ARION AND THE DOLPHIN

APOLLO *DELPHINIOS* AND MARITIME NETWORKS IN HERODOTUS

Vayos Liapis

ABSTRACT

The Arion story in Herodotus (1.23–24) is often taken to be a digression only tangentially relevant to the main narrative. This paper argues that, on the contrary, the tale is of central importance for the Lydian *logos*. The Arion story is informed by mythic and performance patterns associated with cultic aspects of Apollo, who is a dominant presence in the narrative's immediate context as well as in the Lydian *logos* in general. In particular, the dolphin is best explained as a manifestation of Apollo *Delphinios* ("Dolphin god"), a centrally important divinity in Miletus, the city whose siege provides the narrative context into which Herodotus embeds the Arion story. The context of the Arion story is important: its problematization of money (Arion's monetary gains endanger his life) is reflected in the story of Croesus, whose immense wealth and lavish gifts to Delphi cannot prevent his fall, as well as in other aspects of the Lydian *logos*. Contextualizing the Arion story also reveals its connections to the importance of maritime and political networks, to the significance of overseas migration as an agent of salvation and welfare for Greek *poleis*, and to the ideal of a cultic relationship to Apollo (the god of Delphi and of overseas migration and networks) which transcends monetary pursuits.

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THE STORY OF ARION AND THE DOLPHIN is one of the best-known and best-loved anecdotes to have survived from Greek antiquity. Its

earliest attested version is found in Herodotus 1.23–24,[1] but its function there has long perplexed readers. Curiously wedged between the narrative of Alyattes' twelve-year-long siege of Miletus (1.17–22) and the account of the same ruler's dedications to the Delphic temple (1.25), the Arion story is often dismissed as little more than a charming but largely irrelevant digression.[2]

I. ARION AND THE DOLPHIN IN HERODOTUS

However familiar, Herodotus' tale may be usefully summarized here, with a view to highlighting aspects relevant to the argument of this paper. Arion, who came from Methymna on the island of Lesbos, was the greatest *kitharōidos*[3] of his time and the supposed inventor of dithyrambic song to boot. For the most part, he was active in the court of

[1] For the myth in other authors (esp. Plut. *Conv. sept. sap.* 160F–162B; Ov. *Fast.* 2.79–118), see Crusius 1895:836–839; Klement 1898:4–11; Schamp 1976:97nn4–6; Gosling 2007:202–209; Racine 2016:196. Later versions of the myth will be discussed in this paper, whenever necessary.

[2] Cf., e.g., Flory 1978:420, "Herodotus' digression on Arion seems impulsive and misplaced, connected as it is to the main narrative only by the name of Periander and perhaps some other inscrutable association of thought"; still, in his n22, Flory tentatively airs some of those "inscrutable associations of thought," some of which will be explored in this paper. Relatively few scholars attempt to situate the Arion tale in its broader Herodotean context: see, e.g., Benardete 1969; Cobet 1971; Hooker 1989; Griffiths 1999 and 2006. Their views will be discussed below.

[3] I use *kitharōidos* (Greek κιθαρῳδός) as there is no single English word for "an artist who plays and sings to the *kithara*," a lyre equipped with a sound-box, on which see West 1992:51–56.

Periander, the tyrant of Corinth.[4] He did, however, absent himself from Corinth for a certain period of time, in order to visit Italy and Sicily, where his musical talent was rewarded with "much money" (1.24.1, ἐργασάμενον … χρήματα μεγάλα).[5] For his return trip, Arion hired (μισθώσασθαι), at the South Italian city of Taras, a Corinthian ship "because he trusted (πιστεύοντα) the Corinthians more than anyone else" (1.24.2). The Corinthian crew, however, betrayed his trust: for they conceived a plan to murder him and appropriate the money he had amassed from his recent performance tour. When apprised of their intentions, Arion proposed an exchange: he would let the sailors have all his money, provided they spared his life in return. Nonetheless, the Corinthians remained adamant and forced on him a choice between the devil and the deep blue sea: he was either to commit suicide on the ship "so that he might be buried on dry land" (1.24.3) or to leap into the sea. Realizing there was no way out, Arion begged to be allowed at least to give one last song performance. Seduced by the prospect of enjoying a performance by the world's finest singer, the Corinthians assented, and Arion, putting on his full ceremonial attire (1.24.5, ἐνδύντα τε πᾶσαν τὴν σκευήν; cf. 1.24.4, ἐν τῇ σκευῇ πάσῃ), stood on the raised quarter-deck (1.24.4 and 5, ἐν τοῖσι ἐδωλίοισι)[6] and sang the *Orthios Nomos*, or "High-Pitched Melody" (νόμον τὸν ὄρθιον), from beginning to end. When he had finished, he threw himself into the sea, "just as he was, in his full attire" (1.24.5, ὡς εἶχε σὺν τῇ σκευῇ πάσῃ), whereupon a dolphin sprang from the waves and carried him on its back all the way to Cape Taenarum, at the southernmost tip of the Peloponnese. From Taenarum, Arion proceeded to Corinth, still dressed in his full attire

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[4] The dates of Periander's tyranny (ca. 628–ca. 585 BCE according to many ancient sources) are debatable: see Schachermeyr 1937:712–714; cf. Schamp 1976:103–105.

[5] Although at this period early electrum coins were probably in circulation in Asia Minor (see, e.g., Wartenberg 2016, esp. 34; Kerschner and Konuk 2020), "money" (χρήματα) in Herodotus' Arion tale does not necessarily mean "coins"; we are rather to think, perhaps, of ingots or spits of precious metal; cf. Seaford 2004:89; Harvey 2004:290. For spits as an early form of money see Schaps 2004:83–88. In Hdt. 2.133.2–4, the courtesan Rhodopis is said to have accumulated, like Arion, "much money" (μεγάλα … χρήματα) by plying her trade, and to have dedicated one tenth of that money to Delphi in the form of large iron roasting-spits (ὀβελοὺς βουπόρους πολλοὺς σιδηρέους).

[6] For ἐδώλια meaning "quarterdeck" here, see n29 below.

(1.24.6, σὺν τῇ σκευῇ), and related to Periander what had transpired. The tyrant, mistrustful of Arion's story,[7] kept him in confinement and, when the Corinthian crew put in, he summoned them and asked them whether they had anything to report with regard to Arion. When they claimed that they had left him, alive and well, in Taras, Arion "appeared before them just as he was when he leapt from the ship" (1.24.7, ἐπιφανῆναί σφι τὸν Ἀρίονα ὥσπερ ἔχων ἐξεπήδησε), that is, still in his singer's regalia. The confounded Corinthians could no longer deny their guilt. As for Arion, he dedicated at Taenarum a small bronze figure of a man on a dolphin, which could still be seen in Herodotus' time. As proof of the authenticity of his account, Herodotus evokes, both at the beginning and at the end of the tale (1.23.1, 24.8), the unanimous testimony of both Corinthian and Lesbian sources.

II. THE ARION STORY IN HERODOTUS: A DIONYSIAC TALE?

As several scholars have pointed out (n9 below), the story of Arion and the dolphin has certain parallels with the tale of Dionysus' capture by pirates, who are eventually transformed by the god into harmless dolphins, in the seventh Homeric Hymn (*To Dionysus*). For instance, the Corinthian seamen intend to rob Arion of his wealth (1.24.1–2, χρήματα), and the Tyrrhenian pirates attempt to seize Dionysus in the hope, presumably, of a large ransom, "for they thought him the son of kings" (*Hom. Hymn Dion.* 11–12), who would surely reveal to the pirates, no doubt under duress, "all of his possessions" (30, κτήματα πάντα). Further, Dionysus punishes the pirates through a series of "wondrous deeds" (34, θαυματὰ ἔργα), and Arion's rescue by the dolphin is termed by Herodotus "a most great wonder" (1.23, θῶμα μέγιστον). The final and most important point of contact is, of course, the pirates' leap into the sea just before their transformation into dolphins (52–53), which appears to parallel Arion's leap into the sea (Hdt. 1.24.5) just before his

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[7]   On the language of disbelief in Herodotus, see Packman 1991:405–407, who remarks that in Herodotean tales incredulity is never justified and always corrected through the offer of proof.

rescue by a dolphin.[8] In both cases, the dolphin is pivotal to a critical juncture in the narrative: it offers miraculous salvation from danger at a moment when everything seems to hang in the balance.[9]

But the parallels, such as they are, between the Arion tale in Herodotus and the seventh Homeric Hymn stop here, whereas the differences seem to be both more numerous and more significant. Whereas in the *Hymn to Dionysus* metamorphosis into dolphins is a punishment which neutralizes the aggressors, in the Herodotean narrative the dolphin appears as a benevolent rescuer. It is also significant that Herodotus' tale involves a single dolphin, whereas in the version of the Arion story related by Plutarch (*Conv. sept. sap.* 160F, 161D–E) the singer is rescued by a multitude of dolphins (160F, δελφῖνες ... ἀθρόοι). The plurality of dolphins is a detail which Herodotus could easily have woven into his narrative, if he had wished to make clearer the parallelism with the multiple dolphins of the *Homeric Hymn to Dionysus* and/or with the imagery (common in Greek literature and art) of dolphins as a circular chorus—indeed, sometimes as a chorus associated with precisely the kind of choral song-and-dance supposedly invented by Arion, i.e., the dithyramb, a quintessentially Dionysiac genre.[10]

Even if one accepts, for the sake of the argument, that Herodotus did model his Arion narrative on the *Homeric Hymn to Dionysus*, it is by no means clear what the point of this implicit parallelism might be. It has been suggested that "this thematic connection between Arion and Dionysus is parallel to the connection between Arion and the

[8] The leap into the sea may in itself have Dionysiac associations: in *Il.* 6.135–136, Dionysus leaps into the sea to escape Lycurgus; see further Lyons 2014:430.

[9] On the parallelisms between the Arion tale and the *Hymn to Dionysus*, see the detailed treatment of Lyons 2014:428–433; cf. also, e.g., Benardete 1969:14n10; Burkert 1983:199–200; Nagy 1990:87; Lonsdale 1993:93–99; Kowalzig 2013:33–34; Lavecchia 2013:63–64; Beaulieu 2008:92, 2016:219n36. The parallelism between the Arion story and the *Hymn to Dionysus* is enhanced by Plutarch (*Conv. sept. sap.* 161C), who has the ship's helmsman warn Arion of the Corinthians' murderous intentions—a detail which recalls the Homeric Hymn's helmsman, the only one to resist the pirates' decision to capture Dionysus (*Hom. Hymn Dion.* 15–24); cf. Klement 1898:8; Beaulieu 2016:123.

[10] See Bowra 1963:128–129, 133–134; Lonsdale 1993:98; Csapo 2003:71–90. For the dithyramb as the Dionysiac song *par excellence*, cf. Archil. fr. 120 West: Διωνύσου ἄνακτος καλὸν ... μέλος | ... διθύραμβον, "dithyramb, the lovely song of lord Dionysus."

dithyramb (again Herodotus 1.23), which is associated with the cult of Dionysus,"[11] especially since the dolphin that rescues Arion is an animal with strong Dionysiac connections.[12] But Dionysus is otherwise absent both from the Arion story and from its narrative context. On the contrary, the *Orthios Nomos*, which plays such an important role in the Arion story, is a decidedly non-Dionysiac genre of song. Although, as we saw, Herodotus identifies, early in his tale, Arion as the "inventor" of the dithyramb (1.23: διθύραμβον πρῶτον ... ποιήσαντα),[13] this seems to serve mainly as a means of boosting Arion's artistic credentials; for soon after, Herodotus sets aside Arion's connection with Dionysiac song in order to bring out the importance of the non-Dionysiac *Orthios Nomos* at a crucial moment of the narrative.

As has been plausibly argued by Eric Csapo,[14] the myth of Dionysus and the pirates may well have been available to Herodotus in versions which differed from the one presented in the *Homeric Hymn to Dionysus*, and some of those versions—such as those echoed in Philostratus, Aglaosthenes, and other late sources—will have given prominence to *music* as the cause for the pirates' Dionysiac frenzy, which makes them eventually leap into the sea as dolphins. Indeed, in the Elder Philostratus' *Imagines*, it is the "orgiastic music" (ἁρμονία δέ, ὁπόση ὀργιάζει) produced by Dionysus and the Bacchae that causes the pirates to "go mad" and leap into the sea.[15] And in a version of the myth attributed to Aglaosthenes, Dionysus advises his companions to "sing in unison" as a chorus (*symphoniam canere*), which delights the pirates and inspires in them an irresistible urge to dance, eventually causing them

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[11] Nagy 1990:87n29.

[12] Csapo 2003:78–94. For vase paintings depicting dolphins together with komasts (for whom Dionysiac and even dithyrambic connections have been, debatably, posited), see Steinhart 2007:202–203, 210–212; Hedreen 2007:160–162; cf. Burkert 1983:199–200; Csapo and Miller 2007b:18, 20, 22; Seaford 2007:380–382, 386; Smith 2007:68–69 (on the rather tenuous connection between komasts and Dionysus).

[13] Herodotus' statement is usually taken to mean that Arion was the first to develop the preliterary dithyramb into a genre composed by professionals; see, e.g., Ieranò 1992:39n2; Lonsdale 1993:93, 292n69; Lyons 2014:431. The matter is of no consequence to my argument.

[14] Csapo 2003:90–92.

[15] Philostr. *Imag.* 1.19.1. Note that, a little later (*Imag.* 1.19.6), Philostratus explicitly associates the myth of Dionysus and the pirates with that of Arion.

to leap into the sea.[16] Such versions of the Dionysus-and-the-pirates myth have an obvious similarity with the Herodotean Arion story: in both narratives, it is music that provides a means of salvation from danger. However, even if such versions were known to Herodotus, it is significant that he has chosen to eliminate crucial Dionysiac elements from his own configuration of the Arion tale. Notably, his narrative preserves no trace of the emotive Dionysiac music galvanizing the audience into frenzied excitement; and there is no trace of chorality either. By contrast, as we saw, Herodotus has Arion give a solo performance of the kitharodic *Orthios Nomos*, a type of song that was anything but orgiastic—on the contrary, it is described in a late source as distinctly "solemn and decorous."[17]

As the above survey has shown, there are numerous and important similarities between versions of the Arion myth *outside* Herodotus and versions of the myth of Dionysus and the pirates. However, the *specific* version of the Arion myth as formulated in Herodotus appears purposely to submerge Dionysiac analogues (assuming they were known to the historian) and to foreground, by contrast, details which conjure up associations with another divinity: Apollo. It is to these associations that we must now turn.

