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THE COUSIN OF AIOLOS HIPPOTADES (STESICHORUS (?),
P.OXY. 3876, FR. 62)

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c. 13]ρι []
] εἰφ[. . .] νεκταρε[ό]δμωι
 . . .] δα [. .] τ ν
] ἐστόλισεν μέ[γ]α φᾶρος ἀνεψιὸς
 5] Αἰόλου Ἴπ[π]οτάδα, καθ[αρ]αῖς δ' ἐτά-
]νυcc(εν) ἐπ' αἰ[όν]εσ-
]σι, πυρὰν δ' ἄ[ρ]α μέμβλε[τ]ο νεκρῶι
 . . .] . . . [] περιμάκεας [ῥ]ους . . ους
 c. 8] ἰακτεριδὰ [']
 10 c. 9] ἐρ^αθ . . . []
 c.10]ετι . . []

supplementa omnia sunt ed. pr.

1 (ἔ)χ]ρι[σε, -σαν ed. pr.

4 εστέλισεν Π

8 ex. gr. ποιεῖ]θαι ed. pr.

9 μελίαι τ' ἐριδα[νούς] ed. pr. (miro accentu).

Professor M. W. Haslam¹, who has admirably edited the difficult fragments (The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Part LVII (1990), pp. 1-45) points out that this fragment describes a funerary scene; "Aeolus' cousin tends the corpse, and sets about the pyre" (p. 42). But who is Aeolus' cousin?

Haslam has recalled "four other found drowned bodies with Aeolid connections"; but in particular he has been reminded of the account of the burial of Misenus in the sixth book of the *Aeneid* (156 ff., and in particular 212 ff.). Misenus, he recalls, belonged to the crew of Odysseus before being transferred to that of Aeneas, if we can trust Strabo I 26 (Strabo is following Polybius; see Polybius 34, 2). Misenus, Haslam observes, is called by Virgil an Aeolid (164). But how can Aeneas or Odysseus be made out to be a cousin of Aeolus?

Haslam remarks that according to the genealogies given in the scholia on the *Odyssey* (Σ Q and V, ed. Dindorf, ii p. 444) and by Diodorus 4, 67, 3, Aeolus' father Hippotes was son of Mimas, and observes that Virgil (226-8) tells us that the bones of Misenus were placed in

¹I am grateful to Professor Haslam, Mr. W. S. Barrett and in particular Professor Rudolf Kassel for valuable assistance.

a bronze urn by one Corynaeus, and that a promontory on the Erythraean coast near Mount Mimas was called Corynaeum. This is ingenious, but in Haslam's own words he is catching at a straw.

Let us examine the genealogies to which Haslam has referred. According to Σ Q, loc. cit., there are three Aeoli². The first is the son of Hellen; the second is the son by Melanippe of Hippotes the son of Mimas; the third is son of Poseidon by Arne. Σ Q adds that according to Asklepiades of Tragilos (*FGrHist* 12 F 26) it was to the third Aeolus, the son of Poseidon, that Odysseus came.

Jacoby ad loc. remarks that the parentage of Aeolus ruler of the winds given by Asclepiades does not accord with Homer, who made him son of Hippotes, or with Euripides, who made Poseidon father of an Aeolus not by Arne but by Melanippe³, but that it does fit the genealogy given by Diodorus 4, 67, 3 f. In Diodorus Aeolus son of Hellen is father of Mimas; Mimas is father of Hippotes, and Hippotes by Melanippe is father of a second Aeolus; this second Aeolus is father of Arne, who by Poseidon is the mother of Boeotus and a third Aeolus; this third Aeolus becomes the ruler of the winds.

The genealogies in the Odyssean scholia and in Diodorus represent an attempt to relate together three different persons called Aeolus and the different accounts given of their parentage. Aeolus son of Hellen the son of Deucalion (or of Zeus) is the brother of Dorus and Xuthus and the eponym of the Aeolian division of the Hellenic race; he figures prominently in the genealogies given in the Hesiodic Catalogue of Women⁴. Aeolus the son of Arne or Melanippe by Poseidon is the eponym of the non-Boeotian Aeolians, as his brother Boeotus is the eponym of the Boeotians. Arne is a natural name for his mother to have; it was the name of a town in Thessaly, from where the ancestors of the Boeotians were believed to have migrated to Boeotia, and later the name of a town in Boeotia, which since it no longer existed in historical times was identified either with Akraiphion or with Chaeronea⁵. But Melanippe also is a natural name for the mother of the twins. She was originally the Earth Goddess, often black, like the Demeter of Phigaleia and Thelpusa in Arcadia, and often shaped like a horse, like the Demeter Erinys of Tilphossa in Boeotia who is the mother of the wonder horse Arion. Her consort was the Earth-Shaker long before he became connected with the sea; even after establishing that connection, he was still Hippios.

