

# Telephos Arkasides in a New Poem of Archilochos

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## THE NEW POEM OF ARCHILOCHOS

It was certainly a stroke of luck that the Second International Conference of the Paros and Cyclades Institute of Archaeology dedicated to the great ancient Parian poet Archilochos, coincided with the recent announcement (spring 2005) of the discovery of a new poem of Archilochos by scholars at the University of Oxford, who used multi-spectral imaging. The newly read papyrus was found in Oxyrhynchos in Middle Egypt in 1897 and came from the same roll as two other previously published papyri (P.Oxy. VI 854 and XXX 2507) containing elegiac verses by Archilochos. Dr. Dirk Obbink of Oxford, who reconstructed the new texts, came to Paros and presented the new poem (P.Oxy. 4708) at the Opening Session of the Conference.

The poem, actually the first instance of a mythical narrative in elegiac verses from the Archaic period, narrates the battle in Mysia between the Greeks and Telephos, the legendary king of the Mysians.<sup>1</sup> In the largest of the restored fragments (Fr. 1), consisting of 28 lines, Archilochos sings of the heroic deeds of Telephos who alone defeated the great army of the Achaeans, mistakenly landed in Mysia en route to Troy. Scenes from the building of a ship and its being dragged ashore (Fr. 2), someone's death and perhaps a shipwreck at sea because of a storm, as suggested by the mention of *ἐννοσίγαιος* Poseidon (Fr. 3, 6), seem to have been described in the remaining fragments of the poem.

P.Oxy. 4708

Fr. 1

. . . . .  
] . . . . [  
εἰ δὲ] . [ . . . . ] . [ . ] . . θεοῦ κρατερῆ[ς ὑπ' ἀνάγκης  
οὐ χροῆ] ἀγ[α]λ[κίη]ν καὶ κακότητα λέγει[ν]  
γῶτ[ε]ρ[ε]ψάμ[ε]θ' αἴψα φυγεῖν φεύγειν δέ τις ὄρη·  
5 καὶ ποτ[ε] μ[ε]οῦνος ἐὼν Τηλέφος Ἀρκα[σίδης]

Ἀργείων ἐφόβησε πολὺν στρατ[όν,] οἳ δὲ φόβοντο  
 ἄλκιμ[οι,] ἧ̄ τόσα δὴ μοῖρα θεῶν ἐφόβει,  
 αἰχμηταί περ ἐόντες[ς.] εὐρρείτης δὲ Κ[αίκο]ς  
 π[ε]δῖον νεκύων στείνετο καὶ [πεδῖον  
 10 Μύσι]ον, οἳ δ' ἐπὶ θῆγα πολυφλοίσβοι[ο] θαλάσσης  
 χέρος' ὕπ' ἀμειλίχτου φωτὸς ἐναϊρό[μενοι  
 προ]τροπάδην ἀπέκλινον εὐκνήμ[ιδες Ἀχαιοί·  
 ἀ]σπᾶσιν δ' ἐς νέας ὠ[κ]υπύρ[ο]υς [ἐσέβαν  
 παῖδες τ' ἀθανάτων καὶ ἀδελφοί, [οὓς Ἀγαμέμνων  
 15 ἦ]μιον εἰς ἱερὴν ἤγε μαχησομένους.  
 οἳ δὲ τότε θλαφθέντες ὁδοῦ παρὰ θ[ῆ]ν' ἀφίκοντο·  
 Τε]ύθραντος δ' ἔρατῆν πρὸς πόλιν [ἐ]ξ[έ]πεσον·  
 ἔ]γθη [μ]έγος πνείοντες ὁμῶς αὐτοῖ[τε] καὶ ἵπποι  
 ἀ]φραδί[η]ι μεγάλως θυμὸν ἀκηχέ[δατο·  
 20 φ]άντο γὰρ ὑψίπυλον Τρώων πόλιν εἰς[αναβαίνειν  
 . . . [ ] . γη δ' ἐπάτευν Μυσίδα πυροφόρο[ν  
 Ἡρακλ]έης δ' ἤγησε[ε] βοῶν ταλ[α]κάρδιον [υἱόν,  
 οὔ]ρον ἀμ[ε]ίλιχ[τον] δηΐωι ἐν [πολ]έμ[ωι  
 Τ]ήλεφον, ὃς Δαγαῖσι κακὴν [τ]ό[τε] φύζαν ἐνόρσας  
 25 ἦ]ρειθε[ν] μοῦνος, πατρὶ χαριζόμενος  
 . . . ] . . . . . [ . ] . . . . [ . . . ] . [ . . . ] . . . [ . . . . . ] . . [ . . . ] . . . [ . . . . . ] . θα . [

