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Corinth and Ephyra in Simonides' Elegy (fr. 15–16 West, Plut. *De malign*. 872D–E)*

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Plutarch cited Simonides' elegy with toponyms Corinth and Ephyra as proof that Corinthians had participated directly in the battle of Plataea (Plut. *De malign*. 872D–E). Though several places in Greece bore the name Ephyra (Strab. 8, 3, 5), a number of features in Simonides' text allows us to identify Ephyra with Corinth, but the juxtaposition of two names of the same city needs to be explained. On the one hand, Ephyra could denote a territory adjacent to Corinth, but it is difficult to localize it; attempts were made to identify the historical Ephyra with one of the settlements of the Mycenaean period in the vicinity of Corinth (Korakou and Aetopetra). On the other hand, several sources mention the fact that Ephyra could be used as the ancient name for Corinth, and Aristarchus remarked that in Homer Corinth was called Ephyra in the characters' speeches (i. e. by Glaucus); to be sure, in literary texts, and especially in poetry, the toponyms Ephyra and Corinth are virtually interchangeable. It thus seems probable that Simonides mentioned Ephyra as the ancient name of Corinth, implying by the use of this toponym, as well as by the mentioning of Glaucus, that the Corinthians who fought at Plataea were equal in prowess to the Homeric heroes.

Keywords: Simonides, Corinth, Ephyra, battle of Plataea, Acrocorinth, Glaucus, Korakou, Aetopetra.

In his treatise *On the Malice of Herodotus* Plutarch cites Simonides' elegy contesting the historian's account of the battle of Plataea. According to Herodotus (9, 69), Corinthians did not directly take part in the military action:

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ἀλλὰ Κορινθίους γε καὶ τάξιν ἣν ἐμάχοντο τοῖς βαρβάροις, καὶ τέλος ἡλίκον ὑπῆρξεν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ Πλαταιᾶσιν ἀγῶνος ἔξεστι Σιμωνίδου πυθέσθαι γράφοντος ἐν τούτοις·

μέσσοις δ᾽ οἵ τ᾽ Ἐφύρην πολυπίδακα ναιετάοντες,
παντοίης ἀρετῆς ἴδριες ἐν πολέμῳ,
οἵ τε πόλιν Γλαύκοιο Κορίνθιον ἄστυ νέμοντες·
οἵ <?> κάλλιστον μάρτυν ἔθεντο πόνων,
χρυσοῦ τιμήεντος ἐν αἰθέρι· καί σφιν ἀέξει
αὐτῶν τ᾽ εὐρεῖαν κληδόνα καὶ πατέρων.

ταῦτα γὰρ οὐ χορὸν ἐν Κορίνθῳ διδάσκων οὐδ᾽ ᾄσμα ποιῶν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἄλλως δὲ τὰς πράξεις ἐκείνας, ἐλεγείᾳ γράφων, ἱστόρηκεν.

(Plut. *De malign*. 872D–E Bernardakis; Simon. fr. 15–16 West)

"About the Corinthians, their battle formation against the barbarians, and the consequences for them after the battle of Plataea we can learn from Simonides. He writes:

'And in the center both the inhabitants of Ephyra with its many springs,
well acquainted with all sorts of virtue in battle,
and those who rule Glaucus' town, the Corinthian citadel
<who> served as the finest witness of their toils
the precious gold in the sky; this to their benefit will increase
their own and their fathers' broad fame'.

Simonides has recorded this, neither for a choral production in Corinth nor for a song in honor of the city, but simply writing up these events in elegiacs."

(Transl. D. Sider 2001, 22–23)

Simonides asserts that the inhabitants of Corinth and Ephyra did indeed fight at Plataea; the sun itself witnessed their valour. A significant number of corrections has been proposed for the transmitted text.[1] Already Reiske saw that Plutarch must have changed the Homeric form Ἐφύρην to the Attic form Ἐφύραν when citing the fragment. Μέσσοι is an amendment that was proposed earlier by Turnebus (1553), and an improvement in clarity on the transmitted μέσσοις; in a similar vein, O. Poltera has recently proposed μεσσόθι. Should μέσσοις be preserved, it would have to depend on a lost word from the previous verse. M. West accepted νέμοντες instead of νέμονται, following Aldus Manutius. He also formally divided the lines quoted by Plutarch into two fragments of the same elegy (so that verses 1–3 constitute fragment 15, verses 4–6 fragment 16), surmising that οἵ was probably inserted by Plutarch to introduce the next extract from the same elegy by Simonides. The beginning of v. 4. was restored differently: earlier editors joined these two passages and considered οἵ the authentic beginning of v. 4, so that only the following syllable needed to be reconstructed (Hiller reconstructed οἵπερ, Bergk — οἵ καὶ καλλίω; the latter conjecture was accepted by Pearson and Sandbach).[2] Schneidewin reconstructed the beginning of v. 4 as κύκλον without Plutarch's insertion οἵ.[3] Amendments καλλίω and κύκλον explain χρυσοῦ in genetive; without corrections χρυσοῦ is unclear.[4] It is fair-

[1] Plutarch's text follows Bernardakis' edition, but the poetic fragments are adjusted according to M. L. West's edition (West [2]1992, 121–122), followed by D. Sider.

[2] See Hiller 1911, 249; Bergk 1843, 772; Pearson, Sandbach 1970, 120.

