

# The Date of Pherekydes of Athens

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IN HIS ARTICLE on Pherekydes the Athenian, Felix Jacoby discussed, amongst other matters, the problem of the historian's date.<sup>1</sup> Since Pherekydes in his *Historiai* or *Genealogiai* was largely concerned with heroic pedigrees, the fragments make few allusions to contemporary events; but Jacoby argued a case for assigning Pherekydes to the time of Miltiades, father of the great Kimon. The purpose of this essay is to show that a later date for the historian's literary activity is preferable, because he fits well into a Kimonian context.

Jacoby paid particular attention to two fragments, *FGrHist* 3 F 146 and 3 F 2.<sup>2</sup> The first refers to the family and deme Daidalidai: "Μητίονι δὲ τῷ Ἐρεχθέως καὶ Ἰφινόῃ γίνεται Δαίδαλος, ἀφ' οὗ ὁ δῆμος καλεῖται Δαιδαλίδαι Ἀθήνησι" (schol. Soph. OC 472). These words led Jacoby to claim (*Abh.* 116) that 508/7 was the *terminus post quem* of Pherekydes' work, but the mere mention of the deme does not show the fragment to have been written after the reforms of Kleisthenes: Daidalidai could have been a δῆμος long before that year, and Wilamowitz in criticizing Jacoby robustly asserted that it was.<sup>3</sup> Fragment 2 is the famous pedigree of the Philaidai from Aias to Miltiades the oikist.

Φιλαῖος (Stephanus: Φιλαιας *codd.*) δὲ ὁ Αἴαντος οἰκεῖ ἐν Ἀθήναις.  
ἐκ τούτου δὲ γίνεται Δάικλος, τοῦ δὲ Ἐπίλυκος (Göller: *Επιδυκος*  
*codd.*), τοῦ δὲ Ἀκέστωρ, τοῦ δὲ Ἀγῆνωρ, τοῦ δὲ Οὔλιος (Köhler:  
*Ολιος codd.*), τοῦ δὲ Πολυκλήης (Wade-Gery: *Λυκης codd.*), τοῦ δὲ  
Ἀυτοφῶν (Wade-Gery: Ἰοφῶν Gervinus: *Τοφων codd.*), τοῦ δὲ

<sup>1</sup> "The First Athenian Prose Writer," *Mnemosyne* SER. III 13 (1947) 13–64 (= *Abhandlungen zur griechischen Geschichtsschreibung*, ed. H. Bloch [Leiden 1956] 100–43, hereafter JACOBY, *Abh.*).

<sup>2</sup> F 59 can be left out of the discussion since we do not know that Pherekydes brought the pedigree of the Asklepiadai as far down as the time of Hippokrates of Kos (Jacoby, *Abh.* 113–14; but compare K. von Fritz, *Die griechische Geschichtsschreibung* I Anm. [Berlin 1967] 61), and in any case Hippokrates' birthdate is not certain. F 174 on the expedition of Dareios against the Skythians is best ascribed to Pherekydes of Leros (Jacoby, *Abh.* 132–35): *Λέριος* for *Σύριος* (Vossius and others) is an easy change. A. Momigliano, however, claims F 174 for the Athenian (*RivFC* N.S. 10 [1932] 346–51).

<sup>3</sup> U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Kleine Schriften* V.2 (Berlin 1937, repr. 1971) 143.

Φιλαίος (Wade-Gery: Λαιος *codd.*), τοῦ δὲ Ἀγαμήστωρ, τοῦ δὲ Τίκανδρος [ἐφ' οὗ ἄρχοντος ἐν Ἀθήναις *secl.* Rutgers], τοῦ δὲ Μιλτιάδης, τοῦ δὲ Ἰπποκλείδης, ἐφ' οὗ ἄρχοντος Παναθήναια ἐτέθη, τοῦ δὲ Μιλτιάδης, ὃς ᾤκιε Χερρόνησον.

