

Brill's New Jacoby

Autokrates

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English

Ancient Greek

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Athenaios, *Deipnosophists* 11.2 (460d)

Source genre: miscellany (classical antiquities, food)

Fragment subject: religion - cult

Source date: 2nd century AD

Historian's date: 3rd century BC

τιμᾶται δὲ καὶ ἐν Ἀχαΐαι Δημήτηρ ποτηριοφόρος κατὰ τὴν Ἀνθέων χώραν, ὡς Αὐτοκράτης ἱστορεῖ ἐν β' Ἀχαικῶν.

Translation

And a Demeter *poteriphoros* (cup-bearing) is honoured in Achaia, in the region of Antheia, as Autokrates says in his second book of *On Achaia*.

Discussion of the text

No source apart from Autokrates mentions a Demeter *poteriphoros* (Eustathios, *Commentary to Homer's Iliad* 3.274.17, depends on Athenaios), nor a cult of Demeter based at Antheia. (The hypothesis of J. Herbillon, *Les cultes de Patras, avec une prosopographie patréenne*, Baltimore - London 1929, 36-7, that the cult of Demeter *poteriphoros* was an oracular cult located at Aroe rather than Antheia, is not based on any solid data, and is not accepted in recent scholarship).

M. Osanna, *Santuari e culti dell'Acaia antica* (Naples 1996), 126-8 interprets the *poterion* of our fragment as a *phiale* (a flat bowl used for libations) and thinks of libations made in the context of a cult of Demeter by *paides* (young boys). While the fragment in itself does not offer indications as to the date of such a cult, the mention of the Achaian *komai* might point to an early date of the cult. Jacoby however (*FGrH* 3b, *Kommentar*, 2) considered *poteriphoros* an unlikely epiclesis for Demeter ('schwerlich ein echter Kultname'); Jacoby's doubts are shared by R. Cherubina, *Ateneo. I Deipnosophisti, II: libri VI-XI* (Roma 2001), 1131 n. 4 (for a list of Demeter's cult-names see O. Kern, 'Demeter', *RE* 4.2, 1901, col. 2759; discussion of *poteriphoros* at col. 2728). The possibility should be raised that a reference to cups in connection to Demeter may have been overinterpreted by Athenaios.

Discussion of the fragment

The citation from Autokrates occurs at the beginning of the long excursus on cups which occupies the whole of book eleven; in a slightly awkward way, it brings to an end the introduction to the excursus, consisting of a list of first attestations of the term *poterion*. Athenaios, for the sake of the parallelism/opposition between the introduction of cereals and the introduction of (wine)-drinking cups, might be 'planting' here a term otherwise not attested in Greek literature on a scarcely known local author.

Commentary

Cults of Demeter in Achaia are amply attested; Demeter *Panachaia* ('of all the Achaians') and Zeus *Homarios* or *Homagyrios* ('Assembler') were honoured, probably as federal divinities, in the centre of the Achaian League, Aigion (Pausanias 7.24.2-3). Just as the epiclesis *Homagyrios* was used by the Achaians to insert themselves into panhellenic mythology (they derived the epiclesis from a meeting of the best of the Greeks, called by Agamemnon to discuss how best to punish Priam, Paus. 7.24.2), so also for Demeter there grew traditions which connected Achaia to Eleusis, in some cases giving to Achaia precedence over Eleusis. Thus according to local Achaian tradition, Triptolemos, upon his arrival from Attica, introduced the cultivation of cereals in Aroe an Achaian kome (village) with a speaking name, derived from the tilling of the soil; the event took place during the reign of the autochthonous king Eumelos, another speaking name (Paus. 7.18.2-3; Etymologicum Magnum 147, 39-42 puts in Aroe the very first tilling and sowing by Triptolemos, ἐν αὐτῇ πρώτον ἤροσέν τε καὶ ἔσπειρε: M. Casevitz and Y. Lafond, *Pausanias. Description de la Grèce, VII: L'Achaïe* (Paris 2000), 167-8). Pausanias continues with the story of how Antheias, the son of Eumelos, yoked the dragons to the chariot of Triptolemos and tried to sow the corn himself, while Triptolemos was sleeping; but he died in the attempt, and in his memory Eumelos and Triptolemos founded Antheia (another speaking name: 'the flowering one'); later, the komai of Aroe, Antheia and Mesatis came together to form the city of Patrai (Paus. 7.18.2-5).

There is thus clearly a strong connection with Demeter in this area.

The same applies to Dionysos: the parallelism between introduction of cereals and introduction of (wine)-drinking cups, mentioned above, might have been traditional in the region too. Pausanias mentions the presence at Patrai of three statues of Dionysos, representing the three ancient settlements from which Patrai grew, and bearing the cult-names of Mesateus, Antheus and Aroeus, which are linked with agriculture (7.21.6); on the connection between Dionysos and Demeter in this area, see most recently Stratiki, K. A. 'Les *Dionysoi* de Patras. Le mythe et le culte de Dionysos dans la *Periéghèse* de Pausanias', in A. Bernabé et al., *Redefining Dionysos* (Berlin 2013), 401-414. Furthermore, numerous attic vases presenting the departure of Triptolemos on his chariot depict Demeter standing in front of the hero, holding a small oinochoe and pouring a liquid on the *phiale* held by Triptolemos: the Demeter *poteriphoros* of Antheia may be an analogue of the pouring Demeter of these vases, as suggested by A.B. Cook, *Zeus: a study in ancient religion I: Zeus god of the bright sky* (Cambridge 1914), 228 n. 1.

