KTISEIS/AITIA IN VARIOUS ANCIENT GREEK PROSE AUTHORS

by

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Abstract

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In this dissertation, I focus on κτίσεις (*ktiseis*), Greek prose narratives about the founding of cities and the city founders. Also, I discuss αἴτια (*aitia*), stories about causes, origins, and originators of various cultural customs, religious practices and even verbal expressions. I conclude eventually that these narratives served a purpose in creating unity among people who shared a language and, to use broad terms for now, a culture and history, and geographical territory they claimed as their own. I typically refer to these narratives together as *ktiseis/aitia*, because my research into the composition technique itself of these Greek prose narratives suggests that the narratives were composed with the assistance of a familiar schema, a regularly used template, uniform in its composition, that assisted researchers who were studying texts in order to compose their own versions of narratives.

With the assistance of Carol Dougherty's research, I have developed my Foundation and Etiology Narrative Schema (the Schema), the familiar template which I suggest forms the basis of *ktiseis/aitia* and other remembrance-based narratives. I describe the Schema thoroughly in the second chapter of this dissertation, especially as it appears in the mythographer Conon. The Schema assists in forming and cultivating

relationships among peoples whose stories and histories are topics of these Greek narratives. These stories share such a familiar template that the people whose homelands and cultural identities are reflected and explained via the narratives become interconnected. This unity through mythical/historical narratives I develop throughout Chapter One. Chapter 3 explores the elements of the Schema both individually and in connection with one another. Thematic pairs and sequences of items are crucial to the efficacy of the Schema. The way in which the elements of the narrative structure combine to make meaning recalls Hayden White's discussion of literary tropes. The final chapter examines the Schema in a variety of prose authors to illuminate both its wide use and its centrality in remembrance-based narratives.

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Chapter One

Introduction: Defining κτίσεις

As is often the case, the etymology of the word *ktisis* and its related verb forms provide insight into the nature of *ktiseis*, that is, what they were and what their cultural significance might have been. I first cite the Greek verb from which the noun κτίσις derives: κτίζω. Pierre Chantraine's *Dictionnaire Etymologique de la Langue Grecque: Histoire des Mots*[1] offers the following entry on κτίζω:

> . . . a pris le sens de << fonder, installer, construire, creer >> . . . Noms d'action : κτίσις f. << fait de fonder une ville, une colonie >> (ion.-att., Plb.), tardivement << creation >> (*NT*, etc.) . . . Les formes sans sifflante, plus archaiques, se rapportent a la notion intransitive d'<< habiter >>, etc. : avec le suff. –της, περι-κτίται << voisins >> (*Od*. 11, 288, hapax), puis κτίται << habitants >> (E. *Or*. 1621) . . . Autre derives ancients ou κτι- signifie "habiter": περικτίονες << voisions >> (Hom., Hes., inscr., Pi., Th. 3.104) et (Hom., Hes., inscr., Pi., Th. 3, 104) et ἀμφι-κτίονες (Pi.) ou -κτύονες (Hdt, etc.) . . . le mot a recu un emploi politique precis pour designer des associations de cites groupees autour d'un sanctuaire, l'amphicitonie la plus connue est celle de Delphes. D'ou les derives : Ἀμφικτυονία, -ικός, -εύω

Κτίσεις helped forge a collective, pan-Hellenic identity by providing a traditional storyline which could be adapted for different Greek cities and regions. These stories resonated with people who shared a language, culture and mythical-history. The foundation narratives, as Conon composes them (Chapter 2), are always about cities populated by Greek peoples, not non-Greeks. These narratives connect the peoples whose cities and histories are treated in the narratives. "Social knowledge of the past, in other words that which a society knows and holds for true about its past, its 'intentional history', is of fundamental significance for the *imaginaire*, for the way a society

[1] (Tome II E – K, p. 592)

interprets and understands itself, and therefore for its inner coherence and ultimately its collective identity."[2]

Our evidence for *ktiseis* includes both a general use of the word, beginning with a lower case letter, to describe actual city foundations. The noun also appears often beginning with an upper case letter,[3] seeming to refer to the title of a work, *City Foundings*, and often this use is accompanied by a text location, i.e. a book number within that work. The use of the upper case noun in this way suggests a work titled *Ktiseis* and scholars have generally accepted this usage. The citation of a book number adds credibility to this generally accepted notion that *Ktiseis* referred to the title of a work. Both with or without a text location, *Ktiseis* appears often.[4]

Chantraine cites derivations from *ktisis* by providing "neighbors," and discusses the word *amphictyony* which incorporates the root –κτι. The entry below from *Etymologicum magnum*[5] provides the definition Οἱ περιοικοῦντες, literally, "those dwelling around" to describe amphictyonies:

Ἀμφικτύονες: Οἱ περιοικοῦντες. Τὸ γὰρ κτίσαι ἐπὶ τοῦ οἰκίσαι ἔλαβον οἱ παλαιοὶ, ὡς φησιν Ὅμηρος, Ἐϋκτίμενον πτολίεθρον.καὶ Ἐϋκτιμένην κατ' ἀλωήν.

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[2] Gehrke, 286.

[3] For convenience, throughout this dissertation, I will be using modern terminology when I discuss "upper case" and "lower case" appearances of Greek words. This discussion does not reflect ancient concern with or observance of the use of upper and/or lower case names, allegedly given to titles of works. I am concerned, in fact, with the quite modern practice, whereby text editors assign either upper or lower case letters to designate titles of works. The modern editors are dependent on Byzantine editors. We cannot infer that many allegedly "upper case" names were actually individual monographs or conceived as such, in ancient times. I do not wish to belabor the point here, since I revive it below, but modern editors examining the same Byzantine manuscripts make *their own* decisions in the matter of whether or not to provide capital letters for what posterity so often considers to have been ancient monographs, or individual works with their own titles.

[4] This matter of names of works and text locations is revisited later in this chapter.

[5] *Etymologicum magnum* (p. 90, l. 49).

Amphictyonies: those dwelling around. For the ancients traced Τὸ κτίσαι,*from* τοῦ οἰκίσαι, *as Homer says: the well-founded city and the well-established garden.*

Several other etymological lexica[6] explain *amphictyonies* by indicating people who share a land:

Ἀμφικτύονες ..... ἀμφικτύονας οὖν ἔλεγον τοὺς τὴν Δελφῶν περιοικίαν νενομένους Ἕλληνας.

Amphictyonies . . . they called the Greeks living in the area around Delphi Amphictyonies.

s. Ἀμφικτύονες· συνέδριόν ἐστιν Ἑλληνικόν, συναγόμενον ἐν Θερμοπύλαις. ὠνομάσθη δὲ ἤτοι ἀπὸ Ἀμφικτύονος ... ὥς φησι Θεόπομπος ἐν η (115 F 63) ... ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ περιοίκους εἶναι τῶν Δελφῶν τοὺς συναχθέντας, ὡς Ἀναξιμένης ἐν α Ἑλληνικῶν.

Amphyictyonies: it is a Greek council, convened in Thermopylae named in fact after Amphictyon . . . As Theopompus says in his sixth book . . . or from the fact that those who came together were neighbors of Delphi, as Anaximenes says in the first book of his Hellenic Histories*.*

Harpocrations's entry immediately above cites both the political union of Greeks that was the Delphic Amphictyony (συνέδριόν ἐστιν Ἑλληνικόν), and the fact that this union was comprised of Greeks who shared a territory (περιοίκους). The amphictyony was comprised of Greeks who presumably considered themselves and their fellow members to have shared interests if not a shared culture.

The amphictyony also had a mythical-historical founder, Amphictyon, the son of Deucalion (cf. Photius below). The word for this Greek political body, the Delphic Amphictyony, also refers to Amphictyon, and thus incorporates the story of him as a founder/originator. Attaching a name to foundings and beginnings is, I believe, one means of effectively establishing a narrative: anthropomorphosize it; make the story "human" and relatable. Amphictyon's name, incorporating the root –κτι, becomes

[6] Orion, *Etymologicum* (p. 25, l. 13) followed by Harpocration's lexicon.

associated with several etiologies in addition to the Greek political body, amphictyony. Two entries below, from Photius' lexicon[7], add more information, both to the nature of amphictyonies and Amphictyon: the former performed judicial duties (δικασταί, judges, are mentioned) and the latter was a son of Deucalion. Further below, Athenaeus adds to the portrait of Amphictyon by describing him as a mythical king of Athens.

Ἀμφικτύονες· οἱ ἐκ πόλεων καὶ ἐθνῶν αἱρετοὶ δικασταί, οἷον ἀμφικτύονες καὶ περίοικοι.

Amphictyonies: they are judges selected from cities and tribes, as amphictyonies are also neighbors.

Ἀμφικτύονες· συνέδριόν ἐστιν Ἑλληνικὸν συναγόμενον ἐν Θερμοπύλαις. ὠνομάσθησαν δὲ ἀπὸ Ἀμφικτύονος τοῦ Δευκαλίωνος· αὐτὸς γὰρ συνήγαγε τὰ ἔθνη βασιλεύων. ταῦτα δὲ ἦν δώδεκα . . . οἱ δέ φασιν ὠνομάσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ περιοίκους εἶναι τῶν Δελφῶν τοὺς συναχθέντας

Amphictyonies: a Hellenic council convened at Thermopylae. Named after Amphictyon, son of Deucalion: for he called together the tribes as ruler. There were twelve . . .. They say that they were named from being dwellers around Delphi all gathered together.

A late source, Michael Apostolius[8], cites Theopompus as a source on Amphictyon, as did Harpocration above:

Ἀμφικτυονικὸν συνέδριον: τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ δίκαιον. συνήγετο δὲ ἐν Θερμοπύλαις. ὠνομάσθη δὲ ἤτοι ἀπὸ Ἀμφικτυόνος τοῦ Δευκαλίωνος, ὅτι αὐτὸς συνήγαγε τὰ ἔθνη βασιλεύων, ὥς φησι Θεόπομπος ἐν ὀγδόῃ· ταῦτα δὲ ἦν δώδεκα·

The Amphictyonic council: a Hellenic judicial body. It was convened at Thermopylae. It was named after Amphictyon, son of Deucalion, because he convened the tribes as ruler; so Theopompus says in his eighth book: there were twelve of them.

The parallels between these lexical entries, such as the verb constructions (Harpocration: συνέδριόν ἐστιν Ἑλληνικόν, συναγόμενον ἐν Θερμοπύλαις. ὠνομάσθη δὲ ἤτοι ἀπὸ Ἀμφικτύονος; Photius: συνέδριόν ἐστιν Ἑλληνικὸν συναγόμενον ἐν

[7] Photius, *Lexicon* (Α—Δ): (1339-1340).

[8] He dates from the fifteenth century. Apostolius' *Collectio paroemiarum* (Centuria 2.70.3).

Θερμοπύλαις. ὠνομάσθησαν δὲ ἀπὸ Ἀμφικτύονος τοῦ Δευκαλίωνος; and Apostolius: συνήγετο δὲ ἐν Θερμοπύλαις) indicate a high degree of shared information. Given the obvious parallels between these entries, it is likely that Apostolius borrowed from Photius and/or Harpocration. This obvious shared use of language, evident in multiple, texts is a highly relevant matter and will be treated later (esp. Chapter 4). Along with the similarities between entries there is an omission: whereas Harpocration (far earlier than Photius/Apostolius) and Apostolius both mention Theopompus as a source for Amphictyon, Photius provides no source. This appears to be a researcher/compiler's option: to name a source like Theopompus along with the story or to omit a source name altogether.[9]

The long passage below from Athenaeus[10] is illustrative of the content of the following three chapters of this dissertation: how *ktiseis/aitia* provide explanations for customs and physical monuments.

Φιλόχορος δέ φησιν «Ἀμφικτύονα τὸν Ἀθηναίων βασιλέα μαθόντα παρὰ Διονύσου τὴν τοῦ οἴνου κρᾶσιν πρῶτον κεράσαι. διὸ καὶ ὀρθοὺς γενέσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους οὕτω πίνοντας, πρότερον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀκράτου καμπτομένους, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἱδρύσα- (5) σθαι βωμὸν Ὀρθοῦ Διονύσου ἐν τῶι τῶν Ὡρῶν ἱερῶι· αὗται γὰρ καὶ τὸν τῆς ἀμπέλου καρπὸν ἐκτρέφουσι. πλησίον δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ταῖς Νύμφαις βωμὸν ἔδειμεν, ὑπόμνημα τοῖς χρωμένοις τῆς κράσεως ποιούμενος· καὶ γὰρ Διονύσου τροφοὶ αἱ Νύμφαι λέγονται. καὶ θέσμιον ἔθετο προσφέρεσθαι μετὰ τὰ σιτία (10) <πᾶσιν> ἄκρατον μόνον ὅσον γεύσασθαι, δεῖγμα τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ Ἀγαθοῦ Θεοῦ, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἤδη κεκραμένον, ὁπόσον ἕκαστος βούλεται· προσεπιλέγειν δὲ τούτωι τὸ τοῦ Διὸς Σωτῆρος ὄνομα διδαχῆς καὶ μνήμης ἕνεκα τῶν πινόντων, ὅτι οὕτω πίνοντες ἀσφαλῶς σωθήσονται».

Philochorus says that Amphictyon, the king of Athens, having learned from Dionysus the mixing of wine with water, was the first to mix it. Because of this, people drinking in this way remained standing upright, whereas previously, they were bent over drunk from the

[9] Conon, the central author for this dissertation, does not mention sources at all; he just uses a generic phrase, like "some say . . . " or "they say . . ." (Chapter 2).

[10] Gulick, (I, p. 166 [2.38 c-d]). This story is treated more succinctly with the main outline of the story in place: The Athenians were taught wine and water mixing by Amphictyon, "and for that reason they founded a shrine to 'upright Dionysus'" (II, p. 339 [5.179 e]).

unmixed wine. And because of this, he established an altar to Upright Dionysus in the precinct of the Horoi. For they cultivate the fruit of the vine. Near to this altar Amphictyon built an altar to the Nymphs, creating a memorial for those practicing wine mixing: for the Nymphs are said to be nurses of Dionysus. It was established as customary after a meal to offer to everyone only as much unmixed wine as could be tasted, a sign of the power of The Noble God. The rest, already mixed, each man could drink of as much as he wished. It is also said in addition to this that the name of Zeus the Savior came about because of the instruction and remembrance of those drinking, namely that they will be saved drinking safely in this way.

In this passage, we see how customs, altars, and names are explained by first citing a "source" for the *aitia*, here, Philochorus. Athenaeus cites Philochorus as the source just as in the two passages discussed earlier, Theopompus is named. Amphictyon, in a lexical entry above, is specified as a son of Deucalion, whereas Athenaeus does not mention that fact. Since Athenaeus is *re*telling this, we can assume that the etiology-laden story of Amphictyon was indeed in circulation and could be told at greater length, with details added or omitted. Theopompus is cited as a source for the more political centered material, whereas Philochorus is cited here for the somewhat more convivial story about wine mixing and Athenians learning to remain sober. It may be the case that appropriate sources were cited which reflected the general content of that source's works: Theopompus was an appropriate name to attach to an etiology about amphictyonies and Philochorus was appropriate to attach to the multiple etiologies of wine mixing and an altar to Dionysus.

ὑπόμνημα and μνήμης

Athenaeus includes much in this passage that is of great interest for this dissertation, namely, several types of etiological narratives all encompassed in the overall story of Amphictyon, whose name reflects *ktisis*. The concept of *protos heuretes*, "the first discoverer," is reflected through Amphictyon's role as the first man to learn wine

and water mixing (Ἀμφικτύονα . . . πρῶτον). Athenaeus uses a phrase common in etiological narratives which explains how or why something came about: διὰ τοῦτο ("because of this . . ."). Here we have the explanation for an altar, βωμὸν, which leads Athenaeus to the story of another altar. This second βωμὸν he calls "a reminder, a memorial," and this Greek word is central for this dissertation: ὑπόμνημα. The altars incorporate the stories which explain them; mentioning the altars begs for the stories behind them, which in turn require a recall of the names Amphictyon, Dionysus, Zeus the Savior, and Philochorus. Next, Athenaeus describes a custom (θέσμιον ἔθετο), which perhaps, though not specified here, lasted even until his day. The name Zeus Soter should remind people of proper drinking norms because of the instruction and remembrance (διδαχῆς καὶ μνήμης ἕνεκα).

These examples from lexicographers and Athenaeus explain the etymology of the word *ktisis* and its connection to the noun amphictyony, and suggest the close relationship between *ktisis/aitia* and remembrance. There are etiological stories intertwined with Amphictyon himself, whose name incorporates the –κτι root.

A central concept behind *ktiseis/aitia* is remembrance, and Athenaeus provides two verbal clues with the words ὑπόμνημα and μνήμης, both words sharing the root which means "remembrance, recall, mention:" –μνη-. The altar, a physical monument, is ὑπόμνημα and this must mean that it serves as a trigger for the story which explains it: seeing or mentioning the altar leads to a retelling of the story. A narrative is the most obvious means of observing the significance of ὑπόμνημα such as this: the observance or remembrance entails relating the story behind it, in the manner of Pausanias providing narratives when he describes temples and funerary monuments (Chapter 4). Therefore,

ὑπόμνημα can be both a physical object, like a monument *and/or* a literary monument, a narrative, as long as the intended action reflects the –μνη- root: remembrance, recall, mention.

Below, a scholiast to Apollonius of Rhodes[11] provides evidence that a certain Polemon wrote *Ktiseis* of Italian and Sicilian cities. This use of *Ktiseis*, in the context of a reference to a source, appears very often: "so and so wrote Foundations" or "so and so mentioned in the Foundations." The word does not appear lower case very often within a narrative referring to actual city foundings: "and they accomplished many city foundings."

Ὁ δὲ Καυλιακὸς σκόπελος τῆς Σκυθίας, πλησίον τοῦ Ἴστρου· οὗ μνημονεύει Πολέμων ἐν Κτίσεσιν Ἰταλικῶν καὶ Σικελικῶν.

The Caulian promontory of Scythia, near to Istros: which Polemon recalls/mentions in the Ktiseis of Italian and Sicilian (presumably) Cities.

Here, the scholiast provides a usage of *ktisis* which appears to be a title of a work and in that work the verbal action taking place (μνημονεύει) is remembrance-based, specified via the stem -μνη-. This is no coincidence, but is in fact a logical semantic pairing: *ktiseis* and the root μνη- are closely connected. *Ktiseis* are a logical venue for the actions of remembrance and mentioning. A *ktisis/aition* is, in fact, ὑπόμνημα and this scholion indicates this connection.

The following scholia[12] are relevant for several reasons. Tzetzes and the scholiast to Apollonius of Rhodes both cite Hellanicus as a source, though the far shorter entry cites a title, whereas the entry with much more detail omits any title.

[11] Schol. Apoll. Rh. (4.324).
[12] Tzetzes *Lyk*. 227 and 462 followed by Schol. Apoll. Rh. (1.608).

Λημναίωι πυρί] ἐν Λήμνωι πρώτως εὑρέθη τό τε πῦρ καὶ αἱ ὁπλουργίαι, καθὼς ἐν τῶι Περὶ Χίου Κτίσεως Ἑλλάνικος ἱστορεῖ.

Lemnian fire: on Lemnos fire was first discovered and also weapon manufacturing, as Hellanicus relates in his About the Foundation of Chios.

κραναὴν Σιντηίδα Λῆμνον ἵκοντο] ἐπιθετικῶς Σιντηὶς ἡ Λῆμνος· Τυρσηνοὶ γὰρ αὐτὴν πρῶτοι ὤικησαν βλαπτικώτατοι ὄντες. ἢ τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων οἰκισθεῖσαν· καὶ Ὅμηρος (θ 294) ‘ὤιχετο δ’ ἐς Λῆμνον μετὰ Σίντιας ἀγριοφώνους’. Ἑλλάνικος δέ φησι Σίντιας ὀνομασθῆναι τοὺς Λημνίους διὰ τὸ πρώτους ὅπλα ποιῆσαι πολεμικά, (5) παρὰ τὸ σίνεσθαι τοὺς πλησίον καὶ βλάπτειν.

*They went to the rocky Sintian Lemnos: Sintian is an epithet of Lemnos: for the Tyrrhenians, who were very belligerent, first inhabited it. Or else it was settled by barbarians. Homer says, "he went to Lemnos with the wild-voiced Sintians." Hellanicus says that Lemnians were called Sintians because they first made weapons of war and from the fact that they were harmful (*σίνεσθαι*) to their neighbors and caused them damage.*

Tzetzes, in his entry on "Lemnian fire" explains the phrase via the *protos heuretes* topos ("first discoverer" or here, the "first discovered"). In this very brief entry, we see that in a work about a *ktisis,* allegedly titled *About the Foundation of Chios*, one also finds information about the "first discovered." Admittedly, that itself is not so hard to believe, but, the scholiast to Apollonius, offers far more information: how names came about (here, a name as a pun: the epithet *Sintiae* derived from these folks' reputation as being harmful [τὸ σίνεσθαι καὶ βλάπτειν] to their neighbors), two instances where they are described as "the first"[13] (πρῶτοι, πρώτους), and a quotation from Homer.

It seems almost arbitrary that the scholiast to Apollonius could cite Hellanicus, offer so much more detail, and yet omit the name of Hellanicus' work. Perhaps we should view with skepticism the modern editors' capitalization of the words Περὶ and Κτίσεως and allow that what is now accepted as a title ascribed to Hellanicus, *About the*

[13] This topic of "the first" is common in the sort of texts I researched for this dissertation. It is similar to *ktiseis* in that origins are explored. These origins can be the foundations and naming of cities, the origins of certain cultural practices, or even the origins of verbal expressions, though I do not treat the latter in any depth. Orpheus is a *protos heuretes* for instance (see p. 163).

Foundation of Chios, may refer to general subject matter which Hellanicus was known to treat.[14] The translation of Tzetzes' second phrase above would read something like this: "in the work which Hellanicus writes about the foundation of Chios." With this interpretation, these sorts of interesting facts about places, such as name origins, first discoverers, foundations, etc., become subject matter of equal priority which must have interested a writer such as Hellanicus. This follows the examples above about Amphictyon: Theopompus was cited for the political-centered material about Amphictyon, whereas Philochorus was cited for the more social/cultural-centered material. Perhaps one cited a source which was *appropriate* for one's immediate authorial needs, a source whose work dovetailed with the researcher/writer's interests. Perhaps it was not necessary to cite sources *exactly*, in accordance with modern standards.

Another possibility is that these scholiasts did not even consult a text of Hellanicus but that this sort of subject matter circulated with the name Hellanicus attached to it in any number of digests, compendia, scholia, etc. Where Hellanicus writes *about* the *ktisis* of Chios, he also allegedly treats etymologies of names and interesting facts of places, such as Lemnos being the place where fire was first discovered and weapons manufactured. In any case, the name Hellanicus is associated with the narrative about the Lemnians with all its various, remembrance-based, etiological recall. Whatever the case, it becomes clear that attaching a name to etiological material such as this appears to be a traditional part of telling the stories. Citing source names such as Hellanicus, Theopompus, and Philochorus becomes an integral part of the story.

[14] See my footnote on pg. 2.

In the following scholion,[15] Hellanicus' *Περὶ Χίου Κτίσεως* is again cited. The scholiast even appears to quote from Hellanicus here, echoing the content of the scholia discussed above. It again addresses how a population became named and that they were called Sintians by the neighbors because they crafted weaponry. The specific pun on σίνεσθαι, however, is missing.

εἰς Λῆμνον μετὰ Σίντιας ἀγριοφώνους] Σίντιες ἐκαλοῦντο οἱ Λήμνιοι, ὡς Ἑλλάνικος ἱστορεῖ ἐν τῶι Περὶ Χίου Κτίσεως τὸν τρόπον τοιοῦτον· «ἐκ τῆς Τενέδου ὥιχοντο εἰς τὸν Μέλανα κόλπον, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν εἰς Λῆμνον ἀφίκοντο. ἦσαν δὲ αὐτόθι κατοικοῦντες Θρᾶικές τινες οὐ πολλοὶ ἄνθρωποι· ἐγεγόνεισαν δὲ μιξέλληνες. τούτους ἐκάλουν οἱ περίοικοι Σίντιας, ὅτι ἦσαν αὐτῶν δημιουργοί τινες πολεμιστήρια ὅπλα ἐργαζόμενοι. τούτοις συνώικισαν ἑαυτοὺς ἀναμὶξ ὡς ἦλθον αὐτόθι καὶ κατέλιπον ναῦς πέντε.»

To Lemnos among the wild-voiced Sintians: The Lemnians were called Sintians, as Hellanicus records in his About the Foundation of Chios *in this way: "they came from Tenedos to the Black Sea, and first they went to Lemnos. Some Thracians had already settled there, but not many of them: they had become mixed Hellenic. The neighbors called these people Sintians, because there were among them some craftsmen who made weapons of war. They dwelled together having intermingled; so they came to this place and left behind five ships."*

The Suda's entry for Polemon below indicates that he wrote Περιήγησιν Ἰλίου ἐν βιβλίοις γ′ (a *Periegesis of Ilium*), specifying that it consisted of three books, and that he also wrote Κτίσεις τῶν ἐν Φωκίδι πόλεων (*Ktiseis of cities in Phocis*) and Κτίσεις τῶν ἐν Πόντῳ πόλεων (*Ktiseis* of cities on the Pontus).

Πολέμων . . . ἔγραψε Περιήγησιν Ἰλίου ἐν βιβλίοις γ′, Κτίσεις τῶν ἐν Φωκίδι πόλεων καὶ περὶ τῆς πρὸς Ἀθηναίους συγγενείας αὐτῶν, Κτίσεις τῶν ἐν Πόντῳ πόλεων, Περὶ τῶν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι πόλεων· καὶ ἄλλα πλεῖστα· ἐν οἷς καὶ Κοσμικὴν περιήγησιν ἤτοι Γεωγραφίαν.

Polemon . . . wrote a Periegesis of Ilium *in three books,* Foundations of cities in Phocis and about their kinship ties to Athenians*,* Foundations of cities on the Pontus*,* About cities in Lacedaemon*, and many other things, among which was a* World Periegesis *or* Geography.

[15] Schol. Hom. *Od*. (8.294).

This entry raises further questions about modern editors' capitalization of alleged titles, one oddly lengthy in this list due to the phrase καὶ περὶ τῆς πρὸς Ἀθηναίους συγγενείας αὐτῶν. This title simply appears too long and cumbersome given the other shorter titles in close proximity. It seems that this title represents subject matter of interest: *ktiseis* and kinship ties.[16] Furthermore, if we combine the information in the entry from the scholion to Apollonius of Rhodes above (see above, p. 8)[17] with this Suda entry, it appears that Polemon wrote quite a few works titled Κτίσεις of various cities (of Italian and Sicilian cities, of cities in Phocis, those on the Black Sea, those in Lacedaemonia). One small phrase that I find telling is the Suda's reference to "many other things" which Polemon wrote: καὶ ἄλλα πλεῖστα. Perhaps this suggests the *general* rather than the *specific* nature of these works. He wrote *about* foundations of *many* cities, and these *ktiseis*, lower case, appeared in works already excerpted and rearranged for these scholiasts and compilers. The narratives likely included content resembling Hellanicus' narrative about Chios: names of peoples, how they became named, and interesting facts about the people.

Aitia

[16] Dougherty (2004) writes about *ktiseis* in poetry, whereas prose narratives are my focus throughout this dissertation. Her findings are surprisingly relevant. "Instead of functioning as an autonomous genre, colonial legends serve rather as a literary *topos*, one which is both flexible enough to be adapted into many different poetic contexts yet distinct enough to be recognized as such" (46). She argues against "an autonomous genre of foundation poetry . . . in the archaic period" (44) and explains how in the Hellenistic period, a specific literary genre did arise. This later, specific literary genre was applied anachronistically to earlier poetic works in which matters of *ktiseis* were folded into larger works of poetry. Providing titles of works to reflect appropriate generic categories was a movement led by Callimachus and Apollonius of Rhodes. This coincided with a period of expansion and colonization begun by Alexander. Together, these events caused titles to be applied to authors' works erroneously. The passages discussed thus far in this chapter reflect Dougherty's views: *Ktiseis*, as titles of works, are quite likely to have been instead, *ktiseis*, subject matter of interest to authors.

[17] Schol. Apoll. Rh. (4.324).

Callimachus is often considered our earliest source for specifically etiological narratives. His now fragmentary work, *Aitia*, is often cited in the dative plural case since later authors appear to be referring to a story that Callimachus treated. Photius, for example, provides a lexical entry[18] for a phrase:

ἐντὸς ἑβδόμης· Ἀθήνησιν ἀπείρητο ἐντὸς ἑβδόμης στρατείαν ἐξάγειν· τὴν δὲ αἰτίαν εἴρηκε Καλλίμαχος ἐν Αἰτίοις.

within the seventh day: at Athens it was forbidden to lead forth an army within seven days. Callimachus gave the reason for this in the Aitia*.*

The word does not appear to be used in the sense of "narrative about causes" unless the noun is given in the upper case.

Ktiseis/*aitia*

I define now what I call *ktiseis* and *aitia*. I use the word *ktisis*, or its plural *ktiseis* to refer to the actual act of a city founding, but more often to the *narrative about* the city founding. This latter use of *ktisis*, *a narrative about* the founding of a city, is not found in the main Greek-English lexicon.[19] My two-fold use of this noun is intentional and serves several purposes. For one, the only evidence we have for the existence of many of these cities *is* the literary evidence. That is, these places "exist" only in narrative form and I find this narrative-only existence to be of great interest. The same practice applies for *aition* and *aitia*: they refer to both a cause, or origin, such as the origin of a religious festival, and to the *narrative about* the cause of the origin of the festival.[20] Because I treat these types of narratives together throughout this dissertation, I often refer to *ktiseis*/*aitia*,

[18] Photius, *Lexicon* (E—M). (entry 1039, l. 2).

[19] Cf. Liddell and Scott, (p. 1003).

[20] Ibid, (p. 44).

and this will almost always refer to ancient Greek prose narratives about city foundings, sundry causes and beginnings.

Since the construction of narratives about places outlasted the physical constructions, I suggest that the structure itself of these narratives requires investigation, and therein lies the bulk of this dissertation: determining what it is about the construction of *ktiseis/aitia* that provided them such longevity.

I also investigate the literary laborers who provided us with the textual evidence of actual, physical *ktiseis*. Without the narratives inscribed into texts, many city foundings would never be remembered; in a sense, they would not "exist" anymore: no narrative, no remembrance. Herodotus, Polybius, Diodorus Siculus, mythographers such as Conon, et al., provide countless stories regarding how and by whom cities were established, how territories and peoples received their names, and what special features about a people or a territory are important to know. In short, names of famous individuals and unique features of territories appear to be worthy of celebration via narratives. Included in this category of "must-know" people and land features are stories about those who seem to have claimed, or were awarded anyway, originator status for significant accomplishments such the building of temples, creation of festivals, and even the origins of verbal expressions. It cannot be denied that these celebrated people owe much to those who wove their celebrated achievements into texts which have, in so many cases, survived any physical evidence of the celebrated achievements.

The task of enshrining names and achievements in texts for long term memory recall is itself an important labor, and I suggest below how this literary achievement is

recognized and celebrated by those who perform it, while they simultaneously celebrate the names and deeds of the characters within their narratives. The researchers and (re)composers of *ktiseis*/*aitia* refer to others within their scholarly tradition, often by naming them, and I suggest a dual celebration in remembrance of names in *ktiseis*/*aitia*: of both the composers and their subjects. I propose that the structure of *ktiseis*/*aitia* provided an avenue for the continuity of names of the literary researchers and composers *as well as* continuity for the names and accomplishments narrated *within* the narratives.

Later in this chapter, I offer evidence provided by Polybius, who seems to distinguish his own type of interests and methodologies from those who constructed *ktiseis*/*aitia*. His diatribes against "the other" writers leads me to believe that "the other" writers also recognized themselves as producing a certain type of literary product.

A powerful narrative retains its potential for memory recall over time because it is built on a strong structure which itself is made to outlast both the attack and sometimes fortunate attention of countless researchers, scholars, and editors who receive the narrative in texts, and then create their own texts, often borrowing heavily, but still creating their own personalized versions of narratives now (re-) infixed in text. Presumably, this "new" text may be investigated by someone again later, who takes from the now derivative text, a story of a city founder or originator of a custom, who may also be or have been a local hero. This shared labor of textual research and reconstruction seems to be what Polybius rails against. His reporting of what he considers less practical textual content leads me to believe that we must expand the definition of a word he uses often, *hypomnema*. I link *hypomnema* with *ktiseis*/*aitia* and expand the meaning of the former to refer to the production of textual research, resulting in narratives or even highly

abbreviated narratives such as we see in scholia. *Hypomnemata* were intended largely for others working to produce texts. More of this discussion follows below in the current chapter.

Most importantly, this dissertation investigates the parts of *ktiseis/aitia*, in a selection of ancient Greek prose authors, to determine how these narrative parts combine in a way that ensures their transmission as a meaningful story. The continuity of a story reflects the effective operation of the parts of the story. In the texts of one author, Apollodorus for example, we may read a *ktisis* treated at a given length and then notice a much briefer version of the same overall story in Conon the mythographer. These narratives could transfer inter-textually as shorter or longer versions depending on the exigencies of the author at the time.

The value of effective *ktisei*s/*aitia* lies then in their ability to help define land and the people between boundaries, most often people in cities, and to possibly help justify ownership both in a contemporary setting and into the future (see White below). To clarify, significant accomplishments in relation to a land, i.e. city founders, originators of customs and festivals, those responsible for verbal expressions even, are part of what identifies and defines a place and therefore, the people inhabiting a place. Part of proving how *ktiseis/aitia* were significant to the narratives' authors and readers requires attention to the tenacity of these stories throughout genres and time periods in ancient Greece. I provide suggestions on this topic via the analyses of the selected narratives, especially in Chapter 4.

Founders and their legends indicated new beginnings; "their stories belonged to the popular history of the polis and its public life and political interaction . . . legendary founders reflect an interest in attaching the names and individuality of particular makers to institutions and cities."[21] Paul Veyne describes the effect of the founders and their legends as an "affirmation of the personality of each city." [22] Cities, then, as entities with personalities, can relate to one another: they have pasts which are intertwined and therefore present lives which overlap and connect to other cities and their founders. This celebration of local lore was valued in the pan-Greek world during centuries when powerful governmental and economic control was exercised from without from the time when the generals of Alexander the Great carved up his conquered territories and then ruled over and fought one another for great expanses of that territory.

Christopher Jones makes a convincing argument for Greek mythographers' role in what he calls "kinship diplomacy." The longevity of the motifs of the traveling hero/founder provided for the situating of nearly any city into a pan-Hellenic family.[23] This sort of diplomacy obviously relied on dependable inter-city relations which could be cited in desperate times, perhaps when a city faced natural or man-made catastrophes.

Emily Mackil discusses inter-polis relations which the polis Myous relied upon when its banks and docks became silted up to a point of uselessness, possibly causing an

[21] McGlew, 158.
[22] 80.
[23] Jones details heightened diplomacy of this sort at the close of the second century BCE, as cities sought prestige in their kinship relationships more than actual mutual assistance (pp. 58-63). He attributes this to the subjugated position which Greek cities assumed as subjects of various superpowers, especially later under the Roman empire.

outbreak of malaria-carrying mosquitoes as well.[24] She suggests that the smaller population of Myous re-located to the nearby, larger polis, Miletus. Strabo (14.1.10) says that Myous, due to a shortage of people, became one political community with Miletus. Pausanias (7.2.11) reports that the population of Myous carried with them everything they could, including statues of the gods. Mackil cites the "social and political structures that made its abandonment an opportunity rather than a disaster for the people of Myous" (497), and I believe that their shared lineage and history played a central role in shaping these sorts of political and social structures. She points to a "larger regional collectivity" which facilitated the abandonment and absorption into a neighboring city (500). I suggest that cities which belonged to various sorts of "regional collectivities" shared mythical/historical origins and founders who played a role in crafting these important inter-city relations.

Another instance of "wandering cities" discussed by Mackil is the wandering of Elateia in Phocis; this city was invited to join the city Stymphalos "on grounds of kinship between the two communities" (504). This coupling offers us solid evidence of shared relations based in part on mythical founders. "Elatos, eponymous hero of Elateia, was remembered as a son of Arkhas; he had two sons, Stymphalos and Kyllen, and later migrated to Phokis" (ibid., fn. 70). Clearly, Elataeia and Stymphalos were connected by eponymous founders, a father and a son. Not only did these two cities share practical interests but they were connected by blood relations.

Ktiseis in Herodotus and inscriptions

[24] Her article, *Wandering Cities: Alternatives to Catastrophe in the Greek Polis*, discusses potential, mutual benefits available to cities with common interests and histories. The histories could be cited to confer legitimacy on various inter-polis relations. These relations could assist populations in times of grave distress.

Herodotus provides excellent examples of what I consider full *ktiseis* in the stories of Grinnus of Thera, Battus son of Polymnestus, and the overall story of how Cyrene was founded (4.150 ff. for these three items), along with the stories surrounding brothers Dorieus and Clemomenes (5.42 ff.). These narrative versions of city founders and the reporting of other related city foundings in Herodotus can become quite lengthy, as compared to the relatively brief reporting of the same *ktiseis* we may find in Stephanus of Byzantium, or in Conon. Often, *ktiseis* lead to stories of other *ktiseis*.

A. J. Graham discusses a lengthy inscription (SEG ix 3), "the record of a decree of the people of Cyrene providing that the Theraeans should have equal citizenship in Cyrene according to the agreement which [they said] was made at the time the colony was sent out. They also arrange for the publication of this agreement with the decree; so we have the so-called *Orkion Ton Oikisteron* of Cyrene[25]. . ., which purports to be the decree of Thera providing for the establishment of the colony" (96). This inscription and the corresponding narratives in Herodotus and Pindar (*Pyth*. 4.60 ff.) leave us with, essentially, conflicting accounts of the establishment of a colony in Cyrene. There appears to be a Theraean version and a Cyrenaean version. Graham agrees with Legrand's proposal "that Herodotus' informants at Cyrene were favourable to national sentiment and unfavourable to the Battiads, whose rule had ended comparatively recently."[26]

This inscribed *ktisis* was a publicly displayed monument; the physical body of this tablet was, therefore, *hypomnema*, a memorial/reminder. This lends support to my earlier

[25] Also known as the "Stele of the Founders."
[26] Graham cites Legrand (*Herodote*, Budé, 1945, 158 ff).

suggestion that *ktiseis* were *hypomnemata*: the narrative found its way into both texts and a physical monument of sorts. Furthermore, the overall outline of the narrative (from Herodotus and Pindar) is parallel to the narrative as it appears in the inscription. The pieces of this story clearly adhere well to one another across genres and media.

Throughout all chapters below, I offer suggestions addressing what I see as a remarkable ability of *ktiseis/aita* to retain their narrative structure. They were continually researched and retold, yet elements of the various storylines, remain connected through the retellings of writers, compilers, inscribers even. There is something effective about a narrative structure that serves *ktiseis/aitia* so well, through so many centuries, that they continue to serve their fundamental purpose: remembrance, reminder, recall, in texts and in stone. The overall structure of *ktiseis/aitia* must be the cause and so must be the sum of the constituent parts of the storylines.

Comparing long *ktiseis*, as we see in Herodotus, to relatively short foundation narratives (as in Conon) reveals that a template conveys the information about powerful, memorable individuals who found cities and lend their names to significant achievements as originators. *Ktiseis/aitia* are comprised of narrative units which can appear in a fuller number and sequence, as in the stories of Dorieus and Cleomenes, and also with greater brevity, as in Conon. Herodotus can allot much detail for many of the component parts of the story (cf. Chapter 4), thereby creating a lengthier *ktisis*. Conon may devote a few words to a few of the constituent elements of the template (cf. numerous examples, Chapter 2), but we recognize the narrative and its function as a particular *ktisis/aition*.