*One doesn't have to call it weakness and cowardice, having to retreat, if it's under the compulsion of a god: no, we turned our backs to flee quickly: there exists a proper time for flight. Even once Telephos from Arcadia put to flight the great army of Argives, and they fled -indeed, so greatly was the fate of the gods routing them- powerful spearmen though they were. The fair-flowing river Kaikos and the plain of Mysia were stuffed with corpses as they fell. And being slain at the hands of the relentless man (Telephos), the well-greaved Achaeans turned-off with headlong speed to the shore of the much-resounding sea. Gladly did the sons of the immortals and brothers, whom Agamemnon was leading to holy Ilium to wage war, embark on their swift ships. On that occasion, because they had lost their way, they arrived at that shore. They set upon the lovely city of Teuthras, and there, snorting fury along with their horses, came in distress of spirit. For they thought they were attacking the high-gated city of Troy, but in fact they had their feet on wheat-bearing Mysia. And Herakles encountered them (the Argives), as he shouted to his brave-hearted son Telephos, fierce and pitiless in cruel battle, who, inciting unfortunate flight in the Danaans, strove alone on that occasion to gratify his father.<sup>2</sup>*

## THE TELEPHOS LEGEND AND ARCHILOCHOS' POETRY

The basic Classical version of the Telephos legend is as follows: Aleos, the king of Arkadia, warned by an oracle of Apollo that his own sons' lives would be endangered by the son of his daughter Auge, consecrated her as a priestess of Athena Alea in her temple at Tegea. When Herakles stayed in the court of Aleos, he coupled with Auge and a son was born, Telephos. Aleos exposed Telephos on the Mount Parthenion and abandoned Auge at sea in a closed chest. She finally landed in Mysia, where the local king Teuthras adopted her as his daughter. Meanwhile, the baby Telephos was suckled by an animal, and after being discovered by Herakles was saved. In his adulthood, Telephos unwittingly killed Aleos' sons (in fulfilment of the oracle) and was exiled. Looking for his mother, he reached Mysia and was asked by king Teuthras to aid in the struggle against his enemy Idas. In reward, Telephos became king of Mysia and married the Amazon queen Hiera. Battling against the invading Greeks who mistakenly landed in Mysia during their first Trojan expedition, Telephos was fatally wounded by Achilles and his wife Hiera was killed. Told by the oracle that his wound could only be healed by the one who inflicted it, Telephos travelled to the court of Agamemnon to seek Achilles. He took little Orestes hostage and fled to the altar of the house. On Odysseus' advice, he was healed with Achilles' spear. In gratitude for his cure, Telephos consequently conducted the Greeks to Troy and, after his return, he founded Pergamon.

The Telephos myth is known from a number of sources dating primarily between the 8<sup>th</sup> and the 4<sup>th</sup> centuries BC.<sup>3</sup> Apart from minor variations, the crucial difference in available sources concerns the descent and birth of the hero. It seems that in earlier sources (8<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> centuries), Telephos is mainly associated with Mysia as the legendary king of the Mysians. The earliest mention of him as Arkasides (from Arkadia), son of Herakles and the Tegean princess Auge, is found in the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* (6<sup>th</sup> century BC). His conception and birth, however, are placed in Mysia where Herakles met the exiled Arkadian princess Auge, on his way to attack Troy. It is not until Hekataios' account (early 5<sup>th</sup> century BC) that Auge's seduction by Herakles and Telephos' birth are located in Tegea of Arkadia.

The recent discovery of the new elegy on Telephos offers to scholarship an important original source from the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC indicating that Archilochos and Archaic Greeks knew of the Arkasides Telephos, the son of Herakles. Thus the beginning of the myth on Telephos' descent from Arkadia must now be placed earlier, at least in the Early Archaic times. Especially for Paros and the Parians, Telephos' birth in Arkadia linked the island with a heroic ancestry since, according to tradition, Paros was a colony of Arkadians led to the island by their *oikistes* Paros,<sup>4</sup> the son of Parissios.

Archilochos' interest, however, in the story of Telephos Arkasides must have had more to do with personal reasons beyond the traditional bonds between Paros and Arkadia. The disgraceful defeat in Mysia both of the brave Greeks whom the heroic leader of the Mysians Telephos put to flight and of Telephos himself who battling against Achilles lost his shield, could well serve as the ideal example (*paradeigma*) for Archilochos to justify similar misfortunes suffered by himself and his companions in the Thasian campaign and to make a heroic precedent for the loss of his own shield battling against the Saians, so boldly described in his famous poem (Fr. 5W):

ἀσπίδι μὲν Σαίων τις ἀγάλλεται, ἦν παρὰ θάμνωι,  
ἔντος ἀμώμητον, κάλλιπον οὐκ ἐθέλων·

αὐτὸν δ' ἐξεσάωσα. τί μοι μέλει ἀσπίς ἐκείνη;  
ἔρρέτω· ἐξαῦτις κτήσομαι οὐ κακίω.

