–1937: 6.889, s.v. Sternbilder (F. Boll and W. Gundel).

[76] The moralizing is always explicit in the literary appearances of Zeus ἐπόψιος. It is extended to the constellation Arcturus by Diphilus (Plaut. *Rud.* 1–30, 67–71), which again shows the seasonal reference. Arcturus "watches" as Zeus' deputy; he too sinks wrong-doers with a storm.

[77] Thompson 1936: 95–100, s.v. ἔποψ.

ἔποψ. The name was originally formed, like "hu-pu" in English and like the names in some other languages, in imitation of the bird's cry.[78] But then it should be, like the cry, a reduplication of the same syllable, i.e., *ὄποψ. The Greeks heard the cry as others do: ἐποποῖ ποποποποποποποῖ, says Aristophanes (*Av.* 227, cod. Ven.).[79] So the name once took the postulated form; but at an early stage, before the first writing, it was changed to ἔποψ, and understood as "watcher."[80] In Sophocles' Τηρεύς, the king who is a "Watcher" (the *nomen agentis* of τηρεῖν), turns into the bird, ἔποψ, that is a "watcher" too.[81]

The bird was also, and very commonly, associated with the watching power of early September, whose name is formed from ἐποπ–, ἐπωπ–, and at Erchia is precisely Ἔποψ. The hoopoe is said to dwell on "mountains" or "high places"; but in truth this fits the watching power rather than the bird.[82] The hoopoe is said to appear only in late summer; but this too fits the watching power rather than the bird.[83] The hoopoe's cry is said to augur well for the vintage, an occupation that belongs to just this season, early September and the rising of Arcturus (the constellation is also called "Icarius" or "Old Vintager").[84] The hoopoe is one of the shapes that Zeus assumed in his love-affairs, in this case with Lamia the Libyan queen who became the children's bogey; but whether Zeus was acting in a seasonal role does not appear.[85]

[78] Mod. Gr. ποῦπος; Arm. *popop*; Latv. *pupukis*; Lat. *upupa*; Hitt. *hapupu*. The cry is described by Skead 1950: 436–439.

[79] Tzetzes recounts the myth of Tereus to the same effect: "On becoming a hoopoe, he says ποῦ ποῦ," etc. (*TGF* 4.435; cf. schol. Ar. *Av.* 212).

[80] Hesychius gives the variant forms ἔποπος, nom., and ἔπωπα, acc., and also ἄπαφος, nom. Oder (1888: 544–546) infers from the literary record that the hoopoe was unknown to the Greeks before the fifth century. This is quite unwarranted, and would also make it very hard to understand how a secondary form of the name could exclusively prevail.

[81] ἔποψ "watcher": Soph. *Tereus*, fr. 581 Pearson/Radt, line 1; Ar. *Av.* 48; Hsch. s.v. ἔποψ. Τηρεύς "Watcher": schol. Ar. *Av.* 102; *Etym. Magn.* s.v. ἀλιτήριος; Ach. Tat. 5.5.9. The latter is usually considered a folk etymology. But it is a correct form, and we might expect Tereus' name to be transparent, like the names of the other principals in the story. "Watcher" is appropriate for a shepherd king whose relations with Pandion of Athens illustrate the transhumant practice of early days (cf. Robertson 1991: 5–8).

[82] Soph. fr. 581, lines 9–10; Arist. *Hist. an.* 1.1 488b, and 9.11 615a; Ael. *NA* 3.26. The hoopoe that we know prefers marshy ground (Keller 1909–13: 2.61).

[83] Soph. fr. 581, lines 7–8; Arist. *Hist. an.* 9.49B 631a (quoting "Aeschylus," i.e., Sophocles); Ael. *NA* 3.26. The migratory hoopoe comes to Greece in spring and autumn, but is absent throughout the summer: Mommsen 1873–77: 192, 312, 320; Oder 1888: 544; Keller 1909–13: 2.62, n. **; Thompson 1936: 96, s.v. ἔποψ.

[84] Horapollo 2.92. The same is said elsewhere of the cuckoo, but perhaps only through confusion with the hoopoe: Oder 1888: 551, n. 3; Dawson 1925: 33, 37.

[85] Hoopoe transformation: Philod. *Piet.* (*Oxford Facsimiles* 6.1573), lines 12–13, as restored by W. Crönert (Luppe 1974: 196–202; Henrichs 1974); ps.-Clem. Al. *Homil.* 5.14.1 = Rufin. *Recogn.* 10.22.7. Lamia's person: Eur. frs. 643–644 Mette; Duris *FGH* 76 F 17; Heraclit. *Incred.* 34; etc. Almost the only detail is that Lamia dwelt in a cave at the foot of a steep cliff (Diod. Sic. 20.41.3); so the hoopoe was perhaps at home on the mountain-top above.

Pausanias has a hoopoe story at Megara (1.41.9, mentioned in section 1) that should be compared with ours at Sicyon, even though Megara owes an obvious debt to Sophocles. The story is attached to an acropolis shrine, purportedly a tomb of Tereus. Here, "they say," the hoopoe bird was sighted for the very first time. Pausanias as usual refers to popular belief; yet this detail, like everything else that we are told about the tomb, will come from a historian of Megara (cf. section III, on Pausanias' way of disguising Menaechmus of Sicyon). On the face of it, we have the cult of a mythical person and an allusion to Sophocles' account of him. But the cult (as to which Pausanias records a seemingly archaic custom) was surely not addressed from of old to a mythical person, no more than the cult at Sicyon.[86] At both places such a person, Epopeus or Tereus, has supplanted the watching power. The tale of how Pandion and his sons go back and forth between Athens and Megara shows that both cities had similar cults of Zeus. At Megara, the shrines of Pandion and Tereus are close together on the acropolis slope.[87] The former shrine serves for the spring festival Pandia, the latter for the watching power of late summer, Ἐποπ-, now identified with both Tereus and the hoopoe.

Menaechmus found a use appropriate to Sicyon for the hoopoe's standard association with the watching power. The "watcher" bird, he said, appeared at a desperate moment to signal victory, and the victory was proclaimed in the "watcher" cult on the acropolis. With this addition, his story of the hero "Sicyon" and the war with Argos was complete.[88]

Department of Classics
Brock University
St. Catharines, Ontario
L2S 3A1

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[86] The victim at the annual sacrifice is pelted with stones instead of barley corns. The ritual of the watching power seems everywhere forbidding. At Sicyon, at the mound of Epopeus and the images of the Averting Gods, "they perform the customary Greek rites for the aversion of ills" (Paus. 2.11.1). At Erchia, the offering for both Zeus ἐπωπετής and Ἔποψ is a piglet burnt whole (see above, n. 69). On the Isle of Ares, before Jason invokes Zeus ἐπόψιος, the Argonauts burn sheep at a hearth-altar, *eschara* (Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 2.1170–71; cf. 1175). It is true that the shrine like the island is said to belong to Ares, and true again that the Argonauts partake of the usual heroic feast; but these details are extraneous to the *aition*.

[87] For a conjectural location, see Muller 1981: 209–211. Since Muller at this point in his valuable study of Megarian topography depends entirely on Pausanias, it is worth objecting that κατιοῦσι (1.41.6) situates the shrines on the acropolis slope, not at the foot as Muller has it.

[88] I am grateful for comments and suggestions by the anonymous readers.

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