X.—The Sorrows of Ino and of Procne

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(I) In Greek legend both Athamas and Aëdon-Procne are the nuclei of triangle tales. (II) The two groups have much in common. (III) The story of Athamas' pursuit of Ino is independent of these legends. Ino was at first probably identical with Semele. Leucothea was originally distinct from Ino, but was identical with Helle, who contributed the sea-plunge to the Athamas legends. (IV) The wife's rival becomes Aëdon-Procne's sister, who is at first compliant, then deceived, finally ravished. The two groups of legends had common ground in Megara and Boeotia. (V) Both groups draw upon three closely related story-types that perhaps arose in a polygamous society. The Greeks adapted them to conclusions in bird-metamorphosis. (VI) Likewise, the Greeks adapted them to use as cult-myths, wherein the ritual did not suggest the plot, but only certain features and the conclusion.

. . . οὐδὲ γὰρ καλὸν
δυοῖν γυναικοῖν ἄνδρ' ἔν' ἡνίας ἔχειν,
ἀλλ' εἰς μίαν βλέποντες εὐναίαν Κύπριν
στέργουσιν, ὅστις μὴ κακῶς οἰκεῖν θέλει.
(Euripides, *Andromache* 177–180)

The second wife and the other woman have been favorite themes of story, whether it be the folktale that the spoken word carries from one man to another or the fiction that a great novelist or playwright creates for others to read or to see acted. The second wife is likely to be an ominous figure; for she is also the stepmother of the first wife's children, and stepmothers do not have a good reputation. The other woman may be likeable enough in herself; but she has a malignant effect upon the first woman, the man's lawful wife or betrothed, who becomes a victim to jealousy and hate. If the story is set in a polygamous society, the second wife and the other woman may be united in the same person.

I

The Greeks were no less fascinated than other peoples by stories on these themes. For they told such tales about several figures of the legendary past. In particular the Minyan king Athamas appears several times as the man who married again, and occasionally

as an adulterer; and the husband of Aëdon-Procne, whether we call him Tereus or some other name, appears usually as an adulterer, but also as the husband who remarries.

Four legends of Athamas may be distinguished and five of Aëdon-Procne and her husband.[1] I shall now list them with a brief synopsis of their plots, arranging them so that after each legend is placed that which is most like it, as nearly as I can do so, and at the same time keep the Athamas group together and have the three in Aëdon's name separate from the two in Procne's. The order that results will give a preliminary view of the close relation of one legend to another. For, as we shall see, the same motives recur throughout all.[2] But I wish to place first in the series a legend that is not about either Athamas or Aëdon-Procne. It is the story of Cycnus and his two children, Tennes and Leucothea-Hemithea. But remember that Ino, one of Athamas' wives, was identified with Leucothea.

Group I. A. Cycnus-Procleia-Philonome or Polyboea. Cycnus, king in the Troad, married Procleia, who bore him a son and daughter, Tennes and Leucothea or Hemithea. Procleia died and Cycnus married Philonome or Polyboea. She fell in love with her stepson Tennes, who was already full-grown, and made amorous proposals to him, which he rejected. Then she went to Cycnus, to whom she falsely accused Tennes of making improper advances to her, and she induced a certain flute-player, Molpus or Eumolpus, to corroborate her accusation. Cycnus in anger locked Tennes in a chest, and since his sister expressed sorrow for him, he locked her in it too. Then he cast the chest into the sea, and the waves carried it to the shores of the island Leucophrys. The natives

[1] Here I use the term *legend* merely to indicate each separate story of Athamas and two women and each separate story of Aëdon-Procne and her husband. For my use of *legend* see H. J. Rose, *A Handbook of Greek Mythology* (London, 1928) 10. Since not all the stories in either group can be said to belong to the same type, I cannot use the term *variant* for any one of them as a member of the group. And when I use the term *version*, I shall mean some one author's narration of a particular legend, e.g. Ovid's or Apollodorus' version of the Athamas-Nephele-Ino legend (C below).

[2] I do not intend that the following synopses should show every motive or feature that is to be found in each legend or in any version of it, or every one that I shall mention in the subsequent discussion. Nor do I mean to imply that every authority cited for a legend has every feature mentioned in the synopsis. Also my arrangement of the legends is not meant to imply a chronological sequence; A may be no earlier than any other.

The authorities cited in notes 3–12 will often be referred to hereafter by name only, unless clarity requires a more complete reference.

welcomed Tennes and his sister and soon made him king of the island, whereupon its name was changed to Tenedos. Later, as Apollodorus has it, Cycnus learned the truth, stoned the flute-player to death, and buried Philonome alive.[3]

B. Athamas-Nephele-Demodice or Biadice. Athamas had a son Phrixus (and daughter Helle?) by his first wife (probably Nephele). He married again, and his new wife Demodice fell in love with her grown stepson Phrixus and made proposals to him, which Phrixus rejected. Then she plotted against Phrixus and caused him to save himself by flight upon the golden-fleeced ram to the land of Colchis. The nature of her plot is evident from a second (probably Sophoclean) version of the story, wherein Demodice or Biadice was not the stepmother of Phrixus but the wife of his uncle Cretheus. Demodice falsely accused Phrixus to Cretheus, who then induced his brother Athamas to punish Phrixus. But Nephele, the mother of Phrixus, gave him the ram for his escape, and his sister Helle left with him on the ram's back.[4]

C. Athamas-Nephele-Ino. Athamas married Nephele and had by her Phrixus and Helle. Later he married Ino, by whom he had two sons, Learchus and Melicertes. Ino wanted to get rid of Nephele's children, especially Phrixus. So she persuaded the women to parch the seed grain, telling them that the yield would thereby be increased. But nothing, of course, came up after the seed was planted, so that Athamas sent off envoys to inquire of Apollo the reasons for the crop failure. Ino bribed the envoys to bring back a false oracle: that nothing could save the land except the sacrifice of Phrixus (and, in some versions, of Helle too). But before Phrixus could be sacrified, a golden ram, sent by Nephele,

[3] Apollodor. *Epit.* 3.23–25; Conon 28; Pausan. 10.14.1–3; *Schol. Vet. in Lycophr.* 232; *Scholl. ABT in Iliad.* 1.38. For shorter notices see also Lycophr. 232–242; Heracleides, *Resp.* 7.1; Plut. *Mor.* 297D–F; Steph. s.v. Τένεδος.

[4] For the first version see *Schol. Vet. in Pind. Pyth.* 4.162 (288), who cites Pindar's *Hymns* (frag. 27 Bowra). Pindar also appears to allude to this legend and not to C in *Pyth.* 4.159–162, as convincingly argued by A. C. Pearson, "Phrixus and Demodice," *CR* 23 (1909) 255–257. For the second version see Hyg. *Astron.* 2.20; on its probable origin in Sophocles' *Phrixus* see F. G. Welcker, *Die Griechischen Tragödien mit Rücksicht auf den epischen Cyclus, RhM* Suppl. 2 (Bonn, 1839) 318. In his *Athamas*, however, Sophocles appears to have used legend C. Hippias gave the name Gorgopis to Athamas' second wife. The Pindaric Scholiast (*ibid.*) who cites him implies that he told the same story as Pindar and Sophocles' *Phrixus;* but he also says that Sophocles called her Nephele and that Pherecydes called her Themisto. It is therefore plain that the Scholiast was confused, especially since Pherecydes' story appears to have been C, not B.

rescued him and his sister and carried them off on his back through the air or water. Helle fell off the ram's back into the waters afterwards called Hellespont. Phrixus, however, reached safety and a welcome in Colchis. When Athamas found out the truth, as a few authors say, he ordered the execution of Ino (and of Melicertes); but Ino ran off, with Athamas in hot pursuit, and leaped into the sea, where she became the sea-goddess Leucothea.[5]

D. Athamas-Ino-Themisto. Athamas married Ino, by whom he had two sons, Learchus and Melicertes. Ino went off to attend the Dionysiac revels on Mount Parnassus. When after a long time she had not come back, Athamas thought her dead and married Themisto, Hypseus' daughter, by whom he had two or more sons. Then Ino came back, but Athamas kept her identity hidden, and Themisto knew her only as a maidservant in the house. Themisto wanted to get rid of Ino's sons and enlisted the aid of the supposed maidservant, whom she instructed to dress her own sons in white clothes and Ino's in black, that she might the more easily kill Ino's sons. But Ino dressed Themisto's sons in black, so that Themisto killed them instead of Ino's sons. When Themisto discovered her mistake, she killed herself.[6]

[5] There are several versions of this legend, which show a number of differences in detail. The above synopsis represents the basic plot upon which there is general agreement. See Pherecydes *ap. Schol. Vet. in Pind. Pyth.* 4.162 (288), *ap.* ps.-Eratosth. 19, and *ap.* Hyg. *Astron.* 2.20; Philostephanus *ap. Schol. A in Iliad.* 7.86; Apollodor. 1.9.1; Menecrates of Tyre *ap.* Zenob. 4.38; Ovid, *Fasti* 3.851–876; Hyg. *Fab.* 2 f.; Pausan. 1.44.7 f., 9.34.5–8; *Arg. in Apollon. Argon.; Schol. in Aristoph. Nub.* 257. The golden ram, at least, was known to Hesiod (ps.-Eratosth. 19); and the whole story, apparently, with a sequel concerning a proposed sacrifice of Athamas, was known to Herodotus (7.197). See the representations of Phrixus, Helle, and the ram in *Ann. Inst.* 39 (1867), plates A, B, and especially C. For rationalised versions in which a tutor Crius succeeds in saving Phrixus, or in which Phrixus gets away in a ship that has a ram's-head prow, see Dionysius *ap. Schol. in Apollon. Argon.* 4.119; Palaeph. 30; Diod. 4.47; *Schol. Vet. in Plat. Menex.* 243A.

[6] Hyg. *Fab.* 1 and 4; Nonn. *Dion.* 9.302–321. Hyg. *Fab.* 4 is headed *Ino Euripidis.* The narrative of *Fab.* 1 is briefer and appears to be different in that Ino is said to have displaced Themisto as Athamas' wife; but it is possible to reconcile this statement with the return of Ino in 4. Then the statement that Themisto hid in the palace awaiting an opportunity of killing Ino's sons may be due to a slip of the epitomist, whose source perhaps told of Ino's concealment in the house. Notice that a nurse appears, who dresses the children wrongly. Themisto seems to have been known as wife of Athamas to the epic poet Asius (*ap.* Pausan. 9.23.6) and to the historian Herodorus (*ap. Schol. in Argon.* 2.1144), who is cited as authority for six children of Athamas and Themisto, among whom are listed Phrixus and Helle, who left because of Ino's plot. This appears to be due to the Scholiast's confusion of legend C with D. But keep in mind that just now the plots are more significant than the names of the

E. Athamas-Ino-Antiphera. Athamas married Ino and had one or two sons by her. While he lived with Ino he had sexual relations in secret with a maidservant, Antiphera (or Halos). Ino learned of this affair, and becoming madly jealous, she killed her own son by Athamas.[7]

Group II. F. Zetes-Aëdon-Hamadryad. Boreas' son Zetes married Aëdon, daughter of Pandareus of Dulichium. They had a son Aëtylus. Aëdon suspected, probably correctly, that Zetes was having a love relation with a hamadryad, and that Aëtylus knew of the affair and helped his father to carry it on. In her great jealousy she killed Aëtylus one day as he came in from hunting. Aphrodite then took pity upon her sorrows and turned her into a nightingale, in which form she continues to lament her son.[8]

G. Zethus-Aëdon-Niobe or Hippomedusa. In this legend the two women are not wives of the same man but of the twin brothers, Amphion and Zethus (compare the Sophoclean version of B). Amphion married Tantalus' daughter Niobe (though one version calls her Hippomedusa), and Zethus married Aëdon, daughter of the Milesian Pandareus. Niobe had many children, while Aëdon bore only a son and daughter, Itylus (or Itys) and Neïs. So Aëdon was very jealous of Niobe and plotted to kill her eldest son Amaleus, who was being reared along with Itylus and slept in the same bed or bedroom; and she instructed Itylus where he was to lie that night, but he did not follow her instructions. Then Aëdon came at night to kill Amaleus and killed her own son instead. Or some say that she did kill Amaleus, but then killed Itylus too in fear of Niobe's wrath. Zethus in fury gave chase to Aëdon, sword in hand; while she ran, she prayed to become a bird, and Zeus turned

wives. If the Scholiast cites Herodorus correctly, then Herodorus employed *Themisto* as the name of Athamas' first wife in C; if the Pindaric Scholiast (see note 4) cites Pherecydes correctly, then Pherecydes employed *Themisto* as the name of Athamas' second wife in C (or B ?). Apollodorus (1.9.2) and Nonnus say that Athamas and Themisto had four sons. But Hyginus (and Euripides ?) gives Themisto just two, the number necessary for the story. And Nonnus has Themisto kill just two of her sons.

[7] The story must be pieced together from several sources: Plut. *Mor.* 267D (cf. 267E and *Camill.* 5.2); Ovid, *Fasti* 6.551-562; Theon *ap.* Steph. s.v. Ἄλος. Notice also Philostephanus (see note 5) and Hyg. *Fab.* 4, where Ino appears as a secret mistress of Athamas.