*Some Saian rejoices on my shield, the blameless weapon,  
which unwillingly I left behind, by a bush.*

*But I saved myself. What do I care about that shield?*

*Let it go. Soon, I will have another no worse.*

In fact, the first lines (Fr. 1, 2-5) of the new Archilochos elegy: *one doesn't have to call it weakness and cowardice, having to retreat, if it's under the compulsion of a god: no, we turned our backs to flee quickly: there exists a proper time for flight. Even once Telephos from Arcadia ...could well introduce the use of the Telephos myth to further illustrate the event described by Archilochos in the preceding poem. In his new poem, Archilochos explicitly mentions that retreat in battle under a god's will should be accepted as a reasonable act and he uses the Telephos myth to reinforce his arguments. In his own case, the poet clearly stated in the famous poem (Fr. 5W) that fleeing the battle and leaving the shield to save his life was imposed by necessity. It was an act he was forced to commit, against his own will: οὐκ ἐθέλων. In the light of the new elegy on Telephos, the poet's act can be better interpreted as imposed by a superior will, a god's will: θεοῦ κρατερῆ[ς ὑπ' ἀνάγκης ...νῶτ' ἐτ[ρεψάμ.]εθ' αἴψα φυγεῖν φεύγ[ειν δέ τις ὤρη]. I even wonder if the description of leaving his own shield παρὰ θάμνωι owes its inspiration to the analogous scene of Telephos stumbling on a vine-shoot (another bush) and losing his shield. According to the lost *Kypria* (7<sup>th</sup>/6<sup>th</sup> century BC) and later sources,<sup>5</sup> Telephos was wounded by Achilles when he stumbled on a vine-shoot sprung from the ground at the instigation of the god Dionysos.<sup>6</sup>*

Although this most crucial event in Telephos' life, his combat with the great Achilles in the Mysian plain, is not included in the reconstructed version of the new poem of Archilochos, I would venture to suggest that it was mentioned in the missing part of the poem. The episode of the dramatic fight and the fatal wounding of Telephos by Achilles could well follow on the scene described in the last lines 22-25 of Fr. 1 of the new elegy, when Herakles calls upon his son in the battlefield: *And Herakles encountered them (the Argives), as he shouted to his brave-hearted son Telephos, fierce and pitiless in cruel battle, who, inciting unfortunate flight in the Danaans, strove alone on that occasion to gratify his father.* The appearance (epiphany) of the god, in this case of Dionysos, who intervened by means of a vine to tangle the hero and offer Achilles the chance to spear him, may well be alluded in lines 2-3 of the same fragment: εἰ δὲ ...θεοῦ κρατερῆ[ς ὑπ' ἀνάγκης οὐ γρη] ἀν[α]λ[κίης]ν καὶ κακότερα λέγει[ν]. If my analysis of the appositeness of the Telephos story is correct, I might be right in suggesting that this poem was written at a time posterior to Archilochos' activities in Thrace. By making use of the Telephos incident as a *paradeigma*, Archilochos probably tried to pass on a message to both his companions in the Thracian campaign and contemporaries: there should be no blame for men if defeated or forced to retreat in battle since similar misfortunes could equally be met by heroes and yet carry no reproach.

## THE TELEPHOS LEGEND IN ARCHITECTURAL SCULPTURE

It is perhaps this message that we must seek behind the bold representation of the defeat of Telephos on the west pediment of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC temple of Athena Alea at Tegea. Pausanias



Figure 1. Head from Tegea identified as Telephos (from A. Stavridou, *Τα Γλυπτά του Μουσείου Τεγέας*, 1996, pls. 15-16).

(8.45.7), who visited the site in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, informs us that on the west pediment of the temple the battle of Telephos against Achilles in the plain of Kaikos was depicted: τὰ δὲ ὄπισθεν πεποιημένα ἐν τοῖς ἀετοῖς Τηλέφου πρὸς Ἀχιλλεῖα ἐστὶν [ἴ] ἐν Καϊκοῦ πεδίῳ μάχῃ. The head of a youthful man wearing a lion-head cap from the west pediment, formerly debated as representing either Herakles or Telephos is now identified as Telephos (Fig. 1), another head of a more mature bearded figure wearing the lionskin (*leonte*) identified as Herakles. In his proposed reconstruction of the west pediment, Stewart<sup>7</sup> suggests that the two battling heroes, Telephos and Achilles, occupied the center of the composition and were portrayed on both sides of the vine sent by Dionysos to tangle Telephos (Fig. 2). Episodes from the life of Telephos were represented on the six western metopes of the temple. Although from the sculptures themselves very little survive, the names of Auge, Telephos and most probably Alleos found inscribed on the architrave blocks of the opisthodomos suggest that the scenes depicted on the west side metopes involved the hero's infancy and nurture in Arkadia prior to his wanderings in search of his mother and his final arrival in Mysia.

The result of the sculptural decoration on the west side of the temple must have been striking indeed. The viewer would have had the opportunity to follow a narrative of the local hero's life from birth and nurture in Arkadia (metopes) to his battling as king of the Mysians against Achilles in the Kaikos plain in Mysia (pediment). But even more astonishing must have been the choice of the artist to show the defeat of the local hero instead of his exploits. The explanation may not be so difficult to provide if we consider that the artist responsible for both the building and the sculptural decoration of the new Tegean temple, rebuilt most probably between 360-