[3] Schneidewin 1835, 82. The reader suggested that the initial word of verse 4 might have been πολλοί: this solution would unite two fragments in a coherent text; however, it constitutes a shift in meaning ("many" instead of "which").

[4] Catenacci (2001, 127) explains χρυσοῦ as *genetivus materiae.*

ly certain that the elegy did not end with fr. 16, 3 West (αὐτῶν τ᾽ εὐρεῖαν κληδόνα καὶ πατέρων).[5]

The juxtaposition of Ἐφύρα, πόλις Γλαύκοιο and Κορίνθιον ἄστυ seems unusual. As Plutarch quoted both fragments of Simonides' elegy when discussing Corinthians' prowess, he must have understood Ephyra as Corinth itself, but the correlation of these expressions is not self-evident because several cities in Greece bore the name "Ephyra" including Corinth. The issue is that in Simonides' fragment Ἐφύρα and πόλις Γλαύκοιο, Κορίνθιον ἄστυ are joined by the coordinating particle τε, and it is logical to assume that they designated different places. This paper will examine the possible interpretations of Ἐφύρα.

To some scholars, Simonides' wording suggested that πόλις Γλαύκοιο and Κορίνθιον ἄστυ designated Acrocorinth (ἄστυ is regularly used for a citadel), while Ἐφύρα πολυπῖδαξ denoted the *chora* of Corinth. F. G. Schneidewin in particular adhered to this interpretation; similarly, C. Catenacci suggested that πόλις Γλαύκοιο, Κορίνθιον ἄστυ could be identified with the remains of a considerable settlement on Acrocorinth dating to the archaic period, the time of Simonides.[6] He assumed that Simonides could be drawing attention to the fact that both the citizens of the city of Corinth and the inhabitants of the chora defended Greece in the battle of Plataea in contrast to the Trojan war, when two Corinthians, Euchenor and Glaucus, fought for the two opposite sides.[7] I. Rutherford's opinion that, on the contrary, Ἐφύρα πολυπῖδαξ must denote Acrocorinth because πολυπῖδαξ had been used by Homer for mount Ida,[8] does not seem convincing.

According to Strabo, four cities, besides a village and an island, were called Ephyra: 1) Corinth itself, 2) a town in Thesprotia, 3) a town in Thessaly, 4) a town on the riverside of the Selleeis:

> μεταξὺ δὲ τοῦ Χελωνάτα καὶ τῆς Κυλλήνης ὅ τε Πηνειὸς ἐκδίδωσι ποταμὸς καὶ ὁ Σελλήεις ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ λεγόμενος, ῥέων ἐκ Φολόης· ἐφ᾽ ᾧ Ἐφύρα πόλις, ἑτέρα τῆς Θεσπρωτικῆς καὶ Θετταλικῆς καὶ τῆς Κορίνθου, τετάρτη τις ἐπὶ τῇ ὁδῷ κειμένη τῇ ἐπὶ τὸν Λασίωνα, ἤτοι ἡ αὐτὴ οὖσα τῇ Βοινώᾳ (τὴν γὰρ Οἰνόην οὕτω καλεῖν εἰώθασιν) ἢ πλησίον ἐκείνης, διέχουσα τῆς Ἠλείων πόλεως σταδίους ἑκατὸν εἴκοσιν· ἐξ ἧς ἥ τε Τληπολέμου τοῦ Ἡρακλέους δοκεῖ λέγεσθαι μήτηρ· τὴν ἄγετ᾽ ἐξ Ἐφύρης ποταμοῦ ἄπο Σελλήεντος <…> ἔστι δὲ καὶ περὶ Σικυῶνα Σελλήεις ποταμὸς καὶ Ἐφύρα πλησίον κώμη, καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀγραίᾳ τῆς Αἰτωλίας Ἐφύρα κώμη, οἱ δ᾽ ἀπ᾽ αὐτῆς Ἔφυροι· καὶ ἄλλοι οἱ Περραιβῶν πρὸς Μακεδονίᾳ, οἱ Κραννώνιοι, καὶ οἱ Θεσπρωτικοὶ οἱ ἐκ Κιχύρου τῆς πρότερον Ἐφύρας. (Strab. 8, 3, 5, C 338)
>
> "It is between Chelonatas and Cyllene that the river Peneius empties; as also the river Selleeis, which is mentioned by the poet and flows out of Pholoe. On the Selleeis is situated a city Ephyra, which is to be distinguished from the Thesprotian, Thessalian and Corinthian Ephyras; it is the fourth Ephyra situated on the road that leads to Lasion, being either the same city as Boenoa (for thus Oenoe is usually called), or else near that city, at a distance of one hundred and twenty stadia

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[5] The end of this elegy ξεινοδόκων γὰρ ἄριστος ὁ χρυσὸς ἐν αἰθέρι λάμπων in Schneidewin's edition; similarly Bergk, but with ὥριστος instead of ἄριστος. Based on the newly found papyrus (P. Oxy. 3965 fr. 5), M. L. West restored]πολυ[in verse following fr. 16, 3 (in this he is followed by Sider (2001, 22), whereas the verse ξεινοδόκων γὰρ ἄριστος ὁ χρυσὸς ἐν αἰθέρι λάμπων appears in the West's edition as Simon. fr. 12.

[6] Schneidewin 1835, 83; cf. Catenacci 2001, 122.

