Linguistic Colonialism in Aeschylus' *Aetnaeae*

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NEW DIRECTIONS in Shakespearean scholarship have complicated our understanding of the relationship between the plays of Shakespeare and important historical events of the seventeenth century, such as colonization of the New World, and the results are dramatic. Interpretations of *The Tempest,* for example, which once focused on Prospero as the consummate artist (a stand-in perhaps for the bard) in final celebration of the power and glory of great literature and the English empire, have now taken a darker, more sinister turn: Prospero, master of the theater, becomes a problematic force of imperialism; Ariel nearly disappears from sight as Caliban, the 'noble savage', representing the indigenous populations sacrificed for the sake of imperial expansion, usurps the critical spotlight.

Many of these 'new historical' readings of *The Tempest* find an ambivalent attitude toward colonization embedded in the play, connecting it to the critical rôle that language plays in the establishment of empire. In support of this view, Stephen Greenblatt, for example, describes Queen Isabella's puzzled reaction to the first modern European grammar:

> In 1492, in the introduction to his *Gramática*, the first grammar of a modern European tongue, Antonio de Nebrija writes that language has always been the partner ("compañera") of empire. And in the ceremonial presentation of the volume to Queen Isabella, the bishop of Avila, speaking on the scholar's behalf, claimed a still more central role for language. When the queen asked flatly, "What is it for?" the bishop replied, "Your Majesty, language is the perfect instrument of empire."[1]

Greenblatt argues that language is more than just an important tool of imperialism: "its expansion is virtually the goal of the whole enterprise."[2] Colonization is not limited to transplanting populations and building cities on foreign land; it includes supplanting native speech as well. For language, *i.e.*, the language of the colonist, is the sign of culture and civilization. Confrontation with foreign peoples speaking a different tongue demands strategies for dealing with such linguistic and cultural conflict. One approach denies the very existence of the native language—wild and savage natives cannot communicate at all. Another strategy is translation: the indigenous populations do not speak an absolutely different language; it is merely a matter of translating their words into those familiar to the colonists. This ostensibly innocent act of translation, however, represents a concomitant transfer of power. Giving something a name stakes out one's ownership—it is a kind of colonization.

These issues of linguistic colonialism and cultural translation—the relationships between colonists and native populations and the rôle that language plays in defining and authorizing those relationships—are equally relevant to discussions of Greek literature at the time of western colonization. Hieron, tyrant of Syracuse, founded the city of Aetna in 476/5, and in celebration of that foundation, Aeschylus composed a tragedy, the *Aetnaeae*, "to be an omen of good life for the settlers of the city."[3] Previous discussions of a fragment of the *Aetnaeae* have focused primarily on literary questions about the content of the play or its possible connection to other Aeschylean dramas,[4] but it can also be read for the rhetorical strategies and political concerns of the colonial movement it celebrates. Not unlike

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[2] Greenblatt (*supra* n.1) 562. In this context he cites a passage from Samuel Daniel's *Musophilus* (1599):

> And who in time knowes whither we may vent
> The treasure of our tongue, to what strange shores
> This gaine of our best glorie shal be sent,
> T'inrich vnknowing Nations with our stores?
> What worlds in th'yet vnformed Occident
> May come refin'd with th'accents that are ours?

[3] *Vita* 9=*TrGF* III 34 Radt: ἐλθὼν (*sc.* Aeschylus) τοίνυν εἰς Σικελίαν Ἱέρωνος τότε τὴν Αἴτνην κτίζοντος ἐπεδείξατο τὰς Αἴτνας οἰωνιζόμενος βίον ἀγαθὸν τοῖς συνοικίζουσι τὴν πόλιν.

[4] *E.g.* E. Fraenkel, "Vermutungen zum Aetna-Festspiel des Aeschylus," *Eranos* 52 (1954) 61–75; H. Lloyd-Jones, *The Justice of Zeus*[2] (Berkeley 1983) 99–103.

recent treatment of *The Tempest*, this approach will show close
ties between language and empire, for Aeschylus incorporates
into the genre of Greek tragedy certain poetic strategies, such as
the bilingual etymological pun, which translate the native culture
into the language of the colonist.