[8] Helladius Byzantinus *ap.* Phot. *Bibl.* 531 Bekker; alluded to by Eustath. *in Odyss.* 19.518, pp. 1874 f. The Scholiast on Oppian, *Halieutica* 1.728, appears to have much the same plot: Philomela is the wife of Tereus, who has an affair with her sister Procne. It is probable that the Scholiast has turned the names about.

her into a nightingale, in which shape she continues to lament Itylus. Zethus later died of grief.[9]

H. Polytechnus-Aëdon-Chelidon. Aëdon, daughter of the Ephesian Pandareus, was married to Polytechnus, a carpenter of Colophon, where they lived together happily and had in due time a son Itys. But one day Polytechnus proposed to his wife a contest of skill, his carpentry against her weaving, for she was an expert weaver. The loser would provide a slave for the other. Aëdon won, and her victory irked Polytechnus. In his anger he went off to Pandareus and told him that Aëdon had sent him to fetch her sister Chelidon for a visit with her in Colophon. So Pandareus sent Chelidon off with Polytechnus. But in a wood on the way to Colophon Polytechnus attacked and ravished Chelidon. Then he dressed her as a handmaid, sheared her hair off, and threatened her with death if she should reveal anything to Aëdon. So he gave her, thus unrecognizable, to Aëdon as payment of his wager. But Aëdon made such hard use of her about the house that the poor girl sat and wept one day by the well, and Aëdon heard her lament and so found out the truth. Then the sisters plotted revenge on Polytechnus. They killed the boy Itys, cut up his body, and cooked his flesh. Then they left word for Polytechnus with a neighbor that he would find his dinner waiting, and they ran off to Pandareus. After Polytechnus had eaten, he found out what his meal had been. In rage he went in pursuit of the sisters to their father's house. But Pandareus' attendants seized him, smeared him with honey, and tied him in a sheepfold, that the flies might torment him. Aëdon in sudden pity tried to keep the flies from him; but her parents and brother were offended at her compassion and tried to kill her. Then Zeus in pity for the house of Pandareus changed everyone into birds: Aëdon and Chelidon, of course, became nightingale and swallow, Polytechnus a woodpecker, Pandareus a sea-eagle, his wife a halcyon, his son a hoopoe.[10]

J. Tereus-Procne-Philomela. Thanks to Ovid this story is so well known that only a very brief summary is needed. Procne, daughter of Pandion of Athens, married Tereus, king in Daulis or

[9] Pherecydes and anonymous authorities *ap. Scholl. et Eustath. in Odyss.* 19.518 (Eustath. p. 1875). Something like this, perhaps, is the story alluded to in *Odyss.* 19.518-523; see also Pausan. 9.5.9. This story is pictured upon a late red-figured cylix; see Jane Harrison, "Itys and Aedon: a Panaitios Cylix," *JHS* 8 (1887) 439–445 and fig. 1; on this see also Kakridis' article, cited in note 13 below.

[10] Pseudo-Boeo *ap.* Ant. Lib. 11.

Thrace. To gratify his wife's longing to see her sister Philomela, Tereus went to Athens to fetch her. On the way back he raped her, cut out her tongue that she might inform no one of his deed, and hid her away somewhere in the country. But Philomela managed to inform Procne by weaving the story in cloth. Then the sisters killed Itys and served his cooked flesh to Tereus. He then pursued them, but as they ran the gods turned them into birds: Procne into a nightingale, Philomela into a swallow, Tereus into a hoopoe.[11]

K. Tereus (as hawk)-Procne-Philomela. Tereus married Pandion's daughter Procne, and they had a son Itys. Later Tereus went to Athens, told Pandion that Procne was dead, and asked to marry Philomela. So Pandion allowed Philomela to go off with Tereus, and he gave her a bodyguard to accompany her. On the voyage Tereus threw the guards into the sea. Then on a mountain he consummated his "marriage" with Philomela. On reaching Thrace he sent Philomela off to King Lynceus, his friend. Now Lynceus' wife was a good friend of Procne, so that Procne found out about Tereus' mistress. The story proceeds from there as in J, except for an episode in which Tereus killed his brother Dryas, whom he suspected of plotting death to Itys. But Tereus was transformed into a hawk.[12]

There are other legends of a man who married twice (e.g. Phineus and Jason), of parents who killed or ate their own children (e.g. Minyads, Harpalyce, Tantalus), of pursuits and leaps into the

[11] Ovid, *Metam.* 6.421–674; Apollodor. 3.14.8; Conon 31; Pausan. 1.5.3 f., 1.41.8 f., 10.4.8; Prob. and Serv. *in Ecl.* 6.78; Liban. *Prog. Narr.* 18 f.; Achill. Tat. 5.3, 5; Nonn. *Dion.* 4.319–330, 44.265–269. This appears to be the version of Sophocles' *Tereus* (frags. 523–538 Nauck[2]); see Sophocles, *Elec.* 107–109, 147–149, 1076 f.; Aristoph. *Aves* 46 f., 100 f., 114–119, 208–212, 663–670, *Ran.* 679–684. See also Thucyd. 2.29.3. Hesiod (*Op.* 568 f.) and Sappho (frag. 88) speak of the swallow as daughter of Pandion. The Latin poets' mistake of making Philomela the nightingale and Procne the swallow is well known. Servius adds that Itys became a *phassa.*

[12] Hyg. *Fab.* 45; Serv. Dan. *in Ecl.* 6.78; see also the interpolated sentences in Apollodor. 3.14.8; and compare *Schol. in Oppian.* (see note 8). Aeschylus (*Suppl.* 60–67) also makes a hawk of Tereus; and this may mean that the pre-Sophoclean form of the nightingale story in fifth-century Athens was K rather than J (see below, 151 f.); but this is very uncertain. In telling J, Probus agrees with K in saying that Tereus falsely told Pandion that Procne was dead and took Philomela as a second wife. That, however, is inconsistent with Tereus' rape of Philomela, which is part of his story. On the other hand, W. R. Halliday (*Indo-European Folktales and Greek Legend* [Cambridge, 1933] 109) is mistaken in speaking of Tereus' "ravishing Philomela," whereas Hyginus has *compressit*, which usually means no more than sexual embrace; if Philomela thought herself Tereus' wife, what need of violence?

sea (e.g. Hemithea, Asteria), legends which are related to those listed and which will enter into the following discussion. But Athamas and Ino, also the nightingale and her husband, appear to have been magnets that drew such stories to them. And it must be plain from a preliminary glance at their legends that the Athamas group has much in common with the Aëdon-Procne group. For if, as is usually the case, we are familiar with only C on the one hand and with only J on the other (owing to their presence in the works of Ovid), the similarities are not so evident.[13] I wish now to make a rigorous analysis of all ten legends, just as we find them in the sources; though, as the analysis will enable us to see, the extant legends are an outgrowth of earlier story-forms, and in some instances, at least in some versions, are a composite or confusion of more than one story.

II

Immediately after the statement of each motive in the following list I shall indicate by letter the legends in which it appears whether obviously or obscurely. If the presence of the motive is plain enough from the foregoing synopses, this indication by letter will usually suffice. But where the motive appears in a disguised or altered form, or where it does not appear in the corresponding synopsis, because it occurs in only one or two versions of the legend, I shall subjoin the necessary evidence and elucidation. And sometimes the more obvious instances will require comment too.

1. A man takes a second wife (T 145).[14] Group I: ABCD. Group II: GJK.

[13] These similarities have as yet barely been noticed. I can only point to Gruppe's relating of the pursuit and child-killing motives of both groups to the Agrionia of Orchomenus (*Griech. Myth.* 80 f., 92), to Halliday's notice of the similarity of D and G concerning the stepmother's mistake (*op. cit.* 97), and to the comments of Karl Robert (*Archaeologische Hermeneutika* [Berlin, 1919] 264-266) and of J. Th. Kakridis ("Zu den Aëdon- und Inosagen," *RhM* 78 [1929] 213–215) on the same motive. The ancients were by no means blind to the common features of these stories. Several authors link Procne with Ino or Themisto as a mother who killed her own children, and Medea and Harpalyce are often added; see Oppian, *Cyn.* 3.244–248; Ovid, *Fasti* 2.627–630; Hyg. *Fab.* 239; cf. Stat. *Silv.* 2.1.140–143. An anonymous mythographer (A. Westermann, *Myth. Gr.* 345) sets Athamas, Tereus, and Jason side by side in a list of men whose houses came to disaster because of women.

[14] I shall, where possible, indicate the *sigla* of these motives according to the scheme devised by Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature* (Helsinki, 1932–1936). In the present case T 145 does not suit precisely every legend as we have it, but I believe that it was present in an original story or stories that at least influenced the extant legends.

BC: Only Menecrates and the *Argumentum* of the *Argonautica* say that Nephele died, and only the Scholiast on Aristophanes says that Athamas divorced her, before he took a second wife. In several sources she was on hand to rescue Phrixus and Helle, and no mention is made of a divorce or disappearance of Nephele. Also Philostephanus' aberrant version, in which Ino is a divorced first wife, with whom Athamas has secret meetings while he is married to Nephele, and the probably Sophoclean version of B point to a story in which Athamas had two wives at one time. But there are also indications that Nephele was a goddess and had left Athamas (Ovid, *Fasti* 3.863–866).

D: On Ino's return she lived in disguise in the same house with Athamas and Themisto. But in one of Hyginus' versions (*Fab.* 1.2) Ino displaced Themisto.

G: Aëdon and Niobe were wives of twin brothers. When this legend is set beside its cognates, one may conjecture that in an earlier form the women were wives of the same man.

JK: According to Hyginus (K) and some authorities for J or K (see note 12) Tereus took Philomela as a second wife, alleging that Procne was dead. Also the other authorities for J often refer to Tereus' relation to Philomela as a sort of marriage, sometimes to be sure in irony or pathos; yet nuptial terms constantly recur.[15] Here too the stories as we have them (and H too) may be derived from an earlier story of a man who had two wives.

2. A husband has a mistress in secret (T 481). I: CDE. II: FHJK.

C: In Philostephanus' version Athamas had secret meetings with the divorced Ino while he was married to Nephele.

D: Athamas kept Ino in disguise as a servant in his house.

HJ: The husband forced his wife's sister into sexual relations with him. Then he kept her disguised as a servant in his house or concealed in the woods.[16]

K: Philomela was not really Tereus' wife. The Scholiast on Oppian has Procne (Philomela?) as Tereus' paramour without suggestion of violence.

3. The husband conceals or disguises the other woman (K 1816). I: CDE. II: FHJK.

C: This appears only in the version of Philostephanus.

[15] See Ovid, *Metam.* 6.506 f.: Pandion joins together the hands of Tereus and Philomela; *ibid.* 538 (Philomela to Tereus): tu geminus conjunx. Lucian (*Merc. Cond.* 41) says that Tereus married two sisters; cf. *Tragodop.* 49 f., δύσγαμος . . . χελιδών. Achilles Tatius (5.5.3 f.) says that Tereus made a second Procne of Philomela, and that her ἕδνα τῶν γάμων were loss of her tongue and speech; with this cf. *Anth. Pal.* 9.451.3. See also Stat. *Theb.* 12.480; Nonn. *Dion.* 4.322–325.

[16] See Ovid, *Metam.* 6.537, 606, on Philomela as *paelex* of Tereus.

4. One woman is jealous of the other (T 257.1, T 257.2, T 92). I: CDE. II: FGHJK.

C: The Scholiast on Aristophanes says that Nephele sent the drought because she was jealous of Ino.

D: In the first of Hyginus' versions (*Fab.* 1.2) Themisto wanted to kill Ino's sons because Ino had taken her place as Athamas' wife.[17]

E: Not only was Ino jealous of the maidservant, but the latter revealed Ino's misdeeds to Athamas. For, as Ovid and Theon have it, she told Athamas about Ino's parching of the seed. The episode is thus attached to C, but it probably represents a feature of the original legend in which the maidservant tried to influence Athamas against Ino either by telling some damaging truth about her or by deliberately lying.[18]

G: Aëdon was jealous of Niobe's greater number of children.

H: Aëdon's hard use of her supposed handmaid points to a possible motive of jealousy, a form of the legend that resembled E and F.

JK: Though in the story's well-known form Procne's revenge upon Tereus was motivated by his crime against her sister, Achilles Tatius makes jealousy the dominating impulse. Oppian (*Cyn.* 3.244–248) names Procne, Philomela, Themisto, and Athamas as persons whom ζῆλος drove to kill their own children. The Scholiast on Oppian (*Hal.* 1.728) says that Philomela (Procne?) killed her son when she learned of Tereus' affair with her sister.

5. Children are born to one woman or both. All legends.

5A. Two children are born. I: ABCDE. II: G (Aëdon).

5B. Several children are born. I: CD. II: G (Niobe).

CD: According to Zenobius, Ino had two sons and a daughter. Themisto is usually given either four sons or three sons and a daughter. Notice too that Phrixus had four sons by Aeëtes' daughter.

5C. The wife is herself one of two or more sisters. I: CDE (Ino). II: FGHJK.

FGH: Pandareus, father of Aëdon, had three or four daughters.

6. One wife plots against the other's children (S 31). I: ABCD. II: GHJ.

6A. She tries to kill them (S 322, K 931). I: CD. II: GHJ.

D: Notice that Ino by her very method of saving her own sons from Themisto's plot brought death to Themisto's sons.

HJ: Chelidon-Philomela was very zealous in assisting Aëdon-Procne to kill and cook Itys. This may reflect a story in which she as second wife or mistress wanted to kill her sister's children.

[17] Frag. 403 (Nauck²) of Euripides' *Ino* refers to the evil of φθόνος; compare frag. 400.

[18] See Ovid, *Fasti* 6.557: ipsa (Ino) fecisse negat, sed fama recepit.

6B. Potiphar's wife (K 2111; cf. T 418). I: AB.