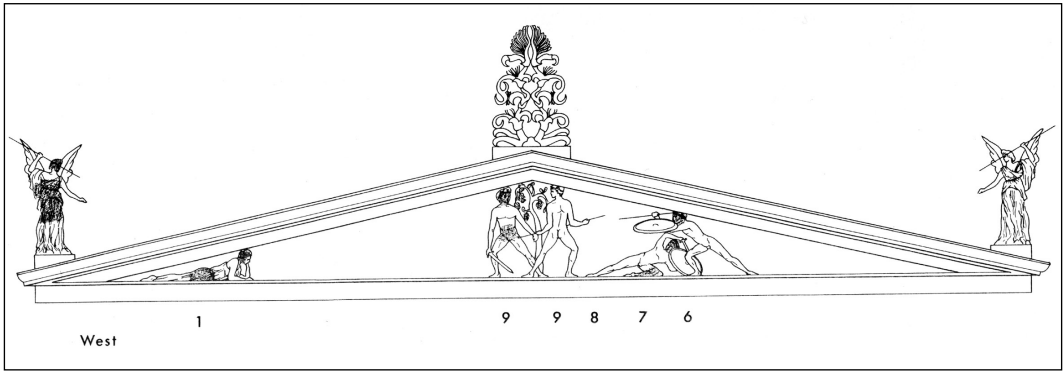


Figure 2. Reconstruction of the west pediment of the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea (after A. Stewart, 1977, pl. 53).

340 BC, was the renowned Parian sculptor Skopas, a compatriot of Archilochos. Of course, the choice to represent the life of Telephos was appropriate for Tegea, the place where he was born and raised. But the selection of the most unfortunate moment for the life of a hero, that is his shameful defeat by another hero, particularly to be shown in his own birth place was very bold. And as such it could only be conceived and executed by a most daring master such as Skopas.<sup>8</sup>

Telephos' wounding by Achilles, first represented by Skopas in Tegea, was later depicted in the inner frieze of the Great Altar at Pergamon built between 180-160 BC. The frieze, of which only one third survives, ran around the upper section of the inside walls of the altar-court behind the Ionic colonnade and narrated the life of Telephos, the mythical founder of Pergamon and heroic ancestor of the Attalids. The remarkable fact about the frieze is that it represented all the events of Telephos' life from birth to death -as formulated in the Classical period on- in the form of a continuous narrative developing through time and place, in a manner very much like the Homeric *Odyssey*. Landscape and architectural settings indicated by rocks, trees, hills, and/or altars, pillars, seats and beds comprise the real background against which the story unfolds.

The surviving scenes on the preserved slabs of the Telephos frieze (Fig. 3) show that the narration started with the birth and upbringing of Telephos in Tegea and ended with his death and heroization at Pergamon. All major episodes of his life are included in the narrative: his travel to Mysia in search of his mother Auge, the battle against the Greeks in the plain of river Kaikos in Mysia and his fatal wounding by Achilles, his trip to Argos seeking a cure for his wound, the seizure of the boy Orestes and his final healing by means of shavings from Achilles' spear.

Dionysos' involvement in tripping up Telephos is explicitly depicted on the frieze (Fig. 3, 30-31). The god himself is portrayed rushing in from right (Fig. 3, 31). Telephos is shown at left and Achilles at center spearing his opponent on the thigh (Fig. 3, 30). Earlier, on the west pediment of the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea, Dionysos' presence was indicated by the depiction of the vine tree on both sides of which Telephos and Achilles were represented (Fig. 2). The allusion to this episode in the new Archilochos elegy on Telephos, as I proposed above (p. 292), suggests that the traditions about this major episode of Telephos' legend date back as early as the beginnings of the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC. Skopas, who obviously knew this tradition from Archilochos' poetry, depicted the corresponding scene on the west pediment of the temple at Tegea.

## ARCHILOCHOS AND SKOPAS

Archilochos was, undoubtedly, the most prominent personality of Paros and as such was highly honored in his *herōon* on the island, first erected in the last quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC. In the 5<sup>th</sup> century, Archilochos' fame was well established outside the island and his poetry was highly praised. He was even portrayed on Attic vase-painting and members of his family were depicted on the Polygnotan paintings in Delphi. There is good evidence to suggest that his statue as the Walking poet type known from Roman marble copies, was made in this period (about 440 BC) most probably by another exceptional man of Paros, the sculptor Agorakritos, and was set up in his sanctuary on the island.<sup>9</sup> The orator Alkidamas' reference<sup>10</sup> shows that by the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century the poet continued to receive honors in his *herōon* on Paros. In the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, his cult place was further embellished by new buildings and by the dedication of the Dokimos inscription engraved on the abacus of a reused Ionic capital, dated to the last quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC: Ἀρχιλόχος Πάριος Τελεισικλέος ἔνθαδε κείται, τὸ Δόκιμος μνημῆιον ὁ Νεοκρέωντος τόδ' ἔθηκεν (Fig. 4). Also a significant number of studies on Archilochos and his poetry were written by famous scholars including the philosopher Aristotle.<sup>11</sup>