The fragment, an excerpt from a dialogue in stichomythia, is
preserved in Macrobius' commentary on *Aen.* 9.581 (*Sat.* 5.19.24
=Aesch. fr.6 Radt):

> A. τί δῆτ' ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὄνομα θήσονται βροτοί;
> B. σεμνοὺς Παλικοὺς Ζεὺς ἐφίεται καλεῖν.
> A. ἦ καὶ Παλικῶν εὐλόγως μένει φάτις;
> B. πάλιν γὰρ ἵκουσ' ἐκ σκότου τόδ' εἰς φάος.[5]

Before quoting these lines, Macrobius explains that the Palikoi
are local gods worshipped in Sicily and that Aeschylus, the tragic
poet, practically Sicilian himself, first gave an etymological
interpretation of their name in his verses.[6] He prefaces the
quotation with a brief history of the Palikoi:

> In Sicily there is a river Symaethus next to which the nymph,
> Thalia, was made pregnant by Zeus. Afraid of Hera, she asked
> that the earth swallow her up, and it did. But when it came
> time for those whom she had carried in her womb to be
> born, the earth opened up and the two children born from
> the womb of Thalia came forth. They were called Palikoi
> from "ἀπὸ τοῦ πάλιν ἱκέσθαι" since after first being plunged
> into the earth, they returned from it again.[7]

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[5] "A. What name then will mortals give to them?
   B. Zeus bids (us) to call them the holy Palikoi.
   A. And does the name of the Palikoi remain well chosen?
   B. Yes, for they have returned from the darkness into the light."

[6] On Aeschylus' 'Sicilian connection', see C. J. Herington, "Aeschylus in
Sicily," *JHS* 87 (1967) 74–85; Q. Cataudella, "Eschilo in Sicilia," *Dioniso* 37
(1963) 5–24; W. B. Stanford, "Traces of Sicilian Influence in Aeschylus,"
ProcRIrishAc 44 SECT. C (1937–38) 229–40. For a more skeptical view of our
ability to judge the Sicilian influence on Aeschylus' language see M. Griffith,
"Aeschylus, Sicily, and Prometheus," in *Dionysiaca* (Cambridge 1978) 104–39.

[7] Macrob. *Sat.* 5.19.24: *In Sicilia Symaethus fluvius est. iuxta hunc nympha
Thalia conpressu Iovis gravida metu Iononis optavit, ut sibi terra dehisceret.
factum est. sed ubi venit tempus maturitatis infantum, quos alvo illa gestaverat,
reclusa terra est et duo infantes de alvo Thaliae progressi emerserunt
appellatique sunt "Palici" ἀπὸ τοῦ "πάλιν ἱκέσθαι," quoniam prius in terram
mersi denuo inde reversi sunt.*

Servius, on the same passage, tells a similar story, but names the nymph Aetna; Stephanus of Byzantium says that Aetna is the daughter of Hephaestus.[8]

For Diodorus Siculus (11.89) the Palikoi were Sicel gods, twin brothers, whose chthonic cult was located next to volcanic springs. According to myth this sacred area surpassed all others in antiquity and in reverence; the local populations considered the twin gods autochthonous deities.[9] Diodorus vividly describes the "craters" emitting extraordinary streams of hot, sulfurous water from bottomless depths, sending forth a mighty and terrifying roar. The mysterious ambience of the sanctuary probably contributed to its several important rôles in Sicel life.[10] First, solemn oaths were sworn at the craters near the sanctuary, since a powerful divine presence there punished perjurers immediately; certain men were blinded.[11] The Palikoi sanctuary also provided an asylum for maltreated fugitive slaves; their brutal masters had no power to remove them by force (Diod. 11.89.6ff). Third, the site functioned as an oracle. According to Macrobius (*Sat.* 5.19.30), when Sicily was suffering a poor harvest, the oracle of the Palikoi directed a sacrifice to the hero Pediocrates, and subsequently the fields became fertile again. The important rôles of the sanctuary in the mid-fifth-century national movement under Ducetius and in the second Sicilian slave rebellion attest the cult of the Palikoi as a significant national center of worship for the indigenous Sicels.[12] Ducetius founded the city of Palike near the sacred precinct of the twin gods (Diod. 11.88.6).

