

# THE EUROPE OF GREECE

COLONIES AND COINS FROM THE ALPHA BANK COLLECTION



ALPHA BANK

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**THE EUROPE OF GREECE**  
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ATHENS 2014

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# Marine Mythical Stories

## Introduction

The Greek myths, telling of the deeds of gods and heroes, as well as of their relationships with mortals, are an amalgam of folk tales, legends with a kernel of historical truth and explanatory-causal traditions, enriched with large doses of creative fantasy, which were transmitted within the ancient societies and helped men to respond to the natural world as well as to the achievements and/or artifacts of their ancestors.<sup>1</sup> The Greeks of historical times attached great importance to their heroic past, that is, to the period we now call the Bronze Age. Their “mythical history” is not confined to Mainland Greece but extends to all the shores of the Mediterranean Sea and the Euxine Pontos, to the Northern Balkan Peninsula, to the coasts of the Atlantic Ocean and reaches to the Baltic Sea, North Africa, Syria and even Central Asia. The coasts of the Mediterranean Sea and the Euxine Pontos were particularly well known because various Greek cities had founded *emporia* and colonies there between the 8th and the 6th century BC, while it is certain that at least some sites had been explored from as early as the Bronze Age.<sup>2</sup> In the remaining, even more distant regions, mythology sets individual incidents and actions.

In the framework of an archaeological exhibition on Greek colonisation, it is worth referring briefly to myths that seem to echo,<sup>3</sup> in diverse ways, elements of the “mythical history” of the voyages, the explorations, the trade, the colonisation and the seafaring skills of the Greeks in general, as well as of their contact and coexistence with the local populations in the Mediterranean Sea and the Euxine Pontos, which had a particular impact on their self-determination and the for-

mation of the Hellenic national identity.<sup>4</sup> Of course, many myths are linked, to a greater or lesser degree, with the sea, which is only to be expected from a people and a civilisation surrounded and influenced by the watery element in multifarious ways.<sup>5</sup> For this reason, the “marine mythical stories” should not be considered as a separate and concrete corpus of myths; after all, the myths were “living” narratives that had collective significance for a specific social group or groups and, consequently, they were changed or adapted or enriched each time they were recounted, either in oral discourse or in literature or in the visual arts.

## Marine Mythical Stories

Bearing the aforesaid in mind and without endeavouring a strict classification, we shall mention here certain myths that place particular emphasis on maritime departures and arrivals, voyages, adventures and wanderings, as well as on settlement in new homelands and contact or coexistence with different peoples and cultures.<sup>6</sup> Specifically, these are:

**A.** Myths recounting the sudden transportation by sea (or over the sea) of one or more mortals to a new homeland, always with some kind of divine intervention. Very often they involve women, children or young persons, who either come to Greece from distant lands or leave Greece, and usually remain in their new homeland for a long period of time or until the end of their days. Indeed, when the abduction rather than the voluntary departure of a person is

1. See indicatively with bibliography as well: Kakridis, I.Th. (gen. supervision), 1986, vol. I, passim, Bremmer, J., 1990, Forbes-Irving, P.M.C., 1990, 1-6 and passim, Calame, C., 2003, 1-34, Buxton, R., 2002, 21-41, 247-294 and passim, Boardman, J., 2007.

2. See the relevant terms “colonisation”, “pre-colonisation”, “proto-colonisation”: Malkin, I., 1998, 10-14, 74-93, Greco, E., 2001, 31-43.

3. See also the careful formulation by Buxton, R., 2002, 141: *Myths process, shrink, clarify and magnify the empirical reality, but they do not “mirror” it in the narrow sense.*

4. On myths with a kernel of historical truth: Kakridis, I.Th. (gen. supervision), 1986, vol. I, 78-79, 98-99, 141-144. On the function of certain myths in the process of forming national identity: Malkin, I., 1998, 5-7 and passim, Boardman, J., 2007. On voyaging and wandering in antiquity: Casson, L., 1994, 44-127, Montiglio, S., 2005. Generally on colonisation: Cook, J.M., 1970, Roebuck, C., 1984, Boardman, J., 1999, Tssetskhladze, G.R. (ed.), 2006, Tssetskhladze, G.R. (ed.), 2008. Specifically on the Euxine Pontos: Maslennikov, A.A., 2000, *Greek Sites on NW Black Sea* 2001, *Greek Sites in Crimea* 2004, Petropoulos, E.K., 2005, Petropoulos, E.K., 2011.