[7] "…i Corinzi hanno partecipato *ad unum omnes:* sia quelli che abitano le contrade dell' antica Efira sia quelli che popolano l'urbe attorno all' Acrocorinto (ἄστυ Κορίνθιον) <…> Glauco è nome emblematico ed evocativo, tutt' altro che generico, per Corinto e i Corinzi quando si parla della guerra di Troia, come appunto accade nell' elegia per la battaglia di Platea" (Catenacci 2001, 126).

[8] Rutherford 2001, 49.

from the city of the Eleians. This, apparently, is the Ephyra which Homer calls the home of the mother of Tlepolemus, the son of Heracles, when he says: 'Whom he had brought out of Ephyra, from the river Selleeis' <…> But there is another river Selleeis near Sicyon, and near the river a village Ephyra. And in the Agaean district of Aetolia there is a village Ephyra; its inhabitants are called Ephyri. And there are still other Ephyri, I mean the branch of the Perrhaebians who live near Macedonia (the Crannonians), as also those Thesprotian Ephyri of Cichyrus, which in earlier times was called Ephyra."

(Transl. H. L. Jones, slightly modified)

Strabo's catalogue of Ephyras consists of two parts, stemming probably from two distinct traditions, partly from Demetrius of Scepsis and partly from Apollodorus of Athens; both scholars are referred to by Strabo himself (Strab. 8, 3, 6). Ephyra is mentioned in Homeric epos seven times (*Il.* 2, 659; 6, 152; 6, 210; 13, 301; 15, 531; *Od.* 1, 260; 2, 328), and it is not always clear which city, Thesprotian or Thessalian, is meant.[9] There were also three rivers called Selleeis,[10] and we know that Apollodorus and Demetrius debated the location of Ephyra on this river (Hom. *Il.* 2, 659; 15, 528–531); Demetrius located it in Elis (in this he is followed by Strabo), Apollodorus, on the other hand, continuing Aristarchus' tradition (see Jacoby 1993, 788 on Apollod. F. gr. Hist. 244, 181) located it in Thesprotia.[11] A contamination of two independent traditions regarding Homeric Ephyra is possible, as both lists mention Thessaly. C. W. Blegen suggested that the second list is an interpolated gloss on the first one and "the village near Sicyon is really a second version of the Corinthian Ephyra mentioned above".[12] However, if the second list of Ephyras was a gloss on the first one, the expression ἔστι δὲ καὶ περὶ Σικυῶνα Σελλήεις ποταμὸς καὶ Ἐφύρα πλησίον κώμη would correspond to Ἐφύρα πόλις… τῆς Κορίνθου. It is difficult to assert that words κώμη and πόλις designate the same Ephyra. S. Radt also noted that Strabo enumerates cities and villages separately.[13] On the other hand, Strabo mentions both the Ephyra in Sicyonia (the village) and the Corinthian Ephyra (a suburb of Corinth or its ancient name), which is situated in the vicinity of the first, and if he understood Ἐφύρα πόλις… τῆς Κορίνθου as designating the suburb, it may have also been the Ephyra in Sicyonia; in other words, here as well, we might be dealing with a gloss.

Independently of the question whether Strabo viewed Ephyra as the ancient name of Corinth, one of Ephyras mentioned in Strab. 8, 3, 5=C 338, was a village near Sicyon and the other was Corinth itself. The Ephyra mentioned in Simonides' elegy must be one of these cities or villages. What might help us to identify it? According to the text of the fragment, it would have abounded in water (Simonides qualified it as πολυπῖδαξ) and its

[9] Moreover L. Deroy supposed that Homeric Ephyra was not a real city, connecting this toponym with ζέφυρος (Deroy 1949, 401–402), but the description of Ephyras in the geographical sources allows to localize them.

[10] Rivers with the name Selleeis flow in Thesprotia, in Elis, and in Troad (Honigmann 1923, 1320). Towns and villages named Ephyra were situated in Elis on the Selleeis, in Sicyonia (on the Selleeis, too, according to Strabo), in Thessaly (identified with Crannon), in Epirus (identified with Cichyrus), and also Corinth had a name Ephyra (Philippson 1907, 20–21).

[11] Hom. *Il.* 2, 659: τὴν ἄγετ' ἐξ Ἐφύρης ποταμοῦ ἄπο Σελλήεντος. Like ancient sources, modern commentators place the Homeric Ephyra on the Selleeis in the different regions: Jones (1988, map 9), and Janko (1995, 287) in Elis. G. S. Kirk with reference to Aristarchus (schol. ad *Il.* 2, 659 A Erbse) located this Ephyra in Thesprotia (Kirk 1985, 225). Also Ephyra in Hom. *Od.* 1, 260–263 was identified by Strabo with the one in Elis (Strab. 8, 3, 5) but now is recognized as Thesprotian Ephyra (Heubeck 1990, 108).

[12] Blegen 1923, 159.

[13] Radt 2007, 390–391.

inhabitants would have had a good reputation in war (παντοίης ἀρετῆς ἴδριες ἐν πολέμῳ). While these characteristics may apply to some of the other Ephyras, Plutarch's context implies that he understood it as Corinthian Ephyra.