III. THE ARION TALE IN HERODOTUS AND THE *HOMERIC HYMN TO APOLLO*

As will be argued in this section, Apollo is an unmistakable, if implicit, presence in Herodotus' Arion narrative, and it is the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (rather than the *Hymn to Dionysus*, cf. section II) that forms the

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[16] Aglaosthenes *FGrH* 499 F 3 = Hyg. *Poet. astr.* 2.17. Aglaosthenes' emphasis on the pirates' "delight" (*delectarentur*) is reminiscent of the "delight" (ἡδονήν) of the Corinthian seamen at the prospect of hearing Arion's song (Hdt. 1.24.5). For further allusions to the role of music in the myth of Dionysus and the pirates, see Luc. *Salt.* 22; Ov. *Met.* 3.685; Nonnus *Dion.* 44.247–249, 45.166–167, 47.632; cf. Csapo 2003:91.

[17] Ps.-Plut. [*De mus.*] 1140F: μετὰ τοῦ σεμνοῦ καὶ πρέποντος. In *Suda* μ 701, Terpander, the "inventor" of the *Orthios Nomos* (cf. n24 below), is said to have terminated a civil war in Sparta by "bringing harmony" to the souls of the citizens (ἥρμοσεν αὐτῶν τὰς ψυχάς).

basic template underlying Herodotus' tale.[18] In the "Pythian" section of the Hymn, the Cretan seamen who are destined to become Apollo's prototypical Delphic priests are first espied sailing towards Pylos "on a black ship to do business and make money" (*Hom. Hymn Ap.* 397–399, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ πρῆξιν καὶ χρήματα νηῒ μελαίνῃ | [...] | ἔπλεον). As soon as he caught sight of the Cretan ship, Apollo leapt onto it, "similar in body to a dolphin, and lay there, a great and awe-inspiring prodigy" (400–401, ἐπόρουσε δέμας δελφῖνι ἐοικὼς | νηῒ θοῇ, καὶ κεῖτο πέλωρ μέγα τε δεινόν τε). The god subsequently caused a south wind to push the ship onwards, and upon reaching Cape Taenarum the sailors conceived a wish to put in there and observe whether the dolphin would remain on board the ship "or whether it would leap back into the sea waves abounding in fish" (410–417). As they soon found out, however, their "well-made ship did not obey the rudder" (418); instead, propelled by the wind Apollo had raised, the vessel proceeded to the bay of Crisa, near the future site of Delphi, where the god "leapt out of the ship" (440) and revealed himself in all his divine glory, in a climactic scene that is nothing short of an epiphany:

> ἔνθ' ἐκ νηὸς ὄρουσεν ἄναξ ἑκάεργος Ἀπόλλων
> ἀστέρι εἰδόμενος μέσῳ ἤματι· τοῦ δ' ἀπὸ πολλαὶ
> σπινθαρίδες πωτῶντο, σέλας δ' εἰς οὐρανὸν ἷκεν·
>
> *Hom. Hymn Ap.* 440–442

> Then did lord Apollo, who works from afar, leap out of
>   the ship,
> looking like a star in mid-day; many a spark shot forth
> from him, their brightness reaching the sky.

Apollo's first act following his epiphany was to consecrate his *adyton* by lighting a fire whose gleam spread throughout Crisa.

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[18] As far as I know, this argument has not been made before in detail. A partial exception is Munson 2001:252–253, who mentions the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (together with the *Hymn to Dionysus*) as part of the mythical templates used by Herodotus for the Arion story.

There is a considerable number of significant parallels between the Arion of Herodotus' narrative and the Apollo of the Homeric Hymn:

i) Arion was the most accomplished *kitharōidos* of his time (Hdt. 1.23, ἐόντα κιθαρῳδὸν τῶν τότε ἐόντων οὐδενὸς δεύτερον, "as a *kitharōidos* he was second to none of his contemporaries"), just as Apollo is the archetypal *kitharōidos* in *Hom. Hymn Ap.* 131 (εἴη μοι κίθαρίς τε φίλη καὶ καμπύλα τόξα, "may the *kithara* be dear to me, and the curved bow").

ii) Herodotus' narrative repeatedly emphasizes that Arion dons his full regalia before performing his song and remains dressed in the same ceremonial attire until he appears to the dumb-founded sailors in Corinth (1.22.4–6; cf. 24.7). This emphasis on the *kitharōidos*' dress evokes Apollo, who dons "immortal, fragrant garments" when playing the *phorminx* on his way to Delphi (*Hom. Hymn Ap.* 182–185).[19] In Proclus' *Chrestomathy*, Chrysothemis of Crete, a pioneer of the *nomos*, the characteristically Apollonian genre of song (see further IV below), is said to have been the first to don splendid robes "in imitation of Apollo" himself.[20]

iii) In the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, Apollo's *phorminx* is said to produce a "delightful ring" (185, καναχὴν ... ἱμερόεσσαν), causing "the immortals' hearts [to] turn immediately to the *kithara* and to song" (188). Comparably, in Herodotus' tale, the Corinthian seamen are seized by "delight" (ἡδονήν) at the prospect of hearing the song of Arion, "the best singer among men" (Hdt. 1.24.5).

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[19] Cf. also *Hom. Hymn. Ap.* 203: μαρμαρυγαὶ ... ἐυκλώστοιο χιτῶνος, "the sheen ... of his well-spun tunic."

[20] Procl. *Chrestom.* 320b1–3 (Severyns 1938:44): Χρυσόθεμις ὁ Κρὴς πρῶτος στολῇ χρησάμενος ἐκπρεπεῖ ... εἰς μίμησιν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. Cf. Mathiesen 1999:61; Long 1987:58: "The image of Arion at every critical moment in this story is that of a servant of Apollo in full regalia." In Ov. *Fast.* 2.105–106, Arion's attire includes a garland which "might well adorn Phoebus' hair."

iv) Indeed, the song Arion sings—namely, the famous[21] *Orthios Nomos*—seems to have been a hymn in honor of, precisely, Apollo; in Plutarch's version of the story (*Conv. sept. sap.* 161C), Arion sings another type of Apollonian hymn, "the Pythian melody" (τὸν Πυθικόν). Several types of the *nomos*-genre (e.g., the Pythic, the auletic, the kitharodic) have well-known associations with Apollo,[22] and late sources suggest that an invocation to Apollo may have been a standard prelude to several kinds of *nomoi*, including the *Orthios*.[23] In fact, an *Orthios Nomos* attributed to Terpander, the supposed inventor of the genre,[24] is said to have begun by announcing Apollo himself as its subject: †ἀμφί μοι αὖτις ἄναχθ' ἑκατηβόλον ἀειδέτω φρήν†,

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[21] The article in Herodotus' νόμον τὸν ὄρθιον implies that this was a well-known type of song; cf. Ar. *Eq.* 1279, "everyone knows Arignotus, if he knows the color white, or the *Orthios Nomos*," that is, if he knows the first thing about music (see Sommerstein 1981 ad loc.); *Ach.* 16: ὅτε δὴ παρέκυψε Χαῖρις ἐπὶ τὸν ὄρθιον (see Olson 2002 *ad* 15–16).

[22] See Mathiesen 1999:58–71; cf. Procl. *Chrestom.* 320a33–35 (Severyns 1938:44): ὁ μέντοι νόμος γράφεται μὲν εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα, ἔχει δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ· Νόμιμος γὰρ ὁ Ἀπόλλων, "the *nomos* is ascribed to Apollo, and indeed is named after him; for Apollo is [called] *Nomimos*" (cf. Severyns 1938:139–140). In Pind. *Nem.* 24–25 Apollo playing the *phorminx* is said to "take the lead in all sorts of *nomoi*" (ἁγεῖτο παντοίων νόμων). Cf. also *Hom. Hymn Ap.* 20: πάντη γάρ τοι, Φοῖβε, νομὸς (νομοὶ Barnes) βεβλήαται ᾠδῆς, "for in every direction, Phoibos, you have laid down a field for song" (trans. West 2003:73), with an obvious pun on νόμος, "melody" (Càssola 1975:488; Richardson 2010 ad loc.).

[23] Cf. Photius *Lexicon* α 1304 (1.136 Theodoridis): ἀμφὶ ἄνακτας· ἀρχή τις ἐστι νόμου κιθαρῳδικοῦ Βοιωτίου ἢ Αἰολίου, ἢ τοῦ Ὀρθίου· read ἀμφὶ ἄνακτα (as in Hsch. α 3944) = Φοῖβον; cf. Ar. *Nub.* 595: ἀμφί μοι αὖτε Φοῖβ' ἄναξ, where the scholiast (595c(α), p. 132 Holwerda) remarks: μιμεῖται τῶν διθυραμβοποιῶν καὶ κιθαρῳδῶν τὰ προοίμια. συνεχῶς γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι ταύτῃ χρῶνται τῇ λέξει· διὸ καὶ ἀμφιάνακτας αὐτοὺς ἐκάλουν. ἔστι δὲ τοῦ Τερπάνδρου ἀμφ' ἐμοὶ ἄνακτα ἑκατηβόλον, "he imitates the preludes of dithyrambic poets and *kitharōidoi*; for they use this phrase constantly; hence people called them *amphianaktes*; it goes back to Terpander, '[let] my [mind sing] about the far-shooting lord'" (on Terpander see immediately below in the text); cf. also Cratinus fr. 72 K.–A.; Ion *TrGF* 19 F 53c; Ar. fr. 62 K.–A.

[24] For sources and discussion, see E. Graf 1888:514–516; Mathiesen 1999:58–71; cf. Nagy 1990:86–91, 357–359; Ieranò 1992:43. In Ps.-Plut. [*De mus.*] 1140F, Terpander is said to have been credited with the invention of, specifically, the *Orthios* melody (τὸν τῆς ὀρθίου μελῳδίας τρόπον). In Procl. *Chrestom.* 320b5–8 (Severyns 1938:44–45), Arion is said to have "greatly developed" (οὐκ ὀλίγα συναυξῆσαι) the *Orthios Nomos*, which had been "perfected" (τελειῶσαι) by Terpander; cf. Ieranò 1992:44.

"let my mind sing about the far-shooting lord himself" (Page, *PMG* 697).[25] And in Sappho (fr. 44.32–33 L.–P.), a group of men invoking "Paean" (= Apollo), "the far-shooter skilled in lyre," are said to "sound forth a delightful high-pitched (*orthios*) tune" (πάντες δ' ἄνδρες ἐπήρατον ἴαχον ὄρθιον | Πάον' ὀγκαλέοντες ἐκάβολον εὐλύραν).

v) Arion's miraculous rescue by the dolphin immediately after his performance of Apollonian song is, as we saw above, described by Herodotus as "a most great wonder," θῶμα μέγιστον (Hdt. 1.23).[26] In the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, the performance of the Delian Maidens, a centrally important event in honor of Apollo, is again heralded as "a great wonder, whose fame will never perish": μέγα θαῦμα, ὅου κλέος οὔποτ' ὀλεῖται (156). The parallelism between the two events is not merely one of language: both the choral performances of the Delian Maidens[27] and Arion's rescue immediately after his performance of the Apollonian *nomos* are "great wonders" that exemplify and glorify the power of the archetypal song-performer, the god Apollo himself.

vi) Arion's leap into the waves is the culminating act that Herodotus' narrative builds up to; comparably, in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, the god's leap is associated with central junctures in the narrative. Apollo leaps, in the guise of a dolphin, onto the Cretan ship (400–401, ἐπόρουσε... | νηΐ θοῇ) when he decides to turn the seamen into the first Delphic priests; and he leaps again out of the Cretan ship (440, ἔνθ' ἐκ νηὸς

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[25] On the textual problems of the paradosis (*Suda* α 1701), see Page in app. crit. ad loc., who proposes ἀμφί μοι αὖτε ἄναχθ' ἑκατηβόλον ἀιδέτω ἀ φρήν (ἀιδ. ἀ φρ. Hermann).

[26] On the Arion story as part of Herodotus' interest in the wondrous (θώματα, θωμάσια), see Hooker 1989:144–146.

[27] Whether the Delian Maidens perform "imitations" of people's speech, as the traditional interpretation has it, or comprehensive and mesmerizing "enactments" of chorality, as argued by Peponi 2009, is relatively unimportant for my argument. What *is* important is that their performance is a paradigm of singing perfection: οὕτω σφιν καλὴ συνάρηρεν ἀοιδή, "so well is their singing constructed" (*Hom. Hymn Ap.* 164; trans. West 2003:83). On the *Hymn to Apollo* as embodying paradigmatic aspects of choral performance, see Lonsdale 1994–1995.

ὄρουσεν) at the epiphanic moment of his landing on Crisa, which is soon to be consecrated as one of his important cult sites.

vii) Arion's appearance before the Corinthian sailors in Periander's court is analogous to Apollo's epiphany before the Cretan sailors—indeed, it is literally described in the language of divine epiphany (Hdt. 1.24.7): ἐπιφανῆναί σφι τὸν Ἀρίονα ὥσπερ ἔχων ἐξεπήδησε.[28]

viii) In the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, the Cretan sailors, when approaching Cape Taenarum, become curious to see whether the dolphin will stay on the ship, or whether it will leap into the sea (*Hom. Hymn Ap.* 416–417). A similar dilemma is put, in much more dramatic terms, by the Corinthians to Arion: stay on the ship (and die), or leap into the sea. Arion opts for the latter, and is eventually carried by the dolphin to, precisely, Cape Taenarum.

ix) Arion embarks on a sea-voyage that brings him "much money" (1.24.1: χρήματα μεγάλα) but finds that the money he has earned only puts his life in danger; it is the power of his song, and the implicit patronage of Apollo, that save him from certain death. Likewise, the Cretan seamen of the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* have embarked on a voyage in order "to do business and make money" (*Hom. Hymn Ap.* 397–399) but are ordered by Apollo to abandon their money-making enterprises and follow him to his new cultic site, where they are to be rewarded with rich offerings brought by worshippers (499–537). Significantly, in their procession to Delphi, the Cretans

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[28] For ἐπιφαίνεσθαι in connection with a god's epiphany, cf. Hdt. 2.91.5: ὅ τι σφι μούνοισι ἔωθε ὁ Περσεὺς ἐπιφαίνεσθαι—"Perseus" being a local Egyptian deity worshipped at Chemmis, probably Horus or Min-Hor (Lloyd 1976:367–369); also, 3.27.3: ὥς σφι θεὸς εἴη φανεὶς διὰ χρόνου πολλοῦ ἐωθὼς ἐπιφαίνεσθαι; *Syll.*³ 557.5 (Magnesia on the Maeander, 207–203 BCE): ἐπιφαινομένης αὐτοῖς Ἀρτέμι[δο]ς. For a similar use of the adjective ἐπιφανής, cf. Hdt. 3.27.1: ἐφάνη Αἰγυπτίοισι ὁ Ἆπις ... ἐπιφανέος δὲ τούτου γενομένου κτλ.; *Syll.*³ 557.10: ἐπιφανοῦς δὲ γενομένης [Ἀρτέμιδος]. For Arion's quasi-epiphany, see also Lonsdale 1993:96 and Lyons 2014:429, both of whom associate it, however, with Dionysus' epiphany in the *Homeric Hymn to Dionysus* (cf. section II above).

sing the emblematic Apollonian song, the paean, while the god himself leads the way strumming on his *phorminx* (514–519). In this case too, as in that of Arion, the pursuit of monetary gain is beneficially superseded by song in honor of Apollo and service to the god.

x) Finally, the specific part of the ship Arion chooses to stand on for his performance seems to be significant. Twice does Herodotus specify that Arion stood on the raised quarterdeck, ἐν τοῖσι ἐδωλίοισι (24.4 and 5).[29] In other words, Arion occupies the station ordinarily reserved for the helmsman. The quarterdeck was also the part of the ship where the shipowner and the captain would have their quarters, and where an altar (or, more rarely, more elaborate religious structures) would be accommodated.[30] Thus, Arion takes, symbolically, possession of the ship, rather like Apollo, who (though not literally seated at the helmsman's place) raised a south wind which propelled the Cretan ship towards Cape Taenarum.[31] Moreover, as well as symbolically identifying himself with the ship's helmsman or captain, Arion stands close to where the ship's altar would be, thereby associating himself, spatially, with divinity.