Commentary

Archaeological finds in Achaia may shed new light on the issue. A cult of Demeter in the region of Achaian Dyme is explicitly attested by a third century inscription with a sacred law regulating the women's dress and ornament at the festival of Demeter (F. Sokolowski, *Lois aacrées des cités grecques: supplément* (Paris 1961), n^o 33); this inscription was found at a locality called Koupoulia, a toponym that

means 'small cups', and that clearly derives from the huge amount of miniature votive vases found by the locals. Rizakis has proposed to connect this cult of Demeter to Autokrates' fragment mentioning a Demeter *poteriphoros*, noting that although the epiclesis *poteriphoros* for Demeter is mentioned by Athenaios/Autokrates specifically in connection with Antheia, which was close to Patras, and not in connection with Dyme, it would fit very well the cult at Koupoulia: A.D. Rizakis, 'Το λατρευτικόν πάνθεον της αρχαίας Δύμης. Θεοί και Ἡρωες', in A.D. Rizakis (ed.), *Paysages d'Achaïe II: Dymé et son territoire, Actes du colloque international: Dymaia et Bouprasia, Kato Achaia, 6-8 Octobre 1995, Meletemata 29* (Athens 2000), 128- 9.

However, recent emergency excavations in the locality Thea of Patras have brought to light various structures, among which an altar, and dedications (M. Petropoulos, 'Ἡ ἀρχαία Ἄνθεια τῆς Πάτρας', *Πρακτικά του Ζ' Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Πελοποννησιακῶν Σπουδῶν*, τομος Β (αρχαιοτης) (Athens 2007), 52-56); the latter comprise a ceramic sherd bearing the inscription ΑΙΣΧΡΕΑΣ Δ[-], possibly preserving a dedication to Demeter; more than 40.000 miniature vases of all shapes; and terracotta figurines of women carrying water (*hydriaphoroi*). The date of the dedications ranges from the late geometric to the hellenistic period. Miniature vessels for carrying water and figurines of women carrying water are extremely common in sanctuaries of Demeter (see S.G. Cole, 'The uses of water in Greek sanctuaries', in R. Hågg, N. Marinatos, G.C. Nordquist (eds.), *Early Greek Cult Practice* (Stockholm 1988), 164-5; S.G. Cole, 'Demeter in city and countryside', in S. Alcock and R. Osborne, *Placing the Gods. Sanctuaries and Sacred Space in Ancient Greece* (Oxford 1994), 203-204 and n. 17). Accordingly, even though it is not yet clear whether there was a temple at Thea, M. Petropoulos, 'Ἡ λατρεία της Δήμητρας στην Αχαΐα', in I. Leventi, C. Mitsopoulou (edd.), *Sanctuaries and cults of Demeter in the ancient Greek world*, Proceedings of a Scientific Symposium, University of Thessaly (Volos, 4 - 5 June 2005), (Volos 2010), 165-6, has proposed to identify the place with Antheia, and the cult with that of Demeter *Poteriphoros* located at Antheia (see also Petropoulos, 'Ἡ ἀρχαία Ἄνθεια τῆς Πάτρας', 52-56).

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Athenaios, *Deipnosophists* 9.51 (395a)

Source genre: miscellany (classical antiquities, food)

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Αὐτοκράτης ἐν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς καὶ τὸν Δία ἱστορεῖ μεταβαλεῖν τὴν μορφήν εἰς περιστερὰν ἐρασθέντα παρθένου Φθίας ὄνομα ἐν Αἰγίῳ.

Translation

Autokrates in his work *On Achaia* relates that Zeus even transformed himself into a pigeon when he fell in love with a young girl of Aigion named Phthia.

Discussion of the text

Metamorphoses of gods in love are common in Greek mythology. Here, the transformation in a pigeon (or dove) fits the amorous purpose of Zeus: doves are typical love-presents (on the connection between Aphrodite and the dove, see V. Pirenne-Delforge, *L'Aphrodite grecque* (Liège 1994), 415-7).

Discussion of the fragment

The fragment is part of a detailed excursus on (edible) birds. The story of the metamorphosis is also told, much in the same words, by Aelian, *Varia Historia* 1.15: Ἀχαιοὶ δὲ αὖτε πάλιν λέγουσι λόγοι καὶ τὸν Δία αὐτὸν μεταβαλεῖν τὴν μορφήν εἰς περιστερὰν, ἔρασθέντα παρθένου Φθίας ὄνομα. ἐν Αἰγίῳ δὲ ὤκει ἡ Φθία αὕτη. Aelian probably depends on Athenaios, as stated by I. Schweighaeuser, *Animadversiones in Athenaei Deipnosophistas* V (Argentorati 1804), 176-7 (see now N.G. Wilson, *Aelian. Historical Miscellany* (Cambridge, Mass. 1997), 10-11), even though in Aelian Autokrates is not mentioned, and the source of the story are Ἀχαικῶν... λόγοι, the 'traditions of the Achaians'; from Aelian derives Eustathios, *Commentary to Homer's Iliad* 1.112.23-4.

