

NEW READINGS IN *I.G.*, XIV, 1285, II, *VERSO*

AMONG the minor artistic creations of the earlier Roman Empire few are more perplexing than the so-called *Tabulae Iliacae*. They are small stone plaques, decorated with carelessly executed reliefs intended to illustrate literary works, particularly epic; they are inscribed on the front, and sometimes on the back, with appropriate texts. Recently the extant fragments have been collected and studied by Anna Sadurska.¹ She describes the stones and the reliefs, re-edits the inscriptions, summarizes previous discussions, adds her own observations, and appends good photographs.

One of the objects in her catalogue is the *Tabula Veronensis II*, now in the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. Her photograph of its reverse (*Les Tables Iliques*, pl. xi, top right) reveals traces which do not tally with the standard transcription. In March 1971 the present writer had the good fortune to persuade Dr. Thomas Drew Bear to examine the stone; thanks to his kindness in checking specific queries it is now possible to present a somewhat improved text. Dr. Drew Bear wishes to express his gratitude to M. Georges Le Rider, Conservator-in-Chief of the Cabinet des Médailles, and to Professor Louis Robert, for facilitating his investigations.

I.G., XIV, 1285, II, *verso*. A fragment of fine-grained yellowish marble, broken on all sides; height preserved, 0.055 m.; width preserved, 0.067 m.; thickness, 0.013 m.; height of letters, *ca.* 0.002 m.²

ca. a. 1-25 *p.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. *ca.* 17-21

[Κάδμος γή]μα[ς Ἀρ]μονία[ν]

[τὴν Ἀρ]εως καὶ Ἀφροδίτης

γεννᾶ κόρ<α>ς δ' Ἰνὼ Ἀγαύ

4 ἣν Αὐτονόην Σεμέλην

νιδὸν δὲ Πολύδωρον *vacat*

¹ A. Sadurska, *Les Tables Iliques*, Warsaw, 1964, and "La vingtième table iliaque," in *Mélanges offerts à Kazimierz Michałowski*, Warsaw, 1966, pp. 653-657. Some of the present notes were collected while the writer was holding a Canada Council Leave Fellowship at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens during the session 1970-71.

² Editions consulted: Johann Franz, *C.I.G.*, III (Berlin, 1853), 6126; Georg Kaibel, *I.G.*, XIV (Berlin, 1890), 1285, II, *verso*; Sadurska, *Les Tables Iliques*, p. 57, c. These editors cite earlier publications not available to the present writer: Bernard de Montfaucon, *L'Antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures*, Supplément IV, Paris, 1719, pl. 38; Christian G. Heyne, *Ad Apollodori Bibliothecam observationes*, Goettingen, 1803, p. 226; Adolf Michaelis, in Otto Jahn, *Griechische Bilderchroniken*, Bonn, 1873, pl. 3, D. The description and dimensions of the stone, and the date, are taken from Sadurska; the height of the letters is measured from her photograph.

- Ἀρισταίου δὲ καὶ Αὐτονόης Ἀκταίων
 Ἀθάμαντος δὲ καὶ Ἴνους Λέ
 8 αρχος καὶ Μελικέρτης
 Ἐχέιονος δὲ Σπάρτου καὶ Ἀγαυῆς
 γεννᾶται Πενθεύς
 Ζεὺς Σεμέλῃ πλῆσιόσ<ας> καὶ κερ
 12 αυνώσας αὐτὴν ἀνελόμε
 νος τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ ἐνράψ
 ας εἰς τὸν μηρὸν ὕστερον
 δίδωσιν Ἴνῳ τρέφειν *vacat*
 16 Ἥρας Ἀργείας ἱέρεια Εὐρυδ[ίκη]
 [^{ca. 3}—] [^{ca. 7}—] Λακεδαί[ν]
 [^{ca. 14}—] [^{ca. 14}—] [^{ca. 14}—]
 [ἔτη μέ' *vacat*]

Line 1: [Κάδμος ἐξ Ἀρ]μονί[ας τῆς], Kaibel, after Montfaucon and Michaelis; restoration accepted by Sadurska. Her photograph shows traces, recorded in Kaibel's facsimile, which contradict this restoration. Drew Bear reports that]μα[is justified here; the lower parts of the first, second, and fourth strokes of mu are preserved; so too is alpha, except for the apex and the left half of the crossbar. One thinks of the genealogical formula, so common in [Apollodoros], P γήμας Q τῇν (τοῦ) R γεννᾶ / ἐγέννησε(ν) S. The widths of the letters vary greatly; but it seems doubtful whether there is room to introduce δὲ after *Kadmos*. At the end of the line, Kaibel reads [Ἀρ]μονι[-], Sadurska [Ἀρμ]ονι[-]; Drew Bear reports that the bottom of each of the four strokes of the mu is visible. After the iota of *Harmonia* he records the lower part of an oblique stroke which could be the bottom of the left half of alpha.

Line 2: [Ἀρ]εως, Kaibel, followed by Sadurska. In Kaibel's facsimile the beginning of the line is set too far left. "There is certainly space for two letters before *Areōs*, and doubtless for three" (Drew Bear). Accordingly the article should be transferred to this space from the end of line 1. Ἀφροδίτῃ[ς], Kaibel, followed by Sadurska; "the sigma should really be dotted; all that is clear is the bottom horizontal" (Drew Bear).

Line 3: Kaibel's facsimile incorrectly projects into the left margin. γεννᾶ, Kaibel; [γε]ννᾶ, Sadurska; Drew Bear reports the vertical of gamma, and the vertical and bottom horizontal of epsilon. κόρας, the natural interpretation of Kaibel's facsimile; κόρας, Kaibel's text, Sadurska. Drew Bear sees the top two-thirds of omicron, and the bottom of the vertical and most of the bow of rho; he adds, "the horizontal stroke of alpha was not incised; Λ is clear."

Line 8: ΜΕΛΙΚΕΡΤΗΣ, Kaibel's facsimile; Μελικέρτης, Sadurska. Drew Bear reports a clear lambda, without crossbar, complete except for the apex.

Line 9: ΕΚΕΙ-, Franz's facsimile; Ε[χ]ει-, Franz, Kaibel; Ἐχει-, Sadurska. Drew Bear reports, at the right of a worn stoichos, the tips of two oblique strokes which could represent the right half of a kappa or a chi; in the upper left of the letter-space, the extremity of a stroke, possibly slanting downward to the right. The letters -νο- were omitted by the stonecutter, and inserted above the line in the proper place; Kaibel reports the insertion as -ονο-; according to Drew Bear, "the first omicron is imaginary; the surface is certainly preserved, and only NO was inserted."

Line 16: Εὐρυδ[-], Kaibel, Sadurska; Drew Bear says, "the delta must be dotted"; only the apex is preserved.

Line 17: traces not previously recorded. In the photograph McLeod fancied he saw α[.]ρ[.]σ[.]—the apex of alpha, the beginning of the bow of rho, the top horizontal of sigma.

But Drew Bear reports, "all that is visible is a horizontal stroke below the rho of *Argeias*; what appears to the left on the [inked] photograph . . . is not at all visible on the stone, where the surface is rubbed away"; he says further that it looks as if there is the beginning of a vertical stroke dependent from the left end of the horizontal; and there may be a short horizontal stroke at the top of the preceding letter-space; but these could both be scratches, and need not be parts of letters at all.

Lines 17-19 are restored on the assumption that they duplicate the text of *I.G.*, XIV, 1292; see below, page 411. The break at the end of line 17 could be set a syllable later; in that event the whole inscription could be compressed into 18 lines; but the last two lines would be unduly crowded. For a tentative restoration of lines 17-18, see below, page 415.

The text consists of six sentences; the first word of each is extended to the left, into the margin. The first five entries (lines 1-15) list the family of Kadmos: his wife and children, and then the sons of his four daughters. Four of these entries are resolutely and austere genealogical; the fifth, dealing with the birth and nurture of Dionysos, is more expansive. Given the nature of the *Tabulae Iliacae*, it seems likely that this information was abstracted from epic. There must have been poems which carried the heroic legends of early Thebes, but the wanton quirks of survival have dealt hard measures to them. As possible sources the *Europia* ascribed to Eumelos of Corinth and the anonymous *Phoronis* suggest themselves.³ No doubt there are other possibilities whose very names go unrecorded. In our bewilderment, further speculation would be so much spilt ink.

The sixth sentence takes a new tack, and begins by mentioning that "the priestess of Argive Hera (was) Eurydike . . .," at which point the text breaks off. Long ago Heyne saw that she is probably Eurydike, Spartan princess and Argive queen, who founded a temple of Argive Hera in Sparta (Paus., III, 13, 8). But in the context of the Kadmeid genealogy her introduction is abrupt and somewhat jarring. Two other Iliac Tables include notations which appear just as alien. They furnish clues which eventually started investigators on the right scent.⁴

I.G., XIV, 1292 was inscribed by the same hand as *I.G.*, XIV, 1285 (Sadurska's

³ On the *Europia* see Gottfried Kinkel, *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, I, Leipzig, 1877, pp. 192-193; G. L. Huxley, *Greek Epic Poetry from Eumelos to Panyassis*, Cambridge, Mass., 1969, pp. 75-76. Apparently it concerned itself with Kadmos' quest of his sister Europa (at any rate Delphi is mentioned, frag. 11 Kinkel), with the life of Dionysos (frag. 10 K.), and with the early history of Thebes (Amphion, frag. 12 K.). On the *Phoronis*, see Kinkel, *op. cit.*, pp. 209-212; Huxley, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-34. The five extant fragments are not very informative; but we may presume that it covered the same ground as the later historical work *Phoronis* by Hellanikos (so F. Stoessl, *R.E.*, XX, 1941, s.v., "Phoronis," col. 650, lines 59-63). The latter, we know, treated Kadmos and the dragon's teeth; *F. Gr. Hist.*, 4 F 1; cf. 4 F 96. Erich Bethe concluded that the marriage of Kadmos and Harmonia must have been recounted in the *Thebais*, as part of the history of Eriphyle's necklace (*Thebanische Heldenlieder: Untersuchungen über die Epen des Thebanisch-argivischen Sagenkreises*, Leipzig, 1891, p. 101).

⁴ On the explanation of this entry, see O. Jahn, *Die Gemälde des Polygnotos*, Kiel, 1841, p. 72 (*non vidi*); U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Die griechische Heldensage* (= *Sitz. Berl., Phil.-Hist.*, 1925), p. 55; Sadurska, *Les Tables Iliques*, pp. 60, 89.

“lapicide d”), and bears a closely related text. The sentences in this other version were not arranged as a continuous block, but were set as legends beneath a series of reliefs, running from right to left along the upper margin of the *pinax*. The subscriptions for the first two scenes, corresponding to lines 1-6 of the foregoing text, are missing. Thereafter the two copies are almost identical.⁵ The title for the final scene preserves details which may be used to supplement the missing part of I.G., XIV, 1285, II, *verso*. It runs as follows:

12 [Ἡρας Ἀργείας ἰέρεια Εὐρ]υ<δ>ί
 [κη ----- ^{ca. 11} ----- Λακεδα]ίμο
 [vos ----- ^{ca. 14} ----- ἔτη] μέ'

(I. G., XIV, 1292, I, top, 1; Sadurska, *Les Tables Iliques*, p. 59, a)

Line 12: ΥΑΙ, facsimiles of Franz, Kaibel; restored by Michaelis; accepted by Kaibel, Sadurska.

Line 13: Σπάρτης καί, Michaelis; accepted by Kaibel, Sadurska.

Line 14: Ἀκρισίου γυνή *vel* τοῦ Διὸς καὶ Ταυγέτης, Michaelis; noted by Kaibel *in apparatu*. At the end of the line before the numeral Kaibel's facsimile records traces which are neglected in his text: a vertical hasta, with the start of an oblique stroke rising to the left from its bottom.

Considerably later than these two tablets is the Albani Table (A.D. 180-192, according to Sadurska). It concerns Herakles, and its two longest texts are at pains to enumerate his sundry activities. Interposed between the columns of the second catalogue, on the stylobate beneath the relief, is a short notice.

Ἡρας Ἀργείας ἰέρεια
 Ἀδμάτα Εὐρυσθέως
 καὶ Ἀδμάτας τᾶς Ἀμφι
 4 δάμαντος ἔτη νη'

(I.G., XIV, 1293, D; *F. Gr. Hist.*, 40, d;
 Sadurska, *Les Tables Iliques*, p. 88, f)

It now seems clear that this was intended as a date: Herakles flourished during the 58-year priesthood of his second cousin Admete. She it was that coveted Hippolyte's belt and prompted Herakles' expedition to secure it ([Apollodoros], II, 5, 9).

⁵ There are four trifling changes. In the text corresponding to line 10 of I.G., XIV, 1285, II, *verso* γεννᾶται is omitted; line 12, αὐτὴν is omitted; lines 13-14, for καὶ ἐνράπας I.G., XIV, 1292 reads ἐνράπτει; line 14, at end, I.G., XIV, 1292 inserts διὰ Ἑρμοῦ. In the passage from I.G., XIV, 1292, I, top, quoted below, the present writer has assigned the numbers 12-14 to the lines of the extract; neither Kaibel nor Sadurska treats the subscriptions as a continuous text.

The formal similarity between this inscription and the earlier two suggests that Eurydike likewise served as a chronological datum for the details of the Kadmeian genealogy. The epoch is about right; heroic pedigrees set Kadmos in the same generation as her father-in-law, and ancient chronographers synchronized the exploits of Dionysos with the reign of her husband.⁶

If one enquires the source of this information about Eurydike and Admete, there can be but one answer. Some time towards the end of the fifth century B.C. Hellanikos of Lesbos produced his work *ἱέρεαι τῆς Ἥρας αἱ ἐν Ἀργεῖ*. In it, we are told, he brought together the names of the officiants and the events during each one's tenure (Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.*, I, 72, 2 = *F. Gr. Hist.*, 4 F 84). The work does not survive; but one of the fragments indicates its flavor.

The Sicel emigration from Italy took place, according to Hellanikus, in the third generation before the Trojan War, when Alcyone was priestess at Argos, in her twenty-sixth year.

(Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.*, I, 22, 3 = *F. Gr. Hist.*, 4 F 79, b)

Evidently the chronicle dated events by reference to the priestess; it treated the heroic age as well as the historical period; and for the earlier era it counted by generations before the Trojan War.

With this work Hellanikos founded chronography,⁷ and with it he thrust the priestesses of Hera into the limelight as eponymous officials. Hence, for example, Thucydides' date for the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War:

When Chrysis was priestess at Argos, in her forty-eighth year, . . . a body of Thebans . . . entered . . . Plataia under arms.

(II, 2, 1)

In all, the names of only twelve priestesses are known to us; they are collected by Felix Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker*, I, a (corrected, Leyden, 1957), page 455. With exemplary restraint, he refrains from ascribing to Hellanikos any information not specifically attributed to him in the sources; but despite these scruples he concedes that we may recognize Hellanikos' influence wherever we meet dating by the priestesses of Argos.⁸ If we tabulate Jacoby's seven names from the

⁶ On the genealogical coincidence of Kadmos with Abas, see Henry Fynes Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici: The Civil and Literary Chronology of Greece from the Earliest Accounts to the Death of Augustus*, I, Oxford, 1834, pp. 100-101; John Linton Myres, *Who were the Greeks?* (Sather Classical Lectures 6), Berkeley, 1930, p. 344, fig. 13. On the synchronism of Dionysos with Akrisios, see Tatianus, *Ad Gr.*, p. 134, lines 7-11 Worth; Clem. Al., *Strom.*, I, p. 86, line 16-87, line 2 Dindorf; Euseb. Hieron. *a. Abr.* 691.

⁷ Felix Jacoby, *R.E.*, VIII, 1913, s.v., "Hellanikos," col. 147, lines 24-25.

⁸ Jacoby, *R.E.*, VIII, col. 148, lines 5-9; *F. Gr. Hist.*, 3 b II, Leyden, 1954, p. 4, note 41.

legendary period, a new aspect of the priestly succession is disclosed (see Table I; certain details added from other sources are enclosed within square brackets).

TABLE I

<i>Priestess</i>	<i>Father</i>	<i>Husband</i>	<i>Tenure</i>	<i>Date</i>	
1. Kallithyia [Kallithyessa, Kallithoe]	Peiras [son of Argos]	—	—	[16 genera- tions before the Trojan War.] ⁹	(459 years before the fall of Troy.)
. . . .					
2. Io	[Iasos, K. of Argos] ¹⁰	(Zeus)	—	[14 genera- tions b. T.]	
. . . .					
3. Hypermestra	Danaos [K. of Argos]	[Lynkeus, K. of Argos]	—	[9 genera- tions b. T.]	(253 years b. T.)
. . . .					
4. Eurydike	Lakedaimon [the Atlantid]	Akrisios [K. of Argos]	[45 years]	[7 genera- tions b. T.]	
. . . .					
5. Alkyone (Alkinoe)	Sthenelos [K. of Mykenai]	—	26 (+) years	3 genera- tions b. T.	
6. Admata (Admete)	Eurystheus [K. of Mykenai]	—	58 years	[2 genera- tions b. T.]	
7. Kallisto	(see below)	—	—	Trojan War	

There leaps to the eye a recurrent connection with the Inachid royal house of Argos. Five of the priestesses spring from this family, and a sixth married into it. It wants no great flight of fancy to see that the seventh, Kallisto, must also have been associated with the kings.

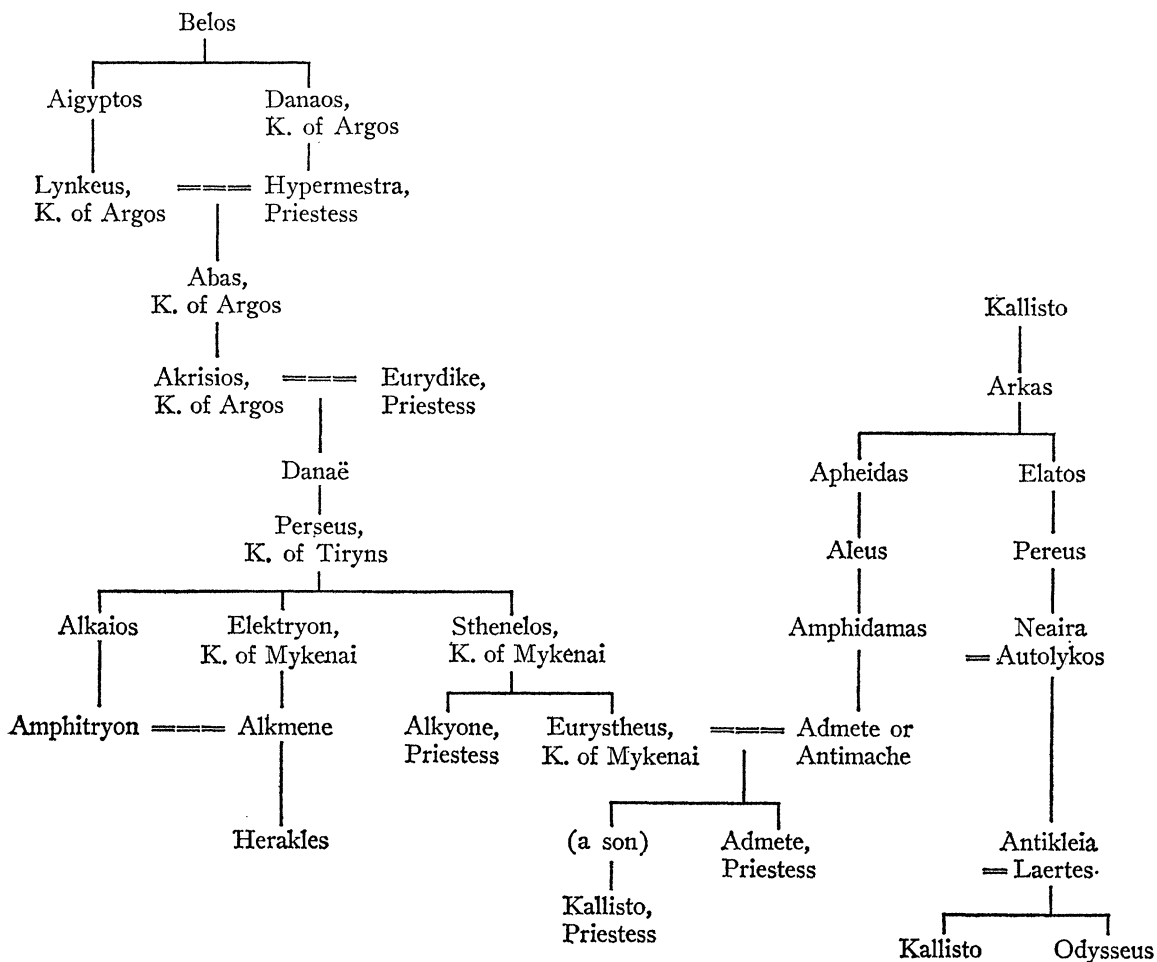
The name Kallisto is not common in heroic genealogy. The prototype is the ancestress of the Arcadian line; one might imagine that subsequent homonyms boasted a descent from her. In fact some authorities gave Odysseus a sister Kallisto (*Mnaseas ap. Ath.*, IV, p. 158, c-d); and a lineage was devised making her sixth in