Archaeological evidence confirms the ancient testimonia that an important Sicel cult of the Palikoi as twin gods was located in

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[8] Serv. *in Aen.* 9.581 (=127f Radt); Steph. Byz. 496.7 Meineke (=F 7 Radt). He traces this genealogy to Aeschylus and this play, also noting that Silenus in his *Sikelika* makes Aetna the daughter of an Oceanid and Hephaestus.

[9] Polemon *ap.* Macrob. *Sat.* 5.19.26: οἱ δὲ Παλικοὶ προσαγορευόμενοι παρὰ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις αὐτόχθονες θεοὶ νομίζονται.

[10] For general discussions of the Palikoi sanctuary and its religious functions see J. H. Croon, "The Palici. An Autochthonous Cult in Ancient Sicily," *Mnemosyne* SER. 4 5 (1952) 116–29, and E. A. Freeman, *History of Sicily* (Oxford 1891) I 166–69, 517–30; a comprehensive discussion of all aspects of the Palikoi can be found in K. Ziegler, "Palikoi," *RE* 16.3 (1949) 100–23.

[11] Diod. 11.89.5; *cf.* Macrob. *Sat.* 5.19.20f; Polemon *ap.* Macrob. 5.19.28ff.

[12] Diod. 11.88.6 (Ducetius), 36.3.3 (slave rebellion).

the region of Palagonia in central Sicly.[13] The Laghetto di Naftia has been identified as the "lake of the Palikoi," the ancient volcanic craters of Diodorus. North of the lake, a small hill has yielded polygonal structures overlooking the lake—perhaps fortifications—and an archaic acropolis that antedates Ducetius' fifth-century foundation. Pottery suggests occupation from the end of the Bronze Age. Steps cut into the hill connect the summit with a large cave at the foot, and at the mouth of the cave lie the foundations of a rectangular structure believed to be the sanctuary.

The Palikoi, then, were important, autochthonous Sicilian gods; their cult was located in a Sicel stronghold that extended throughout central Sicily. Clearly, as Macrobius indicated, Aeschylus in the *Aetnaeae* provides a Greek etymology for the Sicilian name of the twin deities, the Palikoi. Croon (*supra* n.10: 119) dismisses this etymology as "merely an aetiological story to explain the name Palici which they [the Greeks] derived wrongly 'ἀπὸ τοῦ πάλιν ἱκέσθαι'." Precisely for this reason, however—*because* it is an aetiological etymology—the fragment deserves futher comment. The 'fictional' element of aetiologies like this one can illuminate how the Greeks constructed their reality of overseas colonization.[14] The technique of providing a Greek etymology for elements of local topography or cult is quite common in archaic Greek colonial discourse. Colonial traditions, especially those incorporating the ambiguous and enigmatic language of the Delphic oracle, often build the ambiguity of bilingual puns into their vision of founding a new city.

Delphic oracles appear in many colonial narratives and often use puns and riddles to describe the colonial process.[15] One of the founding traditions of Tarentum, for example, describes the colony's foundation as a reward for the correct interpretation of

[13] P. Pelagatti, "Sanctuario dei Palici," *BdA* 51 (1966) 106f; G. V. Gentili, "Cinturone eneo con dedica da Paliké," *RM* 69 (1962) 14; A. Messina in *PECS* s.v. "Paliké," 666f.

[14] On 'fictionality' and historical narratives see N. Z. Davis, *Fiction in the Archives* (Stanford 1987) 3f; H. White, "The Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality," in W. J. T. Mitchell, ed., *On Narrative* (Chicago 1981) 23.

