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Intertextual Journeys: Xenophon's *Anabasis* and Apollonius' *Argonautica* on the Black Sea Littoral

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Intertextual Journeys: Xenophon's *Anabasis* and Apollonius' *Argonautica* on the Black Sea Littoral

by

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Dedication

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Abstract

Intertextual Journeys: Xenophon's *Anabasis* and Apollonius' *Argonautica* on the Black Sea Littoral

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The University of Texas at Austin, 2014

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This paper addresses intertextual similarities of ethnographical and geographical details in Xenophon's *Anabasis* and Apollonius of Rhodes' *Argonautica* and argues that these intertextualities establish a narrative timeline of Greek civilization on the Black Sea littoral. In both these works, a band of Greek travellers proceeds along the southern coast of the Black Sea, but in different directions and at vastly different narrative times. I argue that Apollonius' text, written later than Xenophon's, takes full advantage of these intertextualities in such a way as to retroject evidence about the landscape of the Black Sea littoral. This geographical and ethnographical information prefigures the arrival of Xenophon's Ten Thousand in the region. By manipulating the differences in narrative time and time of composition, Apollonius sets his Argonauts up as precursors to the Ten Thousand as travellers in the Black Sea and spreaders of Greek civilization there.

In Xenophon's text, the whole Black Sea littoral becomes a liminal space of transition between non-Greek and Greek. As the Ten Thousand travel westward and get

closer and closer to home and Greek civilization, they encounter pockets of Greek culture throughout the Black Sea, nestled in between swaths of land inhabited by native tribes of varying and unpredictable levels of civilization. On the other hand, in the *Argonautica*, Apollonius sets the Argonautic voyage along the southern coast of the Black Sea coast as a direct, linear progression from Greek to non-Greek. As the Argonauts move eastward, the peoples and places they encounter become stranger and less recognizably civilized. This progression of strangeness and foreignness works to build suspense and anticipation of the Argonauts' arrival at Aietes' kingdom in Colchis. However, some places have already been visited before by another Greek traveller, Heracles, who appears in both the *Argonautica* and the *Anabasis* to mark the primordial progression of Greek civilization in the Black Sea region. The landscape and the peoples who inhabit it have changed in the intervening millennium of narrative time between first Heracles', then the Argonauts', and finally the Ten Thousand's journey, and they show the impact of the visits of all three.

Table of Contents

Introduction

This paper seeks to address the effects of intertextualities between the journeys of Xenophon's Ten Thousand in his *Anabasis* and of Jason and the Argonauts in the *Argonautica* of Apollonius of Rhodes.[1] When Xenophon and the army of ten thousand Greek mercenaries of which he is a leader sail along the southern coast of the Black Sea from Sinope to Heraclea Pontica, he notes that they pass by a promontory called Jason's cape, where legend has it the band of Jason and the Argonauts anchor their ship the Argo on their way to retrieve the Golden Fleece (6.2.1).[2] At this point in Xenophon's *Anabasis*, the Ten Thousand, a mercenary army under the leadership of the rebelling prince Cyrus the Younger, have emerged from the interior of the Persian empire. They have travelled from Cunaxa, the site of their defeat at the hands of the Great King northward along the Tigris River, over the mountains of Armenia, and westward along the coast of the Black Sea. Heraclea Pontica is one of the army's last stops in the Black Sea region. There, the Heracleots provide the Ten Thousand with a warm welcome, with abundant gifts of hospitality (6.2.3).

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[1] All citations and translations of the *Anabasis* come from Dillery's 1998 revision of Brownson's Loeb edition, and those of the *Argonautica* come from Race's 2008 Loeb edition.

[2] Rood (2011), 142-143 argues for the inclusion of these lines in the text, and I agree with his point that "[the geographical] error [on account of which some modern editors delete the lines in question (6.2.1)] could be Xenophon's – and the main point [that "by alluding to two paradigms of heroic toil and travel, Xenophon asserts a claim to a place in the Greeks' geographical imagination"] holds whether the passage is interpolated or not" (p. 142, n. 22).

However, the Ten Thousand are not the first Greek travellers to find themselves in this spot nor to experience the friendliness and hospitality of people inhabiting this region. Xenophon alludes both to the story of Jason and the Argonauts and to the traditional location in this area of Heracles' descent to the underworld to retrieve the dog Cerberus (6.2.2). Thus, the Ten Thousand are just one in a series of travelling Greek visitors to the Acherusian Headland, which acts as an important stopping point for Heracles' journey, for the Argonautic voyage, and for the march of the Ten Thousand. Over a century later, in his epic retelling of the Argonautic legend, Apollonius of Rhodes gives more details of Heracles' visit to this area before his descent into the underworld, when he stopped among the Mariandynians[3] on his way to retrieve the girdle of the Amazonian queen Hippolyte. Apollonius populates the second book of his *Argonautica*, which describes the journey of the Argonauts from the Propontis to the river Phasis in Colchis, with geographical and ethnographical details that map onto many of the peoples and places described in Xenophon's *Anabasis*. By retrojecting his version of the Argonautic voyage as a narrative model for Xenophon's Ten Thousand, Apollonius provides later Greeks through which they might view their own experiences in the Black Sea. Thus, the Black Sea littoral comes alive for the reader both as a setting for these literary works and as a real-world location in which travelling Greeks must negotiate the differences between Greek and non-Greek.

[3] The Mariandynians appear in a much more limited role in the *Anabasis*. Instead, the Ten Thousand interact primarily with the Heracleots, the residents of the Megarian colony of Heraclea Pontica. For the history of this colony and the region, see Burstein (1976).

This paper will focus exclusively on these two works, the journeys they depict, and any similarities between the two. Apollonius' poem is famously full of intertextuality and allusion to earlier literary works.[4] However, the intertextuality between Apollonius' *Argonautica* and Xenophon's *Anabasis* has not been studied as comprehensively as other, poetic intertexts (e.g. Theocritus and Callimachus, Homer, and Pindar, to name a few).[5] By comparing the two itineraries, focusing in particular on the ethnographical descriptions of the peoples both groups encounter, I show that the effect of these correspondences is to map Apollonius' poem onto a real world geography and to place his *Argonautica* in dialogue with other stories of Greek travel and contact with the Black Sea region, in particular Xenophon's *Anabasis*. In both of these works, the Black Sea acts as a liminal space. As the Ten Thousand travel from east to west, they move between decidedly non-Greek space to Greek space in such a way as to emphasize the variety of foreignness and familiarity found among the peoples that live on the southern coast of the Black Sea. The Argonauts, on the other hand, travelling from west to east, have the opposite experience, as their journey is one into the distant, unknown, and exotic lands of the eastern Black Sea. In both works, the Black Sea acts as an area of transition, with blurred boundaries. In Xenophon's *Anabasis*, the native tribes, which tend to be decidedly more foreign, are interspersed with Greek colonies. In Apollonius' *Argonautica*, on the contrary, there is a clear, linear progression from Greek to non-Greek, as in mythological times this region was not supposed to have experienced as much

[4] See, e.g., Beye (1982), especially Chapters 1 and 2, Clauss (1993), Albis (1996), Chapter 1l, and Clare (2002), especially Chapter 3.
[5] Beye (1982), 75-76, Rubio (1992), 79-81, and Cusset (2004), 39-42 devote some, but not much attention to the similarities between the two works.

Greek contact as it had by the end of the fifth century BCE, when Xenophon's Ten Thousand arrive.[6] With fewer Greek journeys through the area, Greek culture had not made as large of an impact on the peoples of the Black Sea before the voyage of the Argonauts.

Situating the journeys they describe within the context of other Greek travellers' visits to the area shows the reader the long-lasting influence of Greek culture in this area, which nevertheless retains an aura of foreignness, as each author documents various ways in which the peoples and places in this region are very different from the norms of Greek culture. Both authors indicate that the journeys they describe are just one of a series of visits to this area, and they both make reference to the earliest Greek traveller to this region, Heracles. In each work, Heracles is a predecessor to the respective army travelling through the Black Sea. This relationship between the two works and the information they present about Heracles in this region casts the Argonauts as a kind of intermediary between the solitary hero Heracles and the multi-ethnic mercenary band of the Ten Thousand. Heracles' role as the violent force that creates the safety needed for civilization to flourish is particularly prominent with regard to his status—either actual or symbolic—in both of these works.

Yet his solo journey cannot act as a model for either group, as both the *Anabasis* and the *Argonautica* focus on the leadership and group dynamics at play for each band of

[6] On the level of Greek travel to the Black Sea, see Tsetskhladze (1994), (1998) who argues for contact beginning in the 8th and 7th centuries BCE. Tsetskhladze (1994) provides a comprehensive overview of scholarly debates on the issue of when Greek colonization began.

travellers.[7] I argue that by positioning the Argonautic voyage in between one of Heracles' trips to the area and the arrival of the Xenophon's army, Apollonius retrojects the Argonauts' journey as a narrative precedent to that of the Ten Thousand. Therefore, in narrative time, the Argonauts act as a bridge between the archaic, solo hero Heracles and his monster-slaying labors that pave the way for civilization to flourish in a safe environment and the historically recent, paid, mercenary journey of the Ten Thousand into the center of the Persian empire and along the colonized coast of the Black Sea. Apollonius' *Argonautica* explains Greek presence in the Black Sea – a presence articulated and detailed in Xenophon's *Anabasis* in ways that Apollonius ensures are specifically similar—as the product of the mythological journeys of both Heracles and the Argonauts. Thus, the Black Sea littoral becomes a locus of intersection between civilized and foreign, and between myth and reality.

On account of the Argonautic voyage and the aetiologies and encounters with native people therein, the Black Sea acts as a liminal space between Greek and non-Greek. The points of contact between Xenophon's and Apollonius' stories make the

[7] Both works emphasize that the groups they describe act as travelling *poleis*. One of the greatest trials for Jason and the Argonauts is to work together to resolve conflicts and achieve their goals, as stated at the outset of their journey (1.332-340). On conflict, disagreement, and resolutions among the Argonauts, see Mori (2008), Chapter 3. Similarly, Xenophon shows the Ten Thousand to be a travelling *polis*, one of whose constant challenges is achieving unity and cooperation despite the disparate origins of the members of the army. On the community and politics of Xenophon's Ten Thousand, see Nussbaum (1967), who details the formal ins and outs of the army structure and leadership; Dalby (1992), who argues for the Ten Thousand's similarity to a community of colonizers; Hornblower (2004); and Lee (2007), 9-11.Thus, in addition to the structural similarities of their journeys and the mirror image itineraries, Xenophon's Ten Thousand provides a literary precedent for Apollonius' Argonauts as a model of an army drawn from various places and backgrounds working together for a common goal.

landscape of the *Argonautica* feel more realistic but also provide a literary, mythological backstory to Xenophon's *Anabasis*. Braund (1998) suggests that "Argonautic myth offered [Greek colonists and travellers] a means of understanding and validating their presence in so far a place" (p. 290), citing the journey of the Ten Thousand as evidence of Greek ambivalence towards their surroundings in the Black Sea as late as the turn of the fourth century BCE.

In what follows, I will present my argument for the congruity of the southern Black Sea portion of each of these works, specifically Books 4-7 of Xenophon's *Anabasis* and Book 2 of Apollonius' *Argonautica*, and I will argue that these similarities in fact demonstrate a progression of Greek civilization in the Black Sea in narrative time; that is, Greek civilization in the region is more widespread and prominent in the story Xenophon records than it is in the time at which Apollonius' poem takes place. This progression allows us to see Apollonius' Argonauts as precursors to Xenophon's Ten Thousand, even as Xenophon's work precedes Apollonius' in real time (i.e. time of composition).

In Chapter 1, I look at Xenophon's presentation of the Black Sea and conclude that he conceives of the Black Sea littoral as a transitory region between non-Greek and Greek with fluctuations and episodic foreignness and Greekness. I analyze the ways in which Xenophon communicates foreignness or sameness, in preparation for evaluating Apollonius' approach to the same issue. Xenophon's approach to the interactions between travelling Greeks and local residents in the Black Sea region weigh heavily in determining where the reader understands the end of this *parabasis* section to be. I argue

that Xenophon's depiction of the Heracleots, the importance of Heracles to this region, and the antagonism and confusion of the Byzantium episode point towards Heraclea Pontica as an appropriate *telos* for this portion of Xenophon's narrative.

In Chapter 2, I turn towards Apollonius' *Argonautica* and examine how Apollonius draws on pre-existing sources, specifically the *Anabasis*, in order to ground his *Argonautica* in the known world. This setting allows Apollonius to provide an explanation as to how that region of the world came to be known to and settled by the Greeks. By situating this explanation with reference to the journey of the Ten Thousand, Apollonius normalizes Greek travel and settlement of the Black Sea and provides a long backstory to Greek contact with this area. The way in which Apollonius sets his *Argonautica* into dialogue with the *Anabasis* creates a literary history for the southern coast of the Black Sea, beginning with the mythic voyage of Jason and the Argonauts and continuing up until Apollonius' present day which makes the climax of the Argonauts' voyage, their time in Colchis described in Book 3, seem all the stranger because the rest of the narrative is grounded in a realistic, recognizable landscape. I conclude that this realism in geographical and ethnographical detail could imbue regular, contemporary Greek travel in the region with greater meaning, symbolizing heroic travel into the unknown.