In the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, Mnesiepes monumentalized the sanctuary of the poet by founding a *temenos* and setting up altars to offer sacrifices and honor Archilochos. He also designated the place as Archilocheion: τὸν τε τόπον καλοῦμεν Ἀρχιλόγειον καὶ τοὺς βωμοὺς ἰδρύμεθα καὶ θύομεν καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ Ἀρχιλόγῳ καὶ τιμῶμεν αὐτόν, καθ' ἃ ὁ θεὸς ἐθέσπισεν ἡμῖν. In the Archilocheion the poet was worshipped in common with two other groups of gods: a) the gods of poetry: the Muses, Apollo *Mousagetes* and Mnemosyne, Dionysos, the Nymphs and Horai, and b) other important gods of Paros, namely Zeus *Hyperdexios*, Athena *Hyperdexia*, Poseidon *Asphaleios*, Artemis *Eukleia*, Apollo *Prostaterios* and Herakles. In the same period, it seems that a new statue of the poet was dedicated in his sanctuary on Paros. The statue showing Archilochos seated and holding the lyre may be the one featured on Parian silver coins of the Late Hellenistic period<sup>12</sup> and described in an early 3<sup>rd</sup> century epigram almost certainly composed by Theokritos (*Anthologia Graeca*, 7.664). The poet was generally a favorite subject for epigrammatists in the *Palatine Anthology*.

Archilochos had a daring and uneasy mind. Looking for better opportunities, he travelled outside Paros, participating either in colonial trading activities as on Thasos and probably Parion, the colony of the Parians on the Propontis, or as a soldier fighting against enemies of his country: εἰμι δ' ἐγὼ θεράπων μὲν Ἐνναλίῳ ἀνακτος (Fr. 1W). Especially in the case of Thasos, Archilochos served Paros both as a citizen and as a soldier. Fighting against the local hostile groups of the Saians on the Thracian coast, he lost his shield. Archilochos' profound experience as a seafarer clearly emerges from his works. In his poems, he shows a deep knowledge of weather at sea, of ships and sailing. He is also familiar with trading and economy matters. On the other hand, the geographical knowledge of Archilochos is impressive. He knows of many places outside the borders of his own island: Ionia, Lydia, Magnesia, Karia, Aiolis, the North Aegean, Phrygia, Karpathos, Crete, Syracuse and South Italy in the West, and of course the Cycladic islands. He might even have been involved as a mercenary in Egypt.<sup>13</sup>

That Archilochos was honored by the Parians both as poet and as soldier is evident from accounts related to his bravery in battle and heroic death. The theme is treated by both the Mne-

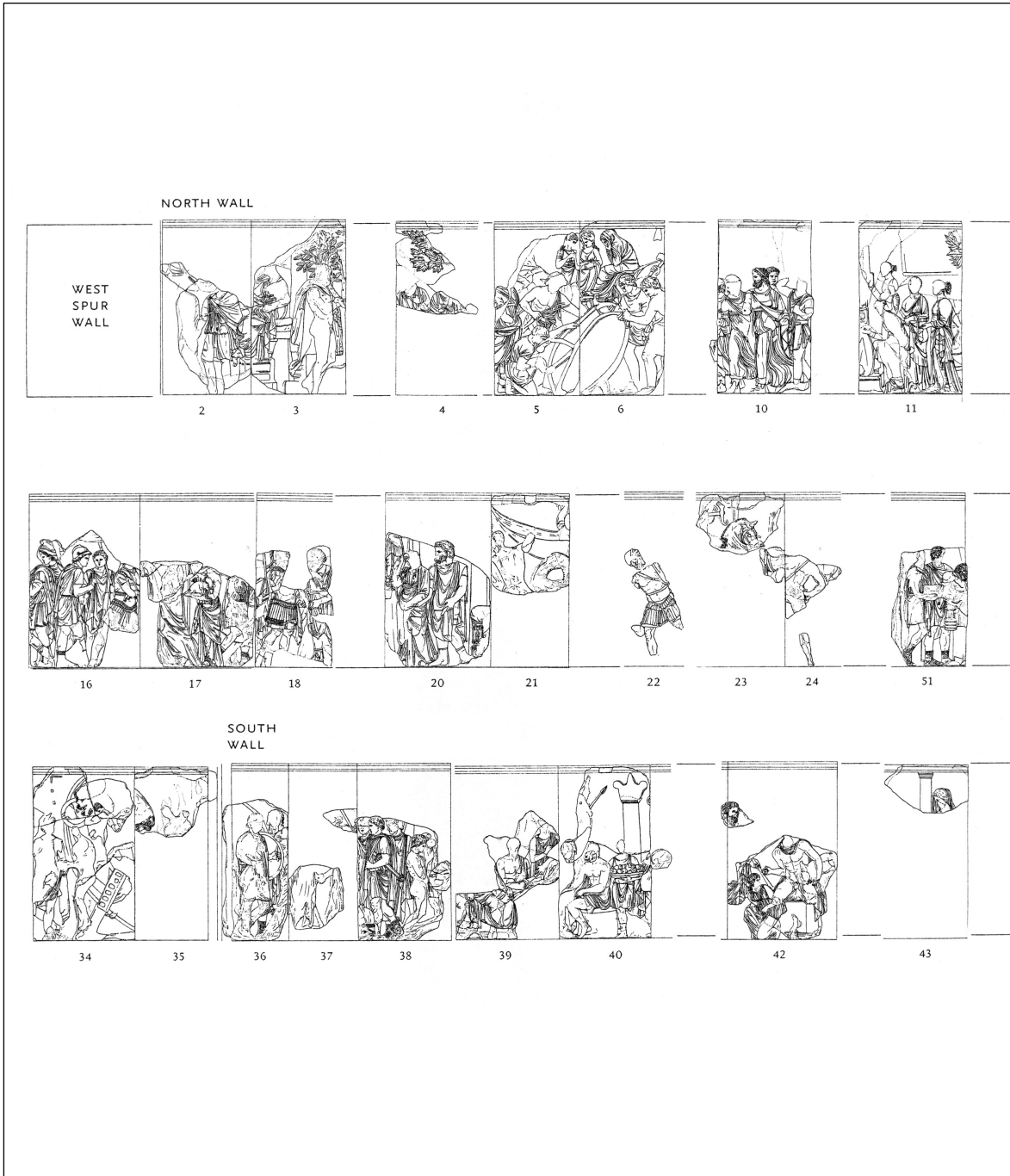
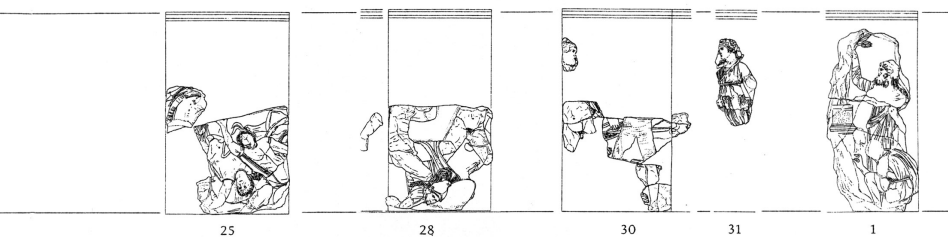
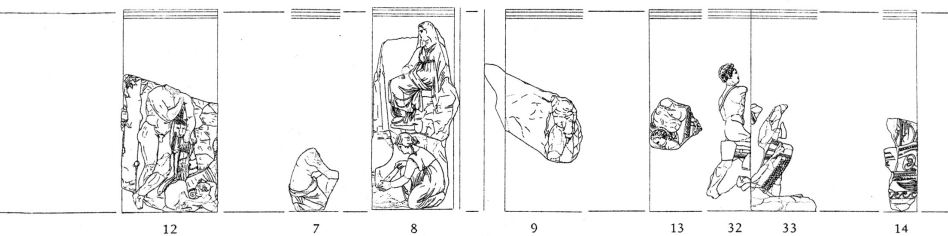