5. On the multiple functions of the sea in myth: Buxton, R., 2002, 142-150.

6. Collected in the relevant entries in *LIMC* are most of the representations of the myths referred to here. See also Samara-Kauffmann, A. (ed.), 2008.

concerned, the relatives may embark on a quest for the victim and thus a myth of pursuit may follow. In each case, the lands of provenance or destination, to the degree that their identification is possible, coincide with regions where Greek *emporía* and/or colonies are located.

Among the myths included in this group are those of the Abduction of Europa, a princess from Phoenicia,<sup>7</sup> of Phrixos and Helle,<sup>8</sup> of the miraculous transfer of Iphigenia to Taurike (modern Crimea), as well as of the most famous abduction (or, rather, voluntary departure) by sea, that of Helen by Paris, which took place by ship but also with the aid of the gods who sent favourable winds.<sup>9</sup> Finally, hurried also was the departure (on the advice of the goddess Athena) of Poseidon's son, Danaus, and of his fifty daughters, from Libya to Argos.<sup>10</sup>

**B.** Myths that narrate – in the main – maritime wanderings of important heroes who, either alone or as heads of a group, voyaged to far-off lands in order to acquire and to bring home rare and valuable goods. In the course of their travels, they might meet well-disposed indigenes or, more commonly, confront various obstacles and difficulties. Furthermore, the acquisition of the goods, that was also the original aim of the voyage, usually demanded a final contest or a cunning ruse. In the end, everything is overcome successfully, although not without losses. Directly articulated with these myths are the *Nostoi*, which narrate the wanderings of the heroes during their journey home, usually after a long stay in far-away places. This group of myths includes the narrations of some of the Labours of Heracles, the most emblematic of the ancient heroes, who reached the marches of the Euxine Pontos, as far as the plains of Skythia and the Caucasus mountains, North Africa and various regions of the Central and Western Mediterranean Sea, even to the coasts of the Atlantic Ocean.<sup>11</sup> The Argonauts as well, who responded to Jason's call to mount an expedition to Kolchis and to take the famous Golden Fleece of the ram that had carried Phrixos and Helle, reached many regions of the Euxine Pontos and the Mediterranean Sea.<sup>12</sup> On the way to Kolchis, they passed through the Clashing Rocks (*Symplegades Petres*) of the Bosphoros and continued by sailing along the coastline, while on the return they sailed up

7. Kakridis, I.Th. (gen. supervision), 1986, vol. 3, 69-74, 259-266. On a recent review of relations between Greeks and Phoenicians: Adam-Veleni, P. - Stefani, E. (eds.), 2012.

8. Kakridis, I.Th. (gen. supervision), 1986, vol. 3, 119-122, Kakridis, I.Th. (gen. supervision), 1986, vol. 5, 27-28, 193-198.

9. Kakridis, I.Th. (gen. supervision), 1986, vol. 5, 15-22.

10. Kakridis, I.Th. (gen. supervision), 1986, vol. 3, 172-178.

11. Kakridis, I.Th. (gen. supervision), 1986, vol. 4, 48-92.

12. Kakridis, I.Th. (gen. supervision), 1986, vol. 4, 142-166.

the River Istros (modern Danube) as far as the Adriatic Sea, as in those times this great river was believed to link the two seas. From there, they were carried off course to Italy, sailed up the rivers Eridanos (modern Po) and Rhodanos (modern Rhône, in Southwest France), came out again into the Mediterranean Sea, roved around various regions and eventually reached Crete and subsequently Iolkos in Thessaly.

Odysseus, a “proto-colonial” hero *par excellence*, came to Troy with twelve ships and returned to his homeland of Ithaka, twenty years later, in a ship borrowed from the Phaiakians, having lost all his companions.<sup>13</sup> During his ten-year *nostos* (voyage home), the hero and his companions wandered successively on various shores of the Mediterranean Sea. Attempts to identify on the map the regions that were home to the Lotus-Eaters, the Cyclops, Aeolus, the Laistrygonians, Circe, the Sirens, Calypso, and so on, have led, already since antiquity, to various proposals and hypotheses, frequently highly imaginative and totally undocumented.<sup>14</sup> Suffice it to say here that the poet of the *Odyssey* imagined most of these adventures in the Western Mediterranean Sea, on the North African coast and in the Ionian Sea.