Commentary

Aigion was the center of the Achaean league (an overview of sources and institutions in A.D. Rizakis, *Achaïe. III, Les cités achéennes : épigraphie et histoire*, Athens 2008, 158-210), and Zeus had important cults there: Pausanias (7.23. 9) mentions a precinct of Zeus *soter* in the agora, as well as (among others) a sanctuary of Zeus Homagyrus located by the sea, and containing statues of Zeus, Aphrodite and Athena (7.24.2).

Phthia is to be identified with the homonymous daughter of Phoroneos, who had from Zeus a son named Achaïos, the eponymous hero of the Achaians, according to both Servius, *Commentary to Vergil's Aeneid* 1.242 and Rufinus, *Recognitions* 10.21. The genealogy Phthia – Achaïos reflects the notion that the Achaians came to the Peloponnese from Phthiotian Achaïa, in Thessaly: one may compare the similar tradition which made Phthios the father of Achaïos, preserved in the Scholiast to Apollonios Rhodios 1.284, as well as the ancient one which saw in Phthios the son of Achaïos and father of Archandros, Herodotos 2.98, Stephanos of Byzantium, s.v. Ἑλλάς. On all this, cf. Jacoby (FGrH 3b, Kommentar, 3); K. Ziegler, *Phthia* 4, RE 20 1 (1941), col. 959; E. Arena, 'Per una storia dell' "Acaicità": la definizione identitaria degli Achei del Peloponneso', *Annali dell'Istituto di archeologia e storia antica Napoli*, NS 13-14 (2006), 13-80, in particular 70 and n. 235, who locates the development of this 'erudite syncretism' between Achaïan and Aiolian (in particular Phthiotian) traditions in the late fourth century. The legend was accepted as official in Aigion: bronze coins (hemiobols) of the second quarter of the second century AD from Aigion present on the obverse the head of Zeus, and on the reverse a woman (presumably Phthia) holding torches and running, with a large pigeon to the right of her feet; slightly later assaria (end of the second century AD) have the same reverse (see B.V. Head, *Historia Nummorum* 2 (Oxford 1911), 413; P. Gardner, *A Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum*, 10 (Peloponnesus) (London 18870, 18, nr. 3, pl. 4.13; and now J.H. Kroll, 'Hemiobols to assaria: the bronze coinage of Roman Aigion', *Numismatic Chronicle* 156 (1996), 53, 66 no. 8 and 75 no. 57, with pl. 15 and 19). The story of Achaïos' birth from Phthia and Zeus must have been a strictly local story, however, for Pausanias ignores it, preferring the Athenian-sponsored version, which makes of Achaïos and Ion the two sons of Xouthos and Kreousa (7.1.2-7).

Biographical Essay

Very little is known of local Achaian historiography: in all likelihood its development is to be linked to the emergence, in the third century BC, of the Achaian League. The two authors whose names have been preserved by the tradition, Autokrates and Autesion, have been both dated by Jacoby (FGrH 3b, Kommentar, 1; cf. A.D. Rizakis, 'Αχαϊκή ιστοριογραφία' Απολογισμός καὶ προοπτικές της έρευνας', in A.D. Rizakis, *Achaia und Elis in der Antike, Akten des 1. Internationalen Symposiums*, Athen 19-21 Mai 1989 (Athens 1991), 52 and n. 9) to the Hellenistic period, because of the authors who cite them and because of the way the citations are made. For Autokrates in particular a date in the third (possibly the second) century BC is the most likely.

It is impossible to determine the breadth and the organisation of the work of Autokrates; F1 would show that it was in at least two books. Athenaios is our only source, and it is highly unlikely that he accessed Autokrates' work directly. More probably he used an intermediary source; the citations from Autokrates might come from the entries *peristera* and *poterion* of a work of lexicographic character (thus G. Zecchini, *La cultura storica di Ateneo* (Milano 1989), 146-9). This would go some way towards explaining the fact that both citations from Autokrates are inserted into Athenaios' work in a very awkward way, almost as an afterthought. Athenaios 2.39d preserves a further interesting reference to an Achaian cult, for which he does not name a source (the passage comes from the *Epitome*): it concerns the otherwise unattested cult in Achaia of a certain *Deipneus*, whose name derives from that of the dinners (δειπνα). Autokrates may possibly lie behind this story. (For a synopsis of all twelve references to Achaia and Achaian cities and myths in Athenaios see A.D. Rizakis, *Achaïe. I, Sources textuelles et histoire régionale* (Athens 1995), 81-84; the story concerning the cult of *Deipneus* is the only one for which no source is given).

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