A recognizable pattern is beginning to emerge: in important respects, Herodotus' Arion appears to be an Apollo-like figure. His kitharodic excellence, his performance of the *Orthios Nomos*, his magnificent accoutrements, and his final "epiphany" are all attributes

[29] There can be no doubt that ἐδώλια refers to the quarterdeck, where the helmsman's seat was, rather than to the rowers' benches, as late lexicographers have it. In Herodotus' tale (1.24.5), the ἐδώλια are clearly at the stern, since Arion's audience withdraws *from the stern* to the middle of the ship" (ἐκ τῆς πρύμνης ἐς μέσην νέα), leaving the singer alone ἐν τοῖσι ἐδωλίοισι; likewise, in Plutarch's version of the story (*Conv. sept. sap.* 161D), Arion stands "at the stern" (ἐν πρύμνῃ). In Eur. *Hel.* 1571 Helen's seat ἐν μέσοις ἐδωλίοις is certainly at the stern, as πρύμνηθεν later (1603) makes clear. And in Soph. *Aj.* 1276–1279, ναυτικοῖς <θ'> ἐδωλίοις indicates the moored ships' quarterdecks, which, as they faced Troy, were the first part of the ship to catch fire when Hector stormed the Greek camp; see Finglass 2011:492 on Soph. *Aj.* 1276–1279.

[30] See Casson 1971:180–182.

[31] Cf. Lonsdale 1993:95–96: "In the *Hymn to Apollo* the god in the guise of a dolphin usurps the role of the helmsman ..."

that approximate or even assimilate him to the god. That singers and *kithara*-players enjoy a special relationship with Apollo is proclaimed already in Hesiod (*Theogony* 94–95): ἐκ γάρ τοι Μουσέων καὶ ἑκηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος | ἄνδρες ἀοιδοὶ ἔασιν ἐπὶ χθόνα καὶ κιθαρισταί, "the singers and *kithara*-players of this world proceed from the Muses and from far-shooting Apollo" (= *Hom. Hymn* 25.2–3).[32] It is no logical leap, then, to assume that Arion's miraculous rescue by a *dolphin*—emphatically announced, as we have seen, by Herodotus (1.23) as "a most great wonder," which provides the centerpiece of the story (cf. section V below)—is also to be associated with Apollo. It is precisely as a dolphin —"a great and awe-inspiring prodigy" (*Hom. Hymn Ap.* 400–401)—that Apollo appears to the Cretan seamen in the Homeric Hymn; and it is in his hypostasis as *Delphinios*, "the Dolphin god," that he is to receive sacrifices and prayers at his altar in Crisa (492–496):

> εὔχεσθαι δὴ ἔπειτα παριστάμενοι περὶ βωμόν.
> ὡς μὲν ἐγὼ τὸ πρῶτον ἐν ἠεροειδέϊ πόντῳ
> εἰδόμενος δελφῖνι θοῆς ἐπὶ νηὸς ὄρουσα,
> ὣς ἐμοὶ εὔχεσθαι δελφινίῳ· αὐτὰρ ὁ βωμὸς   495
> αὐτὸς δελφίνιος (Μ : δέλφ(ε)ιος cett.)[33] καὶ ἐπόψιος
>   ἔσσεται αἰεί.

> And then stand around the altar and pray.
> Just as I first appeared to you in the dark sea,

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[32]　See Schwabl 1969:260. *Contra* Lonsdale 1993:96–97, who sees Arion as an incarnation of Dionysus (cf. section II above).

[33]　Albeit entailing an anomalous scansion (—‿‿), δελφίνιος (normally scanned -ϙῑν-) seems to be the correct reading here (for the opposite metrical license cf. *Hom. Hymn Ap.* 373: Πύθῑον); see, e.g., Allen and Sikes 1904:193 (*ad* 496); Richardson 2010 *ad* 496; Carbon 2013:31; Faraone 2018:27n40; *contra* Defradas 1972:71; Càssola 1975:514. West 2003:108 prints Δέλφειος without even mentioning the M reading in the apparatus. The bipolar scheme of a cult center of Apollo *Delphinios* at Crisa and an oracular center of Apollo *Pythios* at Pytho (later Delphi) seems to be reproduced in the case of Miletus (and of its colonies, esp. Olbiē Polis), where we encounter, again, a cult center of Apollo *Delphinios* in Miletus (adjoining the N/NE corner of the agora) and an extra-urban oracular center at Didyma, some 18 km away from Miletus; in both cases, the urban and the extra-urban centers are symbolically linked through a ritual procession; see Herda 2008:14–45, 51–61 and 2011:65–81; cf. n64 below. We shall have more to say on the cult of Apollo *Delphinios* at Miletus and Olbia below.

> looking like a dolphin, and leapt on your swift ship,
> so should you pray to me as *Delphinios*; as for the altar
> itself, it will be *Delphinios*, and conspicuous for all time.[34]

That the dolphin which rescues Arion must be associated with Apollo, the Dolphin god, was first seen by Schwabl (1969:260), but this important insight has been, curiously, all but ignored in subsequent research. Two notable exceptions are Cobet and Griffiths; the latter remarks that, by requesting permission to sing one last song, Arion contrives to create the circumstances for a solemn appeal to his patron god Apollo— even if Herodotus, in keeping with his policy of avoiding direct claims of divine intervention in human history, has "rationalized the intervention of Apollo Delphinius, the Dolphin god, out of his version of the Arion story."[35]

IV. THE GOD OF THE ARION TALE: APOLLO OR POSEIDON?

As we saw in the preceding section, significant correspondences between the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* and the Arion tale in Herodotus indicate that the latter has been designed to conjure up parallelisms between Arion and Apollo. However, there are also several details in Herodotus' Arion narrative that have suggested to scholars a connection with the domain of a different god: Poseidon. In this section, we shall survey the most important parallelisms between Arion and mythic dolphin-riders associated with Poseidon and examine whether

[34] For the dolphin as a hypostasis of Apollo, see most recently Boutsikas 2015:78–82, with earlier bibliography; for a possible etymological connection between Δελφοί and δελφίς, see Defradas 1972:70–71n4, 75. The epithet ἐπόψιος has been interpreted by Herda (2008:52n300) as meaning "the Selector" ("der Auswählende") based on the defective verb ἐπιόψομαι, "I will choose" (LSJ, s.v.). This is to disregard the fact that all instances of the said verb have ἐπιοψ-, never ἐποψ-; this resistance to interior elision suggests the presence of digamma (*ἐπιϝοψ-), hence probably a derivation from *wekʷ-, "speak" (for the o-stem of that root, see Chantraine 1999 s.v. *ὄψ (1)); for another compound with ἐπί and a *verbum dicendi* meaning "to choose," cf. ἐπιλέγω. The Hymn's ἐπόψιος is obviously derived from a different root, namely, *okʷ- (h₃ekʷ-), "to see"; Chantraine 1999 s.v. ὄπωπα.

[35] Griffiths 1999:181 (whence the quotation) and 2006:139–140; see also Cobet 1971:146–147 and, more recently, Lyons 2014:427: "As a poet, [Arion] is under the patronage of Apollo, and the last song he sings before his leap is the *Orthios Nomos*, a musical composition associated with this god."

they can invalidate the Apollonian aspects we have detected in the Arion story.[36]

The entire itinerary of Arion's voyage home, from Taras to Corinth via Cape Taenarum, involves localities associated, directly or indirectly, with Poseidon. To begin with, the city of Taras, Arion's point of departure, was named after the homonymous son of Poseidon,[37] and coins of that city often depict a young male riding a dolphin, a figure which has been variously identified as Phalanthos (the founder of Taras) or as Taras himself.[38] Like Arion, Phalanthos was said to have been rescued by a dolphin—an episode to which we shall return later in this section.

A second Poseidonian landmark in Arion's voyage is Cape Taenarum, where he dedicated, as we recall, a bronze statue of a dolphin-rider: famously, Taenarum was the site of a sanctuary of Poseidon.[39] In view of the centrality of Cape Taenarum in the Arion narrative, it may even seem more natural to assume, as one scholar has put it, that Arion, before his leap into the sea, may actually have wished to invoke not Apollo but Poseidon, both as lord of Taenarum

[36] In addition to the literature cited in the rest of this section, see Beaulieu 2008:76–113 and 2016:119–144 for an especially detailed treatment of the dolphin-rider theme in Greek myth and art.

[37] Paus. 10.10.8; Servius *ad* Verg. *Aen.* 3.551 (i.436.2 Thilo).

[38] For the ancient sources on Phalanthos as the founder of Taras and for coins depicting him as a dolphin-rider, see Vollkommer 1997:978–979, 979–980, nos. 2–22a. For the identification with the hero Taras, see Arist. fr. 590 Rose³ (= Poll. *Onom.* 9.80, ii.169 Bethe), although the dolphin-rider figure Aristotle saw on Tarentine coins may have been in fact Phalanthos; see Studniczka 1890:175–194; Usener 1899:158–159. On the connections (and even confusion) between Phalanthos and Taras, see Malkin 1987:216–221. On the hero Taras, see further Klement 1898:23–26, 56–61; Usener 1899:154–164; Bowra 1963:132; Kraay 1976:175–176; Kingsley 1979:203, 206; Harvey 2004:296.

[39] Cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 4.43–46; Thuc. 1.128.1 with Gardner 2018:184–186; Ar. *Ach.* 510 with Olson 2002 *ad* 510–511; Eur. *Cyc.* 290–292; Strabo 8.5.1 (cf. 8.6.14); Paus. 3.25.4 (cf. 3.12.5); Diod. Sic. 11.45.4; for further written sources, see Gardner 2018:177–191; for the archaeological evidence see Woodward in Forster and Woodward 1906–1907:249–252; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1961:123–124; Cummer 1978; Mylonopoulos 2003:231–237 and 2006:142–145. On Arion's dedicatory statue, see Kingsley 1979:206–207; it could still be viewed in Pausanias' time (3.25.7, 9.30.2).

and as god of the open sea, the element which procured, against all odds, the means of his salvation.[40]

Thirdly, Poseidon is associated with Corinth, which was Arion's place of residence and the destination of his return voyage. Corinth was the site of a cult for Palaemon, also known as Melikertes, who had been thrown into the sea and, like Arion, rescued by a dolphin.[41] He was represented as a dolphin-rider both on Corinthian coinage and in a statue which stood next to those of Poseidon and Leukothea on the road to Lechaion near Corinth.[42] Moreover, in the vicinity of Corinth, the Isthmian Games were celebrated, which are associated in the sources now with Poseidon, now with Palaemon/Melikertes; in Pausanias' time, there was at the Isthmus a dedication by Herodes Atticus, which included Palaemon riding a dolphin near effigies of Poseidon and Amphitrite.[43] Corinth is linked with Taenarum in a version of the Arion story attributed in Plutarch's *Banquet of the Seven Wise Men* (160D–162B) to Gorgos, the brother of the Corinthian tyrant Periander. Towards the end of his three-day sacrificial offering to Poseidon, says Gorgos, he witnessed a shoal of dolphins carrying a man to the shore of Taenarum. The man turned out to be Arion, still dressed in his singer's regalia (161B, τῇ στολῇ), as in Herodotus (cf. pages 46, 51 above). Arion

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[40] Thus Gray 2001:14; cf. Gray 2002:306–307. This assumption receives some support from late ancient sources: according to Aelian (*NA* 12.42), Arion supposedly composed a hymn to thank Poseidon for his salvation (cf. Schamp 1976:106–108); the hymn, whose text is quoted by Aelian, may date to the late fifth century BCE in view of its affinities with the so-called "New Music"; see Bowra 1963:124–128; Brussich 1976; Csapo 2003:74–76.

[41] Paus. 1.44.8, 2.1.3; Philostr. Mai. *Imag.* 2.16.2.

[42] Paus. 2.3.4; Klement 1898:28–29; Ieranò 1992:46–47; Vikela and Vollkommer 1992:440, nos. 20–24; Mylonopoulos 2003:156–157; Harvey 2004:295.

[43] Isthmian Games in honor of Poseidon: e.g., Xen. *Hell.* 4.5.1; in honor of Palaemon/ Melikertes: e.g., Pind. fr. 6.5 (1) Snell–Maehler = fr. 5 Race; Arist. fr. 637 Rose³; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.4.3; Paus. 1.44.8, 2.1.3. Sometimes, the games in honor of Poseidon are said to have replaced an earlier cult of Melikertes (Plut. *Thes.* 25.5), sometimes the opposite (schol. Ap. Rhod. 3.1240), and there is even mention of alternate, or separate, games to honor each of those figures (*hypoth.* I b to Pind. *Isthm.*; Musaios of Ephesus *FGrH* 455 F 1). On Herodes' dedication, see Paus. 2.1.8; Mylonopoulos 2003:192–193. For the remains of a *temenos* of Palaemon in the Isthmian sanctuary, see Rupp 1979; Mylonopoulos 2003:174–182.

proceeded to relate to the bystanders the story of his wondrous rescue by the dolphin, more or less as we know it from Herodotus.[44]

Fourthly, Arion's homeland of Lesbos (or, in one version, specifically his hometown of Methymna) was also associated with a mythic dolphin-rider, namely, Enalos. He was believed to have leapt into the sea and to have been saved by a dolphin, which carried him to Lesbos. Later, Enalos dedicated to a temple of Poseidon a stone which a large octopus had carried out of the sea; and in one version, he even claimed to herd Poseidon's horses.[45]

Finally, of relevance is the story of Koiranos of Paros or Miletus, who was supposed to have saved some dolphins from being cut up by the fishers who had caught them. Sometime later, Koiranos happened to sail on a ship carrying delegates from Miletus to (presumably) Paros; when the ship capsized in the strait between Paros and Naxos, a dolphin or dolphins carried Koiranos to safety, depositing him near a cave, which was sacred to Poseidon Hippios; the cave was subsequently named "Koiraneion". Late sources claim that, when Koiranos died and a funeral pyre had been readied for his corpse at the seaside, a shoal of dolphins appeared off the shore as if to pay their respects. Koiranos' connection with Poseidon is attested already by Archilochus (fr. 192 West): πεντήκοντ᾽ ἀνδρῶν λίπε Κοίρανον ἵππιος Ποσειδέων, "out of the fifty people [i.e., sailing on the ship], only Koiranos was spared by Poseidon Hippios."[46]

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[44] For a point in which Plutarch, perhaps inspired by the *Homeric Hymn to Dionysus*, diverges from Herodotus, see n9 above. For the importance of Arion's attire in the Plutarch version, see Defradas 1972:95–96. It has been hypothesized by Schamp (1976:109–110) that the sacrifices offered by Gorgos to Poseidon at Taenarum may reflect a festival in honor of the god, perhaps the Taenaria mentioned by Hesychius (τ 33).

[45] Myrsilos of Methymna *FGrH* 477 F 14; Antikleides of Athens *FGrH* 140 F 4 (the one source to associate the story with Methymna and mention Enalos as herder of Poseidon's horses); Plut. *Conv. sept. sap.* 163B–D. Cf. Klement 1898:26–28; Bowra 1963:132; Ieranò 1992:46; Harvey 2004:294–295. On Enalos' associations with Poseidon, see Tuempel 1905.

[46] The story of Koiranos' rescue is preserved in the "Sosthenes Inscription," *IG* 12(5) 445 (+Suppl. P. 212) A I 9–19 ≈ *SEG* 15:518, 9–19 ≈ Demeas of Paros *FGrH* 502 F 1, 10–20; see Chaniotis 1988:57–68 (T14); Clay 2004:110–112, 116. Further ancient sources with additional details: Phylarchos *FGrH* 81 F 26; Plut. *De soll. an.* 985A–B; Ael. *NA* 8.3. Cf. Klement 1898:33; Bowra 1963:131–132; Harvey 2004:294.

The preceding survey of dolphin-rider figures, all of whom are associated with Poseidon in one way or another, may perhaps encourage the assumption that the Arion story belongs firmly to the Poseidonian domain. But caution is advisable here, because many of the same dolphin-rider myths also contain detectable connections with Apollo. Thus, Pausanias (10.13.10) says that Phalanthos, on his voyage to Italy, where he was to become the founder of Taras, shipwrecked near Crisa— the site, we recall, where the altar of Apollo *Delphinios* is consecrated by the god himself in the Homeric Hymn (*Hom. Hymn Ap.* 492–496; page 56 above). Phalanthos was saved by a dolphin, and the event was later commemorated in the image of a dolphin dedicated by the Tarentines at Delphi, which Pausanias saw standing not far from the statues of Phalanthos and the hero Taras. What is more, the iconography of Phalanthos includes attributes associated with Apollo, such as the lyre, the tripod, and the bow.[47] And even the earliest coins issued by the city of Taras around the end of the sixth century, before the dolphin-rider motif became established, show a connection with Apollo, for they display a young male figure commonly identified with Hyacinthus, Apollo's lover and mortal double.[48]

Further, it is conceivable, albeit not provable, that Herodotus and his audience were familiar with the tradition—reported by Ephorus in the fourth century BCE—that Poseidon acquired Taenarum from Apollo, to whom he granted Pytho (Delphi) in return.[49] Apollo's original connection with Taenarum may perhaps be reflected in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (409–418), where, as we recall (cf. pages 50, 54–55 above), the god causes the Cretan ship to approach Taenarum, which is said there to belong not to Poseidon but to Helios. This brief episode, which does not seem to further the narrative (the Cretans' wish to put to Taenarum is thwarted since the ship does not obey the rudder), may owe its inclusion in the *Hymn* to a tradition in which Apollo was somehow associated with Taenarum (perhaps as a precursor to Helios,

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[47] Usener 1899:155; Vollkommer 1997:980, nos. 17, 19.

[48] Lacroix 1974:23–35. For Hyacinthus as Apollo's mortal double, see Burkert 1985:202–203.

[49] Ephorus *FGrH* 70 F 150 = Strabo 8.6.14; cf. Paus. 2.33.2; Schamp 1976:102–103.

with whom he was to be identified in later times).⁵⁰ And it is intriguing that in Plutarch's version of the story, in which the setting is Taenarum during a sacrificial festival in honor of Poseidon, Arion sings an unambiguously Apollonian song, the "Pythian melody" (*Conv. sept. sap.* 161C; cf. page 52 above).

Thirdly, we find Apollonian associations in the Enalos myth too. Both Myrsilos of Methymna and Plutarch state that Enalos' plunge was motivated by his love for a girl whom the locals had decided to throw into the sea.⁵¹ That girl was the daughter of one Smintheus, whose name transparently evokes one of Apollo's epithets, attested already in the *Iliad* (1.39).⁵²

Finally, Apollo himself appears as a dolphin-rider in Callimachus' *Branchus*, a poem about the homonymous mythic founder of the sanctuary and cult of Apollo at Didyma in the Milesian territory. Here, Apollo, invoked as the "Dolphin Lord," is said to have been carried by a dolphin from Delos "to the city of Oikous," i.e., Miletus:

χαῖρε δὲ Δελφ]ίνι' ἄ[ν]αξ, οὔν[ο]μα γά[ρ] τοι τόδ' ἐγὼ
        κατάρχω,
εἵνεκεν Οἰκούσ]ιον εἰς ἄστυ σε δ̲ε̲λφὶς ἀπ' ἔβησε Δήλου.

Hail, Dolphin Lord, for it is by this title that I am invoking you first, since a dolphin carried you from Delos to the city of Oikous.⁵³

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⁵⁰ For the identification of Apollo with Helios, cf. Eur. fr. 781.11–13 Kannicht (= 224–226 Diggle) with Diggle 1970:147; Burkert 1985:149, 406n55; perh. also Aesch. *Supp.* 212–214 (thus Diggle 1970:147; *contra* Friis Johansen and Whittle 1980, vol. 2:170–172 *ad* 212, Sommerstein 2019 *ad* 212). In Eratosth. [*Cat.*] 24, Orpheus is said to have worshipped the Sun as a god, "whom he also called Apollo" (perhaps in Aeschylus' *Bassarides*, see West 1990:32–46). The flocks of Helios mentioned in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (412–413) have a counterpart in Apollo's flocks in the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* (68–404). And Herodotus elsewhere (9.93.1) mentions sheep sacred to Helios in the town of, precisely, Apollonia in Illyria: this "is important [early] evidence for the association of Helios with Apollo, since the town takes its name from Apollo" (Flower and Marincola 2002:266 *ad* 93.1).

⁵¹ Myrsilos *FGrH* 477 F 14; Plut. *Conv. sept. sap.* 163B.

⁵² For Smintheus as an epithet of Apollo, cf. also, e.g., Strabo 13.1.46, 48; Paus. 10.12.6; Polemo fr. 31 (*FHG* III, p. 124 Müller); etc. See further Wernicke 1895:68–69; Nilsson 1967:213, 544–535; Defradas 1972:236.

⁵³ Callim. fr. 229.12–13 Pfeiffer. For Oikous as the earlier name of Miletus, see schol. Dionys. Per. 825; cf. Theoc. 7.116; Nicaenetus, fr. 1.1 Powell = Parth. *Amat. narr.* 11.2. There

As we shall see in section V below, Miletus is of central importance in the context of the Arion story in Herodotus; it was, moreover, the site of an ancient cult of Apollo *Delphinios* (n61 below).

The conclusion emerging from the preceding discussion is that several dolphin-rider figures in Greek myth appear to have associations *both* with Poseidon *and* with Apollo, or at least to fluctuate between the Poseidonian and the Apollonian domain. This is natural enough, given the maritime associations of both gods (for those of Apollo, see below, pages 81–82). As we saw, the Poseidonian aspects of the Arion story are evidenced through the geographical landmarks of his voyage (Taras, Taenarum, Corinth) and through similarities with other mythic dolphin-riders who have links to Poseidon. As for Arion's Apollonian aspects, these are manifested principally in his performance of the characteristically Apollonian *Orthios Nomos* in Herodotus' narrative but also in other details (see again pages 52–53 above). Moreover, Arion's connection to Apollo is unmistakably implied in a second-century BCE coin—from, importantly, Methymna on Lesbos, Arion's birthplace—which depicts on the obverse a head of Apollo and on the reverse Arion riding the dolphin with a *kithara* in his left hand.[54] If this coin reflects, as is quite possible, an earlier Methymnian tradition, then Herodotus—who relied, as we saw earlier (page 46), on Lesbian as well as on Corinthian informants for the Arion story (1.23, 24.8)—will not have invented Arion's Apollonian associations from scratch, since they were already there for him to use. All that Herodotus seems to have done is to submerge the Poseidonian aspects of the story by relegating them to the background and to upgrade, conversely, its Apollonian aspects by having Arion perform the characteristically Apollonian *Orthios Nomos* before his climactic leap into the sea.

But it is not only the *Orthios Nomos* that brings out Arion's Apollonian associations in the Herodotean tale. This is also achieved, more subtly but also perhaps more effectively, by the overarching presence of Apollo in both the immediate and the broader context of the

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is no reason to doubt that Callimachus reflects genuine ancient tradition here; cf. Herda 2005:288–289; 2006:274-275, 307; 2008:16n17, 54, 56.

[54] Head 1911:561; Cahn 1984:602 no. 6.

Arion story. Indeed, as I shall argue in the following section, one may go as far as to claim that the entire Lydian *logos* is thoroughly, as Hans Schwabl put it, "under the sign of the god of Delphi."[55]

V. UNDER THE SIGN OF APOLLO: THE ARION TALE IN ITS HERODOTEAN CONTEXT

As stated above, my main purpose in this section is to show that Herodotus' version of the Arion story is embedded in a narrative context dominated by Apollo in his hypostasis as god of Delphi but also as the "Dolphin god" (*Delphinios*). In Herodotus, the main narrative from which the Arion story apparently digresses concerns Alyattes' siege of Miletus (1.17–25). The siege, which lasted over eleven years, was an example of what today we might call attrition warfare. Each summer, the Lydian army would march into the Milesian countryside, destroy the trees and crops, and then withdraw, leaving the buildings intact to allow the Milesians to continue working their land, so that the Lydians might return in the following year and destroy the new crop. The reason for Alyattes' choice of this manner of siege, Herodotus explains (1.17.3), was that "the Milesians were lords of the sea, and so there was nothing to be effected by a military blockade." The implication here seems to be that Miletus' access to sea travel and maritime trade ensured a continuing (though probably not abundant) supply of foodstuffs and other essential goods, and so the best Alyattes could have hoped for would be to wear the Milesians down in the long run rather than to famish them into swift surrender.[56]

In this way, the siege of Miletus dragged on for eleven years. In the twelfth and final year, Alyattes, having been afflicted by a mysteriously protracted illness, sent to Delphi to enquire about his condition (1.19.2–3). The oracle, however, refused to give a reply unless Alyattes

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[55] Schwabl 1969:260: "Die lydische Geschichte Herodots steht also unter dem Zeichen des Gottes von Delphi."

[56] For evidence suggesting that "resources available to communities with access to the sea" must be estimated as being "above the carrying capacity of the local ecology," although access to the sea does not necessarily eliminate hardship or ensure abundance, see Purcell 1990:50–54.

rebuilt the temple of Athena of Assessos near Miletus, which his troops had accidentally set on fire (cf. 1.19.1). Now, Periander, the tyrant of Corinth, somehow got wind of the oracle's response and sent word of it to his friend Thrasybulus, the tyrant of the besieged Miletus (1.20). Thanks to this intelligence, and in anticipation of the arrival of Alyattes' envoy to ask for a truce to allow for the rebuilding of the temple, Thrasybulus proceeded to have all available provisions in the city, both from his own and from other private stock (σῖτος καὶ ἑωυτοῦ καὶ ἰδιωτικός), carried to the marketplace (ἐς τὴν ἀγορήν). His purpose in doing so was to inveigle Alyattes' envoy into believing that the Milesians, far from suffering from scarcity of food after such a prolonged siege, were actually enjoying an abundance of nourishment (1.21–22). The trick worked, and the siege of Miletus was lifted; moreover, Alyattes proceeded to form an alliance with the Milesians and to erect not one but two temples for Athena in Assessos (1.22.4).

Despite her pivotal role in the story, Athena of Assessos is never heard of again in Herodotus: she is eclipsed by Apollo, the dominant divine presence in this part of the narrative. It is Apollo's oracle at Delphi that Alyattes consults about his sickness (1.19.2–3); and after the seemingly intrusive Arion narrative, Herodotus describes, briefly but admiringly, the magnificent silver krater that Alyattes dedicated as a token of his gratitude to the Delphic temple—a dedication "well worth seeing, more than any other offering at Delphi" (1.25.2). Herodotus adds that Alyattes was "the second member of his house" to make an offering to Delphi; this is an allusion to Alyattes' great-grandfather Gyges, the founder of the Mermnad dynasty (1.8–14), who had earlier been singled out by Herodotus as "the first of the barbarians" after the Phrygian King Midas to dedicate "immense amounts of gold" (χρυσὸν ἄπλετον) and other valuable offerings at Delphi; indeed, these offerings were collectively named "Gygean Treasure," Γυγάδας (1.14.1–3).[57] Now, Delphi had played a crucial part in Gyges' ascendancy, since it was the Delphic oracle that ratified his seize of the throne of Lydia, albeit adding a

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[57] On the historical figures presumed to lie behind Gyges (Guggu, who died ca. 652 BCE) and the Phrygian Midas (Mita, ca. 738–696 BCE), see Asheri in Asheri, Lloyd and Corcella 2007:83–84 (*ad* Hdt. 1.12.2) and 85–86 (*ad* 1.14.2) respectively.

warning to the effect that the ousted dynasty of the Heraclidae would be avenged in the fifth generation after Gyges (1.13.2).[58] At the other end of the Mermnad dynasty, Croesus, who was five generations removed from Gyges, is again connected to Delphi in numerous ways. Most famously, he made a trial of the most important Greek oracles and came to the conclusion that "the oracle at Delphi was the only true oracle" (1.48.1), whereupon he offered to "the god of Delphi" (1.50.1) rich sacrifices and, like his ancestor Gyges, "immense amounts of gold" (χρυσὸν ἄπλετον, 1.50.2), admiringly detailed by Herodotus in 1.50.2–51.5 (see also 1.54.1 for Croesus' further gift of two gold staters per Delphian citizen).[59] Eventually, the Delphic oracle turned out to be of pivotal importance for Croesus' downfall, since it is by misinterpreting its oracular pronouncements that the Lydian ruler decided to undertake his fatal expedition against Cyrus (1.53.3, 55.1–56.1), which ended in disaster—a turn of events that Croesus later considered to be an inappropriate reward by "the god of the Greeks" for his lavish gifts to Delphi (1.87.3, 90.2–3).

The career of Lydian rulers, then, is determined, at critical junctures, by Apollo as god of Delphi.[60] But it is not only at Delphi that Apollo was a presiding deity: in his hypostasis as Apollo *Delphinios*, "the Dolphin god," he was also the presiding deity of, precisely, Miletus, the besieged city of Herodotus' narrative.[61] As suggested by archaeological

[58] Evidently, the warning (Fontenrose 1978:300, Q96) was invented after Croesus' fall, to justify the earlier Delphic responses, which were favorable to the usurping Mermnads; see Parke and Wormell 1956: vol. 2, 22–23 (no. 51); Crahay 1956:189–191; Asheri in Asheri, Lloyd and Corcella 2007:84–85 (*ad* Hdt. 1.13.1–2). On the involvement of Delphi in endorsing the establishment of autocratic regimes, see Malkin 1989:142–150.

[59] On Croesus' offerings, see further Parke 1984; Mills 2014.

[60] Cf. Defradas 1972:208: "Tout le destin de la dynastie lydienne paraît dépendre de lui" ["the entire destiny of the Lydian dynasty seems to depend on him," viz., the god of Delphi]. Defradas (1972:208–228) also provides an extensive analysis of Apollo's role in the Lydian *logos*, with special emphasis on the story of Croesus, which he sees as a piece of Delphic propaganda or apologetics.

[61] Gorman (2001:169–171) dismisses the association between Δελφίνιος and δελφίς, "dolphin," as no more than a piece of erroneous folk etymology (cf. Faraone 2018:17n8). However this may be, the association of Apollo with the dolphin is well established from an early date (it appears already in a 525–500 BCE bone tablet from the Milesian colony of Olbia: *SEG* 36:694, Herda 2006:272–277, 2016:17–19), and Apollo's associations with seafaring are well documented: see F. Graf 1979:5 and cf. further pages 81–82 below. It has been argued that the cults of Apollo *Delphinios* and Apollo *Didymeus* at Miletus and

evidence, the cult of Apollo *Delphinios* in Miletus was in place already in the sixth century BCE, but it must have been considerably earlier: it almost certainly predates Miletus' colonizing activities in the eighth century BCE, since almost all Milesian colonies worshipped Apollo *Delphinios*, and perhaps goes as far back as the sub-Mycenaean or earliest proto-Geometric eras.[62] Miletus as one of Apollo's cultic seats is mentioned already in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 180 (καὶ Μίλητον ἔχεις ἔναλον πόλιν ἱμερόεσσαν, "and you [sc. Apollo] possess Miletus, a lovely city by the sea"), while Milesian rites in honor of Apollo *Delphinios* are epigraphically attested as early as ca. 525–500 BCE.[63] That Thrasybulus orders the foodstuffs to be brought to the *agora* of Miletus appears to be significant in this respect: apart from being the most prominently public place in the city, the *agora* of Miletus also adjoined, from the middle of the sixth century BCE at the latest, the sanctuary of Apollo *Delphinios*.[64] The adjacency of *Delphinion* and *agora* is a recurring pattern in other Greek cities too—including, significantly, the Milesian colony of Olbia (*Olbiē Polis*), which in addition struck bronze coinage in the shape of dolphins.[65]

Didyma respectively rely to a considerable degree on the template of the "Pythian" section of the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, where, as we saw (pages 56–57 above), Apollo conspicuously appears as *Delphinios*: see Herda 2005:287–289; 2006:269–274, 277; 2016:20, 105–10. For parallelisms between Milesian rituals in honor of Apollo *Delphinios* and events narrated in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, see also Faraone 2018:16–19, 31.

[62] F. Graf 1979:19–20 with nn147, 150; Gorman 2001:168; Herda 2008:15.

[63] *Milet* I 3, 31a.12–13 (525–500 BCE): ἑορτὴ κηρύσσεται Ἀπόλλωνος Δελφιν|[ίο]; cf. also, e.g., *Milet* I 3, 133.11, 15, 24 (mid-second c. BCE); see Sokolowski 1955: nos. 41 and 50 respectively. On the copious epigraphic evidence, only a small sample of which is cited here, see further Herda 2006 and 2011; cf. Carbon 2013.

[64] See Herda 2005, esp. 244 Fig. 1; 2008:18, 19, 51 with Fig. 1; 2011:64 (Fig. 2), 69, 70, 73; 2019, esp. 98 Fig. 1, 99 Fig. 2. Historically, Alyattes' reign, which lasted from ca. 610 to ca. 560 BCE (Kuhrt 1995:568, Table 30), may have predated the adjacency of the Milesian *agora* and the *Delphinion*; but the anachronism is immaterial.

[65] On the propinquity of the *Delphinion* to the *agora* in a number of Greek cities, see F. Graf 1979:5–6; esp. on the position of the *Delphinion* (built ca. 700 BCE) near the *agora* in the Cretan city of Dreros, see Herda 2011:71 Fig. 4, 72. On the location of the *Delphinion* near the *agora* at Olbia and on the dolphin-shaped coinage of that city, see again Herda 2011:78–79 (with Fig. 8). On dedicatory graffiti at Olbia mentioning Apollo *Delphinios*, see Lifshitz 1966.

The story of the siege of Miletus provides a parallel to the Arion story insofar as both tales feature a salutary intervention by Apollo. The besieged Miletus, in which Apollo was worshipped as the "Dolphin god," was saved thanks to the Delphic god, whose oracular instruction to rebuild the temple of Athena at Assessos caused Alyattes to ask for a truce with the Milesians, thereby enabling Thrasybulus' deceptive but effective show of unexpected plenty. A comparable pattern is at work in the Arion tale too: there, it is the Dolphin god who enables Arion to escape the ruses of the Corinthian seamen by employing a pious ruse of his own—namely, his performance of a hymn to Apollo, which leads to the salutary appearance of the dolphin, one of the god's avatars.[66] In both cases, Apollo's intervention is facilitated by a factor of crucial importance, namely, access to the sea: Arion escapes by jumping into the sea, and Miletus' maritime dominance greatly reduces the effectiveness of Alyattes' siege, thereby setting the scene for the city's eventual salvation. We shall have more to say on the critical role of the sea in sections VII and VIII below.

VI. MONEY AND ITS DISCONTENTS

As we saw in the previous section, Thrasybulus' stratagem involved carrying foodstuffs from private stocks, including his own (Hdt. 1.21.2), to the *agora*, the place of trade and commercial transactions. The food-stuffs, however, were decidedly not for sale: rather, they were to be consumed for free by the Milesians in an atmosphere of general revelry, which Herodotus describes as κῶμος (1.21.1, πίνειν τε πάντας καὶ κώμῳ χρῆσθαι ἐς ἀλλήλους)—a word applicable to a broad range of occasions, notably of a ritual character.[67] These occasions may include Apollonian celebrations: in its earliest attestation (*Homeric Hymn to Hermes* 481),

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[66] Cf. Griffiths 2006:139: "Herodotus' Arion story only really makes sense if the poet's farewell performance is a deliberate strategy to bring about his rescue."

[67] Such occasions may include religious activities in honor of Dionysus (Eur. *Bacch.* 1167; Ar. *Thesm.* 988–999; Pl. *Leg.* 637A–B) or with no connection to him (Eur. *Hipp.* 55–56, Diod. Sic. 3.5.1); weddings (Eur. *Alc.* 918); and epinician celebrations (e.g., Heath 1988; Eckerman 2010). The original meaning of κῶμος may have been "praise" (cf. Vedic *śámsa*), in which case the boisterous character of esp. Dionysiac Greek κῶμοι will have been a later development; see Durante 1974; Dunkel 1995:13–18.

κῶμος refers to festivities in which Apollo's lyre is played; and it is in honor of Apollo that a κῶμος is enacted by an Aristophanic chorus (*Women at the Thesmophoria* 104–129, esp. 104: ὁ κῶμος).[68] In the case of the Milesian κῶμος, the economic potential of displaying foodstuff in the *agora* is ostentatiously renounced in favor of what is described as an event with ritual connotations, in which people simply "have a good time" (1.22.1: ἐν εὐπαθείῃσι ἐόντας). Thus, the spatial proximity of the Milesian *agora* to the temple of Apollo *Delphinios*, rather than implying an association between the god and commerce, gives rise to a kind of free-for-all revelry that stands in direct opposition to trade. Indeed, we shall see below that, in Herodotus' Lydian narrative, Apollo as patron of overseas migration is raised above and beyond enrichment from monetary transactions.

A repudiation of trade and money-making is also central to the Arion story, which is infused with language and ideas related to (failed) financial transactions. As we saw in section I, Arion, having gained "much money" from his singing tour (Hdt. 1.24.1), decides to "hire" (μισθώσασθαι) a Corinthian ship to transport him back to Corinth. He thereby initiates a business transaction with the Corinthian seamen, in whom he has supreme "trust" (1.24.2: πιστεύοντα), a word which is also associated with commercial credit.[69] However, not only do the Corinthians fail to keep their end of the deal, but they also grow greedy and resolve to take hold of all of Arion's money. The singer attempts to strike a bargain: he is willing to let the sailors have all his money in exchange for his life (1.24.2). But his proposal is flatly refused, and the attempted transaction comes to naught. Still, Arion manages to save his life by entering into a different kind of transaction, one that is distinctly dissociated from the world of business and the market: as a reward

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[68] For Apollo as the principal recipient of the κῶμος in Ar. *Thesm.* 104, see Austin and Olson 2004 ad loc.: "Artemis and Leto are mentioned only because they are associated with him."

[69] Cf., e.g., [Dem.] 36.44: πίστις ἀφορμὴ πασῶν ἐστι μεγίστη πρὸς χρηματισμόν, "trust/credit is the most important starting-point (or "capital," cf. LSJ s.v. ἀφορμή, I.4) for a lucrative business"; 57: πίστις μέντοι Φορμίωνι ... καὶ τοσούτων καὶ πολλῷ πλειόνων χρημάτων ἐστίν, "Phormio's credit ... is good both for this amount of money and for much more." On credit, see further Millett 1991:5–8, 26–30, 197–198 and passim.

for his splendid performance of a hymn in honor of Apollo, Arion is rescued by a dolphin, an avatar of Apollo *Delphinios* (cf. page 54 (ix) above). Significantly, the quid pro quo aspect of Arion's rescue remains implicit in Herodotus, whereas it is explicitly commented on, several centuries later, by Lucian, who repeatedly construes Arion's rescue as a "reward" (μισθός) by the dolphin(s) for his musical performance.[70] This symbolic transaction, which overrides Arion's previous attempts at financial deals, is what saves Arion's life, whereas his former money-making activities almost prove to be, literally, the death of him.[71]

Acts of trade also feature prominently in the narratives that surround the Arion story in Herodotus. As we saw above (section V), Gyges, the founder of the Mermnad dynasty, sent splendid gifts to Delphi (Hdt. 1.14.1–3), evidently in return for the Delphic oracle's ratification of his accession to the Lydian throne. However, Gyges' monarchic rule turned out, in retrospect, to be only a sort of loan from the god of Delphi, which would eventually have to be, as it were, paid back like a debt. This is implied by the oracle's warning that, five generations later, the ousted Heraclidae would be compensated (1.13.2: τίσις ἥξει).[72] Sure enough, Gyges' debt became due in the reign of Croesus, who was indeed Gyges' descendant five times removed and who offered, like his remote ancestor, incredibly lavish gifts to Delphi, which are meticulously described in all their variety and costliness by Herodotus (1.50.2–51.5, 54.1; cf. page 66 above). Still, all that Croesus

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[70] Luc. *Dialogi marini* 5 (Poseidon to the dolphin): ἄξιον γὰρ τὸν μισθὸν ἀπέδωκας αὐτῷ τῆς ἀκροάσεως, "you gave him (viz., Arion) a worthy reward for his performance"; cf. Luc. *Navigium* 19: ἢ νομίζεις κιθαρῳδὸν μέν τινα σωθῆναι παρ' αὐτῶν [sc. τῶν δελφίνων] καὶ ἀπολαβεῖν τὸν μισθὸν ἀντὶ τῆς ᾠδῆς ...; "or do you think that some *kitharōidos* would be rescued by them (viz., the dolphins) and reap a reward in exchange for his ode ...?" Cf. Ov. *Fast.* 2.115–116, *ille* (sc. Arion) *sedens citharamque tenet pretiumque vehendi / cantat*, "seated (sc. on the dolphin's back) Arion holds his cithara and pays the fare for his transport with his song."

[71] Cf. Seaford 2007:388: "Of Arion's two skills, earning money and music, the former almost destroyed him, whereas he was saved by the element of nature (the dolphin) that dances to his music." This aspect of the Arion tale is not sufficiently taken into account by Kowalzig (2013:54–55) in her reading of the tale as an etiological narrative for the commodification of Greek song.

[72] Cf. (ἀπο)τίνω, "pay by way of recompense or atonement," "repay a debt," and (ἀπο) τίνομαι, "indemnify oneself," "recoup one's expenses," "avenge oneself," "punish."

managed to achieve by this display of munificence to Delphi was merely to extend his credit, so to speak, with the god for a few more years. After he had lost his kingdom to Cyrus, Croesus (1.90.2–4) accused the god of Delphi of "cheating those who did him a good turn" (ἐξαπατᾶν τοὺς εὖ ποιεῦντας). Evidently, Croesus' complaint was that Apollo failed to keep his end of the deal, since he did not reciprocate Croesus' sumptuous dedications to Delphi; this is implied by 1.90.3, where Croesus dwells "particularly on the dedications."[73] To Croesus' accusations the god replies, in effect, that the former monarch's luxurious offerings sufficed only to buy him some more time before the ancient debt to the god became due (1.91.1–3). Far from deceiving his exchange partner, Apollo even granted him, as it were, a moratorium on his debt payment by deferring the fall of Sardis, so that Croesus met with his fated end three years after the destined time (1.91.3). No one, not even a god, says the Delphic oracle, is able to deflect the course of events foreordained by the Fates (1.91.1–2): the mechanics of debt and its repayment, like the work of the Fates, follow an inexorable logic of their own.[74]

Croesus' failed bargain with Apollo must be contrasted with Arion's characteristically (and successfully) money-free transaction with the same god, in the wake of his own failed financial deals with the Corinthians. Arion's transaction with the god offers a model of exchange in which the goods involved are carriers of non-economic value: salvation in exchange for song in honor of the god. Moreover, contrary to Gyges' and Croesus' plethora of sumptuous offerings to Apollo, or to Alyattes' excessive zeal in compensating Athena of Assessos not with one but with two new temples (Hdt. 1.22.4; cf. page 65 above), Arion's dedication is remarkably modest: a "not very large" man on a dolphin (1.24.8: ἀνάθημα χάλκεον οὐ μέγα).[75] Arion's vast

[73] A similar complaint seems to be implied in Bacchyl. 3.37–39 (468 BCE), where Croesus is said to have cried out from the pyre: "where is the gratitude (χάρις) of the gods? Where is the lord, the son of Leto?" See further Kurke 1999b:138.