Figure 3. Drawing of the Telephos frieze from the Great Altar at Pergamon (after M. Heilmeyer, *Pergamon*, vol. I, 1996/97).



*Telephos Arkasides in a New Poem of Archilochos*

EAST WALL



WEST SPUR WALL

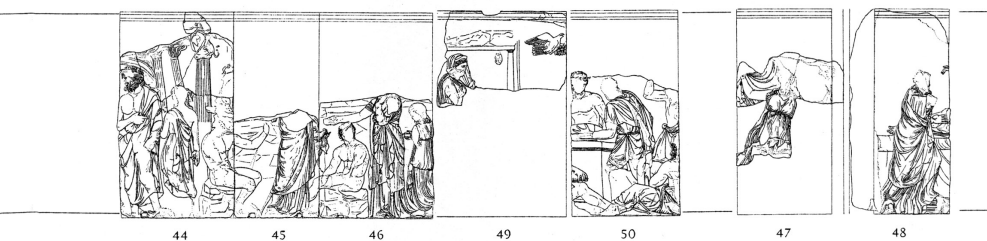




Figure 4. The Dokimos inscription from Paros (from D. Clay, 2004, pl. 1).

siepes (early 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC) and the Sosthenes (early 1<sup>st</sup> century BC) inscriptions, the latter drawing on the earlier account of the historian Demeas of Paros. Both Parian writers describe a naval battle against the Naxians where Archilochos fought very bravely, killed many but finally was wounded and died. His fellow citizens, then, sank two enemy ships and captured the rest which they brought back to Paros with Archilochos' body. There, they buried him with great honors even though in life he had spoken badly of his city. The contradiction noted by both Parian writers apparently intended to secure Archilochos' reputation as it reflected the reputation of Paros itself. The same point was made by the late 5<sup>th</sup>/early 4<sup>th</sup> century BC orator Alkidamas: the Parians have honored Archilochos even though he was insulting to them, οἱ Πάριοι γοῦν Ἀρχιλόχον καίπερ βλάσφημον ὄντα τετιμῆκασι. Invective poetry and style, on one hand, and patriotism and bravery, on the other, composed the two sides of the unique, complex personage of Archilochos whom the Parians greatly honored in his sanctuary on the island. His cult was kept alive on Paros for many centuries from the late 6<sup>th</sup> century BC to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD and contributed to preserving and transmitting his poetry and works to his compatriots and beyond.