**C.** Foundation myths of cities, many of which are contained in the narratives of the two previous groups, as collateral or concluding episodes.<sup>15</sup> Without doubt *a suitable ancestor can add greater prestige or reinforce a demand for land or for power*.<sup>16</sup> Thus, for example, Heracles is said to have founded the city of Abdera, several cities are considered to have been founded by the Argonauts (Kios, Sinope and others), while many Italian cities trace back their foundation to descendants of Odysseus.<sup>17</sup> Last, particularly interesting are the myths relating the arrival of foreign founders of cities in Greece. Therefore, Cadmus, Phoenix and Cilix (or Thasus), who were searching for their sister Europa, founded cities in various places (Phoenicia, Cilicia, Rhodes, Thera, Thasos, Thrace and Thebes),<sup>18</sup> while the daughters of Danaus founded the sanctuary of Athena Lindia on Rhodes.

13. Kakridis, I.Th. (gen. supervision), 1986, vol. 5, 204-250, Malkin, I., 1998, 3-5 and *passim*.

14. Kakridis, I.Th. (gen. supervision), 1986, vol. 5, 251-256, Malkin, I., 1998, 7-9, 62-74, Lane-Fox, R., 2008, *passim*.

15. Kakridis, I.Th. (gen. supervision), 1986, vol. 1, 78-79, Calame, C., 2003 (foundation myths of Kyrene), Mac Sweeney, N., 2013 (foundation myths of Ionian cities). On the foundation myths of the cities presented in the exhibition see the relevant entries in this volume.

16. Boardman, J., 2007, 19.

17. On the figure of Odysseus in Etruria and in Italy in general: Malkin, I., 1998, 156-209.

18. See the interesting commentary by Buxton, R., 2002, 250-261.

## General remarks

The myths of the maritime adventures echo in diverse ways the empirical reality of voyages, of colonisation and of Hellenic seafaring prowess in general. The ships of myths have sails but also oarsmen, essential for the manoeuvres of entering harbours or when the wind drops or for crossing straits against crosswinds and counter currents (like the Argonauts in the *Symplegades Petres*).<sup>19</sup> The sea routes seem to correspond to the reality of navigating with sails, which depends on the winds and the currents, which, as recent research has shown, have not changed since antiquity.<sup>20</sup> Thus, for example, the usual route from Egypt to the Aegean Sea passed along the coasts of Phoenicia, Syria and Cyprus, given that the strong north winds that blow mainly in the South-east Mediterranean Sea obliged ships to follow a zigzag course. Furthermore, the fact that Lemnos is an important port of call on voyages from the Western Aegean Sea to the Euxine Pontos corresponds to the nautical reality, as the island lies at the beginning of the “great diagonal” of the Aegean Sea.<sup>21</sup> Of course, due to the prevailing north winds, it is easier to sail southwards than northwards; with fair winds during the long days of summertime, a ship that set off at dawn from Lemnos would reach Cape Caphereus of Euboia (Cavo D’Oro) by dusk. Indeed, on a clear day, the coastline of Southern Euboia is visible from Chios.<sup>22</sup> When sailing in the opposite direction, and depending on the direction of the winds, ships must make a rather zigzag course, with intermediate stops on the Aegean islands or on the Asia Minor coast.<sup>23</sup>

The strong north winds of the Aegean Sea make zigzagging northwards difficult, as was the case for Paris and Helen, who, according to one version of the myth, reached Phoenicia first, then Cyprus and after that Troas. However, with the help of the south winds, ships quite easily reach the entrance to the Euxine Pontos and, thus, the version that their voyage from the Peloponnese to Troy lasted only three days could be close to reality. Whatever the case may be, these diagonal routes were made mainly in the Aegean

Sea, whereas in the Euxine Pontos, where there are no dispersed islands (which is perhaps why the island of Leuke in the northwest was so important),<sup>24</sup> the ships follow principally coastal routes, calling in for supplies at the successive harbours (see the routes of Heracles and of the Argonauts). Protracted calm at sea creates major problems, trapping the ships in the harbours, characteristic examples of which are the myth of Iphigenia and the catastrophic sojourn of Odysseus’ companions on the island of Helios. The dangerous sea currents of the Mediterranean Sea and the Euxine Pontos were also well-known, particularly those generated in straits, where there was the additional hazard of dashing against rocks or reefs. Indeed, as recent studies have shown, the danger of shipwreck is greater near the coast than in the open sea, because ships, as a rule, sink when water enters the hull after hitting a reef or a rock.<sup>25</sup> Thus, even though the mythical voyagers used these perilous crossings, sometimes out of necessity (entrance to the Euxine Pontos) and sometimes to save time (strait between Rhegion and Messene, in order to avoid circumnavigating Sicily), the dangers are projected vividly in the narratives, in the form either of clashing rocks (*Symplegades Petres* in the Euxine Pontos) or of menacing monsters (Scylla and Charybdes in the Sicilian straits).