7. A parent kills his or her own children (S 300, S 322). All legends.

7A. A mother kills her own child to punish her husband. I: E. II: FHJK.

Ino is also said to have killed one or both of her sons in sources that do not refer specifically to E.[19]

7B. A mother kills her own child by mistake (K 940, K 1611). I: D. II: G.

7C. A father kills his own child. I: ABCD. II: H.

BC: Athamas either willingly or reluctantly intended to sacrifice Phrixus.

CD: A few authorities append the story of Athamas' killing of Learchus and pursuit of Ino and Melicertes (see Part III). Philostephanus attributes these deeds to his rage against Ino after he discovered her plot against Phrixus.

H: Pandareus tried to kill Aëdon.

8. A father eats his own child (G 61). I: CD (E?). II: HJK.

CD: Some versions of the appended story just mentioned, which is usually told independently, say that either Ino or Athamas put Melicertes in a cauldron over a fire and boiled him partially or completely.[20] Also Athamas shot Learchus as a deer, and Nonnus (*Dion.* 10.59–62) tells us of his treatment of the body as venison. A scholiast (*Arg. 1 Pind. Isthm.*) tells us that it was the slain Learchus' body that Ino put into a cauldron. And the Scholiast on Lucian (*Dial. Mar.* 9.1) adds that she cooked Learchus' flesh and gave it to Athamas to dine upon, because she was angry at him, presumably for his murder of Learchus. These are indications of a story in which Ino served Athamas as Procne served Tereus.

9. The husband pursues; the wife flees (R 220, R 260; cf. D 671). I: CD. II: GHJK.

CD: In the occasionally appended story Athamas, in madness or in rage, sword in hand, pursued Ino and Melicertes.

9A. A parent or other person pursues; a child flees. I: ABC.

A: In a sequel Achilles pursued Leucothea-Hemithea with lustful intent during an Achaean raid on Tenedos (Plutarch, Schol. on Lycophron).

[19] See Eurip. *Medea* 1282–1289; Hyg. *Fab.* 239.1; Apollodor. 3.4.3.

[20] Apollodor. 3.4.3: Ino kept Melicertes in the cauldron until he was dead. Nonn. *Dion.* 10.67–75: Athamas half-cooked Melicertes. See also *Arg. 4 Pind. Isthm.*, *Schol. Vet. in Pind. Pyth.* 3.173, and the mention of a *lebês* in frag. 1 (Nauck²) of Aeschylus' *Athamas*.

BC: Phrixus and Helle took flight on the ram's back. In a vase-painting Ino is seen pursuing Phrixus with an axe in her hand.[21]

10. An offending spouse is punished by the other (Q 241, Q 211.4). I: ACDE. II: FGHJK.

HJK show both the wife's punishment of the husband for infidelity and his attempt to punish her afterwards.

11. Someone, usually a woman, plunges into the sea (S 141, S 142, S 431.1, S 432, Q 467). I: ABCD. II: HK.

A: Cycnus put Leucothea-Hemithea with her brother into a chest and cast it into the sea. As we shall see (part III), this is one form of Hemithea's leap into the sea.

BC: Helle fell off the ram's back into the sea.

CD: In the occasionally appended story Ino leaped with Melicertes into the sea.

H: Pandareus as sea-eagle and his wife as halcyon wanted to plunge at once into the sea.

K: Tereus threw Philomela's bodyguard into the sea.

11A. The attacked escape by sea (R 210). I: ABC. II: J.

J: Servius Danielis reports a rationalising version in which Procne and Philomela fled from Tereus in ships upon the sea.[22]

12. Someone is transformed into a bird (D 150). All legends.

A: The father of Tennes is named Cycnus. He was a son of Poseidon (Schol. A on *Iliad*), fishermen found him as an infant in the midst of swans (Schol. on Lycophron), and he turned into a swan when Achilles killed him (Ovid, *Metam.* 12.144 f.), like every other legendary figure whose name was Cycnus.

BC: In some versions the golden-fleeced ram flew through the air.

CDE: The story of Athamas' pursuit of Ino, as we have it, ends with the transformation of Ino and Melicertes into the sea-deities Leucothea and Palaemon, and Leucothea sometimes took the form of a sea or water bird. When Leucothea, explicitly identified with Ino, appeared to the distressed Odysseus, she went back into the sea in the form of an *aithuia*, a shearwater (*Odyssey* 5.352 f.).[23] The swan caught

[21] See *Ann. Inst.* 39 (1867) plate C, and Otto Jahn's comment, *ibid.* 91 f. Ino appears to be running over water, axe in upraised hand, while Phrixus is vaulting to the back of the already moving ram, which has a fillet over its horns. Either the artist used a version in which Ino intended to deal the death-blow herself, or the representation is symbolic. Is there contamination with D?

[22] Compare the Ruvo vase that pictures Procne and Philomela, each in a chariot, fleeing from Tereus, who is mounted on a horse, but Apate hinders him. See H. Heydemann, *Die Vasensammlungen des Museo Nazionale zu Neapel* (Berlin, 1872) no. 3233, p. 533.

[23] And if 5.337 be accepted, she also arose from the sea in that form. On this and the other birds mentioned see D'Arcy Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds*[2] (Oxford &

by Milesian boys turned out to be Leucothea (Conon 33). Some of the Ismenides who mourned for Ino after her leap into the sea were turned by Juno-Hera into sea-birds (Ovid, *Metam.* 4.561 f.). And Ino-Leucothea is connected not only with water-fowl. A certain Byssa was turned into a bird of the same name (*byssa, byxa, byza*), apparently a kind of owl, which was known as Leucothea's bird (Ant. Lib. 15.4). The same bird appears among the transformed daughters of Minyas, who were closely related to the daughters of Cadmus (see part VI), and who became bats and owls. Again, Asteria, who appears to be a form of Leucothea-Hemithea, leaped into the sea in the form of a quail; or she was one of five sisters, daughters of Alcyoneus, who leaped into the sea and became halcyons.[24] The Oenotrophoe of Delos, to whom Ino-Leucothea is related, became doves.

BC: Helle too became a marine goddess, associated with the Nereids, after her fall into the sea (Pherecydes, Ovid), so that she too probably appeared in bird form. For we see from the frequent association of sea-goddesses with birds that the metamorphoses into sea-deities of group I are related to the bird metamorphoses of group II.

13. The mother ever mourns (A 2275.1). I: CDE. II: FGHJK.

The sorrows of Ino, Ἰνοῦς ἄχη, became proverbial.[25] Her grief was caused, as Nonnus and Suidas say, by Athamas' killing of her sons; or, since we have seen that she was often charged with their murder herself, by remorse for her own crime. In the latter case her woes are very like the woes of Procne, who as nightingale ever mourns Itys. Perhaps the mournful notes of an owl, or the cooing of doves, or the fabled song of swans were referred by the Greeks to the sorrows of Ino.

Group II: Not only does the nightingale lament, but also the swallow.[26] Philomela's grief is usually attributed to Tereus' mutilation of her; but if there was a form of the story in which she was a stepmother, it could have been due to remorse for a murder committed.

The above thirteen motives or features are found in both groups and either in all the separate legends or in a majority of them. I shall now add a number of others that appear less often.

London, 1936); on nightingale, swallow, and hoopoe see also Norman Douglas, *Birds and Beasts of the Greek Anthology* (London, 1928) 81–86.

[24] See Apollodor. 1.4.1; Suid. s.v. Ἀλκυονίδες ἡμέραι. On the other hand, notice the occurrence of sea-birds in group II. Pandareus in H became a sea-eagle and his wife a halcyon. Polytechnus became a *pelekās* 'woodpecker,' a name easily confused with *pelekān* 'pelican.' The crag of Athena *Aithuia* in Megara was the site of Pandion's tomb. And the hoopoe was said to fly alike over land and sea (Aristoph. *Aves* 118; Ant. Lib. 11.10). Notice Plato, *Phaedo* 85A, where the swan is associated with nightingale, swallow, and hoopoe as a mourning bird.

[25] Horat. *AP* 123; Aristid. *Or.* 3, p. 25; Zenob. 4.38; Nonn. *Dion.* 10.45–48; Suid. s.v. Ἰνοῦς ἄχη.

[26] See Hesiod, *Op.* 568, ὀρθογόη χελιδών; Aristoph. *Ran.* 680 f.; Plato, *Phaedo* 85A; Pausan. 1.41.9.

14. Incest (T 410). I: AB. II: HJK.

Though these legends do not show the flagrant incest of the related stories of Harpalyce, Halia-Leucothea, and Pactolus, there occur relations that are explicitly called incestuous by ancient writers, e.g. the relation of Tereus to his sister-in-law (JK).[27] In this sense we also find incest in H and the desire for it in AB.

15. Goddess as wife or mistress (F 300, F 302, T 111.1). I: BCDE. II: F.

BC: Nephele appears to be a goddess.

CDE: Ino was identified with the goddess Leucothea; moreover in her own right she appears to be a supernatural being: she was nurse of Dionysus, sister of Semele, and an object of worship (Pausan. 3.23.8, 3.26.1). Themisto was a nymph's daughter (Hyginus), and she bore a daughter Leuconoë to Poseidon (Hyg. *Fab.* 157.1). Her name also appears among the Nereids in Hesiod's *Theogony* (261).

16. Competition or rivalry. I: CD. II: GH.

CD appear to contain a rivalry between the wives concerning their children's place in the inheritance and succession: whose children will the husband favor?

G: There appears to be competition between Aëdon and Niobe over the number of children that each can give her husband; Aëdon at least feels emulous.

H shows a contest in craftsmanship between husband and wife.

17. The servant as helper (P 361, R 169.4). I: CDE. II: HK.

C: In a rationalised version it was a tutor Crius that helped Phrixus escape (Dionysius, Palaephatus). Hyginus says that an attendant of Athamas revealed Ino's plot against Phrixus. Compare Ovid and Stephanus on E, who say that the handmaid-mistress revealed Ino's plot. In D a nurse (Hyg. *Fab.* 1.2) or Ino disguised as a nurse saved Ino's sons.

H: The attendants of Pandareus seized and punished Polytechnus.

K: Pandion sent guards to accompany Philomela on her journey to Thrace.

18. The servant as enemy (P 365). I: AD. II: H.

A: A flute-player aided Philonome against Tennes.

D: The nurse's saving of Ino's sons brought death to Themisto's.

H: Chelidon as handmaid in Polytechnus' house joined in the killing and cooking of Itys.[28]

[27] See Ovid, *Metam.* 6.482; Martial 14.75; Pausan. 1.5.4.

[28] The following features may also be noticed: (a) Hunting: Athamas was a hunter in his madness when he shot Learchus (CDE); Aëdon killed Aëtylus as he came in from hunting (F). (b) Golden animal (B 105; cf. F 855.3.2): BC have the ram with

III

It is now necessary to give attention to the Athamas group of legends (I), including among them the story of Tennes, in order to discover, if possible, the relations of one to another.

It must be plain at the outset that C and D are separate variants of the same story and not successive episodes in the legendary history of Athamas. That is, the tradition that Athamas had three wives in succession (Nephele, Ino, Themisto) is late and is to be found only in the handbooks of the epitomisers whom we call Apollodorus and Hyginus and in the *Dionysiaca* of Nonnus, who used about every story that he knew. And Apollodorus does not report legend D, but tells us only that after his misfortune Athamas left Boeotia and settled in Athamantia, where he married Themisto. Obviously the compilers, as usual, instead of reconciling traditions, merely added one to another, so as to produce a composite and not always coherent story.

Ino, who is the cruel stepmother in C, appears as the first wife in D, against whose sons Themisto plots as cruel stepmother. In D, therefore, Ino has the place of Nephele in C. It is clear that at different times or places she was identified with either the first or the second wife of Athamas.

It is also apparent from B, C, and D, and the several versions of them, that there was no agreement about the names of either of Athamas' wives. We find Nephele, Ino, and Themisto as the name of his first wife, and Demodice, Biadice, Gorgopis, Ino, Themisto, and Nephele as the name of his second. Themisto appears as Ino's predecessor, and Ino as Nephele's, so that the names of Themisto and Nephele shifted, as Ino's did, from one wife to the other. But in Hellenistic and Roman times the version of C that used the names Nephele and Ino was certainly more popular than any other tradition concerning Athamas and his two wives.

That Ino's role is the most variable is probably due to her not being originally a character in the story of Athamas' wives at all.

golden fleece; Pandareus, Aëdon's father, either stole or received a golden dog that Zeus had set to guard his shrine in Crete (Ant. Lib. 36; *Schol. in Odyss.* 19.518, 20.66; *Schol. Vet. in Pind. Olymp.* 1.91). (c) Enmity between the wives of brothers may be seen in G and in the Sophoclean version of B. (d) A sister or wife is punished by her father for expressing sympathy for her brother or husband: Leucothea-Hemithea in A, probably Helle in BC, Aëdon in H.

For the story of Athamas and Ino is usually told without reference to C, D, or E: Athamas was king in Thebes, and Cadmus' daughter Ino was his wife. After her sister Semele's death she nursed the infant Dionysus. Therefore Hera sent madness upon the house of Athamas. Athamas shot his son Learchus as a deer and then pursued Ino and Melicertes, who escaped him by leaping into the sea.[29] Only Philostephanus and Hyginus attach this story to legend C; while Apollodorus, Ovid, and Pausanias make only a tenuous connection between them.[30] Now Hyginus tells us that when Athamas learned the truth he ordered the execution of Ino and Melicertes; but Dionysus rescued them, and Zeus sent madness on Athamas, who killed Learchus; then Ino and Melicertes leaped into the sea. Philostephanus and Pausanias also attribute Athamas' motive in killing Learchus and pursuing Ino to the desire to punish her; Philostephanus adds that Athamas executed Ino's accomplices.

Now the folktales of the cruel stepmother often end with the husband's punishment of her when he has found her out. In *Snow-White*, for instance, he kills her; in the *Juniper Tree*, though her death is not at his hand, it would seem to be divine retribution.[31] So we may expect the same sort of ending for C, at least in some versions: Athamas killed his second wife. Such was the probable ending of B, as A indicates. Then, after Ino had been identified with Athamas' second wife, the cruel stepmother's punishment became fused with the pathetic end of Ino, nurse of Dionysus, a wholly different tale, wherein the deaths of the children and the pursuit had nothing to do with punishment, unless we mean the punishment inflicted by Hera upon Dionysus' kin.

The Ino story is even more loosely attached to D by Hyginus (*Fab.* 4, 5), who tells of Athamas' madness and its consequences as events that happened after the death of Themisto and her children. But he is summarising Euripides' play, and it may be that Euripides

[29] This is an independent story in Eurip. *Medea* 1282–1289 with *Schol. Vet. in* 1284; Apollodor. 3.4.3 (notice that he tells C elsewhere); Ovid, *Metam.* 4.416–562, *Fasti* 6.485–500 (obviously separate from the story of the maidservant in 551–562 and the allusion to the parching of the seed in 555–557); Callistr. 14; Serv. *in Aen.* 5.241; Lact. Plac. *in Theb.* 1.12, 7.421; *Etym. Magn.* s.v. 'Αθαμάντιον; *Schol. in Odyss.* 5.334; *Schol. in Lucian. Dial. Mar.* 9.1; *Argg. 1, 3, 4 Pind. Isthm.*

[30] See note 5 and Pausan. 1.44.7.

[31] See Grimm, *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* 11, 47, 53; cf. 13, 15; see Types 327A, 403, 450, 709, 720 in A. Aarne and S. Thompson, *The Types of the Folktale* (Helsinki, 1928).

had made a dramatic connection between the events; for though Ino saved her own children, in doing so she brought death to others and therefore merited punishment. But that would be a playwright's alteration. The story demands the death of Themisto, and we are actually told that she committed suicide.

Now either violent death (dealt by the husband or heaven) or suicide offers a satisfactory end to the cruel stepmother. The story of the pursuit and leap provided both the husband's effort at punishment and the stepmother's suicide.

We may call C and D, as usually told, variants of the same story, since their plots show the same sequence of motives (1, 4 or 16, 5, 6, 7, 11A or 17, 10), as has been recognised by H. J. Rose; though I think it unnecessary to assume that in the earliest form of the story the first wife was a goddess.[32] Rather, I think, it was a story of polygamy, at least in the underlying folktale (see part V), and the goddess-wife entered in after the tale was told of Athamas. C differs from D only in the nature of the stepmother's plot and in the manner of the children's escape. This difference is required by the presence of Phrixus and Helle in the story; for they belong to the story of B, as is plain from the identity of plot between B and A (1, 5, 6B, 7C, 11A, 10), especially in their conclusion. In both we have a brother and a sister whom a stepmother's malice has caused to be carried over the sea to safety in a distant land. The chest of A becomes the golden-fleeced ram of B, a change caused, as we shall see (part VI), by the use of B as a cult-legend. We may notice that B was better known in the fifth century than later; for Pindar and Sophocles were acquainted with it.

Now the locking of a woman in a chest and casting her into the sea is one form of the sea-plunge of Hemithea-Leucothea, who appears in A as Tennes' sister. For all about the shores and islands of the Aegean there was worshipped a marine goddess of whom several tales were told; but all agreed that she had been a mortal woman who in trouble and sorrow had leaped or otherwise fallen

[32] See H. J. Rose's edition of *Hygini Fabulae* (Leyden, n.d.) p. 6, note: nam luce clarius apparet hanc fuisse priscam historiae formam: "erant in quadam civitate rex et regina; ille mortalis fuit, haec dea. sed postquam geminos peperit, aliqua de causa regem reliquit et pro mortua habebatur. tum rex alteram uxorem duxit, quae et ipsa pueros ei peperit, sed ut erat indole plane novercali, privignos suos oderat et interficere conata est. at mater eorum vel numine suo vel sollertia conatus eius reppulit atque ipsam cum liberis leto dedit."

into the sea.[33] She was usually called Hemithea or Leucothea, but she had other names too.

She had a very important shrine at Castabos in the Carian Chersonesus. There the story was told that Staphylus and Chrysothemis had three daughters: Molpadia, Rhoeo, and Parthenos. Rhoeo became pregnant by Apollo; but her father believed that she had had dealings with a mortal man. So he put her in a chest, which he cast into the sea. The chest reached Delos, where Rhoeo bore Anius, who became Apollo's priest and prophet. Her sisters fell asleep one day when they had been set to watch their father's wine, and swine broke into the vat and ruined its contents. In fear of their father's wrath they ran to the shore and leaped from some high rocks into the sea. Apollo protected them and established their worship in the Chersonesus: Parthenos in Bubastos, Molpadia in Castabos, where her cult was founded after her epiphany, and her name was changed to Hemithea (Diod. 5.62).

We also meet Rhoeo and Hemithea as sisters and as daughters of Staphylus in a tale told by Parthenius (*Narr.* 1). A certain Lyrcus had stopped at Staphylus' house in Bubastos on his way back from Didyma to Caunus, whither he was hurrying to rejoin his wife, since he had received a response that he would have a son by the first woman that he should lie with after leaving the shrine. Staphylus with knowledge of the response made him drunk and put him to bed with Hemithea. For Hemithea had won a contest with Rhoeo over the privilege of lying with Lyrcus. Later a son, Basilus, was born to Hemithea.[34]

Since this Hemithea lived in Bubastos, she would seem to be the same as Diodorus' Parthenos. And Rhoeo was cast into the sea in a chest like the Hemithea-Leucothea of Tenedos; notice also the Asteria of Delos, who leaped into the sea when fleeing from Zeus (see above, p. 137). Each of the three daughters of Staphylus thus appears to be a form of Hemithea.[35]

[33] Eitrem in *RE* s.v. "Leukothea." Tennes' sister is also called Amphithea (Stephanus).

[34] Lyrcus appears to be another man with two women. The above summary shows motives 2, 5, 15, and 16. The story also dimly shows 9A and 10: after Lyrcus returned from his affair with Hemithea, Aebialus, his wife's father, banished him. Lyrcus' wife remained loyal to him and went into banishment with him (see note 28, part d). 17 and 18 may be seen in the partisans of Lyrcus and Aebialus in the civil war that followed.

[35] See L. R. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults* (Oxford, 1921) 46 f.

From Rhodes comes the story of Halia-Leucothea: Halia bore six sons and a daughter to Poseidon. When Aphrodite in anger sent madness upon her sons, they seized and ravished their mother, who then threw herself into the sea and became the sea-goddess Leucothea (Diod. 5.55.4–7). With this compare the story of Pactolus: he was a son of Leucothea and in a festival of Aphrodite he unknowingly raped his sister Demodice; then in remorse he cast himself into the river that afterwards bore his name (ps.-Plut. *Fluv.* 7.2). Here Demodice appears to be the double of her mother, i.e. another form of Hemithea-Leucothea. For a man's leap into the waters we may compare the story of Melissus, who is closely related to Melicertes-Palaemon and the Isthmian festival.[36] Also, when Chione conceived of Poseidon and bore Eumolpus, she threw the infant into the sea, where Poseidon received him and carried him to safety (Apollodor. 3.15.4).

Now Helle appears to be another form of the goddess Hemithea-Leucothea, and not only because her role as the stepson's sister corresponds to Hemithea's in A. For she fell from the ram's back into the waters of the straits, where Poseidon received her, took her as his mistress, and begat a son by her.[37] In like manner Poseidon received Ino-Leucothea when she plunged into the sea;[38] and Aristides (*Or.* 3.26) knew a story wherein Leucothea, whom he distinguishes sharply from Ino, was loved by Poseidon. And we have already seen the story in which Poseidon was lover of Halia-Leucothea in Rhodes. Moreover both Leucothea and Helle are spoken of as companions of the Nereids and other sea deities.[39]

The chest of A becomes a ram in B. Though in some versions the ram appears to have swum through the sea (e.g. Palaephatus 30), it is also said to have taken off through the air over the sea. The plunge then becomes Helle's fall from the ram into the Hellespont, a feature suggested, perhaps, by a local legend of the Thracian Chersonese, one of the many places that claimed to be the scene of Hemithea-Leucothea's leap.

[36] Plut. *Mor.* 773A; Diod. 8.10; *Schol. in Apollon. Argon.* 4.1212.

[37] Eratosth. 19; Ovid, *Fasti* 3.874; cf. Luc. *Dial. Mar.* 9.

[38] Ovid, *Metam.* 4.532–542; Luc. *ibid.*; *Etym. Magn.* s.v. Ἀθαμάντιον; cf. Pausan. 2.2.1, 2.3.4.

[39] On Leucothea see Pind. *Olymp.* 2.28–30, *Pyth.* 11.2; Eurip. *Iph. Taur.* 273 f.; Ovid, *Fasti* 6.499 f.; Stat. *Theb.* 9.401 f.; Seneca, *Oed.* 444–448; Pausan. *ibid.* On Helle see Luc. *ibid.*; Val. Flacc. 2.589. According to Hesychius (s.v. Λευκοθέαι; cf. *Etym. Magn.* s.v. Λευκοθέα), all the women of the sea were called Leucotheae.

Now we have seen that Hemithea-Leucothea is usually both a mother and a sister. In A she appears to lack her character as mother, though we see her enclosed in a chest with her brother, like Rhoeo with her unborn child (compare Danaë with the infant Perseus). Halia-Leucothea of Rhodes was sister of the Telchines, though her role as mother is emphasized in the story. In the story of Pactolus mother and sister have become separated. And in the story of Phineus we see this goddess as stepmother.

Phineus is another legendary king who took a second wife. His story is another variant of the type seen in A and B. He had married Cleopatra, daughter of Boreas, and had two sons by her. Then when Cleopatra had died, or he had divorced her, he married a woman who is usually called Idaea, daughter of Dardanus; or he took a Scythian concubine. In any case she acted Potiphar's wife to her two stepsons' Joseph. Phineus believed her accusations and blinded his sons; or he put them alive into a tomb where they were constantly whipped; or he cast them out into the forest; or he delivered them to their stepmother to be killed or blinded. Phineus' own punishment is variously stated, but only Diodorus mentions the punishment of Idaea with death.[40]

Now the second wife of Phineus is also called Eidothea (*Schol. Vet. in Soph. Antigon.* 981); furthermore she is said to be a sister of Cadmus.[41] Eidothea resembles Hemithea-Leucothea so much that an original identity is not improbable. For she is also a sea-goddess who appears to sailors in trouble. She appeared to Menelaus in a moment of distress during his *nostos* (*Odyssey* 4.363–446), just as Leucothea appeared to Odysseus on a like occasion.

[40] Dionysius *ap. Schol. in Apollon. Argon.* 2.207; Diod. 4.43.3–4.44.4; Apollodor. 1.9.21, 3.15.3; *Schol. in Apollon. Argon.* 1.211, 2.140, 2.178; *Schol. in Odyss.* 12.69; *Schol. Vet. in Soph. Ant.* 981; Hyg. *Fab.* 19.1. Cf. Soph. *Ant.* 966–980. In Dionysius' version Phineus tried to throw one of his sons into the sea. In some versions the stepmother hated her stepsons, as in C and D, and therefore blinded them; see *Schol. Vet. in Soph. Ant.* 978, 981; *Schol. in Apollon. Argon.* 1.211. And still another version has it that Cleopatra blinded her own sons when Phineus divorced her to marry Idaea (Schol. on Soph. *ibid.*). So we have the same range of plot as in the stories of Athamas. But there was a quite different tradition about the blindness of Phineus: Zeus or Poseidon blinded him and sent the Harpies to torment him, because he had revealed too much of the knowledge that he had gained through his mantic powers to mortal men (or he had shown Phrixus' sons the way back to Greece); then the sons of Boreas and the Argonauts helped him rather than punished him; see Apollon. *Argon.* 2.178–196; Ovid, *Metam.* 7.1–4; Hyg. *Fab.* 14.18, 19.2–4.

[41] Phineus himself is said to be son or grandson of Agenor; see Apollodor. 1.9.21; *Schol. in Apollon. Argon.* 2.178.

Now in the Athamas stories we find that the sister Helle makes the sea-plunge in B and C, and the stepmother Ino in some versions of C, i.e. in the appended story of Athamas' madness. Ino's plunge appears to be due to her identification with Leucothea; and this identification may have come about chiefly through Ino's role as Athamas' second wife. The steps in the process would be: (1) the second wife committed suicide in some versions of B; (2) she did so by leaping into the sea, a means suggested by the influence of the Hemithea-Leucothea tradition which introduced Hemithea into A, Helle into B, Eidothea into the Phineus story, and perhaps Demodice into B (since Demodice plays the same role as Idaea-Eidothea, and her name belongs to Leucothea's daughter in the Pactolus story); that is, the plunge is transferred from sister to mother, i.e. stepmother; (3) the second wife's plunge moved into C from B and therefore became attributed to Ino; (4) the story of Athamas' pursuit of Ino and his son, which had been confused with his punishment of his second wife (since some versions had punishment instead of suicide), was then made to end with Ino's plunge into the sea.