But a third Aeolus had to be accounted for, the ruler of the winds, according to Homer the son of Hippotes. Euripides, faced earlier with the same problem, had made Aeolus the son

²On the various Aeoli see W. H. Roscher, *LGRM* I (1884) 192; K. Tümpel, *R.-E.* I 1 (1894) 1036 ff.; Wilamowitz, *SBPAW* 1921, 63 ff. = *Kl. Schr.* I 440 ff.; H. von Geisau, *Der kleine Pauly* (1979) 184.

³See the hypothesis and prologue preserved by John Logothetes, in H. von Arnim, *Supplementum Euripideum* (1913) p. 25 (cf. p. 40); on its problems, see Wilamowitz (n. 2 above).

⁴See M. L. West, *The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women* (1985) 173 ff.; cf. E. Bethe, *R.-E.*, 2. Reihe, III (1920) 374 and C. Robert, *Gr. Heldensage* I (1920) 51 ff.

⁵See Hirschfeld in *R.-E.* II 1 (1895) 1202.

of Hellen the father of Melanippe, who by Poseidon was the mother of the twins Boeotus and Aeolus. The later genealogists knew a story that made Arne and not Melanippe the mother of the twins; they were obliged to fit in Melanippe by making her the consort of Hippotes.

They would have found their task much simpler if they had realised that in all probability Hippotes was originally identical with Poseidon. Sam Wide, *Lakonische Kulte* (1893), 80 n. 2, comparing Poseidon Hippios, Hippokurios, Hipposthenes, took him to be an hypostasis

of that god; he has been followed by H. Usener, by L. Malten and by F. Schachermeyr⁶.

Melanippe figures in Euripides' play *Μελανίππη ἡ σοφή*⁷ as daughter of Aeolus son of Hellen, not by his regular consort Eurydice or Enarete, but by Hippo or Hippe, daughter of Cheiron the Centaur, who herself according to one legend was changed into a horse; it is interesting to note her link with Thessaly, from which the ancestors of the Boeotians were believed to have come. Melanippe was therefore half-sister of the numerous sons of Aeolus the son of Hellen, among whom was the wily king of Corinth, Sisyphus.

The well-known story that Sisyphus and not Laertes was the real father of Odysseus is not attested in any extant author earlier than Aeschylus; see fr. 175 Radt, and cf. Sophocles, *Ajax* 190 with Σ ad loc. and Jebb's note; id., *Phil.* 384, 417, 625 and fr. 567 Radt and Euripides, *Cycl.* 104 with Seaford ad loc. and *I. A.* 524 and 1362. If this story is accepted, and if the ruler of the winds is identified with Aeolus the son of Melanippe, then he and Odysseus were first cousins.

But why, it will be asked, should Stesichorus refer to Odysseus in this curiously oblique fashion, almost in the manner of Lycophron? One recalls the problem of Pindar, *Nem.* 3, 63, where Memnon is called ἀνεπιὸς ζαμενῆς Ἑλένοιο. Why among all the sons of Priam is Helenus singled out? The likeliest answer is that of W. Christ⁸, that it is because Helenus alone survived the war. But the way Odysseus is described in our passage is less puzzling. As Haslam, p. 42 recalls, Virgil, *Aen.* 6, 164, calls Misenus *Aeolides*; Servius on *Aen.* 3, 239 takes him to have been the son of the ruler of the winds, pointing out that it is natural for the son of such a father to blow the trumpet, which depends on air⁹. Odysseus, then, was burying not only a member of his crew, but a relation, and it is not unnatural for the poet to refer to him in a fashion that reminds us of the relationship.

⁶Usener, *Rh. Mus.* 53 (1898) 359 = *Kl. Schr.* IV 256-7; Malten, *Arch. Jahrbuch.* 29 (1914) 199; Schachermeyr, *Poseidon* (1950) 39, n. 83.

⁷See n. 3. above.

⁸W. Christ, *Pindari Carmina prolegomenis et commentariis instructa* (1896) 255.

⁹Servius is rebuked for this by J. Schmidt, *R.-E.* XV 2 (1932), 2041 ff., who also cautions us against taking the word of Strabo and Polybius for the belief that Misenus belonged to the crew of Odysseus before he became a member of that of Aeneas, despite Ovid, *Met.* 14, 103 and Lycophron 737 ff. (see E. Norden, *Aeneis Buch VI*, 179).

In what poem can Stesichorus have described the burial of Misenus? One thinks of the *Nostoi*; as Haslam points out there is no metrical congruence with fr. 32 = 209 PMG, which has been ascribed to that poem, but that ascription may be wrong. One poem in which Odysseus may have played a part is the *Scylla*. But we have no complete list of the works of Stesichorus, as the discovery of the Lille papyrus with the speech of the mother of Eteocles and Polynices has reminded us, and certainty seems unattainable.

If this conjecture is correct, we learn that the identification of the ruler of the winds with the son of Melanippe and brother of Boeotus and the story that Sisyphus was the real father of Odysseus are as old as Stesichorus; and we learn that Strabo following Polybius was right in making Misenus a companion of Odysseus before he was a companion of Aeneas, and that Servius was right in making Misenus a son of the ruler of the winds.