The ports of call in the mythical wanderings coincide in general (and to the degree that we can identify them) with important harbours of the Mediterranean Sea and the Euxine Pontos. Dangerous harbours, such as the Syrtis Major and the Syrtis Minor on the north coast of Africa, with the treacherous shifting sandbanks (see Argonauts), are well-known as well. Caution was the keynote when dropping anchor in unknown waters: Odysseus’ ships moor at an islet opposite the land of the Cyclops and only one of these approaches the opposite coast for reconnaissance, while “fact-finding missions” are sent into the interior of the isles of Circe and the Laistrygonians.<sup>26</sup> Particularly important is the utilisation of the large navigable rivers, such as the Istros (Danube), the Eridanos (Po) and the Rhodanos (Rhône), as points of entry and access to the hinterland.

19. The texts reveal details of nautical practice, such as the sudden cutting of the rope holding the ship close to the land, in order to depart in haste (see Odysseus’ ship on the island of the Laistrygonians). The anchors found in moorings may be related to sudden departures of ships: Koutsouflakis, G.V., 2013, 281, 299-300.

20. Pöhlmann, E., 1999 (the map of fig. 3 is printed upside down), Koutsouflakis, G.V., 2013, 57.

21. Koutsouflakis, G.V., 2013, 327-333.

22. Lane-Fox, R., 2008, 64.

23. Koutsouflakis, G.V., 2013, 334.

24. Maslennikov, A.A., 2000, 47.

25. Koutsouflakis, G.V., 2013, 345-349.

26. Cf. the frequent choice of “safe” points, mainly on islands and peninsulas, as sites of initial settlement, such as the island of Berezan in the North Euxine Pontos, which must have been united with the land in that period (Maslennikov, A.A., 2000, 41), Pithekoussai on the island of Ischia, opposite the coast of Cuma (Greco, E., 2001, 37-48), and the settlement of Parians originally on Thasos and subsequently on the opposite coast, the Thasian *peraiá* (Tiverios, M., 2008, 68-71, 73-91).

The peoples the voyagers meet may either be friendly or dangerous or both. The heroes react ad hoc, without avoiding misunderstandings, accidents, clashes, murders and other troubles due to ignorance or misconstruction of the local customs. Last, it should be noted that in many cases the Greek heroes are cultural agents and relieve the native populations of diverse brigands and monsters (Heracles *par excellence*). Modern scholarship accepts that the maritime routes of the mythical heroes were varied and enriched over time, as the Greek travellers and merchants gradually became better acquainted with the coasts of the Mediterranean Sea and the Euxine Pontos, encountered local gods and heroes, whom they compared to their own, or saw artifacts or buildings that reminded them of their own and perceived them as heroic landmarks (such as the *nuraghi* of Sardinia, which, they said, had been built by Iolaos, companion of Heracles).<sup>27</sup> And of course, the fact that, through the maritime myths referring to the contact and the coexistence of the Greeks with other peoples and other cultures, we can discern the gradual formation of a collective national identity during the course of the Archaic and Classical Periods, is especially important.<sup>28</sup>

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27. Boardman, J., 2007, 26-27.

28. Malkin, I., 1998, 5-7 and *passim*.

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## ABBREVIATIONS<sup>1</sup>