I suggest, therefore, that the plunge into the sea did not belong to the earliest story of Ino. Her story had its roots in the Dionysiac frenzy of the early Bacchantes, when men and women tore animals and perhaps human beings to pieces and ate their raw flesh.[42] Her story was much the same as those of her sisters Agave and Autonoe, whose sons were torn to pieces as deer.[43]

In the extant literature Ino bears the same ambiguous relation to Dionysus as do Lycurgus, Pentheus, Orpheus, and the Minyads.[44] For she is sometimes his friend, sometimes his enemy: her frenzy is now due to Hera's wrath because she nursed the infant Dionysus, now to Dionysus' punishment of her and her sisters because they slandered his mother Semele, saying that their sister had had dealings with a mortal man (Eurip. *Bacch.* 26–33). But these are the *aitia* of later times when the Dionysiac worship had become tamed

[42] See Eurip. *Bacch.* 734–747, 1125–1143; L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, 5 (Oxford, 1909) 164–168, and the citations in his notes.

[43] That Actaeon's story also has something to do with Dionysus may be seen from the story of Actaeon, son of Melissus, who was torn apart in a struggle when his lover Archias, a Bacchiad, carried him off (citations above, note 36). And his mother, as a daughter of Cadmus and aunt of Dionysus, was one of the Bacchantes in Euripides' play and elsewhere.

[44] See Farnell, *op. cit.* 5.103–106.

and Hellenised; for the deeds once done during the Dionysiac revels gave rise to stories of terrible crime, the madness itself being considered a divine punishment.

In the myths of Dionysus' entry into Greek cities we read of Bacchantes leaping from crag to crag (*Bacch.* 1093–1097), and of pursuit and flight; and it would be strange if these flights did not occasionally end in the sea. For example, Dionysus himself took refuge in the sea when Lycurgus pursued him and his nurses (*Iliad* 6.130–140). Among the several women or nymphs that were reputed to be the nurses of Dionysus were the daughters of Cadmus, and Ino above all.[45]

An extremely interesting story of the nurse Ino was heard by Pausanias (3.24.3 f.) as a local cult-legend of Brasiae (or Prasiae) on the east coast of Laconia. When Semele gave birth to Dionysus, Cadmus cast her and her child into the sea in a chest, which was washed up at Brasiae. But Semele was already dead. Then Ino came to Brasiae and asked to nurse the child, and she tended him in a cave that the natives still pointed out to travellers in Pausanias' time.

This legend at once recalls the story of Rhoeo and Anius. Furthermore we learn that Anius became the father of three girls known as the *Oinotrophoi*, whose names were *Oinô*, *Spermô*, and *Elaïs;* i.e. Wine-girl, Seed-girl, and Olive-girl. Dionysus gave them the power to turn objects at a touch into wine, grain, and olive oil. Early in the Trojan war Agamemnon chased them, as Achilles pursued Hemithea on Tenedos, though Agamemnon's purpose was to take them to the Troad as his commissariat; as they fled they prayed for help to Dionysus, who turned them into doves.[46]

The *Oinotrophoi* are a group of three sisters like their grandmother and grandaunts, the daughters of Staphylus, and like the daughters of Cadmus (if we except Semele). All are nurses of the wine-god: the daughters of Staphylus (Grape-cluster), who is called son of Dionysus and is probably a form of the god, watched over the wine, with which the god is often identified; the daughters of Anius are, as their name signifies, the nurses of the wine; and nothing

[45] Apollodor. 3.4.3; Plut. *Mor.* 267E, 492D; Luc. *Dial. Mar.* 9.1; Ovid, *Fasti* 6.485–488; Hyg. *Fab.* 2.4.

[46] Ovid, *Metam.* 13.650–674; Serv. Dan. *in Aen.* 3.80; *Schol. Vet. in Lycophr.* 570, 580; see also Apollodor. *Epit.* 3.10 and *Schol. in Odyss.* 6.164, who cites Simonides, at least for part of the story.

more needs to be said about Ino and her sisters as nurses of the god.

The cult-legend of Brasiae, taken together with all that we know of Ino, suggests that Ino and Semele were originally identical, or rather that Ino was a name given to the mother of the wine-god. In fact, I think it likely that Ἰνώ and Οἰνώ are the same name. Εἰνώ for Οἰνώ may have occurred in some districts of Boeotia or elsewhere; and we know that the change ει > ī had occurred in Boeotia by the fifth century B.C.[47] Or the form Ἰνώ may be a legacy of a pre-Greek language of the Aegean area; for the word that appears as *oinos* < *woinos* in Greek, *vīnum* in Latin, *wine* in English, was not Indo-European, but belonged to some early language of the eastern Mediterranean region;[48] thence it spread into different language groups; e.g. it appears in Hebrew as *yayin* < *wayin* (construct *yên* < *wên*).[49]

So, I believe, Ino is the Wine-girl, as her counterpart Rhoeo is the Pomegranate-girl, and the Wine-girl is properly the mother of the wine-god. Ino, then, to begin with, had Zeus or an equivalent father-god as her consort or lover. She received other names too, among them Semele. Now the story of Zeus, Hera, and Semele is just another tale of the man who had two women: Zeus, married to Hera, took Semele as mistress; Hera was jealous; she took the form of a nurse to trick Semele; she brought death to Semele and tried to destroy Semele's son also.[50] But this story itself, like others of Zeus's wives and amours, was designed to explain the different consorts of Zeus in different cities. Perhaps at first Zeus and Ino-Semele, i.e. a father and mother god, presided over the Theban pantheon.

In Caria and Delos the cult of Dionysus met the cult of Hemithea-Leucothea, and myths were devised that brought the two deities together. These myths helped to reinforce the identification of Ino with Leucothea that came about through the Athamas legends. I must leave to another time a study of the

[47] See Carl Buck, *Greek Dialects*[2] sects. 29 f., 49. For the spelling Εἰνώ see Kern, *Inschr. Magn.* 215.

[48] See E. Boisacq, *Dict. étym. lang. gr.* s.v. *οἶνος*.

[49] Notice the cognate Assyrian *inu;* see F. Brown, S. R. Driver, C. A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon* (Oxford, 1906) s.v. *yayin* (p. 406).

[50] Apollodor. 3.4.3; Ovid, *Metam.* 3.259–315; Hyg. *Fab.* 179. The first wife as cruel stepmother may be seen in a few versions of C and D, e.g. Philostephanus' and Hyg. *Fab.* 1.

common origin of both Ino (Semele)-Dionysus and Leucothea-Palaemon in the aboriginal mother-son cults of the Near East.[51] There was probably an original relation between them; but Ino and Leucothea had developed independently for many centuries in Greek cult and myth.[52]

When Semele had become established as the name of Zeus's mistress and the mother of Dionysus, and the name Ino had become clearly separated from this role, Athamas became Ino's consort. For Athamas was to Boeotia much as Lycaon to Arcadia.[53] Legend made him king of either Orchomenus or Thebes.[54] He also belonged as founder or resident to the traditions of Coronea, Lebadea, Chaeronea, Haliartos, Mount Laphystium, Acraephnium, and the Athamantian plain.[55] His sons are eponyms of Boeotian places.[56] They are probably his original sons; for Learchus, Melicertes, and Phrixus came to him through his role in legends BCDE and his connection with Ino-Leucothea. Such a figure could easily take

[51] The relation of Semele-Ino as mother of Dionysus to Cybele is obvious. Also notice *Idaea* as the name of Phineus' second wife. Hemithea, whose cults cluster especially around the southwestern corner of Asia Minor, appears to be a western extension of Atargatis or Derceto, who leaped with her son Ichthys (Dagon ?) into the water; see Ctesias *ap.* Eratosth. 38; Xanthus *ap.* Athen. 8.346E; Diod. 2.4.2 f.; Diognetus *ap.* Hyg. *Astron.* 2.30. The cults and myths of Dictynna-Britomartis also must be considered in a study of Hemithea and Derceto. The mother-goddess became a sea-deity when an agricultural people settled on the coast and became fishermen; she then became responsible for the fertility of the sea.

[52] L. R. Farnell ("Ino-Leukothea," *JHS* 36 [1916] 36–44) does not accept a distinction between Ino and Leucothea. But I believe that his arguments are met at various places in this article. When one has studied all the evidence, the distinction between them seems inescapable. Notice the several cults of Ino in Laconia that are mentioned by Pausanias (3.23–26); there she was worshipped as Ino, not as Leucothea, and she looks rather different from that goddess who plunged into the sea and rose from it (see *ibid.* 4.34.4). Ino has only accidental associations with the sea; while Hemithea-Leucothea is much more of a marine goddess than Farnell allows. Farnell in his article neglects Hemithea and Derceto, though he brings Hemithea into relation with Leucothea in *Greek Hero Cults*, 46 f.

[53] See my "Philemon, Lot, and Lycaon," *U. Calif. Pub. Class. Phil.* 13 (1945) 100, 118.

[54] Orchomenus: Hellanicus *ap. Schol. Apollon. Argon.* 3.265; Apollon. *Argon.* 2.654, 1153, 3.266; Pausan. 1.24.2, 1.44.7; Hyg. *Astron.* 2.20; Serv.-Dan. *in Aen.* 5.241. Thebes: Philostephanus (see note 5); Honestus *ap. Anth. Pal.* 9.216.5; Ovid, *Fasti* 3.865, *Metam.* 4.416–421, 470; Stat. *Theb.* 7.421; Serv.-Dan. *ibid.*

[55] Chaeronea: Plut. *Mor.* 267D. Coronea, etc.: Pausan. 9.24.1, 9.34.7 f. Cf. Apollodor. 1.9.1; Steph. s.v. Ἀκραιφία.

[56] Ptous-Mount Ptoum, Schoeneus-Schoenos, Erythrius-Erythrae, Sphingius-*Phikion oros* (Sphinx mountain), Orchomenus-*idem;* see F. Fischer, *Nereiden und Okeaniden in Hesiods Theogonie* (Halle, 1934) 90; also K. O. Müller, *Orchomenos und die Minyer* (Breslau, 1844) 165.

Zeus's place and be considered Ino's husband; if indeed he was not a form of Zeus himself and distinguished from him eventually because of the difference of name, as often happened. The local legend of each Boeotian city had also a different name for his wife and queen; hence, perhaps, the story of his two wives may have been suggested by the meeting of conflicting traditions about the name of his wife.

But the fact that Ino became his wife is mainly responsible for the development of legend E and one episode of D. That is, the story of Zeus-Hera-Ino (Semele) introduced the secret mistress into the Athamas legends. As we have seen, Ino's character fluctuated; she was herself the secret mistress in D after her return; while in E she moved into Hera's place as the wedded wife. As Karl Otfried Müller noticed, Antiphera's role in E corresponds to Ino's in D, and in both the wife killed her own child.[57]

The story of Antiphera explained a cult-practice in Chaeronea (Plutarch), so that we may suppose that originally Antiphera was Athamas' consort in that city, and that legend E takes the name from there. But there was also a Thessalian version of E, in which the handmaid was called Halos.

Legend D is certainly Boeotian, not Thessalian, in origin; and Themisto, I believe, was Athamas' consort in Acraephnium. That she is placed in Thessaly by Hyginus seems due to a confusion of the Athamantian plain of Thessaly with the Athamantian plain of Boeotia.[58] According to Apollodorus, Athamas, after the loss of his sons, went to Athamantia and married Themisto. That this was the Boeotian Athamantia, near Acraephnium and Mount Ptoum, is clear from Pausanias' statements (9.23.6, 9.24.1), who says that Athamas settled there and that Ptous was his son by Themisto; as we have seen, his sons are Boeotian eponyms, and Themisto was their mother. And Stephanus tells us that Athamas was the founder of Acraephnium (see note 55).

However Athamas' wives were named, legend D or something very like it was told in Orchomenus and all about the Lake Copais region. Legend B belongs to Thessaly; for Nephele and Phrixus are certainly Thessalian figures.[59] Athamas was about as important

[57] Müller, *op. cit.* 166, 169.

[58] Apollodorus also says that Athamas left Boeotia; see Strabo 9.5.8, p. 433; Steph. s.v. Ἅλος; Schol. *in Apollon. Argon.* 2.514; *Schol. Vet. in Plat. Min.* 315c; *Etym. Magn.* s.v. Ἀθαμάντιον.

[59] See Müller, *op. cit.* 165 and below, 161 f.

in Thessalian legend as in Boeotian; and in Thessaly too his consort had different names (Nephele, Demodice, Biadice, Halos) in different places. It would be impossible to say whether B or D is earlier; but it is probable that they had a common origin. After each was established in its own territory, one met the other, and C was the result of the meeting. Some version of C may have been the cult-legend of Halos that Herodotus had heard (7.197), though it could have been a version of B in which Ino was the name given to the amorous stepmother.[60] The scene of C is placed in either Halos or Orchomenus by Greek and Latin authors.

IV

The stories of the nightingale (group II) have been more fortunate than the Athamas legends in the attention that they have received from scholars. Most recently, W. R. Halliday has published an able study of Procne and Philomela and the related stories of Aëdon.[61] He points out that G is the earliest recorded form (Pherecydes) of the nightingale story and that Homer (*Od.* 19.518–523) may conceivably have known it in something like that form; that "the canonical form of the story was clearly fixed by the *Tereus* of Sophocles," but that its main outlines "had taken shape by the time of Aeschylus"; that the swallow as daughter of Pandion was already known to Hesiod and Sappho.[62]

But he is a little too contemptuous, I think, of F, H, and K, calling them Hellenistic compilations. For J is also a literary compilation, though due to the greater skill of Sophocles; it is perhaps two hundred years earlier than the Hellenistic versions, yet essentially the same sort of thing; it is no more preclassical than they and hardly nearer to the genuine folktale. We must remember that we know most of the Greek traditional stories in literary versions, whose authors seldom, if ever, had the same purpose as the

[60] Pherecydes may have made a combination of B and C, wherein the disappointed stepmother did not carry a false accusation to her husband, but plotted Phrixus' death by parching the seed, etc.; see *Schol. Vet. in Pind. Pyth.* 4.162 (288) (see note 4). This would be very like one form of the parallel Phineus legend (above, note 40).

[61] *Op. cit.* (above, note 12) chap. 5, 85–112; see also Otto Schroeder, "Πρόκνη," *Hermes* 61 (1926) 423–436, and Thrämer in *RE* s.v. "Aëdon," who classifies the stories as follows: Ia, West Greek version (F); Ib, Boeotian-West Asiatic (i.e. Asia Minor) (G); IIb, Attic-Megarian-Phocian (J) based on an earlier IIa, Megarian; IIc, Hyg. *Fab.* 45 (K); III, West Asiatic (H). See also the interesting observations of J. R. T. Pollard, "The 'Birds' of Aristophanes," *AJPh* 69 (1948) 355–362.

[62] Hes. *Op.* 568; Sappho, frag. 88.

brothers Grimm. Rather, they fitted the stories as they pleased to their plays, lyrics, and epics, changing and rearranging, adding and subtracting parts, and filling in from their own invention. It is only through a comparative study that we can conjecture the nature of the underlying folk traditions. My analysis in part II shows that the Hellenistic versions too are largely made up of folk-tale motives.

Homer tells us only that the nightingale, daughter of Pandareus and wife of Zethus, killed her own son with a sword (or axe?) δι' ἀφραδίας. This phrase is usually rendered "unwittingly" and is so taken by Halliday; if that is right, then all the stories but G are excluded. But why may not ἀφραδία mean "folly" as in *Il.* 5.649? However, since Zethus is mentioned, and the swallow is not, it is perhaps the safest course to assume that the poet knew an earlier form of G.

There is a hint of a story like H, J, or K, we have seen, in Hesiod's reference to *Pandionis Chelidôn*. And a story in which Aëdon and Chelidon were linked was already current in the seventh century. For a metope from the temple of Apollo Thermius in Aetolian Thermum shows the two women, both labelled, bending over something between them in a part which has unfortunately been broken away.[63]

In Aeschylus' *Suppliants* (60–67) we first hear of Tereus. He was the husband of Aëdone, who killed her own son in unmotherly wrath; and Tereus apparently became the hawk that chased the nightingale. As we have seen, Tereus also became a hawk in Hyginus' version (K). Sophocles may have been the first to make him a hoopoe, sharing the ancient belief that hawks turned into hoopoes in the spring;[64] and it was perhaps Sophocles that gave the names Procne and Philomela to the nightingale and the swallow. Perhaps it was he who made Tereus Thracian.[65]

If Sophocles made these changes, he conceivably made others. I believe that he is also responsible for introducing the rape of Philomela. For in Hyginus and the interpolations of Apollodorus (K) we find no more than Tereus' deception of Philomela, when he took her as his second wife. And the Scholiast on Oppian says nothing of violence; as far as his words go, his story can be inter-

[63] *Ephem. Arch.* 21 (1903) 90, plate 5.

[64] See Aristot. *Hist. An.* 9.49B.

[65] See Albin Lesky in *RE* s.v. "Tereus," and Höfer in *Myth. Lex.* s.v. "Tereus."

preted as F with JK's names substituted and with Tereus' sister-in-law in place of the hamadryad. Sophocles, then, probably took the step of changing seduction and secret liaison into rape. Then in H the Sophoclean version was grafted to an older form of the nightingale story.

Hence I believe that Aeschylus' version was more like K or F: Tereus, while married to Procne, had her sister as his mistress; then Procne in jealous rage killed Itys. So in the list that I drew up in part I, K is really a step between F and J or H.

The likeness of G to D, disguised only by the substitution of twin brothers for a single husband, much as in B one husband becomes two, causes me to suppose that Homer knew a story of rival wives, of whom one killed her own child by mistake for the other's. Then changes occurred: in one direction the second wife became a sister-in-law, i.e. the wife of the husband's brother; in another the second wife became a mistress, who came to be the firs wife's sister. At some point the second woman was identified with the swallow. The plot wavered between killing the son for revenge and killing him by mistake. The Sophoclean version (J), as we have seen in part II, retains traces of earlier versions.

In FGH we find that Aëdon is daughter of Pandareus, who is assigned variously to Miletus (Cretan?), Ephesus, and Dulichium. In the story of the golden dog (see note 28) he is associated either with Crete or the west coast of Asia Minor. He had either two or three daughters besides Aëdon, who stands apart from the others, about whom a different story is told.[66] But probably it was Aëdon's place as daughter of Pandareus that brought her a sister as rival in her story.

When the story of Aëdon had crossed the Aegean to Athens and Megara, Pandareus became confused with Pandion because of the similarity of their names.[67] So the nightingale and swallow became Athenian and daughters of Pandion. They are obviously intruders from folktale into the circle of Athenian legend. They are never heard of outside of this particular story and seem strangers to Erechtheus, Pandion's son, who has to be their brother, and to the lineage of Cecrops. Yet Aëdon is one of a sister-group, usually three in number, and Athens had her Agraulos (or Aglauros),

[66] *Odyss.* 20.66–78 and Scholiast; Pausan. 10.30.1 f.

[67] For a view that refers both names to a common origin see Maximilian Mayer, "Mythistorica. I. Megarische Sagen," *Hermes* 27 (1892) 487–489.

Herse, and Pandrosos.[68] There was rivalry between Agraulos and Herse over Hermes, and so there was precedent in Athens for a roughly similar set of sisters.

We find Aëdon in Thebes too as the wife of Zethus, where she acts the part of Themisto. The presence of Amphion and Zethus themselves in Theban legend is something of a mystery; as Rose points out, they are a parenthesis in the sequence that proceeds from Cadmus to Oedipus and his sons.[69] Aëdon's rival is once or twice called Hippomedusa, but usually Niobe. Aëdon was Niobe's rival in just the same way as Leto in the better-known story: Niobe showed herself much superior in the production of children.[70] So Aëdon appears to occupy the same position as Leto with respect to Niobe. But Leto has the power to smite Niobe; in fact, she acts much as Hera would, whereas Aëdon comes to grief. Yet in the story of Zeus-Hera-Leto it is Leto that occupies the inferior position with respect to Hera, who persecutes her as she did Semele. And Aëdon-Procne in FHJK has the superior position with respect to the other woman. We have noticed the same sort of fluctuation in Ino's role.

Niobe's role also fluctuates according as her rival is Leto or Aëdon. She does not belong to Theban legend either, but was more at home in Lydia about Mount Sipylus, where she was identified with a peculiarly shaped rock.[71] There is another story about her that is probably Lydian; at least it contains Oriental names: She was the daughter of Assaon and wife of Philottus; as a result of her rivalry with Leto disaster came upon her: Philottus was killed while hunting; Assaon wanted to marry Niobe, his own daughter, and she refused to yield to him; then Assaon invited her children to a feast and burned them all when they had gathered; in grief, Niobe threw herself from a high rock and Assaon committed suicide.[72] Here we have several features of the Aëdon-

[68] Apollodor. 3.14.2; Ovid. *Metam.* 2.708–832; Hyg. *Fab.* 166.4 f. Notice that the Cecropidae, like the daughters of Staphylus, showed themselves poor guardians of the object entrusted to them. Notice too the leap of Agraulos from the Acropolis; and Ovid has Minerva go to summon Invidia against Agraulos as he has Juno go to summon Tisiphone against Ino (*Metam.* 4.432–480).

[69] *Op. cit.* (above, note 1) 187; see also M. P. Nilsson, *The Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology* (Berkeley, 1932) 124 f.

[70] Apollodor. 3.5.6; Ovid, *Metam.* 6.148–312; Hyg. *Fab.* 9.

[71] Niobe is very thoroughly treated by K. B. Stark, *Niobe und die Niobiden* (Leipzig, 1863). On the Assaon story see 56 f., 438 f.

[72] Parthen. 33, who cites Xanthus, Neanthes, and Simmias.

Procne stories, though they are somewhat altered and shifted about.[73]

Assaon's deed also resembles Athamas' killing of his own sons. Other features of the Athamas legends are present too: Niobe's rejection of her father's advances is the Potiphar's-wife motive in reverse. And we have Niobe's leap, which points to the influence of Hemithea-Leucothea.

So it appears that Niobe played much the same roles as Aëdon or Ino. Antiope and Dirce also show a striking likeness to them.[74] In one of his two versions of Antiope's story (*Fab.* 7) Hyginus tells us that Lycus was Antiope's husband, but that he divorced her because of an affair that she had with Epaphus (Epopeus). Then Lycus married Dirce; but she suspected that he continued to have secret meetings with Antiope, so that Dirce had her chained in a dark place. This is remarkably like F (and E) and also like Philostephanus' version of C. And though it may be a later version of the Antiope story, as Rose thinks (note on *Fab.* 7), the innovations were in any case taken from the folktale material that centred about Antiope's daughter-in-law. Yet in the more usual story, in which Dirce ill-treated Antiope, much as Aëdon used Chelidon harshly in H, we do not clearly see her motive in doing so; but jealousy of a rival would explain her actions very well.

Again, in the alternative (Euripidean) version that Hyginus also gives us, Antiope found an occasion to run away to her sons. Dirce, participating in Bacchic revels, followed her to the same place. Antiope's occasion must have been the Dionysiac festival too; and we are reminded of Ovid's narrative of J, in which Procne used the same festival as a means of reaching Philomela.[75]

[73] Assaon seeks a second marriage (motive 1), which will be incestuous (14); there is jealousy and rivalry (4, 16) between Niobe and Leto; Philottus was killed while hunting (note 28, a), like Aëtylus in F; Assaon burns his grandchildren at a feast (7C, 8). Notice that elsewhere Tantalus, who cooked his own children, is Niobe's father; also that Tantalus and Pandareus interchange roles in the story of the golden dog. Notice too that Lydia is the scene of the Pactolus-Demodice story. Compare the story of Clymenus, who was successful in his desire to mate with his daughter Harpalyce, by whom he had a son; but she killed and cooked either this son or her younger brother and served him to Clymenus. Also notice the strange, and perhaps corrupt, statement of Hyg. *Fab.* 244.4: Amphion Terei filius avi sui filios (occidit).

[74] Apollodor. 3.5.5; Hyg. *Fab.* 7 and 8; Pausan. 9.17.6. The usual story, as told in Apollodor. and *Fab.* 8, is attributed by Hyginus to Euripides.

[75] Zeus took a satyr's form (perhaps a Dionysiac touch) when he came to Antiope (Ovid, *Metam.* 6. 110 f.).

Pausanias too brings Dionysus into relation with Antiope and Dirce. He says that Dionysus favored Dirce, since she held him in special honor. Then after Antiope and her sons had killed Dirce, Dionysus in anger sent madness upon Antiope, so that she wandered over all Hellas, until she met Phocus, who healed and married her. This may be compared with Hyginus' version of C, in which, after Athamas had delivered Ino and Melicertes to Phrixus for execution, Bacchus rescued Ino by throwing a mist about her; then he sent madness upon Phrixus and Helle, so that they wandered in the woods until their mother rescued them. So Dionysus looked upon Dirce much as he did on Ino; and we may notice that Dirce is about the only genuinely Theban figure in the whole Amphion-Zethus complex.[76]

It is reasonable to suppose that the Aëdon legend came to both Athens and Thebes from the Megarid, where the names of Tereus and Pandion were probably first associated with it. For Tereus had a tomb there at which annual sacrifices were made; since he had been king of Pagae, Megara's port on the Gulf of Corinth (Pausan. 1.41.8 f.). Near the tomb of Tereus stood the heroum of Pandion, who was prominent in Megarian as well as in Athenian legend. It is Halliday's belief that this association brought Tereus into the story, especially since his name suited the hawk's sharp sight, and that later, since *Têreus* has the same meaning as *epops*, and since the hawk was thought to change into a hoopoe, the hoopoe took the hawk's place as the nightingale's husband.[77] In Pausanias' time the Megarians claimed that the hoopoe had first appeared in their land.

Pausanias tells us that Ino too had an heroum in Megara. In fact, it appears that the Megarians first brought the scene of her leap to the Isthmus. They said that she ran across their country on the *Kalês Dromos* and then leaped from the Molurian cliffs.[78] But Lucian (*Dial. Mar.* 9.1) says that she leaped from the headland of Cithaeron, a site that better suits a Boeotian scene. And this is near to Pagae, Tereus' original home. Also, Pandion's tomb, as distinct from his heroum, was located on another Megarian

[76] On the claim of other Boeotian towns to Amphion and Zethus see Wernicke in *RE* s.v. "Amphion"; Nilsson, *op. cit.* (above, note 69) 125.

[77] See Halliday, *op. cit.* (above, note 12) 94–109.