This is found *verbatim* in the *Vita* by Markellinos of the historian Thucydides, who took it from Didymos, who took it from Pherekydes. The text of the pedigree thus comes to Markellinos at second hand, and it has reached us in a very corrupt state. Markellinos uses the quotation to show that Miltiades ὁ στρατηγός (by whom he means the father of Kimon) was connected (ὤκειώτο) with Aiakos the son of Zeus, and, consequently, that Thucydides the historian, who was connected with Miltiades and Kimon, had distinguished antecedents (*Vita* 2–3). The quotation by Didymos from Pherekydes, however, shows at most that Miltiades the oikist was descended from Aias; it does not prove that Miltiades the oikist (or Miltiades father of Kimon) traced his descent back to Aiakos son of Zeus.

Jacoby noted that the pedigree did not include the name of Kimon. So he argued (*Abh.* 115), from silence, that Pherekydes, had he been a contemporary of Kimon, could not have failed to mention the conqueror of Skyros and the victor at Eion and the Eurymedon: “There really can be no doubt that the *Historiai* were published after 508/7 and before at the very latest 476/5 B.C.” (*Abh.* 116). The argument from silence proves nothing, however, and the pedigree does not mention Kimon’s father either, though Jacoby believed him to have been a contemporary of Pherekydes. Besides, Kimon was not a direct descendant of Miltiades the oikist, whose ancestors are the subject of F 2; there was no cause to include Kimon or his father Miltiades, son of Kimon Koalemos, in this particular stemma of the Philaidai from Aias to Miltiades the oikist. Accordingly, Wade-Gery dismissed Jacoby’s argument from F 2 and conjectured that Pherekydes was a contemporary of the great Kimon, but he gave no reasons.<sup>4</sup>

The first argument for a date in the time of Kimon comes from the pedigree of Telamon in F 60. In Aiginetan legend Telamon and Peleus were brothers, being sons of Aiakos.<sup>5</sup> But Pherekydes published a drastically altered pedigree of Telamon; according to this, Telamon was the son of Aktaios by Glauke daughter of Kynchreus. Wilamowitz

<sup>4</sup> H. T. Wade-Gery, *The Poet of the Iliad* (Cambridge 1952) 94.

<sup>5</sup> Schol. A ad Eur. *Andr.* 687 [2.295 Schwarz = *Alkmaionis* fr.1 Kinkel], Pind. *Isth.* 6.19–28, *Pyth.* 8.98–100.

thought that the stemma in F 60 conflicted with F 2,<sup>6</sup> but there is no inconsistency because F 2, as we have seen, does not connect Salaminian Aias with Aiakos and Aigina. It is safe to suppose that Pherekydes linked the stemma in F 60 with the Philaid pedigree in F 2, because it was universally agreed from Homer's time onwards (*Il.* 7.199, 17.284) that Salaminian Aias was the son of Telamon.

The ingenious parentage devised in F 60 for Telamon by Pherekydes or his authority gains for the Philaidai three advantages: (1) It cuts their legendary tie with Aigina—a connexion which must have been very embarrassing when Athens and Aigina were at war and the Aiakidai were sent to help Thebes (*Hdt.* 5.80.2–81.1). (2) It confirms the Philaid connexion with Salamis against Megarian claims. (3) It enables the Philaidai to assert that they are autochthonous Athenians, descended from the early Attic king Aktaios. Athenian disputes with Aigina ceased shortly before the arrival of Xerxes, and the stemma of Telamon in F 60 may therefore have been constructed before 481; but one detail looks to be an addition later than that—the statement that Telamon and Peleus were, though not brothers, friends. This would have been a pointless or inept remark to make about the Attic-Salaminian Telamon during the Aiginetan war, but it is well suited to the period of peace between Athens and Aigina during the ascendancy of Kimon. The outside limits for F 60 are therefore approximately 481 and the renewed hostilities *ca.* 460.<sup>7</sup> This, then is the likely period of Pherekydes' literary activity; it so happens that the date assigned to Pherekydes the Lerian in the *Suda*-lexicon (*s.v.* Φερεκύδης Λέριος)—*ἱστορικός· γεγωνῶς πρὸ ὀλίγου τῆς ὀε̄ ὀλυμπιάδος (480/77)*—fits the Athenian well, if the *floruit* is meant.