Indeed, both traits mentioned above would suit Corinth. As for the Corinthians' military prowess, it was known from the *Iliad*, where Euchenor and Glaucus, Corinthian heroes, fought in the battle of Troy, Euchenor on the side of the Achaeans (Hom. *Il.* 13, 663–668), and Glaucus on the side of the Trojans (Hom. *Il.* 6, 144–153). This singular circumstance (two outstanding representatives of one city fighting on different sides of the conflict) was, as L. R. Farnell pointed out, first emphasized by Simonides, and referred to by Pindar,[14] whose words πρὸ Δαρδάνου τειχέων ἐδόκησαν / ἐπ᾽ ἀμφότερα μαχᾶν τάμνειν τέλος implied both Glaucus and Euchenorus (Pind. *Ol.* 13, 56–57).[15] In addition Pindar noted that Glaucus lived in Lycia (Hom. *Il.* 6, 210), however his ancestors' hometown was Corinth:

> ἐκ Λυκίας δὲ Γλαῦκον ἐλθόντα τρόμεον Δαναοί. τοῖσι μὲν
> ἐξεύχετ᾽ ἐν ἄστεϊ Πειράνας σφετέρου πατρὸς ἀρχὰν
> καὶ βαθὺν κλᾶρον ἔμμεν καὶ μέγαρον.
>
> (Pind. *Ol.* 13, 60–62)

> "The Danaans trembled before Glaucus who came from Lycia. And to them he boasted that in the city of Peirene were the kingship and rich inheritance and the palace of his father."
>
> (Transl. W. H. Race)

Thus, Glaucus was connected with Ephyra (in Homer), with Corinth (in Pindar) and also with Lycia.[16] In Homer Glaucus himself designated his hometown as Ephyra, not Corinth, but the scholiasts understood them as two names of the same city. The issue of the double name for Corinth in poetry will be treated below.

As for the abundance of water (Ἐφύρη πολυπῖδαξ), poets as well as geographers report that Corinth was well supplied with water. In one of his famous epitaphs, also quoted by Plutarch,

Simonides qualifies Corinth as εὔυδρος:

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[14] See Farnell 1965, 95. He cites another Simonides' verse from Aristotle's *Rhetoric*: Κορινθίοις δ᾽ οὐ μέμφεται τὸ Ἴλιον (1363a16 with *varia lectio* οὐ μανίει: PMG Simon. 572). According to Aristotle, Corinthians were insulted by Simonides' hint at their having taken part in the Trojan war on both sides of the conflict. It is tempting to imagine that the laudatory tone of fr. 15–16 West might have been an attempt to appease the Corinthians. C. Catenacci also remarks that the hint at Glaucus in PMG 572 must have been particularly insulting for the Corinthians during the Persian wars ("Un'affermazione equivoca e tendenziosa nel parallelismo tra querra troiana e guerre persiane e nella temperie di voci non edificanti sulla condotta dei Corinzi a Salamina e Platea" — Catenacci 2001, 124). The fact that Simonides was specifically referring to Glaucus is confirmed by Plutarch (ὁ Σιμωνίδης φησίν, ὦ Σόσσιε Σενεκίων, τοῖς Κορινθίοις οὐ μηνίειν τὸ Ἴλιον ἐπιστρατεύσασι μετὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, ὅτι κἀκείνοις οἱ περὶ Γλαῦκον ἐξ ἀρχῆς Κορίνθιοι γεγονότες συνεμάχουν προθύμως…: "Simonides says 'Ilium is not wroth with the Corinthians' for coming up against her with the Achaeans, because the Trojans also had Glaucus, who sprang from Corinth, as a zealous ally", Plut. Dion 1, 1; transl. B. Perrin) and it is quoted in scholia to Pindar (schol. ad *Ol.* 13, 78c).

[15] Gildersleeve 1890, 233.

[16] Modern scholars assume that Glaucus' residence in Lycia reflects the transposition of a Lycian myth to Corinth: thus, L. Malten suggested that the author of the Corinthian epic cycle known as "Eumelus" (see West 2002, 109) may have transferred the myth of Bellerophon to Corinth, although it had originally been connected with Lycia, because Corinth did not have a myth of its own: "Das sagenlose Korinth bereichert sich um einen Mythos, den es aus der *Ilias* entnimmt, mit dem Trick, daß es das dortige Ephyra sich gleichsetzt" (Malten 1944, 8–9; see also Stoevesandt 2008, 60).

ὦ ξένε, εὔυδρὸν ποτ᾽ ἐναίομεν ἄστυ Κορίνθου,
νῦν δ᾽ ἅμ᾽ Αἴαντος νᾶσος ἔχει Σαλαμίς.[17]
ἐνθάδε Φοινίσσας νῆας καὶ Πέρσας ἑλόντες
καὶ Μήδους, ἱερὰν Ἑλλάδα ῥυσάμεθα.

(CEG 131; Simon. 157 Schneidewin; 81 Hiller; Plut. *De malign*. 870E; Dio Chrys. 20, 18)

"Hail stranger! Once by Corinth's fairest springs we dwelt;
Now Salamis, isle of Ajax, holds our dust.
Phoenician ships we smote here, Medes and Persians felled,
And kept the holy land of Hellas free."

(Transl. L. Pearson, F. H. Sandbach)[18]

How well Corinth was supplied with water may be seen from Pausanias, who lists numerous springs of the city (Paus. 2, 3, 5). The most celebrated among them was, of course, Peirene, which came to be seen as almost the "heart" of the city: thus, in the victory ode quoted above, Pindar calls Corinth ἄστυ Πειράνας (Pind. *Ol.* 13, 61); in the Delphic oracle, quoted by Herodotus, Peirene is the main feature of Corinth (…Κορίνθιοι, οἳ περὶ καλὴν / Πειρήνην οἰκεῖτε καὶ ὀφρυόεντα Κόρινθον — Hdt. 5, 92B: "Corinthians, you who dwell by lovely Pirene and the overhanging heights of Corinth" — transl. A. D. Godley). Strabo discusses the stream of Peirene and explains Euripides' epithet περίκλυστος Ἀκροκόρινθος (Eur. fr. 1084 Nauck) as 'washed on all sides' in the depths round the mountain (Strab. 8, 6, 21, C 379).[19] Strabo clearly refers to the Upper Peirene, the spring at Acrocorinth. Another spring bearing the same name surfaces outside the walls of Acrocorinth. It was described by Pausanias (Paus. 2, 5, 1), who supposed that both Peirenes, the upper and the inferior one, flowed from the same underground river.[20]

Thus, seeing that Corinth abounded in water and its inhabitants were famous for valour, it is natural to understand Simonides' Ephyra as denoting Corinth. More specifically, it is not unreasonable to suppose that Ἐφύρη πολυπῖδαξ might denote Acrocorinth. However, the exact relationship between the two toponyms in the poem remains unclear.

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[17] Metonymical designation of a city by its outstanding hero (or eponym) is frequent in Homer (*Il.* 2, 332; 2, 677; 11, 682; 14, 230; 17, 191) and the practice continued in elegies (Mimn. fr. 9, 1), tragedy (Eur. fr. 228, 6) and in epigrams (*AP* 7, 708). This type of designation became particularly widespread in sepulchral epigrams, where the native city of the deceased had to be mentioned alongside his name (*AP* 7, 24; 7, 78; 7, 81 etc).

[18] Plutarch referred to Simonides' epigram in order to demonstrate that Corinthians actively participated in the Persian wars, but Pearson and Sandbach suggested that this inscription may commemorate an earlier expedition to Salamis, as the lettering can be dated to the period before 600 B. C. (Pearson, Sandbach 1970, 107). A. Petrovic dates this epigram to the period after 480 B. C., characterizing the lettering as archaizing ("die Schrift scheint deswegen eine absichtlich archaisierte Variante der korinthischen Schrift" — Petrovic 2007, 145). O. Hansen supposed that the epigram might have been authored by Solon and that Simonides supplemented it (Hansen 1991, 206–207). For our purposes, however, it is important that, whatever its authorship and date, this epigram characterized Corinth as abounding in water.

[19] Radt disagrees with this explanation preferring to connect περίκλυστον with the two gulfs, Corinthian and Saronic, that wash the shores of Corinthia (cf. *bimaris Corinthus* — Hor. *Carm.* 1, 7, 2; Ov. *Fast*. 4, 501). This version seems to contradict Euripides, who described not Corinth as the whole city, but specifically Acrocorinth (ἱερὸν ὄχθον).

[20] This idea was denied by S. Radt (2007, 485) and B. H. Hill (1964, 4).

Ancient scholars, as early as Aristarchus, remarked that Homer used the name Κόρινθος in his narrative (*Il*. 2, 570; 13, 664), whereas Ἐφύρη was reserved for character's speech; thus, it is used twice (*Il*. 6, 152; 210) by Glaucus in address to Diomedes:

> ἔστι πόλις Ἐφύρη μυχῷ Ἄργεος ἱπποβότοιο,
> ἔνθα δὲ Σίσυφος ἔσκεν, ὃ κέρδιστος γένετ᾽ ἀνδρῶν.
>
> (*Il.* 6, 152–153)

"There is a city Ephyra in a corner of Argos, pastureland of horses, and there dwelt Sisyphus who was craftiest of men (Transl. A. T. Murray).

The scholiast remarks on this passage:

ὅτι Ἐφύρην τὴν Κόρινθον ἐξ ἡρωϊκοῦ προσώπου εἶπεν (schol. A ad *Il.* 6, 152)

"That he called Corinth Ephyra when speaking through the heroic character's mouth".[21]

The idea became popular with Roman scholars, cf. in particular Velleius Paterculus:

Paulo ante Aletes (…) Corinthum, quae antea fuerat Ephyre, claustra Peloponnesi continentem, in Isthmo condidit. Neque est quod miremur ab Homero nominari Corinthum; nam ex persona poetae et hanc urbem et quasdam Ionum colonias iis nominibus appellat, quibus vocabantur aetate eius, multo post Ilium captum conditae (Vell. Pat. 1, 3, 3).

"Shortly before these events Aletes (…) founded upon the Isthmus the city of Corinth, the key to the Peloponnesus, on the site of the former Ephyra. There is no need for surprise that Corinth is mentioned by Homer, for it is in his own person as poet that Homer calls this city and some of the Ionian colonies by the names which they bore in his day, although they were founded long after the capture of Troy" (Transl. F. W. Shipley).

Velleius Paterculus may have found the definition of Ephyra as the ancient name for Corinth in geographical treatises, where the identification appeared regularly. Thus, Pliny mentioned Ephyra as the ancient name of Corinth:

In medio hoc intervallo, quod Isthmon appellavimus, adplicata colli habitatur colonia Corinthus, antea Ephyra dicta, sexagenis ab utroque litore stadiis, e summa sua arce, quae vocatur Acrocorinthos, in qua fons Pirene, diversa duo maria prospectans. (Plin. *HN* 4, 6).

"In the middle of this neck of land which we have called the Isthmus is the colony of Corinth, the former name of which was Ephyra; its habitations cling to the side of a hill, seven and half miles from the coast on either side, and the top of its citadel, called Acrocorinth, on which is the spring of Pirene, commands views of the two seas in opposite directions."

(Transl. H. Rackham).

This remark probably goes back to Pausanias (2, 1, 1), but unlike Pliny, Pausanias spoke of Corinthia (Κορίνθια), calling Ephyraea (Ἐφυραία) the whole region. Pausanias was drawing not on a scholarly source, but on a certain "Eumelus" (fr. 4 Bernabé), whose poem *Corinthiaca* he summarized:

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[21] This remark was later included in Eustathius' commentary on the *Iliad*: σημειοῦνται δὲ οἱ παλαιοί, ὅτι τὴν Κόρινθον, ἡνίκα ἡρωϊκόν ἐστι τὸ λαλοῦν πρόσωπον, Ἐφύρην καλεῖ — Eust. *ad Il.* 2, 570, van der Valk I, 448.

ἡ δὲ Κορινθία χώρα μοῖρα οὖσα τῆς Ἀργείας ἀπὸ Κορίνθου τὸ ὄνομα ἔσχηκε (…) Εὔμηλος δὲ ὁ Ἀμφιλύτου τῶν Βακχιδῶν καλουμένων, ὃς καὶ τὰ ἔπη λέγεται ποιῆσαι, φησὶν ἐν τῇ Κορινθίᾳ συγγραφῇ—εἰ δὲ Εὐμήλου γε ἡ συγγραφή—Ἔφυραν Ὠκεανοῦ θυγατέρα οἰκῆσαι πρῶτον ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ (…) καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν Σικυῶνος τὴν Ἀσωπίαν, ἀπὸ δὲ Κορίνθου τὴν Ἐφυραίαν μετονομασθῆναι (Paus. 2, 1, 1).

"The Corinthian land is a portion of the Argive, and is named after Corinthus (…) Eumelus, the son of Amphilytus, of the family called Bacchidae, who is said to have composed the epic poem, says in his *Corinthian history* (if indeed the history be his) that Ephyra, the daughter of Oceanus, dwelt first in this land (…) and that Asopia was renamed after Sicyon, and Ephyraea after Corinthus" (Transl. W. H. S. Jones).

Pausanias reports that a region was named after Ephyra, the daughter of Epimetheus, but "Eumelus" would have probably called the city of Corinth so as well.[22] The use of the toponym Ephyra instead of Corinth can be found in poetic contexts, both Greek and Latin. In Ovid (*Met.* 7, 391–392) Medea reaches Ephyra (*scil.* Corinth). Similarly, Ephyra was used as a poetic substitute for Corinth in Callimachus (*Hymn* 4, 42), and in an epigram by Agathius Scholasticus (*AP* 7, 220). And in another passage of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* Ephyra appears both as a toponym and as the name of the eponym nymph: *quaerit Beotia Dircen, / Argos Amymonen, Ephyre Pirenidas undas* (Ov. *Met*. 2, 239–240).

Thus, in poetry the name Ephyra was regularly used to designate Corinth; there is in fact an interesting example of such usage in a relatively late Corinthian elegiac inscription:

στῆσε δὲ μ' εἰν Ἐφύρ[ῃ] Πιρηνίδος ἀγχ[ὶ ῥεέθρων] / τῇδε Σεκου[νδ (IG IV, 1604)

"…put me up so in Ephyra near the stream of Peirene Secundinus".

The name Σεκου[νδεῖνος] restored by B. D. Meritt clearly shows that the inscription must be dated to Roman times.[23] The choice of the poetic and archaizing toponym Ephyra, unusual for epigraphic sources, for Corinth, reinforces the general solemnity of the inscription, although it may also be due to metrical considerations.

Origially, Ephyra and Corinth would have denoted different places. In the *Iliad* Ephyra is described as situated μυχῷ Ἄργεος ἱπποβότοιο (*Il.* 6, 152). The expression μυχῷ Ἄργεος occurs twice in Homer, in *Od.* 3, 263 denoting the city of Argos. The word μυχῷ in *Il.* 6, 152 suggests that location of the city was at a certain distance from the shore, but Corinth is situated on the two gulfs. In fact, the location of Argos is not obvious here and it was interpreted differently in the scholia: Ἄργος ἱππόβοτος was placed by Aristonicus following Aristarchus in Peloponnesus, and by other scholiast — in Thessaly (schol. bT).[24] According to Strabo, there was Ephyra in Thessaly, that was identified with Crannon,

[22] Ἐφύρα ἡ Κόρινθος, ἀπὸ Ἐφύρας τῆς Ἐπιμηθέως θυγατρός· Εὔμηλος δὲ ἀπὸ Ἐφύρας τῆς Ὠκεανοῦ καὶ Τηθύος, γυναικὸς δὲ γενομένης Ἐπιμηθέως: "Ephyra is Corinth, named after Ephyra, the daughter of Epimetheus; but Eumelus said, that after Ephyra, the daughter of Ocean and Tethys, who became the wife of Epimetheus" (Eum. fr. 1 Bernabé=Schol. in Ap. Rhod. 4, 1212–14b). The myth about Ephyra is also known from Hyginus: *Ephyre nympha Oceani filia Ephyren [condidit], quam postea Corinthum appellarunt* (Hyg. *Fab*. 275): "The nymph Ephyre, daughter of Ocean, founded Ephyre, which was later named Corinth".

[23] Meritt 1931, 66.

[24] Ἄργος δὲ ἱππόβοτον τὴν Πελοπόννησον καλεῖ, τὴν δὲ Θετταλίαν Ἄργος Πελασγικόν (schol. A ad *Il*. 6, 152). Also ἄμεινον δὲ Ἄργος ἱππόβοτον τὴν Θεσσαλίαν λέγειν (schol. bT ad *Il.* 3, 258).

whose location on the plain of Larissa suits the expression μυχῷ Ἄργεος better (Strab. 9, 5, 6). Thus, W. Leaf assumed that myth about Bellerophon recounted by Glaucus (Hom. *Il.* 6, 155–211), referring to a certain Ephyra, came from Thessaly, and only later was transposed to Corinth.[25] However, the scholiast (scholium A *ad loc.*) remarked that the epithet Ἄργος ἱππόβοτος denoted Peloponnesian Argos that could be taken metonymically: W. Leaf in addition to the Thessalian Ephyra, proposed another solution, as the expression μυχῷ Ἄργεος should be taken to mean "in a corner of Peloponnesus"; thus, Ephyra would be situated near Corinth.[26] Finally, μυχῷ Ἄργεος can be taken in the broad sense as "in the heart of Greece". According to Stephanus of Byzantium, μυχῷ Ἄργεος should be understood here as "in the heart of Greece", as Argos means the realm of Agamemnon (*Il.* 1, 30; 2, 108; 13, 379) and may imply the Peloponnesus and the whole Greece. Similarly B. Graziosi and J. Haubold thought that the expression referred to Glaucus' hometown in Greece, i. e. that for the hero, while at Troy, Ephyra seemed very far away, so that speaking about it he imagined it as situated in the very heart of Greece.[27]

As Ephyra was suggested to be situated in the vicinity of Corinth, there have been attempts to identify it with the remnants of the settlements near the city. P. Monceaux placed Ephyra near the sanctuary of Poseidon on the Isthmus; this version was not accepted by other scholars.[28] Thus, W. Leaf and C. W. Blegen were debating on Korakou and Aetopetra: Leaf placed Ephyra of Glaucus in Sicyonia (it was his third suggestion about location of Homeric Ephyra), identifying the citadel of Aetopetra with Ephyra and the river Longopotamos with the Selleeis (Aetopetra is situated 3 km. to the west from ancient Corinth and about 13 km. from Sicyon).[29] C. W. Blegen initially identified Ephyra with Korakou in the vicinity of Lechaeum, 4 km. to the northeast from ancient Corinth, however, two years later, in a discussion with Leaf, he admitted that Aetopetra as well as Corinth itself, could also be the Homeric Ephyra, and that "the exact situation may indeed never be identified".[30] A. Philippson referring to C. Blegen does not specify the location of Ephyra, but suggests that it may have been the part of Corinth.[31] Other scholars are more cautious: R. J. A. Talbert does not indicate Corinthian Ephyra on the map in the Barrington Atlas,

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[25] Leaf 1900, 268. R. Drews also believes that "Ephyre of the Bellerophon story was originally either Aetolian or Thessalian Ephyre", and that Ephyra could not be the ancient name of Corinth, because Κόρινθος "seems to be one of the oldest place-names in Greece" (Drews 1979, 122). The suffix -ινθ- shows the pre-Greek origin of this toponym (Lenschau 1924, 1010). On the other hand, G. S. Kirk in his commentary on this passage (Hom. *Il.* 6, 152) notes only that Ephyra was the old name of Corinth, without remarking on the possible transfer of toponym (Kirk 1990, 177).

[26] Leaf 1900, 268. B. Mader shares Leaf's opinion about the transfer of the toponym from Ephyra, situated near Corinth, to Corinth itself (Mader in LfgrE, Lief. XIV, 1489 (s. v. Κόρινθος). Autenrieth also understood Argos in *Il.* 6, 152 as *pars pro toto* for Peloponnesus (1904, 52 s. v. Ἄργος).

[27] …ἠγνόησε δ' ὅτι μυχὸς ἡ Κόρινθός ἐστι Γλαύκῳ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς οἰκοῦντι ὡς ἂν τῆς Εὐρώπης οὖσα δυτικωτάτη — Steph. Byz. *Ethnica* 290, 7 s. v. Ἐφύρα. Cf. Graziosi, Haubold 2010, 119.

[28] "Ces changements de nom cachent… la substitution des Doriens aux Ioniens" (Monceaux 1885, 406). Cf. "the cuttings in the rock described by Monceaux appear to date from the occupation of the site in the early classical period" (Fowler, Blegen 1932, 112).

[29] Leaf 1923, 155.

[30] Blegen 1923, 162–163. A type of ware found in Korakou was dubbed "Ephyraean", as Blegen supposed that Korakou "may perhaps be the Homeric Ephyra" (Blegen 1921, 54); this term is used to this day. Blegen's identification of Ephyra with Korakou is so far the best established identification (Dunbabin 1948, 60; Catenacci 2001, 121). About Aetopetra and Korakou see Blegen 1920, 3–5.