[78] Pausan. 1.42.7, 1.44.7 f.; Plut. *Mor.* 675E; Callistr. 14.3; Nonn. *Dion.* 10.76; *Arg. 3 Pind. Isthm.*

cliff, somewhat to the north of the Molurian rocks. This was the crag of Athena *Aithuia* (Pausan. 1.5.3, 1.41.6), a name that recalls the bird whose shape Ino-Leucothea sometimes took. In this bird's form, according to the Megarian legend, Athena carried the infant Cecrops under her wing to safety in Megara (Cecrops is probably a mistake for Pandion, as Mayer pointed out).[79] These associations may indicate that in the Megarid the triangle stories were passed to Ino from Aëdon, possibly at a time when Ino's consort was Zeus. For, as we have seen, Ino may have preceded Athamas in the story of wife and mistress, while Athamas appears to have preceded her in the two-wives tales. And it is quite possible that currents from several directions met to fashion the extremely interesting, though perplexing, material before us.

If it was in the Megarid that a triangle tale was first told about Ino, the story passed thence to Thebes, Ino's original home, and to other Boeotian cities, where it took several forms and also merged with the legends that had grown up around Athamas. The name Aëdon soon followed the story-type into Boeotia, where Zethus replaced Tereus as her husband.

Nothing is ever said of a transformation of Zethus; but a folk-etymology quoted in Greek by Hyginus (*Fab.* 7.4) derives his name from ζητεῖν. So it may be that Zethus was brought in for much the same reason as Tereus was: his name was interpreted as *seeker;* i.e. he was the husband who sought his wife that he might punish her. For the same reason Zetes became Aëdon's husband; his appearance in F is not a mistake for or a deliberate alteration of Zethus, as Halliday and others have thought; on the contrary, he has, I think, as much right in the story as Zethus.

Once Zethus became the nightingale's husband, he drew Amphion and Hippomedusa-Niobe into the story. Also the tale was transferred to his mother Antiope, who took the mistress' role beside Dirce (= Ino?) as wife and Lycus as husband. Lycus was a king of Thebes, like Athamas; and there was a king of Orchomenus named Amphion (*Od.* 11.283 f.), who may be the same as the Theban Amphion, since Chloris is made daughter of either (Apollodor. 3.5.6).

Though Tereus is apparently a Megarian hero, Phocian Daulis is often said to be his kingdom.[80] But some scholars have thought

[79] Hesych. s.v. ἐν δ' Αἴθυια; Mayer, *op. cit.* (above, note 67) 484.

[80] Thucyd. 2.29.3; Strabo 7.7.1, p. 321; Conon 31; Pausan. 1.41.8, 10.4.8 f. I believe with others that Tereus was made a Thracian by Sophocles. On this questio n

that the location of the story in Daulis is due to a confusion that arose from calling the nightingale the *daulian* bird; for this meant, they say, the bird of the thicket (δαῦλος). Pausanias heard the story in Daulis and also the tradition that Procne had carried the cult and image of Athena from Athens to Daulis; yet this may mean no more than that by the second century A.D. the Daulians had accepted the gift of the Hellenes and made the story their own.

But there are indications that the story had taken root in Daulis in the preclassical period. Herodorus said that Zetes and Calais came from Daulis;[81] and Zetes is another name for the husband of the nightingale. Fairly near Daulis is Tithorea, where Antiope was received by Phocus, and where the tomb of Phocus and Antiope was seen by Pausanias (9.17.4 f., 10.32.10). Also the Tithoreans had an interest in the tomb of Amphion and Zethus in Thebes; in fact, Stephanus (s.v. Τιθοραία), perhaps from confusion, says that the twins had a tomb in Tithorea.

Now Daulis lies over the Phocian border just west of Chaeronea and Orchomenus. Higher up the Cephisus valley lies Tithorea. South of Orchomenus are Coronea and Lebadea. All these cities, whether reckoned to Boeotia or to Phocis, belong to the Cephisus valley and the plains east of Lake Copais, a geographical unit.[82] And we have seen that the Boeotian cities of this area were closely related to Athamas and his story, so that it would not be strange if similar tales were told in the Phocian cities.

It appears, then, that in Megara, Boeotia, and Phocis the legends of group I had common ground with those of group II. The general movement of the story-type was westward, finally reaching the west coast of Greece (F).

V

The foregoing sections have, I believe, shown a close relation between the legends of group I and those of group II, and that the nature of the relation was the attachment of the same tales to different figures; for I would hardly say that the evidence shows an original identity of Ino and Procne or of Athamas and Tereus.

and on the subject of Thracians in Daulis see Halliday, *op. cit.* (above, note 12) 106 f.; Mayer, *op. cit.* (above, note 67) 489–499; F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *De Graecorum fabulis ad Thraces pertinentibus* (Berlin, 1886) 35–50.

[81] *Ap. Schol. in Apollon. Argon.* 1.211.

[82] See J. G. Frazer, A. W. Van Buren, *Graecia Antiqua* (London, 1930) Map 10.

The similarities that I have pointed out between the two groups of legends are of two kinds. (1) There are the fundamental motives and identities of plot that are due to use of the same basic story-types. For instance, motives 1 or 2, 4, 5, 6 or 7, and 10, appear in all or most of the legends and show the skeleton structure on which they were built. (2) There are similarities due to later confusions and contaminations, which, in general, affect the more superficial features of the story. For instance, the change in the boys' position in bed or color of bedclothes, seen in D and G, may very well be a borrowing by one story from the other. Likewise, Procne's participation in the Dionysiac revels in Ovid's version of J is probably a borrowing from D. The pursuit, at least in the form in which we find it in the several legends, belongs perhaps to this second class too and comes to both groups from the separate Athamas-Ino story. And the sea-plunge and metamorphosis into a sea-deity, it is clear, belong to Hemithea-Leucothea. If we remove the parts that are due to the separate Ino and Leucothea stories, it is evident that all ten legends and some others that we have mentioned (Phineus, Harpalyce, Niobe, Hera-Semele) are based upon these three closely related story-types.

(1) A man who has had children by his first wife takes a second wife who also bears him children. The stepmother hates her stepchildren and plots to kill them, but she loses her own children instead and her own life. This type, which accurately describes D, also lies behind C and G.

(2) A man who has had a son by his first wife takes a second wife when his son is already full-grown. The second wife makes amorous advances to the son, who rejects them. She then goes to her husband and accuses his son of making improper advances to her. The father believes her and takes measures against his son. But the son escapes and the father later finds out the truth and punishes his wife. This type, which contains the well-known Potiphar's-wife motive, expresses the plot of A and B and lies behind the story of Phineus. It differs little from the stories of Joseph and Bellerophon, except that it is put within the frame of the second-wife theme: the temptress' husband is the young man's own father. This is also the situation in the Hippolytus story; but the ending is different: for Phaedra succeeds in bringing death to Hippolytus.

(3) A husband takes a mistress in secret. His wife finds out and becomes extremely jealous. She begins to hate her husband and to punish him she kills her only son by him. The husband then punishes or tries to punish the wife. This is the story seen in E, F, and K, and it lies behind H and J. It is also a large part of the Medea-Jason story.[83]

It is obvious that in type 3 a polygamous marriage or concubinage would serve just as well as the husband's having a mistress in secret. It is equally clear that the circumstances of types 1 and 2 could occur in a setting of polygamy. I have pointed out that several versions of B and C say nothing about a divorce or death of Nephele, but that she is on hand to save her son. In D we have both women in the house at the same time, and the story itself is certainly one that polygamous conditions could have suggested. The story of *Genesis* 21 (compare 16) is not very different: first Hagar bore Ishmael to Abraham, and later Sarah bore him Isaac; Sarah hated Hagar and her son and exerted herself to cast them out. In *Genesis* 30 the situation is ripe for a story like that of D or G: Jacob married sisters, and Rachel was envious of Leah, who gave Jacob more sons; and Leah felt bitter towards Rachel. One suspects a story that we do not find in our text of *Genesis*.[84]

These considerations lead me to think that the three types had their beginning in the Orient in a polygamous society. One may conjecture Syria as at least the country whence the Greeks received them, though a journey across Asia Minor first is conceivable.

[83] Possible developments of these plots, such as occur elsewhere, do not appear in the two groups under study. (a) The stepmother in *Juniper Tree* (and in the Hippolytus story) succeeds in killing her stepson; but in ABC she has no more than temporary success in her plot against him. (b) The wife plots against and kills her rival in the Medea-Jason story; but in EFHJK the wife strikes only at the husband through his sons. (c) The rival plots against the first or legal wife rather than against her children; there is no more than a hint of this in E. (d) The wife punishes the husband directly by killing him instead of indirectly through his children; something of the sort may be seen in the stories of Agamemnon-Clytemnestra-Cassandra and Neoptolemus-Hermione-Andromache. That the first wife should plot against the children of the second is a variation of type 1 and is seen in one or two versions of C and D.

[84] See Thompson's motive S 322.3: a jealous co-wife kills her rival's children. The only instances cited belong to the Basutos and Zulus, whose culture, however, shows Hamitic and proto-Mediterranean influences; see H. Jeanmaire, *Couroi et Courètes* (Lille, 1939) 155–171. For the Basuto story see E. Jacottet, *Contes populaires des Bassoutos* (Paris, 1895) 168 f. (and note 2 on p. 168). On Genesis 30 see Hermann Gunkel, *Genesis*[3] (Göttingen, 1910), notes *ad loc.*

Then the non-polygamous Greeks, when they pleased, made such changes as suited their own institutions.

All three story-types probably arise from actual troubles in a harem. There is nothing impossible about the emotions and deeds of the simple narratives; crimes as horrible occur even in our advanced twentieth-century civilisation, as we may see by reading the daily newspapers. Behind the three types can be seen a common plot that brings them together under what might be called a generic type, which may be stated as follows: A husband takes a second wife or a concubine; jealousy or rivalry occurs between the women; as a result the husband loses his children. For in type 2, as seen in A and B, though the son's life is saved, he goes off to a distant land, where the father no longer sees him. This general formula covers other solutions too, which were sometimes used by the Greeks; e.g. the actual death of the grown stepson in type 2 (Hippolytus). The similarities of the types to one another brought about the transfer of features of the variants of one to variants of the others.

The Greeks also inserted some of their favorite themes. They were fascinated by stories of meals on human flesh, especially of a father eating his own son. So the episode in which the wife kills her son to spite her husband was improved by having her cook the child's flesh and serve it to the husband. This deed was attributed to Ino too, as we have seen (above, p. 135). Told of Ino and Athamas, it undoubtedly belongs to legend E.

The conclusion in bird metamorphoses and eternal sorrows appears in the earliest version that we have of any story of group II.[85] There are indications, as we have seen (above, 136 f.), that some versions of legends of group I ended in bird metamorphosis. The proverbial phrase "the sorrows of Ino" points to such an ending, a borrowing probably from the stories of group II. Then when Ino became identified with Leucothea, the bird transformation gave place to the change into a sea-goddess, a transition that was aided by the association of sea-nymphs with water-fowl.

VI

The narratives of the three types, as outlined above, are simple märchen and obviously have no aetiological purpose as such. But

[85] Notice that in *Juniper Tree* (Grimm 47) the murdered son becomes a bird that reveals the crime. There may be a hint of this motive in the version of J in which

when early Greeks or their predecessors wanted to explain the sad song of the nightingale and the like, they seized upon these widespread folktales to supply the chain of events that led up to the desired conclusion. Likewise, they employed these tales for another aetiological purpose: the explanation of strange rites and customs in the worship of the gods.

Legends B and C were used to explain a tradition of human sacrifice in the cult of Zeus Laphystius at Halos in Thessaly. Herodotus (7.197) tells us that because of the plot of Athamas and Ino against Phrixus the eldest of the Athamantids was forbidden entrance to the town hall of Halos on pain of being sacrificed to Zeus Laphystius. Hence the eldest Athamantid often went abroad to avoid the risk. But if he came back, he was led forth as a sacrificial victim. The practice began when Phrixus' son Cytisorus came to Halos from Colchis and rescued his grandfather Athamas from imminent sacrifice.[86] For Athamas, in accordance with an oracle, was being offered as a *katharmos* for the land, and his rescue brought the wrath of the god upon the house of Athamas. The intended sacrifice of Athamas after the escape of Phrixus is attested elsewhere.[87]

There are many puzzles in Herodotus' testimony that we need not go into.[88] But we may notice that the local cult-myth, at least as Herodotus reports it, emphasises Athamas: he is about to be sacrificed for the purification of the land and he is rescued from the very altar. This is repetition of the story of Phrixus' sacrifice. Since the custom concerned the Athamantids, it would seem more likely that the original cult-myth was told of Athamas. Then legends B and C were devised and became popular throughout Hellas, and the genuine cult-myth was tacked on at the end. Religious conservatism, no doubt, kept it alive in Halos; but, as a mere appendage, it tended to drop off in other parts of the country.[89]

Itys is also transformed into a bird (*phassa*, a kind of dove); see Serv. *in Ecl.* 6.78; *Vat. Myth.* I 4, II 217.

[86] In one version it was Heracles who rescued Athamas (Suid. s.v. 'Αθάμας; *Schol. in Aristoph. Nub.* 257), a change that was perhaps suggested by Euripides' *Alcestis*.

[87] Aristoph. and Schol. *ibid.*

[88] See Müller, *op. cit.* (above, note 56) 156–171; M. P. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste* (Leipzig, 1906) 10–12.