[74] Further on Croesus' dealings with Delphi from the perspective of "oracular economy," see Kurke 1999b:130–171. It may be significant that Sardis was thought to have fallen on the fourteenth day of the siege (Hdt. 1.84.1): fourteen is a multiple of seven, Apollo's sacred number (Nilsson 1967:561–563).

[75] On the lavishness of Croesus' offerings to Delphi as marking him out for divine resentment, see Mills 2014:150–151.

monetary earnings from his singing tour (1.24.1: χρήματα μεγάλα) prove to be precarious and short-lived; by contrast, his non-financial service to Apollo results in secure and permanent gain of a non-mone-tary kind. There is a similar pattern in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (page 54 (ix) above), where the Cretan seamen abandon their life of "business and money-making" (397) in exchange for a life of priestly service to Apollo, who will secure for them perennial honor (485: αἰεὶ τιμήσεσθε διαμπερὲς ἤματα πάντα) as well as toil-free and abundant sustenance (532–539). Once again, money-making is discarded in favor of an infi-nitely rewarding cultic relationship to Apollo, which rises above the logic of the market. Eventually, the pattern actuates itself also in the case of Croesus, the potentate who had once equated happiness with wealth (Hdt. 1.30–33). As the flames of the pyre on which his conqueror has placed him begin to lick his feet, Croesus tearfully invokes Apollo's succor, asking him to reciprocate "if any of his (sc. Croesus') gifts had ever gratified" the god (1.87.1). Apollo responds by sending, miracu-lously, a torrential rain, which quenches the pyre and saves Croesus' life. Significantly, Croesus' invocation of Apollo goes hand in hand with his realization that Solon's earlier warnings about the inconstancy of fortune were more valuable than large amounts of money (1.86.4: μεγάλων χρημάτων). In this case too, foregoing a prior attachment to money in favor of devotion to Apollo ensures salvation.

This antithesis between devotion to Apollo and money-making pursuits may appear to go against the well-known fact that Greek sanctuaries, including Apollonian ones, were sites where consider-able wealth was accumulated and even put to work in the form of interest-bearing loans. In particular, the Delphic sanctuary—which is mentioned, paradigmatically, as a source of fabulous riches already in the *Iliad* (9.404–405)—possessed enormous wealth consisting, over-whelmingly, of dedications but also of income accruing from various financial activities, such as the farming-out of land, the sale of live-stock, and the issuing of interest-bearing loans.[76] This is not to say,

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[76] Farming-out of lands: Bousquet 1988:15–18, 35, 67–68; Sánchez 2001:415, 473; Rousset 2002a:205–211 and 2002b:222, 230–234; Migeotte 2006:119 = 2015:284–285; Pernin 2014:142–153. Sacred herds: *Syll.*³ 407.4 (275 BCE). Sale of livestock: *Syll.*³ 826G,

however, that Delphi and other major Greek sanctuaries were, as is sometimes claimed (cf. n85 below), the ancient equivalent of modern banks. For unlike modern banking, the financial activities of Greek sanctuaries do not seem, in principle, to have been aimed at maximizing profit as an end in itself. Rather, when "sacred property," ἱερὰ χρήματα,[77] was loaned, a very considerable portion of the proceeds was used to fund the maintenance and management of the sanctuary and its property and to ensure the proper continuation of its cultic activities.[78] It is significant that, while sanctuaries could and did extend loans, or credit lines, to the city administering them, they seem very rarely to have lent to foreign cities.[79] What is more, in some cases, cash funds accumulated in temples (or deposited there by private individuals) could be held as frozen assets rather than being put to work.[80] That sanctuaries should forego such lucrative opportunities strongly indicates that their "banking" operations did not prioritize maximization of profit but were rather focused on offering financial support to their respective communities as well as on preserving or enlarging

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col. iv 20–26 (117 BCE); cf. Howe 2003:142. Loans: *Syll.*³ 813A, B ("from the interest and revenue of Pythian Apollo," ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Πυθίου Ἀπόλλωνος τόκων καὶ προσόδων); *SEG* 42, 472 (loan contracted between the Delphic sanctuary and a private individual, late second century BCE); cf. Chankowski 2011:150. Money-lending activities of Greek sanctuaries in general: e.g., Davies 2001; Chankowski 2005; Gabrielsen 2005:139–141. Financial officials and administrators of Delphi: Roux 1979:95–135; Lefèvre 1998:260–266; Sánchez 2001:128–133, 138–151, 312–314, 446–450, 472–476.

[77] On the term, see, e.g., Bousquet 1988:160 and 1992:23, 25; Sánchez 2001:475; Picard 2005; Chankowski 2011:148.

[78] Cf. further Chankowski 2005:74; 2011:147–148, 150–151.

[79] See Chankowski 2005:71–74; 2011:151–153 (cf. 157–158). A major exception that proves the rule is the sanctuary of Delian Apollo in the fifth and fourth centuries BCE, when the Athenian administrators instituted the innovation of granting loans to cities other than Delos; see Chankowski 2001; 2008: 79; Gabrielsen 2005:152. But after Delos' independence from Athens, loans from the sanctuary were again extended, almost exclusively, to the city or the private citizens of Delos; what is more, sums loaned were generally modest, and repayment was not always rigorously exacted (Gabrielsen 2005:152–156). All of this suggests that the post-independence Delian sanctuary saw financing the local community as more important than maximizing profit.

[80] On private deposits (παρακαταθῆκαι) kept at temples as unproductive funds, see, e.g., Picard 2005:60; Chankowski 2005:70, 2011:146, 149.

their premises and ensuring the perpetuation of their sacral activities.[81] Tellingly, even when the Phocians pillaged the Delphic treasures in 356 BCE, thereby incurring lasting infamy and severe punishments,[82] the Phocian general Philomelos claimed that he was acting on behalf of the Phocians, professedly the rightful owners of the Delphic sanctuary,[83] as if he were merely borrowing from the sacred funds as, e.g., the Athenians did from their own temples.[84]

All in all, then, such financial activities as were undertaken by sanctuaries are probably to be seen, at most, as an "embedded" form of "banking," in which finance is an extension of the sanctuary officials' religious functions, aimed at ensuring continuity of cult and the perpetuation of ritual and social order rather than focusing on profit-making per se.[85] The point may be illustrated by the example of three endowments made to Delphi in the second century BCE; in all three cases, the endowment was put to work on the proviso that the proceeds would be earmarked for financing festivities and other activities related to the sanctuary.[86] The first example is that of Alkesippos (*Syll*.[3] 631, 1–8, 182 BCE), who stipulated that the interest accrued on his endowment capital should be used to finance a sacrifice and public banquet. The second endowment is that of King Eumenes II (*Syll*.[3] 671, 160/159 BCE), specifying that the endowment capital would be "sacred"

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[81] Cf. Chankowski 2011:162 (cf. 156): sacred funds lent by the sanctuaries were used to meet "the needs of local communities … rather than to penetrate financial networks"; Chankowski 2005:77.

[82] Parker 1983:172–173, 175; Ellinger 1993:326–332; Lefèvre 1998:31–32; Sánchez 2001:200–213, 221–227. On the Phocians' pilfering of the sanctuary's currency deposits and, especially, dedications in precious metal, see Bousquet 1988:160; Chankowski 2011:145.

[83] Diod. Sic. 16.25.5, 27.3–4; Lefèvre 1998:260; Sánchez 2001:185.

[84] Cf. Bury and Meiggs 1975:424; Parker 1983:173–174.

[85] On "embedded" economies, in which the preservation of wealth, although an important pursuit, is only part of a broader system of fundamentally social values, see Polanyi 2001[1944]:45–58. Against claims—notably by Salviat 1995:570, based on the textually uncertain *CID* IV 2 (see *SEG* 44:435, app. crit. *ad* 14–17)—that Delphi was a bank in the modern sense, see Lefèvre 1995, 1998:257–260 (esp. 258–259 with n443); Sánchez 2001:155, 475; Migeotte 2006:127 = 2015:291.

[86] On the management of sacred endowments in general, see Sosin 2001, with case-studies; on the financial logic behind it see Gabrielsen 2005:142–144; 2008:121–124.

to the god and that proceeds from loans should be used to finance maintenance works as well as a sacrifice, celebrations, and a public banquet. The third endowment is that of (the future) King Attalus II in 159/158 BCE: here the funds, again declared "sacred to the god" (ποθίερον τοῦ θεοῦ), were also earmarked for financing festivities and sacrifices, as well as the education of Delphian boys, under the strict proviso that they should by no means be diverted to any other use.[87] Remarkably, the relevant decree specifies a very modest interest rate of 6.66% per annum, which would be odd if the sanctuary administrators saw themselves as bankers intent on maximizing return on their investments.[88] The principle that seems to be in operation here is, once again, that endowment funds should be modestly invested on interest-bearing loans with a view to financing sacral activities (banquets, sacrifices, offerings, etc.) and ensuring the continuation of cultic order.[89]

The above findings fall rather neatly into an important conceptual scheme introduced by Bloch and Parry (1989). This is the distinction between, on the one hand, a "short-term transactional order," in which the prevalent mode is that of individual pursuit of gain, actuated in profit-oriented transactions and competitive business, and on the other, a "long-term transactional order," which is "concerned with the reproduction of the long-term social or cosmic order" and consists of

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[87] *Syll.*[3] 672, 22–24; revised text in Bringmann and Steuben 1995 no.94[E]21–23. On the provisos, see further Dimopoulou-Piliouni 2007; Gabrielsen 2008:119–120; Migeotte 2009–2010:206, 214–217 = 2015:317, 324–326.

[88] Based on this remarkably low rate of interest, Sosin (2004:192–195) argued that this was practically a way of offering cheap credit to an élite of wealthy landowners at Delphi—an early instance of "crony capitalism" (Sosin 2004:195). However, although the loans were clearly meant to attract affluent borrowers, the harsh penalties set for defaulters (Migeotte 2009–2010:213 = 2015:322–323) militate against Sosin's theory. His thesis is further undermined by his erroneous argument that the loans were to be in Attic-standard "Alexander" coins, which would supposedly furnish rich borrowers with *agio*-free foreign capital. In fact, the decree (lines 33–34) envisages income from exchange-fees (ἐκ τοῦ κολλύβου), which would come from converting Attalus' Attic-standard "Alexanders" into the Aeginetan-standard coins normally used in Delphi (Dittenberger 1917:250n12; Gabrielsen 2008:120n10), the *agio* presumably paid by the borrower.

[89] Cf. Chankowski 2005:81–83; 2011:149, 153–154, 158, 163.

"transcendental social and symbolic structures."[90] These two transactional orders, while remaining distinct from each other, paradoxically coexist in a kind of dynamic tension, whereby one presupposes and depends on the other. Indeed, short-term, individualistic, profit-making pursuits may even be desirable insofar as they tend to yield wealth which can be used to sustain the overarching, permanent, transcendental cosmic order, although the latter must rise above the transient order of merely lucrative ventures.[91] This is precisely the case of the financial operations at Delphi and other sanctuaries: although their officials did engage in transactions on a "short-term" scale, such as lending at interest, they did so only as a means of enabling activities on a "long-term" scale, which were concerned with the preservation and perpetuation of community and cult. In this perspective, the riches of Delphi and other sanctuaries, or the countless Greek coins with gods' heads stamped on them, or the dolphin-shaped coins of Olbia alluding to Apollo *Delphinios* (n65 above) are expressions of this paradoxical interdependence of individualistic and cosmic transactional orders. It is precisely this interdependence that Herodotus interrogates, when on the one hand he admiringly details foreign despots' dedications at Delphi (pages 65–66 above), while on the other he problematizes them insofar as overweening potentates like Croesus (pages 70–71 above) attempt to use dedications as a means of personal aggrandizement by appropriating "the resources of the long-term cycle for their own short-term transactions" with the divine.[92] This is a detestable and dangerous perversion, as a result of which Croesus' attempt to consolidate his power by "doing business" with Apollo, i.e., by offering lavish gifts to him, predictably ends in disaster.

The problematization of money is a theme which also informs the conclusion of Herodotus' Lydian *logos*, where the brief description of

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[90] Quotations from Bloch and Parry 1989:24 (cf. 2) and 25, respectively. For applications of the Bloch and Parry scheme on ancient Greek society and literature, see Liapis 2020:20 with further bibliography (n55), to which add Kurke 2002:93–94.

[91] See Bloch and Parry 1989:25–26.

[92] Quotation from Bloch and Parry 1989:27, who also cite (26–27) socially detrimental cases in which "individual involvement in the short-term cycle [becomes] an end in itself which is no longer subordinated to the reproduction of the larger cycle."

Lydia is punctuated by references to money, money-making, and trade. The funerary monument of Croesus' father Alyattes was constructed, Herodotus says, by an assortment of people who plied their trade in exchange for money: tradesmen (lit. "people of the market," ἀγοραῖοι ἄνθρωποι), craftsmen, and "young girls for hire" (ἐνεργαζόμεναι παιδίσκαι), a euphemism for prostitutes (1.93.2). It was the prostitutes, Herodotus claims, that had made the largest contribution to the building project.[93] Indeed, the historian continues, prostitution is a common practice among Lydian "working-class" girls (τοῦ ... Λυδῶν δήμου αἱ θυγατέρες), who resort to it in order to raise money for their dowries. This shocking practice is paradigmatic of the Lydians' near-obsessive concern with trade and money-making: after all, as Herodotus informs us (1.94.1), the Lydians were the first to coin and use gold and silver money, and to practice petty trade as κάπηλοι, "hucksters" or "retailers."[94]

However, money turns out to be of no avail to the Lydians when they are faced with a period of extreme food shortage (1.94.3: σιτοδείην ἰσχυρήν), which lasted for a total of eighteen years. Money obtained by trade (of goods or of prostituted bodies) may have seemed to the Lydians to be an inextinguishable source of wealth—an idea perhaps symbolized by the Lydian lake that was said never to dry up (ἀένναον εἶναι) and was called "Gygaean" (Γυγαίη at 1.93.5), presumably after the homonymous Lydian ruler who possessed "immense" wealth (cf. 1.14.1: χρυσὸν ἄπλετον), and whose opulent dedications to Delphi were, again, named "Gygaean" after him (1.14.3, Γυγάδας, cf. page 65 above). Still,

[93] According to Strabo 13.4.7, "some people" even called Alyattes' monument πόρνης μνῆμα, "the harlot's memorial."