Another argument supports Wade-Gery's conjecture that Pherekydes was at work in the time of Kimon. This concerns Kimon's son Oulios, whose brothers were Lakedaimonios (his twin) and Thettalos. The political motivation of the names has lately been discussed, with special reference to Oulios, by J. K. Davies, who points out that the appearance of one Oulios in the Pherekydean pedigree of the Philaidai and of another as a son of Kimon cannot be a coinci-

<sup>6</sup> *op.cit.* (*supra* n.3) 136. See also G. Grote, *A History of Greece I* (Everyman edition) 164 n.2. But F 2 does not contradict F 60: see A. Uhl, *Pherekydes von Athen* (Diss. Munich 1963) 80, and Jacoby, *FGrHist I*<sup>2</sup> Komm. (1957) 538.

<sup>7</sup> See Thuc. 1.105.2–3 for the approximate date of the war's outbreak, during the Athenian expedition to Egypt.

dence.<sup>8</sup> According to Pherekydes (3 F 149), Theseus before departing for Crete sacrificed to Apollo Oulios and Artemis Oulia, but the usual story told how he sacrificed to Apollo Delphinios (Plut. *Thes.* 18.1–2). The choice of Oulios and Oulia is deliberate in F 149, and it takes on special significance in view of Kimon's interest in Theseus, whose putative bones he recovered from Skyros.<sup>9</sup> Apollo Oulios was worshipped in Delos and Miletos,<sup>10</sup> and (as Olios) in Rhodes at Lindos.<sup>11</sup> The cult is thus Aegean and eastern Greek, and, as Davies points out, Kimon's naming of his son Oulios must have some connexion with Athenian hegemony of the League against Persia in the 470s.

To these details we may add that the cognate name Ouliades was borne by the Samian who, with Antagoras of Chios, attacked the ship of Pausanias at Byzantium, thus defying Sparta and prompting the formation of the League.<sup>12</sup> Kimon's son Oulios would have been born about the time of the League's foundation. His name is a graceful compliment to the Ionians, balancing the compliment to the Lakadaimonians. Pherekydes in his turn recognised the gesture by listing an Oulios in his Philaid stemma and by emphasising Apollo Oulios in his account of Theseus. The context of this propagandist literary ac-

<sup>8</sup> J. K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families 600–300 B.C.* (Oxford 1971) 306–07. For Lakadaimonios see also G. E. M. de Ste. Croix, *The Origins of the Peloponnesian War* (London 1972) 76–77, 172 (and n.18).

<sup>9</sup> Plut. *Kim.* 8.5–7. See also R. Meiggs, *The Athenian Empire* (Oxford 1972) 69.