[89] I doubt that the story indicates actual human sacrifice. It seems to show a ritual act: the eldest Athamantid entered the town hall, was captured, dressed as a victim, and led forth to an altar, where someone dashed up and rescued him; then there took place some sort of reconciliation, ending in the sacrifice of a ram. The specific

Nephele was Athamas' consort in Halos. She was clearly a superhuman being.[90] She came amid clouds to rescue Phrixus and Helle (Ovid, *Fasti* 3.865), and Phrixus escaped wrapped in clouds (Val. Flacc. 1.279–282). We may recall that Dionysus rescued Ino from the same altar in a cloud. Also Nephele provided a ram that could speak, and she received it from Hermes.[91] This story probably did not belong to Halos, but to the cult of Zeus Acraeus on Mount Pelion.[92]

Nephele also appears in the story of Ixion; she was the cloud that Ixion took for Hera and on whom he begot the Centaurs.[93] Now Lactantius Placidus (on *Achill.* 1.65) says that it was Juno who advised Phrixus and Helle to get away on the ram. If Nephele and Hera were originally identical, and if Athamas was a form of Zeus, then in legends B and C we may have a development of the stories of Zeus's amours.

As we have seen, Zeus Laphystius had a cult in Halos, but Mount Laphystium was near Coronea in Boeotia, where the same god was worshipped. There too the story of Phrixus and Helle was told (Pausan. 9.34.5), at least in later times. But in Boeotia traditions of human sacrifice belong to Dionysus rather than to Zeus.

In Orchomenus a peculiar rite took place each year in the Dionysiac festival of the Agrionia (Plut. *Mor.* 299E–300A). The priest of Dionysus with a sword in his hand gave chase to the women called *Oleiai*, and he had the right, it is said, to kill whomsoever he caught. Plutarch, in fact, reports that a woman was killed in his own time, though it obviously happened a number of years before his narrative was written, and the story that he tells

meaning of the ritual had long since been forgotten. The pseudo-Platonic *Minos* (315c) is worthless as evidence of continued human sacrifice in the fourth century; the author was probably depending on his reading rather than on direct knowledge.

[90] Ovid, *Fasti* 3.863; *Schol. in Aristoph. Nub.* 257.

[91] Pherecydes *ap.* ps.-Eratosth. 19; Philostephanus (see note 5); Palaeph. 30; Apollodor. 1.9.1; Hyg. *Astron.* 2.20; ps.-Plut. *Fluv.* 14.4; *Schol. in Apollon. Argon.* 1.256. If the ram flew through the air in the earliest form of the story, it would appear to symbolise a cloud and, if we can disregard the sex, to be a form of Nephele. But paintings and sculptures of the fifth and fourth centuries (see above, note 21) show the ram swimming, and they are followed by several literary sources. Philostephanus is the earliest authority for the flying of the ram. On this subject see D. S. Robertson, "The Flight of Phrixus," *CR* 54 (1940) 1–8.

[92] See Nilsson, *op. cit.* (above, note 88) 12.

[93] Diod. 4.69; Ovid, *Metam.* 12.504–506; Lact. Plac. *in Theb.* 5.261; *Schol. in Iliad.* 1.268.

has the earmarks of a new-made legend. The ritual act itself cannot be doubted, and it was explained by the story of the three daughters of Minyas: Leucippe, Arsippe, and Alcathoë. Dionysus sent madness upon them for refusing to celebrate his rites. They craved human flesh and drew lots for their children. Leucippe won and gave her son Hippasus, whom the sisters tore to pieces. Then their husbands put on mourning garments and were thereafter called *Psoloeis;* and the sisters ran off to dance Bacchic dances in the mountains, until Hermes touched them with his wand and turned them into a bat and two kinds of owl (*glaux, byza*).[94] The story probably included a pursuit by the husbands, though it is not mentioned, to represent the priest's pursuit; but Aelian says that the other Maenads pursued the three wives.

To either Orchomenus or Thebes were assigned the daughters of Orion, Menippe and Metioche, who in time of plague offered themselves as victims, much as Phrixus did in some versions of C, when an oracle called for human sacrifice.[95] Also, like the daughters of Pandareus (*Od.* 20.67–72), these girls were reared by Athena and Aphrodite.

Just to the south of Thebes, in the suburb of Potniae, there was a tradition of child-sacrifice in the cult of Dionysus Aegobolus (Pausan. 9.8.2). A local legend said that drunken worshippers killed the priest during sacrifice, whereupon plague came upon the land. So Delphi on inquiry told the people to sacrifice a child, but a few years later allowed them to substitute a goat.

The three Minyads resemble closely the three daughters of Cadmus, as we see them in the *Bacchae,* and we may conjecture that their origin is identical. That is, there were three sisters in the Dionysiac myths, who became the Minyads in Orchomenus, the Cadmeids in Thebes, the Oenotrophoe on Delos. Athamas' pursuit represents the ritual pursuit that took place in a festival of Dionysus, perhaps the Agrionia itself. From Athamas and Ino the pursuit was carried over to Zethus and Aëdon and to Tereus and Procne (see note 13). And the tradition of human sacrifices in the cult of Dionysus developed out of the ancient orgies of the

[94] I have combined the narratives of Plutarch and Ant. Lib. 10, who cites Corinna and Nicander; see also Aelian, *VH* 3.42. See Ovid's rather different story, *Metam.* 4.1–52, 389–415. On the Agrionia see Nilsson, *op. cit.* 271–274; W. R. Halliday, *The Greek Questions of Plutarch* (Oxford, 1928) 165–168.

[95] Ant. Lib. 25; Ovid, *Metam.* 13.685–699.

Maenads, when they tore animals and men to pieces and devoured their raw flesh; and both earlier and later traditions called for stories of cannibalism, especially of fathers' eating their own sons.

It was said that on Tenedos too a human victim had been torn up and sacrificed to Dionysus Omadius (Porphyry, *Abstin.* 2.55). On the same island, so tradition had it, infants had been sacrificed to Palaemon (*Schol. Vet. in Lycophr.* 229). Since both Palaemon and Tennes went into the sea with Leucothea, I believe that they were identical on Tenedos, the son having become the brother in the story, which is not necessarily the local cult-legend of Tenedos. Hemithea-Leucothea was apparently worshipped beside Tennes on Tenedos. Legend A leads one to suppose so; furthermore, just as slave-girls were forbidden entrance to Leucothea's shrine in Chaeronea, flute-players were forbidden entrance to the shrine of Tennes on Tenedos.

The germ of the Tennes story (A) is found in a fragment of Heracleides' *Republics* (7.3): A king of Tenedos had decreed that any convicted *moichos* should be put to death with the axe (πελέκει).[96] When his own son was caught in the act, he sternly carried out his decree. This could easily be expanded into a Potiphar's-wife story.[97] With a glance at the Pactolus-Demodice story we may surmise an intermediate stage: the woman with whom the son was caught in *moicheia* was his own sister. For this alone gives a proper motivation to the inclusion of Hemithea in the chest. Then it was, perhaps, that the brother and sister were identified with the local Tennes-Palaemon and Leucothea-Hemithea, and that the story was adapted to explain certain features of their cult.

I would not venture to say whether legend A or legend B is earlier. But I believe that Hemithea-Leucothea went from A to

[96] Hence, perhaps, the prominence of the axe in this group of stories. In one version of legend A (Conon 28) Tennes uses the axe to cut the cable of his father's ship. Ino has an axe in her pursuit of Phrixus in the vase-painting cited in note 21. Tereus likewise appears to have an axe in a fourth-century vase-painting; see *Ath. Mitt.* 50 (1925) plate 2 and M. Bieber's comments, pages 11–18. Tereus uses an axe instead of a sword in Apollodor. 3.14.8. Notice that Hephaestus gave Polytechnus a *pelekys*, which determined his transformation into a *pelekâs* (H).

[97] On Tennes see Halliday, *CQ* 21 (1927) 37–44 and *Greek Questions* 134–137. He believes that Tennes is only a fictitious eponym (though granting that he had a cult on Tenedos); also that his legend is an artificial invention. But, as he points out, the story of the advent of Tennes, with which we are alone concerned, is earliest, and was already known in the fifth century. And, as I have already remarked, most *aitia* found in the extant literature are artificial in that the writer has elaborated the tale to suit his own purposes.

B with the name Helle (see above, p. 143). Tenedos lies very near the mouth of the Hellespont, on the shores of which in the Thracian Chersonese Helle had a tomb.[98] Not far to the east is the Bosphorus, where lived Phineus and Idaea-Eidothea. These places lie upon the route of the Argonauts, and it was probably in the growth of their legend that Helle became the sister of Phrixus, who played the same role as Tennes. We may notice that Medea too belongs to the Argonautic legend, which takes the story of Athamas and his wives as its starting point; and it was perhaps due to this association that Medea entered into a story that is a variant of E and F. Also Medea appears as a wicked stepmother in her plot against Theseus (Apollodor. 1.9.28); and the pattern of father-son-stepmother was repeated in the story of Theseus-Hippolytus-Phaedra.

I have already suggested (see above, p. 145) that Ino became identified with Leucothea through her role as wife of Athamas in the two-wives legends. This identification was especially emphasised at Corinth and the Isthmus, perhaps because of the position that Ino held in the cults of Megara. So the place of her leap was located on the Aegean side of the Megarid near the borders of Corinthia. There it was that Melicertes became her son; for as Palaemon had the name Tennes on Tenedos, so he had the name Melicertes on the Isthmus.[99] He was carried from sea to land, according to the Isthmian story, on a dolphin's back, a theme that recurs about the shores of the Aegean.[100] The dolphin of Corinth corresponds to the chest of the islands; while as Smicrus in Miletus, Palaemon had been left stranded by his father on the shore (Conon 33).

But the Leucothea-Palaemon story was not the only one that was told about the origin of the Isthmian festival. It was also said that Theseus had founded it to celebrate his victory over Sinis

[98] See Herod. 7.58.2; Luc. *Dial. Mar.* 9.1. In the same region Hecabe leaped into the sea; and the story of Polymnestor and Polydorus, especially as told in Hyg. *Fab.* 109, offers a number of parallels to the legends under study: Polymnestor killed his own son, thinking that he was Polydorus; later Polydorus blinded Polymnestor.

[99] I am inclined to reassert his identity with Melkart; but more of that at another time.

[100] Arion's story is the best-known (Herod. 1.24); Arion somehow became involved in the Palaemon cult; notice the figure at Taenarum that Herodotus mentions, i.e., a man seated on a dolphin. Important too is Enalus of Lesbos, whose name suggests that he is a form of Palaemon; see Plut. *Mor.* 163C, 984E, and on Coeranus, Telemachus, and the Iasian boy, *ibid.* 984D–985C.

(*Arg. 2 Pind. Isthm.*). As in other cults that we have looked at, there was more than one *aition.*

So just as the three story-types were pressed into service as just-so stories that purported to account for certain birds and their traits, they were likewise invoked as *aitia* to explain certain cults and rites that attracted attention: the worship of Zeus Laphystius at Halos and Mount Laphystium, the Agrionia of Orchomenus, other Dionysiac cults in Boeotia, the Isthmian festival, the sacrifices to Palaemon-Tennes on Tenedos. In putting it this way I express a disagreement with those scholars, notably those of the "Cambridge school," who believe that myth grows out of cult;[101] that is, that out of the rites themselves is constructed the whole plot of the myth. That may have happened sometimes, though I think only in brief cult-myths that consist of just one or two episodes. But in the present cases a ritual pursuit or a pretended human sacrifice, like the nightingale's song, called for a story that could be capped with the desired aetiological conclusion. The story itself was taken from the common fund of folktale and was told of the appropriate divine or human persons. The ritual itself suggested a touch here and there, the use of an axe or a cauldron or the like.

It seldom happens that myth forms ritual either. It is obvious that usually the rite is first, and that the myth is devised later in an attempt to explain it. About the only exception is ritual drama, when the priests or worshippers enact a play that is based on an already existing myth. Furthermore the aetiological myth can seldom tell us anything about the true meaning of the ritual. Often that has been long forgotten. For instance, Farnell may be right in supposing that the story of Ino's putting Melicertes into a boiling cauldron over a fire indicates rites that were based upon the belief that immortality could be given a person by boiling him or passing him through fire; and he points to a Syrian inscription that has something to do with Leucothea and which speaks of someone's apotheosis ἐν τῷ λέβητι.[102] But the makers of the story that ancient commentators and compilers have handed down to us plainly meant that Athamas or Ino intended to boil Melicertes (or Learchus)

[101] See Richard Chase, "The Study of Myth," *Nation* 167 (Dec. 4, 1948) 635–638.

[102] *OGIS* 611; see Farnell, *JHS* 36 (1916) 41 f. The inscription concerns Leucothea, not Ino, and is Syrian from the imperial period. This Leucothea may well be Atargatis (see note 51); and a practice in a Syrian cult is oddly cited by one who denies any relation between Ino-Leucothea and Syrian deities. See also W. Dittenberger on *OGIS* 611.

with the object that his flesh should be eaten. The cauldron is awkwardly inserted as an incident in Athamas' pursuit of Ino, whatever its meaning may be; but if we suppose that Ino cooked the child's flesh for Athamas, as the Scholiast on Lucian (see above, p. 135) and the analogy of the Aëdon-Procne, Minyad, and Harpalyce stories allow us to do, then the incident makes sense as part of the conclusion of legend E.

Folktales themselves are built of all sorts of materials; and the three triangle types, I have surmised, have their origin in the actual experiences of men in a polygamous society. But the plots are easily carried over into a monogamous culture, and the stories can be told about the man who married again after the death or divorce of his first wife or who took a mistress while he had a wife. Then too the story remains rooted in men's experience; for men do take second wives who become the stepmothers of their first wives' children, and married men do enter into affairs with other women; and it occasionally happens that in doing so they produce dangerous and explosive situations, fraught with ruin for themselves and for others.