[94] For the derogatory connotations of κάπηλοι, cf. Aesch. *Sept.* 545, where Parthenopaeus is said to have come to Thebes "not to make petty trade of the battle" (οὐ καπηλεύσειν μάχην); in Pl. *Soph.* 223d, "retail trade" (καπηλική) is carried on within the limits of the city, in implicit opposition to the more prestigious long-distance trade (ἐμπορία). It is immaterial for my argument whether Herodotus' attribution of the earliest coinage to the Lydians is historically accurate or not. For doxography, see Asheri in Asheri, Lloyd, and Corcella 2007:145–146 (*ad* Hdt. 1.94.1); add, e.g., Schaps 2004:99–101; Seaford 2004:125–134. It is also irrelevant to my purposes that the earliest coinage was of electrum, not of gold and silver, despite Herodotus' claim (see n5 above). Likewise, I am not concerned with the historical accuracy of Herodotus' image of the Lydians as obsessive money-makers, only with its thematic importance in the Lydian *logos*.

rather like the legendary King Midas, the Lydians realized the hard way that (to quote Aristotle, *Politics* 1257b13–17)

> one may possess great wealth of coins and yet lack even the food needed for subsistence; though it is absurd to consider as wealth that which one may have in abundance and yet perish from hunger, like the fabled Midas whose greedy wish caused everything that was set before him to turn into gold.

At first, says Herodotus, the Lydians tried to fight hunger by inventing a series of games—dice, knucklebones, ball-games, but emphatically not board-games (*pessoi*)—which gave them something to occupy themselves with, and thus helped them reduce their consumption of food (1.94.3–4). Nonetheless, the situation only worsened. At long last, the Lydian king resorted to the drastic measure of dividing the population into two segments and determining by sortition which segment would have to abandon Lydia in search of a settlement elsewhere (1.94.5–7). Led by the king's son, Tyrrhenus, the colonists set off and, after a long voyage, settled at Umbria, having changed their ethnic appellation from "Lydians" to "Tyrrhenians" after their leader (1.94.6–7). Significantly, Herodotus passes over in silence the Tyrrhenians' reputation for piracy, which seems to have been widespread in antiquity:[95] rather than roaming the seas in pursuit of gain, these colonists "are said to have founded a number of cities, which they occupy until the present day" (1.94.6: ἐνιδρύσασθαι πόλιας καὶ οἰκέειν τὸ μέχρι τοῦδε).

In the case of the Lydians, then, as in the cases of Arion and of Croesus, reliance on the power of money proves to be inconducive to survival. What offers them a way out of the impasse is overseas migration. The antithesis between the unproductive reliance on money on the one hand and the foundation of overseas settlements on the other

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[95] Cf. *Hom. Hymn Dion.* 7–8: ληϊσταί ... Τυρσηνοί; Philochorus *FGrH* 328 F 100, τῶν Τυρρηνῶν τῶν βιαίων καὶ ληστῶν γενομένων; Ephorus *FGrH* 70 F 137a, τὰ ληστήρια τῶν Τυρρηνῶν (around Sicily). The Tyrrhenians of the *Homeric Hymn to Dionysus* are sometimes identified by scholars with the inhabitants of Lemnos and Imbros (see Càssola 1975:562–563), but the Etruscans' links to piracy are well known; see Bruni 2013:763–769.

seems to be encapsulated in the Lydians' claim to be (as we saw above) the inventors of dice- and ball-games, but not of *pessoi* or board-games. Just as dice- and ball-games entail a considerable degree of chance, so are commerce and money-making operations largely dependent on the vicissitudes of fortune (as well as, of course, to certain rules); and just as board-games rely principally or exclusively on strategy, so does the foundation of a city presuppose strategic ordering. When a chance event like famine strikes, Lydian money is of no use—just as the Lydian Croesus' attempt to forestall the workings of fate by using his wealth came to naught (Hdt. 1.91.1-2, with pages 70–71 above). By contrast, as Leslie Kurke has perceptively argued, the foundation of Lydian *poleis* (1.94.6: ἐνιδρύσασθαι πόλιας) in Umbria, albeit initiated by sortition (1.94.5: κληρῶσαι), presupposes, like a game of *pessoi*, the ability to conceptualize symbolic order, including the symbolic order of the city.[96] When in their native land, Lydians appear to conceptualize their position in the world as a game of chance, exemplified above all in their identity as small-time retailers and money-makers; indeed, the very reproduction of a large segment of the Lydian population (the δῆμος or "commoners") relies on an act of commercial exchange—women's bodies for money. By contrast, their decision to found *poleis* abroad marks a crucial turning-point in their conceptual makeup: for they seem finally to have hit upon an alternative ordering of the world, one which involves the complex strategic thinking required for the foundation and functioning of a *polis*, as it is required for *pessoi* games—games often associated in Greek sources with the ordering of a *polis*, so much so that a type of *pessoi* was actually named πόλεις.[97] In Kurke's words,

[96] See Kurke 1999a:257, 263 ≈ 1999b:264, 296.

[97] In Pl. *Resp.* 422e, ἑκάστη γὰρ αὐτῶν πόλεις εἰσὶ πάμπολλαι ἀλλ᾽ οὐ πόλις, τὸ τῶν παιζόντων, "each of them are countless cities, but not a single city as in the game," there may be an allusion to the game-board's squares, which may be called πόλεις individually but require "some wise unifying principle ... to ensure that the forces on the squares are properly co-ordinated" (Austin 1940:265); for other possibilities, see Adam 1963: vol. 1, 211–12 (*ad loc.*). In Arist. *Pol.* 1253a6–7, the "cityless" (ἄπολις) person is compared to an isolated piece in a game of *pessoi* (ἄζυξ ὢν ὥσπερ ἐν πεττοῖς). In Eur. *Supp.* 409–410, a debate on the relative merits of different political constitutions includes the statement "this is an advantage you've given me, as in a game of *pessoi*" (ἐν μὲν τόδ᾽ ἡμῖν ὥσπερ ἐν πεσσοῖς δίδως | κρεῖσσον); see Collard 1975 *ad* 409–410a. Finally, in Eur. fr. 360.8–10

"[i]n the elaborately rehearsed division of the populace in two by lot, the king seems unwittingly to have devised a game of *polis* played with and on his subjects. And it is strikingly only at this point in the narrative that Herodotus finally attributes to the Lydians (now turned Etruscans) the 'founding of cities' (ἐνιδρύσασθαι πόλιας, 1.94.6)."[98]

As in the case of Arion, the Lydians' earlier over-reliance on money turns out to be unprofitable when they are confronted with a life-and-death impasse. In both cases, it is the sea that proves to be an agent of salvation. It is to the sea, then, and to overseas migration and the creation of maritime networks that we shall now turn.

VII. APOLLO *DELPHINIOS* AND MARITIME NETWORKS

As we saw above (section IV, esp. pages 61–63), Arion's career is linked to localities for which Apollonian associations can be established. These localities include Taras, Arion's point of departure on his voyage home; Cape Taenarum, Arion's landing-point, where he dedicates a statue of a dolphin-rider; and Methymna on Lesbos, Arion's birthplace, whose coinage associates Arion with Apollo and where another dolphin-riding figure, Enalos, appears in the same context as an Apollonian figure named Smintheus. Moreover, we have seen that Apollo himself as a dolphin-rider is mythically associated with Miletus, site of an ancient cult of Apollo *Delphinios* (page 62 above). These geographical locations suggest that the dolphin-riding motif, of which Herodotus' Arion is a supreme manifestation, may be seen to embody important nodal points in a maritime network involving West Greek colonies, mainland Greece, and East Greek colonies.[99]

(*Erechtheus*), Praxithea says that cities with non-autochthonous populations, "are founded as it were through board-game moves [πεσσῶν ὁμοίως διαφοραῖς ἐκτισμέναι], different ones imported from different places" (trans. Collard and Cropp 2008: vol. 1, 377); *pace* Purcell (1990:55), Praxithea's comparison of cities to *pessoi* pieces does not evoke "the quintessence of the random," since *pessoi* required either strategic skill alone or a combination of strategy and luck. On the above passages, and on the game called πόλεις, see further Austin 1940:263–266; Kurke 1999a:255–256, 259–260 ≈ 1999b:260–262, 268–269.

[98] Kurke 1999a:265 ≈ 1999b:296.

[99] Cf. also Kowalzig 2013, who dwells particularly on the associations of maritime trade networks with Dionysus, the dithyramb, and Arion as emblematic practitioner of the dithyramb.

Apollo's maritime associations are well known. They are evidenced in a number of his cultic epithets: he was "the Islander" (Νασιώτας) in Locris;[100] he was "of the Coast" (Ἀκταῖος, Ἄκτιος) in Mysia (Parion), Acarnania (Actium) and elsewhere;[101] and he was also the god of Embarkation (Ἐμβάσιος) and Disembarkation (Ἐκβάσιος, Ἐπιβατήριος).[102] As Farnell observed, Apollo's association with seafaring "probably arose from his prominence as the deity of overseas migration and settlement, whom the emigrants would bear with them as their patron and the protector of their voyage."[103] The connection with overseas migration—and with the concomitant creation of maritime networks—is particularly prominent in the case of Apollo *Delphinios*, which is what the god was worshipped as in several coastal or maritime areas, including Chalkis, Athens, Aegina, Thera, Chios, and Crete, as well as Miletus and its colony Olbia (pages 66–67 above).[104] Prototypically, in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, as we saw, the god disembarks, together with his crew of Cretan seamen, on the shore of Crisa, where he instructs his crew to perform a sacrifice to himself in his hypostasis as Apollo *Delphinios* (*Hom. Hymn Ap.* 490–496; cf. page 56 above). This narrative, as Malkin has shown, enshrines the moment of arrival at a new colony, including the sacrifice prior to foundation.[105] Of particular interest in this connection is the shrine of Apollo *Delphinios* at the Phocaean colony of Massalia—a shrine which, according to Strabo 4.1.4, was "common to all Ionians" (κοινὸν τῶν

[100] *IG* IX.1² 3:721 C.1, 4, 6; 740, 37.

[101] Farnell 1907:145, 368–369n37a–d.

[102] Ap. Rhod. 1.404, 966; Paus. 2.32.2; Farnell 1907:145, 368nn35–36, 369n38.

[103] Farnell 1907:148.

[104] Farnell 1907:145–148, 367–368n34a–l; Malkin 2011:176–177. For inconclusive evidence suggesting perhaps that Miletus, from an early date, controlled a number of off-shore islands, which may have been dedicated to Apollo, see Constantakopoulou 2007:228–231.

[105] See Malkin 2000; cf. Malkin 2011:176. On the importance of Delphic Apollo in Greek colonizing missions see Forrest 1957, who concludes that Delphi grew in prominence as a result of its increasingly consequential role in endorsing colonizing missions; cf. Defradas 1972:233–257; Malkin 1987:17–91, 1989:132–136. On a comparable situation at Miletus, where the oracle of Apollo *Didymeus* sanctioned the city's colonizing activities (which often included the transfer of the cult of Apollo *Delphinios* to the colonies), see Herda 2008:25–39, 51–61; 2011:77–81; 2016:17–27.

Ἰώνων ἀπάντων). In point of fact, the shrine never became a Panionian one, which means that the Strabo passage is probably a statement of what the shrine of Apollo *Delphinios* was intended to be rather than of what it actually was.[106] Still, it is surely significant that the Phocaeans' ambition to turn the new colony of Massalia into a Panionian focal point crystallized, specifically, around Apollo *Delphinios.* Apart from the obvious symbolism of the "Dolphin god" as a heartening sight to seafarers and as a numinous force capable of linking the furthermost parts of the Mediterranean Sea, the cult of Apollo *Delphinios* had, in many areas of the Greek world (Miletus, Athens, Crete), a special connection with citizenship and state administration, including the induction of ephebes into the citizen body and the keeping of official state documents.[107] Particularly in Miletus, the association of the Molpoi, sacred officials under the patronage of Apollo *Delphinios*, seems to have had political functions as well as religious ones.[108] That those officials bore the name of Molpoi, or "Singers,"[109] suggests yet another link between the Milesian cult of Apollo *Delphinios* and the story of the singer Arion in Herodotus. Indeed, the rites of the Molpoi, as specified in a famous inscription containing ritual regulations, included choral performances of the paean, a typically Apollonian genre of song-and-dance, although it is not entirely clear what the role of the Molpoi in those performances was.[110]

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[106] Thus Malkin 2011:175–176.

[107] See F. Graf 1979:7–19; Gorman 2001:169–171.

[108] For the political and religious functions of the Molpoi and their chief official, the *aisymnetes*, see Herda 2005:247–250; 2006:31–35; 2008:16, 17; 2011:58–65; 2016:37–54. By contrast, Gorman 2001:94–101 argues that the Molpoi had no broad political powers, although they did decide questions related to dubious citizenship claims (ἐν Μολποῖς ἔνστασις). This is unconvincing: as Parker (2008:178) remarks, "one cannot ... dismiss as politically insignificant a body that still in the Hellenistic period adjudicated cases concerning citizenship."

[109] Or "singers-and-dancers," as suggested by Herda 2011:62; cf. Herda 2006:105–106.

[110] *Milet* I 3, 133, lines 8 (παιωνίσωσιν), 12 (παιὼν γίνεται), 13 (παιωνιζέτω), 28 (παιωνίζεται). For the paean as a typically Apollonian genre see, e.g., Rutherford 2001:10–17, 21, 23–36, 41, 75, 85–86. For paeans in the context of rites to Apollo (and Asclepius) cf. *IEry* 205.34–37, 52, 55 etc. At the celebrations of the Molpoi in Miletus, a designated "singer" (ᾠδός) seems to have been introduced sometime after the mid-fourth century BCE. But whether the ᾠδός was a *kitharoidos* (which would provide a welcome but wholly

VIII. HERODOTUS AND THE PANIONIAN DISCOURSE

As we saw in previous sections, the Arion tale in Herodotus is woven into a nexus of themes involving Delphi, Apollo *Delphinios*, political consolidation, maritime mobility and networks, and the sea as an agent of salvation (for the endangered Arion, the besieged Miletus, and the starving Lydians).[111] At first sight, this conjunction of seemingly disparate themes may look like a fortuitous assortment of no particular significance. But all of the above elements are present in a notion of central importance in the political *imaginaire* of early classical Greeks: the notion of political integration through migration. As Irad Malkin has observed, apropos of the cult of Apollo *Delphinios* in Massalia and elsewhere, it appears that already in the early sixth century, but more energetically around the late sixth and early fifth, the idea of Panionian integration featured prominently in Greek political discourse.[112] According to Herodotus (1.170), at the time of Harpagus' conquest of the Ionian cities of Asia Minor (545 BCE), and after the citizens of Phocaea and Teos had chosen to emigrate to the West in order to avoid subjugation to foreign rule (cf. 1.163–168), delegates from the remaining Ionian cities gathered at the Panionian sanctuary in Mycale to discuss the situation. In that meeting, Bias of Priene made a proposal "most useful to the Ionians, which, had it been accepted, would have ensured for them the greatest prosperity among all Greeks" (1.170.1). Herodotus reports Bias' proposal as follows (1.170.2):

> He urged the Ionians to undertake a joint voyage to
> Sardinia, there to found a city common to all Ionians; in
> this way, he said, they would prosper, free from slavery,

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uncertain point of contact with Arion) and whether (and how) he was involved in the performances of the paean remains uncertain; one should be wary of the excessive assurance with which the matter is treated by Herda (e.g., 2006:55, 80, 103–112, 420–424; 2011:63–65); see in general Chaniotis' (2010) caveats.