[15] For collections of colonial oracles and discussions of their historical credibility see A. S. Pease, "Notes on the Delphic Oracle and Greek Colonization," *CP* 12 (1917) 1–10; H. W. Parke and D. E. W. Wormell, *The Delphic Oracle* (Oxford 1956) I 49–81; J. Fontenrose, *The Delphic Oracle* (Berkeley 1978) 137–44; I. Malkin, *Religion and Colonization* (Leiden 1987) 17–91.

a puzzling Delphic oracle: Phalanthus is told that he will found a colony "when rain falls from the clear blue sky (αἴθρα)." After much frustration, the riddle is finally solved when Phalanthus lays his head in his wife's lap. She consoles her husband while picking lice from his hair, but she, too, is sad and begins to cry. Phalanthus then interprets the rain of the oracle as his wife's tears; her name is Aithra (Paus. 10.10.6).

The broader context of how a society establishes and mediates its conceptual categories facilitates understanding how colonial riddles and etymological puns describe colonization, for the success of a riddle depends upon its ability to manipulate a given culture's classification system.[16] A riddle consists of two opposing elements; these elements then are resolved through a third ambivalent term that simultaneously belongs to both categories and thus provides a transition between them. The mediating term often takes the form of a pun as in Tarentum's colonial tale: the name of Phalanthus' wife, Aithra, allows rain to fall from the clear blue sky (αἴθρα). Riddles contain the potential for reconciling contradictory categories within a single culture (such as rain and clear blue sky), but they can also be extremely useful in cases of cross-cultural contact: they translate new and unfamiliar elements from one cultural system to another. Thus riddles associated with archaic colonization can be approached on these terms as a way of appreciating the points of cultural contact that emerge from the act of overseas settlement and that are negotiated through tales of colonization.

Puns, especially those contained in colonial riddles, are in the Greek mind primarily a game of etymology, and foundation traditions use etymological puns to explain the names of colonies. The puzzle of a pun temporarily obscures the correct meaning of a word or name, and appreciating the word play depends on the ability to see the straight or true meaning of a word

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[16] See I. Hamnett, "Ambiguity, Classification and Change: The Function of Riddles," *Man* 2 (1967) 379–92, who suggests (379) that "riddles and riddling may illuminate some of the principles that underlie classification in social action and cognition generally and can, in particular, indicate the role that ambiguities play in the classificatory process." See also N. Barley, "Structural Aspects of the Anglo-Saxon Riddle," *Semiotica* 10 (1974) 143–75; T. R. Williams, "The Form and Function of Tambunan Dusun Riddles," *Journal of American Folklore* 76 (1963) 95–110; R. A. Georges and A. Dundes, "Toward a Structural Definition of the Riddle," *Journal of American Folklore* 76 (1963) 111–18.

or name.[17] Both etymologies and puns bring together two distinctly different but similar-sounding words and then invest this arbitrary surface connection with significant meaning.[18] Pierre Guiraud dubs this etymological theorizing—traditionally called 'folk etymology'—"rétromotivation," and states that a folk etymology first establishes a connection between two words before inventing a narrative situation to explain it.[19] He suggests that under normal circumstances, an object precedes its name, and the nature of that object then determines its name. A man who collects stamps, for example, is called a stamp collector; a tool for erasing pencil marks is an eraser. But, as will be shown in some colonial traditions, this order is obviously reversed: in folk etymologies the name precedes the story invented to explain it. The great advantage of this retromotivation is the ability to control the story, to create reality instead of merely recording it.

Before returning to the Aeschylus fragment, let us look at other examples of retromotivation in Greek colonial traditions. In one account of the settlement of Gela, two brothers Antiphemus and Lacius consulted the Delphic oracle, who told Lacius to sail to the sunrise. His brother Antiphemus laughed at this response, but he was then told to found a city where the sun sets and call it Gela. The story obviously derives the name Gela from the Greek verb γελάω.[20] Thucydides (6.4.3) supports a suspicion that the name Gela is not Greek but rather part of the local language: the city derived its name from the local name of the river beside which it was founded.

Diodorus (12.10.5) provides another bilingual pun in the founding tradition of Thurii. Apollo tells the colonists to found a city in that place where they live, μέτρῳ ὕδωρ πίνοντες, ἀμετρὶ δὲ μᾶζαν ἔδοντες ("drinking water in measure, eating bread without measure").

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[17] Cf. C. J. Fordyce, "Puns on Names in Greek," CJ 28 (1932) 45, who points out that adverbs of straightness or correctness such as ὀρθῶς and ἐτύμως often are used to signal an etymological pun.

[18] On this similarity between puns and etymologies see D. Attridge, Peculiar Language: Language as Difference from the Renaissance to James Joyce (Ithaca 1988) 108.

[19] P. Guiraud, "Etymologie et ethymologia (Motivation et rétromotivation)," Poétique 11 (1972) 406.

[20] Steph. Byz. s.v. Γέλα; Etym. Magn. 225.1; see also Ar. Ach. 606 for the same pun: τοὺς δ᾽ ἐν Καμαρίνῃ κἀν Γέλᾳ κἀν Καταγέλᾳ.

The oracle remained unclear until the colonists arrived at a spring that the natives called Medimnos; the Greek word μέδιμνος, however, means a unit of measure for grain, and so the solution of the riddle, and consequently the foundation of the colony, depends on discovering a Greek interpretation for a local name.

In both these cases the oracle generates a narrative hellenizing a local place. Colonial legends, creative with language, motivate the essential connections between name and place and describe local objects in Greek terms. Gela may be the local name of the stream beside which the colony was established, but the name also means laughter in Greek. Battus may be a Cyrenean name for king, but as Herodotus says, it also refers to the Greek name of the stuttering leader of that colony.[21] By incorporating ambiguous puns, colonial legends can represent both local and Greek meanings; they privilege the Greek value, however, for it is the knowledge of Greek that solves the puzzle and founds the colony.

In his fragment providing an aetiological etymology for the Palikoi, Aeschylus borrows a rhetorical technique from archaic colonial discourse to celebrate Hieron's fifth-century foundation of a city. Pindar (*Pyth.* 1) also celebrates Hieron and the founding of Aetna, and he too incorporates a bilingual punning etymology in his ode. Praising Hieron's chariot victory at Delphi in 470, Pindar hails Hieron both as victor and founding hero. He must first sing an ode in response to the chariot victory, and second he must discover a song dear to Hieron's son, the king of Aetna, for whom Hieron founded that city (*Pyth.* 1.62–65):

> θέλοντι δὲ Παμφύλου
> καὶ μὰν Ἡρακλειδᾶν ἔκγονοι
> ὄχθαις ὕπο Ταϋγέτου ναίοντες αἰ-
> εὶ μένειν τεθμοῖσιν ἐν Αἰγιμιοῦ
> Δωριεῖς.[22]

The phrase αἰεὶ μένειν ("always to remain") then clearly becomes a verbal play on the name of the local river Amenes (67f):

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[21] Hdt. 4.155, who provides both etymologies for the name Battus.

[22] "The descendants of Pamphylus and the Heracleidae, dwelling beneath the crags of Mt Taygetus, wish *always to remain* Dorians under the constitution of Aegimius."

Ζεῦ τέλει', αἰεὶ δὲ τοιαύταν 'Αμένα παρ' ὕδωρ
αἶσαν ἀστοῖς καὶ βασιλεῦσιν διακρί-
νειν ἔτυμον λόγον ἀνθρώπων.[23]

Pindar translates the river name, Amenes, into Greek as αἰεὶ
μένειν and clearly marks the word play by repeating the adverb
αἰεὶ before the proper noun and especially by referring to the
ἔτυμον λόγον ἀνθρώπων.[24] Pindar's Greek translation for an in-
digenous place name recalls the tradition that derived Gela from
γελάω. His translation of Amenes as "always to remain" has the
added rhetorical advantage of providing a sense of continuity
and long-standing tradition to the new foundation—something
especially important given the tenuous circumstances of the
foundation of Aetna. Diodorus (11.49) says that "Hieron re-
moved the people of Naxos and Catana from their cities and
sent there settlers of his own choosing, having gathered five
thousand from the Peloponnesus and added an equal number of
others from Syracuse; and the name of Catana he changed to
Aetna." In Diodorus a desire for the heroic honors accorded to
city founders after their death motivated Hieron.[25] Founding a
city on such disruptive terms required good public relations. By
steeping *Pyth.* 1 in the language and legends of colonization,
Pindar not only praises Hieron as victor, but elevates him to the
status of a founding hero.