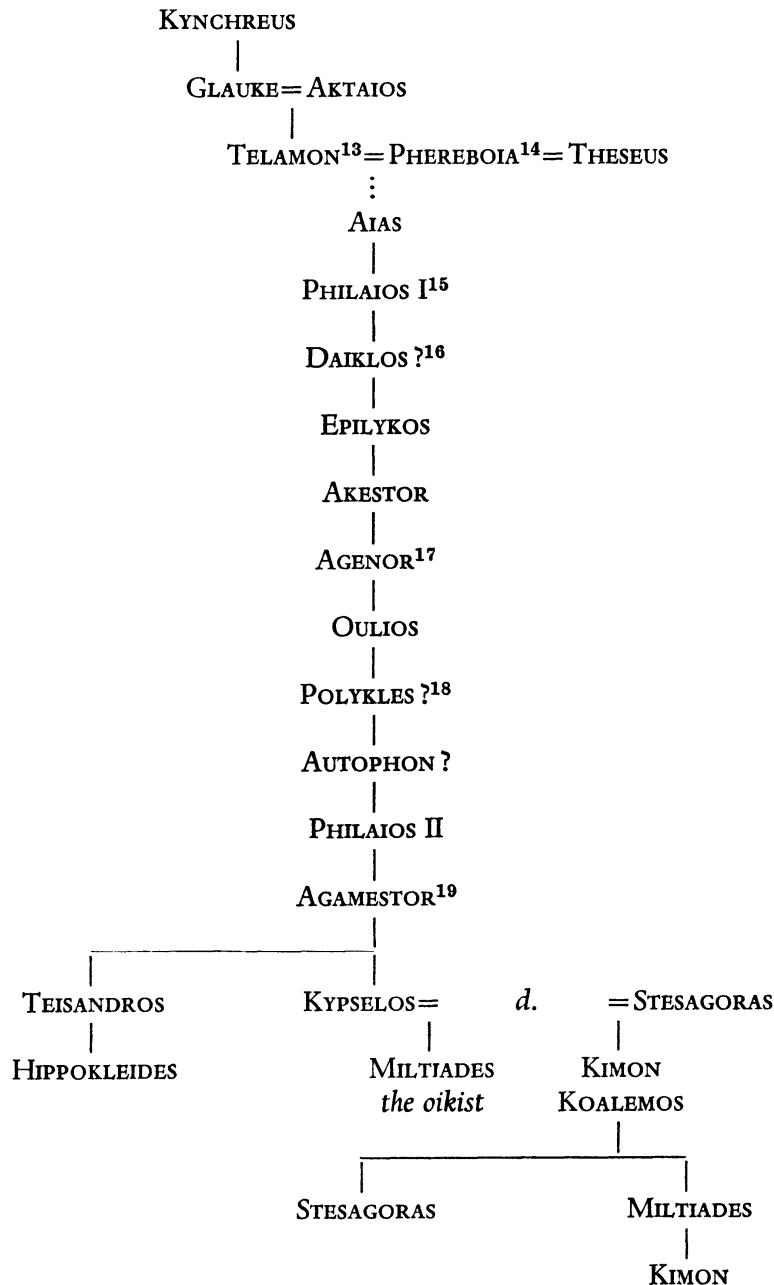
<sup>10</sup> Strabo 635 (Delos and Miletos); Maiandrios, *FGrHist* 491 F 2 (Miletos).

<sup>11</sup> *IG XII.1* 834.3. See also Oppermann, *RE* 18 (1942) 1999.

<sup>12</sup> Plut. *Arist.* 23.4–7. The historian Ouliades was also a Samian (*FGrHist* 538). For two Athenians of the name see Kirchner, *PA* 11494–95. For non-Athenian Greeks called Ouliades see also W. Schulze, *Quaestiones Epicae* (Gütersloh 1892) 516 (104), to whom Davies, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.8) 306 n.2, refers; and Ladislav Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen* (Prague 1964) 398. The Homeric form of address οὔλε (*Od.* 24.402) is cognate with οὔλιος: Schol. *H Od.* 24.402 οὔλε] ὑγίαινε· παρὰ τὸ ὄλην· τῶν ἀπαξ εἰρημένων. See also L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States IV* (Oxford 1907) 234, note a. LSJ *s.v.* οὔλιος suggest that the epithet is a special application to Apollo of δλοός, 'deadly'. But the connexion with Ionic οὔλος, Attic δλος 'sound', 'whole' (< ὄλ(φ)ος, cf. Lat. *salvus*) is cogent, and οὔλιος was certainly taken in this general sense in antiquity: Οὔλιον δ' Ἀπόλλωνα καλοῦσι τινα καὶ Μιλήσιοι καὶ Δήλιοι, ὅσον ὑγιαστικὸν καὶ παιωνικόν· τὸ γὰρ οὔλειον ὑγιάειν . . . (Strabo 635, cf. *Suda s.v.* Οὔλιος· ὁ Ἀπόλλων· ἰατρὸς γὰρ ἦν· σημαίνει δὲ καὶ ὀλέθριος). P. Kretschmer's association of Οὔλιος with the Lykian personal names Οὐλλίας and Οὔλος is not compelling (*Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache* [Göttingen 1896, repr. 1970] 366). The grandfather of the Philaid Oulios, Akestor, in Pherekydes 3 F 2 also bears a name formed from an epithet of Apollo (Eur. *Andr.* 900, ὦ Φοῖβ' Ἀκέστορ, where Ἀκέστορ instead of ἀκέστορ can be retained). Hence the Philaid name Agenor, father of Oulios, may well be intended to recall Apollo Archagetes or Hegemon (on these two epithets see Farnell, *op.cit.* 162 and 374–75).

tivity is the early 470s, and we can hardly doubt that Pherekydes belonged to the circle of Kimon.