Robert Fowler[27] has suggested that poets and possibly prose authors were engaged in historical writing with interests in local, cultic tradition prior to and contemporary with Herodotus' writing of his large-scale work (contrary to Jacoby's assignment of local history *after* Herodotus in Jacoby's developmental arrangement of Greek historiography). I agree with Fowler because several of the *ktiseis* allegedly told to or researched by Herodotus appear with what I see as a template in place, that which makes the constituent parts of storylines remain connected. It appears that this traditional formula was in place while Herodotus performed his investigations. This formula, or template, I call The Foundation and Etiology Narrative Schema (hereafter, the Schema). The Schema is the central focus of this dissertation and I discuss this template in Chapter 2.

Narratives like Conon's digests, composed relatively late compared to Herodotus' work, were one manner of passing on information about local cults and political foundations in an overall historiographical tradition which includes what John Dillery calls "sacred history" and in my estimation, pre-dates or is at least contemporary with Herodotus, as Fowler suggests. Dillery analyzes "this type of historical writing from the perspective of 'intentional history,' historiography written both to articulate the identity of a given region of the Greek world and to proclaim the region's importance in a larger, changing world."[28]

[27] (1996): 65-66.
[28] Cf. Dillery, 2005, (p. 505 ff.).

Prinz suggests that the details in myths about founders need not reflect actual historical figures and do not require archaeological support to be "legitimate."[29] This is supported by Malkin,[30] who argues that city foundations were so central a part of the residents' identity and self-perception that the narrative details of *ktiseis* were inevitably polished to a high degree of amelioration and acceptability. The oikist bridges the divide between old and new by transferring sacred fire from cults of the mother city to the site of the colony. This act helped to transfer important traditions from mother city to colony.[31] He was responsible for the placement of religious sites in the new land. Furthermore, in his very person, the oikist also represents the new life of a city by becoming the first "new" hero to be celebrated in the "new" territory. The oikist's post-mortem recognition with cult honors marks the independence of the "new city" providing a nationalistic symbol.[32] Malkin also suggests that this practice was so attractive that it was applied retroactively in "mother-cities" which then "re-established" cults of legendary founders.

Hayden White

Hayden White's research informs this dissertation mainly on two fronts: his work on the meaningful function of underlying structures of narratives and the political ramifications of narrative. The use of narrative in constructing and confirming social and political identities and alliances is an element of White's research that I find crucial in illuminating the possibilities for the significance of *ktiseis/aitia*. "The more historically self-conscious the writer of any form of historiography, the more the question of the

[29] Prinz, 1979, is mostly interested in the stages of development of "Grundungsmythen," whereas I favor the study of their form.
[30] Malkin, 1987, treats the role that divination and cult played in establishing colonies.
[31] Cf. Malkin's Chapter 3.
[32] Cf. Malkin's Chapters 5-8.

social system and the law that sustains it, the authority of this law and its justification, and threats to the law occupy his attention."[33] Nancy Partner comments on a passage from White: "This runs deeper than history writing; it speaks to the basic impulse to create narrative form from whatever reality presents."

> Narrativity, certainly in factual storytelling and probably in fictional storytelling as well, is intimately related to, if not a function of, the impulse to moralize reality, that is, to identify it with the social system that is the source of any morality that we can imagine (White, 13).

Partner continues: "In other words, our deep and uncontrollable desire to impose meaning via intelligible form on reality leads directly to acknowledging the legitimacy of the state as a large-scale emblem for reality itself and, inevitably, to accepting its legal and moral constraints as an allegory of meaning (167)."

If we follow White's reasoning, *ktiseis/aitia* may reflect political realities of the time of the author. Stories of city founders often justify a contemporary regime's hold on a territory. If we add to this a suggestion made by Jacob and Mullen-Hohl, "that mythical genealogies, narratives on autochtony and allusions to heroes who founded cities are integral parts of the travel narrative, or even better that they are fundamental procedures in the organization of the space covered by Pausanias . . ." (73), perhaps *ktiseis/aitia* "organize" the people within those spaces as well. That is, the stories with interchangeable characters and events within shared structures like the Schema assist in organizing the Greek peoples within the space they claim as theirs. Stories with uniform structures provide a consistent narrative to describe and justify possession of territory and consistency lends an air to legitimacy. In this way do *ktiseis/aitia* assist in uniting Greek

[33] From White's essay, "The Value of Narrativity . . ." (13) from the collection of essays, *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation* (1987). I provide the full title here because even the title of the work speaks to my research on the structure of *ktiseis/aitia*.

peoples and places while connecting the authors and researchers who investigate and reproduce the stories.

White recognizes the importance of the audiences' identification and sense of belonging in a social context. A narrative, or to use a term he employs, *discursive practice*, can reinforce that identification and sense of belonging. A foundation narrative which alienates an audience has the potential to destabilize the status quo. Foundation narratives must validate and reinforce the status quo established by the current political authority, i.e. the authority which is represented by mythical-historical founders and originators. The Schema aids in perpetuating the story and hence the justification of a social or political authority. White explores the worth of narrativity in *representing* reality and he reminds the reader that historical writing of any sort is a representation. Historical representation is nearly always political and "embraces this ideological function as an aim or purpose" (*The Content*, 88), and one purpose is to produce a receiving public convinced of its relationship with the authoritative regime. Furthermore, this reading public should consider itself individually as a "law-abiding citizen." "Because in its featuring of narrativity as a favored institutional practice, it is especially well suited to the production of notions of continuity, wholeness, closure, and individuality that every 'civilized' society wishes to see itself as incarnating" (87).

White's focus on narrative form and his determination that linguistic form is largely responsible for content have been helpful in my examination of the narrative structure of *ktiseis/aitia*, the Schema. Hayden White's discussion of metanarratives (an archetypal, or overarching narrative) is certainly relevant in foundation and etiological narratives. As I indicate in Chapters 2 and 3, the narrative describing the founding of a

city is itself a metanarrative. It is a structure made of components, overarching and adaptable so that various peoples may adopt the structure and insert names, places and events; thus an apparently "new" narrative is formed. An effective metanarrative can be adopted and adapted so that it is meaningful each time, the structural similarities resulting in interconnectedness among scattered Greek populations for whom the structure resonates as familiar.

Hayden White explores the validity of narration and the overall concept of narrativity in historiography. He poses the question, "What kind of insight does narrative give into the nature of real events?"[34] "What wish is enacted, what desire is gratified, by the fantasy that real events are properly represented when they can be shown to display the formal coherency of a story?"[35] The Schema makes *ktiseis/aitia* into coherent units. Founders, originators and their legends indicate new beginnings; "their stories belonged to the popular history of the polis and its public life and political interaction . . . legendary founders reflect an interest in attaching the names and individuality of particular makers to institutions and cities."[36] Paul Veyne describes the effect of the founders and their legends as an "affirmation of the personality of each city" (80). Cities, then, as entities with personalities can relate to one another: they have pasts which are intertwined and therefore present lives with relations with other cities and their founders. The connectivity provided by the Schema within narratives provides unity on a larger scale: among scattered Greek cities and populations.

[34] 1987, 5.
[35] Ibid., 4.
[36] McGlew, 158.

White deems narrativity an essential quality for making past events real to the cultural group for which those acts are recorded. "It is this need or impulse to rank events with respect to their significance for the culture or group that is writing its own history that makes a narrative representation of real events possible." He further clarifies the issue of "real," ". . . the very distinction between real and imaginary events that is basic to modern discussions of both history and fiction presupposes a notion of reality in which 'the true' is identified with 'the real' only insofar as it can be shown to possess the character of narrativity".[37] Narrative is a "particularly effective system of discursive meaning production by which individuals can be taught to live a distinctively imaginary relation to their real conditions of existence, that is to say, an unreal but meaningful relation to the social formations in which they are indentured to live out their lives and realize their destinies as social subjects."[38]

The remarkable similarities in these particular mythographical narratives lead me to believe that they were one of many possible tools for creating unity among the Greek peoples and territories which were treated in the *ktiseis/aitia*. David Carr comments, "We have an experience in common when we grasp a sequence of events as a temporal configuration such that its present phase derives its significance from its relation to a common past and future . . . Social human time, like individual human time, is constructed into configured sequences which make up the events and projects of our common action and experience." He continues, "What strikes me about social life is the extent to which an individual takes part in experiences and engages in actions whose proper subject is not the individual himself or herself but that of the group. To inhabit a

[37] Ibid, 6.
[38] Ibid, x.

territory, to organize politically and economically for its cultivation and civilization, to experience a natural or human threat and rise to meet it – these are experiences and actions usually not properly attributable to me alone, or to me, you, and the others individually. They belong rather to us: it is not my experience but *ours*, not I who act but *we* who act in concert" (127). Foundation legends serve the purpose Carr describes: they connect people to their predecessors from a past era and they connect geographical territories to one another.

Without a doubt, there were ancients who contested the legitimacy of a particular "founding" ruler or regime. Those who benefited from the status quo however, must have found the stories "believable," because they supported their contemporary position. We must view the content of the foundation legends as perfectly appropriate for representing the historical events of the period from which they were generated. "Convention may limit the range of types of plot structures deemed suitable for the representation of the types of events being dealt with . . ." (27).[39] As an example, Cohen offers, "that the choice of a farcical style, for the representation of some kinds of historical events would constitute, not only a lapse in taste, but also a distortion of the truth about them" (30). "Therefore it is absurd to suppose that, because a historical discourse is cast in the mode of narrative, it must be mythical, fictional, substantially imaginary or otherwise 'unrealistic' in what it tells us about the world" (49).

Regarding the mythical narratives containing *ktiseis/aitia* motifs, Carol Dougherty clarifies: "Although they describe the past, colonization tales must also respond to the needs of the present; the significance of the narrative depends less on an accurate

[39] See Cohen, 1989.

reflection of facts than on internal coherence and continued cultural value."[40] The Schema provides internal cohesiveness, so that the mythical-historical past and the present are remarkably well connected.

Christian Jacob and Anne Mullen-Hohl's understanding of narratives which deal with *thaumata* is much the same as my understanding of *ktiseis/aitia*.

> Indeed, the credibility of the marvelous fact depends on the "bibliography": the status of certain authors who were "authorities" in their time or area, endows the anecdote with a genuine validity and guarantees the reality of the fact, which will therefore be mentioned by later writers, who will faithfully reproduce, quite uncritically, "the master's discourse" (67).

As the various scholia above suggest, naming a "master," like Hellanicus or Theopompus, appears to be an integral part of *ktiseis*. The underlying structure of *ktiseis/aitia* is what expedites both the research into and reproduction of foundation and etiological narratives and the association with an alleged source is crucial to that structure.

Jacob and Mullen-Hohl call paradoxical literature (i.e. the topic of their study) "specialized literature, which reproduces itself and thus ensures its own survival . . ." (68) and *ktiseis/aitia* were similar: the underlying structure of these etiological stories facilitated that survival. Jacob and Mullen-Hohl suggest: "we must read these texts in order to elucidate the underlying 'system' and to discover their essential qualities and their deep coherence" (68) and the same perspective should be applied to foundation and etiological narratives.

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[40] See Dougherty, 1993, 5.

James V. Wertsch's article, "The Narrative Organization of Collective Memory" suggests that researchers in narrative adopt an alternative perspective when treating memory "of the group" (121) and recognize a "distributed version," which views memory as distributed in two means: socially and instrumentally. His article focuses on the second of these options, instrumental distribution, suggesting that this "involves agents, acting individually or collectively, and the cultural tools they employ, tools such as calendars, the Internet, or narratives." He specifically treats, "the distinction between two levels of narrative analysis, 'specific narratives' and 'schematic narrative templates'" (122). Scholiasts, compliers, mythographers and other "agents" perform the instrumental distribution for aspects of collective memory which Wertsch suggests that we recognize. Examples I provide later from lexica, scholia, and excerpted texts reveal workers engaging their literary/scholarly predecessors and using Wertsch's "cultural tools" to do so. These cultural tools are one another's texts and other compiled, research sources. Multiple voices, he reminds us, are reflected in narrative performance, and "textual resources used to produce narratives invariably have a history of use by others . . . this means that narratives are always half someone else's, and it leads to questions about how narrators can coordinate their voice with those of others that are built into the textual resources they employ" (123).

He argues "that the study of collective memory requires taking into account a . . . level of narrative organization . . . concerned with general patterns rather than specific events and actors. This level of narrative organization is grounded in . . . 'schematic narrative templates.' These narrative templates can produce replicas that vary in their details but reflect a single general story line. In contrast to specific narratives, these

templates do not deal with just one concrete episode from the past. Instead, each takes the form of a generalized schema that is in evidence when talking about any one of several episodes" (123). The Schema mirrors his description of "schematic narrative templates." Wertsch cites Russian folklorist Vladimir Propp,[41] who found "recurrent constants" like my Schema. " . . . A generalized narrative form may underlie a range of narratives in a cultural tradition. This means that the focus in analyzing the narrative organization of collective memory changes from a list of specific narratives to an underlying pattern that is instantiated by each of several specific narratives" (123).

The narrative mode, in the service of remembrance, recall, and mention provides a natural, inherent human facility for these activities. This dissertation investigates, largely with the assistance of Hayden White's research, the centrality of narrative as a fundamental mode or uniquely human mechanism for attaching value to certain individuals and their achievements resulting in a collective, often political, use of narrative that connects peoples and confirms ties of kinship via a shared narrative template. With the assistance of Wertsch, I also treat the individual-centered, less-collective activity surrounding the use of the Schema: the "agent." Wertsch suggests that we view the agent, or in my work, the complier, mythographer, or scholiast. A look at the researcher and re-creator of narratives illuminates the individual making sense of his or her tradition connecting him or herself to environments both immediate and further at large.

[41] Propp, 1968, 20.

Narrative Psychology

Modern psychology studies now take seriously the nature of story-telling as the vehicle through which individuals make sense of their world. Theodore R. Sarbin's *Narrative psychology: The storied nature of human conduct* (1986) explores how humans make sense of their individual and collective experiences by constructing stories and listening to the stories of others. His first chapter, titled "The Narrative as a Root Metaphor for Psychology"[42] proposes "The narratory principle: that human beings think, perceive, imagine, and make moral choices according to narrative structures . . . The narrative is a way of organizing episodes, actions, and accounts of actions; it is an achievement that brings together mundane facts and fantastic creations; time and place are incorporated. The narrative allows for the inclusion of actors' reasons for their actions, as well as the causes of happening."[43] Important events in an individual's memory retain their place in one's memory through Sarbin's "organizing principle for human action": narrative. "Organizing principles are invoked, then, to help account for the observation that human beings impose structure on the flow of experience."[44] "It [narrative] has all of the same features as the historical act. The only difference is that

[42] Sarbin derives his "root metaphor" from Pepper's World Hypotheses (1942). "Pepper traced the history of metaphysics and concluded that any metaphysical posture, or world hypothesis, is derived from a basic or root metaphor. He demonstrated how the root metaphor provides the framework for the construing of occurrences in the natural and man-made worlds. . . To create and use root metaphors is a special case of metaphor making, a common achievement of human beings . . . As a background for my argument that the narrative is a candidate for the status of basic or root metaphor, I provide a brief sketch of Pepper's classification of root metaphors from which he derived six types of world views: animism, mysticism, formism, mechanism, organicism, and contextualism . . . The root metaphor for contextualism is the historical event. Not necessarily an event in the past, the event is alive and in the present. In this sense history is an attempt to re-present events, to revive them, to breathe life into them. Pepper writes of the historic event as the event in actuality – the dynamic dramatic act," Sarbin, 5-7.

[43] Ibid, 8-9.

[44] Ibid, 9.

narratives are told as well as lived while historical acts, of course, are narrated by historians."[45]

This dissertation adopts the premise that through narratives a population defines itself and refashions the information about long-dead founders, origins of centuries-old temples, etc. so that the information retains a palpable resonance over generations. Sarbin points out "the readiness of human beings both to organize their experience and to interpret their social lives according to narrative plots."[46] This, I believe, will be a shared phenomenon in the works of the mythographers: by using the mythological narrative as a frame, they explore matters significant to their cultural identity. The mythographers also imposed chronological and spatial ordering on mythical material so that the fantastic can more easily be linked with the mundane.[47] Modern people often ponder whether or not the ancients "believed" their myths or stories of their founders. Answering this question is not central to this dissertation, but if Sarbin and other narrative psychologists are correct, a narrative context is what provides these "believed-in imaginings" with their intrinsic value.[48]

Carol Dougherty presents a "narrative pattern" or "plot" of archaic colonization she calls "familiar." Derived with the assistance of cultural anthropological theories, her

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[45] Hevern, 1999.
[46] 1998, 15.
[47] Calame refers to the Greeks' mythographical motivation to rationalize their legendary past in a manner of a "continual temporal succession that would make the heroes of legend the real founders of the present" (20-21).
[48] Jeffrey S. Victor's chapter in *Believed-in Imaginings: The Narrative Constructions of Reality* (1998) delves into the psychology of human belief in the supernatural (among other things). "The idea that many people can believe in the existence of purely imaginary creatures, monsters, spirits, aliens, and dangerous human deviants and can swear that they remember seeing them, should come as no surprise to anyone . . . It is a product of identifiable social processes that influence many people's beliefs. Most fundamentally, these social processes include the effects of authority on belief, and the consensual validation of reality within people's social networks and reference groups."

formula is related to my Schema, but I offer an expanded schema, using Dougherty's helpful narrative pattern as a starting point. Dougherty also works primarily with poetic texts to illuminate metaphors of colonization, whereas I research only Greek prose texts.[49]

Daniel Berman's insightful treatment, "The Double Foundation of Boiotian Thebes," investigates the possibilities behind differing foundation narratives for Thebes. He suggests that one story (of brothers Amphion and Zethus) represents the tradition of a "more indigenous" Mycenaean Greek population while the other (Cadmus as founder) reflects archaic-era colonization stories. The poetic tradition, he points out, needs no rational synchronization of these seemingly conflicting narratives. "As the city is founded and refounded over time by narratives with reference to new cultural exigencies, the poetic tradition incorporates, rather than edits, the multiple versions of foundation" (19). It is due to the rationalizing intentions of genealogists and prose mythographers that the stories become conflated and explained as one set of founders preceding the other. The story of Amphion and Zethus as founders reflects more "Hellenic" traditions of Thebes while Cadmus' accomplishments share characteristics with archaic colonization of

[49] Charles Segal also worked with poetic texts, namely Pindar's, discussing among other themes, " . . . the creative energies of first beginnings, with the emergence of the unformed into the orderly procession of Olympian creation, and with the moments when the unnamed receives the stabilizing identity of nomenclature . . . . Of particular importance are the myths of origin. Pindar returns repeatedly to the beginning of things, the *arche*: the creation of cities and cults, the founding of colonies and of the games, the invention of songs, temple architecture . . . and so on" (66). "Closer to the human world, but also parallel to cosmogonic creation, are the moments when new life emerges from the realm of the unnamed (and hence the non-existent, the verbally unformed) into the specificity of being by receiving a human name" (67). "The verbal act of conferring a name becomes part of the process of creation itself and also part of the monumentalizing effect of Truth as the negation of oblivion in time. Through the poetic *logos* time cooperates with truth to preserve human deeds from oblivion, as an operation symmetrical with the processes of birth and creation" (70). In Chapters 2 and 3, I discuss one of the components of the Schema which is "naming" in *ktiseis/aitia* as fundamental. I, like Segal, detect in prose narratives, a dynamic, dual agency in creation/foundation motifs: the divine powers along with human efforts, which then result in new creations (see especially Chapter 3).

Cyrene or Naxos in Sicily (18). Vergil confronted a similar problem with multiple foundation stories of Rome (Aeneas and Romulus as founders) and he solved the inconsistencies by ordering the founders chronologically and separating them spatially.

Ktiseis/aitia establish the legitimacy of their narrative content through other means besides citations of sources. One key element is the internal, retroactive dating of many of these narratives to an unspecified "original" time, "the beginning." This motif plays an important role in legitimizing the events of the story and thereby legitimizing the "cultural exigencies" (see Berman above) or political realities (White) which the tales reflect. A continuous time frame is described when a narrative strikes a claim to reflect practices which date from the remote, primordial past to the present (many *ktiseis/aitia* end with a reference to the present: *eti kai nun*: "even now . . ."). This would certainly serve the purpose of legitimizing a political regime's claim to territory: "We have held this territory ever since the beginning, when so-and-so came to this land, with the sanction of the Delphic oracle, and founded this city, or established this temple." Even now, credibility lies with those whose claims to territory date back the furthest and reach into the present.[50]

Hypomnemata

Parthenius' *Erotika Pathemata* is prefaced with a dedication to his comrade Cornelius Gallus. Parthenius, like Conon and much later, Photius, researched texts, excerpted and epitomized, and re-fashioned the narrative material that he studied into his own versions. He refers to his current work as being in unpolished form, presumably

[50] Later uses of the word *ktisis*, in ecclesiastical Greek (New Testament, etc.), reflect the time and act of the creation of the cosmos, the entire world. *Ktisis* is often closely paired with the word *arche,* beginning. All of God's creation, heaven and earth, is his *ktisis*.

since Cornelius would use it as material to write more polished poetry. Parthenius says that the work is in the form of "notes" (ὑπομνηματίων τρόπον).

The word *hypomnemata*, I suggest, refers to the work of those who perform research into texts, glean material suitable for their needs, and re-shape it into narrative form, poetry or prose. The current definition provided by LSJ[51] needs to be expanded to reflect this type of research product. Pfeiffer's claim is too narrow: that *hympomnema* "never meant an independent finished writing; it may refer to notes reminding one of facts heard or seen in the past, or to notes jotted down and collected as a rough copy for a future book, or to explanatory notes to some other writing, that is, a commentary" (29). I believe that the key element is "facts heard or seen in the past" and what *hypomnemata* are describing is this action of memorialization via textual research and refashioning into narrative. I also doubt Pfeiffer's claim that *hypomnemata* did not refer to works considered by their authors to be "finished."

The following discussion of *hypomnemata* is important for the overall treatment of *ktiseis/aitia* for two reasons. First, the former are often the context in which one would find the latter. In other words, an ancient's *hypomnemata* may include stories of founders, originators, and beginnings. In this regard, *ktiseis/aitia* are interwoven throughout a larger work. Secondly, I believe that *ktiseis/aitia* can be regarded as a subset of *hypomnemata* since the word *hypomnemata*, according to my definition, simply indicates literary research that results in the production of remembrance-based narratives. In this second sense, *kitiseis/aitia are hypomnemata*; they are remembrance-based narratives resulting from literary research and narrative (re-) production. I consider *ktiseis/aitia*, and

[51] Cf. Liddell and Scott's definitions for *hypomnemata* (p. 1889).

specifically, the Schema, to serve the purpose of assistance in recall of names and events for posterity via narrative, and in this sense, they resemble physical monuments.

Hypomnemata appears to be used like *Ktiseis* and *Aitia*, as the title of specific works or general descriptions for *types* of works. One could say, for instance, that the products of scholarly research, which result in narratives in digest form, such as Conon's, fit this category. Polybius provides insightful remarks about this word and his remarks seem to have been overlooked. His attitude is downright scornful toward those who work with texts in libraries. Polybius and Strabo distinguish different approaches to historical writing: a more practical sort, completed by men with experience in the matters about which they purportedly write and, on the other hand, a more leisurely sort, completed by men with a fondness for document consultation, note-taking, and spending time in libraries. "Real" historical writing is undertaken for a different purpose and reflects different methodologies.

Polybius, and Strabo as well, insinuate that the type of historical writing undertaken by Timaeus and, by direct and indirect implication, Theopompus, and Ephorus, appeal to a less serious reading audience. Polybius constantly drops the word *polypragmatic*, a busy-body sort of scholar, i.e. one who busies oneself with the search of documents on genealogies and such. One does not consult that type of writing for guiding protocol in, for instance, military matters or in determining causes of major events of the past which provide useful, practical models for application in the present. The practical uses of the historical accounts based on *hypomnemata,* for instance, are few according to Polybius. In a programmatic statement regarding his manner of presenting his historical

data (12.1.5-2.7) he reflects on those whose writing appears to have been consulted for specialty areas:

> Since genealogies, myths, the planting of colonies, the foundations of cities and their ties of kinship have been recounted by many writers and in many different styles, an author who undertakes at the present day to deal with these matters must either represent the work of others as being his own, a most disgraceful proceeding, or if he refuses to do this, must manifestly toil to no purpose, being constrained to avow that the matters on which he writes and to which he devotes his attention have been adequately narrated and handed down to posterity by previous authors.[52]

The mention of "planting of colonies, the foundation of cities and their ties of kinship" is highly informative. I take him at his word: these narratives "have been recounted by many . . ." This confirms what was said early in this chapter: these narratives circulate very much, and "have been adequately narrated and handed down to posterity by previous authors." So Polybius tells us that foundation narratives and stories of kinship are, after all, designed to be repeated and circulated. Polybius goes on to say that he wants to write of events in a manner that stands out for its novelty in presentation, and its value for the reader will be in terms of practical lessons. In the fragments to Polybius's Book 9, from the preface, we detect many negative, sarcastic overtones regarding writers of history, their methodologies, and so forth. Book 12 amounts to a long diatribe in fact. "Others" engage in history writing to provide a livelihood for themselves, i. e. certain types of writing history can pay off (c12.25e.1-7)

As discussed earlier in this chapter, ὑπόμνημα shares the root μνη- with words that translate into English as "memory, memorial," and with verbs that mean "to recall, recount, tell the story of." This activity is fundamental for *ktiseis/aitia* and all of the

[52]Translation by Loeb editor of Polybius, W. R. Paton (IV, p. 5. 1960).

categories which I place under a loose rubric title of *hypomnemata*: the products of literary activity, that is, research, re-writing, etc., of which the intention is memorialization, or continuity of the names and events treated in the narratives. In this sense, these literary products pay tribute to the characters and events which are joined together within the structural framework of the narrative itself. Furthermore, in this same sense, the similarity between literary memorials and physical monuments becomes quite prominent. Physical monuments are often called *hypomnemata*, with a lower case upsilon.

Diodorus Siculus uses forms of the noun *hypomnema* many times and most often in conjunction with a compound of the verb *leipo, kataleipo,* which takes the noun *hypomnema* as its direct object. One "leaves behind" a vehicle for remembrance. This vehicle for remembrance can either be literary or physical and it is often described as, literally, *deathless* but proverbially, *timeless*.

(3.72.3): βουλόμενον ἀθάνατον ἀπολιπεῖν ὑπόμνημα τῆς ἰδίας ἀρετῆς,

Wanting to leave behind a timeless (lit. deathless) reminder of his own virtue

(11.29.3-4): ἀλλ' ὑπόμνημα τοῖς ἐπιγινομένοις ἑάσω καὶ καταλείψω τῆς τῶν βαρβάρων ἀσεβείας.

However, I shall leave behind a reminder to posterity of the impiety of the Barbarians

(1.31.9): διὸ καὶ τοὺς ἀρχαίους βασιλεῖς ἱστοροῦσι κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἔργα μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστὰ διὰ τῆς πολυχειρίας κατασκευάσαντας ἀθάνατα τῆς ἑαυτῶν δόξης ἀπολιπεῖν ὑπομνήματα.

On which account, they recall that the ancient kings in Egypt left behind great and marvelous works, through the workmanship of many hands, deathless reminders of their reputation.

(11.14.4): οἱ δὲ Δελφοὶ τῆς τῶν θεῶν ἐπιφανείας ἀθάνατον ὑπόμνημα καταλιπεῖν τοῖς μεταγενεστέροις βουλόμενοι, τρόπαιον ἔστησαν παρὰ τὸ τῆς Προναίας Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερόν, ἐν

ᾧ τόδε τὸ ἐλεγεῖον ἐνέγραψαν, μνᾶμά τ’ ἀλεξάνδρου πολέμου καὶ μάρτυρα νίκας Δελφοί με στᾶσαν . . .

The Delphians, wanting to leave behind a timeless reminder to posterity of the epiphany of the gods, erected a trophy near the shrine of Athena Pronaia, in which they inscribed this elegy: the Delphians erected me as a reminder of the war with Alexander and a testimony of the victory . . .[53]

Diodorus speaks of the physical *hypomnemata* which recall the worthy deeds of Alexander and confirm his reputation (δόξης). They are described as the greatest and most worthy of remembrance. I translate the last line:[54]

ἵνα δὲ μὴ δόξῃ διὰ τῆς ἰδίας γνώμης καθαιρεῖν τι τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου δόξης ἐπὶ τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Μακεδόνων πλῆθος . . . ἦν δὲ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων τὰ μέγιστα καὶ μνήμης ἄξια τάδε . . .

Of the memorials the greatest and those worthy of remembrance were . . .

Included in Diodorus’ category of people worthy of having their names and deeds included in literary *hypomnemata* are his *literary* predecessors. Diodorus and others equally value the opportunity to mention names, reputations, and achievements of those whose labors, like his, allowed for the continuity of important literary and philosophical traditions.[55]

Ὑπῆρξαν δὲ κατὰ τούτους τοὺς χρόνους ἄνδρες κατὰ παιδείαν ἄξιοι μνήμης Ἰσοκράτης τε ὁ ῥήτωρ καὶ οἱ τούτου γενόμενοι μαθηταὶ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ὁ φιλόσοφος, ἔτι δὲ Ἀναξιμένης ὁ Λαμψακηνὸς καὶ Πλάτων ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, ἔτι δὲ τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν φιλοσόφων οἱ τελευταῖοι, Ξενοφῶν . . .

There were in those times men worthy of remembrance for their pedagogy. Isocrates the orator and those who were students of his and Aristotle the philosopher. Furthermore, Anaximenes of Lampsacus and Plato the Athenian, the last of the Pythagorean philosophers, Xenophon and . . .

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[53] A few other examples should suffice: (3.38.1): περὶ τοῦ καταλελειμμένου μέρους, λέγω δὲ τοῦ Ἀραβίου κόλπου, ποιησόμεθα τὴν ἀναγραφήν, τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ βασιλικῶν ὑπομνημάτων ἐξειληφότες,

(3.70.5): ἅμα μὲν σκέπης ἕνεκα καὶ τῆς φυλακῆς τοῦ σώματος πρὸς τοὺς ὕστερον κινδύνους, ἅμα δ’ ἀρετῆς ὑπόμνημα καὶ δικαίας δόξης

[54] Diod. Sic. (18.4).

[55] Diod. Sic. (15.76).

On nearly every page of Athenaeus, multiple authors are recalled along with narrative content with which those authors are associated. Athenaeus provides many bibliographical references to literary *hypomnemata*, which the Loeb translator Gulick translates as C*ommentaries* or *Notes*. Athenaeus and his fellow sophists at dinner refer to *historical hypomnemata, sympotic hypomnemata*,[56] *theatrical hypomnemata*[57] and *mixed hypomnemata*.[58] Simply *hypomnemata,* in both the lower case and upper case, are attributed to authors as well. The word appears often in the phrase thus: ἐν Ὑπομνήμασι. In one such passage, Hegesander from Delphi is cited for an anecdote on Plato: [59]

Ἡγήσανδρος δὲ ὁ Δελφὸς ἐν τοῖς Ὑπομνήμασι περὶ τῆς πρὸς πάντας τοῦ Πλάτωνος κακοηθείας λέγων γράφει καὶ ταῦτα

Hegesander from Delphi, in his Commentaries*, discussing Plato's ill-disposition toward everyone, writes the following . . .*

Athenaeus also cites from *Historical Commentaries*:[60]

ὅθεν Φιλίππου τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαβόντος Παρμενίων αὐτὸν ἐν Ὠρεῷ λαβὼν ἀπέκτεινεν, ὥς φησι Καρύστιος ἐν Ἱστορικοῖς Ὑπομνήμασι

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[56] For *Sympotic Hypomnemata* by Persaeus of Citium, Kaibel's edition of Athenaeus from 1887 gives the title in upper case letters (13.607 a-b). Gulick translates, "Persaeus of Citium in his *Convivial Notes* loudly proclaims that . . ." (VI, p. 273). Olson, the most recent Loeb editor of Athenaues, gives the same Greek upper case letters and translates Persaeus' work as *Drinking Party Commentaries* (VII, p. 68-69). Persaeus is again mentioned as a writer of sympotic dialogues for which he drew from the earlier works of Stilo and Zenon (4.162 b-c): Περσαίου τε τοῦ καλοῦ φιλοσόφου συμποτικοὺς διαλόγους συντεθέντας ἐκ τῶν Στίλπωνος καὶ Ζήνωνος ἀπομνημονευμάτων. I suggest that his *sympotic hypomnemata* refer to his *sympotic dialogues*; the word *hypomnemata* here simply means "literary works," not "commentaries." I find it odd that Persaeus would be known for composing both dialogues and commentaries on other dialogues.

[57] Nestor's *theatrical hypomnemata* (10.415 a) are given in lower case letters by Kaibel: ὡς ἱστορεῖ Νέστωρ ἐν τοῖς θεατρικοῖς ὑπομνήμασι. Gulick translates, "as Nestor records in his *Theatrical Commentaries*" (IV, p. 379). Schweighaeuser's edition of Athenaeus (1803) gives this title in upper case letters (Tome 2).

[58] See Herodicus' *mixed hypomnemta* (8.340 e). In Kaibel's edition, this reference reads: Ἡρόδικος δ' ὁ Κρατήτειος ἐν τοῖς συμμίκτοις ὑπομνήμασι . . . Gulick: "Herodicus, the disciple of Crates, proved in his *Miscellaneous Notes* . . ." (IV, p. 45). Schweighaeuser's edition however, gives this title in upper case letters (Tome II, p. 255): Συμμίκτοις Ὑπομνήμασι. Olson gives upper case letters and translates, "Herodicus the Cratetaean in his *Miscellaneous Notes* . . ." (v. IV, p. 50-51).

[59] (11.507 a). Gulick: "Hegesander of Delphi in his *Commentaries* discussing Plato's malice . . . " (V, p. 277). Here, Schweighaeuser's reference is the same as Kaibel's.

[60] (11.506 e). Gulick: "At least Carystius of Pergamum in his *Historical Notes* writes as follows . . ." (V, p. 275).

For which reason, when Philip took command, Parmenion seized and killed him in Oreos, so says Carystius in his Historical Commentaries

However, to resume a suspicion of mine which I cited earlier in this chapter regarding the text editors' treatment of alleged titles of works, it appears that even the same text editor cannot determine whether to consistently capitalize the title of the same ancient author's *hypomnemata*. Hegesander's *hypomnemata*, cited above, as an alleged title with a capital letter, is elsewhere cited with a lower case letter. Athenaeus even specifies that he is discussing the same Hegesander from Delphi. I provide the Loeb translation here to illuminate several points: lower-case *hypomnemata*, a passage where Gulick does NOT capitalize *Commentaries* in his translation as he usually does, and lastly a "scholarly" type of *hypomnemata* (σχολικῶν ὑπομνημάτων). This passage suggests that there is simply not solid enough evidence, in Athenaeus alone, to suggest that *hypomnemata* referred to commentaries, or *Commentaries* for that matter. [61]

Μυρτίλος μὲν γὰρ ἔφασκεν, ὥσπερ εἰς αἶγας ἠμᾶς ἀγρίας ἀποπέμπων τοὺς ζητοῦντας, Ἡγήσανδρον τὸν Δελφὸν ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν αὐτοῦ μνημονεύειν, τῆς <δὲ> λέξεως τὰ νῦν οὐ μεμνῆσθαι. πρὸς ὃν ἀντιλέγων ὁ Πλούταρχος 'ἀλλὰ μὴν ἔγωγε, φησί, διορίζομαι μηδ' ὅλως τὸν Ἡγήσανδρον τοῦτο εἰρηκέναι, δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτ' ἐξαναγνοὺς αὐτοῦ πάντα τὰ ὑπομνήματα, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄλλος τις τῶν ἑταίρων τοῦτ' ἔχειν οὕτω διεβεβαιοῦτο, ὁρμώμενος ἔκ τινων σχολικῶν ὑπομνημάτων ἀνδρὸς οὐκ ἀδόξου.[62]

For Myrtilus sent the anxious seekers of our company as it were among the wild she-goats, by saying that Hegesander of Delphi mentions it in his commentaries, but that he could not for the moment recall his words. In refuting him Plutarch declared: "As for myself, I am sure that Hegesander did not mean the citron at all, for I have read all his commentaries for this express purpose, since another friend of mine insisted, as you have done, that he knows of it, basing his assurance on some scholastic comments of a gentleman of no mean repute . . .

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[61] (3.83 b). Schweighaeuser however, gives the first two instances of *hypomnemata* in capital letters (Tome I, p. 325) and the phrase σχολικῶν ὑπομνημάτων is in lower case as in Kaibel's text above. Olson uses capital letters for this phrase and translates it "scholarly essays" in lower case letters (I, p. 458). Given capital Greek letters, one might expect a translation that reflects modern practices: *Scholarly Essays*.

[62] Another example where Athenaeus specifies *Hegesander from Delphi* and then gives a "title" in lower case letters: ὅτι δ' ἔθος τῷ ἐπίπλῳ περικαλύπτεσθαι τὰ ἡπάτια, Ἡγήσανδρος ὁ Δελφὸς ἐν ὑπομνήμασί φησι Μετάνειραν τὴν ἑταίραν . . . (3.107 e).

Even when Athenaeus provides a text location, often considered a sign that an author is referencing a specific work, Kaibel at times uses lower-case nouns.[63]

οὐκ ἄκαιρον δ' ἐστὶν μνημονεῦσαι καὶ τοῦ εἰς ὑμᾶς ποιηθέντος ἐπιγράμματος, ὅπερ παρέθετο ὁ Δελφὸς Ἡγήσανδρος ἐν ἕκτῳ ὑπομνημάτων·[64]

It is not an inappropriate time to recall the epigram composed for us, the one which Hegesander from Delphi included in the sixth book of his literary work.

Below we see *historical commentaries*, also cited in lower case letters, treating matters of festivals and how they became named:

ὅτι δ' ὄντως Ἀφροδίτῃ ὗς θύεται μαρτυρεῖ Καλλίμαχος ἢ Ζηνόδοτος ἐν ἱστορικοῖς ὑπομνήμασι γράφων ὧδε· 'Ἄργεῖοι Ἀφροδίτῃ ὗν θύουσι, καὶ ἡ ἑορτὴ καλεῖται Ὑστήρια.'[65]

Hegesander, in his *Hypomnemata* (Ἡγήσανδρος ἐν Ὑπομνήμασι) below, explains festivals celebrated by Magnesians using the *protos heuretes* motif: Jason was *the first* to conduct this festival. Here, as in an example provided much earlier in this chapter, we see a connection with the verbal action "to remember, recall, mention" (μνημονεύει) and what is being recalled is "a cause" (αἰτίαν). I suggest that causes, founders, origins were deemed worthy of inclusion into schematic narratives, especially ones for which the Schema provided an easy template for the remembrance or recall.

οἶδα δὲ καὶ ἑορτήν τιν' Ἑταιρίδεια ἀγομένην ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ οὐ διὰ τὰς ἑταίρας, ἀλλὰ δι' ἑτέραν αἰτίαν, ἧς μνημονεύει Ἡγήσανδρος ἐν Ὑπομνήμασι γράφων ὧδε (FHG IV 418)·

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[63] (4.162 a). My translation here reflects my opinion about *hypomnemata*: the word means "literary works, research" etc. Gulick (II, p. 237) again translates into English using a capital letter: *Commentaries*, as if a title of a work. "Hegesander of Delphi has cited in the sixth book of his *Commentaries*." I find it odd that Hegesander would compose an epigram (or maybe he just inserted it?) for some sort of commentary, at least in the modern sense of the word. Olson translates this as "in Book VI of his *Commentaries*" and he uses a Greek capital letter. Gulick gives a lower case Greek letter. Clearly, Gulick and Olson made choices about whether to use a capital upsilon or not. These choices influence our perception about whether these words reflect *titles* of works or not. Yet, the textual evidence is not consistent: Gulick gives a lower-case upsilon and Olson gives an upper case upsilon.

[64] Other examples of this, i.e. text location with lower-case "title" abound: Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ὁ βασι-
λεὺς ἐν ἑβδόμῳ ὑπομνημάτων 'ἐπὶ Κορίνθου προάγουσι, φησίν, (2.19).

[65] Kaibel (I, p. 220) gives these lower case letters while Olson (I, p, 520) capitalizes both.

‘τὴν τῶν Ἑταιριδείων ἑορτὴν συντελοῦσι Μάγνητες. ἱστοροῦσι δὲ πρῶτον Ἰάσονα τὸν Αἴσονος συναγαγόντα τοὺς Ἀργοναύτας Ἑταιρείῳ Διὶ θῦσαι (10) καὶ τὴν ἑορτὴν Ἑταιρίδεια προσαγορεῦσαι. Θύουσι δὲ καὶ οἱ Μακεδόνων βασιλεῖς τὰ Ἑταιρίδεια.’

The Loeb translation reads thus:

But I know also of a festival, the Hetairideia, celebrated in Magnesia, not in honour of these ‘companions’ (hetaerae), but for a different reason, which is mentioned by Hegesander in his Commentaries, writing thus: ‘The Magnesians celebrate the festival of the Hetairideia. They record that Jason the son of Aeson, after gathering the Argonauts together, was the first to sacrifice to Zeus Hetaireios and that he called the festival Hetairideai. And the kings of Macedonia also celebrate with sacrifices the Hetairideai.”

Hegesander of Delphi, Theopompus, Ptolemy Euergetes, and others are discussed in Athenaeus and Kaibel provides for these authors both upper case and lower case “titles.” To Polybius are attributed both upper case *Historiai* and lower-case *historiai*. Kaibel mentions nothing about these variations in the *apparatus criticus*.[66] Loeb editor Gulick consistently translates all instances of *hypomnemata* as *Commentaries*, leaving the impression that many authors wrote something with this title. Kaibel’s silence on this matter indicates that medieval manuscripts did not provide uniformity in the matter of upper and lower case titles. I suspect that the ancients, long pre-dating our medieval evidence even, did not place the same value on titles of works that we do and that they were more often recalling general types of narrative content with which their literary predecessors were associated. I believe that over time these general areas of scholarly interest became capitalized, and in medieval manuscripts, inconsistently capitalized, and therefore I prefer to read very many of these alleged titles as areas of literary interest associated with an author.[67] The lack of consistency in manuscripts does not permit us to

[66] In his apparatus criticus, he does not indicate whether or not the ms. offer consistent upper or lower case titles. Therefore, we cannot assume, based on his edition, that upper case or lower case “titles’ are appropriate in the modern sense.

[67] Douglas Olson, editor of the recent Loeb volumes of Athenaeus, confirms to me by email dated 1/19/10, that the evidence for titles of works in Athenaeus raises suspicions regarding these alleged “titles.” He has given me permission to cite his opinions here. “Titles” of works may in fact reflect general content

assume that *hypomnemata, historiai, ktiseis*, etc., refer to individual works with these words as titles.

More relevant to this dissertation, however, is that Athenaeus does give us just enough information about the content of Hegesander's narratives to suggest that The Schema was the underlying structure in the etiological narrative discussed above. Chapter 2 provides the full Schema which makes up foundation and etiological narratives like this; even a few sentences of this alleged quotation from Hegesander echo narratives from Conon and other selected narratives discussed in Chapter 4.

Other *hypomnemata* treating Magnesia, reportedly by Aristotle or Theophrastus, are cited in the manner in which I believe we should read many of these sorts of titles (*Ktiseis, Aitia, Hypomnemata*) and that is as subject matter, not titles.

Ἀριστοτέλης δ' ἢ Θεόφραστος ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασι περὶ Μαγνήτων λέγων . . .
Aristotle or Theophrastus, in their works concerning the Magnesians say . . .[68]

I provide one final example with a mixed form, that is with both an upper case and lower case letter and my translation which represents my interpretation of these titles[69]:

. . . Ἀρτεμίδωρος ὁ Ἐφέσιός φησιν ἐν Ἰωνικοῖς ὑπομνήμασι.
. . . *Artemidorus of Ephesus says in his literary works about Ionians*.

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associated with an author rather than a title of an ancient author's work. Olson says, "some of these titles (at least) are not true titles of works but just convenient labels that get used by later scholars."

[68] (4.173). Loeb editor Gulick translates thus, "And Aristotle (or Theophrastus), speaking in his *Commentaries* of the Magnesians . . ." (II, p. 239).

[69] (3.111 d). Gulick translates, "as Artemidorus of Ephesus says in his *Ionian Notes*" (II, p. 25). Olson translates, "according to Artemidorus of Ephesus in his *Notes on Ionia* (II, pp. 28-29). Olson opts for a capital Greek letter though: ἐν Ἰωνικοῖς Ὑπομνήμασι. I prefer my cautious translation above, "in his literary works about Ionians." This allows for the *possibility*, given inconsistent editorial capitalization, that we are looking at subject matter, not titles of works.

Athenaeus presents us with enough variations in his bibliographical methodology to call into question his access to individual works titled *Commentaries*. I suggest that *hypomnemata* can be a general term that applies to the product of textual research that results in the continuity of remembrance-based narratives like *ktises/aitia*. An important feature of these narratives is the citation of previous authors who treated the subject matter at hand. The narratives are unabashedly shared stories, and Polybius seems to confirm this above. He speaks disparagingly about the writers who spend time consulting texts and essentially re-writing stories already told.

Several possibilities do appear likely: that certain authors were associated with certain narratives and when one mentions the contents of the narrative, the author is typically named, almost as *part of* the narrative; that authors' names and subject matter of significance were probably available in extracted, bibliographical format and were consulted *more than* original works, a process we witness in Athenaeus; and that the characters and events treated in excerpted, digested works stood out for some sort of intrinsic value. Therefore, both the characters and events narrated in *ktiseis/aitia* and the names of those who transmit them are considered worthy of the remembrance, recall, or mention.

Chapter Two

Analysis of the Foundation and Etiology Narrative Schema (the Schema) in Selected Narratives of Conon and Photius

Introduction

The mythographer Conon is believed to have written during the era of Augustus, possibly from 36 BCE to 10 CE. The ninth century Byzantine patriarch Photius included Conon's fifty *Diegeseis* (excerpts) in his *Bibliotheca* (Cod. 186), a voluminous work that summarizes many literary and scientific works. Photius is often our only source for names of writers and their subject matter, which Photius preserved as epitomes. Conon is one such writer whose name would have been lost to posterity without Photius' efforts to preserve Conon's narratives, which Photius calls *Diegeseis*. We do not know whether or not Conon titled his work *Diegeseis*, or if Conon provided a title for his work at all. According to Photius, Conon's collection was dedicated to a certain Archelaus Philopator. The name preserved from antiquity which most closely resembles Archelaus Philopator is Archelaus Philopatris, a ruler of Cappadocia who can be dated from 36 BCE to 17 CE. Hence, a connection was established which provides a date for Conon, in the manner which so many ancients are dated: modern scholars link names which have survived from antiquity and assume associations between the names, given the best evidence available to do so.[70]

Conon appears to have culled material from existing texts to include in his collection; this practice of consulting texts and re-drafting narratives presumably

[70] See Brown's introduction to his edition of Conon's *Diegeseis* (2002, 1-4). Brown sufficiently treats the scant evidence for Conon's actual style and language by indicating grammatical usages which reflect the time period of Conon rather than Photius. He suggests that Photius preserved some of the language he found in Conon (39-40).

produced stories in an excerpted form. Photius then performed another round of editing and excerpting, leaving posterity with Conon's narratives as we have them.[71] This practice of multiple consulations of texts, excerpting, and reforming the narratives in digested form was a common practice which produced narratives with often the barest of details. Those whose work included consulting texts and reproducing narratives are, I believe, the targets of Polybius' barbs: they were always engaged in texts and re-writing from them without doing "real" research on location and in person.

Epitomizers aim for the crucial characters and story lines to include in epitomes. Striving to represent the essential details of a narrative must have required an eye for what is important and superfluous. The remaining elements of Conon's stories seem to be just that: the essentials, with little that is superfluous. In this chapter, I approach Conon's narratives with the assumption that the narratives as they exist represent more detailed stories which could have been represented at greater length in other texts.[72]

Conon's *ktiseis* and *aitia*-based narratives are constructed using a narrative tool that has a lengthy history in historiographical/mythographical texts. Conon and other similarly employed mythographer/scholars consulted what I assert ought to be considered *hypomnemata* (Chapter 1). After gleaning material from *hypomnemata*, they could reconstruct narratives for new collections of *hypomnemata.* The discussion of this nomenclature, is however, a lesser focus of this analysis. The central concern here is the

[71] Conon's narratives can be divided into categories of similar subject matter, but there is no visible unifying theme. Brown divides the collection into the following categories: *ktiseis*, *aitia*, erotic myths, paradoxographical myths, paroemiographical myths, fables and parables, and Trojan and Roman myths. Brown determines that seventeen of the overall fifty stories are *ktiseis* and thirteen are *aitia* (16-26).

[72] Brown writes, "Although the extreme brevity of more than a third of the stories and the disjointedness of some of the others suggest that much of the *Diegeseis* fell under the table during the epitomization process, it must be admitted that, compared with other writers Photios reviewed, Konon fared not too badly."

narrative tool with which Conon and others re-formed their narrative material using what I call the Schema. It is fitting here that the word *hypomnemata* invokes *remembrance* since *ktiseis/aitia* are constructed, literally, for remembrance. Often the historians include stories of people and events which the writers describe as "worthy of remembrance" (μνήμης ἄξιον: Diod. Sic. 2.22.1). I find this phrase, and its possible alternative wording, to be instrumental in the discussion of Conon's purpose in researching and excerpting. Who is worthy to be included in one's narrative? Clearly, as Diodorus repeats, it is those "who accomplished many things worthy of remembrance" (πολλὰ πρᾶξαι μνήμης ἄξια [3.70.3]). As mentioned previously, these writers apply this laudatory phrase to each other as well as the characters within their narratives, for it is the literary labor which produces the vehicle for remembrance. I suggest below that the founders and originators, whose names and deeds become associated with a place, are awarded a lengthy legacy through continual remembrance provided by narratives. In addition, those who tell the stories earn their elevated, remembered places as well through the dynamism of the Schema. The Schema provides the cohesion which ties stories of founders and originators together with the names of those whose literary labor contributes to the business of remembrance. The narrators appear to seek remembrance via the literary *topos* and it appears incumbent upon subsequent narrators to attach to the stories the names of these "sources," to use a somewhat modern term.

The Schema and my own research methods leading to its formulation operate in surprisingly parallel ways to the ancients I discuss throughout: the Schema is much like a founded and re-founded ancient city, built upon previously established structures and then renamed. In establishing her "colonization narrative," Carol Dougherty proves the

existence of "a composite typology of the colonization narrative in order to discover how the Greeks 'emplotted' their memory of archaic colonization." In doing so, she uncovers a basic narrative pattern, what would have been "a familiar story" to the Greeks. She summarizes this as: crisis, Delphic consultation, colonial foundation, resolution. In further detail, the exposition of which comprises a book chapter, she offers her "narrative pattern" or "plot" of archaic colonization as: "(a) A civic crisis (b) prompts the consultation of Apollo's oracle at Delphi. Apollo delivers an oracle that (c) authorizes the foundation of a colony overseas. The successful colonial foundation then provides (d) the resolution to the original crisis, which will be forever marked and memorialized through the cult of the founder."[73]

My Schema (delineated below) is more detailed than Dougherty's because I treat colonization narratives and etiological tales. Her book chapter inspired me to further chart the formulaic elements which I discovered as I read Conon's digests. I then took note of the presence and order of these elements in more canonical authors such as Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, and even fragments of Ephorus.[74]

My application of the Schema aims not to illuminate the "kinds of cultural metaphors that the Greeks use to describe and to understand colonization," which Dougherty's analysis successfully treats (6). Instead, I discuss how Conon uses the Schema in his literary practice. I further expand upon Doughterty's typology by

[73] See Dougherty (1993, 6-15).

[74] In Chapter 4, I analyze a wide selection of authors for their use of the Schema to suggest that mythographers and other producers of *hypomnemata* who make use of the Schema are in dialogue with one another as members of a recognizable, time-honored guild. The narrative researchers of this guild make use of the Schema as a crucial tool of their trade for transmitting across generations the stories of city founders and interesting origins. Therefore, we should recognize their employment and the products of their literary labor as traditional. These laborers wish to provide posterity with memorials and reminders (i.e. *hypomnemata*) of their own contribution to the trade and their relative standing within it.

recognizing the mythographical reference to a source *as an integral part of the narrative*. Conon, as luck would have it, never mentions a specific name as a source for his stories. However, there may appear a verb near the opening of the digests which indicates "remembering/reporting/saying." This occurs twenty-six times throughout the collection. Even if Conon does not name sources, he indicates by these verbs that the story *was*, in fact, in circulation; the stories *were* told before. Conon's digests may also begin with the verb of "remembering/reporting/saying" elided, in which case there appear the conjunctions ὡς or ὅτι, indicating that the introductory verb is to be understood. I believe that this practice adds legitimacy to the contents of the narrative which follows and was as acceptable a practice as naming a name. Conon will simply indicate, "it is said . . ." or "some say . . ."[75]

To clarify, I assert that it is the skeletal frame (the Schema) within the narrative mode itself which requires investigation. The Schema is the framework which gives the overall narrative mode its unusual potency in *ktiseis*/*aitia*, culturally significant stories per se, as I indicated in the previous chapter. *Ktiseis* and etiological narratives retain their form and content precisely because the framework of the Schema provides a time-tested skeleton for the renovation, construction and preservation of narratives about city founders and beginnings.[76]

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[75] Hoefer (3-4) cites Heyne's apparent exasperation with the lack of source names in Conon: "utinam nomina adscripta haberemus!"

[76] Hoefer mostly treats possible sources for various narratives in his commentary of Conon's digests (1890). In fact, after he provides the Greek text of the narratives, he divides the remainder of his book into sections corresponding to Conon's sources as he determines them. Rather than providing commentary for the narratives in sequential order, as is the current practice, the narratives are discussed within the sections devoted to Conon's sources. He provides passages of Conon alongside corresponding passages from texts which he determines to be sources. This led me to investigate authors I would not have thought to research, although again, determining Conon's sources is not my main focus.

After my analytical treatment of a selection of Conon's narratives in this chapter, I investigate the Schema in narratives from Photius' *Lexicon*. This use of the Schema in short entries of Photius' *Lexicon* reflects the use of the Schema in narratives attributed to Conon from Photius' *Bibliotheca*. The use of the Schema into the ninth century suggests an incredible longevity for this narrative template since the Schema is clearly visible in narratives from earlier writers: Diodorus Siculus, Apollodorus, and Athenaeus (Chapter 4). Reading *ktiseis/aitia* for their use of the Schema illuminates the methodology of countless ancient writers, through many centuries, engaged in scholarly research, excerpting, and re-fashioning narratives. It appears that narratives constructed with the Schema as the template, continued to circulate as cohesive units well into late antiquity.

Introduction to The Foundation and Etiology Narrative Schema[77]

The Schema, comprised of thematic (and to a lesser extent, verbal) elements A – F, can be present in a complete form, with all six categories represented, or in an abbreviated form (with only two elements represented, for example). The writer determines how complete a presentation of the formulaic elements will appear in a particular narrative based on the author's literary motivations and audience. Conon's Tale 3 (analyzed below) ends with an announcement, presumably by Photius, that he feels burdened in his time-consuming task of excerpting from source material. He announces his intention to work in a more summary manner. My analysis below, using the Schema,

[77] I have borrowed certain mechanical processes of my methodology, along with some terminology, from Labov and Waletzky, socio-linguists who developed a model for analyzing spoken narratives, which they and their successors claim is appropriate for the analysis of literary or traditional narratives. For instance, "Orientation" is the opening of a narrative in Labov and Waletzky's model and I borrow this term for my first Schema element. The first task in analyzing a narrative, according to their approach, is to isolate each grammatical clause and number it. This I did with remarkable results. I modified their methodology as it became clear that my goals differed from theirs. I am grateful, however, to have been introduced to their body of work, outside the field of Classics, work which in fact, significantly informed my research.

indicates that this particular tale becomes unwieldy precisely where Conon digresses from the actual *ktiseis*/*aitia* material into details of a traditional tale regarding the travels and deeds of Heracles, a body of narratives sometimes including *ktiseis*/*aitia*, but capable of independence per se. Photius appears attracted by this material but vows nevertheless to restrain his epitomizing activities to a more manageable scope.

To clarify, Conon does not always employ the Schema in his mythographical labor nor does he always evenly distribute the elements of the Schema throughout his narratives. In places where Conon does not employ the schema in even distribution, as in Tale 3 (a long section without the Schema), or in Tale 6 (Schema not in use at all), the narrative appears digressive (Tale 3) or is clearly not intended to provide *remembrance* for city founders and origins (Tale 6). Conon begins Tale 6 by introducing Mopsus and his inheritance of an oracle of Apollo. He proceeds to relate a story about a rival seer, Kalchas, and concludes with the suicide of Kalchas. The absence of the Schema indicates either an incomplete foundation/etiological narrative, or simply a different intention: an informative piece on rival seers and nothing more. Given Conon's penchant for *ktiseis*/*aitia*, the tales lacking the Schema may simply be pieces of unfinished labor on the part of Photius. Yet, my framework does appear remarkably consistently throughout the collection, and often in adherence to the order of my Schema, making it clear that *ktiseis*/*aitia* are indeed composites of the elements A – F of the Schema.

The Foundation and Etiology Narrative Schema

A Opening formula.[78] "Orientation" Lineage information is provided for characters and the narrative may be situated geographically.

B An event (often in an erotic or family context) is specified, such as a battle, conflict, storm, death, plague, or murder, possibly causing blood guilt. One sibling may remain at home while another or multiples depart. Dougherty cites "civic crisis" which I expand to include the items just mentioned.

C Exile/travel by sea/visit to Delphic oracle with accompanying comrades.

D There is mention of some or all of the following in no set order here: naming of new location (specific or not); further travel/flight/arrival by sea; naming of place of arrival; an animal or apparition provides the oikist with a location or motivation for an act. Marriage to a local human/non-human solidifies an oikist's position. A conflict may be described between arrivals and locals.

E The founding of the new settlement/shrine/practice. A city may be described with a formulaic phrase: "splendid and prosperous," or the opposite: the founding is unsuccessful. The naming of the settlement/shrine/practice. The oikist/protagonist may be (re-) named as well. Renaming of places occurs here too.

F The heroization/infamy of the oikist or originator and reference to the present (*eti kai nun*) existence of the city or practices/observation of rituals founded. Tradition of nomenclature for peoples, places and other etiological data.

Explanation of Analytical Procedure

The first mechanical task, which I borrowed from Labov and Waletzky's methodology, served the purpose of effectively isolating clauses of each narrative and

[78] Conon's narratives contain a tri-partite "opening formula:" (1) the feminine article agreeing with an expressed or unexpressed *diegesis* plus the Greek letter/number corresponding to each narrative's sequential place in the collection; (2) *ta* + *peri* + genitive; and (3) verb of reporting/remembering/saying (διέξεισιν, Ἡ ιδ′ τὰ περὶ Ἐνδυμίωνος ἱστορεῖ, ὅτι . . . καὶ ὡς). An example of this is the beginning of the eighth narrative: Ἡ η′ διηγεῖται τὰ περὶ Πρωτέως τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου μάντεως. The fourth begins slightly differently from the eighth, in calling the narrative a *diegesis*: Ἡ τοίνυν δ′ διήγησις τὰ περὶ Ὀλύνθου τῆς πόλεως καὶ Στρυμόνος τοῦ Θρᾳκῶν βασιλεύσαντος ἀπαγγέλλει. This formula is present in variations, to be certain. For the first three narratives, the words πρῶτον, Δεύτερον, and Τρίτον are spelled out instead of the abbreviated usage of the corresponding Greek letters; the last narrative to follow this practice is the fifth. Brown (67) specifies that ms. M included Τρίτον but A omitted it. Otherwise, the opening formula is quite consistent (ms. M omits τὰ for the fifteenth narrative though A included it). I discuss the relevance of this opening formula later in the chapter when I treat Photius, though as a preview, I will say here that I suspect that this formulaic "opening formula" represents the methodology of Photius and not Conon. Since all of the narratives I discuss in this chapter begin with a variation on the formula, I do not represent it in my treatment of each narrative below.

numbering them, which in turn reinforces the nature of a narrative as a composite of actions described in a sequence. Conon's methodology becomes very much on display when his narratives are broken down, clause-by-clause, facilitating close scrutiny. The actions in sequence are linked with adverbial words and phrases (πάλαι, ὕστερον, *eti kai nun*, κατ᾽ ὀλίγον, etc.) serving as temporal signposts.

The second mechanical step of my study entails providing headings above clauses or groups of clauses. The headings represent the elements of my Schema A – F. This step results in the Schema appearing, aesthetically even, as the prominent framework for the narrative building material.

The third step in my narrative analysis entails highlighting in boldfaced type the key words in the now numbered clauses which relate to the content of the Schema elements A – F. This step serves two purposes: to confirm the relation of clauses to the headings above them (A – F) and to reveal remarkably shared verbal and grammatical structures across narratives. The result of these three steps appears thus for the sake of example:

A Orientation/lineage

(1) Ἡ ιδ΄ τὰ περὶ **Ἐνδυμίωνος** ἱστορεῖ, ὅτι τε **παῖς ἦν**

Ἀέθλίου τοῦ Διὸς καὶ Πρωτογενείας τῆς Δευκαλίωνος,

The fourteenth relates the tale concerning **Endymion**, that he was the **son of Aethlius, son of Zeus, and Protogeneia, daughter of Deucalion**,

(2) καὶ ὡς **δύο τέκοι παῖδας Εὐρυπύλην καὶ Αἰτωλόν,**

and how he produced **two children Eurupyle and Aitolus**,

The Schema in Selected Narratives

Conon 14

This tale is rewarding for my investigation because I consider it an excellent example of a *ktisis* from the collection of Conon. It is clearly constructed with the intention of remembrance of the origin of territorial (Aitolis) and city (Elis) names. The elements of the Schema provide a clear framework for this entire narrative. The beneficial applicability of the Schema as a professional *modus operandi* for a mythographical construction worker such as Conon is suggested by the prevalence of the Schema with little else present. Schema elements A, C, E, F all appear in this excerpt of only ten textual lines and they do so in an order almost perfectly synchronous with my Schema. The final words of this piece, ἐπώνυμον ἔθετο, indicate that Conon deemed the tale complete after providing an etiological explanation for the name of the city Elis. The results of my analytical process show that the narrative material is given clear form by the Schema and very little else did Conon see fit to include beyond the schematic elements.

As Hoefer points out (69), most writers who treat Endymion at least mention his famed sleep and Selene's love for him. However, the narrative content treating *ktisis*/*aitia*, that is, "die Gründungssage von Elis," interests Conon more. These narratives of *ktiseis*/*aitia* focus on human achievements traceable back to an era when gods and humans interacted, but in the end, cities, rituals, and holy shrines are founded by humans. The transmission of these stories which connect people to their environments and to one another depends upon the labor of those trained to do so. I concur with Brown (123-124) on an apparent value/purpose served by these tales. "Aitolus' affiliation to Aethlius' son

Endymion signifies acknowledgement by the Eleans of their kinship with the Aetolians of Pleuron and Kalydon across the straits, and their annexation of the Aetolian saga tradition." Highly indicative of the schematic tales of Conon, the ending of Tale 14 confirms its purpose τῇ κτισθείσῃ πόλει and ἐπώνυμον ἔθετο.

A Lineage

(1) Ἡ ιδ΄ τὰ **περὶ Ἐνδυμίωνος** ἱστορεῖ, ὅτι τε **παῖς ἦν Ἀέθνου τοῦ Διὸς καὶ Πρωτογενείας τῆς Δευκαλίωνος**,[79]

The fourteenth relates the tale concerning **Endymion**, that he was the **son of Aethnus (Aethlius), son of Zeus, and Protogeneia, daughter of Deukalion**

(2) καὶ ὡς **δύο τέκοι παῖδας Εὐρυπύλην καὶ Αἰτωλόν**,

and how he produced two children **Eurupyle and Aitolus**

C Exile/travel by sea/accompanying comrades

(3) ὃς ἐκ Πελοποννήσου **τὴν πατρῴαν λιπὼν ἀρχὴν εἰς τὴν**

ἀντίπερα ταύτης γῆν μετὰ τῆς ἑπομένης μοίρας,

Who (Aitolus) **leaving the ancestral empire** from the Peloponnesus with a **portion of his people following and crossing to the land opposite that one**

D Conflict upon arrival

(4) **Κουρῆτας ἐκβαλών**,

hurling out the Kouretes,

E Founding of new settlement/renaming of place

(5) **ᾤκησε**,

he inhabited the land

[79] Hoefer provides a passage from Strabo (8.357) alongside this tale and the echoes are obvious. Strabo cites Ephorus twice as his source, whereas Conon, as I said earlier, simply provides the clarification that the tale relates the narrative content ἱστορεῖ.

(6) καὶ **ἀντὶ Κουρητίδος Αἰτωλίδα καλεῖσθαι δίδωσιν**.

and he granted that it **be named Aitolis instead of Kouretis**.

B An event in family context

(7) Ὁ δ’ Εὐρυπύλης καὶ Ποσειδῶνος παῖς

Ἦλις **τελευτήσαντος τοῦ μητροπάτορος Ἐνδυμίωνος**

but Elis, the son Eurupyle and Poseidon, **upon the death of his maternal grandfather Endymion**

(8) τὴν βασιλείαν ἐκδέχεται,

Received the kingdom of Endymion

F Tradition of nomenclature

(9) καὶ τῇ κτισθείσῃ πόλει ὑπὸ Ἐνδυμίωνος Ἦλιν **ἐπώνυμον ἔθετο.**

And **he set the eponym** Elis for the city founded by Endymion

Conon 4

Another short narrative comprised of about ten textual lines clearly illuminates the use of the Schema as a means of elevating the *ktisis*, which is described at the end in particularly formulaic language (the city is “great and prosperous,” as in Tale 47 below). The scholarly practice is clearly on display: the use of the template shapes the narrative which will effectively transmit the crucial data regarding the human accomplishment of the founding of a city and the human actions which account for the origin of the city’s name.

Conon orients the reader (Schema element A: Orientation) to a tale about a town, Olynthus, Strymon, a king of the Thracians, and his three sons: Brangas, Rhessus and

Olynthus. This orientation section allows us to observe Conon at work in reconstructing narratives from what may have been abundant existing *hypomnemata*. Following the naming of the king are two items particular to him: he was king of the Thracians and a river named after him had been named something else previously (πάλαι). Both Strymon as a king and the river having had different names are completely irrelevant to the remaining content as we have it in Conon. The river and its nomenclature appear to have received more significant treatment in earlier sources, as did Strymon's kingship over Thracians. Otherwise, Conon would not have deemed it necessary to retain and transfer this information from his source(s) into his reconstructed narrative. These sorts of unconnected details appear often in Conon's *Diegeseis* causing me to sympathize with the researcher in his task as editor of source material as well as his own notes.[80]

A Orientation: geographical setting/lineage

(1) Ἡ τοίνυν δ΄ διήγησις τὰ περὶ **Ὀλύνθου τῆς πόλεως**

καὶ **Στρυμόνος τοῦ Θρᾳκῶν βασιλεύσαντος** ἀπαγγέλλει, οὗ καὶ ὁ πάλαι Ἡιονεὺς ποταμὸς ἐπώνυμος·

The fourth narrative tells the story **of Olynthus the cit**y and **of Strymon the king of the Thrakians**, after whom the river, formerly named Eioneus, was named

(2) καὶ ὅτι **παῖδες** αὐτῷ **τρεῖς** γεγόνασι, **Βράγγας καὶ Ῥῆσσος καὶ**

Ὄλυνθος,

And that he had **three children: Brangas, Rhessus and Olynthus**,

[80] In fact, Athenaeus (8.334 e-f) cites Hegesander's *hypomnemata* for information about the river named after Olynthus and a monument to Olynthus. The river receives significant treatment in a discussion about fish and a traditional practice with fish by which the locals honor the dead. The river is central to Athenaeus' discussion about current and past practices. Athenaeus' reference to Hegesander suggests that etiological stories treated the river Olynthus at least as early as Hegesander's time, 3rd century BCE. Hoefer suggests that Conon drew from Hegesippus (possibly 4th century BCE) who wrote "Lokaltradition." Explaining why Olynthus' name and connected stories are central here, Hoefer suggests: "Sein Name ist hier der wichtigste, da es sich um die Gründungssage der Stadt Olynthos handelt" (64). Clearly, the story of Olynthus the eponymous hero traveled through centuries with its constituent parts intact.

B An event: battle/death

(3) καὶ Ῥῆσσος μὲν **ἐπὶ Τροίαν** Πριάμῳ **συστρατεύσας**

Rhessus, having **joined forces** with Priam **at Troy**

(4) **ἀναιρεῖται** χειρὶ Διομήδους,

Was killed by the hand of Diomedes,

D Animal provides a location or motivation for an act

(5) Ὄλυνθος δὲ **λέοντι** συστὰς ἐκουσίως

Olynthus having stood willingly against **a lion**

B An event: death

(6) ἔν τινι κυνηγεσίῳ **θνῄσκει**·

He died during a hunt.

(7) καὶ Βράγγας ὁ ἀδελφὸς πολλὰ κατολοφυρόμενος τὴν συμφορὰν

And Brangas his brother, mourning very much this misfortune

(8) Ὄλυνθον **ᾧπερ** ἐτελεύτησε **τόπῳ θάπτει**,

He **buried Olynthus in the very spot** where he died

C Travel by sea

D Naming of place of arrival

E Founding/naming of new settlement/formulaic phrase

(9) **εἰς Σιθονία δὲ ἀφικόμενος πόλιν ἔκτισεν εὐδαίμονα καὶ μεγάλην,**

Going **to Sithonia he founded a city, wealthy and splendid,**

(10) **Ὄλυνθον αὐτὴν** ἀπὸ τοῦ παιδὸς **ὀνομάσας**.

He named it Olynthos after the name of the youth.

Conon 2

Conon erects the Schema here to facilitate the remembrance of both the origin of a spring's name and a city-foundation. This tale, along with Conon 8 (below), shows that the Schema is useful for both etiologies and *ktiseis*. The shared purpose of *aitia* and *ktiseis* is also indicated by the functionality of the Schema in these sorts of tales. Here Conon uses the Schema twice: first to transmit the etiological information about the spring of Byblis and then to provide remembrance for the foundation and founder of Caunus, the city. After line 17 below, the new Schema begins with a nymph now serving as an internal narrator, providing the despondent brother with news of this dead sister.

A Lineage/geographical setting

(1) Δεύτερον τὰ **περὶ Βυβλίδος**, ὡς **παῖς ἦν Μιλήτῳ**, [corrupt text here]

The second tells the tale **of Byblis**, that she **was the child of Miletus**,

(2) (text corrupt here) ἔχουσα ἐξ αὐτῆς **ἀδελφὸν Καῦνον**.

. . . she had from her, **a brother, Caunus**.

(3) Ὤικουν δὲ **Μίλητον τῆς Ἀσίας**,

They lived in **Miletus of Asia**,

(4) ἣν ὕστερον μὲν **Ἴωνες καὶ οἱ ἀπ' Ἀθηνῶν μετὰ Νηλέως** ὁρμηθέντες **ᾤκησαν**,

which later the **Ionians inhabited** and also **those** who had set sail **from Athens with Neleus**

(5) τότε δ' ἐνέμοντο **Κᾶρες**, ἔθνος μέγα, κωμηδὸν οἰκοῦντες.

Then **Carians** ruled it, a great tribe, dwelling in villages.

B An event in both erotic and family context

(6) Καύνῳ **δ' ἔρως ἐγείρεται ἀμήχανος** τῆς ἀδελφῆς Βυβλίδος·

in Caunus there was **stirred up an irresistible lust** for his sister Byblis

(7) πολλὰ κινήσας,

having made many attempts,

(8) ὡς δ’ ἀπετύγχανε

he was unsuccessful

B A sibling departs while another remains

(9) **ἔξεισι τῆς γῆς ἐκείνης**.

He departed from this land.

(10) Καὶ ἀφανισθέντος

and after he disappeared

(11) μυρίῳ ἄχει κατεχομένη ἡ Βυβλὶς

Byblis was gripped with manifold grief

C Exile/travel by sea

(12) **ἐκλείπει** καὶ αὐτὴ **τὴν πατρῴαν οἰκίαν**,

she too **sailed away from her paternal home**

(13) καὶ πολλὴν ἐρημίαν **πλανηθεῖσα**,

and **having wandered** through much desolation,

(14) καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀτελεῖς ἱμέρους ἀπαγορεύουσα,

given over to constant yearning,

(13) βρόχον τὴν ζώνην τινὸς καρύας καθάψασα

after fashioning a belt into a noose from a tree

B An event: death provides location

(14) **ἑαυτὴν ἀνήτρησεν**.

She hanged herself.

(15) **Ἔνθα** δὴ κλαιούσης αὐτῆς ἐρρύη τὰ δάκρυα

And there, from her weeping did the tears flow

(16) καὶ **κρήνην ἀνῆκε**,

and **caused a spring to arise**,

F Tradition of nomenclature

(17) **Βυβλίδα** τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις **ὄνομα**·

given the name Byblis by the local residents.

A Orientation: lineage/geographical setting

C Exile/travel

(18) Καῦνος δὲ **πλανώμενος εἰς Λυκίαν φθάνει**,

Caunus, **wandering, arrived in Lycia**

(19) καὶ τούτῳ **Προνόη (Ναΐς δ' ἦν αὕτη)** ἀναδῦσα τοῦ ποταμοῦ

and **Pronoe (she was a Naiad)** having arisen from the river

B An event in erotic context

(20) **τά τε συνενεχθέντα** τῇ Βυβλίδι λέγει,

tells him **what happened** to Byblis,

(21) ὡς ἐχρήσατο **Ἔρωτι** δικαστῇ,

how she employed **Eros** as her judge

D Marriage to local/non-human solidifies oikist's position

(22) καὶ πείθει αὐτὸν αὐτῇ ἐπὶ τῷ τῆς χώρας **λαβεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν,**

(καὶ γὰρ εἰς αὐτὴν ἀνῆπτο) συνοικῆσαι.

And she persuades him **to take up the kingship of the land** and to dwell with her (for **to her was the kingship attached**)

A Orientation/lineage

B An event: death

(23) Ὁ δὲ **Καῦνος ἐκ τῆς Προνόης τίκτει Αἰγιαλόν**,

And C**aunus produced Aigialus with Pronoe**,

(24) ὃς καὶ παραλαβὼν τὴν βασιλείαν,

who receiving the kingship

(25) ἐπεὶ **ὁ πατὴρ ἐτελεύτησεν,**

when his father died,

E Founding of new settlement

E Formulaic phrase "great and prosperous"

E Naming of place

(26) ἤθροισέ τε τὸν λαὸν σποράδην οἰκοῦντα

he gathered together the people dwelling in scattered villages

(27) καὶ **πόλιν ἔκτισεν** ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ **μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα**,

and he founded a city upon the river bank, **a splendid and wealthy city**,

(28) **Καῦνον** ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς **ἐπονομάσα**ς.

Naming it Caunus after his father.

Conon 8

Conon 8 is a narrative for which the mythographer undoubtedly faced a daunting challenge in what must have been copious source material from which to glean and to rearrange. The Schema expedites Conon's task in ensuring that the *ktisis* and *aitia* elements remain transmittable and in a manner that emphasizes just that information.

Alternatively, another mythographer (e.g. Parthenius) with different intentions could have highlighted the erotic element in this narrative, the material for which was available to a researcher, as its very brief inclusion here indicates. Theonoe loved Kanobus (*erastheisa Kanobou*) but to no avail: she "failed" or "missed out" (*apotunchanei*). This short tale illuminates the kinship between these remembrance-based *ktiseis* and *aetia* narratives and the applicability of the Schema in effecting the potential recall of this cultural data.

The foundation of the city Kanobus in Egypt and the etiological explanation of the name of the Kanobic mouth of the Nile river are fixed into a pan-Hellenic tradition through its connection with the mythical characters Helen and Menelaus. A tale such as this one is evidence of a larger attempt, with social/political ramifications, at providing Egyptian topography with a distinctly Hellenic ownership: part of this famous country and river can be justifiably assigned past Greek influence (and possibly then, contemporary ownership?) via narrative constructions such as this one.

Schema elements A: Orientation, B: An event in erotic context, C: Travel by sea, E: Founding and naming and F: Tradition of nomenclature are all represented in Conon 8. I attribute this to a simplification of Conon's labor with extensive material. This tale serves a wide purpose, citing various characters and their contributions to posterity while aesthetically taking the form of a rather short list of actions. We again see the mythographer at his task: linking contemporary topographical realities with legendary and semi-legendary characters.

A Lineage/geographical setting

(1) Ἡ η΄ διηγεῖται τὰ **περὶ Πρωτέως τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου μάντεως**,

The eighth tells the story about Proteus, the seer of Egypt,

B An event in erotic content

(2) οὗ ἡ θυγάτηρ Θεονόη **ἐρασθεῖσα** Κανώβου

whose daughter Theonoe loved Canobus

(3) (ἦν δ’ οὗτος κυβερνήτης Μενελάου τοῦ Τρῴου)

(he was the helmsman of Menelaus when Menelaus was leaving Troy)

(4) ἀποτυγχάνει·

she was unsuccessful

C Travel by sea

(5) καὶ ὡς ὁ Κάνωβος καλὸς καὶ νέος, **ἀπαίροντος** Μενελάου ἀπ’ Αἰγύπτου καὶ Ἑλένης,

and how Kanobus was beautiful and young when Menelaus and Helen were setting off from Egypt,

(6) καὶ **προσορμισαμένων** τῇ γῇ,

when they came to anchor near land,

D Animal provides location

(7) ὑπὸ **ἐχίδνης** δηχθεὶς

bitten by **a snake**

(8) καὶ σαπεὶς τὸ σκέλος

and rotted at the leg

B An event: death provides location

(9) μετ’ οὐ πολὺ **θνῄσκει**

he died not very long after

(10) καὶ **Μενέλαος καὶ Ἑλένη θάπτουσιν αὐτὸν** ἐπ’ Αἰγύπτου,

and **Menelaus and Helen buried him** in Egypt,

E Founding of new settlement

F Tradition of nomenclature with reference to present

(11) **οὗ νῦν ἐπώνυμος ᾤκισται πόλις**.

Where there was founded the city now bearing his name.

F Tradition of nomenclature of places

(12) Καὶ τῶν τοῦ Νείλου στομάτων τὸ τελευταῖον ὁ Κάνωβος ἢ Κανωβικὸν **ἐκ τοῦ κυβερνήτου τὴν ὀνομασίαν ἔλκει**.

And the last mouth of the Nile, the Canobus or Canobic, takes its name from the helmsman.

Conon 1

The first narrative from Conon's *Diegeseis* reveals my Foundation and Etiology Narrative Schema in highly abbreviated form. The tale itself, about fifteen textual lines in Brown's edition, exemplifies the mythographical use of the schema as a tool for embedding into the narrative information about city foundings and etiological cultural data. Conon's intention and method is manifest here when he uses the legendary material concerning Midas' name, unfortunate supernatural wealth, and long ears as an introduction and frame for encapsulating the *ktisis*.