Thus Aeschylus' etymology of the Palikoi becomes not just a
linguistic tour de force but part of a larger system of cultural
appropriation and representation, celebrating and legitimizing
Greek presence in a foreign context. The cult of the Palikoi
played a prominent rôle in Sicel religion, and the process of
founding a Greek city in foreign territory included the appro-
priation of local cult and topography. Local hot springs at Hi-

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[23] "Zeus Accomplisher, determine that for the citizens and the kings there
always be such a portion beside the water of the *Amenes*, according to the true
account of men."

[24] See J. H. Quincey, "Etymologica," *RhMus* 106 (1963) 142–48, for this pun
and a discussion of the terms used to identify etymological word play. *Cf.*
Strab. 5.3.13 on the continuous nature of the Amenanus (*sic*) River.

[25] Colonial founders became civic heroes after death; they were buried in the
agora, and the cult of the founder was celebrated annually with processions
and athletic games. For the literary and archeological evidence for this cult see
Malkin (*supra* n.15) 189–240; for the burial of city founders in the agora see R.
Martin, *Recherches sur l'agora grecque* (Paris 1951) 197–201.

mera, for example, became creations of the nymphs for Heracles' bath after his return from the ends of the earth.[26] In good colonial fashion, the Greeks adapted Sicel legend on the Palikoi to their own mythological family. Besides etymologizing the name, the foundation myth, as Aeschylus supposedly told it, hellenizes local tradition.[27] Separated from their native context as autochthonous deities, the Palikoi became sons of Zeus and a local nymph, Thalia or Aetna, the daughter of Hephaestus. The genealogical details, especially when Greek innovations, are important in specifically relating figures of Greek mythology (Zeus, Hephaestus) to significant local geographical phenomena (the craters of Palikoi, Mt Aetna).

The narrative patterns familiar to Greek mythology also inform this account. In many foundation stories an Olympian god rapes a local nymph, who then gives her name to the new city established by the issue of their intercourse. In *Isthm.* 8.16–23, for example, Pindar says that Zeus lay with the eponymous nymphs of Thebes and Aegina. According to Ion of Chios, Poseidon lay with a nymph whose son becomes the eponymous founder of the island of Chios.[28] This narrative pattern implicitly represents Greek overseas settlement as cultural domination of local powers. The version giving Thalia as the name of the nymph underscores the blooming, reproductive aspect of her rôle in the narrative as the local repository for Zeus' Olympian seed.[29] In *Pyth.* 9 Pindar uses the language of plants and agriculture as a metaphor for the colonial marriage of Apollo and Cyrene. The idea of civilizing or taming the wild, natural ele-

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[26] Diod. 4.23. Heracles in particular figures prominently in Greek legends accounting for local phenomena: see M. Giangiulio, "Greci e non-Greci in Sicilia alla luce dei culti e delle leggende di Eracle," in *Forme di contatto e processi di trasformazione nella società antiche* (=*Atti del convegno di Cortona* [Pisa 1983]) 785–845; J. H. Croon, *The Herdsman of the Dead* (Amsterdam 1952). Freeman (*supra* n.10) 77f, 169–82, suggests that the Greek worship of Demeter and Kore at Enna was based on original Sicel powers of earth and the underworld.

[27] Moreover, as Ziegler points out (*supra* n.10: 118), "Deutlich ist die ganze Geschichte aus der Etymologie 'die Wiederkommenden' herausgesponnen."

[28] Paus. 7.4.8. Other examples include Amymone, whose son by Poseidon was the eponymous founder of Nauplion (Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.1.5; Strab. 8.6.2; Paus. 2.38.2, 4.35.2), and Ascra, who gave her name to the city after an amorous affair with Poseidon (Hegesinus *ap.* Paus. 9.29.1).