[111] Delphi: sections III and V above; Apollo *Delphinios*: pages 56–57, 66–67 and section VII above; political consolidation: pages 81–82 above (and see further in this section); maritime mobility and networks: section VII above; the sea ensuring salvation: page 68 (Arion), pages 64–65, 68 (Miletus), pages 78–80 (Lydians).

[112] Malkin 2011:177–182.

inhabiting the greatest of all islands, and lording it over
others; but if they remained in Ionia, he said he could
foresee no more freedom for them.

One of the implications of Bias' proposal must have been that
the Ionians should take advantage of their superior seamanship. The
same Bias—according to one version of a story reported by Herodotus
(1.27.2–5)—had previously deterred Croesus from his plan to build a
fleet and attack the Greek islands off the coast of Asia Minor by arguing
that the Lydian forces, though much superior at land warfare, would be
entirely ineffectual at a sea-battle against experienced mariners such
as the Greek islanders. Now, Herodotus adds that Bias' proposal for a
Panionian enterprise had been anticipated by Thales of Miletus at a
time when the Ionian cities of Asia Minor had not yet been conquered
by Harpagus. Thales' proposal, which Herodotus reports with approval,
was that the Ionian cities should establish a single *bouleutērion*, or
council chamber, common to all Ionians, at Teos, the geographical
center of Ionia.[113] Such a political development would require that the
Ionian cities abolish their individual deliberative bodies and surrender
their political autonomy in exchange for a centralized government:
in Thales' diplomatic phraseology, "the rest of the inhabited (Ionian)
cities should henceforth be considered as no less than demes"—which
is to say, no *more* than mere demes, or communes (1.170.3).

Similar discussions were, it seems, in the air throughout the late
sixth and early fifth centuries, even after the Greek victory over the
Persians. In most cases, such plans involved the mass migration of the
Ionians of Asia Minor to regions in South Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, and
elsewhere. Such scenarios are repeatedly mentioned by Herodotus as

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[113] Cf. Hdt. 1.170.3 Τέων γὰρ μέσον εἶναι Ἰωνίης. It has been argued by Herda
(2012/2018:23) that Thales' proposal was made in 546 BCE, at a time when Harpagus had
already started his campaign that led to the subjugation of the Ionian cities; this is indeed
compatible with Herodotus' phraseology at 1.170.3: his πρὶν ἢ διαφθαρῆναι Ἰωνίην
("before the loss of Ionia") may mean "before the conquest of Ionia by Harpagus had
been accomplished." Herda also observes (2012/2018:23, 45 Fig. 4) that the true geograph-
ical center of Ionia is not Teos but Lebedos (some 18 km to the southeast), but the latter,
having lost its political significance to its neighboring cities of Colophon and Teos, would
not recommend itself as a Panionian political center.

safety valves for the oppressed, threatened, or defeated Ionian popula-
tions of Asia Minor.[114] For instance, the Phocaeans, who were in imme-
diate danger from Harpagus, were offered by Arganthonios, the king of
Tartessos in the Iberian Peninsula, the opportunity to settle there (Hdt.
1.163); eventually, they plumped for Alalia (mod. Aleria) in Corsica
but were later forced to move to Rhegium (1.165–166), and later still
to Velia in South Italy (1.167.2).[115] Fleeing before the same threat, the
inhabitants of Teos founded the colony of Abdera in Thrace (Hdt. 1.168).
In order to escape conquest by the Lydians, the Colophonians fled to
Siris in South Italy, which they wrested from its previous inhabitants
and renamed Polieion (Strabo 6.1.14).[116] Intimidated by the irresistible
spread of Persian might, Aristagoras, like Bias before him (cf. pages
83–84 above), suggested that the Milesians remove themselves to
Sardinia (Hdt. 5.124.2); and on the same occasion, Hecataeus proposed
the island of Leros as a place of refuge for the defeated Milesians
(5.125).[117] After the crushing Persian victory at the naval battle of Lade
(494 BCE), the inhabitants of Zancle urged the defeated Ionians to settle
at Kalē Aktē in Sicily—a proposal accepted only by the Samians, who
actually went on to conquer Zancle itself at the instigation of Anaxilas,
the tyrant of Rhegium (Hdt. 6.22.2). In the heated debate preceding the
Battle of Salamis (480 BCE), Themistocles warned Eurybiades that, if he
refused to engage in naval battle, the Athenians would emigrate to Siris
in South Italy (Hdt. 8.62).[118] And even at the moment of Greek triumph

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[114] On overseas migration as a safety valve against Lydian (and later Persian) aggres-
sion, see Malkin 2011:174–175 (with the bibliography cited in his n6).

[115] See Malkin 2011:174.

[116] Strabo speaks of "Ionians" in general, but Athenaeus (12.523C) quotes Aristotle
(fr. 584 Rose³) and Timaeus (*FGrH* 566 F 51) as stating that the settlers were specifically
Colophonians. See Malkin 2011:174, 178.

[117] On Sardinia and Leros as potential places of refuge, see Constantakopoulou
2007:121–122, who notes especially that islands often appear in Herodotus "as secure
places, even when they were never used as such" (121).

[118] A little earlier in the same year, oracle-mongers were already advising the Athenians
"to abandon Attica and settle in some other land": Hdt. 7.143.3; cf. Payen 2010:595 with
n24. As Payen (2010:608–609) points out, Themistocles' warning of a possible Athenian
emigration to Siris encapsulates the basic themes of a *ktisis*-narrative: oracular incitement,
a crisis that forces a population to migrate, the importance of the founder figure (here
Themistocles), and the (here prospective) sea voyage towards one of the principal areas of
colonization.

after the Persian defeat at Mycale, an assembly of the victorious Greeks at Samos considered the possibility of evacuating the Ionians from Asia Minor and relocating them *en masse* to some unspecified place under Greek control, because it was deemed impossible to continue protecting them against the Persian threat (Hdt. 9.106.2).[119]

In the context of these Panionian projects, it was understood that mass migration and the subsequent foundation of new colonies "could result in the political and ethnic homogenization of the discrete Ionian poleis."[120] Relocating to a far-off settlement involved, for the Ionian Greeks, a redefinition of identities mainly through the erasure of previous ethnic or political differences and their amalgamation into new collective roles and configurations. Such new forms of Greek communal living positioned themselves as new nodes in the existing networks of the western Mediterranean, which they helped expand as well as consolidate. The role of Apollo in establishing and cementing these new network nodes would have been particularly familiar to Herodotus himself as a resident of the newly founded colony of Thurii on the Tarentine Gulf. As will be seen in some detail below (pages 87–88), Thurii was founded upon instructions by the oracle of Delphi, and its settlers came from all over Greece. However, we know from Diodorus Siculus that as early as 434/3 BCE, that is, at a maximum of 13 years after its foundation,[121] Thurii was confronted with a major crisis, when a dispute broke out among the different ethnic groups that had

[119] Flower and Marincola 2002:286–287 (*ad* Hdt. 9.106.2–4) argue that Herodotus' implication is that "a move to Sardinia and an existence as islanders would have brought prosperity and happiness to the Ionians," whereas now the Ionians were under the ruthless dominion of Athens; indeed, it was the Athenians themselves who had opposed the proposal to remove the Ionians from Asia Minor.

[120] Quotation from Malkin 2011:179. In a similar vein, Purcell (1990:56) points out that the fissiparous tendencies of long-distance mobility are moderated or even neutralized by the encouragement of cultural homogeneity over wide distances, which results in broader structures of social interaction. One recalls here that surrender of political autonomy would have been one of the consequences of establishing a Panionian *bouleutērion* at Teos, as Thales had proposed (page 84 above).

[121] The date of the foundation of Thurii is given in ancient sources as either 446/5 or 444/3 BCE; on the question see, e.g., Ehrenberg 1948; Rutter 1973; cf. Kagan 1969:156.

colonized the city.[122] The dispute arose from a disagreement over which of the many cities that had sent settlers to Thurii should be considered the founding city, and which person its founder. The dispute was settled by the Delphic oracle, which decreed that *Apollo himself* should be considered the founder of Thurii (ὁ θεὸς ἔχρησεν αὐτὸν δεῖν κτίστην νομίζεσθαι ... τὸν Ἀπόλλω κτίστην τῶν Θουρίων ἀπέδειξαν). In this way, Diodorus concludes, the people were set free from factious discord, and the former condition of concord was restored (τὸ πλῆθος τῆς στάσεως ἀπολυθὲν εἰς τὴν προϋπάρχουσαν ὁμόνοιαν ἀποκατέστη). Once again, Apollo emerges as a force of political homogenization in the context of Greek overseas migration and settlement.

IX. EPILOGUE

In tandem with the Thurii project, Athens was also continuing its more traditional colonization policies. In the 440s, the decade in which Thurii was founded, Athens also sent colonies or cleruchies to Brea, Chalcis, the Chersonese, Colophon, Eretria, Erythrae, Hestiaea, Imbros, Naxos, and elsewhere.[123] Such settlements seem to have served the standard colonialist aims of consolidating Athenian imperial control and offloading surplus population. By contrast, Thurii, as intimated above, was a programmatically Panhellenic colony. Its foundation had been sanctioned by the oracle of Delphi, and its settlers came from all over Greece, rather than from a single metropolis; indeed, the colony's ten tribes were named after the many Greek regions that had contributed

[122] Diod. Sic. 12.35.1–3. There are problems with Diodorus' chronology, which do not affect my argument. While he states that the events took place when Crates (Κράτητος Böckh : Χάρητος MSS.) was archon in Athens (434/3), Diodorus erroneously synchronizes Crates' archonship with the consulships of C. Furius Pacilus Fusus and M. Papirius Crassus, which actually belong seven years earlier (441 BCE). On Diodorus' erroneous correlations of correct archonships with consular appointments that actually belong six or seven years earlier, see Green 2006:11, 49n2, 232n186. In this particular case, Diodorus' error is further compounded by his seeming synchronization (12.35.4) of the internal conflict of 434/3 at Thurii with the death of the Spartan king Archidamus, which occurred some seven years *later* (427 BCE).

[123] See, e.g., Meritt, Wade-Gery, and McGregor 1950:275–300; Graham 1964:166–210.

settlers.[124] Moreover, Athens had a key role in soliciting colonists for Thurii from the Peloponnese and other parts of Greece, possibly (as Donald Kagan has argued) in an effort to assuage Peloponnesian fears of Athenian imperialist ambitions in Magna Graecia and to demonstrate its willingness to pursue a policy of peaceful Panhellenism.[125]

As discussed above (pages 83–86), the decades around the late sixth and early fifth centuries seem to have been alive with dreams of overseas migration, and of the consequent political amalgamation, as a viable means of neutralizing external threats, overriding factionalism among city-states, and ensuring collective salvation and prosperity at the acceptable expense of political autonomy. As we have also seen, the idea of an Athenian migration to South Italy was in the air as late as 480 BCE (page 85 above). Such ideas may well have gained new momentum in light of the antagonism between the Athenian and Peloponnesian Leagues that culminated in the Peloponnesian War, but also in light of the inherent instability of the hegemonic model on which such leagues were based (a prominent example here is the unrest in Euboea, which led to Athenian military intervention in 447/6 BCE). It is in this context, I submit, that we must place the Arion story in Herodotus. Far from being the charming but only tangentially relevant vignette it is usually taken for, the tale is in fact highly relevant and centrally important to the Lydian *logos*. Indeed, it turns out to be a major nodal point in a subtle network of thematic associations, in which a dominant role is played by a conjunction of pivotal factors: devotion to Apollo, the god of maritime endeavors and of political consolidation; repudiation of monetary wealth (especially when acquired through trade); and the sea as an agent of salvation by means of overseas migration, especially for the oppressed, threatened, or defeated Ionian populations of Asia Minor—but also, implicitly, for the cities of mainland Greece. In particular, the central role of Apollo, evoked through his hypostasis as the "Dolphin god" and through Arion's performance of the Apollonian *Orthios Nomos*, underlines the god's agency not only in creating maritime networks, or in presiding

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[124] See Diod. Sic. 12.10.5 and 12.11.3 respectively. For the Panhellenic character of Thurii, see Kagan 1969:154–169 and 2003:20–22.

[125] Kagan 1969:158, 164–165, 168–169.

over and protecting salutary overseas mobility, but also in militating against excessive reliance on the accumulation of wealth as an end in itself. As is shown repeatedly in the case of Lydian rulers and of the Lydian people in general, the exclusive pursuit of money-making activities proves unconducive to salvation and prosperity, just as it nearly causes Arion's ruin.

Money, of course, is not an exclusively monarchic or Lydian preserve, even though it may be particularly associated with either category of people. In the world of the Greek *polis*, money, in particular coined money, becomes a tangible symbol of the autonomous identity of its issuing authority, which is the city-state. It represents "the state's assertion of its ultimate authority to constitute and regulate value in all the spheres in which general-purpose money operated simultaneously—economic, social, political, and religious."[126] In view of the preceding analysis (section VIII) of overseas colonization as an agent of political coalescence, the negative function of money in Herodotus' Lydian *logos* may exemplify a revisionist attitude towards the Greek ideal of political autonomy in favor of a more integrative approach.[127] Typically, as we have seen, ventures of maritime mobility leading to the establishment of amalgamated political communities are placed under the tutelage of Apollo (especially of Apollo *Delphinios*, as in the case of Massalia, see pages 81–82 above)—the god who embodies, in the Herodotean stories of Arion and Croesus, the very antithesis of the pursuit of monetary wealth as an end in itself. The Arion story precisely encapsulates this movement from the autonomous isolation symbolized by money-making towards salutary political integration under the aegis of Apollo.

<div align="right">Open University of Cyprus</div>

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[126] Quotation from Kurke 1999b:12. For coined money as an assertion of sovereignty on the part of the *polis*, see further Kurke 1999b:3–23, building on insights by Kraay, Price, von Reden, Morris, and others.

[127] Admittedly, it is primarily as *coinage* that money fully expresses the autonomous identity of the *polis*, and there is no explicit mention of coinage in Herodotus' tales concerning Arion, the siege of Miletus, or Croesus. Still, Herodotus' work was composed for audiences living in fully monetized societies, for whom coined money as a token of *polis* identity would have been taken for granted.

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