- AD** Αρχαιολογικό Δελτίο
- AE** Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς
- AION** Annali dell'Istituto universitario orientali di Napoli
- AJA** American Journal of Archaeology
- AMUGS** Antike Münzen und geschchnittene Steine
- AnnPisa** Annali della Scuola normale superiore di Pisa
- AntK** Antike Kunst
- ABV** Beazley, J.D., *Attic Black-Figure Vase Painters*, Oxford 1956
- ARV<sup>2</sup>** Beazley, J.D., *Attic Red-Figure Vase Painters*, second edition, Oxford 1963
- ASAtene** Annuario della Scuola archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni italiane in Oriente
- AttiMGrecia** Atti e memorie della Società Magna Grecia
- AttiTaranto** Atti del Convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto
- BAPD** Beazley Archive Pottery Database
- BAR International Series** British Archaeological Reports International Series
- BCH** Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, École française d'Athènes
- BdA** Bollettino d'arte
- Beazley Addenda<sup>2</sup>** Carpenter, T.H., *Beazley Addenda. Additional References to ABV, ARV<sup>2</sup> & Paralipomena*, second edition, Oxford 1989
- BiAMA** Bibliothèque d'Archéologie Méditerranéenne et Africaine
- BSA** Annual of the British School at Athens
- BSFN** Bulletin de la Société Française de Numismatique
- BSPF** Bulletin de la Société préhistorique française
- BT CGI** Bibliografia Topografia della Colonizzazione Greca in Italia e nelle isole Tirreniche
- CAG** Carte archéologique de la Gaule
- CAH** Cambridge Ancient History
- CEG** Hansen, P.A. (ed.), *Carmina Epigraphica Graeca Saeculi IV a. Chr.*, Texte und Kommentare 15, Vol. II, nos. 466-901, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin 1989
- CIAnt** Classical Antiquity
- CP** Classical Philology
- CRAI** Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres (Paris)
- CronCatania** Cronache di archeologia e di storia dell'arte, Università di Catania
- Dacia** Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne
- DialArch** Dialoghi di archeologia
- EAA** Enciclopedia dell'arte antica, classica e orientale, Rome 1958-1984
- Epigraphica** Rivista italiana di epigrafia
- EtMass** Etudes Massaliètes, Aix-en-Provence, Centre Camille Julian
- FGrHist** Jacoby, F., *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, Berlin-Leiden 1923-1958
- Figlina** Documents du Laboratoire de céramologie de Lyon

1. The abbreviations of the present list are used to cite journals, book series and standard reference works.

**GCNP** Descoedres, J.P. (ed.), *Greek Colonists and Native Populations: Proceedings of the First Australian Congress of Classical Archaeology held in honour of Emeritus Professor A.D. Trendall*, Oxford 1990

**Glotta** Zeitschrift für griechische und lateinische Sprache

**Historia** Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte

**IG** Fraenkel, M., *Inscriptiones graecae*, Berlin 1895–1902

**IGBR** Mihailov, G., *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae*, Vols. I–IV, Sofia 1956–1970

**JHS** Journal of Hellenic Studies

**Klearchos** Bollettino dell'Associazione amici del Museo nazionale di Reggio Calabria

**Kokalos** Studi pubblicati dall'Istituto di storia antica dell'Università di Palermo

**Liddell & Scott** Liddell, H.G. - Scott, R., *A Greek-English Lexicon*, revised and augmented throughout by Sir H. St. Jones, with the assistance of R. McKenzie. With a revised supplement, Oxford 1996

**LIMC** Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae, vols. I–VIII & Supplementum, Zürich-München-Düsseldorf 1981–2009

**LGPN** Lexicon of Greek Personal Names

**MÉFRA** Mélanges de l'École française de Rome, Antiquité

**NC** Numismatic Chronicle

**NomKron** Nomismatika Kronika

**NSc** Notizie degli scavi di antichità

**NumAntCl** Numismatica e Antichità Classiche

**OF** Olympische Forschungen

**OJA** Oxford Journal of Archaeology

**OIBer** Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia

**Olympia I–V** Olympia. Die Ergebnisse der von dem Deutschen Reich veranstalteten Ausgrabung I (1897), II (1892–96), III (1894–97), IV (1890), V (1896)

**PAE** Πρακτικά της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας

**Paralipomena** Beazley, J.D., *Paralipomena. Additions to Attic Black-figure Vase-painters and to Attic Red-figure Vase Painters*, second edition, Oxford 1971

**PBF** Prähistorische Bronzefunde

**Pontica** Studii si materiale de istorie, arheologie si muzeografie, Constanta

**PUFC** Presses Universitaires Franc-Comtoises

**RA** Revue archéologique

**RANarb** Revue archéologique de Narbonnaise

**RBN** Revue belge de numismatique et de sigillographie

**RÉG** Revue des études grecques

**RivIstArch** Rivista dell'Istituto nazionale d'archeologia e storia dell'arte

**RM** Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung

**RN** Revue Numismatique

**SAIA** Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene

**SEG** Supplementum epigraphicum Graecum

**Syll<sup>3</sup>** Dittenberger, W., *Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum*, vols. I–IV, third edition, Leipzig 1915–1924

**TAPS** Transactions of the American Philosophical Society

**Xenia** Semestrale di antichità

**ZPE** Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik