MAPPING PHLEIOUS: POLITICS AND MYTH-MAKING IN BACCHYLIDES 9

ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ, καὶ εἴ τις μικρὰ πόλις οὖσα πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ ἔργα διαπέπρακται, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἄξιον εἶναι ἀποφαίνειν. (Xenophon, *Hellenica* 7.2.1)

Bacchylides 9 celebrates the Nemean pentathlon victory of Automedes, who came from the small Peloponnesian state of Phleious.[1] It is undated, but should belong to the time of the Persian Wars, or shortly after.[2]

Unfortunately, the poem has been all but ignored. Apart from the papyrological investigations at the turn of the last century, and the commentaries by Jebb and Maehler, it has received practically no attention.[3] Scholars interested in the wider ramifications of myth have started to look at the myths of the foundation of the Nemean Games, and the mythology of the daughters of Asopus, the two main myths of the poem. But as yet there has been no overall interpretative work done on Bacchylides 9 at all, despite its intricacies of structure, mythology, and description.[4] This is especially puzzling given that this is the only extant epinician for a victor from Phleious.

I show here how the poem provides an insight into the extent to which mythology was used to pursue inter-state rivalries in the early fifth century: how the manipulation of earlier poetic accounts, whether of genealogies or otherwise, served political ends. Moreover, because of its pointed use of myth-making, the ode provides a test case for the importance of the location of performance in epinician. For the major myth against which the successful narrative of the poem operates is none other than the official and pro-Argive myth of the Seven against Thebes and the death of Opheltes, one of the foundation myths of the Nemean Games themselves.

[1] Many thanks to Peter Wilson, Ian Rutherford, Lynette Mitchell, and Oliver Taplin for many suggestions and clarifications along the way; also to the helpful criticisms of the anonymous referee.

I use the following abbreviations: F. Blass, *Bacchylidis Carmina cum Fragmentis* (Leipzig, 1898[1]) = Blass; G. W. Bond, *Euripides* Hypsipyle (Oxford, 1969) = Bond; J. B. Bury, *The Nemean Odes of Pindar* (London, 1890) = Bury; W. E. H. Cockle, *Euripides* Hypsipyle (Rome, 1987) = Cockle; R. L. Fowler, *Early Greek Mythography I: Texts* (Oxford, 2000) = *EGM* I; A. Griffin, *Sikyon* (Oxford, 1982) = Griffin; J. M. Hall, *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity* (Cambridge, 1997) = Hall, *Ethnic Identity*; G. O. Hutchinson, *Greek Lyric Poetry. A Commentary on Selected Larger Pieces* (Oxford, 2001) = Hutchinson; G. Italie, *Euripidis* Hypsipyla. *cum notis criticis et exegeticis* (Berlin, 1923) = Italie; R. C. Jebb, *Bacchylides, The Poems and Fragments* (Cambridge, 1905) = Jebb; F. G. Kenyon, *The Poems of Bacchylides* (London, 1897) = Kenyon; L. Kurke, *The Traffic in Praise. Pindar and the Poetics of Social Economy* (Ithaca, NY, 1991) = Kurke, *Traffic*; H. Maehler, *Die Lieder des Bakchylides, I. Die Siegeslieder* (1: Text and Translation; 2: Commentary), *Mnemos.* Suppl. 62 (Leiden, 1982) = Maehler I.1 and I.2; W. J. Slater, *Lexicon to Pindar* (Berlin, 1969) = Slater, *Lexicon*; M. L. West, *The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women* (Oxford, 1985) = West, *Catalogue*.

[2] See below, n. 51.

[3] Ignored even by S. E. Alcock, 'Urban survey and the *polis* of Phlius', *Hesp.* 60 (1991), 462 in a comment on the scarcity of links between Phleious and the Nemean games.

[4] Partly, perhaps, because G. M. Kirkwood, 'The narrative art of Bacchylides', in L. Wallach (ed.), *The Classical Tradition: Literary and Historical Studies in Honor of Harry Caplan* (Ithaca, NY, 1966), 105 damns the work as an example of 'Bacchylides at his pedestrian pace'!

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Bacchylides 9 uses Automedes' victory to put Phleious on the geopolitical and mythological map, at the centre of attention.

First the poem is located within its geographical, political, and mythological contexts. Parts I and II then explore the political significance of the mythology in the poem, which is expressive of both local and pan-Hellenic positioning. Recent work on Argive ethnicity has performed valuable service in highlighting the political nature of genealogies in the region; but my reading reveals a greater complexity on the ground than any chronological overview can offer. An alternative way of reading the *nostos*-paradigm in epinician is suggested, an expression of supremacy over external rivals. The third part explores the portrayal of the victor. The extraordinary simile used to describe him in lines 27ff. is linked with the mythology of the rest of the poem. Automedes and Phleious itself are pan-Hellenically established as paradigms of true Greekness.

A complete text and translation of the poem is provided below (pp. 352–4).

Background

Phleious is situated only 4 kilometres north-west of Nemea (for a map of the region, see Figure 1). One might have thought that Phleious would have figured prominently at the Nemean Games. But Bacchylides 9 is the only surviving epinician for Phleious, and there is only one other reference to Phleious in the poetry of this period, in Pindar's *Nemean* 6. The only other Phliasian victory in the pan-Hellenic games from the fifth century that we know of was that of Timainetus (perhaps a relative of Automedes, son of Timoxenus: compare Bacchyl. 9.102) in the hoplite-race at the Pythian Games of 498.[5] The rarity of Phliasian victories would intensify their significance.

Fifth-century relations between northern Peloponnesian states such as Sicyon and the southern state of Argos would have been strained. The precious evidence of Herodotus 5.67 shows that even in the sixth century, cult mythology was exploited or rejected in the pursuit of political objectives.[6] Moreover, the sanctuary at Nemea is likely to have been involved in a mythological propaganda battle, between Sicyon and Argos.[7] From the fact that Phleious provided two hundred troops to serve under

[5] Paus. 10.7.7: see Maehler I.2, 143.

[6] Cleisthenes' undermining of the cult of Adrastus and the banning of all Homeric material at Sicyon as pro-Argive. For Cleisthenes, Sicyon, and Argos, see Griffin, 58–9. An additional complexity is that it appears that the cult of Adrastus was reintroduced after Cleisthenes: although Σ Pind. *Nem.* 9 *inscr.* 20, and 25b (iii.149 and 152 Dr) state that it was founded by Cleisthenes, Pind. *Nem.* 9.9 (and cf. Pind. *Isthm.* 3/4.44) states that the Sicyonian Pythia was founded by Adrastus, on the banks of the Asopus. This juxtaposition between Adrastus and Asopus seems pointed. Griffin at 53 suggests that Pindar reflects an anti-Cleisthenic rehabilitation of Adrastus; cf. T. K. Hubbard, 'Remaking myth and rewriting history: cult tradition in Pindar's *Ninth Nemean*', *HSCP* 94 (1992), 84, 85–6. But it could be read the other way, marking a change of tack in Sicyonian anti-Argive policy: Adrastus is made the founder of the games, but in so doing is drawn into close proximity with non-Argive Asopid mythology; this could have been done at the same time as the renaming of the tribes to include the Argive-sounding Aegialeus. Although Griffin supposes these factors to be evidence of Sicyonian Argivizing (under Spartan influence), we should harbour the suspicion that the change in policy to reintroduce the cult of Adrastus was a political appropriation of an enemy hero (for which see M. Visser, 'Worship your enemy: aspects of the cult of heroes in ancient Greece', *HTR* 75.4 [1982], 403–28). Argive–Sicyonian relations in the archaic and early classical periods were at best unsteady, if not outrightly hostile.

[7] Argive influence can itself be perceived in the myth of Adrastus' foundation of the Nemean Games, to rival Sicyonian deployments of myth; cf. Hubbard (n. 6), 86, n. 17. The shift from a positive to a negative exemplification of Adrastus and the Seven in Pind. *Nem.* 9 could indicate

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FIGURE 1 Map of the north-east Peloponnese (adapted from Griffin, *Sikyon*).

Leonidas at Thermopylai (Hdt. 7.202; cf. Paus. 10.20.1), we can sense that Phleious considered itself a solidly pro-Spartan state. It contributed the relatively large number of 1,000 troops to fight at Plataia (Hdt. 9.28); Argive neutrality in the fight against the Persians is noteworthy (Hdt. 7.148–52, 8.73.3). Phleious sided with Sparta and Sicyon and other states against Argos in the Peloponnesian War. It was used as a base for the allied forces in the months before the battle of Mantinea; and it was then razed by Argos in the winter of 418–17 for harbouring Argive exiles (Thuc. 5.58.1, 5.83). It continued to be fiercely loyal toward Sparta, even in times of crisis for the latter, remaining hostile to Argos into the fourth century; it was again razed by Argive forces in 369 B.C., but remained steadfast.[8]

In the first half of the fifth century the sanctuary of Nemea (not itself a *polis*: compare Olympia, fought over between Elis and Pisa, and indeed Delphi) was under the control of Argos, but was administered by Cleonae, a town only a matter of a few kilometres to the north-east of Nemea.[9] The practicalities of this arrangement are unclear, but Argos is likely to have exerted pressure on Cleonae in order to maintain its

the appropriation and hostile redeployment of Argive myth. Hubbard suggested that Pindar was influenced by the myth's impact on his fellow Thebans; but this risks ignoring the central involvement of epinician myth in the politics of the Peloponnese.

[8] Xen. *Hell.* 7.2.1–2, from which I take my epigraph.

[9] See Griffin, 51; C. Morgan, *Athletes and Oracles. The Transformation of Olympia and Delphi in the Eighth Century* B.C. (Cambridge, 1990), 215–16; T. Kelly, *A History of Argos to 500* B.C. (Minneapolis, 1976), 127 with n. 47. Pind. *Nem.* 4.17, *Κλεωναίου τ' ἀπ' ἀγῶνος* and *Nem.* 10.42, *Κλεωναίων πρὸς ἀνδρῶν* for the administration.

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own interests, and as the century progressed Argos came to dominate.[10] Historical sources suggest that Cleonae and Argos were allied at least by the 460s. They fought together at Tanagra in 457 and in 418 at Mantinea *against* the Spartans,[11] which would suggest that for the majority of the fifth century they were also hostile towards Phleious. Even though, ultimately, the Phliasians did not get to fight at Mantinea after all, this cannot be put down to unwillingness on their part.[12]

What is of direct import for Bacchylides' poem is that Argive control was built into the mythology of the sanctuary. The leaders of the Seven against Thebes are said to have founded the games in honour of Opheltes.[13] Killed by a serpent while sleeping on parsley, he became the ritual symbol of victory in the crowns offered to victors; officials wore grey robes in his honour;[14] he was worshipped in a chthonic hero cult there, which dates to the sixth century and mirrors that at Olympia for Pelops, and that at the Isthmus for Melicertes/Palaimon.[15] Opheltes' ties with the distinctively Argive myth of the Seven suggest that Argive dominance in the region was highly significant for the festival's attainment of panhellenic status. This matches the political situation at the Isthmus, with Corinth dominating.[16]

Pan-Hellenic festivals were arenas where a man's ethnicity was on display, but could also be contentious. Although the story of how Alexander I of Macedon displayed his

[10] Cleonae is likely to have established the games (traditional date 573 B.C.): more details in *RE* 16.2322–7; they were certainly conspicuous competitors in the early years: see S. G. Miller, *Nemea. A Guide to the Site and Museum* (Berkeley, 1990), 37–8 with fig. 11 for four early pancration victories.

[11] Diod. Sic. 11.65; Paus. 1.29.7–9: Athenian monument to Cleonaeans; Thuc. 5.67.2: S. G. Miller, 'Kleonai, the Nemean Games and the Lamian War', in *Studies in Athenian Architecture Sculpture and Topography presented to Homer A. Thompson*, *Hesp.* Suppl. 20 (1982), 105, n. 39.

[12] See Griffin, 65.

[13] Epigraphic evidence for a sanctuary to the Seven in Argos in the sixth century: A. Pariente, 'Le monument argien des "sept contre Thèbes" ', in M. Piérart (ed.), *Polydipsion Argos: Argos de la fin des palais mycéniens à la constitution de l'état classique*, *BCH* Suppl. 22 (Paris 1992), 195–229; Hall, *Ethnic Identity*, 97.

[14] Σ Pind. *Nem. hyp.* d.16–19 (iii.4 Dr); E. R. Gebhard, 'The early stadium at Isthmia and the founding of the Isthmian Games' in W. Coulson and H. Kyrieleis (edd.), *Proceedings of an International Symposium on the Olympic Games* (Athens, 1992), 74.

[15] Paus. 2.15.2–3; Miller (n. 10), 28–9; Morgan (n. 9), 216. During the fifth century the foundation mythology is attracted into Attic drama: particularly in Aeschylus' *Nemea* (*TrGF* III, 261–2), *Leon*, named a satyr-play by Steph. Byz. 699.10, (for which R. Krumeich et al., *Das Griechische Satyrspiel* [Darmstadt, 1999], 161–3), and Euripides' *Hypsipyle*. The beginnings of this may be located within the politics of pro-Argive aetiologizing that we find in e.g. Aesch. *Eum.* (see n. 39 below). In Euripides' *Hypsipyle* the foundation of the games and the death of Opheltes frame Hypsipyle's dramatic reunification with, and salvation by, her son Euneus, who at the play's conclusion seems to have been instructed by Dionysus to escort his mother back to Lemnos, and then make his way to Athens (see Bond, 20 with *AP* 3.10.5), providing an aetiology for the family of the Euneidai and an associated Dionysiac priesthood (Phot. and Harp. s.v. *Εὐνεῖδαι*, and *IG* II.3^2 5056, with W. Burkert, 'Orpheus, Dionysos und die Euneiden in Athen' in A. Bierl and P. v. Möllendorff [edd.], *Orchestra. Drama, Mythos, Bühne* [Stuttgart, 1994], 46, n. 21; R. C. T. Parker, *Athenian Religion: A History* [Oxford, 1996], 297–8; A. C. Cassio, 'Esametri orfici, dialetto attico e musica dell'Asia Minore', in A. C. Cassio et al. [edd.], *Synaulía. Cultura Musicale in Grecia e Contatti Mediterranei. A.I.O.N.* 5 [Naples, 2000], 97–100). Euripides skilfully reworks a myth belonging to Athens' ally Argos, at a time when Athens, at war with Sparta, was laying claim to mythologies linked to disputed border territories. The Nemean sanctuary's destruction by fire in the late fifth century should be associated with Spartan military incursions against Argive interests in the region: Cockle, 41 with S. G. Miller, 'Excavations at Nemea, 1976', *Hesp.* 46 (1977), 8–10 and n. 17; Thuc. 5.60.3 with Griffin, 64. All this adds to the strongly political nature of the deployments of the Nemean aetiology throughout the century.

[16] Morgan (n. 9), 215.

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Argive descent in order to be allowed to compete in the Olympics may well be a Macedonian fabrication,[17] it still attests to the centrality of pan-Hellenic festivals as symbolic touchstones for Greekness.[18]

Moreover, poetic works relating to these festivals could provide mythological bases for such contentious ethnic claims. Bacchylides 9 is a telling example.

The prevalence of Peloponnesian localities for the labours of Heracles probably indicates appropriation by ethnic groups in the archaic period of myths associated with the pan-Hellenic Heracles, to assist their grounding as proper Greeks.[19] The myth of the Nemean Lion and its association with the sanctuary should be viewed as a more complex and politically charged delineation of this.

This is where genealogical myth can be brought in.[20] Jonathan Hall has suggested that evidence from archaeology, catalogue poetry, and historical sources shows that the genealogies relating to the Argolid belong to three distinct stages, relating specifically to the relations between Proitidai and Perseidai.[21] By the time of the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* in the sixth century, the two rival versions staking claims to the Argolid were subsumed into a shared descent from Abas, father of Proetus and ancestor of Adrastus, and from Acrisius, maternal grandfather of Perseus and ancestor of Heracles. A final stage came about in the 460s with Argive dominance over all surrounding areas and appropriation of all regional mythologies for its own purposes (as witnessed most strongly in Pindar's *Nemean* 10, but also in the statue-group dedicated at Delphi in the fourth century).[22]

Hall rightly highlights the sea-change that affected myth-making in the region in the 460s. But we should not suppose that Argos, as well as other states with their own unique interests and mythologies, had not been *trying* to achieve the same degree of success earlier than this. To focus on the total success of Argos in the mid-century would be to underestimate the extent to which different states in the region with competing ethnic claims had tried to reinflect or disrupt the rival ethnic claims of others, and using various media, in different ways at different times. Furthermore, diachronic history of political rivalry cannot avoid ending up as the story of the victors, in this case Argos. Hall is right to focus on the crucial period of the 450s in Argive civic self-projection. But we should see that other states in the region in preceding decades thought of themselves in as confident a fashion and took every opportunity to express themselves. Phleious takes one such opportunity with Bacchylides 9. My discussion of the political aspect of the poem allows us to examine questions of ethnicity and state-rivalry in a rather more focused fashion. Moreover, it allows us to imagine the mentality of a commissioning state by looking at how genealogy and mythology work *in action*.

[17] Hdt. 5.22; cf. Hall, *Ethnic Identity*, 64; fabrication: E. N. Borza, *In the Shadow of Olympus. The Emergence of Macedon* (Princeton, 1990), 113.

[18] As well as lyric poetry: Alexander was one of Bacchylides' early patrons. See fr. 20B, a work I hope to discuss elsewhere.

[19] See West, *Catalogue*, 148.

[20] For the importance of 'genealogical thinking', see R. L. Fowler, 'Genealogical thinking, Hesiod's *Catalogue*, and the creation of the Hellenes', *PCPS* 44 (1998), 1–19, and Hall, *Ethnic Identity*, *passim*.

[21] Hall, *Ethnic Identity*, 93–9, esp. 98 for a summing-up of the three-period process of Argolid myth-making.

[22] J. M. Hall, 'How Argive was the "Argive" Heraion? The political and cultic geography of the Argive Plain, 900–400 B.C.', *AJA* 99 (1995), 612 with Paus. 10.10.3–5 (with the notable addition of Perseus and Heracles as figures of Argive myth); cf. W. G. Forrest, 'Themistokles and Argos', *CQ* 10 (1960), 228.

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Table 1 gives a text and translation of Bacchylides 9.[23]

Table 1

str. 1	*Δόξαν, ὦ χρυσαλάκατοι Χάρι[τ]ες,*	Graces, spin your threads of gold
	πεισίμβροτον δοίητ', ἐπεὶ	and grant Fame to persuade mortals.
	Μουσᾶν γε ἰοβλεφάρων θεῖος προφ[άτ]ας	For the divinely inspired prophet of
	εὔτυκος Φλειοῦντά τε καὶ Νεμεαίου	the violet-eyed Muses is ready to hymn
5	*Ζηνὸς εὐθαλὲς πέδον*	Phleious and the flourishing plain of Nemean Zeus,
	ὑμνεῖν, ὅθι μηλοδαΐκταν	where pale-armed Hera reared
	θρέψεν ἁ λευκώλε[νο]ς	the sheep-slaying,
	Ἥρα περι[κλει]τῶν ἀέθλων	great-roaring Lion:
	πρῶτον [Ἡ]ρ[α]κλεῖ βαρύφθογγον λέοντα.	first of the glorious labours for Heracles.
ant. 1	*κε[ῖθι φοι]νικάσπιδες ἡμίθεοι*	There demigods with red shields,
11	*πρ[ώτιστ]ον Ἀργείων κριτοί*	chosen Argives, were the very first
	ἄθλησαν <ἐ>π' Ἀρχεμόρωι, τὸν	to hold contests for Archemorus:
	ξανθοδερκὴς	
	πέφν' ἀωτεύοντα δράκων ὑπέροπλος,	a monstrous, blazing eyed serpent killed him
	σᾶμα μέλλοντος φόνου.	as he slept, a sign that the future meant murder.
15	*ὦ μοῖρα πολυκρατές· οὔ νιν*	Intractable Fate! The son of Oikles
	πεῖθ' Οἰκλείδας πάλιν	could not persuade them to go back
	στείχειν ἐς εὐάνδρους ἀγ[υιάς.	to their city streets, rich in heroes.
	ἐλπὶς ἀνθρώπων ὑφαιρ[εῖται νόημ]α·	How Hope steals away from men their thinking!
ep. 1	*ἃ καὶ τότ' Ἄδραστον Ταλ[αϊονίδαν*	She was even then sending Adrastus, son of Talaus,
20	*πέμπεν ἐς Θήβας Πολυνείκει πλα. .ι [– – ˘ –*	to Thebes, as a (friend) to Polyneices . . .
	κείνων ἀπ' εὐδόξων ἀγώνων	It is from those glorious games
	ἐν Νεμέαι κλεινο[ῖ β]ροτῶν,	at Nemea that men come to be celebrated,
	οἳ τριετεῖ στεφάνωι	those few who can crown their
	ξανθὰν ἐρέψωνται κόμαν·	shining hair with the biennial garland.
25	*Αὐτομήδει νῦν γε νικά—*	And now to Automedes—in victory!—
	σαντί νιν δαίμων ἔ[δ]ωκεν,	fate has granted this honour.
str. 2	*πενταέθλοισιν γὰρ ἐνέπρεπεν ὡς*	He shone out among his fellow pentathletes
	ἄστρων διακρίνει φάη	As the beautiful moon on a mid-month night
	νυκτὸς διχομηνίδο[ς] εὐφεγγὴς σελάνα·	outshines the light of stars.
30	*τοῖος Ἑλλάνων δὶ ἀπ[εί]ρονα κύκλον*	Even so in the boundless circle of Greeks
	φαίνε θαυμ[α]στὸν δέμας	he showed his wonderful body,
	δίσκον τροχοειδέα ῥίπτων,	throwing the wheel-shaped discus;
	καὶ μελαμφύλλου κλάδον	and hurling forth the branch of the black-leaved elder
	ἀκτέας ἐς αἰπεινὰν προπέμπων	from his hand into the sheer sky
35	*αἰθέρ' ἐκ χειρὸς βοὰν ὤτρυνε λαῶν·*	he roused the shout of those watching;
ant. 2	*ἦ τε[λε]υτάσας ἀμάρυγμα πάλας*	Yes, in finishing with the flashing of his wrestling
	τοίω[ι θ' ὑπερθ]ύμωι σ[θένε]ι	with such overwhelming strength
	γυια[λκέα σώ]ματα [πρὸς γ]αίᾱι πελάσσα[ς	did he bring strong-limbed bodies to the ground
	ἵκετ' [Ἀσωπὸ]ν πάρα πορφυροδίναν·	before returning to the red-eddying Asopus.
40	*τοῦ κ[λέος π]ᾶσαν χθόνα*	The fame of this river has spread over the whole earth,
	ἦλθε[ν καὶ] ἐπ' ἔσχατα Νείλου,	even to the furthest reaches of the Nile,
	ταί τ' ἐπ' εὐναεῖ πόρωι	and to those women who live by fair-flowing
	οἰκεῦσι Θερμώδον[τος, ἐ]γχέων	Thermodon, women skilled in the spear,
	ἴστορες κοῦραι διωξίππο[ι' Ἄρηος,	daughters of horse-driving Ares.

[23] Here I offer the text of Maehler I.1 with additional supplements (mostly by Jebb) for purposes of illustration, and my own translation, modelled on Campbell in *Greek Lyric* (Loeb IV).

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ep. 2	σῶν, ὦ πολυζήλωτε ἄναξ ποταμῶν,	Your descendants it was, most envied lord of rivers,
46	ἐγγόνων γεύσαντο, καὶ ὑψιπύλου Τροίας ἔδος.	whose valour they got to taste,
	στείχει δὶ εὐρείας κελε[ύ]θου	as did the city of Troy with its lofty gates.
	μυρία πάντᾱι φάτις	Countless reports go in all directions concerning your
	σᾶς γενεᾶς λιπαρο-	family: your bright-
50	ζώνων θυγατρῶν, ἃς θε[ο]ί	-girdled daughters, whom gods settled
	σὺν τύχαις ὤικισσαν ἀρχα-	with happy fortunes as
	γοὺς ἀπορθήτων ἀγυιᾶν.	founders of unsackable streets.
str. 3	τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν κυανοπλοκάμου	For who does not know of dark-haired
	Θήβας ἐΰδμα[τον πόλι]ν,	Thebe's well-built city,
55	ἢ τὰν μεγαλώνυ]μον Αἴγιναν, μεγ[ίστ]ου	or of Aegina of great renown,
	Ζην]ὸς [ἃ πλαθεῖσα λ]έχει τέκεν ἥρω	who came to the bed of mighty Zeus and bore the hero
	. . .]δὲ σω[. . . . .]ου,	(Aeacus), or (. . .)
	ὃς γ]ᾶς βασά[νοισιν Ἀχ]αιῶν	who of the land of the Achaeans by the tests . . .
	]ν[ ]α	[probable reference to Aeacus] . . .
60	τ[– – ˘ – – – ˘ – –	. . .
	ᾱ[. . . . .]ω[. . . . . ε]ὔπεπλον [. .][	. . . fair-robed [i.e. ref. to another Asopid]
ant. 3	ἠ[δὲ Πειράν]αν ἑλικοστέφα[νον]	and Peirene, girl with the twining garland,
	κ[ούραν, ὅ]σαι τ' ἄλλαι θεῶν	and all those others who were overcome
	ε[ὐναῖς ἐδ]άμησαν ἀριγνώτ[ο]ις π[α]λαι[οῦ	in the glorious beds of gods,
65	παῖδες αἰ]δο[ί]αι ποταμοῦ κε[λ]άδοντος·	venerable daughters of the resounding river.
	– ˘ – –]αν πόλιν	[. . .] city [. . .]
	– – ˘˘ –]σί τε νικα[	[filled with revelry for?] victory,
	– ˘ – αὖ]λῶν βοαὶ	. . . sounds of pipes.. . . thoughts(?) . . .
	– – ˘ – o]υσαι· μεῤ[– –	
70	– ˘ – – – ˘ – – – ˘ –]αν·	. . .
ep. 3	– – ˘ – – – ˘ ˘ – ˘]νεος	. . .
	χρ]υσέα[ν προσ]θέντα ἰόπλοκον εὖ εἰπεῖν	adding golden violet-crowned Cypris to praise here,
	[Κύπριν,	mother of inflexible Loves
	τὰν μ]ατ[έρ' ἀκ]νάμ[π]των ἐρώτων	. . . and famous among mortals . . .
	– ˘ – κλε]ινὰν βροτο[ῖς	
75	– ˘˘ – ˘]λέων	. . .
	– – ˘ – –]προξεν[–	. . . (guest-friend)
	– ˘ – – –]ε̣ι̣ώταν	[e.g. For we have brought you]
	– ˘ – – – ˘]ν ὕμνον,	the] hymn [of the] island [Muse],
str. 4	ὃς κε – – –] καὶ ἀποφθιμένωι	which even when you are dead
80	– – υ ἄτ]ρυτον χρόνον,	[will remain] for limitless time,
	καὶ τοῖς ἔ]πιγεινομένοις αἰεὶ πιφαύσκοι	and may reveal to all future generations
	σὰν Νε]μέᾱι νίκαν· τό γέ τοι καλὸν ἔργον	your Nemean victory. Yes, the fine deed, if it has been
	γνησίων ὕμνων τυχὸν	lucky to gain authentic hymns,
	ὑψοῦ παρὰ δαίμοσι κεῖται·	lives on high among the gods.
85	σὺν δ' ἀλαθείᾱι βροτῶν	With the help of men's truthful memory,
	κάλλιστον, εἴπ[ερ καὶ θάνηι τις,	should one die, a most precious plaything
	λε[ί]πεται Μουσ[ᾶν βαθυζώνων ἄθ]υρμα.	of the deep-girdled Muses is left behind.
ant. 4	εἰ[σ]ὶ δ' ἀνθρώ[πων ˘˘ – ˘˘ –	For men there are many (paths to
	πολλαί· δι[α]κρίν[ε]ι δὲ θεῶν	renown?). But it is the counsel of the gods which
90	β]ουλὰ [τὸ καλυπτό]μενον νυκτὸς [δνοφοῖσιν	decides what is veiled in the gloom of night.
	.]. . .[˘ – – – ˘]γε καὶ τὸν ἀρείω	[The weaker man] and indeed the stronger
	– ˘ – – – ˘]που·	[e.g. are alike led on their way
	– – ˘˘ – ˘˘]ευσων	by the fate of Zeus the thunderer.
	– ˘ – – – ˘ –]	Who is to produce high deeds and who is to fail is a
95	– – ˘ – – – ˘ π]α̣ύροις	secret, till men come to make trial;] and to few
	ἀν]δρ[άσιν – – ˘ – – –]ι̣ τὸ μέλλον·	mortals [have the Fates granted vision of] the future.

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ep. 4	ὔ]μμι δ[ὲ καὶ Δάματρος ἔ]δωκε χάριν	[To you], by grace of [Demeter]
	κ]αὶ Διων[ύσου Κρονίδας] θεοτίματο[ν] πόλιν	and Dionysus, [the son of Cronus]
	ν]αίειν ἀπο[ρθήτους θαλ]εῦντας·	has granted dwelling in a god-honoured
100	χ]ρυσεοσκάπτρ[– ˘ –	city, [unravaged and prosperous].
	ὅς] τι καλὸν φέ[ρεται,	When from golden-sceptred [Zeus?]
	..]α.ὶνέοι· Τιμοξ[ένου	[a man wins] a fine prize,
103	παιδὶ σὺν κώ[μοις νέων ὑμ-	let [everyone] praise. For Timoxenus' son, in the company
	νέ]οιτε πεντ[άθλοισι νίκαν.	of [youthful revels, hymn]
		[victory] in the pentathlon.

I. NEMEAN AETIOLOGIES

The aetiologies for the foundation of the Nemean Games provide the basis for such rival mythologizing.[24] Stephen Miller has suggested that 'the preferred version of the foundation of the Games had nothing to do with Herakles',[25] but this begs the question of whose preferred version is at issue, and fails to deal with the Bacchylidean evidence.

Bacchylides 9 offers in lines 6–20 a double aetiology unique within contemporary poetry. At first glance, it might appear to present a case of mythical syncretism.[26] But the structural parallels of the ode, and the role of Adrastus and the Seven within its framework, indicate greater complexity.

Heracles' first labour is used as an aetiology for the pentathlon triumph of Automedes, whose final, and decisive, wrestling throw (detailed in lines 36ff.) works in ring composition with the first labour of Heracles. Compare Bacchyl. 13.46ff., where Heracles' different attempts to kill the Lion ultimately form the aetiology for the Nemean pancration.

Of particular interest are the verbal repetitions, and the tension between the chronological and the narrative thrusts of this mythology. From the introduction of the Nemean sanctuary, we move immediately to the story of Heracles and the Lion (6–10: ὅθι . . . ἀέθλων | πρῶτον). The story of Archemorus and the Seven is then juxtaposed directly (10–12: κε[ῖθι . . . πρ[ώτιστ]ον . . . ἄθλησαν). The narrative chronology (Heracles and the Lion 6–9, then Archemorus 10–14) works counter to the aetiological chronology (πρῶτον 9 . . . πρ[ώτιστ]ον 11).[27] Furthermore, the aetiology of the Seven is sandwiched and enclosed within the ring-compositional effect of lines 9–36 (πρῶτον . . . τε[λε]υτάσας).

[24] Σ Pind. *Nem. hyp.* a.3–6 (iii.1 Dr); Hall, *Ethnic Identity*, 95; cf. Hall (n. 22), 608–9. Hall also suggests that claims to control of the sanctuary by the people of Mycenae (Diod. Sic. 11.65.5) may also have been based on Perseid (and so Heraclean) genealogical claims.

[25] S. G. Miller, 'The stadium at Nemea and the Nemean Games', in W. Coulson and H. Kyrieleis (edd.), *Proceedings of an International Symposium on the Olympic Games* (Athens, 1992), 81; in his evaluation of Servius' note on Verg. *G.* 3.19 and Callim. *Aet.* 3 he appears unaware of the allusion in the former to the latter, or to the possibility that Callimachus might be utilizing source material such as Bacchylides for his own purposes: cf. P. J. Parsons, 'Callimachus: Victoria Berenices', *ZPE* 25 (1977), 41 for the use of Bacchyl. 13 (aetion and structural device of Athena); perhaps Callimachus also took the double foundation version in the proem to *Aetia* 3 from Bacchylides, this time from Bacchyl. 9.

[26] Syncretism: M.-C. Doffey, 'Les mythes de fondation des concours néméens', in Piérart (n. 13), 185–93; Hall, *Ethnic Identity*, 95 with n. 147 appears undecided.

[27] The strangeness of the reversal of temporal sequence is marked here, especially since there are no parallels for the sequence πρῶτον . . . πρώτιστον. Such uniqueness marks the tendentiousness of the Phliasian version. The reading πρ[ώτιστ]ον fits the spacing perfectly and has not been challenged since Kenyon adopted it.

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This presents the aetiology of the Seven as a false start. Heracles' first labour, which stands as an aetion for the future successes, is mentioned first (with the Lion, and Hera's role, set up here, contrary to elsewhere in Bacchylides, as a glorifying gift for Heracles).[28] The story of the Seven is then opposed as a counterexample.

Bacchylides reworks the Hesiodic account of the Nemean Lion in *Theogony* lines 327–9, where Hera rears the Lion as a pain for men:

> *. . . Νεμεαῖόν τε λέοντα,*
> *τόν ῥ' Ἥρη θρέψασα Διὸς κυδρὴ παράκοιτις*
> *γουνοῖσιν κατένασσε Νεμείης, πῆμ' ἀνθρώποις.*

In Bacchylides, by an appropriation of Hesiod's syntax, the Lion becomes, instead of *πῆμ' ἀνθρώποις*, the first of Heracles' glorious contests (7–9):

> *θρέψεν ἁ λευκώλε[νο]ς*
> *Ἥρα περι[κλει]τῶν ἀέθλων*
> *πρῶτον [Ἡ]ρ[α]κλεῖ βαρύφθογγον λέοντα.*

The juxtaposition engineered between Heracles and the Lion, and Archemorus and the snake, with both creatures described in similarly vivid language, suggests a contrast between an aetiology of victory provided by Heracles' successful slaying of the one creature, and a second aetiology grounded in failure. In the latter the games are founded in honour of the innocent child who died unprotected in his sleep, and Bacchylides makes no reference to the killing of the serpent whatever. Furthermore, the pan-Hellenic 'success story' of the infant Heracles killing the two snakes sent by Hera (known from the myth of Pindar's *Nemean* 1, for example) may operate in the background, to add support to the rival version.

The death of Archemorus is pointedly described as a sign of future bloodshed: *σᾶμα μέλλοντος φόνου*, line 14.[29] Fate has a hand in the following events, along with Hope: Amphiaraus the Argive seer was unable to persuade the Seven to return to Argos,[30] since Hope had buoyed up Adrastus and sent him on to Thebes; Adrastus was the only one of the Seven to return. Further, some accounts tell us that not only did the Seven found the games, but that they also competed: according to Apollodorus, for instance, Adrastus won the horse race.[31] The focus on hope thus takes on extra significance through its wider use in epinician; it is applied to competitors looking forward to future successes (e.g. Pind. *Pyth.* 8.90), and also to figures within myths generally as a negative paradigm.[32] There also seems to be a phonic pun between

[28] Hera is thus on Heracles' side here; allusion is made to the folk-etymology of Heracles' name. This fits with the connection between Hera and Dionysus, another stepson, at Phleious: see further below, with n. 78. Contrast Heracles' own view of Hera in Bacchyl. 5.89–91.

[29] Cf. Eur. *Hyps.* fr. 60 col. ii 15–16 Cockle, appropriately supplemented by Bond, 114, e.g. *ἀρχὴ γὰρ ἡμῖν [θανασίμου θνῆσκων μόρου] Ἀρχέμορος ἕ[σται* (with Italie's citation of Bacchyl. 9.14 as parallel). Also Apollod. 3.6.4; *Σ* Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 2.34, p. 306.31–3 Stählin; *Σ* Pind. *Nem. hyp.* c. 6–7 (iii.3 Dr); the verdict of Amphiaraus at the end of Stat. *Theb.* 5: *et puer, heu, nostri signatus nomine fati,* | *Archemorus* (738–9).

[30] Cf. Ps.-Apollod. 3.6.2.

[31] Ps.-Apollod. 3.6.4, seemingly alluding to an earlier Greek source; Adrastus as leader is granted the most significant victory.

[32] For example, Bacchyl. 13.157: unfulfilled Trojan hopes of burning the Greeks' ships and returning home victorious.

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aspirated *φόνου* and non-aspirated *πόνου*. Bacchylides' use of *πόνος*-language in epinician is confined to the similarly aetiological context of Bacchyl. 13.54–7. There future athletic sweat and toil in the Nemean pancration is foreshadowed by Heracles' victory over the Lion (in the words of perhaps Athena or the nymph Nemea).[33] The pun stresses the difference between positive pro-Phliasian aetiology, and its contrasting rival in the story of the Seven and the death of Archemorus. Argive foundation myth, doomed to foreshadow failure and death, is set against Phliasian success, within a victory ode in honour of a Phliasian citizen.

There are two additional contrasts. Firstly, Bacchylides (the Muses' *θεῖος προφ*[*άτ*]*ας*, line 3) is ready to praise his victor, and has persuasion on his side (see *Δόξαν . . . πεισίμβροτον* 1–2); whereas Adrastus' own 'seer' Amphiaraus warns him but fails to persuade: (*οὔ νιν | πείθ'* 15–16). Secondly, Adrastus' failure to return to a flourishing home (*πάλιν | στείχειν ἐς εὐάνδρους ἀγ*[*υιάς* 16–17) is in marked opposition to the transitional statement that Automedes came back home to Phleious and the banks of the Asopus after his victory: *ἵκετ' [Ἀσωπὸ]ν πάρα πορφυροδίναν·* 39.[34] That the description of the return to Phleious after victory is symbolic is confirmed when we recall that Phleious is only four kilometres from Nemea: the point of the statement is the contrast with Adrastus, whose future misfortune is, in characteristically Bacchylidean fashion, left unstated (the myth ends with his fateful association with Polyneices: line 20).

Moreover, Automedes' symbolic 'return' is just that: it is no real return at all. The Phliasian anti-Argive myth-making hits home precisely here, to assert Phliasian control over the Argive mythology of Nemea. The nymph Nemea is herself an Asopid according to a number of sources,[35] thus a figure naturally to be appropriated by Phleious. Since Nemea is a daughter of the Phliasian Asopus, Automedes has not really *left* home at all in his journey to the games. This is a situation diametrically opposed to that of the Seven, who are away from home and unable to return successfully.

The use of mythology as a foil to the successes of the present is very prominent in epinician. But here it is the dominant Argive myth of the sanctuary against which Bacchylides' narrative operates.

This is not to undermine the authority of the Nemean Games and thus to devalue Automedes' victory. Rather, it is to undermine the Argive foundation myth by appeal to the familiar rival account involving Heracles, and to help normalize the latter as a more auspicious model.

Bacchylides uses Automedes' victory and the proximity of Phleious to the sanctuary to engage in some anti-Argive politics on Phleious' behalf. No allusion is made to the story of the Epigonoi at all. Even if, as seems likely, the myth of the Seven was a Theban creation originally, it was appropriated at an early stage, enabling Argos to establish its important place within the Peloponnese. And although the first attack on Thebes failed, initial failure justified the successful second attempt.[36] Bacchylides'

[33] *. . . ἦ ποτέ φαμι | τᾶιδε*] *περὶ στεφάνοισι | παγκ*]*ρατίου πόνον Ἑλ- | λάνεσσι*]*ν ἱδρώεντ' ἔσεσθαι.*

[34] This contrast, and the possibility that Argos' streets could have been *εὐάνδρους* if Adrastus had returned home immediately, are played out in the remains of columns 20 and 21 of the papyrus, where the details of the victory festivities in Phleious are described.

[35] *Σ* Pind. *Ol.* 6.144e (i.185 Dr); Paus. 2.153; 5.22.6; C. M. Bowra, 'The daughters of Asopus', *Hermes* 73 (1938), 213–21. See further below for the evidence of Pausanias.

[36] Hall, *Ethnic Identity*, 97.

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preferred focus is on the doomed choice of Adrastus and the pun on Archemorus' name (lines 12–14), by contrast with the victor's successful homecoming.[37]

The motif of the return home is one familiar from Pindaric epinician. It has been historicized by Leslie Kurke as symbolizing the successful reintegration of the victor into his community.[38] As we shall see later, there is an implicit warning to the victor here; but this is conveyed by paradigmatic failure embedded within the mythology of a rival state.

The same kind of aetiological rivalry may be at play in the only other reference to Phleious in contemporary epinician: Pind. *Nem.* 6.42–4, part of a mid-460s Aeginetan epinician. Here we find a highly periphrastic description of the victor's crown of parsley:

> βοτάνα τέ νίν ποθ' ἁ λέοντος
> νικάσαντ' ἤρεφε δασκίοις
> Φλειοῦντος ὑπ' ὠγυγίοις ὄρεσιν.

Most translations and interpretations (rendering βοτάνα as 'herb' or 'pasture') skirt over the possibility that there might be anything unusual in these lines, or ignore the difficulty of the juxtaposition of βοτάνα with λέοντος. They tend to follow the rationalizing (though somewhat muddled) strategy of the scholia. On one interpretation they suggest that the βοτάνη λέοντος is Nemea itself, in as much as the Lion spent time there whilst 'grazing' (βοσκόμενος), despite the oddity of such a suggestion.[39] But in close proximity to the mention of Phleious, we should ask why the cult garland of parsley might be interpreted as the 'fodder of the Lion'. Why would the Nemean Lion want to eat Opheltes' parsley (given that he is, for instance, μηλοδαΐκταν according to Bacchyl. 9.6)? Rather than being another case of syncretism, I suggest that this asserts and reflects Phleious' own independent mythology: as we shall see, Aegina and Phleious were mythologically connected by means of the daughters of Asopus. Moreover, there is a pointed irreverence directed at the Argive line on Opheltes. Given that relations between Aegina and Argos may have been strained in the 460s[40] when the Aeginetans commissioned the work from Pindar, the symbolism of the lucky hero's being *consumed* by the Phliasian Lion could be an

[37] A. Rengakos, 'Zu Bakchylides' Erzähltechnik', in A. Bagordo and B. Zimmermann (edd.), *Bakchylides: 100 Jahre nach seiner Wiederentdeckung*. *Zetemata* 106 (Munich, 2000), 107 notes the brevity of Bacchylides' allusion to the future disaster at Thebes in lines 18ff. This is interestingly different from the focus on ancestral φυά passed on from generation to generation in the myth of Amphiaraus and Alcmaion in Pind. *Pyth.* 8, Pindar's latest epinician; its mythology suggests Athenian–Argive influence over Aegina subsequent to Argive dominance in the Peloponnese, and offers support to Argive hero-cult.

[38] Kurke, *Traffic*, esp. chs. 1 and 2.

[39] Σ Pind. *Nem.* 6.71a (iii.110 Dr) βοτάνα τέ νίν ποθ' ἁ λέοντος· βούλεται ἡ ἱστορία ἐκ τοῦ Ἀρχεμόρου αἵματος ἀναδεδόσθαι τὸ βοτανίδιον· οἱ δὲ, ὃ καὶ βέλτιον, βοτάνη λέοντος ἡ Νεμέα, παρόσον κατ' αὐτὴν διῆγεν ὁ λέων βοσκόμενος. The gloss of βοσκόμενος in the sense of 'pasturing' or 'grazing' further marks the oddity of the usage with the Lion, the verb being used primarily of cattle: see LSJ βόσκω II. Other references to Nemea as the province of the Lion in epinician are at Pind. *Ol.* 13.44, χόρτοις ἐν λέοντος (a Corinthian commission), and *Isthm.* 3.11, κοίλᾳ λέοντος (a Theban commission, where we might expect strongly Heraclean mythological associations); neither of these states would have felt any strong affiliation to Argos in the period. D. E. Gerber, '*Pindar*, Nemean *Six: A Commentary*', *HSCP* 99 (1999), 71 ad loc. doubts that there is any special or unusual significance for the periphrasis in either case.

[40] After all, Argos was allied with Athens: cf. Aesch. *Eum.* 289–91, 669–73, and 762–74 with A. H. Sommerstein, *Aeschylus, Eumenides* (Cambridge, 1989), 26 and 30; also Thuc. 1.102.

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oblique nod to a strategic alliance between the two states in the face of the threat of aggressive Argive mythologizing and militarization. The latter marked a significant shift in the power-balance of the region, given Aegina's previous alliance *with* Argos indicated by Herodotus.[41]

After these positive and negative aetiologies for the games, Bacchylides' narrative continues, with the reference to Automedes' victory in *κείνων ἀπ' εὐδόξων ἀγώνων* (line 21). As the third reference to athletics or trials (compare line 8 and lines 10–12), following those of Heracles and those of the Argives, Bacchylides' statement invites us to see Automedes' victory as a direct successor to both sets of struggles, and to think both about Heracles' triumphs and the downfall of the Seven. Adrastus' ultimate failure was that he thought he could foresee the future (overpowered by hope as he was), and ignored the true foresight of Amphiaraus. An additional point of the ode is a warning to the victor Automedes not to make the same mistake: the victor, and others, can learn from both paradigms. But those hearing Bacchylides 9 in performance would select their own way of reading Bacchylides' myth-making. As such, the place of first performance makes a big difference.

The past-tense *ἵκετ'* of line 39 strongly projects a view of Automedes from within Phleious after his return. Together with the references to state cult and festivity which we can glimpse in the damaged sections of the third triad, this makes it highly probable that the ode was performed in Phleious after Automedes' return from the Games, rather than at the Nemean sanctuary.

Automedes' return puts up a united Phliasian front against external rivals with rival mythological traditions. The contrast with the fate of the Seven usurps Argive myth to present the Phliasian victor as distinctively non-Argive, *because of* his success. From within Phleious, Bacchylides' mythology preaches to the converted. The pan-Hellenic *κλέος* inherent in Bacchylides' work ensures that his version will get a wider audience, but one would assume that the emphases of the myth, however subtle, would not have appealed strongly to Argives. The myth is pan-Hellenically acceptable, but contains a distinctive anti-Argive quality; it supports and prolongs the fame and status of Nemea, but not on Argive terms.

II. THE DESCENDANTS OF ASOPUS

I leave the description of the athlete in lines 27–38 for the moment and move on to discuss the second major mythical section, which details the glory of the descendants of Asopus. The genealogy of his descendants was perhaps set out in the fourth book of the sixth-century pseudo-Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*.[42] But it is ambiguous from the start which river Asopus was in question. There existed at least three different rivers of this name: one which formed the southern limit of Boeotia, the site of the battle of Plataia; one in Aegina;[43] and one flowing through the north-east Peloponnese through Phleious and into the Gulf of Corinth at Sicyon.[44] This basic

Although relations between Aegina and Athens were complex in this period, they were probably predominantly hostile.

[41] Hdt. 5.86: Argive help to Aegina *against* Athens.

[42] West, *Catalogue*, 100. See too the accounts of Diod. Sic. 4.72 and Ps.-Apollod. 3.12.6.

[43] This one is a special case: see G. A. Privitera, 'Pindaro, *Nem.* III 1–5, e l'acqua di Egina', *QUCC* 58 (1988), 63–70.

[44] West, *Catalogue*, 100–3; J. L. Larson, *Greek Nymphs: Myth, Cult, Lore* (Oxford, 2001), 139–40.

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ambiguity over the identity of the river attests to the central role that myths of Asopus and his descendants played in pan-Hellenic mythological politics.[45]

The mythological details found in genealogies like the *Catalogue of Women* were open to political appropriation throughout the later archaic period. This is especially so with Asopus, given the rival claims to the river's geographical locality and the fact that the nymphs who were his daughters were named for various important states and islands: for instance, Thebe, Aegina (who bore Aeacus), Nemea herself, Cercyra, Sinope, Salamis, and so on. This listing of eponymous nymphs was therefore a likely candidate for additions or subtractions,[46] and for the playing-out of further inter-state rivalries and alliances among the large number of diverging and competing genealogical traditions.[47] Most well-known is Herodotus' account of the alliance between Thebes and Aegina against Athens. This was based on an interpretation of the Delphic Oracle to the effect that τῶν ἄγχιστα δέεσθαι ('they needed those closest') was meant in kinship terms, that is, as a reference to the fact that the nymphs Aegina and Thebe were sisters (Hdt. 5.79–80). We also have the evidence of Bacchylides 13 to show the extent to which a state could celebrate its heritage through female genealogy; Eva Stehle has discussed the possibility of the existence of ritual dances by Aeginetan *parthenoi* honouring their eponymous nymph.[48]

The description of the Asopids by Diodorus at 4.72 also bears witness to inter-state politics in the source mythology. Here Aegina is claimed to have been carried off by Zeus from Phleious to her new eponymous home (Diod. Sic. 4.72). This probably points to rivalry in the earlier archaic period between Phleious and Aegina over the origins of the nymph Aegina. The Aeginetan version of Bacchylides 13, which stages the singing of *parthenoi* in honour of Aegina and her progeny, does not state that she changed nationality to become the island's eponym. In another Aeginetan version—the prosodion section of *Paean* 6 (lines 134–7)—Aegina has been carried off by Zeus from the banks of the Asopus, but the geographical referent is left unclear. It could refer to the Theban river, given Pindar's nationality and the evidence of Herodotus already detailed. But it is much more likely that in the Aeginetan version Aegina already lived by the river on the *island*, and was lucky enough to be the only daughter of Asopus to be chosen as a rape-victim of Zeus from there.[49] As we will see, the connection made by Diodorus between Phleious and Aegina is similar to what we get in Bacchylides 9: the poem's mythology rather cheekily appropriates foundation aetiologies of famous states and places of Greece connected with rivers called Asopus in order to claim them for the victor's own *polis*.

Competition between Phleious and other states for control of the genealogy of the Asopids is also shown by Pausanias. After what he states is the Phliasian account of

[45] West, *Catalogue*, 7, 45–6. They may have made the subject of a book by Hellanicus of Lesbos (and see now *EGM* I fr. 22) but unfortunately, given his pro-Argive stance (see Hall [n. 22] 612), we do not know how his version(s) may have been influenced by, and intended to influence, myth-making concerning Asopids. We do know that in the first book of his obviously pro-Argive Ἱέρειαι τῆς Ἥρας αἱ ἐν Ἄργει one Asopid (Cercyra) is mentioned: *EGM* I fr. 77.

[46] Ps.-Apollod. 3.12.6 probably uses the number twenty to mean an indefinitely large number; he names only Aegina.

[47] For a brief survey of other genealogical poems and mythographies, see West, *Catalogue*, 3–7.

[48] E. Stehle, *Performance and Gender in Ancient Greece. Nondramatic Poetry in Its Setting* (Princeton, 1997), 106; cf. T. Power, 'The *Parthenoi* of Bacchylides 13', *HSCP* 100 (2000), 67–81.

[49] This is also likely to be connected with rituals involving Aeginetan *parthenoi*, the kind projected in Bacchyl. 13.84ff.

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the daughters of the Peloponnesian Asopus, he says the Thebans do not agree, since they believe Thebe to be the daughter of the Boeotian, not the Peloponnesian, river.[50]

This is crucial background to what we see in Bacchylides 9. In lines 40–52 explicit praise is offered to the river and his descendants. Their κλέος will be carried to the boundaries of the known world, to the furthest reaches of the Nile, and to the banks of the river Thermodon, the home of the Amazons. This geography makes it appear natural that Phleious is a dominant player on the local and pan-Hellenic stages. Egyptians and Amazons were both viewed archetypally as non-Greeks, especially in the period of the Persian Wars.[51] And it implies that Phleious is the heart, the true home, of genuine Hellenic identity, from where its praise will be carried to the edges of the earth.[52] A good parallel for *bona fide* Hellenic κλέος projected into non-Greek territory is provided by Pindar, *Isthm.* 6.19–25, who claims that no-one could be so βάρβαρος (incidentally the only attestation of the word or its cognates in Pindar) as not to have heard of the κλέος of the Aeacidae, the same descendants being referred to in our passage.[53] Here in Bacchylides 9, the referents are Ajax and Achilles, the grandsons of Aeacus, in turn the grandson of Asopus via Aegina. Already we can see genealogies not obviously connected to Phleious being appropriated, and given a heroic twist in Phleious' favour.

But things become even more extreme, when, in the next section, he moves on to the Asopid nymphs themselves. Bacchylides explicitly introduces them as 'founders of unsacked streets', lines 50–1. The first example of a famous Asopid city Bacchylides chooses to catalogue is Thebes: 'For who does not know of dark-haired Thebe's well-built city?', lines 53–4. This is something of a show-stopper—Theban opinion reported by Pausanias would surely have reacted to this appropriation of their river even more strongly than to Phleious' possession of an Asopus of its own.

This is fascinating in the context of the earlier mythology. Bacchylides suggests that the Phliasian genealogy and mythology underwrite the survival of Thebes itself, but *only* through the Phliasian appropriation of the myth of the doomed Seven, unable to return to 'streets rich in heroes' (line 17: note the use of ἀγ[υιάς paralleling ἀγυιᾶν in line 52), and with the story of the success of the Epigonoi white-washed out of the

[50] Paus. 2.5.1–3. This isolated comment hints at what must have been a familiar feature of interstate rivalries in the archaic period; West, *Catalogue*, 100 and Maehler I.2, 145 point to a number of other poetic and mythographic treatments of Asopids. Bacchylides 9 plays one genealogical tradition off against another to assert Phliasian authority over a validating Argive mythology and thus to contest Argive control of the Nemean sanctuary.

[51] Cf. D. Castriota, *Myth, Ethos and Actuality. Official Art in Fifth-century B.C. Athens* (Madison, 1992), 47–53, 77–86, and 150–1; Aesch. *Suppl.* 972–4 on Egyptians as *barbaroi*: E. Hall, *Inventing the Barbarian. Greek Self-definition through Tragedy* (Oxford, 1989), 118. Although Bacchyl. 9 is undated, explicit references here to international ethnic oppositions should secure the poem during or, perhaps more likely, just after the Persian Wars. In addition, the Nile and Thermodon rivers themselves serve as geographical contrasts to the ethnically Hellenic Asopus on the banks of which Phleious is located (the first of the three rivers to be mentioned: line 39).

[52] Whether this can be viewed as Phleious asserting its Hellenic *ethnicity* is a moot point. The Phliasian Asopids cannot function as an *ethnic* group or subgroup defined through 'consensually agreed' putative shared descent (see Hall, *Ethnic Identity*, 25–6). But the Phliasians with Bacchly. 9 are at least asserting the Hellenic pre-eminence of their Asopids, and this is surely an ethnic claim. Indeed, there is good evidence to show that the larger more mainstream Hellenic genealogies were by no means consensually agreed, as Hall's own work in fact shows. This points to broader terminological problems with ethnicity.

[53] Pind. *Isthm.* 6 dateable between 484 and 480, by relation to the victory catalogues of *Nem.* 5, and *Isthm.* 5 (won by the same victor, Phylacidas of Aegina), alluding to the battle of Salamis.

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picture. So Bacchylides kills two birds with one stone. He distorts a central piece of Argive mythology, and asserts the continued Hellenic *bona fides* of Thebes by superimposing a skewed pro-Phliasian genealogy onto it as a challenge to its rival claim to the Asopids.

Next in line is Aegina, who went to Zeus' bed (πλαθεῖσα, line 56). There is then probably some detail about Aegina's son Aeacus, either in his role as saviour of Greece in a time of drought, or by reference to his supreme justice,[54] and then perhaps three other daughters mentioned, in an irritatingly fragmentary section. Cleona might fit in line 61 ([*K*]λεώναν Jebb); Peirene, the Corinthian spring, has been inserted at line 62. A reference to Cleona as an Asopid would be highly suitable given what we have already seen of the role of Cleonae in the politics of the Nemean sanctuary. The inclusion of Cleona could be interpreted as a side-swipe at the mythology of the state which administered the sanctuary under Argive influence. Although Nemea herself cannot be fitted into these lines on metrical grounds, recall the verbal juxtaposition of Phleious and Nemea in lines 4–5 (Φλειοῦντά τε καὶ Νεμεαίου | Ζηνὸς εὐθαλὲς πέδον are together the objects of Bacchylides' praise), part and parcel of the Phliasian geopolitical construct; we will see below how keen the Phliasians were to promulgate the view that Nemea was an Asopid. At least one source asserts that Nemea herself was the mother of Opheltes (rather than Eurydice).[55] If that myth was also more widely prevalent,[56] it would provide further evidence for an early tussle between rival states over the control of the sanctuary. Note that in Bacchylides 9 the identity of Archemorus' mother is not stated.

Pausanias tells us that the Phliasians dedicated a statue-group of Zeus and Aegina at Delphi, and one depicting a group of Asopids at Olympia.[57] Pausanias' discussion of the Olympic statue-group provides important evidence for exactly the same kind of mytho-political strategy in plastic art as in Bacchylides' poetic work. Jennifer Larson has recently suggested that the choice of subjects for the group (Nemea, Aegina with Zeus, Harpinna, Cercyra, Thebe, and Asopus) is politically motivated. She suggests that the Phliasian dedication staked their ethnic claim via a representative from each of the major geographical divisions found among the daughters: Nemea as representative of the Argolid, Harpinna of Elis, Cercyra for the colonies, and Thebe for Boeotia.[58] This must be correct, but the insertion of Harpinna, and Pausanias' useful footnote connecting her to Elean myth as the mother of Oenomaus, is also intriguing. The inclusion of Harpinna here would affirm the Elean myth in a period when Elis and Pisa were fighting for control of the Olympian sanctuary. Bacchylides' poetic variations on Asopus and his descendants, and their presentation in the Olympic statue-group, perform the same function: they serve to project the mythology and fame of Phleious via the geographical spread of the Asopids throughout the whole Greek world, but on Phleious' own terms. Both sculptural and poetic versions toy pol- itically with the mythology of the respective sanctuary through which their own κλέος is projected into the future: in the case of the statue-group, by means of the inclusion of Harpinna (and also Nemea); in the poetic version, by means of inclusion of the Asopid Thebe in a poem containing an exemplum myth of the Seven against Thebes.

[54] See Maehler I.2 ad loc.; Ps.-Apollod. 3.12.6, with Frazer's notes.

[55] *Σ* Pind. *Nem. hyp*. c. 9–10 (iii.3 Dr); Aesch. *Nemea* (*TrGF* III, 261–2). Cf. n. 15 above.

[56] Cf. Sim. *PMG* 553. Given mythical variation concerning Opheltes' mother, Bergk's supplement of <*Εὐρυδίκας*>, printed by Campbell, is not guaranteed.

[57] Delphi: Paus. 10.13.6; Olympia: Paus. 5.22.6; Bowra (n. 35), 215–16.

[58] Larson (n. 44), 303, n. 44.

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These parallels serve to emphasize the extent to which Bacchylides' Phliasian text flaunts its own tendentious mythologizing. Phleious itself, though originally called Araithrie,[59] got its name from a little-known son of Dionysus Phlias or Phleious,[60] but instead of developing this into some more grand mythical narrative, Bacchylides uses the genealogy of the local river, with help from the Hesiodic *Catalogue* and other sources, to spectacular panhellenic effect. He also stakes a Phliasian claim to the Nemean sanctuary as itself Asopid territory.

III. AUTOMEDES, HIS VICTORY, AND PHLIASIAN CULT

Now I come to the description of the victor in his moment of triumph, and the simile that enhances it (lines 27–38).[61]

These form the structural centre of the ode, built up in three balanced sections (of 39, 26, and 39 lines) and a series of three interlocking rings of three:

1 (1–39) Nemea and Games:
a (6–9) Heracles wrestles Lion (first labour)
b (10–20) Archemorus, Adrastus and The Seven
c (21–38) Automedes' pentathlon victory:
(i) Discus (30–2)
(ii) Javelin (33–5)
(iii) Wrestling (last event) (36–8)
home to Phleious and the Asopus (39)

2 (40–65) Asopus and descendants.

3 (66–104) Celebrations around the Asopus in Phleious.[62]

The athlete standing out among the other competitors is compared to the full moon outshining the stars. As Silk notes, the imagery is prolonged and 'produces an effect of vivid double exposure': the lines following the image of the moon and stars contains detail that, though officially relating to the crowd at the games, is suggestive of the reference to stars within the simile; 'the vehicle, well established by its own length, seems almost to envelop what is supposed, unequivocally, to be the tenor'.[63]

This prolonged 'double exposure' transfers onto the victor at his moment of success physical characteristics possessed by the moon, making listeners wonder about the points of comparison as they wonder at the victor himself (*θαυμ*[*α*]*στὸν δέμας*, 31).[64]

The poetic background of the simile increases its significance. The simile of the moon and stars receives its fullest treatment in Sappho fr. 96, introduced in lines 6–10:

[59] Cf. *Il.* 2.571 and Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.115–17.

[60] Maehler I.2 ad loc. Bacchyl. 9.98, referring to Philitas fr. 4, Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.115, with *Σ*, and Steph. Byz. s.v. *Φλιοῦς*. Dionysus is mentioned at line 98; I offer below (pp. 365–6) a Dionysiac interpretation of the intriguing *πορφυροδίναν* in line 39.

[61] Text above, p. 352. [62] See too Maehler I.2, 147–9.

[63] M. S. Silk, *Interaction in Poetic Imagery* (Cambridge, 1974), 110; 111. Cf. A. Villarrubia, 'Los símiles en la poesía de Baquílides', *Habis* 22 (1991), 87–8.

[64] The gender of listeners and spectators is not marked, but in performance such admiration would have been voiced by male contemporaries (cf. *σὺν κώ*[*μοις νέων* supplemented in line 103), thus adding a homoerotic charge to the description. The comparison itself already has a homoerotic charge in Sappho, of course.

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νῦν δὲ Λύδαισιν ἐμπρέπεται γυναί- | κεσσιν ὥς ποτ' ἀελίω | δύντος ἀ βροδοδάκτυλος σελάννα | πάντα περρέχοισ' ἄστρα· φάος δ' ἐπί- | σχει . . .; compare πενταέθλοισιν γὰρ ἐνέπρεπεν ὡς ἄστρων διακρίνει φάη . . . εὐφεγγὴς σελάνα, Bacchyl. 9.27–9.

Bacchylides' language here is evidence for a strong grounding in the archaic poetic tradition, but is there more at stake?

Sapphic usage shows significant deviation from the standard epic simile involving moon and stars. Sappho uses the image again in fragment 34, preserved by Eustathius' comment on *Iliad* 8.555.[65] Bacchylides' language is so similar to that of Sappho 96 that there must surely be some interaction between the two texts.[66]

Sappho 96 expresses loss and separation: it offers an infinitely projected and memorialized consolation to Sappho's companion Atthis. The imagery implies both beauty and separation, objectifying the woman and forcing a chasm between her and those left behind.[67] But the nurturing light of the moon over the beautiful and highly sensuous vegetative landscape suggests the force of a specifically erotic poetic κλέος,[68] the only way to preserve and memorialize the beauty of the girl.[69]

The way the Bacchylidean simile expresses the objectification of Automedes as the focus of attention points to a dependence on the Sapphic usage.

Descriptions of the moment of victory are actually rare in epinician: almost non-existent in Pindar, but relatively more common in Bacchylides.[70] Yet nowhere else does a simile create such an intensity of focus on the victor. Automedes is caught for all eternity in three snapshots of his success, and, just as with the Sapphic text, the overall point of the imagery is that the fame of the objectified individual becomes memorialized and preserved. That the victor is being gazed at here, and is captured in a moment of self-revelation and display, detaches him from the realm of the spectator/narrator, just as with the girl in Sappho. It also gives him a sexually charged allure.[71]

Furthermore, the imagery draws a parallel between the victor and other images and

[65] Eust. *Il*. 729.21. See also E. Stehle, 'Romantic sensuality, poetic sense: a response to Hallett on Sappho', in E. Greene (ed.), *Reading Sappho: Contemporary Approaches* (Berkeley, 1996), 148.

[66] The Sappho passage is noted by Sn-M in the apparatus to line 27; see too Maehler I.2 ad loc.

[67] Cf. Hutchinson, 178; R. Hague, 'Sappho's consolation for Atthis. fr. 96 LP', *AJP* 105 (1984), 34–5; T. McEvilley, 'Sappho, fragment ninety-four', *Phoenix* 25 (1971), 3, 10; and, especially, C. M. Macleod, 'Two comparisons in Sappho', *ZPE* 15 (1974), 217–20.

[68] The association between metaphorical φάος and fame is familiar from Pindar: Slater, *Lexicon*, s.v., b. α; cf. C. M. Bowra, *Pindar* (Oxford, 1964), 35–6. Note esp. the metaphor of the recently reawoken fame, which, at Pind. *Isthm.* 3/4.41–2 χρῶτα λάμπει, | Ἀοσφόρος θαητὸς ὥς ἄστροις ἐν ἄλλοις· Given that the victor Melissus was a pancratiast, the metaphorical reference to shining skin is parallel to part of the idea conveyed by Bacchylides in his image of Automedes.

[69] Cf. Stehle (n. 48), 302.

[70] C. Carey, 'Bacchylides experiments: Ode 11', *Mnemos.* 33 (1980), 227–8. Elsewhere at Bacchyl. 5.37–41; and esp. 10.21–6.

[71] For victors as objects of admiration and even heroization, see W. J. Slater, '*Nemean One*: the victor's return in poetry and politics', in D. E. Gerber (ed.), *Greek Poetry and Philosophy. Studies in Honour of Leonard Woodbury* (Chico, CA, 1983), 244. Automedes' separation from ordinary realms of experience here is akin to the way that outstanding individuals more generally were considered as gods: again, Slater, 244, with n. 17. Cf. also adoration of the beautiful pancratiast Autolycus at Xen. *Symp*. 1.8–10, and T. K. Hubbard, 'Pindar, Theoxenus, and the homoerotic eye', *Arethusa* 35.2 (2002), 255–296 for a reading of Pind. fr. 123 contextualized within a sympotic and athletic homoerotic environment. The conclusion of D. Steiner, 'Moving images: fifth-century victory monuments and the athlete's allure', *CA* 17 (1998), 149 that 'the sexual allure adhering to the bodies on display already declares the powers latent in each and every victory monument' applies well to Automedes in Bacchyl. 9.

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figures in the poem. Bacchylides goes to the trouble of specifying that the moon in question is a mid-month full moon: *νυκτὸς διχομηνίδο*[*ς*], line 29. He reconfigures the Sapphic image as a meditation on the inherent *transience* of success. The moon will only outshine the stars when in full phase (this is the point of Eustathius' comment on *Iliad* 8.555); it will only be a matter of time before the stars will again outshine the moon, and the hoards of Greek athletes will win out again. This is strengthened by the repetition of *διακρίνει* (in line 28 meaning 'is distinguished from', and hence 'outshines') in line 89, used to refer to the impossibility for mortals to see into the future, repeating the imagery of darkness and night:

> *δι*[*α*]*κρίν*[*ε*]*ι δὲ θεῶν*
> *β*]*ουλὰ* [*τὸ καλυπτό*]*μέον νυκτὸς* [*δνοφοῖσιν.*

This focus on the obscurity of fate also relates to the earlier paradigm of Adrastus. The paraenetic message of the poem, though not to be disconnected from the geopolitical mythology, is that an awareness of mortal limits is no real guard against Fate, but is to be accepted as part of what it is to be mortal.[72] It just happens that the Phliasian Automedes was successful on this occasion, and is memorialized for this, by contrast with Adrastus.

Objectification of Automedes also raises him onto the same plane as the heroines who are central to the mythology of the poem. The imagery of the moon also features in the formulaic language of the *Catalogue of Women*.[73] And the word used to describe the concluding throw of Automedes' wrestling, *ἀμάρυγμα* line 36, as well as being familiar from Sappho (to describe the bright sparkle of Anactoria's face at 16.18),[74] is ultimately derived from the formula *Χαρίτων ἀμαρύγματ' ἔχουσ*—also used in the *Catalogue*.[75] Although the word most obviously refers to a flashing movement in a wrestling bout in Bacchylides, the overtones of shining feminine, and mythological, beauty resonate from these poetic directions.[76] Automedes is thus attracted into the language register associated with the kinds of feminine mythological archetypes who appear in Bacchylides' central myth, the Asopids. Phleious relies upon their feminine *κλεός* for self-definition.

The symbolism may also be related to their worship. It might not be too fanciful to imagine Automedes as belonging to a group of youths who performed cultic material in honour of the figures worshipped in the *polis*, such as Hera and the Asopids, who are prominent in the poem. Such celebration may even have involved marriage, whether symbolic or actual: Pausanias 9.3.2–8 provides interesting information about

[72] For a famous parallel for the thought see Pind. *Pyth.* 8.95–7.

[73] *ἱκέλη φαέεσσι σελήνης* for Leda, Tyro, and Thero at Hes. frs. 23a8, 30.25, and 252.4, respectively. See Maehler I.2, 156–7 ad loc. 27–9.

[74] *κἀμάρυχμα λάμπρον . . . προσώπω*: cf. Villarrubia (n. 63), 87 and Maehler I.2 ad loc. Gow on Theoc. 23.7 (again in an erotic context) cites Bacchyl. 9.36 along with Ar. *Av.* 925, *οἷάπερ ἵππων ἀμαρυγά*, for evidence of the meaning 'rapid movement', but we cannot vouch for the poetic and symbolic context of the latter; see C. Kugelmeier, *Reflexe früher und zeitgenössicher Lyrik in der Alten attischen Komödie* (Stuttgart, 1996), 112–14 for comment. Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 3.288 redeploys the word for the flashing of Medea's eyes, again recalling Sappho fr. 16.

[75] See C. Brown, 'Anactoria and the *Χαρίτων ἀμαρύγματα*: Sappho fr. 16, 18 Voigt', *QUCC* 32.2 (1989), 9–10: frs. 43.4, 70.38, 73.3, 185.20, 196.6 M-W. Cf. Etym. Gen. 589 s.v. *Ἀμάρυγμα*: *σημαίνει τὰς τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐκλάμψεις*·

[76] Indeed, the sense of the glinting light from an oiled body is close to Sappho's usage in fr. 16. Cf. Anacreon *PMG* 444 '*πόθῳ στίλβων*', *ὡς ἔφη τὸν παρθένιον* [sc. *ἔρωτα*] *Ἀνακρέων*.

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a parallel Theban festival, the Daidala, by the Boeotian Asopus, which involved a bride.[77]

The symbolism of display marks Automedes', and Phleious' own, proclamation of their status on the broader Panhellenic stage, as a continuation of the pre-eminence of the Asopids.

Although Bacchylides 9 must have been performed in Phleious originally, the detailed poetic representation of the state from the inside suggests that Bacchylides 9 was commissioned to stand as a highly self-confident celebration of Phleious as an objectified paradigm for external, as well as internal, emulation and admiration.

We may be able to explain the cross-gender association between Automedes and heroines through Phliasian Dionysiac cult; Dionysus is mentioned in the poem at line 98.[78] Rituals involving male transvestism are particularly associated with Dionysus: for example, the Attic Oschophoria in which two aristocratic youths in female dress processed carrying vine branches, attended by a chorus of male contemporaries.[79] A conjecture would be that at Phleious Dionysiac cult provided a basis for *male* performance in honour of the ancestral and *female* Asopids, as well as Hera. We hear from Pausanias about a festival named *kissotomoi* ('Ivy-Cutters') in honour of Hera at Phleious (Paus. 2.13.3–4). Although Pausanias makes no mention of the Dionysiac in regard to this festival, it has extremely strong Dionysiac resonances.[80] Whereas in Athens Hera had no involvement in Dionysiac cult,[81] it seems that the opposite was true at Phleious.[82] This association between two hostile figures exemplifies the extent to which Dionysiac cult was a central part of Phliasian identity. And, more importantly for Bacchylides 9, it gives a Phliasian cultic explanation for the *positive* association between Hera and Heracles (*another* stepson of Hera) portrayed by Bacchyl. 9.6ff. (see p. 355 above). This provides further support in Phliasian cult for the rival Nemean aetiology involving Heracles and Hera expressed at the opening of the poem. Bacchylides 9 may itself have been first performed at a festival of Hera with distinctively Dionysiac overtones.

A final pointer toward a Dionysiac framework is provided by the unusual epithet which Bacchylides chooses for the river Asopus in line 39: *πορφυροδίναν*. Though this is a *hapax*, Bacchylides was fond of describing rivers with vivid colour terms.[83]

But Bacchylides is also interested in colour contrasts: 3.44 is generally supplemented with *ἐρεύθεται αἵματι χρυσο*]*δίνας*, expressive of Croesus' suffering at

[77] Imagery relating to brides may also appear in the simile: Cf. Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 4.167–71, the image focalizing Medea's hopes of marriage: see J. M. Bremer, 'Full moon and marriage in Apollonius' *Argonautica*', *CQ* 37 (1987), 423–6; Pind. *Isthm.* 8.44–5, cf. *Σ* Pind. *Isthm.* 8.93a (iii.275 Dr): a mid-month evening as the ideal time for the wedding of Peleus and Thetis. Note also the seventeenth-century custom noted by Erasmus Schmidt in his edition, cited by Bremer, 423, n. 3. See also *HHAph.* 82ff. for the goddess's appearance as a nubile *parthenos*, wearing a robe that shimmers like the moon (a comparison focalizing Anchises' thoughts as he gazes at her loveliness); Quint. *Smyrn.* 1.33–41 on Penthesilea, viewed as an ideal wife at 666–74: see F. Vian, *Recherches sur les Posthomerica de Quintus de Smyrne* (Paris, 1959), 20.

[78] With Jebb's supplements; see also Maehler I.2 ad loc.; Paus. 2.13.5–7 for evidence of the sanctuary. For further detail on Phliasian cult, cf. *RE* 20.1 288 and G. Casadio, *Storia del Culto di Dioniso in Argolide* (Rome, 1994), 24–5 with n. 32.

[79] See Stehle (n. 48), 59; 148.

[80] See Casadio (n. 78), 24–5, n. 32.

[81] See Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 112, 291a; *De Daed.*, fr. 157 Sandbach.

[82] Casadio (n. 78), 24 n. 32.

[83] *ἀργυροδίνα* (the Alpheios): Bacchyl. 12.42; *χρυσο*]*δίνας* (the Pactolus), the appropriate supplement at Bacchyl. 3.44. The epithets express the wealth of the two rivers.

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Sardis.[84] We also have the Scamander being bloodied by Aeacidae at Bacchylides 13.164–5 and fr. 27.36–7.

So we might expect πορφυροδίναν to have some association with blood. But whose? An answer is provided via Ibycus, who, according to Strabo (6.2.4), had the Sicyonian Asopus flow from Phrygia. This is corroborated by Pausanias (2.5.3), who notes a local tradition among the people of Sicyon *and* Phleious that their river was considered foreign, rising from Celaenai in Phrygia, an offshoot of the Meander.

This is fascinating given that, according to Herodotus, Celaenai was the place where Apollo flayed Marsyas (7.26). Furthermore, there is a long tradition to suggest that Marsyas' blood tainted the river, which became named after him.[85] So Bacchylides' choice of πορφυροδίνας is a nod to a local Phliasian myth of Marsyas. Given that Dionysus had such a large presence in Phleious, the god had to be involved in some way, even in a poem whose mythology has other agendas. Phleious had a strong connection with satyr-play: one of its earliest exponents, Pratinas, was a citizen; according to Pausanias, the tomb of his son Aristias, another famous exponent, was a prominent feature of the agora.

It is characteristic of epinician to incorporate into its poetic structure references to the multiplicity of cults located in the victor's home town. Dionysiac colouring in Bacchylides 9 is a further celebration of Phliasian identity, which the poet is likely to have been carefully briefed to include.

The poem points to the intermingling of the satyr's blood in the very waters that underwrite the Asopid genealogy. This fusion of Asopid and Dionysiac cult marks the unique cultural identity of Phleious within Greece.[86]

IV. CONCLUSION

The third part of my analysis shows how Bacchylides 9 invites pan-Hellenic, as well as native, admiration of Phleious, its cults, its citizens, and its victory. This is corroborated by the first two parts. There we saw how Phleious grounds its own identity through the place of its particular river-god and his offspring in pan-Hellenic and localized mythology. We also saw how the poem constructs a negative image of Argos through the reorientation of foundation aetiologies for the Nemean Games. And we saw how the poem transplants onto Thebes Phleious' own Asopid genealogy, to counter claims by Thebes herself to the Asopids.

Taken together, these tactics bolster the authority of Phleious in the region and within Greece as a whole. This is to the detriment of Argos and its claims to the Nemean sanctuary, and to Thebes, who is reminded of its own heritage in a way that subsumes its own local traditions into the broad sweep of Phleious' own. Phliasian recuperation of Thebes also helps to put Argos in its place. Thebes, the unsacked (Phliasian) Asopid city, stands testament to the total failure of the Argive Seven.

Bacchylides chooses to have his own poem referred to in the phrase γνησίων ὕμνων

[84] See Maehler I.2, 49 ad loc., following Kenyon; Jebb, following Blass, supplies φοινίσσεται; cf. Hutchinson ad loc, rightly pointing to blood, whatever the exact supplement.

[85] See F. Bömer, *P. Ovidius Naso. Metamorphosen. Kommentar Buch VI–VII* (Heidelberg, 1976), 108 ad loc. Ov. *Met*. 6.382–400, and *RE* 14.2 1986–95 s.v. Marsyas; Σ Pl. *Symp*. 215b and *Min*. 318b (64 and 294 Greene); Ps.-Plut. *De Fluv*. 10.1 = Alex Polyhist. *FGrH* 273 F 76; Hyg. *Fab*. 165.

[86] This also involves Dionysiac music: note the reference to *auloi* at line 68: αὐ]λῶν βοαί. For Marsyas and the *aulos* at Athens, see P. Wilson, 'The *aulos* in Athens', in S. Goldhill and R. Osborne (edd.), *Performance Culture and Athenian Democracy* (Cambridge, 1999), 58–95.

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(line 83): the 'songs of good parentage' that winners like Automedes are lucky enough to receive. This description is apposite for a poem containing detailed genealogical mythology. But the metaphorical terminology must also be associated closely with Automedes. Automedes' victory has both confirmed his standing as a good Phliasian son, and cast him as a Phliasian ethnic paradigm.[87] Used to describe the poem, γνήσιος unites Automedes and the poem's mythological subject matter under the same ethnic and genealogical heading. Automedes, Phleious, and the poetry that celebrates them, unite as a paradigm of legitimacy and power on both local and pan-Hellenic stages.

Bacchylides is very likely to have been given a detailed mythological brief: Bacchylides 9 was the result. The poem's inward-turning structure, focusing on Automedes, marks his pentathlon victory as the basis for Bacchylides' extended mythologizing. The poet uses the opportunity to put Phleious right at the centre of the map.

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[87] LSJ s.v. 1 render γνήσιος as 'belonging to the race, i.e. lawfully begotten, born in wedlock', with e.g. νόθον καὶ γνήσιον, *Il.* 11.102. But under 2, they offer the translation '*inspired* song' for Bacchylides' usage, i.e. treating it as dead metaphor; cf. Slater, *Lexicon*, s.v., who renders the only Pindaric usage, at *Ol.* 2.11 as 'genuine'. But after the reference to the victor in *Ol.* 2.7 as εὐωνύμων τε πατέρων . . . ὀρθόπολιν, overtones of inherited and genealogical legitimacy cannot be ruled out. However, LSJ also produce Dem. 9.30, γνήσιοι τῆς Ἑλλάδος, rendered as 'true Greeks', thus expressive of ethnic Greek *bona fides*.

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