⁹ From Io down, the line of Argive kings was standardized; for the earlier period, it is not known which of the variant versions was followed by Hellanikos. The dates in Eusebius Jerome for Kallithyia (*a. Abr.* 376) and Hypermestra (*a. Abr.* 582) may lend support to the notion that seven generations separated them in Hellanikos' chronology.

¹⁰ The chief candidates for Io's father are Iasos, Inachos, and Peiren (= Peiras). It is clear from Hes. (?), frag. 125 Merkelbach-West, *Phoronis*, frag. 4 Kinkel, Plutarch *ap. Euseb.*, *Praep. Evang.*, III, 8, 1, p. 120 Dindorf, and Euseb. Hieron. *a. Abr.* 376, that Kallithyia-Kallithyessa-Kallithoe was the first priestess of Argive Hera, and that she was not normally identified with Io. If (as Jacoby thought likely) Hellanikos too kept Kallithyia and Io distinct, he will hardly have made Io daughter of Kallithyia's ancestor Inachos or of her father Peiras. Iasos seems the least unlikely.

descent from the Pelasgian bear-woman.¹¹ Did the priestess Kallisto likewise inherit her illustrious name? A possible hypothesis; but it finds welcome confirmation in king Eurystheus' wife. Be she an older Admete (*I.G.*, XIV, 1293, D) or be she Antimache ([Apollodoros], III, 9, 2), she was daughter to Amphidamas, son of Aleus, son of Apheidas, son of Arkas, son of *Kallisto*. The best prosopographical techniques then lead us to recognize the priestess Kallisto as grand-daughter of Eurystheus and the Arcadian princess (see Table II).¹²

TABLE II



¹¹ The link is Autolykos' wife Neaira; Paus., VIII, 4, 6; see Molly Broadbent, *Studies in Greek Genealogy*, Leyden, 1968, p. 329.

¹² The chief obstacle lies in the fact that by the time of the Trojan War the Perseids had been supplanted by the Pelopids. Imagination can devise ways to surmount it, but I refrain. One would hardly wish to claim that the *stemma* given above is Hellanikan in detail.

Now at last we may return to the gap at the end of *I.G.*, XIV, 1292, I, top (and the corresponding hiatus in *I.G.*, XIV, 1285, II, *verso*). There are three slight indications that Michaelis' supplements in lines 13 and 14 (see above, p. 411) are erroneous. To begin with, the spacing of the letters. It is hard to be dogmatic when the lettering is so irregular; but in line 13 *Σπάρτης καὶ* may fall slightly short of the space available. And of the two proposals offered to fill out line 14, the one is not long enough, and the other is too long. Secondly, the horizontal stroke observed by Drew Bear in line 17 of *I.G.*, XIV, 1285, II, *verso* seems somewhat too far left to be the crossbar of the tau of [*Σπάρ*]τ[*ης*]. In the third place, kinship with the royal house seems to have been a prerequisite for the priesthood. In Hellanikos' chronicle then it is conceivable that this essential connection might have been specified first, even in defiance of the natural genealogical order.

The three conditions are met if we conjecture that the conclusion of *I.G.*, XIV, 1292, I, top should be restored after the following fashion:

12 [*Ἦρας Ἀργείας ἱέρεια Εὐρ*]υ<δ>ί
 [*κη Ἀκρισίου γυνή Λακεδα*]ίμο
 [*νος δὲ παῖς καὶ Σπάρτης ἔτη*] μέ'

And the final entry of *I.G.*, XIV, 1285, II, *verso* thus:

16 *Ἦρας Ἀργείας ἱέρεια Εὐρυδ*[*ίκη*]
 [*Ἀκρι*]σ[*ίου γυνή Λακεδαί*]
 [*μονος δὲ παῖς καὶ Σπάρτης*]
 [*ἔτη μέ'* *vacat*]

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