[29] *Cf. Ol.* 7, where the foundation of Rhodes is described as the sexual union of Helius and the local nymph Rhodes. The passage is filled with vegetative imagery playing on the pun on Rhodes and rose.

ment belongs to both the institutions of marriage and colonization.[30] Aeschylus in the *Aetnaeae* recounts the founding of Aetna as the marriage of a local nymph and Zeus, and thus the birth of the Palikoi, *i.e.*, the origin of their cult, is predicated upon the Greek settlement of Aetna.

Finally, within the narrative this particular etymology of Palikoi emphasizes the continuity of Greek presence on Sicilian soil. Pindar etymologizes the name of a local river to mean "to remain always," and Aeschylus explains the name of the Palikoi as "those who have returned."[31] Although the violent and disruptive nature of Hieron's foundation of Aetna immediately motivates this emphasis on cultural continuity, the need to establish prior rights to the land and the illusion of continuous Greek settlement appear prominently in colonial myths and legends. By linking the foundation of their city to the labors of Heracles or the Trojan War heroes, the colonists of the archaic period can claim prior rights to the land that they have just settled.[32] In the same way, according to Aeschylus, the Palikoi are no longer Sicilian; they have been repatriated as the sons of Zeus and grandchildren of Hephaestus. Their very name in Greek represents colonization not as an imperial act but as an inevitable return.

The extraordinary number of scene changes in the *Aitnaeae*—five in a papyrus hypothesis[33]—mirrors the movement implicit in representing colonization as a return. These scene-changes, I would argue, move in the same direction as the etymological pun on the Palikoi: both emphasize the progres-

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[30] On the equation between the political and sexual conquest of Cyrene see C. Segal, *Pindar's Mythmaking: The Fourth Pythian Ode* (Princeton 1986) 93. On the civilizing ideology behind Greek marriage see A. Carson, "Wedding at Noon in Pindar's Ninth Pythian," *GRBS* 23 (1982) 121–28; J. Redfield, "Notes on a Greek Wedding," *Arethusa* 15 (1982) 181–201; J.-P. Vernant, *Myth and Society in Ancient Greece*, tr. J. Lloyd (New York 1988) 55–77.

[31] The larger Greek mythological tradition conditions the narrative trope of the return in this colonial tale. Hera's fabled jealousy of her husband's many illicit love affairs provides the motivation for the pregnant nymph's important descent into the earth to await the birth of her children. The descent then demands a return into the light from the earth, the very Sicilian earth that the Greeks have settled just as they have appropriated the myth.

[32] Colonies founded by returning Trojan War heroes include Argos Amphilochikon (Thuc. 2.68), Croton (Strab. 6.1.12), Metapontum (Strab. 6.1.15), and Thronium (Paus. 4.22.4). Colonies associated with Heracles include Kalpe (Strab. 3.1.7) and Sardinia (Diod. 4.29.1).

[33] *P.Oxy.* XX 2257 fr.1=127 Radt.

sion from the colonial site back to the place of Greek origin. The first act takes place in Aetna; the second in Xouthia, a territory near Leontini; subsequently the action moves back to Aetna, then to Leontini, and finally the play concludes in Syracuse. Through this pointed emphasis on topography the drama moves from local, indigenous sites to Greek cities—from Aetna the mountain and Xouthia, the pre-Greek Sicel territory, to Aetna, Hieron's Greek city, and the Chalcidian colony of Leontini; the curtain then falls in Syracuse, the city where it all began.[34] The implications of this movement can be compared to the change of setting from Delphi to Athens in the *Oresteia*.[35] In both the final play of the *Oresteia* and the *Aetnaeae*, the dramatic action ends in the city in which the play is being performed in a gesture of political legitimation and explanation. The *Oresteia* uses the mythical past to legitimate the present; the trilogy establishes a connection between events in the house of Atreus and the politico-religious institutions of fifth-century Athens. Just as the culmination of the *Oresteia* celebrates the Athenian court of the Areopagus, the resolution of the Aetnaeae celebrates the Syracusan foundation of Aetna.

This reading of the scene-changes complements the discussion of etymological puns in colonial contexts. Folk etymologies generate narrative and forge a useful connection between word and object. Through the bilingual pun the colonial narrative travels from the foreign word and local cult to find meaning in Greek language and mythology. In the same way, then, the geographical movement in the *Aetnaeae* shifts the location and focus of the drama from Aetna and its neighboring Sicel territory back to the theater in Syracuse and its Greek audience. The end result of both colonial etymology and Aeschylean drama is the celebration of a new Greek city on foreign soil.

The Tempest shares with the *Aetnaeae* a reflection of the colonial times of its composition. The play evokes and then challenges many of the tropes of colonial literature of the New World—the New World as earthly paradise, another Eden, a

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[34] For this interpretation see V. La Rosa, "Le ETNEE di Eschilo e l'identificazione di XOUTHIA," *ArchStorSicOr* 70 (1974) 151–63; see also Giangiulio (*supra* n.27) 820–33.

[35] Indeed C. J. Herington offered this interpretation in his paper, "The Syracusan Patronage of Drama in the Early Fifth Century B.C.," at a conference, "Art, Tyranny and the Polis," held at Emory University, March 1990. I want to thank Professor Herington for bringing this fragment to my attention and for allowing me to present the argument developed here.

place of redemption, a second chance.[36] But perhaps most important to this discussion, *The Tempest* links colonization with language, particularly with dramatic language. Indeed, the ideas of playmaking and colonization are inextricably joined in *The Tempest* primarily through the rôle of Prospero—both colonist and dramatist.

In discussing the associations between language and colonization in *The Tempest*, Terence Hawkes suggests that we are all dramatists of a sort, that we 'talk' our world into existence. The colonial moment, when colonists confront a new and unfamiliar world, is particularly ripe for such dramas, and Hawkes suggests that a colonist is in fact a kind of dramatist:

> He imposes the 'shape' of his own culture, *embodied in his speech,* on the new world, and makes that world recognizable, habitable, 'natural', able to speak his language. Like the gardener, he redeems untouched landscape by imprinting on it a humanizing art; he brings nurture to nature. Like Adam in Eden, he names things.[37]

Playing with language, representing the past so as to make it useful for the present—these are the tasks of both colonial narrative and dramatic discourse. Colonists settling the New World, whether the Americas in the seventeenth century or Sicily in the fifth century B.C., bring their own language to bear upon this new landscape. They use it to describe what is new in familiar terms that ultimately give them control. The art of drama can be eminently useful for this project; it can restage events in persuasive and powerful ways, setting the scene for cultural appropriation. In conclusion Hawkes (212) inverts his own metaphor:

> Similarly, the dramatist is metaphorically a colonist. His art penetrates new areas of experience, his language expands the boundaries of our culture, and makes the new territory over

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[36] Each of these themes is equally present in Greek colonial literature. For the best example of a colonial site as a Golden Age landscape see *Od.* 9.116–30. A significant number of colonial legends also record the act of foundation as punishment/exile for murder: *e.g.* Syracuse (Plut. *Mor.* 773A–B), Acarnania (Thuc. 2.102.5f), Rhodes (*Il.* 2.653–70, Pind. *Ol.* 7.20–37), Argos Orestikon (Strab. 7.7.8).

[37] T. Hawkes, *Shakespeare's Talking Animals* (London 1973) 211.

in its own image. His 'raids on the inarticulate' open up new worlds for the imagination.

Drama, as it represents and engenders cultural identity, is a kind of cultural colonization, and in this respect the colonial etymology embedded in the *Aetnaeae* is in fact emblematic of the play's direction as a whole. Aeschylus composed the drama in celebration of Aetna's foundation. Enacted on stage, the colonial enterprise would be brought home to Hieron and the other spectators—Aetna brought home to Syracuse, the Palikoi returned from the darkness into the light.[38]

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