[31] „Doch scheint zuerst die Unterstadt an dem Nordfuß des Berges auf den beiden oberen Terrassen entstanden zu sein" (Philippson 1959, 84).

and the Basel commentary on the *Iliad* states that it is located somewhere in the northeast of Peloponnesus.[32]

If we compare these suggestions with literary sources, both Aetopetra and Korakou are situated near ancient Corinth and could in fact be identified with Ephyra: Aetopetra would have suited the expression ἔστι δὲ καὶ περὶ Σικυῶνα Σελλήεις ποταμὸς καὶ Ἐφύρα πλησίον κώμη better, while Korakou would have corresponded to Ἐφύρα πόλις… τῆς Κορίνθου (Strab. 8, 3, 5), if Strabo, or rather his sources, had known these Mycenaean settlements. As for Glaucus' hometown Ephyra, situated as Homer says μυχῷ Ἄργεος, it is difficult to choose between Korakou or Aetopetra: according to Homer only, Aetopetra, which is more distant from the shore, suits better; Strabo seems to mention both Korakou (Ἐφύρα πόλις… τῆς Κορίνθου) and Aetopetra (ἔστι δὲ καὶ περὶ Σικυῶνα Σελλήεις ποταμὸς καὶ Ἐφύρα πλησίον κώμη); or Korakou/Aetopetra meaning Ἐφύρα πόλις… τῆς Κορίνθου and another unidentified Ephyra on the Selleeis in the vicinity of Sicyon.

Finally, it is impossible to be certain which of these places "Eumelus" meant when he identified Ephyra with Corinth. It was thus that Ephyra began its literary existence independently of the original historical Ephyra.

The exact location of Simonides' Ἐφύρα πολυπῖδαξ cannot be identified solely on the basis of the verses cited by Plutarch. The word ἄστυ as well as πόλις can be applied both to a fortress and to the whole city,[33] and given that both Acrocorinth and Corinth abounded in water, πόλις Γλαύκοιο, Κορίνθιον ἄστυ and Ἐφύρα πολυπῖδαξ should not necessarily be opposed (cf. Pindar's expression ἄστυ Πειράνας that can refer to either). Pausanias' testimony on the Ephyraea cannot be used to corroborate the idea that Κορίνθιον ἄστυ denoted Acrocorinth, and Ephyra the chora of Corinth: he calls the region Ἐφυραία, so that the city's name would be Ἐφύρα. It is remarkable that Pliny identified Ephyra not with Acrocorinth but with the whole of Corinth; in other words, for him Ephyra included both the town and the citadel.

Naturally, the possibility that Simonides might have been opposing the city of Corinth and its suburban territories cannot be fully excluded, but C. Catenacci is surely right in attaching greater importance to the chronological distinction.[34] The toponyms Corinth and Ephyra in Simonides' elegy must be interpreted as referring not to a fortified center and a suburb (or chora) but to the ancient name of Corinth and the name used in the times of Simonides. The context in which Simonides' verses appear shows that Plutarch considered citizens of historical Corinth to be descendants of Ephyrians, who share the same reputation for courage on the battlefield. According to Simonides, Corinthians had shown their valour in the Trojan war, and thus πόλις Γλαύκοιο, Ἐφύρα and the Homeric epithet πολυπῖδαξ all serve to emphasize similar heroism displayed by contemporary Corinthians in the battle of Plataea. Furthermore, establishing a link between the toponyms Ἐφύρα, Κορίνθιον ἄστυ and the figure of Glaucus, Simonides stresses that he is speaking of the inhabitants of the same city, but in different ages, perhaps also alluding more specifically

[32] Talbert 2000, 58. Stoevesandt 2008, 61.

[33] Euvals, Voigt, in LfgrE, Lief. VIII, 1453 (s. v. ἄστυ); Schmidt in LfgrE, Lief. XX, 1364 (s. v. πόλις).

[34] "Una partecipazione unitaria che fuga le ombre che dal passato epico si proiettano per i Corinzi sul passato recentissimo delle guerre persiane" (Catenacci 2001, 126); "Negli anni della vittoria sui Persiani, viene inaugurata la rilettura della guerra di Troia come precedente paradigmatico dello scontro tra Greci e Persiani, all' interno della contrapposizione antica tra Europa e Asia (*idem*, 124).

in his description of Ephyrians' valour (παντοίης ἀρετῆς ἴδριες ἐν πολέμῳ) to Glaucus' speech in Homer:

> πέμπε δέ μ᾽ ἐς Τροίην, καί μοι μάλα πόλλ᾽ ἐπέτελλεν
> αἰὲν ἀριστεύειν καὶ ὑπείροχον ἔμμεναι ἄλλων,
> μηδὲ γένος πατέρων αἰσχυνέμεν, οἵ μέγ᾽ ἄριστοι
> ἔν τ᾽ Ἐφύρῃ ἐγένοντο καὶ ἐν Λυκίῃ εὐρείῃ.
>
> (*Il.* 6, 207–210)

"He [*scil.* Hippolochus] sent me to Troy and straightly charged me ever to be bravest and preeminent above all, and not bring shame upon the race of my fathers, that were far the noblest in Ephyre and in wide Lycia." (Transl. A. T. Murray)

Thus, the juxtaposition of πόλις Γλαύκοιο, Κορίνθιον ἄστυ and᾽Εφύρα πολυπῖδαξ in Simonides serves above all to create an association with Homeric epics and not to refer to geographical or historical *realia*. The presence of both Ephyra and Corinth in Simonides' elegiac fragment emphasizes the idea of continuity, suggesting that to the poet contemporary Corinthians, judging by their bravery in the battle of Plataea, appeared as worthy successors of Homeric heroes.

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