The transition from the legendary, supernatural element to the *ktisis* is not smoothly executed, causing the *ktisis* to stand out and nicely so for my purposes here. In Conon's text there is an abrupt, awkward διὰ τοῦτο ("on account of this") followed by a non-sequitur. The two sentences from Brown's translation read, "And how even everything that was placed before him as food turned to gold. And how for that reason (διὰ τοῦτο) he persuaded his subjects to cross the Hellespont from Europe and settled them beyond Mysia after they had been renamed, by a slight alteration of the word, Phrygians instead of Brigians" (49). Clearly, the specifications of Conon's job entailed the inclusion of the *ktisis*, and he executes his task using the schema.

This opening tale in Conon's collection comprises Schema element A (Orientation), where the main characters, Midas and the Brigians are introduced. To position Midas and his accomplishments in an approximate mythical/historical era, the characters Orpheus and Silenus are linked to him as contemporaries. His connection with Silenus, vaguely detailed, leads abruptly into Schema element B (An event). According to the text, the event is causal (διὰ τοῦτο), and therefore I designate as B the clauses where Silenus is brought before Midas and Midas receives his "golden touch." Midas is then described (as a result of "the event") as crossing the Hellespont with comrades, Schema element C (Travel by sea and specification of accompanying comrades), and Schema element D (Naming of new location [Mysia]). The information about their name change to Phrygians from Brigians is indicative of the Schema element F (Tradition of nomenclature for peoples). The density of the *ktisis*/*aitia* material in this tale is remarkable: about three clauses are all Conon needs to attach this crucial cultural data to a mythical/historical past. Its relevance to the present is re-confirmed at the very end

when the supernatural trait of a Midas' long ears is rationalized as an original joke having turned into the alleged truth. "After a while (κατ' ὀλίγον) the rumor/report (ἡ φήμη) . . . changed and the story (ὁ λόγος) was believed to be a true thing (ἔργον)."[81]

Conon 1 is emblematic for its inclusion of a *ktisis*, explainable via the verb ᾤκισε, and two *aitia*: the name change of Phrygians and the origin of Midas' so-called ass ears. What is notable is that human accomplishments with long-lasting effects into the contemporary period are connected to the supernatural world but only to provide a traditional vehicle for the *ktisis*/*aitia*. The narrative mode and its requisite framework with the Schema provide the audience with the most advantageous form for this very crucial content. Possibly, educated Phrygians during Conon's lifetime could cite as part of their heritage the connection between their name and history with Midas' golden touch and dealings with Orpheus and Silenus.

Conon 1

A Orientation: Lineage/geographical setting

(1) Ὧν πρῶτον τὰ περὶ **Μίδα καὶ Βριγῶν**,

Of these tales the first is about **Midas and the Brigians**,

(2) ὅπως τε θησαυρῷ περιτυχὼν

and how coming by chance upon a treasure

(3) ἀθρόον τε εἰς πλοῦτον ἤρθη,

he suddenly was elevated to wealth,

(4) καὶ Ὀρφέως κατὰ Πιέρειαν τὸ ὄρος ἀκροατὴς γενόμενος

[81] I abbreviate the Greek sentence here; See Brown's more complete translation of this sentence (50-51).

and having been a student of Orpheus along the Piereian mountain

(5) πολλαῖς τέχναις Βριγῶν βασιλεύει.

he ruled over the Brigians with many crafts.

(6) Καὶ ὡς Σειληνὸς περὶ τὸ Βρέμιον ὄρος Μίδου βασιλεύοντος ὤφθη,

And how Silenus was seen around the Bremian mountain when Midas was the king,

(7) ὑφ᾽ ᾧ καὶ τὸ ἔθνος ᾤκει πολυανθρωπότατον ὄν·

and at the foot of that place the population dwelled, a highly-populated group in fact:

B An event

(8) καὶ ὡς **ἤχθη τὸ ζῷον** ἐξηλλαγμένον τὴν ἰδέαν ὡς ἐν ἀνθρώπου φύσει.

And how **this creature**, an oddity with respect to its form compared to the nature of a human, **was brought forth**

(9) Καὶ ὅπως αὐτῷ χρυσὸς ἐγίνετο καὶ τὰ εἰς τροφὴν παρατιθέμενα ἅπαντα·

and how even everything placed near him as food became gold for him.

C Exile/travel by sea

D Naming of new location/accompanying comrades

F Tradition of nomenclature for peoples/renaming

(10) καὶ ὡς διὰ τοῦτο πείσας **τὸ ὑπήκοον ἀπ᾽ Εὐρώπης διαβῆναι τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον**

And how because of this he persuaded **his following to cross the Hellespont from Europe**

(11) **ὑπὲρ Μυσίαν ᾤκισε**

he caused them to dwell beyond Mysia

(12) **Φρύγας ἀντὶ Βριγῶν** βραχύ τι παραλλαγείσης τῆς λέξεως **μετονομασθέντας**.

With their **name changed to Phrygians instead of Brigians** by a slight change in wording

(13) Μίδας δὲ πολλοὺς ἔχων ἀπαγγέλλοντας αὐτῷ τὰ ὅσα ἐλέγετό τε καὶ ἐπράττετο τοῖς ὑπηκόοις,

Midas, having many messengers of all things which were said and done by his followers,

(14) καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐν τῷ ἀνεπιβουλεύτῳ τὴν βασιλείαν ἔχων καὶ εἰς γῆρας ἐλθών, μακρὰ ὦτα ἔχειν ἐλέχθη,

and because of this, holding his kingship until old age against rebellion, he was said to have had long ears,

F Tradition of etiological data

(15) καὶ **κατ' ὀλίγον ἡ φήμη ὄνου ὦτα τὰ μακρὰ μετεποίει**,

and **after time the rumor changed the long ears into ass ears**,

(16) καὶ **ἀπὸ τοῦ σκῶψαι τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ λόγος ἔργον εἶναι ἐπιστεύθη**.

And **from this original jesting, the story became believed as fact**.

Conon 3

This tale is comprised of two strands both capable of independence, one appended to the other: the first provides Schema element A (Orientation), about the island Scheria, its location and founders who are described as autochthonous Phaiacians. Conon appears to be emphasizing how names became attached to peoples and places: the name (τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν) came from the king of the inhabitants. Clear time shifts are marked with adverbs: τὸ πρότερον and ὕστερον: the latter explaining a name change to Corcyra with a highly abbreviated explanation. The final sentence of this first paragraph is explanatory (Διὰ ταῦτα: because of these events) for the history of two peoples becoming relatives (συγγενεῖς).

The second paragraph, beginning after line 13 below, is parallel but revolves around Heracles, a divine/semi-divine figure. Conon ends the narrative by connecting the two sections through the human Locrus. The end result and goal are the same however: narrative content with explanatory *ktisis*/etiological information. Noteworthy in this second section is the lesser prominence of the Schema. I attribute this to the centrality of Heracles and the prescribed stories celebrating his labors. The framework for these traditional Heraclean tales already existed, and therefore his supernatural history serves as a prompt for the *ktisis*/*aitia*-related content at the end of the piece. Just as many tales open with genealogical information which can be traced back to supernatural characters, the tale of the eponymous hero of Locrus is elevated via its connection to Heracles and his *phasma*.

Everything from the beginning of the second section until nearly the end I consider collectively identifiable as Schema B: An event.

A Geographical orientation/lineage

(1) Τρίτον, ἡ παρὰ **τὸν Ἰόνιον πόντον Σχερία νῆσος**, **οὐχ ἑκὰς οὖσα τῆς ἠπείρου καὶ τῶν Κεραυνίων ὀρῶν**

The third is **about the island of Scheria in the Ionian Sea, which is not far from the mainland and the Ceraunian mountains**

(2) αὕτη **Φαίακας ἔσχεν οἰκήτορας** τὸ πρότερον, αὐτόχθονας,

At first this island had as **its inhabitants the Phaiacians**, who were aboriginal and had sprung from the earth there

E Naming

(3) **ἔθνος λαχὸν τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν** ἀπό τινος τῶν ἐπιχωρίων βασιλέως·

the people **took their name** from a king of the inhabitants,

C Travel by sea

(4) ὕστερον δ' **ἐπῴκησαν αὐτὴν** μοῖρα Κορινθίων,

later, a band of **Corinthians settled on the island**

E Re-naming

(5) καὶ **τό τε ὄνομα εἰς Κέρκυραν μετέβαλε**

and **they changed the name to Corcyra**

(6) καὶ τῆς περὶ ἐκεῖνα θαλάσσης ἦρξε.

And this band ruled the sea in the area.

B An event: family contest/crisis

B An event: one sibling remains another departs

C Exile/travel by sea with accompanying comrades

(7) **Φαίακος** δὲ τοῦ τῆς νήσου βασιλεύοντος **τελευτήσαντος**,

When **Phaiax** the ruler of the island **died**,

(8) οἱ **υἱεῖς** Ἀλκίνους καὶ Λοκρὸς **στασιάσαντες**

his **sons** Alcinous and Locrus **engaged in civil conflict**

(9) συνέβησαν πάλιν ἐφ' ᾧ **βασιλεύειν** μὲν **Ἀλκίνουν τῆς Φαιακίδος**, **Λοκρὸν** δὲ κειμήλια καὶ μοῖραν λαβόντα τοῦ ἔθνους **ἀποικίζεσθαι** τῆς χώρας·

they made a pact by which **Alcinous would rule Phaiacis**, **Locrus would** take goods and a part of the population and **emigrate** from the land.

C Exile/travel by sea

D Naming of place of arrival

(10) ὃς καὶ **ἐπ' Ἰταλίας πλεύσας**

He sailed to Italy

(11) ξενίζεται παρὰ Λατίνῳ Ἰταλῶν βασιλεῖ,

he was hosted in the home of Latinus, the king of the Italians,

D Marriage to a local

(12) **δόντι πρὸς γάμον τὴν θυγατέρα** Λαυρίνην.

Who **gave his daughter** Laurine in **marriage** to Locrus.

F Tradition of practices/nomenclature

(13) **Διὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὡς συγγενεῖς Φαίακες Λοκροὺς τοὺς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ προσεποιοῦντο**.

And because of these events the Phaiacians made the Locrians in Italy into kinsmen.

A Orientation: geographical setting

(14) Ὁ δὲ **Ἡρακλῆς** κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ τὰς τοῦ Γηρυόνου περικαλλεῖς ὅσαι βόες οὖσας ἐξ **Ἐρυθείας**

Heracles, at this same time, driving from **Erutheia** the very beautiful and many cattle of Geryon

C Travel

(15) ἐλαύνων **εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἀφικνεῖται**

arrived in Italy

(16) καὶ ξενίζεται φιλοφρόνως παρὰ τῷ Λοκρῷ·

and was hospitably welcomed in the home of Locrus

(17) ὁ δὲ Λατῖνος πρὸς τὴν θυγατέρα ἐλθὼν

Latinus, who was going to his daughter

(18) καὶ τὰς βοῦς ἰδὼν

after seeing the cattle

(19) ἡράσθη

was seized with desire for them

(20) τε καὶ ἤλαυνεν·

and he drove them off

(21) ὅπερ ἀναμαθὼν Ἡρακλῆς

Then Heracles, learning of this

B An event: death

(22) **ἐκεῖνον τόξῳ βαλὼν ἀνεῖλε**,

struck him with his bow,

(23) τὰς δὲ βοῦς ἀνεκόμισε.

and he gathered together the cattle.

(24) Λοκρὸς δὲ δεδιὼς περὶ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ μή τι δεινὸν ὑπὸ Λατίνου πάθῃ (ἦν γὰρ Λατῖνος σώματι γενναῖος καὶ ψυχῇ),

Locrus, fearing lest Heracles suffer some bad fate at the hands of Latinus (for Latinus was noble in body and spirit)

(25) ἐξελαύνει ἐπὶ βοηθείᾳ τοῦ ξενισθέντος,

he proceeded to help his guest-friend

(26) ἀμειψάμενος καὶ στολήν.

having changed his clothes

(27) Ἡρακλῆς δ’ ἰδὼν αὐτὸν θέοντα,

Heracles seeing him rushing

(28) καὶ νομίσας τινὰ εἶναι ἄλλον πρὸς ἐπικουρίαν σπεύδοντα Λατίνου,

thought him to be someone else rushing to the assistance of Latinus

B An Event: death

(29) **βαλὼν ἄτρακτον κτείνει**·

by hurling an arrow killed him.

(30) ὕστερον δὲ μαθὼν ἀπωλοφύρατο

And later, learning the truth he wept

(31) μὲν καὶ **τὰ ὅσια αὐτῷ ἐπετέλεσε**·

and **he performed rites in Latinus’ honor**.

D Apparition provides location

(32) καὶ μεταστὰς δ’ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἔχρησε,

having departed away from humans,

(33) **φάσματι** φανεὶς τῷ λαῷ,

Heracles appeared as a **ghost** to the people,

E Founding of new settlement

(34) (ἔχρησε) **πόλιν οἰκίζειν** ἐπ’ Ἰταλίας, ἐν ᾧ ἦν τὸ σῆμα τοῦ Λοκροῦ.

he ordered them **to found a city** in Italy where there was the tomb of Locrus.

F Heroization of founder/Reference to present practices

(35) Καὶ **διαμένει τῇ πόλει τοὔνομα τιμώσῃ τῇ κλήσει τὸν Λοκρόν**·

the **name of the city remains** and **Locrus is honored by that name**.

(36) οὕτω μὲν καὶ ἡ τρίτη διήγησις. Ἀλλὰ τί μοι δεῖ μικροῦ μεταγράφειν ταύτας, δέον πολλῷ κεφαλαιωδέστερον ἐπελθεῖν;

such is the third narrative but why should I almost transcribe these? It's necessary for me to proceed in a far more concise manner

Conon 25

Conon's goal here, evident in the closing line, appears to be the recollection of how the Bottiaioi, once Cretans, became Macedonians. The narrative includes return trips to the sea and multiple arrivals. Supernatural story lines are included to embellish the human accomplishments as in Tales 1 and 3 (Midas' meeting with Silenus/golden touch/ass ears/ and Heracles' *phasma*) and I feel that the inclusion of the supernatural once again adds a traditional *gravitas* to the more prosaic narrative about how some Macedonians were once Cretans.

A Orientation: Lineage

C Travel by Sea

(1) Ἡ κε΄ ὡς Μίνως ὁ Διὸς καὶ Εὐρώπης, ὁ βασιλεύων Κρήτης, κατὰ ζήτησιν Δαιδάλου στόλῳ πλεύσας εἰς Σικανίαν (αὕτη δ' ἐστὶν ἡ νῦν Σικελία)

The twenty-fifth tells how **Minos, the son of Zeus and Europa**, **king of Crete**, in a search for Daedalus **sailed to Sicania** (it is now Sicily)

B An event

(2) ὑπὸ τῶν Κωκάλου θυγατέρων (ἐβασίλευε δ’ οὗτος Σικελῶν) **ἀναιρεῖται**·

he was killed by the daughters of Cocalus (this man ruled Sicily then).

B Event: A battle

(3) καὶ τὸ Κρητικὸν πολεμεῖ Σικελοῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ βασιλέως

And the Cretan **fleet** battled with the Sicilians because of their king

(4) καὶ ἠττᾶται.

and was defeated.

C Travel by sea

(5) Καὶ **ἐπανιόντες** ὑπὸ χειμῶνος ἐξέπεσον εἰς Ἰάπυγας,

and **returning**, they were **shipwrecked** due to a storm in the Iapygians’ territory

D Arrival

E Renaming

(6) καὶ **αὐτόθι τότε ἱδρύσαντο**,

and **in that place did they settle,**

(7) ἀντὶ Κρητῶν γεγονότες Ἰάπυγες.

becoming Iapygians instead of Cretans.

B An Event: crisis

(8) Χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον **μοῖρά τις κατὰ στάσιν ἐκπεσόντες τῆς χώρας**

Later in time some **part** of them **driven out of the land due to civil strife**,

C Oracle

(9) **χρησμὸν ἔλαβον**,

they received an **oracle.**

(10) ἔνθα ἄν τις αὐτοῖς γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ ὀρέξῃ,

where someone should offer them earth and water

D Arrival in new location

(11) ἐνταῦθα οἰκίζεσθαι, καὶ **ᾤκησαν τὴν Βοττιαίων**·

there should they settle, and **they inhabited the land of the Boittiaoi**:

(12) ἐκεῖ γὰρ παῖδες ἄρτων εἴδη καὶ ἄλλων ὄψων παίζοντες ἀπὸ πηλοῦ καὶ πλάττοντες

for there did children playing with likenesses of bread and other baked things fashioning them out of clay

(13) αἰτουμένοις ἐπέδωκαν αὐτοῖς ἀντὶ ἄρτων τοὺς πηλίνους ἄρτους·

give clay bread instead of bread to the people seeking them.

C Oracle

(14) καὶ οἵ γε **τὸν χρησμὸν** τετελέσθαι νομίσαντες

and considering the **oracle** fulfilled

(15) ᾔτήσαντο τὸν βασιλέα Μακεδόνων,

they asked the king of the Macedonians,

E Founding of new settlement

(16) καὶ **ἔλαβον οἰκεῖν τὴν Βοττιαίων**,

and **they received the land of the Bottiaioi to inhabit,**

E Naming/renaming:

(17) καὶ **Βοττιαῖοι μὲν τρίτον γένος ἀπὸ Κρητῶν ἀμείψαντες**

and the **Bottiaioi, a third generation after changing from being Cretans**

F Reference to the present

(18) **μοῖρα νῦν εἰσι Μακεδόνων**.

are now a part of the Macedonians.

Conon 49

Conon 49 reveals the Schema in place in a tale which served to memorialize the origins of a certain festival and sanctuary of Apollo Aigletes. Conon provides the reader with a near statement of purpose: to explain the reason for the festival which includes a tradition of mockery. Line 15 below shows how Conon can abbreviate his selected material: his mention of the colonization of Anaphe occurs only parenthetically in the discussion of the *aition* of the founding of the festival to Apollo Aigletes. His purpose in this narrative appears more centered on the festival and shrine's origins than the *ktisis*.

A Lineage/geographical setting

F Reference to current practices

(1) Ἡ μθ΄ **ὡς ἐν Ἀνάφῃ τῇ νήσῳ (αὕτη δ'ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ νήσου Θήρας, οὐχ ἑκὰς τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων) ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος Αἰγλήτου ἵδρυται, ἐν ᾧ σὺν τωθασμῷ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι θύουσι δι' αἰτίαν τοιαύτην**.

The forty-ninth tale tells how **on the island Anaphe (it is beyond the island Thera, not far from the land of the Lakedaimonians) a shrine of Apollo Aigletes was established, in which the inhabitants worship with jesting on account of this reason.**

B An Event: erotic context

(2) Ὅτε Ἰάσων ἐκ Κόλχων **Μήδειαν ἁρπάσας**

When Jason **had seized Medea from Colchis**

C Travel by sea

(3) οἴκαδ’ **ἔπλει**,

he sailed for home,

B An Event: storm

(4) **χειμὼν αὐτοὺς ἄφατος περιέσχε** καὶ **ἀμηχανία** πᾶσα·

an unforeseen storm and all manner of **helplessness struck them**.

(5) εὐχομένων δὲ καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀργοῖ δεομένων.

And those aboard the Argo prayed and begged very much.

(6) Ἀπόλλων, τόξον αὐτῶν ὑπερανασχών,

Apollo, holding his bow over them,

(7) τὰ δεινὰ διέλυσεν ἅπαντα,

allayed all their fears

(8) καὶ σέλατος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ διαΐσσοντος

with a lightning flash across the sky,

(9) νῆσον ἀνέσχεν ἡ γῆ ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ,

the earth raised an island from the depths,

D Arrival at new location

(10) εἰς ἣν **ὁρμισάμενοι**,

dropping anchor at this island,

E Naming

F Tradition of nomenclature

(11) ὡς πρῶτον ὀφθεῖσαν ὑφ᾽ ἠλίου τότε, **Ἀνάφην** ἀπὸ τῆς συντυχίας **ἐκάλεσαν**,

since it was first seen under the sun at that very time, **they called it Anaphe** after this very event

E Founding of shrine

F Tradition of etiological data

(12) καὶ **ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος Αἰγλήτου ἱδρύσαντο**,

and **they founded a shrine to Apollo Aigletes**

(13) καὶ εὐφραίνοντο τῆς ἀνελπίστου τῶν κακῶν ἀπαλλαγῆς καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις εὐωχίαις.

And they made merry with feasting given the unexpected escape from their misfortunes.

(14) Μήδεια δὲ σὺν ταῖς ἀμφ᾽ αὐτὴν γυναιξίν, αἳ δῶρον ἦσαν γάμων τῶν Ἰάσονος, παίζουσαι μετὰ μέθην ἔσκωπτον τοὺς ἥρωας ἐν τῇ παννυχίδι· οἱ δὲ ἀντετώθαζον τὰς γυναῖκας.

Medea and the women who were a gift from her wedding to Jason, making jests after drinking, mocked the heroes in an all-night festival. And the men returned the jests to the women.

E Founding of new settlement

F Reference to present rituals

(15) **Ἐκ τούτου** τοιγαροῦν καὶ Ἀνάφης ὁ λαός (**ᾠκίσθη γὰρ ἡ νῆσος**) ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος Ἀπόλλωνι Αἰγλήτῃ κερτομοῦντες ἀλλήλους **ἑορτὴν** κατὰ μίμησιν ἐκείνων ἄγουσιν.

From this time on therefore, the people of Anaphe (**for the island was colonized**) every year **celebrate a holiday** in honor of Apollo Aigletes, jesting in mockery toward one

another in imitation of those (original) people.

Conon 47

A longer tale reveals a more complete rendering of the Schema elements A – F. I selected this narrative because Conon repeats elements of the Schema in quick succession: setting sail, founding, setting sail again, founding, naming.

A Orientation: lineage

(1) Ἡ μζ΄ ὡς **Ἀλθαιμένης τοῦ Ἡρακλειδῶν γένους** τρίτη γενεὰ ἀπὸ Τημένους,

The forty-seventh tale relates how **Althaimenes of the race of the Heracleidai,** the third generation from Temenes,

B Sibling strife leads to emigration

(2) **στασιάζει πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφούς** (νεώτατος δ' ἦν)

Engaged in factionalism against his brothers (he was the youngest)

C Travel by sea

D Accompanying comrades

(3) καὶ **μετανίσταται Πελοποννήσου**, **στρατὸν Δωριέων ἔχων καί τινας Πελασγῶν**.

And **left the Peloponnesus having a host of Dorians and some Pelasgians**.

(4) Ἔστελλον δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τότε τὴν σὺν Νειλέῳ τε καὶ τοῖς Κοδρίδαις ἀποικίαν·

The Athenians were, at that time, sending out a colonial party, with Neleus and also some Codrians.

(5) ὁμοίως δὲ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὸν Φιλονόμου λαὸν ἀπῴκιζον ὧν ἡγεῖτο Δελφὸς ὄνομα καὶ Πόλις.

Likewise, the Lacedaimonians, on their own behalf, sent as colonists the people of Philonomos whose leaders were Delphus and Polis.

(6) Ἑκάτεροι οὖν παρεκάλουν Ἀλθαιμένην συμμετέχειν αὐτοῖς τοῦ ἔργου,

Both parties invited Althaimenes to be partners with them in their effort,

(7) οἵ τε Δωριεῖς τοῦ ἐπὶ Κρήτην πλοῦ, ἅτε καὶ αὐτὸν Δωριέα ὄντα,

the Dorians invited him on their voyage to Crete, since he was Dorian,

(8) οἵ τε Ἴωνες, είς τὴν Ἀσίαν μετὰ σφῶν περαιωθῆναι.

and the Ionians asked him to cross over to Asia with them.

D Further travel by sea

C Oracle

(9) Τῷ δ' οὐδετέροις ἐδόκει **συμπλεῖν**, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸν δοθέντα αὐτῷ **χρησμὸν** ἐπὶ Δία καὶ Ἥλιον κομίζεσθαι καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν αἰτεῖν είς κατοίκισιν γῆν·

With neither did he think best to sail, but in fact **sailed in accordance with an oracle** given him that he go to Zeus and Helios **to seek a land for colonization**.

(10) εἶναι δὲ Διὸς μὲν Κρήτην, Ἡλίου δὲ Ῥόδον.

On the one hand Crete was Zeus's, and Rhodes was Helios's granted to him.

D Further travel by sea

(11) Ἀναγόμενος οὖν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου

Starting up from the Peloponnesus

(12) **προσίσχει πρὸς τὴν Κρήτην**,

he sailed to Crete,

(13) καὶ μέρος τοῦ λαοῦ τοὺς βουλομένους αὐτόθι οἰκεῖν καταλείπει·

and he left behind a share of the group, those wishing to settle there.

D Further travel by sea

D Accompanying comrades

(14) αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς πλείους ἔχων Δωρικῶν ἔπλει ἐπὶ Ῥόδον.

He himself, **having the greater part of the Dorians, sailed to Rhodes.**

(15) Τὴν δὲ Ῥόδον τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον λαὸς αὐτόχθων ἐνέμοντο,

An aboriginal people had settled Rhodes in antiquity,

(16) ὧν ἦρχε τὸ Ἡλιαδῶν γένος,

which the race of Eliadai ruled,

(17) οὓς Φοίνικες ἀνέστησαν καὶ τὴν νῆσον ἔσχον·

Them the Phoenicians uprooted and held the island

(18) Φοινίκων δ’ ἐκπεσόντων

With the Phoenicians driven out

(19) Κᾶρες ἔσχον,

the Carians held the island,

E Founding of new settlement

D Conflict with locals

(20) ὅτε καὶ τὰς ἄλλας νήσους τὰς περὶ τὸ Αἰγαῖον **ᾤκησαν**.

when **they had colonized other islands** around the Aegean.

(21) Οἷς **ἐπιπλεύσαντες** οἱ Δωριεῖς,

Sailing against these peoples,

(22) **πολέμῳ τὸ Καρικὸν καταστρεψάμενοι**,

the Dorians overwhelmed the Carian army in battle,

E Founding of new settlement

(23) **τρεῖς πόλεις ἔκτισαν**, Λίνδον, Ἰήλυσον καὶ Κάμειρον.

and **they founded three cities**: Lindos, Ielusos, and Kameiros.

F Reference to present

F Tradition of nomenclature

(24) Οἱ μὲν οὖν Δωριεῖς ἀπὸ Ἀλθαιμένους ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι καὶ δεῦρο καταβεβήκασιν.
The Dorians then, starting from Althaimenes, have remained here until now.
(25) Αἱ δὲ τρεῖς πόλεις εἰς μίαν ἀποκλεισθεῖσαι **μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα**
And the three cities were enclosed in one **splendid and prosperous city**
(26) **ταὐτὸν ὄνομα** τῇ νήσῳ Ῥόδον ἔδοσαν **καλεῖσθαι**.
They **granted that it be called by this name**, Rhodes, the same as the island.

The Schema in Photius

Photius is best known for his lengthy *Bibliotheca*, of which Conon's digests comprise only a small section, but I am also interested in entries from his *Lexicon* and other lexica from late antiquity (see Chapter 4 for the Schema in other lexica). In his *Lexicon*, Photius provides explanations for various phrases, names of people and places. In general, a compiler of a lexicon must aim for brevity and Photius' task was no exception. Photius often explains a phrase or a person by telling a very abbreviated story, and the Schema often provides the structure for these highly abbreviated, explanatory narratives. I mention this because, as I said earlier, I find the Schema to be a very practical literary tool. When I read narratives with the Schema as the template, I feel that I witness the writer at his practice, making use of both traditional storylines and a traditional practice of re-composing them. I realize that the Schema represents a deeply ingrained mode of understanding and representation: through it the Greeks can represent

their local and collective Greek identities. They make connections which interlock them into the Hellenic matrix.

We can confidently claim *only* that in Conon's *ktiseis/aitia* the Schema supplied the storylines with their templates. That is, we witness only a representation of the overall storylines as Conon arranged them and this representation is itself highly traditional. We cannot, in my estimation, claim to witness Conon's style or language. This is not, however, a disappointment in my view. This supports my claim that the Schema was a highly familiar, traditional mode of representation which transcended authors, genres and centuries. Originality in literary representation is somewhat of a modern value and the ancients did not place the same value on it as we do. That is, throughout antiquity, stories were told and retold again and again. Witnessing the continuity of the famous names and stories was the reward, not shocking, clever endings. With perpetual remembrance and celebration as a Hellenic value, the Schema was a dynamic means to an end.

Under the rubric "epsilon," Photius provides two explanations for the phrase *es korakas* (ἐς κόρακας). He then uses the Schema to provide the material in the second entry: we see oracles, animals providing a location, settling, and naming.

Photius *Lexicon* (E—M).

<ἐς κόρακας> εἰς τὸ σκότος, εἰς ὄλεθρον.

<ἐς κόρακας>· Βοιωτοῖς ὁ θεὸς ἔχρησεν, ὅπου ἂν λευκοὶ κόρακες ὀφθῶσιν, ἐκεῖ κατοικεῖν· περὶ δὲ τὸν Παγασιτικὸν κόλπον ὑπὸ παίδων ἀκάκων γυψωθέντας κόρακας ἰδόντες περιπετομένους <***> τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος <***> ᾤκησαν <ἐκεῖ καλέσαντες τὸ> χωρίον Κόρακας· ὕστερον δὲ Αἰολεῖς ἐκβαλόντες αὐτοὺς τοὺς φυγαδευομένους εἰς αὐτὸ ἔπεμπον· οἱ δὲ ὡς τοῦ ζῴου ἀναιδοῦς καὶ δυσοιωνιστικοῦ †τῶν

to the crows: to darkness, to destruction

to the crows: the god gave an oracle to the Boiotians: in the place where white crows are seen, there should they settle. Around the gulf of Pagasai they saw crows flying about which were covered by chalk at the hands of innocent children, [of Apollo] they settled in the place calling it the land of the crows. Later, after the Aiolians drove them out, the Aiolians sent the exiles to this place: others say that (it refers to) those of a reckless and ill-omened life [. . .]

The entry below confirms the mythographical penchant for making the claim that other writers discuss this (ὡς ἐκεῖνοι φασίν) when retelling an *aition*. Photius uses the Schema to provide an explanation (διὰ τοῦτο) for a practice. The elements of the Schema which appear are: travel, a death, a pestilence, and an oracle.

Photius, *Lexicon* (E—Ω).

<Μητραγύρτης>: ἐλθὼν τίς εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐμύει τὰς γυναῖκας τῆι μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν, ὡς ἐκεῖνοι φασίν· οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπέκτειναν αὐτόν· ἐμβάλλοντες εἰς βάραθρον ἐπὶ κεφαλήν· λοιμοῦ δὲ γενομένου, ἔλαβον χρησμὸν ἱλάσασθαι τὸν πεφονευμένον· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὠκοδόμησαν βουλευτήριον· ἐν ᾧ ἀνεῖλον τὸν μητραγύρτην· καὶ περιφράττοντες αὐτὸν καθιέρωσαν τῆι μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν· ἀναστήσαντες καὶ ἀνδριάντα τοῦ μητραγύρτου· ἐχρῶντο δὲ τῶι μητρώιω ἀρχείωι καὶ νομοφυλακίωι, καταχώσαντες καὶ τὸ βάραθρον.

Metragurtes: A certain person went to Attica and was initiating women into the rites of the mysteries in honor of the mother of the gods; so they say, the Athenians killed this person, throwing him into a pit on his head. When a pestilence arose, they received an oracle to propitiate the dead man, and because of this, they constructed a council chamber in which they brought the metragurtes. After enclosing this place, they sacrificed to the mother of the gods and erected a statue of the metragurtes. They used the mother-goddess town hall and office of law courts, covering over the pit.

In the following entry, an *aition* describing the origin of a public gymnasium in Athens is represented with the following Schema elements: Animal as guide, Oracle, Naming, and Reference to contemporary practices. The name Cynosarges (white dog) reflects a crucial element of the story, the animal guide motif.

Photius, *Lexicon* (E—M).

<Κυνόσαργες>· τόπος ἐστὶ παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις καὶ ἱερὸν Ἡρακλέους κατ᾽ αἰτίαν τοιαύτην· †Δίδυμος† ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἔθυεν {ἐν} τῇ Ἑστίᾳ· εἶτα κύων λευκὸς παρὼν ἥρπασεν τὸ ἱερεῖον καὶ ἀπέθετο εἴς τινα τόπον· ὁ δὲ περιδεὴς ἦν· ἔχρησε δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ θεὸς ὅτι εἰς ἐκεῖνον τὸν τόπον, οὗ τὸ ἱερεῖον ἀπέθετο ὁ κύων, Ἡρακλέους βωμὸν ὀφείλει

ἱδρύσασθαι· ὅθεν ἐκλήθη Κυνόσαργες. ἐπειδὴ οὖν καὶ ὁ Ἡρακλῆς δοκεῖ νόθος εἶναι, διὰ τοῦτο ἐκεῖ οἱ νόθοι ἐτελοῦντο· οἱ μήτε πρὸς πατρὸς μήτε πρὸς μητρὸς πολῖται.

Cynosarges, it is a place in Athens, a shrine to Heracles which came about because of this reason: Didymus the Athenian was sacrificing to Hestia. Then a white dog which was present seized the sacred offering and took it off to some place. Didymus was afraid. The god gave an oracle to him that he ought to build an altar to Heracles in the place where the dog took the sacred offering; whence, it was called Cynosarges. Since it was thought that Heracles was an illegitimate child, for this reason, illegitimate children are enrolled (initiated) there: those who are citizens neither on the father nor the mother's side.

Clearly, *ktiseis/aitia* are structured by the Schema in Conon's digests and in entries of Photius' lexicon. The use of the Schema in brief lexical entries suggests that the Schema offered practical benefits for a compiler: a *ktisis* or *aition* could be represented by a narrative which has only the essential components of the story. The Schema seems to have been useful for transmitting only the important parts of a story while indicating that the story is told at greater length in other texts.

Chapter Three

The Elements of the Schema and Their Significance

The pieces of the Schema which I identify in Chapter 2 work in combinations to create effective storylines. As combinations, they present allusions to familiar stories and well-known topics of philosophical investigations which study and represent acts of creation, origins, beginnings, and metamorphosis. In turn, the allusions to familiar stories and philosophical investigations bestow a certain legitimacy upon the *ktiseis/aitia*, helping to solidify founders' positions in places of power and locating *ktiseis/aitia* within established Greek literary/philosophical traditions. The regimes of founders take on an air of sanctity when acts of foundation are equated with creative acts identifiable from familiar stories. The stories themselves become situated in a lengthy tradition dating back to Parmenides from the 6th century BCE, who studied the very nature of existence and how things come into being.

From Parmenides to Plato, the study of how things are created, or simply exist, is represented as a journey, an *odos* (F 1.2, 5, 27). This journey was divinely supervised and sanctioned and took place via language, largely discussion. Parmenides calls this journey a "much discussed journey" (ἐς ὁδὸν . . . πολύφημον: F 1.2). The *representation* of this discussion, however, is enabled by means of the written word, as we see now for instance in the section of Plato's *Republic* on "the divided line." This use of the written word to represent an *odos*, a journey, which proceeds toward its end, its *telos*, is relevant to this chapter. The end of these literary journeys is so often the actual *ktises*, city foundings or *aitia*, the beginnings and origins. The stories very often begin with the clarification (e.g.

"some say," "it is said") that the subsequent narrative has previously circulated, and this is no minor stylistic ornament. An awkward yet revealing translation for these varying phrases could be "language has been applied to represent this journey which resulted in a founding or origin." This wordy translation reflects the Platonic penchant for using language as a means to reach a deeper understanding of origins via an *odos*.

Ktiseis/aitia include images of water, the essential ingredient for human sustenance. The motif of travel, especially over bodies of water, helps to connect geographical space in the Greek world: one territory becomes connected to another through the stories of a founder, once an exile from a homeland, embarking upon an *odos*, usually a sea voyage or multiple sea voyages, arriving in a new territory. Water plays a dual role: it is at once crucial for human existence, while also a potentially life-threatening force when embarked upon by sea voyagers. This sort of duality is explored on several fronts in this chapter.

The stories which connect Greek spaces and forge relationships between them are essentially stories of people and human relationships. Human names are often attached to geographical spaces, providing another effective literary combination: the naming of humans and the naming and re-naming of places. Family and kinship relations provide explanations for related geographical spaces: it is through the naming of humans that the bonds between places are so often cited and justified. Kinship relations are like the water/travel motifs: in their fundamental strength they form a strong, dependable basis for human societies, but as the stories of founders reveal, kinship relations can be fraught with strife, as potentially deadly and undermining as the power unleashed by the sea. In fact, in *ktiseis/aita*, broken family relations often lead to a family member embarking

upon the dangerous sea. The accomplishment of a city founding is often metaphorically represented as the outcome of the events set in motion by disrupted family ties; new city allegiances, that is, new "family" bonds may then be formed.

Representations of supernatural influence in human affairs are common to familiar stories and philosophical investigations, as I mentioned earlier, and this relationship between human and divine, is very much a part of Greek literary/philosophical tradition. The supernatural motifs of the Schema include oracles, animals which guide humans, and plagues or disasters sent by angry deities. These and others discussed below operate together and play a role in providing the traditional divine influence and sanctification of the eventual human achievement: the city founding. The appeased deities are often recognized with festivals and temples, in a parallel manner to the recognition that founders and originators experience. Founders have their names, stories, and shrines linked to spaces while deities have their names and stories linked to shrines and other observances. This is another duality operating within the Schema.

This chapter investigates the combinations of the Schema elements to determine how and why they work so effectively in creating a dynamic vehicle for remembrance. The combinations and dualities create a certain *gravitas* which aids in remembrance, celebration and in the continuity of the narratives themselves. The Schema provides a structure through which human and divine names are connected not only with new place names but also with life cycles of birth, death, and rebirth.

Actions represented via *ktiseis/aitia* are monumental, with constructive and/or devastating results. Actions represented via the Schema beget creations and

transformations, with divine oversight and approval, and these are not representations of insignificant happenings of pedestrian, daily life; *ktiseis/aitia* describe actions with long-lasting effects.

The motif of the poet/singer/bard as a bestower of immortality, evident as far back as Homer, has a sort of prose counterpart in the Schema: the researcher and reproducer of *ktiseis/aitia* also bestows immortality upon founders, and these narrators too are celebrated via the Schema, just as the bard is sometimes reflected in Homeric poetry. In short, the Schema is not a vehicle for representing the humble or mundane aspects of human life and culture but, in fact, shapes narratives which treat the elevated and sublime, as well as those who transmit these narratives.

The Schema is versatile in that it can be readily adapted to meet the exigencies of writers and compilers whose narratives represent peoples in various Greek territories and connect their individual identities with collective identities. The Schema covers time and space, serving as a unifying medium for people in these times and spaces. *Ktiseis* must often represent the version of a dominant, hegemonic group justifying its act of colonization. "City foundings" is a phrase fraught with propaganda and this must always be kept in mind during any discussion of foundation legends: cities are often "refounded" by invaders and usurpers, likely more often than city foundings taking place on neutral, unsettled, virgin land. The narrative behind colonization helps "to create a new vision of reality, one that translates local phenomena into the Greek language, just as colonization itself transforms foreign soil in to a Greek city."[82]

[82] Dougherty, 1992 (29).

In this chapter, I mainly explore combinations and dualities which provide the underpinnings for *ktiseis/aitia*. The divine and the human realms overlap and interact creating dynamic results to follow. "One of the key notions in structuralism is the concept of system, an organized whole in which a given part finds its delimitation, definition, and significance from its relationships to other parts."[83] Structuralist theories have shown that polarities such as the wild and the civilized, the raw and the cooked are underlying devices for making meaning in Greek myth via combinations and dualities.