It is in this Parian world that Skopas was born in the early 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. His world preserved Archilochos' legacy as its most valuable source of pride. Skopas learned in Paros the ancient traditions about Archilochos' life, the same traditions which Mnesiepes stated that he recorded in his writings. He also learned Archilochos' poetry, on which Mnesiepes and the historian Demeas based their accounts of the poet's life. Skopas certainly knew Archilochos' grave, which was marked by the funerary monument dedicated by his contemporary Dokimos of Paros

(Fig. 4). It is of great interest that on one of the blocks of the Mnesiepes inscription the following names occur: Zosimos, Archilochos, Skopas, Timarchos, and Glaukos.<sup>14</sup> It is also intriguing that one of the inscribed names is synonymous with Archilochos' companion Glaukos who participated in the second wave of colonists to Thasos together with Archilochos and whose grave monument, *μνημα Γλαύκου*, was found in the agora of Thasos.<sup>15</sup>

The bold, restless, provocative spirit expressed in Archilochos' poetry, which was widely diffused on Paros in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, as indicated by the re-embellishment of the Archilocheion and the new dedications and sacrifices to honor the poet, no doubt influenced the young Parian artist Skopas, who shared the same bold and restless character. In sculpture, Skopas initiated the unique style of *pathos* exhibiting the inner passionate world of his figures, a style greatly admired in antiquity and highly praised by ancient critics.<sup>16</sup> In architecture, he designed and realized striking innovative ideas as shown in the surviving examples of his work, mainly at Tegea but also in Samothrace and Paros.<sup>17</sup> Skopas like Archilochos travelled much outside Paros and created exceptional works in many places: Elis, Tegea, Argos, Sikyon and Gortys in Peloponnesos, Megara, Thebes, Athens, Samothrace, Chryse on the Troad, Ephesos, Knidos and Halikar-nassos in Asia Minor. He was an untiring traveller, a genius and pioneer, a challenging artist who expressed in his works intense feelings such as love, passion, desire, anger, rage, pain, fear, agony, ecstasy. In all, Skopas was an extraordinary artist who went far beyond established rules of his time just as Archilochos had done in his own age in the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC. Archilochos dared to introduce in his poems the personal character as opposed to the heroic element prevalent in poetry before him. Thus Archilochos made poetry the conduit for expressing and transmitting personal feelings and individual experiences. Skopas similarly challenged his contemporaries by projecting through his works the inner turbulent world of the soul characterizing humans as opposed to the perpetual calm and serenity of the divine world perfectly rendered in Classical sculpture before him. Skopas' particular style, mainly expressed by the upward gaze, deep-set eyes, swollen forehead and half-open mouth and the amazing turn and twisting of bodies best shown in his famous Maenad,<sup>18</sup> turned sculpture to new ways not explored before. He thus profoundly influenced contemporary and later generation artists.

Skopas and his great predecessor Archilochos belong to those gifted personages whose intellect and work mark their era and become a source of inspiration for posterity. Archilochos through his most daring poetry and Skopas through his passionate sculpture and vanguard architecture, left a valuable heritage to Paros and in a broader sense, to Greek civilization, the connecting element between the two being their pioneering minds and boldness of character. In the future I will return to this topic to further explore the personalities of these two great ancient Parians, as reflected in their works and recorded in ancient literary references to them.

## NOTES

1. Archilochos seems to have composed poems dealing with mythological themes. As we know from Frr. 286-288, he also narrated the myth of Herakles, Deianeira and the centaur Nessos, most probably in elegiac verses.
2. Translation is by Dirk Obbink whom I greatly thank for allowing me to publish here his reconstructed text of the new poem.
3. See Stewart (1996/97), 109-110.
4. Herakleides Lembos, 22 Dilts.
5. A different cause of Telephos' wounding is offered in Flavios Philostratos' *Heroikos* composed during the Roman Imperial period (early 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD), in the section narrating the exploits of Protesilaos in the battle at Mysia (23.24-26): «Τηλέφω δὲ ὁ Πρωτεσίλειος αὐτὸς μὲν συμπλακῆναι φησι καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα ζῶντος περισπᾶσαι, τὸν δὲ Ἀχιλλεὺς γυμνῶ προσπεσόντα τρώσαι αὐτὸν εὐθὺ τοῦ μηροῦ...»
6. We are aware of the particular links between Archilochos' iambic function, Dionysos and Dionysiac poetry. The Mnesiepes inscription from Paros records the introduction of a new cult of Dionysos to Paros by Archilochos who was for that reason brought to trial by the offended Parians. But then, the men of Paros suffered the punishment of impotence and the oracle of Apollo advised that they would find no cure unless they honored Archilochos. The same inscription mentions that Archilochos was included in the cult of Dionysos and sacrifices were offered to him in his cult place on Paros. For a detailed treatment of the topic, see Clay (2004), 16-23.
7. Stewart (1977), pl. 53.
8. See Katsonopoulou (2004).
9. See article by A. Corso, this volume.
10. Alkidamas in Aristotle, *Rhetoric* 2.23.1398<sup>b</sup> 11-17 Kassel, mentions that in his time Archilochos received honors by the Parians.
11. According to Hesychios of Miletos, Aristotle wrote three books on "Problems in Archilochos, Euripides, and Choerilos".
12. The coin is a silver tetradrachm struck ca. 75 BC. On the obverse, a seated poet identified as Archilochos is shown holding the lyre in his left hand and a papyrus scroll in the right. The coin is illustrated on the front cover of the present volume.
13. See article by D. Tandy, this volume.
14. The names are probably later graffiti. See Clay (2004), 29 and 124, Pl. 8.
15. See article by Blondé et al., this volume.
16. D. Katsonopoulou (2000 and 2004).
17. See Gruben (1996 and 1999).
18. On the Dresden copy of the Maenad and the description of the statue by Kallistratos, see D. Katsonopoulou (2000), 204-205, figs. 1-3. Also Stewart (1997), Part III, App. 1, 130-131.

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## ABSTRACT

### Telephos Arkasides in a New Poem of Archilochos

In a poem recently reconstructed at Oxford, Archilochos tells the story of the Arkadian hero Telephos, son of Herakles and the Arkadian princess Auge, when as king of Mysia he put to flight the Greek army ravaging his country, which they had mistaken for the land of Troy. Telephos defeated the Greeks but was fatally wounded by Achilles at the instigation of Dionysos. His story was represented in architectural monuments in both Tegea in Arkadia, where Telephos was born, and on the Great Altar of Pergamon near Mysia, where he ruled and died.

At Pergamon, Telephos' life and wanderings from birth to death (in a way parallel to the Homeric *Odyssey*) were represented in the inner frieze of the Great Altar (second century BC). Scenes from his life were earlier depicted on the six metopes over the *opisthodomos* and on the west pediment of the Tegean temple (fourth century BC), where the very dramatic moment of Telephos' wounding by Achilles was chosen as the subject matter. It is of interest that the architect and sculptor of the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea was the renowned Parian sculptor Skopas.

In the present paper, the Telephos story in Archilochos' new elegy is discussed and interpreted in the light of artistic representations and corresponding literary sources. Furthermore, the connections between the Telephos legend and Archilochos' poetry are investigated and common elements between the two most famous personalities of ancient Paros, Archilochos and Skopas, are detected.

## ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ

### Ο Αρκασίδης Τηλέφορος σε ένα νέο ποίημα του Αρχιλόχου

Σε ένα νέο ποίημα που πρόσφατα ανακαλύφθηκε στην Οξφόρδη, ο Αρχιλόχος διηγείται την ιστορία του αρκάδα ήρωα Τηλέφου, γιου του Ηρακλή και της πριγκίπισσας της Αρκαδίας Αυγής, όταν ως βασιλιάς της Μυσίας έτρεψε σε φυγή το στρατό των Ελλήνων που λεηλατούσαν τη χώρα του πιστεύοντας πως είχαν αποβιβασθεί στην Τροία. Ο Τηλέφορος νίκησε τους Έλληνες αλλά τραυματίστηκε θανάσιμα από τον Αχιλλέα με υποκίνηση του Διονύσου. Η ιστορία του απεικονίστηκε σε αρχιτεκτονικά μνημεία της πατρίδας του της Τεγέας στην Αρκαδία και στο Μεγάλο Βωμό της Περγάμου κοντά στη Μυσία, όπου ο Τηλέφορος βασίλευσε και πέθανε.

Στην Πέργαμο, η ζωή και οι περιπέτειες του Τηλέφου από τη γέννηση έως το θάνατό του (κατά τρόπο παράλληλο προς την Ομηρική *Οδύσσεια*) απεικονίστηκαν στην εσωτερική ζωφόρο του Μεγάλου Βωμού (2<sup>ος</sup> αι. π.Χ.). Νωρίτερα, σκηνές από τη ζωή του αποτυπώθηκαν στις έξι μετόπες πάνω από τον οπισθόδομο και στο δυτικό αέτωμα του ναού της Τεγέας (4<sup>ος</sup> αι. π.Χ.), όπου η δραματική στιγμή του τραυματισμού του Τηλέφου από τον Αχιλλέα ήταν το κύριο θέμα. Είναι ενδιαφέρον ότι αρχιτέκτων και γλύπτης του ναού της Αθηνάς Αλέας στην Τεγέα υπήρξε ο διάσημος παριανός γλύπτης Σκόπας.

Στην παρούσα εργασία, η ιστορία του Τηλέφου στη νέα ελεγεία του Αρχιλόχου ερμηνεύεται υπό το φως των απεικονίσεων στην τέχνη και των σχετικών αναφορών στις αρχαίες πηγές. Επίσης, ερευνώνται τα συνδετικά στοιχεία ανάμεσα στην ιστορία του Τηλέφου και την ποίηση του Αρχιλόχου και επιχειρείται μια πρώτη διερεύνηση των κοινών στοιχείων ανάμεσα στις δύο διασημότερες προσωπικότητες της αρχαίας Πάρου, τον Αρχιλόχο και το Σκόπα.