It remains to comment on the Philaid pedigree of Pherekydes. I have excluded conjectural extensions of the heroic part and also the distant historical ramifications of the family.



Pherekydes states that Philaios son of Aias lived in Athens. The comment is necessary because the historian claimed Telamon and Aias for Salamis. The earliest member of the family to have lived in Attica was not, however, Philaios, but Aktaios, who was the eponymous king of Attica (Paus. 1.2.6). Herodotus (6.35.1) seems deliberately to have rejected the Pherekydean genealogy. The house of Miltiades son of Kypselos was, he declares, descended from Aiakos and Aigina,<sup>20</sup> and it was not originally Athenian, because Philaios son of Aias was the first of the line to become an Athenian. Thus less than a generation after Pherekydes wrote, when Herodotus was in Athens, the traditional view of Telamon as a son of Aiakos persisted or re-

<sup>13</sup> *FGrHist* 3 F 60.

<sup>14</sup> For the two marriages of Phereboia see 3 F 153.

<sup>15</sup> It is not known whether Pherekydes mentioned Eurysakes, son of Aias, for whom see Soph. *Aias* 575 (Sophokles seems to treat him as an only son) and Plut. *Sol.* 10.3. Pausanias (1.35.2) makes Philaios son of Eurysakes and grandson of Aias, and reports that he handed Salamis over to the Athenians. See, further, W. S. Ferguson, *Hesperia* 7 (1938) 16.

<sup>16</sup> Casaubon's *Αικλος* is attractive. Aiklos was a legendary Athenian oikist of Euboia (schol. Pind. *Paian.* 5.37–38; [Scymn.] *Περὶ ἡγήγησις* 573; Wilamowitz, *Pindaros* [Berlin 1922] 327–28), and the name could, in the Pherekydean manner, be repeated here in his honour.

<sup>17</sup> He may be included in honour of Agenor, father of Kadmos, who had a prominent place in Pherekydes' genealogies (3 F 21, and see Davies, *op.cit.* [*supra* n.8] 307). But for the Apolline associations of the name Agenor see n.12 *supra*.

<sup>18</sup> *Πολυκλήης* is Wade-Gery's emendation of the *Λυκεῖς* of the mss. Wilamowitz, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.3) 144, suggested *Λύκος* or *Λύκις*. In this context the name Lykos would allude to the son of Pandion the Athenian and putative eponym of the Lykians *Λύκος* (Hdt. 1.173.3, 7.92—is this a piece of Athenian propaganda dating from the Kimonian era?) or to Apollo Lykios; but the text of the stemma at this point is perhaps beyond hope of mending. One may note here that the list of Ionian *ktistai* in Strabo 632–33 (14.1.3) comes from Pherekydes. (Jacoby in 3 F 155 confines the citation from Pherekydes to the mention of Androklos, son of Kodros king of Athens, as the beginner of the Ionian migration and founder of Ephesos, but Strabo follows Pherekydes for the complete list, with confirmatory references to Mimnermos for Andraimon at Kolophon, to Anakreon for Athamas at Teos, and to *οἱ νεώτεροι ποιηταί* for Nestor as a 'Messenian'. See also J. P. Barron, *JHS* 82 [1962] 6 and n.40.) The founding of Teos by Athamas was treated by Pherekydes in some detail: see 3 F 102. Pherekydes' attitude to the rôle of Athens in the Ionian migration is better considered in the context of the Delian League's beginnings than of the Athenians' somewhat ignominious rôle in the Ionian revolt earlier in the century (but compare Barron, *loc.cit.*).

<sup>19</sup> For the split in the stemma see Wade-Gery, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.4) 93.

<sup>20</sup> Aigina was a daughter of Asopos, and Hellanikos (4 F 22) mentioned the Philaidai in his *Asopis*. Pherekydes would have connected them with Asopos too, not through Aigina but through Salamis, who bore Kynchreus to Poseidon (schol. Lycoph. *Alex.* 451). For Salamis as a daughter of Asopos see D. L. Page, *Corinna* (London 1953) 26.

asserted itself there. The conquest of Aigina and the political decline of the Kimonians had made the Pherekydean scheme irrelevant.<sup>21</sup>

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