The Super-human Elements

The super-human elements of the Schema are required parts because they elevate and compliment the events to follow, i.e. the events attributable to humans, while keeping the narrative grounded in the matrix of traditional Greek story-telling in which elements of the supernatural play such a central role. The Schema celebrates human accomplishments by attributing responsibility for those accomplishments to two separate but complimentary realms. The following items often appear in this sequence: plagues, cataclysmic events, wars, followed by oracles and then animals, at times with appearances of *phasmata* or various other apparitions and visions etc., all functioning as an introduction to the following *ktiseis/aitia*. Creation effected by *ktiseis/aitia* appears to require death and this requirement is often fulfilled by an element instigated in the super-human realm.[84] The pre-requisite death can be specified or implied by the mention of a

[83] Cobb-Stevens (215) provides a basic tenet of structuralism which, for me, explains well how structuralists' findings are helpful when reading Conon's digests.

[84] Death appears in the following *ktiseis/aitia* of Conon: 2: the suicide of Byblis due to an unconsummated, incestuous relationship with her brother Caunus, 3: Heracles kills Locrus after mistaking him for someone else, 4: Olynthus is killed by a lion and his brother dies at the hands of Diomedes during the Trojan war, 6: Calchas commits suicide in this highly abbreviated *aition* which obliquely explains in the opening line the origin of Mopsus' inheritance of an oracle. Mopsus' mother is reported as dying in the same sentence which mentions his oracular inheritance, 8: Canobus, in unsuccessful erotic context, is killed by a viper, 10:

plague which we can assume, or are specifically told, is divinely sent. Hence, the combination of these Schema elements (Events: plagues and death) operate in the manner I mention above. A plague's arrival, havoc and turmoil, followed by its departure, imbue epidemics with a mysterious quality easily attributed to gods, especially, but not always, Apollo. An animal may cause the requisite death, again elevating natural human mortality to a more mysterious, awesome level. Human and animal connect in a memorable, striking reversal of the natural order: animals assume a superior position to that of humans; they sometimes take human lives and also serve as guides to the very locations where humans accomplish new beginnings. That which is awe-inspiring is memorable and the origins of cities and religious festivals require that which best effects memory. *Ktiseis*/*aitia* are elevated through the presence of the fantastic, through combinations of literary elements in close, interlocked sequence: plagues, war, oracle, animals, etc.

The required death or destruction is often represented as a result of human behavior which provokes the anger of the gods. *Ktiseis/aitia* describe people who die from unrequited or illicit love and via quarreling among families. These human actions seem to provoke upset in the natural order, and gods provide instructions which humans can acknowledge, interpret, and follow to usher in once again the required order which permits creation and metamorphosis. A natural order will return with benevolent conditions if humans wisely interpret the instructions sent to them by the gods.[85] This

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Multiple suitors of Pallene die, 17: Heracles kills Syleus, 18: Hounds tear apart a child and the child's mother is put to death by her father, 20: A cowherd is killed causing a divine wrath. These examples alone, not even representing the entire collection, strongly suggest that death is a pre-requisite for a new beginning/founding.

[85] See Doughtery: "Once we consider these foundation oracles not as simple mirrors of historical reality but as representatives of a coherent sytem of cultural meaning, we will see that riddles and puns, the ambiguious and enigmatic language typically associated with the Delphic Oracle, describe the act of foundation as a process of interpretation." I particularly appreciate her "coherent system of cultural

exchange is celebrated in *ktiseis/aitia* and the Schema is the vehicle by which this reciprocal interaction can be meaningfully expressed in narrative.

Plagues

Death on a massive scale can result from plagues or their related afflictions: droughts, famine and war. Electronic word searches on *loimos* and its plural form are telling: the word is often mentioned in connection with these other afflictions: λιμὸς . . . καὶ λοιμός or φθορὰ δὲ καὶ λοιμὸς. These frequent verbal connections indicate semantic relations (λιμὸς . . . καὶ λοιμός) but also reflect a mnemonic practice at work. Citing multiple afflictions, in an apparently traditional list, heightens the awe which the great destruction brings to bear on the events narrated nearby.[86] Ancient scholia and lexica define plagues specifically by the destruction associated with them and their close verbal relation with other words also describing destructive epidemics: [87]

Λοιμός: ἡ φθορά. παρὰ τὸ λείπω λιμὸς καὶ λοιμός. ἢ παρὰ τὸ λιμᾶν πλεονασμῷ τοῦ Ο.
Plague: destruction. Limos *(famine) and* loimos *(plague) are from* leipo*, or else from*

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meaning" since I see *all* the elements of foundation narratives as operating in a coherent system, not just the foundation oracles. She adds, "I will argue that oracles within colonization traditions exploit the ambiguity of puns to create a new vision of reality, one that translates local phenomena into the Greek language just as colonization itself transforms foreign soil into a Greek city. In addition, colonial oracles adopt the bipartite structure of riddles to represent the process of founding a colony overseas in terms of solving a puzzle; the solution, or colony, restores the proper sense of order to an unfamiliar and cofused landscape" (29). In this chapter, I suggest many "bipartite structures" in operation within the Schema.

[86] A few examples here suggest that the word "plague" was itself part of an interlocking traditional, verbal unit, and this unit contains mnemonic value: Plutarch's *Amatoriae narrationes* (773, A 9): μετ' οὐ πολὺ δ' αὐχμὸς καὶ λοιμὸς κατελάμβανε τὴν πόλιν· καὶ τῶν Κορινθίων περὶ ἀπαλλαγῆς χρωμένων, ὁ θεὸς ἀνεῖλε μῆνιν εἶναι Ποσειδῶνος οὐκ ἀνήσοντος, ἕως ἂν τὸν Ἀκταίωνος θάνατον μετέλθοιεν. *Scholia in Platonem (scholia vetera)* Dialogue Min 31a, bis 9): ὃ μαθὼν Μίνως Ἀθήνας τε πολεμεῖ καὶ Μέγαρα εἶλεν, μὴ οἷός τε δ' ὢν πορθῆσαι ταύτας, εὔχεται τῷ Διὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίων δίκην λαβεῖν· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο λιμὸς ἐνσκήπτει τούτοις καὶ λοιμός. χρωμένων δὲ περὶ τῆς τούτων ἀπαλλαγῆς ἀνεῖπεν ὁ Ἀπόλλων δίκας Μίνῳ δοῦναι ἃς ἂν αὐτὸς αἱρῆται. Timaeus, *FGrHist* 566 F 146b: οἱ Λοκροὶ μόλις σωθέντες ἦλθον εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν. φθορὰ δὲ καὶ λοιμὸς μετὰ τρίτον ἔτος ἔσχε τὴν Λοκρίδα διὰ τὴν εἰς Κασάνδραν ἀθέμιτον πρᾶξιν τοῦ Αἴαντος. ἔχρησε δὲ ὁ θεὸς ἱλάσκεσθαι τὴν θεὰν Ἀθηνᾶν τὴν ἐν Ἰλίωι ἐπ' ἔτη α, β παρθένους πέμποντας κλήρωι καὶ λαχήσει.

[87] *Etymologicum genuinum (littera λ)*.

liman*, in which case the "omicron" in* loimos *is pleonastic.*

Humans seek deliverance from plagues by consulting deities, or deities appear to offer the information without human request. Conon 45, the tale describing the creation of a sacred precinct and hero worship of Orpheus, includes a plague, an oracle and the oracle's clear communication on how the plague can be lifted. The origin of the plague, as is most often the case, is a result of human error, here, the failure to punish the women who killed Orpheus. The sequence makes narrative sense as well since plagues represent chaos and reversal and the oracles offer a means of return to order.

Λοιμῷ δὲ τῆς χώρας, ὅτι μὴ ἀπῃτήθησαν δίκην αἱ γυναῖκες, κακουμένης, δεόμενοι λωφῆσαι τὸ δεινόν, ἔλαβον χρησμὸν τὴν κεφαλὴν τὴν Ὀρφέως ἣν ἀνευρόντες θάψωσι, τυχεῖν ἀπαλλαγῆς.

Because no requital was exacted from the women the land was afflicted with a plague. While begging for an abatement of their troubles [the inhabitants] received an oracle that if they should find the head of Orpheus and bury it, they would gain deliverance.[88]

The final word of this passage is crucial: it is "deliverance" or "relief" from plagues, other epidemics, and battles which humans need in order to return to orderly conditions favorable for new creations and beginnings. The gods forgive human transgression and are recognized by the establishment of new worship practices.

A plague often indicates divine anger for which a *ktisis/aition* in the second section will be the human response or remedy. A plague can either imply that angry deities are to blame or the anger can be specifically reported. [89] These adverse conditions

[88] Brown's translation (302).

[89] Plagues appear in five of Conon's tales: 19: An angry Apollo sends a plague to punish the Argives for the murder of the maiden who gave birth to his child. The plague is lifted after human observance of his subsequent oracle, 20: A divine wrath, *menis theothen,* not specifically sent by Apollo, visits the Chalcidians until they make amends in accordance with an oracle, 26: A plague, not specified as sent by Apollo, is followed by an oracle, the expulsion of Hippotes, and a rough narrative transition which includes an apparition, 30: A plague occurs due to an angry, unspecified god until the blinded Peithenios is appeased; animals play role as well, 45: After Orpheus' murder, an unattributed plague visits people,

constitute a reversal in the conditions favorable to human birth, creation, and prosperity. Angry deities, plagues and other epidemics invert the normal conditions for human prosperity and this disorder requires the response of observant humans. Once appeased, the deities allow for the return to conditions under which the humans specified in the story may thrive. Thucydides' second book vividly narrates conditions of reversal in the social norm caused by the infamous plague in Athens. When people die *en masse* for unseen causes, social and cultural norms become perverted.

Oracles

Oracles are mentioned in ten of the fifty narratives of Conon. Overall, their purpose in Conon's digests is one of service to mankind. They are a vehicle for information on how humans may turn from a state of disorder, specfically reversal, back into the normal state of being, conducive to human prosperity and unity. Oracles are friends to humans since it is through their guidance that humans may cycle through seemingly impossible adversity and defeat into accomplishments worthy of remembrance from ancient times until today and beyond.[90] Conon 19 indicates that humans find release, or deliverance from adversity via oracles: χρωμένοις ὑπὲρ ἀπαλλαγῆς.

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followed by an oracle and supernatural apparition.

[90] Oracles apear in Conon 18, 19, 20, 25, 26, 33, 39, 44, 46, and 47 (some of these are mentioned in an earlier footnote). In brief the oracles act as follows: Conon 18: An oracle on appeasing Aias and other heroes heals Autoleon, 19 (above): Two oracles are discussed, one to propitiate Apollo's anger and one for Krotopos to leave Argos to found Tripodiskion, 20 (above): The oracle orders the making of a tomb for the cowherd and sacrificing to him as a hero, 25: An oracle tells a portion of Iapyges to settle where someone offers earth and water, 26: two oracles in tale with Karnos/Kodros/Aletes, 33: Demoklos sails at behest of oracle to Miletos, 39: Melanthus travels to Athens because of oracles 39: Athenians dedicate temple to Dionysos Melanthides, 44: Leodamas gets oracle, 46: message from Aphrodite to depart, 47: Althaimenes goes to Zeus and Helios to ask which land to colonize.

Parke (his Chapter 5: Oracles and Colonisation) reminds us of the centrality of the religious aspect of colonization. New cities or colonies must be outfitted with temples, government buildings, and shrines honoring heroes, especially heroes whose associations support the legitimacy of the founding regime. Parke discusses city foundations in the narratives of ancient authors such as Pausanias:

> The Pythia is made to describe the place to be chosen and, while the description is sometimes simple and factual, at others it is filled out with some ingenious periphrasis whose ambiguity, like a riddle, has to be solved successfully by the enquirer. At other times again the interest of the story tends to centre on the *oikist*. A conventional motive makes him come to the oracle for quite another purpose: particularly to enquire for a cure for some physical disability; and this is promised to him in return for his leading the colony as directed by Apollo (45).

Conon's narratives however, do not include mention of the Pythian priestess; Apollo is specified sometimes but not consistently. Conon's digests do not even give us consistent connection with Delphi. The narratives seem constructed so that the reader or researcher can understand that Delphi is implied when Apollo is named but much is left for the reader to construct. The oracle's role in city foundations in Conon's *Diegeseis* is often limited to a simple phrase κατὰ χρησμὸν *kata chresmon*. This brief phrase potentially encapsulates much more meaningful narrative treatment to the degree, for example, we see in Herodotus' *logoi.* As we should expect from digests, terse phrases capture meaningful storylines. The kernel phrases then are evocative, bringing with them both the potential for further explication and the power to effect memorialization. A reader or researcher can add for him or herself the details of travel to an oracular site, consultation with a site's attendant oracular deity, and response. Conon's professional task seems to call for much less verbal allotment in treating oracles and other themes of

the Schema. For instance, Conon reports no such direct language of oracles as we see often in Herodotus.

Since Herodotus' use of the Schema is more fully developed than Conon's, we do witness Delphi's and more specifically even, the Pythia's role in the Schema in Herodotus. Conon's oracles are often cited as instigating agents, though rarely as Parke suggests, as an answer to an enquiry. Nor is the *oikist* an enquirer of the oracle for "quite another purpose" as Parke suggests. I see these possible storylines as inherent in the mythographical kernels or encapsulated into the phrase κατὰ χρησμὸν. Only in Conon 47 is the potental oikist Althaimenes described specifically as an enquirer of the god(s) for colonization purposes, and neither Apollo nor Delphi plays a role. In fact, Althaimenes poses his question to Zeus and Helios:

κατὰ τὸν δοθέντα αὐτῷ χρησμὸν ἐπὶ Δία καὶ Ἥλιον κομίζεσθαι καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν αἰτεῖν εἰς κατοίκισιν γῆν·

. . . in accordance with an oracle given to him to go to Zeus and Helios to ask from them for land to settle on

I agree with Fontenrose (below) who sees the role of oracles in colonization stories as part of traditional literary convention. The Schema reveals that the oracle is a set piece of the possible narrative together with *phasmata*, animals, etc., which plays a role in transmitting the stories so that the narratives remain easy to re-assemble as part of a society's collective memory. I agree less with Parke's findings (above) about the centrality of oracles and their religious significance in Conon's digests. We have some *ktiseis* where there is no oracle mentioned at all, as in Conon 4, the story about the town of Olynthos. Oracles in Conon are part of the overall Schema, and what is central is the

operation of the cycles described in the introduction to this dissertation. One cannot isolate from a piece and call that the central piece:

> There is no oracle on the founding of an overseas colony that is at all likely to be genuinely Delphic; and indeed it is unlikely that Delphi was active before 600 in either directing or sanctioning colonies. It was the stories of city-founding, developed by poets and logographers, who wrote *ktiseis* of cities, that introduced oracles which directed the founders, often in obscure language. Oracles became a convention of these kinds of composition, and often they were attributed to Delphi, but by no means always. Generally the ktiseis were based, at least in part, on oral tradition, into which oracles had already entered as narrative features. Delphi's modern reputation for advising colonists arises from scholars' reading too much into the passages cited and from accepting foundation legends and the spurious oracles in them as historically sound (Fontenrose, 142-143).

Generations of literary treatments created a powerful mnemonic structure by which these stories could be easily pieced together. The human achievements called for memorialization, and how better ensure the remembrance of human achievements than to include divine influence?

The condensed nature of Conon's digests illuminates what I consider the most important role of oracles: communication to and instruction of mortals. In that regard they are "central." The oracles appear to be a turning point in the element of reversal; the oracles offer information about how mortals can assume responsibility for their own betterment. Narrative composers such as Herodotus, Apollonius and Plutarch obviously provide lengthier treatments of city founders and items of etiological interest than Conon does as a composer of digests. They employ multiple forms of the word χρησμὸν, and Herodotus, for one, uses compound nouns such as *chresmologoi,* oracle reciters or diviners. Conon often uses only a simple phrase, κατὰ χρησμὸν, to encapsulate the entire story surrounding an oracle, its recipient and a possible visit to an oracular site. This simple phrase, though, shows how humans act "in accordance with" or "because of"

oracles. Humans are offered an escape from desperation through oracles.

Conon 18 explains why Locrians leave an empty space in their battle formation in honor of Aias. The concise kernel phrase κατὰ χρησμὸν illustrates the brevity with which an oracular response may be treated in Conon. Autoleon's leg was rotting ἕως ἂν κατὰ χρησμὸν εἰς τὴν ἐν Πόντῳ Ἀχίλλειον νῆσον . . . ἐκεῖσε παραγεγονώς . . . (*until in accordance with an oracle, he went to the Island of Achilles on the Black Sea . . . having arrived there . . .*). Conon 18 makes no mention of Delphi or Apollo and even omits the verb "to go" or "to sail."

Where we may expect etiological data to finish the narrative, the text veers oddly toward an explanation of Stesichorus' recovery of his eyesight by composing hymns in honor of Helen. Conon appears challenged with multiple storylines: one centering on Autoleon and one on Stesichorus. Here, two new states of existence arise: Autoleon's clean health from previous near-death and Stesichorus' transition from a blind poet to one with vision. The oracle marks these two important, memorable human transitions. These transitions are analogous to the new states of being effected when the founding of a city, colony, or religious festival takes place.

There are several more examples in which the noun χρησμὸν, in the accusative case, is used but not in the exact phrase κατὰ χρησμὸν. Conon uses χρησμὸν as the object of verbs and participles, concisely again so that the very mention of the noun is evocative of possible lengthier storylines. A few words alone serve to trigger the mental recall of a traditional storyline but presumably the researcher/composer feels assured that the reader will be able to conjure the fuller storyline for him or herself when the later reader consults the digest of the former. Conon 25 contains τὸν χρησμὸν τετελέσθαι νομίσαντες

and Conon 26 provides χρησμὸν λαβόντες and χρησμὸν λαμβάνει. Conon 46 specifies Aeneas' consulation with Aphrodite: πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα[91] ᾤχετο κατὰ Ἀφροδίτης ἐπίσκηψιν without using the noun *chresmon*. In all examples, humans react to the instruction provided by the divine communication.

In Conon 19, Apollo makes specific demands before he will cease from his anger and lift a plague:

χρωμένοις ὑπὲρ ἀπαλλαγῆς Ψαμάθην ἀνεῖλε καὶ Λίνον ἱλάσκεσθαι. Οἱ δὲ τά τε ἄλλα ἐτίμησαν αὐτούς . . .

To the humans seeking oracles for deliverance, he ordered that Psamathe and Linus be propitiated. And the people honored them with respect to these matters . . .

The humans follow the instructions, and they earn "release" or "deliverance." The events in digests like Conon's occur in rapid sequence. In this short piece, humans seek oracles for release from divine-sent ills; their request is granted, provided they execute the necessary actions; they perform the prescribed actions. The Schema highlights this sort of exchange between the realm of the super-human and the human, and because of the rapid sequence, repeated from tale to tale, the fundamental aspects of such a narrative appear with little else. In other authors, these narrative elsements are drawn out at far greater length which sometimes obscures the connection between them.

In a few sentences at the end of Conon 20, a very short narrative consisting of only eleven lines, there is an unjust murder (the murderers are described as: παραβάντες τὰς συνθήκας), a divine "wrath" (Brown's rendering, 154), an oracle, hero worship, and the lifting of the divine wrath. The death of the cowherd however is the trigger event, which the oracle is addressing, and without which the hero worship will not occur.

[91] Brown (309) gives κατίσχοντα, Tafel's emendation. Ms. AM give ἀνίσχοντα.

Τὸν δὲ προδότην βουκόλον, παραβάντες τὰς συνθήκας, κτείνουσι. Καὶ μῆνις αὐτοῖς διὰ τοῦτο θεόθεν ἐνέσκηψε. Καὶ κατὰ χρησμὸν τάφον περικαλλῆ χώσαντες τῷ βουκόλῳ καὶ ὡς ἥρωϊ θύοντες τοῦ κακοῦ ἀπηλλάγησαν.

Breeching agreements, they killed the cowherd, and a divine-sent wrath descended upon them. In accordance with an oracle, they piled high a very nice tomb in honor of the cowherd and sacrificed to him as if a hero; they were delivered from evil.

Phasmata/apparitions/visions

The literary device of the oracle is most effective when combined with other indicators of the super-human world. Often the oracle is mentioned in close proximity to visions or apparitions, what Conon calls *phasmata*.[92] In several cases, the oracle and the supernatural vision are causally linked in the sequence of action. The passage from Conon 18 above provides such a sequence where the apparition causes a battle wound. The oracle explains the remedy for the rotting wound: setting sail and then appeasing heroes.

In Conon 33, the following Schema elements are present: Oracles, Super-human apparitions, Dreams and visions, and Animals.[93] The oracle, ordering a departure by sea, triggers the story of the son being left behind by the father who sails away. With the boy left behind, the animal theme can be woven into the narrative. This leads to a further vision and a dream. Death does not play a role here.

Portents and dreams play a role similar to that of visions or *phasmata*:

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[92] The *phasmata* in Conon appear in six narratives and serve as follows: Conon 3: an appartion of Heracles instructs people to found city in honor of Lokros, 18: a *phasma* wounds Autoleon, 21: Iasion wants to violate a *phasma* of Demeter, 26: in a sequence so abbreviated it makes little sense, Karnos' apparition was a seer for the Dorians, 33: the apparition of Leukothea instigates a contest, 39: Melanthus sees a *phasma* causing him to kill Xanthus.

[93] Καὶ περὶ τοῦ κύκνου τοῦ συλληφθέντος ἄμφω τοῖς παισὶ καὶ τῆς ἔριδος καὶ τοῦ τῆς Λευκοθέας φάσματος,

communication with mortals at important moments.[94] Conon 33 tells of a fantastic vision that a woman witnesses during childbirth. The sun seems to pass through her body: αὕτη τίκτουσα ὀρᾷ ὄψιν τὸν ἥλιον . . . Her child is favored by Apollo and where Apollo kisses him there was founded an altar. The word *opsis*, sight or vision, indicates here a supernatural vision. Clearly, the supernatural realm communicates with the mortal realm at a moment of importance, the birth of Branchos, who then establishes the oracle of Didyma and is the originator of the Branchidai priestly dynasty.

The servered head of Orpheus is found filled with blood and still singing in Conon 45. Water is an intergral part of the Schema in this tale, though not as a mode of travel as in other *ktiseis/aitia*. The women who tear apart the body of Orpheus dump his remains into the sea. A fisherman, one who *would* presumably travel over water, is the discoverer of his head. The act of this discovery paves the way for a subsequent *aition.* The place of the stunning vision of Orpheus' seemingly live head is specified as "next to the mouth of the river Meles," hence, further water imagery. The head is described as "suffering no damage from the sea;" the destructive potential of water seems to transform into a preservative power and this leads to the creation of a sacred precinct, hero worship and later a temple. Obviously, deities are communicating with mortals through Orpheus'

[94] Portents and Dreams serve as follows: 33: Vision of sun passing through a woman at childbirth, 34: the Palladion moves by some divine agency which gives Odysseus an important clue, 37: Spartoi discussed as a belief among Boeotians that earth had sent up men but this portent is described not in the fabric of the narrative, 43: Anapias and Amphinomos are saved from flames carrying parents instead of riches to escape flames of Aitna, 44: child grows unnaturally and also in wisdom by divine favor, 45: Head of Orpheus sings full of blood, 48: wolf nursing twins is described as *theion*, 35: Apollo appears as or in a dream and orders man to lacerate himself. Vultures then pick him up (see: Animals). Narratives without plagues/animals/portents but *ktisis*/*aition* anyway: 14: Endymion, 17: aetion for shrine of Heracles in story of Dikaios and Syleus, one just one unjust. Heracles married daughter of Diakaios, 24: Narcissus, 28: origin of a parable: axe of Tennes, 29: Magnetes found Magnesia.

singing from his severed head. The exchange between the super-human and human realms is highly represented in the final paragraph of this tale: human error leads to death, punishment via a plague, communication from the supernatural realm, followed by a creative act. The creative act can occur because water is sustaining and regenerative rather than destructive and degenerative.

Animals

The role of animals and other non-human elements in the Schema is similar to the role played by oracles and *phasmata*: to add colorful, and most importantly, memory-activating devices which aid in the longevity of these narratives.[95] Completely mundane narratives do not provide motivation for recall in the first place and are not commensurate with explaining culturally important stories of founders and origins. One need only think of the lofty legend detailing the founding of Rome and for how many centuries the narrative of wolf-nursed twins remains attached to the city founding.[96]

Perhaps a greater value animals provide to the narratives is reversal of the norm as we see in plagues and epidemics: animals assume positions of power over humans.[97]

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[95] Forbes Irving discusses the animal element as one part of a whole structure. To me this is similar to the oracle, or apparition. "An animal in a transformation story has to be seen not merely as something that points to an external historical ritual, but as something that has significance within the structure of the story" (4).

[96] Animals, including the centaur Seilenus (1), non-specified "wild animals" (45), cattle/bulls, lions, a viper/snake, dogs, lambs/sheep, wolves, bees, and birds (nightingales, swallows, swans, and vultures) appear in fifteen of the fifty narratives. See following footnote for further details.

[97] Animals in Conon are as follows: 1: Seilenus is mentioned in connection with Midas though not specifically in connection with the origin of the phrase for which the tale seems intended. Seilenus' strange appearance is contrasted to the nature of a human, 3: cattle of Geryon lead Latinus to desire them and Heralces to kill Latinus, 4: Olynthus dies in battle with lion and is then commemorated by his brother with the founding his eponymous town, 8: Canobus bitten by viper, dies, buried where eponymous city stands, 11: a bull slaughtered by Heracles originates a curse-oriented sacrifice to him, 19: dogs tear a child to pieces, lambs lead to the explanation of month named Arneis, dogs are killed for a festival, 30: wolves tear apart sacred sheep, 31: nightingale/swallow but no *ktisis/aitia*, 33: swan (and *phasma*), 34: a wooden horse figures as part of a story reported within the narrative, 35: Bees provide a location for gold stash, vultures

Animals serving as guides for humans or controlling human life are clearly the opposite of what readers are accustomed to in real life. Even modern stories are extraordinary when humans are killed by dogs, or sharks for instance, and that is because the humans become the prey and the animals the hunters. This is an important role in the first section of the Schema where conditions are established that are beyond human expectations, only to return to normal circumstances after the second half of the Schema when the humans can resume power and be recognized for their accomplishments.

Conon 8 provides an excellent connection between the animal theme (Canobus is bitten by a snake and dies) and a *ktisis* (he is buried and that location is where his namesake city was founded). The narrative connects these items in the same sentence:

ὑπὸ ἐχίδνης δηχθεὶς καὶ σαπεὶς τὸ σκέλος μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ θνήσκει καὶ Μενέλαος καὶ Ἑλένη θάπτουσιν αὐτὸν ἐπ᾽ Αἰγύπτου, οὗ νῦν ἐπώνυμος ᾤκισται πόλις.[98]

After being bitten by a viper and rotting in the leg, he dies not long afterward; Menelaus and Helen bury him in Egypt where now his namesake city was founded.

Sometimes the death of the animal provides the underpinning for an *aetion* or *ktisis*. Conon 11 begins by stating an etiological purpose: Ἡ ια΄ τὰ περὶ τῆς Ἡρακλέος θυσίας, ἣν Λίνδιοι μετὰ ἀρᾶς θύουσιν αὐτῷ, διέξεισι, and procedes to relate the origin of a festival to Heracles which includes a bull sacrifice and accompanying curses. Heracles kills a cowherd's bull when the cowherd rejects Heracles' request for food: Ἡρακλῆς δὲ χαλεπήνας, ἕνα τῶν βοῶν κατασφάξας. Reversal here is in the hospitality etiquette of

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pick up self-inflicted, Apollo-ordered, wounded man and carry him to safety but no *ktisis/aition*, 37: bull (Zeus in diguise) discussed but animal does not play a role in the narrative 45: Wild animals, bird, trees, rocks follow Orpheus, 46: Cow moos as Aphrodite foretold, 48: She-wolf nurses Romulus and Remus.

[98] Brown (93) adds a raised dot after θνήσκει though the TLG text does not include this. The thought flows even better without a break. Brown does not explain this in his apparatus.

ancient Greek culture: *xenia*. A host should not refuse to offer food, nor should a guest slaughter a host's flocks. This, after all, is one of the original crimes committed by the suitors in the home of Odysseus.

Animals can play a central role in the required death which eventually leads to a founding or new creation. In Conon 19 hounds tear a child to pieces causing the mother grief: καί ποτε οὶ τῆς ποίμνης κύνες διέσπασαν αὐτόν. This destructive act by animals sets into motion plot elements leading to *aitia* and a *ktisis.* Reversal occurs when the animal world reaches into the human world with such drastic power to kill and reveal, since the grief of the mother exposes her secret affair with Apollo. Further reversal and human error occur as the father sentences his daughter to death thinking she had prostituted herself. To correct this reversal, hounds, typically companions of man, must become prey for humans as part of a festival. In the meantime there appear a plague, an oracle, the apparent lifting of the plague (unspecified), and more animal influence via lambs. Since the child, originally intended for death by exposure like Oedipus, had been raised by a shepherd among lambs, a new month is named in honor of these lambs, Arneios (the Lamb month). Animals with destructive potential but usually kept under human control break out from that control in this tale. When conditions become favorable once again, docile lambs are celebrated along with the hounds which are once again brought under human control. Thereafter, there is the *ktisis* of a town.

Recognition of deities

Deities often demand or suggest that humans take certain actions before the deities allow a return out of the state of reversal or adversity to a state in which human prosperity may resume. The humans benefit doubly by heeding the directions provided to

them via the supernatural realm: on the one hand they are relieved of plagues, sickness and strife and on the other hand, they enter a state of being favorable for new beginnings.

Heracles communicates to humans as a *phasma* in Conon 3 with specific instructions to the people to found a city in Italy where Lokros' tomb was located. Heracles apparently felt it necessary that Lokros be honored due to his accidental death at the hands of Heracles himself. The humans heed his demands and as a result, a new city is founded. Here, the human response to the will of the gods is directly connected to the founding of the city Lokros. Not coincidentally, this is the exact place in the narrative where the tale comes to an end. There was death, a deity giving instructions, the people's appropriate response, creation.

Conon 20 includes war, divine wrath over a murder, an oracle, creation of a hero's tomb and worship, and finally, deliverance. The oracle prompts the people to pile earth for the tomb and sacrifice to the dead cowherd as a hero. The two brief sentences below represent well Conon's technique as a writer of digests: a sequence of actions is represented concisely which would certainly be given much lengthier treatment in a "source text."

Καὶ μῆνις αὐτοῖς διὰ τοῦτο θεόθεν ἐνέσκηψε. Καὶ κατὰ χρησμὸν τάφον περικαλλῆ χώσαντες τῷ βουκόλῳ καὶ ὡς ἥρωϊ θύοντες τοῦ κακοῦ ἀπηλλάγησαν.[99]

The pithily represented sequence of events illustrates the kernel narrative elements which likely appeared in earlier sources, and this indicates clear cause and effect relationships for the reader. The reader can interpret this concise narrative sequence as an etiological

[99] I translate this passage above (p. 103).

explanation of an ongoing festival; this is an etiological tale, not the reporting of a one-time only affair. The human recognition of the directive from the oracle (deity unspecified) leads to three things: the tomb, hero worship, and then the final word of the tale, ἀπηλλάγησαν, a verb describing release or deliverance. The reversal and destruction implied by the battles and μῆνις are alleviated and it is human recognition of divine will (conveyed via the oracle) that allows for the return to a normal order of things. This normal order is necessary for the creation of a *heroon*.

In a *ktisis/aition* deities must be appeased or their wishes addressed before the mortals experience a return to an orderly state of being. Conon's narratives do not always state specifically that appeased deities lift plagues and other epidemics, but the sequence of events makes clear a causal relationship between plagues, the disorder they bring and then the removal of a plague.

Conon 18 explains a practice which Locrians employ in military formations. The abbreviated nature of excerpts causes the reader to determine causality from the sequence of events as they are related. From the opening of the tale, it appears, but is not specified, that Aias' spirit becomes angry because Autoleon attempted to break the Locrians' battle formation in the place ceremoniously left empty in honor of Aias himself. According to the next sentence, Autoleon is wounded by a phasma *before* he can break the battle line, and his wound subsequently rots. We must assume that he insulted the spirit of Aias by his mere attempt to break the battle line and was punished with a rotting leg by the phasma. Deities are not specified in this tale but rather "heroes" and a "spirit." Autoleon must apparently appease "the other heroes as well, but especially the spirit of Aias of

Lokroi"[100] (καὶ τούς τε ἄλλους ἥρωας ἐκμειλιξάμενος, μάλιστα δὲ τὴν Αἴαντος τοῦ Λοκροῦ ψυχήν) before he can be healed. Since these spirits need appeasing, I assume Conon's implication to be that they are indeed angry to begin with and the only reason they have to be angry, according to the details of the narrative, is Autoleon's apparently rash attempt to violate the empty space in the Locrians' battle line. The narrative only specifies that the oracle tells him to sail to the Island of Achilles; the oracle does not specifically state *why* he should or *on which deity's* behalf. The sequence of events as narrated must provide for the reader the causal relationship between the events described: Autoleon attempts to break the line; he is turned away and wounded by the phasma; an oracle tells him to set sail; once there he appeases the spirits; he is healed. Recognition of the angry spirits or deities takes place in Conon 18 in a very abbreviated, rapid representation of events. However, with knowledge of how the Schema operates, causality can be determined in a brief digest like this one: he is turned away from the battle line *because* the empty space is somehow sacred (though not specified); he is wounded *because* his attempt is rash (again not specified); the oracle tells him to set sail *in order* to appease spirits (the oracle does not specify this); he is healed *because* he appeased the spirits (not specified).

In Conon 19, Apollo is angry due to the murder of a beloved. The narrative *specifies* that he sends a plague because of his anger. Furthermore, the oracle that humans consult specifically instructs them on the actions necessary for them to find release from their troubles.

[100] Brown's translation (141).

Ἀπόλλων δὲ τῷ τῆς ἑρωμένης φόνῳ χολωθεὶς λοιμῷ κολάζει τοὺς Ἀργείους καὶ χρωμένοις ὑπὲρ ἀπαλλαγῆς Ψαμάθην ἀνεῖλε καὶ Λίνον ἱλάσκεσθαι.

But Apollo, angered by the murder of his loved one, punished the Argives with a plague, and to those seeking the oracle regarding deliverance, he ordered that they propitiate Psamathe and Linos.

Although the people honor both Psamathe and Linos, the narrative seems to suggest that the troubles did not cease until the murderer of Apollo's beloved left Argos. Again, due to the nature of excerpted narratives, what remains is an odd sequence of events. Two related stories appear spliced together. The first story seems to be the *aition* of the Linos song, a traditional lament and related *aitia* of the name of a month and a holiday. The second story seems to be the *ktisis* of Tripodiskion, the founder of which was the original murderer. Given Apollo's clear instructions for lifting the plague and the proper execution of the instructions along with so much more honor paid to Linos (a month in his honor, a festival), it would be cruel that he not lift the plague. Conon appears to postpone the Argives' final deliverance from the plague until the second story ends with the *ktisis* of Tripodiskion.

καὶ οὐδ' οὕτως ἐλώφα τὸ κακόν, ἕως Κρότωπος κατὰ χρησμὸν ἔλιπε τὸ Ἄργος καὶ κτίσας πόλιν

And he did not remove the evil in this way, until Krotopos left Argos in accordance with an oracle and founded a city . . .

Given the report of *another* oracle, seemingly providing *different* instructions, it seems that the story of Krotopos was another tale appended to the *aition* of the Linos song. [101]

Conon 26 opens with the representation of a strange set of events: a "phasma of Apollo" is killed by Hippotes, one of the descendants of Heracles, when the Heracleidae

[101] Brown attempts to untangle the various threads woven together in Conon 19 (149-153). My contribution to his comments revolve around what appears to me to be two different oracles, giving different sets of instructions to different audiences: the first one is to the Argives in general: propititate Psamathe and Linos; the second appears to be to Krotops himself: leave Argos.

were returning to the Peloponnese. A plague falls upon the Heracleidae; they receive an oracle and expel Hippotes.

Καὶ λοιμοῦ τούτοις προσπεσόντος, χρησμὸν λαβόντες ἤλασαν τὸν Ἱππότην τοῦ στρατοπέδου· μάντις δ’ ἦν τὸ φάσμα τοῖς Δωριεῦσιν.

And after a plague fell upon them, they received an oracle and drove Hippotes out of the camp. The phasma was a seer for the Dorians.

Presumably, the cause of the plague is the killing of the phasma of Apollo by Hippotes, though this cause and effect relationship must be assumed from the sequence of events as represented. Whether this phasma is an apparition that looks like Apollo or serves Apollo is unclear. Furthermore, the reader must assume that the plague is sent by Apollo and eventually lifted, though this is not specified. Since the phasma is also called a *mantis*, a seer, we may be able to construct a relationship of service under the authority of Apollo. Perhaps then, Apollo sent this plague and provided the instructions to drive out Hippotes in order to restore order to the camp of the Heracleidae. Since this tale appears in Conon’s collection with others somewhat obscure in meaning, the Schema helps to reconstruct causality between events which are given very abbreviated representation.

Outside of the dramatic settings of the tales themselves there exists another dynamic polarity which I described above: the mythographer/producer of *hypomnemata* and the recipients of the *hypomnemata*. These two realms operate in a reciprocal manner just like the non-/super-human realm

The Human Realm

Orientation: Lineage/ Geographical Setting

As stated at the beginning of this chapter, readers’ attention is drawn to that which is remarkable, exaggerated, beyond the norm. Conon’s methodology of providing

essential names and locations at the beginning of a narrative serves a greater purpose than a basic orientation for the reader into the necessary "who, what, where" of the narrative's setting. Mortals who later become celebrated as founders are often descendants of significant predecessors. These people have connections to Olympian deities, nymphs, and Trojan War heroes. For instance, Olynthus' brother Rhesus (Conon 4) died at the hands of Diomedes in the Trojan War. Remarkable backgrounds heighten the readers' interest in the characters described in tales. Remarkable ancestors also provide shared backgrounds for founders and originators. Hence, cities can cite shared histories through the tales of founders and heroes who originate from deities, nymphs, and Trojan War heroes. The names we read in Conon, survivors, as it were, of two levels of professional editing, one performed by Conon and another by Photius, must be considered as essential. No names are haphazardly present in the tales as we have them. If names appear which do not receive appropriate treatment in the narrative to follow, I assume that our editors felt compelled to keep those names in the tale to represent the fuller treatment these characters received in the more complete version.

Unlike a storyteller whose tale opens "in a land far away" Conon appears to aim for the opposite effect with his Hellenic audience: this land and these people are *not* so far away. Their stories are *your* stories. Conon's references to places and people provide his reader with a compass-like locating device so that a reader finds direction within a familiar, larger Hellenic context. Furthermore, it appears that his readers could, given a map, use Conon's directions to guide their fingers to the exact locations specified in his tales. Conon 49 begins with directions for the reader/researcher to locate Anaphe, as if

the reader were consulting a map simultaneously: Ἡ μθ΄ ὡς ἐν Ἀνάφῃ τῇ νήσῳ (αὕτη δ' ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ νήσου Θήρας, οὐχ ἑκὰς τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων)[102]

Any writer of narratives wishes to provoke interest in the researcher/reader so that there is motivation to continue until the end. Characters in stories are interesting when the stories about them set them apart from their peers. Conon and other ancient producers of *hypomnemata* begin their narratives with introductions of people which should provide incentive so that the reader/researcher is sufficiently interested in the *ktisis* or *aition* to come. It must be the case then that the names of people at the very beginnings of Conon's digests serve this reader-friendly, motivating purpose: readers should want to know why these people are worthy of remembrance. Outstanding information about these people must follow. Secondly, the names of people and places should trigger sufficient familiarity in the reader's mind that there is a sense of relationship or connection, even if a loose one. The familiar template of the Schema connects the *ktiseis/aitia* with other stories familiar to a Hellenic audience. The Schema allows for a distribution all around the Greek world of stories of grand accomplishments by interesting characters. Readers can feel that they are a part of the narratives and the accomplishments detailed; the stories are about them and their people. The fact that the tales are transmitted via a pattern familiar to the reader outweighs requirements for veracity in the tales or in claimed kinship. Perhaps these stories *were* evidence of kinship to the recipients of the tales.

In the ancient Greek tradition, names are often presented in a familial context:

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[102] Conon 3 provides similar directions: Τρίτον, ἡ παρὰ τὸν Ἰόνιον πόντον Σχερία νῆσος, οὐχ ἑκὰς οὖσα τῆς ἠπείρου καὶ τῶν Κεραυνίων ὀρῶν. Conon 21 also gives directions which one could envision or follow on a map: . . . καὶ ᾥκουν Σαμοθρᾴκην τὴν νῆσον . . . Δάρδανος . . . εἰς τὴν ἀντίπερα γῆν, ἐν ᾗ καὶ πεδιὰς πολλὴ καὶ τὸ ὄρος ἡ Ἴδη . . .

people are named as a descendant of their parents or famous ancestors. As with place names, Conon appears to aim for the widest of familial connections for all: names are provided in wider context than a simple patronymic, possibly to bring the characters in the narrative into a relationship with the reader. Conon 29 directs the reader from Asia, to mainland Thessaly, indicated by reference to the river Peneios and Mt. Pelion.[103] To further motivate readers, this Orientation section includes mention of Achaeans as allies at Troy and Prothoos, a leader. A range of places and people embraces enough territory and tribes to motivate readers to find the *ktisis* at the end of the tale worthy of remembrance by readers, as did Conon in the first place.

Conon 2 opens with enough information in less than five lines of text that many Greek readers should feel a sense of community, or at least recognize names and places enough to experience familiarity.[104] Byblis' family is from Miletos, situated in Asia Minor. Conon provides the reader with a broader opportunity to find meaningful association by naming Ionians, Athenians, and Carians. The Carians, he clarifies, are a sizable tribe dwelling in villages (ἔθνος μέγα, κωμηδὸν οἰκοῦντες). This last piece of information could be considered gratuitious since it appears to have no signifcance to the events in the story. He spreads an even wider net with the more familiar name Neleus, providing further connections evocative of a grander mythical panorama and serving the same purpose as the mention of Prothoos in the example above. That purpose is likely to

[103] Ἡ κθ′ ὡς Μάγνητες οἱ Μαγνησίαν τὴν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ νῦν οἰκοῦντες τὸ πρότερον περὶ Πηνειὸν ποταμὸν καὶ τὸ Πήλιον ὄρος ᾤκησαν, καὶ συνεστράτευσαν Ἀχαιοῖς κατὰ Τροίας ἡγουμένου αὐτῶν Προθόου, καὶ ἐκαλοῦντο Μάγνητες.

[104] Δεύτερον τὰ περὶ Βυβλίδος, ὡς παῖς ἦν Μιλήτῳ, ἔχουσα ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀδελφὸν Καῦνον. Ὤικουν δὲ Μίλητον τῆς Ἀσίας, ἣν ὕστερον μὲν Ἴωνες καὶ οἱ ἀπ' Ἀθηνῶν μετὰ Νηλέως ὁρμηθέντες ᾤκησαν, τότε δ' ἐνέμοντο Κᾶρες, κωμηδὸν οἰκοῦντες.

be motivational: Conon wants these tales to be interesting to researchers and readers. It appears that he wants these narratives to be consulted often and wants his readership to be able to recognize names of people and places in the template.

Conon 3 also provides a wide enough range of place names and peoples that a reader should feel sufficient familiarity and connection with the characters and their experiences.[105] The Ionian Sea, Keraunian mountains, Scheria, Phaiacians and Corinthians all are cited. Corinthians are known as residents/colonizers of the island of Corcyra but the reference to Corinth and Corcyra, situated on either side of the Greek mainland, helps to embrace the territory in between, piquing interest for readers in or near those places. The reference to the Keraunian mountains appears unnecessary for the narrative as we have it, unless we see this topographical reference as a locating device for readers in Epirus where these mountains are located. Plutarch seems to say that these mountains were far away since people were often made to go into exile ὑπὲρ τὰ Κεραύνια ὄρη.[106] This reference in Conon provides readers with a territorial "edge" of the Greek world and also may serve as a motivating element to interest readers who dwell far from Athens and other major cities.

Exile/Travel by Sea

Given the obvious topographical features of Greece, travel by sea is not a surprising mode for one embarking upon the traditional *odos* which will lead to a creative

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[105] Τρίτον, ἡ παρὰ τὸν Ἰόνιον πόντον Σχερία νῆσος, οὐχ ἑκὰς οὖσα τῆς ἠπείρου καὶ τῶν Κεραυνίων ὀρῶν, αὕτη Φαίακας ἔσχεν οἰκήτορας τὸ πρότερον, αὐτόχθονας, ἔθνος λαχὸν τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἀπό τινος τῶν ἐπιχωρίων βασιλέως· ὕστερον δ' ἐπῴκησαν αὐτὴν μοῖρα Κορινθίων . . .

[106] Plutarch, *Phocion* (29.4), implies that banishment to this region was harsh and that Phocion effectively intervened on the behalf of some who would have been forced by Antipater to re-locate so far away.

act. The narratives from Conon's *Diegeseis* which are in fact *ktiseis/aitia* remarkably often specify a journey or multiple journies. People "set sail," "wander," "cross over," "depart," and "arrive" with such frequency that travel must be more than an ornamental topos.[107] In order to represent a creative act such as the beginning of a city or custom, movement appears to be required.[108] The Schema's themes of Exile and Travel by Sea are easy to reconcile: one commonly went into exile by means of sailing. What is perhaps more essential to this travel motif is the centrality of water itself. The life-sustaining, rejuvenating properties of water earn water a major role in the narratives so important to explaining foundations and origins, themselves so central to cultural life.

Water, on the other hand, presents humans with a less benevolent possibility and that is the power to separate one from a homeland. Water is life-sustaining but also life-threatening and this polarity operates effectively in the Schema. The thought of embarking upon the sea as an exile or merchant must have brought with it apprehension, to say the least. Storms are similar to war in their potential to kill and both of these can satisfy the apparent requirement for the death motifs in *ktiseis/aitia*.

The Schema emerges then as a combination of elements central to the human experience: birth, water, belonging, names, all interlocked meaningfully in narrative. Sometimes effective narrative calls for exaggerated themes. These are central to the human experience and not surprisingly, easy to remember when combined. Mnemonic

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[107] Some of the verb forms mentioned above are in the following narratives: 2: ἐκλείπει, πλανηθεῖσα, πλανώμενος; 3: ἀποικίζεσθαι; 8: ἀπαίροντος; 25: πλεύσας, ἐπανιόντες; 26: ἀλώμενος, κατήεσαν, ἐπῆε; 27: ἀποικίζεται, ἀφικόμενος; 47: πλοῦ, περαιωθῆναι, ἔπλει; 49 ἔπλει.

[108] On travel before *ktisis*/*aitia*, Brown (18) remarks, "Common to most foundation legends is some momentous occurrence, such as a war or an oracle, that provides the impetus for the emigration."

assistance and facilitation require templates easy to access. What is easy to access is that which is highly practiced and familiar.

The theme of exile or travel in the Schema is nearly omnipresent: *ktiseis/aitia* do not appear worthy of remembrance without the narrative accompaniment of a sea voyage. The theme of *xenia*, hospitality, plays an obvious role in travel. The stories in which one sets out upon the sea for adventure have inherent in them the standards and expectations of *xenia*, which forges ties between households with its reciprocal benefits and lasting relationships. The potential for successful, benevolent *xenia* and the hope for new beginnings is countered however by the blatant *pathos* which accompanies exile. Conon 2 emphasizes not the departure from "a land" but wandering through much wasteland away from the *paternal homeland* and the desolation Conon specifies heightens the *pathos* which such a separation entails: ἐκλείπει καὶ αὐτὴ τὴν πατρῴαν οἰκίαν, καὶ πολλὴν ἐρημίαν πλανηθεῖσα. The sorrow she feels, τοὺς ἀτελεῖς ἱμέρους, is a result of longing both for her brother and homeland.

Water further serves a dual role representing pathetic death as well as rebirth. Where the tears of inconsolable Byblis fell, a spring came into being. In one sentence, concise language heightens the polarities of death and rebirth, water's divisiveness and unifying power:

Ἔνθα δὴ κλαιούσης αὐτῆς ἐρρύη τὰ δάκρυα καὶ κρήνην ἀνῆκε, Βυβλίδα τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις ὄνομα.

There did the tears flow from her weeping and a fountain sprung up. Among the inhabitants the name of this fountain is Byblis.

The inhabitants of that land now have a shared landmark which they can describe via a shared tale.

Conon 4 also juxtaposes death and renewal, sadness with celebration, as the journeys of several brothers are described. One brother went to Troy to die at the hands of Diomedes; another goes on a hunt. Olynthus is celebrated as a founder who must be sacrificed through death by a lion. The language is again concise with words specifying sorrow followed by celebration. Travel and separation from home lead to deaths, though the final journey opens the door for a creative event. A personal loss becomes a public gain:

καὶ Βράγγας ὁ ἀδελφὸς πολλὰ κατολοφυρόμενος τὴν συμφορὰν Ὄλυνθον ᾧπερ ἐτελεύτησε τόπῳ θάπτει, εἰς Σιθονίαν δὲ ἀφικόμενος πόλιν ἔκτισεν εὐδαίμονα καὶ μεγάλην, Ὄλυνθον αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ παιδὸς ὀνομάσας.

And Brangas the brother, grieving much over the misfortune of Olynthus, buried him in the very place where Olynthus died; arriving at Sithonia, he founded a fortunate and great city, naming it Olynthus after the young man.

Naming

Naming a space involves a change which occurs because of human choice and action. Space formerly without a recognizable name is provided with one or space receives a new name in place of its former name. This change is a human-controlled genesis which follows and provides a counteraction to the super-human influence provided by oracles, animals and cataclysms. Divine influence provides instigating factors for original voyages so that humans can play their role in *ktiseis/aitia* but in the end, humans and not deities give names to people and places. Humans build shrines and celebrate festivals. If the supernatural events lead to human action, it is incumbent on humans to see these accomplishments celebrated repeatedly and regularly. The polarity inherent in the Schema of the accomplishments attributable to super-human influence and human deeds support structuralist findings on polarities such as between the wild and the

civilized. Dogs may tear apart a helpless child like Linos (Conon 19), setting off a chain of events which lead to a festival and city founding, but once more the power to create will be passed to the humans. Humans will name a month in honor of Linos. They will then slaughter dogs in greater numbers as a matter of remembrance of the original power wielded by one dog. Animals can serve as guides to special places but humans must found the city and name it. Once a territory has a name, it has boundaries and limits: a name applies to a defined amount of space. In this sense is naming analogous to genesis, something comes into being.

Founding/establishing

At this point of the Schema, humans have recognized the instructions provided to them by the gods. If a deity was angry, that anger has subsided due to human recognition of the deity's influence. The disorder or cosmic reversal brought on by the original human fault has been corrected and now deadly circumstances give way to permit creation and birth: a city may be founded, a temple built, or a festival established. The language Conon employs in this section often reflects soothing, appeasing spirits or deities. This moment of human accomplishment is similar to the moment when the divine realm provides instruction to mortals to end disorder.

Recognition and celebration of founders

After mortals overcome the dire challenges which they inadvertently brought upon themselves, and found a city or a religious festival, they are duly honored. If the founders and originators are not specifically recognized, their guiding deities are. The tale of Orpheus (45), perhaps more a demi-god due to his divine parentage, ends with

Orpheus himself being celebrated, not the Thracian and Macedonia women who tore him to pieces and brought about a plague.

The cycles of the Schema, as I stated in the introduction to this chapter, include one item operating in the meta-narrative, and that is the cycle of the scholarly labor that produced *hypomnemata*, remembrance-based literature that includes *ktiseis/aitia*. The production of this type of work is meant to operate in a cycle so as not to be terminal but continuous. Recipients (i.e. readers, later scholars) of *ktiseis/aitia* are encouraged to re-create. The founders within the tales and those who infix them into tales are models in a way. They both encourage renewal within a cycle, aiming always for replication and continuity of their accomplishments. The embarking upon the scholarly voyage, with the required separation into the library, provides an opportunity to create something new, by reflecting on the texts one gathers and gleans from. Each new ordering of characters, settings, and events within the Schema creates something new, similar to the internal *ktisis* being infixed into the text. Today, we cite "so-and-so's" version of the ktisis of Rome and compare that to a different "so-and-so's" version as if each narrator owns that version. We are careful to point out how the versions differ and make suggestions about why they do so. We overlook something simple and that is the ownership of these narratives. For example, I have consistently referred to Conon's version of this or that narrative when in fact they are meant to be circulated and shared, even replicated with variations. Without readership or future consultation and borrowing, no mythographer's work has value. The value of each version of a tale is as great as its transferability. The final value of a narrative's internal celebrity, a *ktistes* for instance, is as great as a collective memory of him: no remembrance no celebration. Hence, mythographers and

ktistai operate in a reciprocal relationship: a scholar needs topics which will ensure circulation of his or her *hypomnemata* and the *ktistai* need the vehicle by which he or she is remembered. Each desires to attract attention and ensure continuity of his or her accomplishments through recall. In the academic world today one counts bibliographical references to one's own work. Soon, electronic "hits" or electronic visits will measure the worth of a scholar's circulation, hence, his or her value.

In highly abbreviated narratives like Conon's these references take the form of "some say . . ." or "they say . . ." and these impersonal references indicate a tradition of transmission. This chapter has explored two realms (the superhuman and human), operating together through the tradition of a *ktisis/aition*. A discussion of the interlocking elements comprising both realms shows how these tales are composed unit by unit into a meaningful whole. The goal appears to have been the continual remembrance of these tales within a narrative framework that celebrates both the *ktiseis/aitia* and the tradition which circulated them. Without researchers such as Conon and Photius employing the Schema, *ktiseis/aitia* lack important transferability and the scholars lack a motivation for performing the task in the first place.

Without narrative embellishment, even important cultural data become lost. Cultural data infixed on stone and represented in architecture as reported by ancients such as Pausanias have not lasted as long as many of the narrative representations we have in mythographical texts. The existence of narrative renditions of *ktiseis/aitia* prove that the mythographers accomplished what inscriptions could not: extremely long lasting reports of foundations and origins. For this reason, I discuss below an additional division inherent in the Schema (that is, an additional polarity besides the super-human realm and

the human realm), one that shows awareness of the tradition itself and those operating within it. In this section there are references to the mythographical, scholarly accomplishments behind the narratives which include the Schema. This takes place often by adopting traditional language reflective of other writers in this tradition. Without this important scholarly activity, we would be left with scant information on many beginnings and origins from this ancient Greek tradition. The mythographers' work makes it possible for readers to embrace this cultural data and internalize a sense of shared belonging in a pan-Hellenic world.

The self-referential aspect which accompanies the use of the Schema reflects the activities or concerns of the generations of recipients of the mythographical *hypomnemata*. Without readers and recipients of their stories, the work of mythographers is for naught since a goal appears to be the sharing and transfer of *ktiseis/aitia* stories. These stories have a public, communal value rather than being intended for individual enjoyment. One scholar consults library holdings, writes up his or her findings and recognizes his sources through simple mention of the names of his sources. Similar to the manner in which themes of the Schema can appear as kernels only, this referencing of previous scholars may be impersonal in Conon, as described above. However, when we read other types of mythographical texts, we see many references to earlier and contemporary writers. Scholiasts provide references to others in their highly condensed notes to texts. Their name-dropping is most similar to the sometimes impersonal scholarly references we see in Conon. Behind this cycle of scholarly references lies tradition. Later scholars share in the responsibility of passing along the cultural data which may or may not be contemporaneously celebrated at courts, public festivals, or in

inscriptions. It may often be the case that the cultural data exists only then in texts, with references to the names of those responsible for passing it along.

Conclusion

Ktiseis/aitia provide for their audiences representations of a society's influential predecessors: originators, founders, and those who continue to retell the stories about them. The stories also echo long-established philosophical investigations into the nature of existence and creation. Hence, originators and founders help to locate the Greek peoples and territories with which their stories are concerned into a larger Greek matrix. At the same time, the *ktiseis/aita*, the actual literary representations, also become situated in a lengthy literary/philosophical tradition which studies and represents how things come into being.

Chapter 4

The Schema in a Selection of Prose Authors

Introduction

Part of the significance of the Schema is its presence in a wide variety of prose texts in addition to Conon's mythographical narratives and Photius' *Lexicon* (Chapter 2). I present below passages of *ktiseis/aitia*, most often with my translations, and all followed by a discussion which illustrates the presence of the component parts of the Schema. In parentheses are the elements of the Schema (as outlined in Chapter 2). This may appear repetitive in places but highlights the fact that these varied prose passages share a template. I also make connections between the passages to reveal how authors treat similar storylines and use similar motifs where applicable. This chapter discusses the Schema in Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, Apollodorus, lexica, and scholia, in order to highlight the varied prose contexts in which the Schema is a visible template.

This chapter suggests several practical uses for the Schema as a common template, visible in many *ktiseis/aitia*. First, the Schema makes names, places and story lines easy to transfer as a package from one text to another. With a useful template as a medium, a researcher/writer could transfer into his or her own texts the stories of people whose names became attached to places as founders and originators. This template is visible in longer narratives of Herodotus and even very short lexical entries; it was apparently *useful* to ancients who performed textual research, and especially in *ktiseis/aitia*.

The second practical benefit of the Schema is providing cohesion among the components of a story so that the narrative elements of *ktiseis/aitia* truly adhere to one

another within the template. Certain details of the story of Lais (cf. below) are surprisingly joined together as a unit, passing through texts together well into the Byzantine period. This chapter highlights how the Schema makes narrative components such as these adhere to one another with surprising tenacity.

Lastly, the Schema is a vehicle by which names can be celebrated continually, through generations and literary genres. The names of founders and originators are celebrated, with the writers seeking to include their own names in the tradition of memory-based prose writing. Ephorus (below) is often cited a source for *ktiseis/aitia*. Source names like Ephorus moved through texts along with the elements of the stories which follow; they became an integral part of the *ktiseis/aitia*. In addition, a writer located his own work within a tradition by citing sources to legitimize the events depicted in the narrative. The writer essentially creates a link between his present work and the work of his predecessor by citing a source name like Ephorus.[109] The tradition of naming a source helps to illustrate my point about the composite nature of the Schema because the names of "sources" can be transferred along with versions of *ktiseis/aitia* as easily as the rest of the changeable parts. When an author names a source, we should not assume that the author consulted the source's actual text, but that the citation of a name serves to lend credibility to the tale which follows.

[109] Cameron discusses mythographical source citations at length in his chapter titled "Bogus Citations" (129-163). " . . . The majority of source citations in *all* the mythographers are, if not bogus, at any rate something less than fully authentic" (159). I take a less negative view of this practice, instead of judging ancient standards as "lax" and assuming that the mythographers ". . . knew no one would check" (159). The citations appear perfectly authentic if one views them as traditional components of memory-based prose writing, intented to lend legitimacy to the narrative and to link the current author's work and interests with the work and interests of the one cited. See below: citing a source and book number was the same as using the generic "they say, or "some say." The goal was to legitimize the narrative and make it meaningful. Indicating either that a respected author wrote about this city founding or that etiological tale, or that the story was at some time in circulation lends validity to the story.

Narratives play a major role in explaining the origins of cities, and narrative traditions interact with a city's physical markers, such as monuments and landmarks (cf. Pausanias below). Landmarks often have related narratives which can explain to a visitor the significance of the landmarks to the people living in the surrounding area. The narratives should be easy to recall if they are to be effective and long lasting. Below, via Pausanias' description of Corinth's landmarks, we encounter the story of Lais; her grave marker triggers a story which then explains her significant role in an etiology. We learn of her central role in the origin of a cult of Aphrodite, and that residents of multiple places claim Lais's story as one significant to their particular territories or cultures. This multiple appropriation of her story leads some writers to debate the validity of one place's claim to her fame over another's. It is the physical grave marker, though, clearly something Pausanias deems important for visitors to be familiar with, which cues the etiological narrative about her in Pausanias' text.

Lais' story is a rather remarkable etiological narrative. She is one of the few women whose lives and deeds are central to the creative event which is the outcome of the *aition*. It is fair to say that men's lives and deeds are typically the central focus of *ktiseis/aitia* with women playing a "supporting role." At the very least, this is true for the many *ktiseis/aitia* researched for this dissertation. The name Lais became inextricably linked to the word describing the weapon that killed her (below). A lexical entry for the noun depicting the weapon, defines the noun by *providing the narrative* about Lais, with the Schema in place. The examples below which include Lais suggest how the Schema results in remarkable cohesion among the components: her story is attached to a significant funerary monument and her names lives on via prose narrative.

Several examples in this chapter are variations of the same overall *ktisis* from the texts of different authors. Differing versions of these *ktiseis* illustrate the composite nature of a foundation legend told with the Schema as a template: the components are like removable, changeable parts which create a meaningful story when the parts work together properly. An author can create his own version by selecting the parts which are expedient and fit appropriately into a particular text.

When Stephanus of Byzantium (below) cites Uranius, we readily grant that Stephanus will select only the parts of Uranius' eighth book which serve Stephanus' literary aims: filling out lexical entries. Cameron's research leads him to believe that "sources" were rarely consulted. I choose to accept the names as legitimate components of the story without evaluating their authenticity in accordance with modern standards. I suggest that the Schema allows for the names of sources to be attached to versions of *ktiseis/aitia* and be transferred in that way. That is, the names become part of the package and the packages pass along through texts, and genres, and centuries. Cameron's treatment of (Pseudo-) Plutarch suggests that Ps-Plutarch's mythographical source citations are highly suspect and that "many readers not only did not question them but apparently looked on them as a key part of his stories" (133).[110] My findings below indicate just that: naming a source was a key part of the story and we should first regard these citations as customary, and then possibly evaluate their "authenticity."

The innumerable passages which begin with "they say," or "some say," indicate a verbal predilection for an introductory clarification that another person, somehow and

[110] Cameron: "It is not just that contemporary readers lacked the libraries or reference works to verify such citations. It scarcely occurred to them to do so. But verifying footnotes is second nature to the modern academic . . ." (127).

somewhere, has reported this knowledge. Clearly, if one cannot or chooses not to cite a source, one need only use the generic option "they say," or "some say." Again, the presence of this clarification, even in brief lexical entries, begs for an investigation into this practice; it appears to be an integral part of the story which follows. Clarifying that "they say," indicates that the story is in circulation; it is repeated; it matters. In a somewhat romantic sense, one could think of this as a reminder that the journey which is described in the story has been related before. This *odos* which leads to a creative act at the end is a familiar one. A story that is of no significance or import is one not worthy of repeating. Stories of founders and beginnings are prefaced with "they say" because they are both of great cultural significance and they are narratives designed to circulate. Regarding mythographical citations then, I suggest that one not employ derogatory terms such as "forgery" and "bogus" to the citations of names but instead that we simply view a source name as an early component of the narrative which the remaining components, such as Orientation, Departure from homeland, Oracle, etc. will follow. The more generic "they say/some say" introduction is the method we see in the digests of Conon; there are no sources cited in his digests. Since source names are present before the narratives of Antonius Liberalis and other mythographers, I find Conon's preference for not providing names evidence that either practice was acceptable. The common denominator which I find highly interesting is the consistent clarification that a *ktisis/aiton was* in circulation, it *did* have words devoted to it. It was, therefore, "worthy of a story," as Diodorus Siculus uses the term repeatedly (Chapter 1 and below).

I suspect that the academic aspect of the Classical tradition, ancient and modern, revolves largely around a sort of information transfer, which traditionally calls for a

recognition of appropriate sources for confirmation and validation. Sources legitimize one's work and help to connect any given scholar to the Classical tradition by aligning his or her work and interests with past and contemporary scholars' work and interests. Citing a source in the opening of a mythographical tale is the equivalent of recognizing that the author cited wrote about *kitiseis/aitia*; it was *the type of* material associated with that source author.

It is from this circulation of information that ancients had their store of source names and text references to attach to various prose narratives. We should not view this use of names as plagiarism but as the accepted practice: names are important markers of authority and one wishes to attach names to one's versions of narratives in order to legitimize them. Attaching validating source names lends a certain legitimacy to the passage's content, and that content may be the very important explanation of a city founding, or the origin of some festival. Also, a name cited in one's text creates a relationship between the writer cited and the one re-writing the *ktisis/aition*.

This chapter also includes examples of narratives which suggest ancient authorial interest in matters related to *ktiseis/aitia*, but the entire Schema is not visible. Since the transfer of information via the Schema allows for a selection of the parts which interest an author, included below are examples in which a source name becomes attached to a narrative for which the Schema is only partially represented.

The name Ephorus became part of the package of information, easy to borrow and insert elsewhere, for a researcher interested in *ktiseis*/*aitia,* or at least in a passage where material relating to *ktiseis/aitia* is appropriate. Ephorus is cited often as the source of a

city's name or a people's name. Clearly, it was expedient for an ancient who was writing a passage about a city founding, to attach to that passage in his own work, the name Ephorus, and a book number in order to both validate his contemporary work and to show a connection with the sort of philological interest for which Ephorus was and is known. If an actual book of Ephorus had not been consulted as cited, the text in question existed as a package, easy to recall, rewrite, assume authorship of, or cite as the version of Ephorus or of someone else. I do not believe that ancients simply fabricated source names and text locations, but that the accepted information packages of *ktiseis/aitia* often included the names of those best known for writing *that sort* of history and that these passages circulated in compendia and digests.[111]

The discovery of the Schema in lexica and scholia is one of the most surprising finds of my research. I suggest that lexical writing is remembrance-based and reflects the same sort of research motivation which drives *ktiseis/aitia* and the prose texts of which they are a part. The determined effort required to collect and order material for retention and later consultation, which resulted in Stephanus' lexicon or that of Photius, reflects a keen interest in the same sort of cultural material for which Ephorus is said to have been well-known and highly regarded. Stephanus appears very interested in the names of cities and peoples, and in how those names came to be. His entries reflect the important people whose names are worth remembering and whose stories are attached to places. In addition, his methodology includes the naming of sources whose works I suggest he did

[111] In fact, I believe that there were far more of these "mythographic companions" than Cameron suggests. His discussion leads me to believe ever more in the existence of narrative "packages" outside of "original" texts. These packages likely existed in what Cameron calls "Cliffs Notes to the Classics" (viii and Ch. VII) and I add, "ancient Oxford Classical Dictionaries, lexica, etc." to add to the picture of the tools of the trade available to mythographers.

not consult directly. Instead, he likely consulted the repertoire of compendia and digests which Cameron discusses. Scholia serve a similar purpose: they explain places and people whose stories are worth recalling. As explained in Chapter 3, founders and originators are people of just that sort, those who stand above their peers in one regard especially: their names and deeds are worthy of celebration long after their deaths, especially in texts which continue to celebrate them.

Chapter 1 treats the definition of the word *hypomnema* and possible expansions of its meaning to include "narratives produced through scholarly research" or "literary research materials" so that a definition will exist reflecting something less formal than LSJ's current "dissertations or treatises" but more specific than LSJ's "explanatory notes; commentaries." I believe that the compendia and digests I discuss in the paragraph above match my definition of *hypomnemata*. In this chapter, I present examples of what I believe the ancient writer Diodorus Siculus considered μνήμης ἄξιον: worthy of recall (D. S. 2.22.1) and this sort of prose I consider *hypomnema.* Since even lexica are designed to capture the names of important people and important places so that later generations of scholars are able to remember them, lexica are also *hypomnemata*. In this way, the definition of the word referring to prose narratives relates intimately to the definition of *hypomnemata* which refers to physical objects: monuments, landmarks, and tombs.

The mythographers and historians continue to keep alive the work and reputations of the authors who came before them, through citing names and works. This practice may indicate an additional intention behind the naming of sources in *ktiseis/aitia* besides lending legitimacy to the details of the narrative: naming names celebrates the writers

whose work in turn celebrates the founders and originators. Both are important; both are worthy of memorialization.

Our electronic databases allow us to search for pieces of a hypothesized whole, either alone or in combination with other components of that whole structure. For instance, one can search for the piece of the Schema which I call *phasma*, and then investigate whether or not that piece appears in enough meaningful combinations with other components, such as *loimos* (plague) or an oracle, that a researcher can determine whether or not a meaningful narrative structure was in place or not. When composed together in the Schema, these keywords do form a meaningful whole: a narrative about origins and beginnings. The findings of this chapter suggest that the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (TLG) may be a very useful tool in investigating our repository of Classical texts for the Schema, or other narrative structures and knowledge systems beyond the scope of this dissertation. This research may provide valuable insight into the operations behind the Classical tradition across so many centuries. One may look broadly across texts and centuries to see how a theme such as city foundings is treated and if doing so may suggest challenging and beneficial approaches to looking at other texts in the TLG.

Ephorus

From the fragments of Stephanus of Byzantium alone we have solid evidence that Ephorus' name was cited very often when there was interest in the name of a city or place, or interest in some explanation of how something came into being, like a temple or a landmark, or even interest in the story of some memorable person. Ephorus' narratives appear to have been considered a valuable repository of information for the names of

cities, territories and peoples, and colonization attempts. In fact, the ancient testimonia speak directly to his value on these matters and it is this subject matter which I believe is the hallmark trait that makes his history "universal." What makes Ephorus a writer of *ta katholou* is his predilection for stories of names, origins, and peoples and weaving these together so these places and peoples form connections with one another.[112] Furthermore, I believe that "the common deeds of the Greeks" which he allegedly treated, were woven into narratives which used the Schema since he is said to have been interested in city foundations, genealogies, dynasties, etc.[113] I believe this, first, because in several fragments the Schema is indeed intact and visible. Also, the constant citing of his name in connection with information about city names suggests that many stories circulated with the name Ephorus attached to them, whether or not he treated them specifically in his "original." Ephorus was one whose narratives (like Pausaniaus' descriptions below) fostered a sense of Greek unity, in one way, through the use of the Schema, a familiar storyline which could be used to explain any number of Greek cities, rituals, expressions, etc. I suggest that this aspect of Ephorus is what Jacoby calls *politischen geographie* (25) and says that Ephorus was known for history that seamlessly blended the mythical and historical; that was the *hauptsache*.

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112 Polybius 5. 33, 2: Ἔφορον τὸν πρῶτον καὶ μόνον ἐπιβεβλημένον τὰ καθόλου γράφειν.

113 Diodorus Siculus 4, 1, 3: Ἔφορος μὲν γὰρ ὁ Κυμαῖος, Ἰσοκράτους ὢν μαθητής, ὑποστησάμενος γράφειν τὰς κοινὰς πράξεις . . .

Strabo 10, 3, 5: Πολύβιος (XXXIV 1, 3) ... φήσας περὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν καλῶς μὲν Εὔδοξον (V), κάλλιστα δ' Ἔφορον ἐξηγεῖσθαι περὶ κτίσεων, συγγενειῶν, μεταναστάσεων, ἀρχηγετῶν.

Polybius. 9, 1, 4: τὸν μὲν γὰρ φιλήκοον ὁ γενεαλογικὸς τρόπος ἐπισπᾶται, τὸν δὲ πολυπράγμονα καὶ περιττὸν ὁ περὶ τὰς ἀποικίας καὶ κτίσεις καὶ συγγενείας, καθά

που καὶ παρ' Ἐφόρωι λέγεται, τὸν δὲ πολιτικὸν ὁ περὶ τὰς πράξεις τῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ πόλεων καὶ δυναστῶν.

die hauptsache ist, soweit wir sehen, . . . der stoffliche gedanke einer einheitlichen ‘historischen’ universalgeschichte, die an die ‘mythische’ der genealogie unmittelbar anschliest und gleichberechtigt neben sie tritt (23).

The emphasis, so far as we see it, is the substantive concept of a homogenous, historical, universal history which links directly to the “mythical element” of genealogy and appears equally along side it.

The *hauptsache* of Ephorus’ universal history, its *emphasis*, or *high purpose* is to write narratives which unifiy Greek people and make connections among them through narratives which tell about their names, how people arrived in certain places as colonists, and hence how people and places are related. I suggest that these stories were anchored in a familiar template, the Schema. Jacoby continues:

> Den inhalt der Ἱστορίαι, als der ersten wirklichen universalgeschichte . . . bildete die gesamte innere und aüssere geschichte des griechischen volkes im muterlande und den kolonien; dazu die der barbaren im osten und westen soweit sie mit den Griechen in berührung kamen, um ihrer selbst willen sind die barbarenvölker nicht behandelt; denn die geographischen und naturwissenschaftlichen interessen der Ionier fehlen E ebenso vollständig wie das verständinis für die naturhafte bedingtheit der menschen (25).

> *The collected inner and exterior story of the Greek people, in the motherland and in the colonies, formed the content of the Histories, as the first actual universal history; as well as the story of the Barbarians in the east and west, but only to the extent that they came into contact with the Greeks. The Barbarian peoples are largely not treated, in order to keep its sense of self (i.e. the Historiai); if the geographical and natural historical interests of the Ionians were lacking in Ephorus, just as complete was his appreciation for the natural interconnectedness of mankind.*

Jacoby’s determination of Ephorus’ *verständinis für die naturhafte bedingtheit der menschen* is significant throughout out this chapter. Ephorus appears interested in *bedingtheit*, defined as a *Relitivität*, or *Abhangigheit*: a relating to, or dependence on. Greek peoples and places are in a sense, relative to, and dependent on one another.

Ephorus' Greek universality occurs through the telling of stories about *geschichte des griechischen volkes im muterlande und den kolonien*: these stories unite people by connecting colonies to motherlands, and this is the *naturhafte bedingtheit der menschen* which Jacoby determines underlies Ephorus' prose narratives.

The six entries immediately below suggest that the name Ephorus was commonly cited as a source for narratives treating peoples' names or the business of how this or that people arrived in this or that location. Since Stephanus and Harpocration compiled lexical entries, they were not interested in relating narratives in full detail. However, the entries below suggest that there was a more detailed narrative available for many of Stephanus' entries or Harpocration's, which we see only partially represented in these lexica. For instance, here we see that Ephorus is connected with a story about Kebrena, a city of the Troad.

Harpocration. s. Κεβρῆνα ... πόλις ἐστὶ τῆς Τρωάδος Κεβρήν,
Κυμαίων ἀποικία, ὥς φησιν Ἔφορος ἐν α.

Kebrena: there is a city of the Troad called Kebren, a colony of the Cumae, so says Ephorus in his first book.

Harpocration's entry indicates that Ephorus is associated with this story (ὥς φησιν Ἔφορος ἐν α) as a source. Harpocration selected only the barest details for his lexicon, but we can assume that elsewhere, in a text of Ephorus or another writer who treated such matters, a fuller narrative existed telling the story of how this colony of Cumae (Κυμαίων ἀποικία) came into being.

The next lexical entry treats the Apatouria, a festival or holiday. Again, Ephorus is associated with the explanation of this holiday and specifically, how it received its name. With very minimal details, the entry provides elements of the Schema (B: Death and battle, and E: Creation/Naming of a festival).

Harpocration. s. Ἀπατούρια· ... ἑορτή ἐστι παρ᾽ Ἀθηναίοις,
ἣν ἄγουσι Πυανεψιῶνι ἐφ᾽ ἡμέρας δ, ὥς φασιν οἱ τὰ Περὶ ἑορτῶν γράψαντες (IV).
πόθεν δ᾽ ἐκλήθη ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ εἰρήκασι καὶ Ἔφορος ἐν β, ὡς διὰ τὴν
ὑπὲρ τῶν ὁρίων ἀπάτην γενομένην, ὅτι Ἀθηναίων πολεμούντων πρὸς Βοιω-
τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς Μελανίας χώρας Μέλανθος ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων βασιλεὺς Ξάνθον (5)
τὸν Θηβαίων μονομαχῶν ἀπατήσας ἀπέκτεινεν.

Apatouria: there is a festival among the Athenians which they observe for four days in the month of Puanopsion, so say those who write works about festivals. Ephorus, in his second book, and many others have said that it was so named because of a deception that occurred regarding boundaries, that when the Athenians were at war against the Boeotians over the land of Melania, Melanthus, the Basileus of the Athenians, deceived and killed Xanthus, leader of the Thebans, in a one-on-one combat.

A short entry in Stephanus's lexicon includes the Schema's elements of Naming a source, A: Orientation/Genealogical information and E: Founding and Naming:

Stephanus s. Ἀθῆναι ... ς Εὐβοίας, Δίαντος κτίσμα,
ὡς Ἔφορος γ· «Ἄβαντος δὲ γίγνονται παῖδες Ἄλκων καὶ
Δίας καὶ Ἀρέθουσα, ὧν ὁ μὲν Δίας κτίσας πόλιν οὕτως
ἀπὸ τῆς πατρίδος ὠνόμασεν.» ὁ πολίτης Ἀθηναῖος καὶ Ἀθηναι-
κός. <ταύ>τας δ᾽ Ἀθήνας καὶ Διάδας λέγεσθαι.

Athens (6) of Euboea, a settlement of Dias, so says Ephorus in his third book, "The children of Abas were Alcon, Dias and Arethousa, of whom, Dias, after founding a city, thus named it after his fatherland." A citizen is called Athenaios and Athenaikos. This city is called both Athens and Dias.

The entries of Stephanus below indicate that Ephorus was considered a source for matters of names, places and information on who settled where. These entries also suggest that *it was a practice* to cite Ephorus' name *in association with* such information.

Stephanus s. Λάμψος· μοῖρα τῆς Κλαζομενίων χώρας, ἀπὸ Λάμψου παιδὸς † Κυδρίδου, ὡς Ἔφορος γ.

——s. Σκυφία· πολίχνιον Κλαζομενίων, ὡς Ἔφορος ἐν γ· «ἐν Σκυφίαι κατώικει».

Lampsos: a part of Clazomenian territory, named after Lampsus son of Kudridus, so says Ephorus in his third book.

Skuphia: A small town in Clazomene, so says Ephorus in his third book, "In Skyphia he settled."

Stephanus s. Ἄβαρνος· πόλις καὶ χώρα <καὶ> ἄκρα τῆς Παριανῆς ... Ἑκαταῖος (1 F 220) ... Λαμψάκου ἄκρην εἶναί φησιν. Ἔφορος δ' ἐν τῆι ε λέγει κληθῆναι αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Φωκ<α>ίδι Ἀβαρνίδος ὑπὸ Φωκ<α>έων τὴν Λάμψακον κτιζόντων.

Abarnos: a city and territory and summit of Pariane . . . Hecataeus says that it is the summit of Lampsacus. Ephorus says in his fifth book that it was named after Abarnis in Phocis by the Phocians who were settling Lampsacus.

Stephanus s. Ἁλιεῖς· πόλις Ἀργολικῆς παραθαλασσία. ... Ἔφορος ἐν τῶι ς ὅτι οὗτοι Τιρύνθιοί εἰσι, καὶ ἐξαναστάντες ἐβουλεύοντο οἰκεῖν τινα τόπον καὶ ἠρώτων τὸν θεόν. ἔχρησε δὲ οὕτω· '† ποῖ τυ λαβὼν καὶ ποῖ τυ καθίξω καὶ ποῖ τυ οἴκησιν ἔχων ἁλιέα τε κεκλῆσθαι.' ἐλέγοντο δ' οὕτως διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς τῶν Ἑρμιονέων ἁλιευομένους κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος (5) οἰκεῖν τῆς χώρας.

Halieis: An Argive city near the sea. Ephorus, in the sixth book, says that these people are Tirunthioi, and having emigrated, they resolved to inhabit some land. They questioned the god and he responded with an oracle in this way: [. . .] And they are so-called because of the fact that a great number of Hermionians are fishermen who inhabit this part of the land.

Ephorus' narraratives were apparently rich sources for information about origins, city foundings, unusual features of places, etc. Even these skeletal remains of stories gleaned from Ephorus include an *odos*, a journey which resulted in the creative act of a new polis: someone leaves from somewhere and begets a new polis. I suggest that these stories of journeys which result in the creation of something new foster a sense of

community among the peoples and territories represented in the narratives. This is the "interconnectedness" or "relativity" among Greek peoples which Jacoby terms *bedingtheit*. When narrative tropes and storylines are so very similar, as they are when the Schema is employed, the narratives must have struck a familiar tone for the people whose cultures were celebrated via the narratives. Their stories are shared and connect with one another. The stories representing the creative acts of Greek festivals, Greek territories, and the names of Greek cities are important links in providing interconnectedness among Greek peoples. Even the very brief fragments of Ephorus above indicate that writers linked his name to this sort of narrative material. How places received their names and when they were settled is information for which Ephorus appears well-known.

Herodotus

Whereas Conon's *ktiseis/aitia* typically report a single founding or *aition*, *ktiseis/aitia* are woven into Herodotus' overall narrative and become part of long passages which may include the stories of several founders and city foundations. Mythographers select individual stories where Herodotus aims for comprehensive treatment. The Schema provides the structure for the passage below (the story is treated at 5.42-48 [I omit parts]) which centers on the brothers Cleomenes and Dorieus and the "spin-off" stories which are connected to these brothers and their activities. Herodotus can provide far more detailed versions of the Schema's components such as C: Oracle, Travel by sea, and D: Conflict between arrivals and locals.

(5.42.1-43):

Ὁ μὲν δὴ Κλεομένης, ὡς λέγεται, ἦν τε οὐ φρενήρης
ἀκρομανής τε, ὁ δὲ Δωριεὺς ἦν τῶν ἡλίκων πάντων πρῶ-
τος, εὖ τε ἠπίστατο κατ᾽ ἀνδραγαθίην αὐτὸς σχήσων τὴν
βασιληίην. Ὥστε ὢν οὕτω φρονέων, ἐπειδὴ ὅ τε Ἀναξαν-
δρίδης ἀπέθανε καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι χρεώμενοι τῷ νόμῳ (5)
ἐστήσαντο βασιλέα τὸν πρεσβύτατον Κλεομένεα, ὁ Δωριεὺς
δεινόν τε ποιεύμενος καὶ οὐκ ἀξιῶν ὑπὸ Κλεομένεος βασι-
λεύεσθαι, αἰτήσας λεὼν Σπαρτιήτας ἦγε ἐς ἀποικίην, οὔτε
τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖσι χρηστηρίῳ χρησάμενος ἐς ἥντινα γῆν
κτίσων ἴῃ, οὔτε ποιήσας οὐδὲν τῶν νομιζομένων· οἷα δὲ (10)
βαρέως φέρων, ἀπίει ἐς τὴν Λιβύην τὰ πλοῖα· κατηγέοντο
δέ οἱ ἄνδρες Θηραῖοι. Ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς τὴν Κίνυπα οἴκισε
χῶρον κάλλιστον τῶν Λιβύων παρὰ ποταμόν. Ἐξελασθεὶς
δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν τῷ τρίτῳ ἔτεϊ ὑπὸ Μακέων τε [καὶ] Λιβύων
(43) καὶ Καρχηδονίων ἀπίκετο ἐς Πελοπόννησον. Ἐνθαῦτα δέ
οἱ Ἀντιχάρης ἀνὴρ Ἐλεώνιος συνεβούλευσε ἐκ τῶν Λαΐου
χρησμῶν «Ἡρακλείην γῆν ἐν Σικελίῃ» κτίζειν, φὰς τὴν
Ἔρυκος χώρην πᾶσαν εἶναι Ἡρακλειδέων, αὐτοῦ Ἡρακλέος
κτησαμένου. Ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἐς Δελφοὺς οἴχετο (5)
χρησόμενος τῷ χρηστηρίῳ, εἰ αἱρέει ἐπ᾽ ἣν στέλλεται
χώρην· ἡ δὲ Πυθίη οἱ χρᾷ αἱρήσειν. Παραλαβὼν δὲ Δωριεὺς
τὸν στόλον τὸν καὶ ἐς Λιβύην ἦγε ἐκομίζετο παρὰ τὴν
Ἰταλίην.

Cleomenes, so it is said, was not of sound mind and was nearly mad, but Dorieus was foremost of his comrades and he was believed to be suited for kingship because of his

manly virtue. Thinking it would be so, Dorieus took it badly when, after Anaxandrides died, the Lacedaemonians maintained a custom and established the elder one, Cleomenes, as king. Dorieus did not think it right that he be ruled by Cleomenes and so after requesting a part of the Spartan population, he led them away to found a colony. He did not seek Delphic advice regarding what land he might go to for settling a colony and he did not take part in customary rituals. In a bad state of mind, then, he sent a fleet out to sail for Libya. Theraean men were the leaders. After arriving in Cinyps, he settled in a very beautiful territory of the Libyans near a river. Driven out from there in the third year by Macians, Libyans, and Carthaginians, he returned to the Peloponnese. There an Eleonian man named Antichares provided counsel from the oracle of Laius to settle "the Heraclean land in Sicily." He said that the territory of Eryx belonged entirely to the descendants of Heracles since Heracles himself settled it. After hearing these things, Dorieus went to Delphi to ask the oracle if he would take the place if he were to sail there. The Pythia replied that he would take it. After preparing a fleet, he guided it to Libya and set sail for Italy.

(5.45.2-11):

Συβαρῖται μὲν τέμενός τε καὶ νηὸν ἑόντα

παρὰ τὸν ξηρὸν Κρᾶθιν, τὸν ἱδρύσασθαι συνελόντα τὴν

πόλιν Δωριέα λέγουσι Ἀθηναίῃ ἐπωνύμῳ Κραθίῃ, τοῦτο δὲ

αὐτοῦ Δωριέος τὸν θάνατον μαρτύριον μέγιστον ποιεῦνται, (5)

ὅτι παρὰ τὰ μεμαντευμένα ποιέων διεφθάρη· εἰ γὰρ δὴ μὴ

παρέπρηξε μηδέν, ἐπ᾽ ὃ δὲ ἐστάλη ἐποίεε, εἷλε ἂν τὴν

Ἐρυκίνην χώρην καὶ ἐλὼν κατέσχε, οὐδ᾽ ἂν αὐτός τε καὶ ἡ

στρατιὴ διεφθάρη.

The Sybarites say that after Dorieus had taken the city, he founded a precinct and temple near the dry bed of the Crathis and dedicated the temple to Athena Crathis. They provide the death of Dorieus as the surest proof that he died due to his failure to consult the oracles: for if he had done nothing besides that for which he had made the expedition, he would have taken the Erycian land and once he took it he would have held it, nor would he and his army have perished.

(5.46.1-7):

Συνέπλεον δὲ Δωριέϊ καὶ ἄλλοι συγκτίσται Σπαρτιητέων,

Θεσσαλὸς καὶ Παραιβάτης καὶ Κελέης καὶ Εὐρυλέων, οἳ
ἐπείτε ἀπίκοντο παντὶ στόλῳ ἐς τὴν Σικελίην, ἀπέθανον
μάχῃ ἐσσωθέντες ὑπό τε Φοινίκων καὶ Ἐγεσταίων· μοῦνος
δὲ Εὐρυλέων τῶν συγκτιστέων περιεγένετο τούτου τοῦ (5)
πάθεος.

Other fellow colonizers from the Spartans had set sail with Dorieus: Thessalos, Paraibates, Celeas, and Euryleon. They died when beaten in battle by the Phoenicians and Egesteans since they went along on the overall mission to Sicily. Only Euryleon of the fellow colonizers survived this tragic end.

(5.47.1-11):

Συνέσπετο δὲ Δωριέϊ καὶ συναπέθανε
Φίλιππος ὁ Βουτακίδεω Κροτωνιήτης ἀνήρ, ὃς ἀρμοσάμε-
νος Τήλυος τοῦ Συβαρίτεω θυγατέρα ἔφυγε ἐκ Κρότωνος,
ψευσθεὶς δὲ τοῦ γάμου οἴχετο πλέων ἐς Κυρήνην . . .
Διὰ δὲ τὸ ἐωυτοῦ κάλλος ἡνεί-
κατο παρὰ Ἐγεσταίων τὰ οὐδεὶς ἄλλος· ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ τάφου
αὐτοῦ ἠρώιον ἱδρυσάμενοι θυσίῃσι αὐτὸν ἱλάσκονται.

Philippos, son of Boutacides the Crotoniate, accompanied Dorieus and died with him. After being betrothed to the daughter of Telys the Sybarite, he was exiled from Croton and having been untrue to the marriage, he departed, sailing to Cyrene . . . Because of his handsome appearance he was honored among the Egesteans like no other: for after establishing a heroon upon his tomb they now sacrifice to him.

For this story of oikists, the narrative is very long compared to *ktiseis* in Conon and others in this chapter. Herodotus provides a lengthy narrative to describe the signficance of Dorieus, Cleomenes, and their comrades, whereas in comparison, Conon can provide only skeletal details as a compiler.

In a traditional storyline, the death of a father, the king, causes Cleomenes, the elder brother, to become ruler, while Dorieus must emigrate to another land (B: Event in family context/one sibling departs). Herodotus specifies that Dorieus takes companions in order to found a colony (C: Exile/Accompanying comrades). However, Dorieus fails to consult the oracle at Delphi and does not take part in customary rituals before leaving on a colonizing mission. Herodotus treats the Schema's element C: Travel by sea in detail: Dorieus sails back to the Peloponnese, receives oracular advice, sets sail for Libya again to retrieve his original comrades, some of whom remained in Libya.

Herodotus presents the martial aspect of colonization, often ignored in Conon's digests or alluded to only in passing. Dorieus becomes involved in war between Sybaris and Croton (D: Conflict with locals) and both of these parties have their own versions of the outcome and Dorieus' role in the war (5.44-45). In this story of military expeditions and the various reports that the warring sides offer after the fact, there is a brief episode with Callias (section 44), "a soothsayer of the race of the Iamidae."[114] He is described as checking sacrifical victims, observing the results, and deserting to join the ranks of the Crotoniates. It appears that a lengthier treatment of Callias circulated elsewhere; Herodotus does specify that the Crotoniates offered up the story of this seer. The overall story of Cleomenes and Dorieus is told in such a way that other important, but lesser characters and their stories can be woven into the larger tapestry. The martial enterprises, though, play a much more prominent role in this long passage than military endeavors do in other, shorter *ktiseis/aitia*, where they may be only hinted at.

The overall story of Dorieus ends with a final comment on the deaths of both

[114] I omit this section.

brothers which brings their story to a close (5.48). Herodotus' sources report that Dorieus would not have perished in his mission if he had pursued his original plan of the colonization of Eryx for which he received oracular sanction. He was thwarted in his attempt to become an oikist due to failure to heed the oracular aspect of colonization.

Herodotus' narrative then shifts to two comrades on Dorieus' mission who become oikists, despite their original leader's failure. The traditional sea voyage is mentioned (C: Travel by sea), as well as a battle with locals (D: Conflict with locals), and then Euryleon takes control of the Selinusian colony (5.46). Philip, son of Butacidas, who dies with Dorieus, had become an oikist of sorts himself. He had been egaged to a local woman (5.47) while on his expeditions and becomes celebrated with a hero shrine and honorary sacrifices which continue until Herodotus' time (F: Heroization of oikist). In this way, founders and other people "worthy of a story" are connected and the places which they visit are also connected, and related. This recalls Jacoby's comment above on Ephorus' *Historiai*, specifically the "interconnectedness of peoples" (*bedingtheit der menschen*).[115]

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115 In another passage (1.65-66), Lycurgus becomes a founder, not of a city, but of an important aspect of a city: its laws and government. At the conclusion of his story, Lycurgus is celebrated post-humously, as a *ktistes* often is (Heroization of founder: τῷ δὲ Λυκούργῳ τελευτήσαντι ἰρὸν εἰσάμενοι σέβονται μεγάλως). Instead of providing genealogical information in the manner of Conon's narratives (Orientation), the early description of Lycurgus centers on his grand reputation: Λυκούργου τῶν Σπαρτιητέων δοκίμου ἀνδρὸς. Instead of endowing Lycurgus with a lofty pedigree, Herodotus calls simply calls him δοκίμου. Herodotus further emphasizes Lycurgus' reputation through the response of the Pythian priestess (ἡ Πυθίη) who addresses him by name twice: ὦ Λυκόοργε (13, 16). Herodotus reports the actual address of the Pythia to Lycurgus, whereas this never occurs in Conon (cf. Chapter 3). Herodotus cites Lycurgus's role as founder of laws and institutions (Founding: μετέστησε τὰ νόμιμα; ἐφόρους καὶ γέροντας ἔστησε Λυκοῦργος).

Comparable to the earlier selection on Dorieus and Clemomenes, Herodotus can offer more details of this component of the Schema than Conon does in his digests. This is a much fuller version of a founder's visit to an oracle than we ever see in Conon.

Apollodorus

(1.84):

Ἀθάμας δὲ ὕστερον διὰ μῆνιν Ἥρας καὶ τῶν ἐξ
Ἰνοῦς ἐστερήθη παίδων· αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ μανεὶς ἐτό-
ξευσε Λέαρχον, Ἰνὼ δὲ Μελικέρτην μεθ' ἑαυτῆς εἰς
πέλαγος ἔρριψεν. ἐκπεσὼν δὲ τῆς Βοιωτίας ἐπυνθά-
νετο τοῦ θεοῦ ποῦ κατοικήσει· χρησθέντος δὲ αὐτῷ (5)
κατοικεῖν ἐν ᾧπερ ἂν τόπῳ ὑπὸ ζώων ἀγρίων ξενισθῇ,
πολλὴν χώραν διελθὼν ἐνέτυχε λύκοις προβάτων μοί-
ρας νεμομένοις· οἱ δέ, θεωρήσαντες αὐτόν, ἃ διῃροῦντο
ἀπολιπόντες ἔφυγον. Ἀθάμας δὲ κτίσας τὴν χώραν
Ἀθαμαντίαν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ προσηγόρευσε, καὶ γήμας Θε- (10)
μιστὼ τὴν Ὑψέως ἐγέννησε Λεύκωνα Ἐρύθριον Σχοι-
νέα Πτῶον.

Later, Athamas was deprived of his children from Ino because of the anger of Hera. In a state of madness, he killed Learchus with an arrow and Ino flung Melicertes with herself into the sea. Banished from Boeotia, he inquired of the god where to settle. The oracle responded to him to settle in the place where he is hosted by wild animals. Crossing much territory, he happened upon wolves devouring portions of sheep. The wolves fled after seeing him, leaving behind what they were devouring. After settling in the land, he called it Athamantia after himself, and after marrying Themisto daughter of Hypseus, he produced Leucon, Erythrion, Schoeneus and Ptoos.

Apollodorus tells the story of Athamas at greater length and with slightly different

details than the scholiast to Plato reports in the example below (see Scholia section below, 167). Athamas shoots Learchus with an arrow, and Ino hurls herself and Melicertes into the sea (B: Event/Death). Athamas is banished (C: Exile), and while in exile, he inquires from the god where he may settle. Unlike the scholiast, Apollodorus does not specify ὁ Πύθιος as the deity, but simply states the action taken by Athamas and uses the non-specific noun for the deity. The god gives a similar response to Athamas as in the scholion; Athamas settles the place and names it after himself (E: Founding/Naming).

(3.21):

Τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τῶν τῆς Εὐρώπης ἀπογόνων μέχρι
τοῦδέ μοι λελέχθω· Κάδμος δὲ ἀποθανοῦσαν θάψας
Τηλέφασσαν, ὑπὸ Θρᾳκῶν ξενισθείς, ἦλθεν εἰς Δελφοὺς
περὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης πυνθανόμενος. ὁ δὲ θεὸς εἶπε περὶ
μὲν Εὐρώπης μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖν, χρῆσθαι δὲ καθοδηγῷ (5)
βοΐ, καὶ πόλιν κτίζειν ἔνθα ἂν αὐτη πέσῃ καμοῦσα.
(22.) τοιοῦτον λαβὼν χρησμὸν διὰ Φωκέων ἐπορεύετο, εἶτα
βοῒ συντυχὼν ἐν τοῖς Πελάγοντος βουκολίοις ταύτῃ
κατόπισθεν εἵπετο. ἡ δὲ διεξιοῦσα Βοιωτίαν ἐκλίθη,
† πόλις ἔνθα νῦν εἰσι Θῆβαι. βουλόμενος δὲ Ἀθηνᾷ
καταθῦσαι τὴν βοῦν, πέμπει τινὰς τῶν μεθ’ ἑαυτοῦ (5)
ληψομένους ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀρείας κρήνης ὕδωρ·

The events concerning the descendants of Europa up until now have been related by me: Cadmus buried Telephassus after she died and was hosted by the Thracians. He went to Delphi to learn about Europa. The god replied that he ought not busy himself about Europa. Instead, the god advised that he take a cow as a guide, and to found a city where the cow should fall after becoming weary. After receiving this oracle, he passed through

Phocis. Then coming upon a cow among the herds of Pelago, he followed behind it. After crossing Boeotia, the cow reclined on the ground; the city Thebes is there now. Wishing to sacrifice the cow to Athena, he sent some of the comrades with him to fetch water from the spring of Ares.

Perhaps one of the most celebrated foundation legends that includes an animal guide is the founding of Thebes by Cadmus. A death begins this passage, stated by Cadmus burying Telephassas (B: Event/death). There is a specified trip to Delphi (C: Oracle); Cadmus appears to seek advice on the missing Europa. The god informs him to take a cow as a guide and to found a city where the cow becomes weary and falls (D: Animal as guide). In Boeotia the cow falls and there now stands the city Thebes (E: Founding). The Naming of a place (Schema D) occurs via a pun on *bous* (cow).

(3.138.) Ἠλέκτρας δὲ τῆς Ἄτλαντος καὶ Διὸς Ἰασίων καὶ
Δάρδανος ἐγένοντο. Ἰασίων μὲν οὖν ἐρασθεὶς Δήμη-
τρος καὶ θέλων καταισχῦναι τὴν θεὸν κεραυνοῦται,
Δάρδανος δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ θανάτῳ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ λυπούμενος,
Σαμοθρᾴκην ἀπολιπὼν εἰς τὴν ἀντίπερα ἤπειρον ἦλθε. (5)
(139.) ταύτης δὲ ἐβασίλευε Τεῦκρος ποταμοῦ Σκαμάνδρου καὶ
νύμφης Ἰδαίας· ἀφ᾽ οὗ καὶ οἱ τὴν χώραν νεμόμενοι
Τεῦκροι προσηγορεύοντο. ὑποδεχθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ βα-
σιλέως, καὶ λαβὼν μέρος τῆς γῆς καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου θυ-
γατέρα Βάτειαν, Δάρδανον ἔκτισε πόλιν· τελευτήσαντος (5)
δὲ Τεύκρου τὴν χώραν ἅπασαν Δαρδανίαν ἐκάλεσε.

Iasion and Dardanus were born of Electra, daughter of Atlanta and Zeus. Iasion fell in love with Demeter and wanting to have sex with the goddess, he was struck by a thunderbolt. Mourning the death of his brother, Dardanus left Samothrace and went to

the shore opposite it. Teucer, son of the river Scamander and the nymph Idaia, was king of Samothrace: those dwelling in the land were called Teucrians after him. After being received by the king, taking a share of the land and the king's daughter Bateia, he founded the city Dardanos. When Teucer died, he called the entire territory Dardania.

The lineage of the main characters is provided above (A: Orientation). Apollodorus provides a variation of the motif of brothers in a conflict with one leaving, since here, one brother dies and another leaves, grieving the loss of his brother (B: Event/ death and C: Exile). A separation occurs (Chapter 3), and here, arrival in a new territory is specified (D: Arrival). An erotic situation causes the death of Iasion (B: Event/death in erotic context) and Dardanus will marry before becoming founder of Dardania (D: Marriage to a local). The naming of a place (D: Naming), Dardania, is also explained through this *ktisis*.

Pausanias

John Elsner (1992) discusses Pausanias as a Greek interested in celebrating Greek cultural identity in Roman-occupied Greece during the second century CE. Elsner successfully argues against the reputation that Pausanias' *periegesis* earned as a pedantic, episodic, and overly antiquarian travel guide. This travel guide is really a series of narratives, connected topographically, which provide readers with the pertinent cultural information surrounding the places Pausanias visits. Pausanias himself cites his desire to leave a body of work that connects Greek peoples and places: δεῖ δέ με ἀφικέσθαι τοῦ λόγου πρόσω, πάντα ὁμοίως ἐπεξιόντα τὰ Ἑλληνικά (1.26.4). "His text relates that sense of Greek identity both to specific privileged places in Greece and to the myth-histories which these places evoked . . . The reader travels through the text as Pausanias

himself travelled through Greece. This means that the reader encounters the many different and previously independent localities of Greece within a single text encapsulating the whole" (5).

Overall, the Schema is particularly visible in Pausanias' reports of his travel destinations because each visit brings new cities, peoples, and temples to describe. The readers can experience these places through Pausanias' descriptions of topographical features, but it is through his narratives that the readers learn about the origins and names of cities, temples, and peoples. Each story is a component which connects with stories of other Greek sites and cities, forming a meaningful whole. *Ktiseis*/*aitia* serve that purpose as well: they link Greek territories and peoples and make them relate to one another.

In the passage below, Pausanias describes the noteworthy sights one encounters upon the approach to Corinth (A: Orientation). There is the tomb of Diogenes the Cynic and also Lais. He proves time and again that landmarks and special features of a city or region can be committed to collective memory when they have attached to them a story which can be retold repeatedly. Pausanias suggests that landmarks which have explicable origins are those which he deems worthy of including in his reports (λόγου δὲ ἄξια).[116] I provide the following passage because it serves an introduction to Lais who appears in several passages later in this chapter. Other versions of her story depict an etiology associated with her: the origin of a temple to Aphrodite. A few elements of the Schema are present though: a tomb for her is visible (F: Reference to present); she was from

[116] This phrase (2.6.1) initiates the passage immediately following the story of Lais. Pausanias clarifies that he discusses "the remnants from antiquity still present in the city which are *worthy of reporting* (λόγου δὲ ἄξια ἐν τῇ πόλει τὰ μὲν λειπόμενα ἔτι τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐστίν, 6). Lais and the creative act associated with her are worthy of remembrance.

Hyccara (A: Orientation); she moved from her home to Corinth (C: Travel by sea); Corinthians lay claim to her and her story (F: Reference to present). Further details of the etiology associated with her appear in other versions of the story (see below).

(2.2.4):

ἀνιοῦσι δὲ ἐς Κόρινθον καὶ ἄλλα ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν
ὁδὸν μνήματα καὶ πρὸς τῇ πύλῃ Διογένης τέθαπται
ὁ Σινωπεύς, ὃν κύνα ἐπίκλησιν καλοῦσιν Ἕλληνες.
πρὸ δὲ τῆς πόλεως κυπαρίσσων ἐστὶν ἄλσος ὀνομα-
ζόμενον Κράνειον. ἐνταῦθα Βελλεροφόντου τέ ἐστι (5)
τέμενος καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ναὸς Μελαινίδος καὶ τάφος
Λαΐδος, ᾧ δὴ λέαινα ἐπίθημά ἐστι κριὸν ἔχουσα ἐν
(5.) τοῖς προτέροις ποσίν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλο ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ
Λαΐδος φάμενον μνῆμα εἶναι· παρεγένετο γὰρ καὶ ἐς
Θεσσαλίαν ἐρασθεῖσα Ἱπποστράτου. τὸ δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς
ἐξ Ὑκάρων αὐτὴν τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ λέγεται παῖδα οὖσαν
ὑπὸ Νικίου καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἁλῶναι, πραθεῖσαν δὲ ἐς (5)
Κόρινθον ὑπερβαλέσθαι κάλλει τὰς τότε ἑταίρας, θαυ-
μασθῆναί τε· οὕτω παρὰ Κορινθίοις ὡς ἀμφισβητεῖν
σφᾶς καὶ νῦν ἔτι Λαΐδος.

As one approaches Corinth there are other tombs alongside the road and near the gate there is buried Diogenes of Sinope, whom the Greeks call also "the dog." Before the city is a cypress grove called Craneium. There is a precinct of Bellerophon and a temple of Aphrodite Melaenis (of the Darkness) and a tomb of Lais, upon which rests a sepulchral ornament, a lion, holding between her feet a ram. There is another tomb in Thessaly said to be the tomb of Lais: for when she was in love with Hippostratus she had gone to Thessaly. It is said that, originally, she was from Hycara, in Sicily. As a child she was taken captive by Nicias the Athenian and moved to Corinth as a war prize. At that time, she surpassed the other courtesans in beauty and was admired. So Corinthians even now respond that they lay claim to Lais.

Parts of the following passage are omitted so that the sections containing the Schema can be highlighted.

(2.16.2-3):

οἱ δὲ Ἄβαντος τοῦ Λυγκέως παῖδες τὴν βασιλείαν ἐνείμαντο, καὶ Ἀκρίσιος μὲν αὐτοῦ κατέμεινεν ἐν τῷ Ἄργει, Προῖτος δὲ τὸ Ἡραῖον καὶ Μιδείαν καὶ Τίρυνθα ἔσχε καὶ ὅσα πρὸς θαλάσσῃ τῆς Ἀργείας . . .

The sons of Abas, son of Lynceus, divided the kingdom, and Acrisius remained in Argos, Proitus took the Heraion, Mideia and Tiryns and whatever reached up to the sea of Argos . . .

Ἀκρίσιος δὲ λανθάνει κατὰ δαίμονα ὑποπεσὼν τοῦ (3.) δίσκου τῇ ὁρμῇ. καὶ Ἀκρισίῳ μὲν ἡ πρόρρησις τοῦ θεοῦ τέλος ἔσχεν . . .

Acrisius, unnoticed, fell by chance, from the toss of a discus; for him the proclamation of the deity came true in the end . . .

(2.16.3):

Περσεὺς δὲ ὡς ἀνέστρεψεν ἐς Ἄργος—ᾐσχύνετο γὰρ τοῦ

φόνου τῇ φήμῃ—, Μεγαπένθην τὸν Προίτου πείθει (5)

οἱ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀντιδοῦναι, παραλαβὼν δὲ αὐτὸς τὴν

ἐκείνου Μυκήνας κτίζει. τοῦ ξίφους γὰρ ἐνταῦθα

ἐξέπεσεν ὁ μύκης αὐτῷ, καὶ τὸ σημεῖον ἐς οἰκισμὸν

ἐνόμιζε συμβῆναι πόλεως. ἤκουσα δὲ καὶ ὡς διψῶντι

ἐπῆλθεν ἀνελέσθαι οἱ μύκητα ἐκ τῆς γῆς, ῥυέντος δὲ (10)

ὕδατος πιὼν καὶ ἡσθεὶς Μυκήνας ἔθετο τὸ ὄνομα τῷ χωρίῳ.

When Perseus went to Argos - for he was ashamed of the story of the killing - he persuaded Megapenthes to exchange kingdoms with him. After receiving the kingdom from Megapenthes he founded Mycene, for there did the round top of his sword fall, and he recognized a sign to undertake the settlement of a city. I also heard that when he was thirsty he went to pluck a mushroom from the earth and when water flowed he drank and established the name Mycene for the territory.

Book 2 includes connected narratives about the origins of sites and cities including Argos and Mycenae. The story behind the naming of Mycenae adheres to the Schema with the inclusion of the elements: C: Oracle, B: Event/death, C and D: several voyages, D: Magical guides, and E: Founding, which is located at the end of the passage. In a twist to the "animal as guide" motif (Schema D), an accidental, unforeseen object leads to the naming of a city. Perseus' sword cap (μύκης) falls, or he picks a mushroom (also a μύκης in Greek) and this becomes the site of a new city (Μυκήνας). A magical water source springing from the earth calls to mind the centrality of water in *ktiseis/aitia* as markers of transition and creation (cf. Chapter 3). Hence, the name Mycenae embodies the narrative elements of Perseus' sword cap, or the mushroom which led to water springing from the earth. The naming of Mycenae (E: Naming) is similar to the naming of Boeotia in the story of Cadmus above: the city's name derives from a pun intrinsic to the story.

The true responsibility for the death of Acrisius is reported in the narrative as an act of chance (κατὰ δαίμονα). On the surface, he dies due to the blow of Perseus' discus (B: Event/death) and this death is the required death before something new is created (Chapter 3). Feeling guilty for killing Acrisius, Perseus wishes to exile himself and trade kingdoms with Megapenthes (C: Exile). The same sentence incorporates this trade of territories and the founding of Mycenae (E: Founding: Μεγαπένθην τὸν Προίτου πείθει οἱ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀντιδοῦναι, παραλαβὼν δὲ αὐτὸς τὴν ἐκείνου Μυκήνας κτίζει). Pausanias seems to be saying, and this is not a translation, "in the very act of purifying himself for murder, Perseus actually founds a new city." In the next sentence there is an "explanatory γὰρ:" "for there did the cap fall from his sword," and he

considered this a sign (τὸ σημεῖον) to found a city.

Pausanias offers a second version of this story: Perseus bent over to pick a mushroom (μύκητα) and from that very spot water flowed magically from the earth. Perseus thought to name the place after the mushroom (Μυκήνας ἔθετο τὸ ὄνομα τῷ χωρίῳ). Pausanias seems to be embracing varying traditions which circulated in Mycenae. It is impossible to know if one version or the other was popular to certain generations of residents, factions, or ethnic groups. As a "Romanized Greek" of the second century CE, he may be aiming to unify the traditions in an overall work aimed at unifying the Romanized Greek world.

In Argos there is located (A: Orientation) a temple to Apollo Lycius (2.19.3-5), which Pausanias describes as very famous (τὸ ἐπιφανέστατόν).[117] Animals play a significant role in this narrative, unsurprisingly so, given Apollo's association to "wolf" via the epithet "Lycius" (D: Animal as guide). The wolf in this tale "does battle" (ἐμάχετο) with the "leader" (ἡγεμόνα) of a herd of grazing cattle, a bull. The Argives realize that the newly arrived Danaus resembles the wolf, and his local competitor for the rule, Gelanor, is like the bull. The wolf overcomes the bull and because of this, Danaus takes over leadership: διὰ τοῦτο ὁ Δαναὸς ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν (D: Conflict with locals). Thinking that Apollo led the wolf to the herd of cattle to begin with, Danaus founds a temple to Apollo Lycius (E: Founding).

In the following passage about a sanctuary of Apollo, Pausanias locates the sanctuary (A: Orientation: geographical setting) and clarifies that it is very ancient in the

[117] I omit the Greek text and translation for this passage.

lore of the Messenians. This temple retained a connection to the venerable Argonaut tradition since the Argonauts are said to have left a statue there. A cult object like this bestows culturally identifying information upon those who house the object. The ability to cite past visitors to a shrine helps to forge a connection between the sanctuary and the many other Hellenic sites and peoples who claim similar ties to the Argonauts. Pausanias thus weaves this site into a larger Hellenic world.

(4.34.7-8):

ἐκ Κορώνης δὲ ὡς ὀγδοήκοντα σταδίους προελθόντι
Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστιν ἱερὸν πρὸς θαλάσσῃ τιμὰς ἔχον· �άρ-
χαιότατόν τε γὰρ λόγῳ τῷ Μεσσηνίων ἐστὶ καὶ νοσή-
ματα ὸ θεὸς ἰᾶται, Κόρυνθον δὲ Ἀπόλλωνα ὀνομά-
ζουσι. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ξόανον, τοῦ Ἀργεώτα δὲ χαλκοῦν (5)
ἐστι τὸ ἄγαλμα· ἀναθεῖναι δέ φασι τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀργοῖ
(8.) πλεύσαντας. τῇ Κορωναίων δὲ πόλει ἐστὶν ὄμορος
Κολωνίδες· οἱ δὲ ἐνταῦθα οὐ Μεσσήνιοί φασιν εἶναι,
ἀλλὰ ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἀγαγεῖν σφᾶς Κόλαινον λέγουσι,
Κολαίνῳ δὲ κόρυδον τὴν ὄρνιθα ἐκ μαντεύματος ἐς
τὴν ἀποικίαν ἡγήσασθαι. ἔμελλον δὲ ἄρα διάλεκτόν (5)
τε ἀνὰ χρόνον καὶ ἔθη μεταμαθήσεσθαι τὰ Δωριέων.
κεῖται δὲ τὸ πόλισμα αἱ Κολωνίδες ἐπὶ ὑψηλοῦ, μι-
κρὸν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης.

There is a very noteworthy temple of Apollo near the sea proceeding eighty stades from Corone. According to the story of the Messenians, it is the most ancient and the god there heals illnesses. They call him Apollo Corynthus. An older statue is wooden but there is a bronze one of Apollo Argeotas. They say that the sailors on the Argo erected it. Colonos shares a border with the city of the Coronaeans. There they do not call themselves Messenians, but say that Colaenus brought them from Attica. In accordance with an

oracle, the crested lark served as guide to Colaenus when he was founding the colony. In time, their dialect and customs would change to Dorian. The city of Colonos lies upon a cliff a short distance from the sea.

Like most travel guide publications, the information in Pausanias' work is highly condensed in places; it is not possible to learn and share every detail one encounters during travels. Even in passages where Pausanias appears to aim for brevity, the Schema's elements are still in place. The example above is noteworthy for its dense packaging of the Schema's components to form the *ktisis*.

The legend of the founding of the place is condensed into a few lines of text with the Schema's elements apparent. As for the locals, "they do not call themselves Messenians, but say that Colaenus brought them from Attica" (C: Travel/Accompanying comrades). In accordance with an oracle (C: Oracle), a crested lark led Colaenus to a settlement (D: Animal serves as guide and E: Founding). The information about their dialect and customs offers currency to this passage, since present practices are linked to the past.

(10.10.6-8):

Τάραντα
δὲ ἀπῴκισαν μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οἰκιστὴς δὲ ἐγένετο
Σπαρτιάτης Φάλανθος. στελλομένῳ δὲ ἐς ἀποικίαν *(5)*
τῷ Φαλάνθῳ λόγιον ἦλθεν ἐκ Δελφῶν· ὑετοῦ αὐτὸν
αἰσθόμενον ὑπὸ αἴθρᾳ, τηνικαῦτα καὶ χώραν κτήσεσθαι
καὶ πόλιν. τὸ μὲν δὴ παραυτίκα οὔτε ἰδίᾳ τὸ μάν-
τευμα ἐπισκεψάμενος οὔτε πρὸς τῶν ἐξηγητῶν τινα
ἀνακοινώσας κατέσχε ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐς Ἰταλίαν· ὡς δέ οἱ
νικῶντι τοὺς βαρβάρους οὐκ ἐγίνετο οὔτε τινὰ ἐλεῖν

τῶν πόλεων οὔτε ἐπικρατῆσαι χώρας, ἐς ἀνάμνησιν *(5)*
ἀφικνεῖτο τοῦ χρησμοῦ, καὶ ἀδύνατα ἐνόμιζέν οἱ τὸν
θεὸν χρῆσαι· μὴ γὰρ ἄν ποτε ἐν καθαρῷ καὶ αἰθρίῳ
τῷ ἀέρι ὑσθῆναι. καὶ αὐτὸν ἡ γυνὴ ἀθύμως ἔχοντα
—ἠκολουθήκει γὰρ οἴκοθεν—τά τε ἄλλα ἐφιλο-
φρονεῖτο καὶ ἐς τὰ γόνατα ἑσθεμένη τὰ αὐτῆς τοῦ *(10)*
ἀνδρὸς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐξέλεγε τοὺς φθεῖρας· καί πως
ὑπὸ εὐνοίας δακρῦσαι παρίσταται τῇ γυναικὶ ὀρώσῃ
(8.) τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐς οὐδὲν προχωροῦντα τὰ πράγματα. προ-
έχει δὲ ἀφειδέστερον τῶν δακρύων καὶ—ἔβρεχε γὰρ
τοῦ Φαλάνθου τὴν κεφαλήν—συνίησί τε τῆς μαν-
τείας—ὄνομα γὰρ δὴ ἦν Αἴθρα τῇ γυναικί—καὶ
οὕτω τῇ ἐπιούσῃ νυκτὶ Τάραντα τῶν βαρβάρων εἷλε *(5)*
μεγίστην καὶ εὐδαιμονεστάτην τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ πόλεων.
Τάραντα δὲ τὸν ἥρω Ποσειδῶνός φασι καὶ ἐπιχωρίας
νύμφης παῖδα εἶναι, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἥρωος τεθῆναι τὰ
ὀνόματα τῇ πόλει τε καὶ τῷ ποταμῷ· καλεῖται γὰρ δὴ
Τάρας κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τῇ πόλει καὶ ὁ ποταμός. *(10)*

The Spartans settled Tarentum; the oikist was the Spartan Phalanthus. The directive from Delphi came to him to outfit a voyage for establishing a colony: when he feels water coming from below the sky, then he should settle that territory and city. Preparing the voyage immediately, he heeded neither the omens nor any of the prophets; he set forth directly on the ships headed to Italy. It was not possible for him to conquer the barbarians nor to take any of the cities nor to assume rule of any lands, he set off in neglect of the oracle, and he deemed impossible what the god had ordained: for never did it rain from the clear sky. And his wife was distressed for him-for she had followed him from home-she was loving in all ways. And putting the head of husband to her knees, she proceded to remove lice; and out of good will, with him at her feet, she cried for her husand who was accomplishing no business at all. She let drop a piteous tear-and it hit the head of Phalanthus-he realizes the omen-for his wife's name was Aithra-and thus with night coming on he seized the greatest and most blessed of the cities along the sea. They say that Taras was a hero of Poseidon and that he was a child of a local maiden. From the name of the hero, there originated the names for the city and the river, for the

name Taras is given to the city and to the river.

Pausanias' report on Tarentum provides yet another variation of an oikist's interpretation of a mysterious oracle which leads to the founding of a city. Also, the narrative specifies that Tarentum had already been founded; this present oikist arrives with the obvious intent of *re*-founding. Schema element E (Founding), which often comes as one of the last elements of a *ktisis* is first here. The element of conquest is represented in this narrative whereas in many other *ktiseis*, the role of the oikist as conquerer is cloaked with all sorts of fanciful literary tropes: animals as guides, mushrooms, riddles and magic springs.

In this report, Delphi is specified as the source of an oracular message (λόγιον ἦλθεν ἑκ Δελφῶν) though no specific trip to Delphi is reported (C: Oracle). The oikist, Phalanthus, makes a sea voyage (ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐς Ἰταλίαν) and does battle with locals though he has no luck securing local territory to establish himself and his comrades (C: Travel by sea and D: Conflict with locals). Pausanias develops the oracular contribution to this *ktisis* quite fully; he specifies that Phalanthus neglects all the advice available in decoding the message from Delphi (that he should take a city where rain falls beneath a cloudless sky). The semantic connection between his wife's name and his eventual interpretation of the oracle recalls other *ktiseis* where the oikist realizes that the oracular sanction was in the form of a riddle: his wife's name was "Sky" (ὄνομα γὰρ δὴ ἦν Αἴθρα τῇ γυναικί) and the oracle told him to seek "water" falling from the clear sky.[118]

[118] This recalls Conon 2 where the falling tears of a woman (Byblis), erotically linked to the oikist, her brother, provide a location for a creative act which leads to an *aition*. Byblis' brother Caunus goes on to establish settlements and his heir founds a city. The significance of the water imagery is evident in Bylis and "Sky's" tears. Perseus (cf. above) also founds a city where water magically appears. Dougherty treats these oracular riddles well in her article (1992).

Pausanias uses a phrase, also present in Conon's tale of Byblis, to describe Tarentum, "great and most prosperous" (Τάραντα . . . μεγίστην καὶ εὐδαιμονεστάτην), while clarifying again that this *ktisis* involved a hostile takeover: he *seized* the city (εἷλε), on that very night. Usually, the recent oikist is treated with honors at the exclusion of the earlier oikists. Pausanias incorporates both the earlier "founder" (Taras, a "hero son of Poseidon:" τὸν ἥρω Ποσειδῶνός) and later conquerer (Phalanthus, celebrated via the attention he receives in the narrative), possibly aiming for inclusion rather than exclusion. Elsner's suggestion above that Pausanias aims for inclusion is suggested by the ending to this *ktisis*. His narrative helps to unify traditions familiar to Greeks by including the names of two people celebrated in Tarentum.

(9.12.2-3):

ἔδει δὲ ἄρα Κάδμον καὶ τὸν σὺν αὐτῷ
στρατὸν ἐνταῦθα οἰκῆσαι κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν μαντείαν,
ἔνθα ἡ βοῦς ἔμελλε καμοῦσα ὀκλάσειν· ἀποφαίνουσιν
οὖν καὶ τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον. ἐνταῦθα ἔστι μὲν ἐν ὑπ-
αίθρῳ βωμὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα <Ἀθηνᾶς>· ἀναθεῖναι δὲ αὐτὸ (5)
Κάδμον λέγουσι. τοῖς οὖν νομίζουσιν ἐς γῆν ἀφικέ-
σθαι Κάδμον τὴν Θηβαΐδα Αἰγύπτιον καὶ οὐ Φοίνικα
ὄντα, ἔστιν ἐναντίον τῷ λόγῳ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ταύτης τὸ
ὄνομα, ὅτι Ὄγγα κατὰ γλῶσσαν τὴν Φοινίκων καλεῖται
(3.) καὶ οὐ Σάις κατὰ τὴν Αἰγυπτίων φωνήν

There did Cadmus and his army settle in accordance with an oracle: where a cow, about to tire out, lies on the ground. In fact, they point out this place where an altar and statue to Athena are located under the open sky and they say that Cadmus himself erected them. To those who reckon that the Cadmus who came to the land of Thebes was an Egyptian and not a Phoenician, there is a contradiction in the story of this Athena, with respect to

her name, because she is called Onga in the Phoenican language and not Sais, as in the Egyptian language.

Like Apollodorus in an example above, Pausanias reports briefly on the foundation of Thebes by Cadmus. Pausanias specifies that Cadmus is accompanied by comrades (C: Accompanying comrades) but does not specify a trip to Delphi. Instead, he uses the brief phrase κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν μαντείαν (C: Oracle). Narrative components like these connect to one another due to the use of the Schema. We see the narrative element of the cow (D: Animal as guide) still connected to Cadmus and the founding of Thebes. The end of this passage indicates that the story of Cadmus lent itself to adoption by various groups who added their own flavor to the overall story. Evidently, there circulated stories of Cadmus being an Egyptian, instead of a Phoenician.

Diodorus Siculus

The appearance of the Schema in Diodorus Siculus is surprisingly frequent and shows how narratives on origins and beginnings are comprised of components, joined together in a traditional, familiar composite to create lasting, meaningful explanations for readers of important elements of their culture. Diodorus's narrative treats much geographical territory and the territories which Diodorus includes become components of a larger whole. The Schema gives him a template for treating much material in a manner that makes each territory a part of a pan-Hellenic unit. Just as the individual parts of the Schema make individual narratives, so do these narratives combine to form the larger *Bibliotheca historica*.

(5.7.5):

φασὶ δὲ τὰς Αἰόλου νήσους

τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν ἐρήμους γεγονέναι, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα
τὸν ὀνομαζόμενον Λίπαρον, Αὔσονος ὄντα τοῦ βα-
σιλέως υἱόν, ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν καταστασιασθῆναι,
κυριεύσαντα δὲ νεῶν μακρῶν καὶ στρατιωτῶν ἐκ *(5)*
τῆς Ἰταλίας φυγεῖν εἰς τὴν ἀπὸ τούτου Λιπάραν
ὀνομασθεῖσαν· ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ τὴν ἐπώνυμον αὐτοῦ
πόλιν κτίσαι, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας νήσους τὰς προειρη-
(6.) μένας γεωργῆσαι. τούτου δὲ γεγηρακότος Αἴόλον
τὸν Ἱππότου μετά τινων παραβαλόντα εἰς τὴν Λι-
πάραν τὴν τοῦ Λιπάρου θυγατέρα γῆμαι Κυάνην·
καὶ τοὺς λαοὺς κοινῇ μετὰ τῶν ἐγχωρίων πολιτεύε-
σθαι ποιήσας ἐβασίλευσε τῆς νήσου. τῷ δὲ Λι- *(5)*
πάρῳ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπιθυμοῦντι συγκατεσκεύασεν
αὑτῷ τοὺς περὶ τὸ Σύρρεντον τόπους, ὅπου βασι-
λεύσας καὶ μεγάλης ἀποδοχῆς τυχὼν ἐτελεύτησε·

They say that the islands of Aeolus were deserted in ancient times. After this, the man called Liparus, who was the son of Auson, was defeated by his brothers and taking charge of warships and soldiers, he fled from Italy to the island Lipara which was named after him. In this place, he established a city named after himself and farmed other previously mentioned islands. After Liparus grew old, Aeolus, the son of Hippotes, arrived with some people at Lipara and married Cuane, the daughter of Liparus. After Aeolus brought the populations together as one with the previous inhabitants, he ruled the island as king. He joined with Liparus who was eager to settle lands in Italy near Surrentum, where, after ruling as king, he received great honors and then died.

The traditional, introductory phrase, "they say," which we see in Conon, prefaces this section. In one section of nineteen lines, Diodorus introduces the islands of Aeolus: they say (φασὶ), he begins, that these islands were deserted in ancient times. This section (A: Orientation) introduces Liparus, a son of Auson, who evidently quarreled with his brothers (B: Event in family context) and set out to sea (C: Exile/travel by

sea/accompanying comrades) with a group of soldiers. The name of the island is then taken from this alleged, original founder (E: Naming) as well as a city which he founded there (E: Founding).

This *ktisis* immediately leads to a connected story involving Aeolus who is given his patronymic (A: Orientation), and arrives on the island with a group of companions (C: Travel by sea/accompanying comrades). Aeolus marries the daughter of Liparus (D: Marriage to local) and becomes co-ruler. Our original *ktistes,* Liparus, once again takes to the sea (D: Further travel by sea/Arrival), arrives "in the regions about Surrentum," and presumably does battle with the locals with assistance of his son-in-law (D: Conflict with locals upon arrival). He becomes king, lives out his days, and is awarded honors appropriate for a hero (F: Heroization of founder).

Diodorus uses the Schema here to relate the history surrounding two regimes on an island and a related colonization. Perhaps there was a monument in Italy, the origin of which is explained by this story as well, since Diodorus does specify that Liparus was buried in the grand fashion of heroes: ταφεὶς δὲ μεγαλοπρεπῶς τιμῶν ἔτυχεν ἡρωικῶν παρὰ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις (5.7.6). The passage ends with its description of originators: here, originators of the use of rites and mysteries.

(5.64.4):
ἔνιοι δ' ἱστοροῦσιν, ὧν ἐστι καὶ Ἔφο-
ρος, τοὺς Ἰδαίους Δακτύλους γενέσθαι μὲν κατὰ
τὴν Ἴδην τὴν ἐν Φρυγίᾳ, διαβῆναι δὲ μετὰ Μυγδό-
νος εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην· ὑπάρξαντας δὲ γόητας ἐπι-
τηδεῦσαι τάς τε ἐπῳδὰς καὶ τελετὰς καὶ μυστήρια, (5)

καὶ περὶ Σαμοθρᾴκην διατρίψαντας οὐ μετρίως ἐν
τούτοις ἐκπλήττειν τοὺς ἐγχωρίους· καθ' ὃν δὴ χρό-
νον καὶ τὸν Ὀρφέα, φύσει διαφόρῳ κεχορηγημένον
πρὸς ποίησιν καὶ μελῳδίαν, μαθητὴν γενέσθαι τού-
των, καὶ πρῶτον εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐξενεγκεῖν τε- (10)
(5.) λετὰς καὶ μυστήρια.

Some say, among whom is Ephorus especially, that the Idaian Daktyls were born on Mt. Ida in Phrygia; they crossed to Europe with Mygdon. Being sorcerers, they employed chants, rites, and mysteries, and living at Samothrace they astounded the residents in no small way with these chants, rites and mysteries. At this time also, Orpheus was engaged in choral activities, in an outstanding manner, in addition to poetry and melody, and he became a student of theirs. He first brought rites and mysteries to the Greeks.

Diodorus provides a "protos heuretes" for Greek rites and mysteries in a passage where he cites Ephorus as a source. Schema element A (Orientation) locates the people in Phrygia. Schema B (Travel) continues the traditional storyline of people moving from an original homeland. Schema F (References to contemporary practices) positions Orpheus as an originator for rites and mysteries practiced in Greece. At face value, Diodorus allegedly relied on Ephorus for information about names of peoples and information about the originators of rites. He did not deem it necessary to specify a text location in a work of Ephorus. Perhaps Diodorus found this story pre-packaged with the name Ephorus already attached and did not, in fact, consult an actual text of Ephorus. If suggestions made earlier in this dissertation are true, the Schema results in this sort of source name accompanying the following narrative: the source name is part of the narrative package.

Conon uses Orpheus in his *ktisis/aition* (Chapter 2) to explain the origin of rites and the founding of a sacred precinct. Diodorus wrote in the same century as Conon (first

century BCE), and he treats Orpheus similarly, but not scrupulously so. More significant is that Diodorus does attribute etiological accomplishments to Orpheus.

I suggest again that passages of Ephorus were widely available in many texts beyond what we wish to call an *original* text. Or, that narrative material circulated widely with Ephorus' name prefixed as a source, as an integral component of the elements of the story. Diodorus does not appear to be quoting from Ephorus, but only transferring the main points of Ephorus' work which he could have easily obtained from other intermediate sources: compendia, other lexica, etc. All of these sourcebooks I call *hypomnemata*: they aid in remembrance and recall.

Plutarch

Plutarch, *Amatoriae narrationes* (773. A 9):

Μέλισσος δὲ τὸν νεκρὸν τοῦ παιδὸς
εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν τῶν Κορινθίων παρακομίσας ἐπεδείκνυε,
δίκην ἀπαιτῶν παρὰ τῶν ταῦτα πραξάντων· οἱ δὲ πλέον
οὐδὲν ἢ τὸν ἄνδρα ἠλέουν. ἄπρακτος δ' ἀναχωρήσας
παρεφύλασσε τὴν πανήγυριν τῶν Ἰσθμίων, ἀναβάς τ' ἐπὶ (5)
τὸν τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος νεὼν κατεβόα τῶν Βακχιαδῶν καὶ
τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς Ἄβρωνος εὐεργεσίαν ὑπεμίμνησκε, τούς
τε θεοὺς ἐπικαλεσάμενος ῥίπτει ἑαυτὸν κατὰ τῶν πετρῶν.
μετ' οὐ πολὺ δ' αὐχμὸς καὶ λοιμὸς κατελάμβανε τὴν
πόλιν· καὶ τῶν Κορινθίων περὶ ἀπαλλαγῆς χρωμένων, (10)
ὁ θεὸς ἀνεῖλε μῆνιν εἶναι Ποσειδῶνος οὐκ ἀνήσοντος,
(B.) ἕως ἂν τὸν Ἀκταίωνος θάνατον μετέλθοιεν. ταῦτα πυθό-
μενος Ἀρχίας, αὐτὸς γὰρ θεωρὸς ἦν, εἰς μὲν τὴν Κόρινθον

ἐκὼν οὐκ ἐπανῆλθε, πλεύσας δ’ εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν Συρα-
κούσας ἔκτισε.

Melissus carried the body of his dead son (Actaeon) to the agora of the Corinthians and put it on display. He demanded justice from those who committed the slaying, but they merely pitied the man. Unfulfilled, he went off and watched for the festival of the Isthmian Games. After mounting the temple of Poseidon, he shouted out at the Bacchiadae and recalled the good service of his father Habron; calling upon the gods he hurled himself from the rocks. Not long afterward, a drought and plague befell the city and the Corinthians sought oracular advice for relief. The god said that the anger of Poseidon would not yield until they atone for the death of Actaeon. After Archias learned of these matters, for he was an ambassador to the oracle, he did not willingly return to Corinth but sailed to Sicily and founded Syracuse.

This passage of fifteen lines from Plutarch’s *Amatoriae narrationes* begins with deaths, and ends with the founding of Syracuse in Sicily. The setting is Corinth, specifically in the agora, and a main character is Melissus (A: Orientation). Human behavior transgresses rightful limits when the Corinthians merely pity Melissus, who rightly seeks justice for his dead child (B: Event/death). Plutarch appears to elevate the Corinthians’ lack of sympathy through the specific words οἱ δὲ πλέον οὐδὲν ἢ τὸν ἄνδρα ἠλέουν (“they did no more than pity the man”). As discussed in Chapter 3, human error often results in death, which in turn provokes divine anger. This divine anger must be remedied before a new creation is allowed. The Corinthians cause two deaths (B: Event/death), since a despondent, unrecognized Melissus leaps to his death. Drought and plague befall the city (B: Plague), and though the text does not specify a cause-and-effect relationship between the deaths and divine anger, the plague and drought seem to be effects of the human behavior. The sentence reporting the drought and plague immediately follows the death of Melissus; hence, the possible interpretation of a cause-and-effect relationship. It is clear from the text that the death of Actaeon had spurred

divine anger in the first place, so Archias learns. The events as reported imply that Archias, because he was a *theoros*, heard the oracle (C: Oracle) and so refused to return to Corinth. He then sailed off to Sicily (C: Travel by sea) and founded Syracuse (E: Founding).

Scholia

Two scholia, one on Aristophanes' *Plutus* and another on Plato reflect the familiar storyline of origins and beginnings. Scholiasts who were working close to the manuscript traditions of these two works found in the Schema a means of explaining items from the texts in terms of a familiar story pattern.

Scholia in Aristophanem, *Scholia in plutum* (179.48):

ἐκ Κορίνθου. ἡ δὲ Λαΐς ἐπισημοτέρα γέγονε τῆς μη-
τρὸς ἐν Κορίνθῳ. ὕστερον δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ ἀπεδήμησεν εἰς (40)
Θεσσαλίαν, ἔνθα Εὐρυλόχου τινὸς ἢ Ἀριστονίκου ἡρά-
σθη, παρ' ᾧ καὶ ἐβίωσε τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον. αὐτῆς δὲ
πολλοὶ τῶν Θετταλῶν ἠράσθησαν, καὶ τῷ ἔρωτι τὰ
πρόθυρα αὐτῆς οἴνῳ ἔρραινον. καὶ φασὶν, ὅτι ζηλοτυ-
ποῦσαι αἱ Θετταλαὶ γυναῖκες ἐφόνευσαν αὐτὴν ξυλίναις (45)
χελώναις τύπτουσαι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης, πανη-
γύρεως οὔσης, ἐν ᾗ ἄνδρες οὐ παρεγίνοντο. διὸ τούτου
ἕνεκα λοιμὸς κατέλαβε τὴν Θετταλίαν, ἕως ὕστερον
ἱερὸν ἐποίησαν ἀνοσίας Ἀφροδίτης, ἐπειδὴ αἱ γυναῖκες
ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἀνόσιον τετολμήκασι φόνον

from Corinth: Lais was more notorious than her mother in Corinth. Later, she went away to Thessaly, where she loved Eurylochus or Aristonicus, in whose home she lived for the remainder of her life. Many Thessalians loved her and out of love did they drench her doorway with wine. And they say that the Thessalian women, out of envy, murdered her, striking her with wooden footstools in the temple of Aphrodite, during a festival in which men were not present. Because of this, a plague struck Thessaly, until later, they made a temple for profane Aphrodite since women dared to commit profane murder in the temple.

The scholion above is an explanation of the name Lais which appears in Aristophanes' *Plutus* (179: Ἐρᾷ δὲ Λαΐς οὐ διὰ σὲ Φιλωνίδου). The phrase ἐκ Κορίνθου establishes a city associated with this Lais, though not necessarily her homeland since we read in other authors below that she came originally from Hyccara in Sicily (Orientation). She makes a departure from her homeland (Departure), with erotic context in the story overshadowing her untimely murder (Act: erotic context/murder). This jealousy-driven murder leads to a plague which will not cease until a shrine is built to Aphrodite (Founding).

The original text of Aristophanes' *Plutus* mentions a woman in love, Lais. The scholiast's technique of providing an etiological narrative to elucidate a name from the text of a comedy, suggests that etiological narratives, crafted using the Schema, were both useful and familiar in antiquity. Presumably, the scholiast wanted to provide his readers with information presented in a concise, informative manner. The Schema provides a ready-to-use mechanism for transferring source material about the woman Lais into the scholion. Perhaps this scholiast had digests and compendia available which contained the etiological narrative of the character Lais. The scholion explains the love motif expressed in the comic text perfectly well. However, the *aition* which follows the love motif is not even necessary for a sufficient explanation of Lais' name in the comic original. Hence, the scholiast discovered an interesting etiological piece and he

transferred the entire piece, even including material that could have been omitted and still served his purpose in providing information about Lais.

Scholia in Platonem (315c.):

Ἀθάμαντος.

Ἀθάμας Αἰόλου τοῦ Ἕλληνος καὶ Αἰναρέτης τῆς Δηϊμάχου, βασι-
λεύων Βοιωτίας, ἐκπίπτει διά τινας τύχας αὐτῆς· ᾧπερ ὁ Πύθιος χρᾷ
ἐκεῖσε κατοικεῖν οὗ ὑπ᾽ ἀγρίων ζῴων ξενισθῇ. ἐλθόντος δὲ καθ᾽ ἣν
χώραν λύκοι κρέα προβάτων διενέμοντο, αὐτοὺς μὲν διὰ δέος φασὶ (5)
φυγεῖν, συνέντα δὲ τοῦτον οἰκῆσαί τε αὐτοῦ, καὶ τῇ Ἀθαμαντίᾳ καὶ
τοῖς ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τῆς οἰκείας κλήσεως μεταδοῦναι

Athamas son of Aeolus, son of Hellen and Aenarete daughter of Deimachus, king of Boeotia. He was expelled from there due to misfortune. The Pythian god pronounced that he should settle where he should be entertained by wild animals. When he came to that land, wolves were devouring the meat of sheep. They say that the wolves fled in fear, and that he, understanding, settled there gave a share of his own name to Athamantia and the people from there.

The second scholion, for a text of Plato, provides information on Ἀθάμας. The explanatory material provides lineage and homeland information for Athamas (A: Orientation). Due to unspecified misfortune, ὁ Πύθιος (Apollo) specifies in an oracular response (C: Oracle) that new territory must be sought in a place where he will be hosted by wild animals. Hence, animals, i.e. wolves and sheep, play a key role in determining where the new settlement will arise since they become unofficial guides to the very spot (D: Animal serves as guide). Athamas settles there and names the place after himself (E: Founding/Naming).

Lais

The Suda entry for Lais links her name to the noun which describes the weapon said to have been used to kill her. Allegedly a courtesan, she appears to have been connected with an etiology of the cult of Aphrodite the Profane.

Λαΐς, Λαΐδος: ἡ ἑταιρίς. ζήτει ἐν τῷ χελώνη.

Lais, a hetaira. Look under chelone.

The Suda entry for the objects with which jealous women struck her to death refers to the same story. It is clear that a tradition links this word with the name Lais.

Χελώνη: τὸ χερσαῖον ζῷον, ἡ ὀστρακόνωτος· καὶ τὸ θαλάσσιον·
καὶ παρατάξεως ὄνομα· καὶ εἶδος πολεμιστήριον, ἐξ οὗ καὶ χελῶναι
χωστρίδες, πολιορκητικὸν μηχάνημα, καὶ κριοί. ζηλοτυποῦσαι αἱ
Θετταλαὶ γυναῖκες τὴν Λαΐδα τὴν ἑταιρίδα ξυλίναις χελώναις ἐφόνευσαν
τύπτουσαι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης, πανηγύρεως οὔσης. ὕστερον δὲ
ἱερὸν ἐποίησαν ἀνοσίας Ἀφροδίτης, ἐπειδὴ αἱ γυναῖκες ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ
ἀνόσιον τετολμήκασι φόνον.

Tortoise: the land-living animal, which is covered with a shell, and a sea-living creature. Also the name of a battle line, and a martial contraption from which come "tortoise" defense shields, a siege device, and rams. Jealous Thessalian women killed Lais the courtesan with wooden tortoises (footstools) striking her in the precinct of Aphrodite, during a festival. Later they created a precinct of Aphrodite the Profance, since the women dared to commit profane murder in the precinct.

Photius mentions several other details about the story of Lais.

Photius *Bibliotheca* Codex 279 (533b):

Ὅτι τὸ ἐν Θετταλίᾳ ἱερὸν Ἀφροδίτης (40)
ὀνομάζεται ἀνοσίας, διότι τὴν ἑταίραν τὴν Λαΐδα πα-
(534a.) ραγενομένην αὐτόθι ἐζηλοτύπησαν ἐκτόπως αἱ γυ-
ναῖκες, καὶ ξυλίναις αὐτὴν ἀπώλεσαν χελώναις.

The shrine in Thessaly is called that of Aphrodite the Profane, because women were extraordinarily jealous of the hetaera Lais who was near there and they killed her with wooden footstools.

Athenaeus reports on the story of Lais and adds a report of her tomb and an epigram inscribed on it. He cites Nymphodorus and Timaeus as sources for the story about the background of Lais.

Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* (13. 55.13 – 36):

Νυμ-
φόδωρος δ’ ὁ Συρακόσιος ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ
Θαυμαζομένων (FHG II 375) ἐξ Ὑκκάρου φησὶν Σικελι- (15)
κοῦ φρουρίου εἶναι τὴν Λαίδα. Στράττις δ’ ἐν Μα-
κεδόσιν ἢ Παυσανίᾳ Κορινθίαν αὐτὴν εἶναί φησιν διὰ
τούτων (I 718 K)·

εἰσὶν δὲ πόθεν αἱ παῖδες αὗται καὶ τίνες;
{Β.} νυνὶ μὲν ἥκουσιν Μεγαρόθεν, εἰσὶ δὲ (20)
Κορίνθιαι· Λαὶς μὲν ἠδὶ Μεγακλέους.

Τίμαιος δ’ ἐν τῇ τρισκαιδεκάτῃ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν (FHG
I 219) ἐξ Ὑκκάρων· καθὰ καὶ Πολέμων εἴρηκεν (fr. 44 Pr),
ἀναιρεθῆναι φάσκων αὐτὴν ὑπό τινων γυναικῶν ἐν
Θετταλίᾳ, ἐρασθεῖσάν τινος Παυσανίου Θετταλοῦ, κατὰ (25)
φθόνον καὶ δυσζηλίαν [ταῖς] ξυλίναις χελώναις τυπτο-
μένην ἐν Ἀφροδίτης ἱερῷ. διὸ καὶ τὸ τέμενος κλη-
θῆναι ἀνοσίας Ἀφροδίτης. δείκνυσθαι δ’ αὐτῆς τάφον
παρὰ τῷ Πηνειῷ σημεῖον ἔχοντα ὑδρίαν λιθίνην καὶ
ἐπίγραμμα τόδε· (30)

Nymphodorus the Syracusan in his work about the marvels on Sicily says that Lais was from Hyccara a garrison of Sicily. Strattis says that she was Corinthian in these lines: who are these young girls and from where do they come? Now they have come to Megara and they are Corinthian: Lais was the girl of Megacles. *Timaeus says in his thirteenth book of Histories that she was from Hyccara: And Polemon said that she loved a certain Pausanias of Thessaly and was killed by some women in Thessaly: because of jealousy and envy she was struck by wooden footstools in the precinct of Aphrodite. Because of this, the precinct became called that of Aphrodite the Profane, her grave marker is indicated near the Peneios consisting of a stone vessel and this inscription . . .*

Below, Plutarch shows us that the name of the territory Hyccara is associated with Lais and her story. It appears connected in repeated sources (see the following two passages). From the appearances of Lais' name in these passages, it seems that her name passed along through authors' texts in a package: her homeland (A: Orientation), travel from homeland (C: Travel), being killed by jealous women (B: Event/murder), and this act being attoned for by the creation of a cult (F: Heroization of originator and Reference to present ritual).

Plutarch *Nicias* (15.4):

καὶ τέλος εἰς Κατάνην ἀπῆλθε, πράξας οὐδὲν

ἢ καταστρεψάμενος Ὕκκαρα, βαρβαρικὸν χωρίον, ὅθεν

λέγεται καὶ Λαΐδα τὴν ἑταίραν ἔτι κόρην ἐν τοῖς αἰχμαλώ-

τοις πραθεῖσαν εἰς Πελοπόννησον κομισθῆναι.

And since he (Nicias) accomplished nothing but the overthrowing of Hyccara, he finally went off to Catane, a barbarian territory from where it is said the courtesan Lais, still a young girl, was brought to the Peloponnesus after being sold while in capitivity.

Stephanus of Byzantium *Ethnica* (epitome) pp. 646 – 647:

Ὕκαρον, φρούριον Σικελίας, ὡς Φίλιστος Σικελικῶν

πρώτῳ. Ἀπολλόδωρος δ' ἐν δευτέρῳ χρονικῶν πόλιν λέγει

αὐτὴν τὰ Ὕκαρα. μέμνηται τῆς λέξεως καὶ Θουκυδίδης.

(647.) Ὕκαρα δὲ πόλισμά ἐστι τῆς Σικελίας. ἔνθεν φασὶ γενέσθαι

καὶ Λαΐδα τὴν ἑταίραν. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Ὑκαρεύς καὶ κτητικὸν Ὑκαρικός.

Hycaron, a garrison on Sicily, so says Philistus in his first book treating Sicilian matters. Apollodorus in his second book of chronicles says that the city itself is Hycara; Thucydides also reports this reading.

Hyccara is a community of Sicily. From there they say that the hetaira Lais originated. The ethnic designation is Hyccarean and the possessive form is Hyccaricus.

Etymologica

"A number of enormous, anonymous Byzantine etymological lexica have survived more or less intact and preserve much valuable ancient scholarship. Though traditionally referred to as etymologica, they are by no means strictly concerned with etymologies. They consist of lemmata (in alphabetical order) followed by some type of explanation, such as a definition, an etymology, and/or further information on usage, often including quotations from literature . . . The sources of the etymologica vary but generally date to the second century AD and later . . . But since these works were themselves usually based on earlier scholarship, the etymologica are indirect witnesses to a considerable amount of Hellenistic scholarly work, as well as preserving numerous fragments of classical literature otherwise lost."[119]

The "indirect witnesses to a considerable amount of Hellenistic scholarly work" and the "numerous fragments of classical literature" are of interest here: in addition to providing etymologies, entries provide proof of the Schema as a template for *ktiseis/aitia* in these unusual contexts. Compilers of etymologica clearly mined existing texts for material for their entries. They appear to have found and transferred *ktiseis/aitia* with the Schema intact.

Etymologicum Magnum[120]

[119] Dickey (91).

[120] This twelfth-century lexicon is closely associated with other lexica of the so-called Photian group (Woodhead, 1920): the *Etymologicum Guidanum*, *Etymologicum Symeon*, *Etymologicum Genuinum*, and others. At least one epitome exists, and editors are challenged to discriminate the epitome and its alleged "original." In fact, the manuscript traditions for several of these lexica often overlap too egregiously for clear distinctions to be made between lexica of this group. The

Δαιτίς: Τόπος ἐν Ἐφέσῳ. Εἴρηται ἀπὸ τοι-
αύτης αἰτίας. Κλυμένη θυγάτηρ βασιλέως μετὰ
κορῶν τε καὶ ἐφήβων εἰς τὸν τόπον τοῦτον παραγενο-
μένη, ἔχουσα δὲ καὶ ἄγαλμα Ἀρτέμιδος, μετὰ τὴν
ἐκ τοῦ λειμῶνος παιδιὰν καὶ τέρψιν, ἔφη δεῖν τὴν (15)
θεὸν εὐωχεῖσθαι. Καὶ αἱ μὲν σέλινα καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ
συνάγουσαι, ἀνέκλιναν· οἱ δὲ ἔφηβοι, ἐκ τῶν πλησίον
ἁλοπηγίων ἅλας λαβόντες, παρέθηκαν τῇ θεῷ ἀντὶ
δαιτός. Τῷ δ' ἐξῆς ἐνιαυτῷ μὴ τούτου γενομένου,
μῆνις τῆς θεοῦ καὶ λοιμὸς κατέλαβε, καὶ κόραι καὶ (20)
νέοι διεφθείροντο· χρησμὸς οὖν ἐδόθη, δι' οὗ ἐξηυ-
μενίσαντο τὴν θεὸν, καὶ δαῖτας αὐτῇ ἐπετέλεσαν,
κατὰ τὸν τῶν κορῶν καὶ τῶν ἐφήβων τρόπον. Καὶ
ἐκ τοῦ συμβάντος παυσαμένου τοῦ λοιμοῦ, ἥ τε θεὸς
καὶ ὁ τόπος ἀπὸ τῆς δαιτὸς Δαιτὶς προσηγορεύθη. (25)
Ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ Λυδόν τινα κάπηλον αὐτόθι κατοική-
σαντα παρέχειν τὰ πρὸς τὴν δαῖτα τοῖς ἐπιξενου-
μένοις. Ἦν δὲ τὸ κύριον αὐτοῦ ὄνομα Ἔφεσος·
ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ἡ πόλις.

Daitis: A place in Ephesus. It is said to be from this origin: Clymene, the daughter of the king, came to this place with young girls and boys. While holding a statue of Artemis, after their amusement and pleasure from the meadow, she said that they should give the goddess a feast. The girls gathered celery and other items and piled it up. And the boys, gathering salt from the neighboring salt pit, set that up for the goddess, instead of a feast. In the next year, since this did not happen, the anger of the goddess and a plague descended; both maidens and young boys perished. Then, an oracle was received, and in accordance with it, they propitiated the goddess. They held feasts in her honor in the manner of the young girls and boys. And after this occurred, the plague having ceased,

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Etymologicum Magnum is said to have derived from the *Etymologicum genuinum*, compiled in the ninth century (Dickey, 91).

both the goddess and the land became named Daitis, after the word dais*, "feast," or from the fact that a Lydian merchant who had settled there furnished items for the feast to the guests. His proper name was Ephesus. From him derives the city name*.

The fact that a lexical entry for a place name provides a foundation legend with the Schema as its template suggests an incredible longevity for this sort of story. The narrative material must have existed as a package and the lexicon's compilers saw fit to transfer this familiar package into this twelfth century work. One would not consider a lexicon the site for a story about youthful acts, oracles, and plagues, all to provide information on a city name.

The entry heading, Δαιτίς, is followed by its description and location. Next, we are introduced to the daughter of a king (A: Orientation/lineage), and an act, or lack of one which causes anger from the goddess Artemis, and a plague (B: Event). The goddess is simply angry because the children's feast, for which this story is the *aitia*, did not take place again in the following year. An oracle is received explaining how to remedy the plague (C: Oracle). Ephesus arrives (D: Arrival), and his name becomes attached to the city (D: Naming) as well as the story of Daitis. The story of Ephesus is an alternate version appended to the larger story; perhaps it could have stood on its own and existed as a package transferable to other texts. The story of Daitis seems complete without the addition of the few lines about Ephesus. No source is cited for this information but clearly the researchers had access to pre-packaged information. The compressed treatment of Ephesus at the end is understandable since the entry heading is Daitis: information must be provided which explains Daitis. However, since Ephesus is the

better known city name, the compilers seem to have felt the need to address the story of Ephesus as well, just in a very compressed manner.

Stephanus of Byzantium

In the sixth century C.E., Stephanus wrote an *Ethnica*, an alphabetized compendium of names of cities, places, and peoples. Stephanus appears very interested people's names and how their related ethnic and political names are spelled. In almost every entry, he gives copious forms of other peoples' ethnic and political names which share morphological endings. He often begins entries by explaining that the entry is a city name and that that city name is derived from a person's name; this is usually offered in the form of a patronymic, thus offering explanation via a brief lineage. Although the primary interest of Stephanus is the business of spellings, morphological endings and comparisons of similarly inflected names, he often provides sources which relate how a place received its name. Or, if he does not specify the exact content provided by his source in the first place, he indicates at least that the source gives the name for a place.

Below, Stephanus twice cites Uranius' *Arabica*.[121] Stephanus provides information about the city Auara via the *ktisis*, with the Schema providing Stephanus with a ready-made entry for his lexicon. Even though our current text of Stephanus is an epitome,[122] the second entry below (1b.) is striking in its full representation of the Schema.

(1a.) Αὔαθα καὶ Αὔαρα, οὐδετέρως, συνοικία Ἀράβων, ὡς Οὐράνιος ἐν Ἀραβικῶν πρώτῃ. Οἱ οἰκήτορες Αὐαθηνοὶ καὶ Αὐαρηνοί.

[121] Information on Uranius varies widely: he may have been an historian of the first century BCE or the sixth century CE according to the Canon.
[122] See Dickey (101).

Auatha and Auara, either one, a village of Arabs, as Uranius writes in the first book of the Arabica. The inhabitants were Auathenians and Auarenians.

(1b.) Αὔαρα, πόλις Ἀραβίας, ἀπὸ χρησμοῦ δοθέντος Ὀβόδᾳ
κληθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἀρέτα. ἐξώρμησε γὰρ Ἀρέτας (20)
εἰς ἀναζήτησιν τοῦ χρησμοῦ· ὁ δὲ χρησμὸς ἦν αὔαρα τόπον
ζητεῖν, ὅ ἐστι κατὰ Ἄραβας καὶ Σύρους λευκήν· καὶ φθάσαντι
τῷ Ἀρέτᾳ καὶ λοχῶντι ἐφάνη φάσμα αὐτῷ λευκοείμων ἀνὴρ
ἐπὶ λευκῆς δρομάδος προϊών. ἀφανισθέντος δὲ τοῦ φάσματος
σκόπελος ἀνεφάνη αὐτόματος κατὰ γῆς ἐρριζωμένος, κάκεῖ (25)
ἔκτισε πόλιν. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Αὐαρηνός.

Auara, a city in Arabia. After an oracle was received by Obodas, the city was named by Aretas, his son. Aretas set out to investigate the meaning of the oracle: the oracle was to seek out the place Auara, which, according to the Arabs and Syrians means "white." After Aretas arrived and lay in wait, to him there appeared a vision, a man dressed in white, riding upon a white camel. When the vision disappeared, a promontory appeared on its own, rooted beneath the earth; there he founded a city. The ethnic name is Auarenos.[123]

From Stephanus (p. 144, ll. 19-26) we learn that the city is located (A: Orientation) in Arabia; an oracle was received by a certain Obodas (C: Oracle), and a nomenclature is established: it was named by his son Aretas (D: Naming). Aretas sets out to investigate an oracle and a *phasma* appears to him, a white, clothed man (D: Phasma). Where the *phasma* disappears, he founds a city (E: Founding).

This use of the Schema, again in a late encyclopedia, points to the longevity and pervasiveness of the overall Schema: clearly this template plays a central role in conveying pre-packaged, remembrance-based cultural data. A lexicon, by nature,

[123] Cf. Pape s.v. Αὔαρα (I, p. 173). He translates Αὔαρα as *Weissenau* and cites this entry from Stephanus.

provides explanations in far briefer form than even Conon's digests and we see here multiple elements of the Schema packed into this entry of eight lines.

Stephanus claims to have taken this information from the historian Uranius. He cites the historian's *Arabica* several times in the surrounding entries; it appears that this particular entry is also from Uranius though his name is not specifically mentioned. The Schema provides Stephanus with a convenient template to encapsulate the information about Auara and Aretas using narrative devices and themes with a long history of use.

As I indicate above, it would be easy to eliminate the name Uranius as a source for this *ktisis* in favor of Stephanus. The narrative itself would be just as meaningful with even the name Ephorus prefixed to it. This suggests that *ktiseis/aitia* may have been the equivalent of today's open source programming: sources can be cited but they are definitely not necessary. A named source is a common element of the Schema, or even a mention that "some say" (Chapter 2). These stories are common property to all for whom the traditional story has meaning and familiarity. The ancients were not likely concerned with precise citation of "original" sources; I suggest that Stephanus aimed for appropriate, not precise names and text locations. Our concerns about the authenticity of source citations for *ktiseis/aitia* were likely not shared by ancient Greeks.

Conclusion

How and why the components of *ktiseis/aitia* remain connected after so many centuries of edit processes and re-telling of these narratives must be must be attributable to The Foundation and Etiology Narrative Schema. The Schema causes the components of *ktiseis/aitia* to adhere well, so that a story such as that of Lais can be retold numerous times while changing very little overall from text to text. The Schema is mnemonic in that regard: stories can be remembered and recalled with the components of the story in place when the elements of that story form an easily transferable package.

The Schema appears to have been useful for researchers/writers whose work continually transferred traditional stories through centuries. The evidence of the Schema, in even very brief lexical entries and scholia, suggest that the Schema assisted a scholarly process in which the writers' work was facilitated by an effective story-telling mechanism such as the underlying structure of the stories. Therefore, the Schema was both mnemonic and useful.

One suggestion from Chapter 1 is that the word *hypomnemata* describes texts which are products of research resulting in the production of prose narratives such as *ktiseis/aitia*. The word *hypomnemata* indicates recall and remembrance via its root, –μνη-. *Ktiseis/aitia* almost always begin with some indication that the narratives were told before and derive from a source. Even if no specific name is provided as a source, as in Conon's narratives (Chapter 2), the narratives begin with some verb indicating, "some say/they say/it is told . . ." One such verb, μνημονεύει, is related to *hypomnemata* via the core meaning of "remembrance/recall." A scholiast (Chapter 1) connects *Ktiseis* with the

verb μνημονεύει: "so-and-so recalls this in his *Ktiseis*." This suggests that *ktiseis/aitia* were themselves memorials of sorts: they aided in the remembrance of people who founded cities and originated important cultural customs.

As stories which recall important founders and originators, *ktiseis/aitia* are embellished with traditional connections to divinities and supernatural phenomena. These are not stories of mundane events and characters. The ancient Greek search for knowledge of how things come into being and what "being" may be in the first place has a lengthy tradition which includes the ontological interests reflected in Platonic dialogues and Parmenidean celebration of the search for the true meaning of being. That search is represented in both Plato and Parmenides as one that takes place through words, specifically discussion. Furthermore, the search is often represented as a journey. Perhaps narratives such as *ktiseis/aitia* are related to that use of words. After all, Conon begins many of his *ktiseis/aitia* with "they say," and the naming of a source indicates that these stories *were* in circulation; words *were* devoted to this or that foundation; it is a story that *does* matter. Lastly on this point, a main component of *ktiseis/aitia* is the journey which a character embarks upon. Words describe a journey and the journey leads to creative acts and knowledge of origins.

Narratives that are told and retold must contain some value, otherwise researchers/writers would not be bothered to treat them. They must be λόγου δὲ ἄξια *worthy* of a story, and this qualifier is specifically offered by several producers of *hypomnemata*, like Pausanias and Diodorus. The narratives serve an important role in a society's ability to know and identify both its collective self and its relation to the overall Greek world. Cities are joined through stories of founders who originate in one city and

then, after a journey, arrive in another territory to found another city. *Ktiseis/aitia* not only adhere internally, but they seem to unite the Greek peoples and cities treated in the narratives. They give cities and cultural institutions a human and family relationship, fraught with all of the potential rivalries, conflicts, and creative acts which human and family relationships may engender.

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