Chapter 1:

Xenophon's κατάβασεις: The Return By Sea, and Heracles' Descent

In this chapter, I argue that Xenophon constructs the southern coast of the Black sea as a liminal space between the foreignness of the interior of the Persian empire and the familiarity of the Ten Thousand's return to Hellas. Once the Ten Thousand reach the southern coast of Asia Minor after their march through the interior of the Persian empire, they encounter cities and tribes of varying degrees of friendliness, hospitality, and recognizable Greekness.[8] With each successive tribe the Ten Thousand meet along the northern Anatolian coast, they encounter a friendlier, more welcoming, and less foreign people. The form of hospitality most often seen in this stretch of the narrative, as I shall argue, is a willingness to accommodate the desire of the Ten Thousand for resources and riches. The mercenaries that make up the army of the Ten Thousand have not received regular pay since the death of Cyrus, and since the entire point of participating in the expedition for some men was payment and riches, they are desperate at this point to ameliorate their financial circumstances.[9] In addition to hospitality generosity, the customs displayed by specific tribes indicate their Greekness or foreignness. While there are obvious differences between the Greek colonists the Ten Thousand encounter and the native peoples who live in the surrounding areas, there are also disparities within each

[8] Reece (1993) focuses on the scenes of hospitality and welcome in the *Odyssey*. These scenes set the standard for appropriate scenes of welcoming in Greek literature, and aspects of these scenes are present to varying degrees in the scenes of hospitality and welcoming of the *Anabasis* and the *Argonautica*. Reece's observations form the baseline for evaluating the hospitality presented to travellers, the standard by which I will assess the behavior described in both the *Anabasis* and the *Argonautica*.

[9] On this topic, see Roy (2004).

category, among the various Greek colonies and the native peoples. Therefore, I shall explore Xenophon's references to and descriptions of some of the tribes and places the Ten Thousand visit along the southern coast of the Black Sea to evaluate how each fits into the liminal space of the Black Sea littoral. I consider in particular the tribes later mentioned in Apollonius' *Argonautica*, in order to lay the groundwork for my discussion of the itinerary of the Argonauts. By establishing the details and the effect of the information Xenophon gives about these tribes in the *Anabasis*, I provide a basis for my comparison of Xenophon's and Apollonius' descriptions of the same stretch of coastline.

The area considered in my study is a distinct, discrete phase within the Ten Thousand's longer journey. Beginning with the Macrones, whom the Ten Thousand encounter immediately after they catch sight of the sea from the summit of Mount Theches (4.7.24), it concludes with Xenophon's arrival at the Greek city of Byzantium, on the Bosphorus. Here, the Ten Thousand have returned to the Greek world and its post-Peloponnesian War politics. This stretch of the journey constitutes a transitional space, by means of which the Ten Thousand cross from the lands of people like the Macrones and the Colchians—clearly not Greeks, as they demonstrate barbarian customs and hostility—to Byzantium, an unequivocally Greek city.[10] Once the Greeks have reached the familiar seacoast, their motivation shifts from mere survival to re-focusing on the

[10] Flower (2012), 18 marks Byzantium as the end of the *parabasis*, or march along the seacoast, of Books 5-6. Flower acknowledges that there is no real return or end to the Ten Thousand's journey, but that the story merely dissolves. The enrollment of many of the mercenaries in the service of Sparta represents the greatest closure for the narrative (pp. 45-47). Braund (1994), 134 observes that Xenophon implies that there is something inadequate about the Hellenism of the other colonies the Ten Thousand have encountered in the Black Sea that functions in such a way as to make Byzantium the first truly Greek city.

point of undertaking this journey in the first place: riches and spoils. The structure for my argument follows the order in which the Ten Thousand encounter these peoples and places. I discuss in turn the Macronians, the Colchians, the Mossynoecians, the Chalybes, the Tibarenians, the Paphlagonians, Heraclea Pontica and the Acherusian Headland, and Byzantium. I argue that each of these stops marks forward progress in the Ten Thousand's return journey, as they get closer and closer to Greece. The Ten Thousand are aware of the important stops on their return trip, most specifically Heraclea Pontica and Calpe Harbor.[11] As Grethlein (2013) explains, the *telos* or endpoint of the Ten Thousand's journey is unclear (pp. 75-83). There are a few scenes of false endings, like the view of the sea from Mount Theches, and the actual conclusion of the story comes across as somewhat random, as the Ten Thousand begin another conflict with the Persian satraps Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus (7.8.24). My study will focus on the colony Heraclea Pontica providing one opportunity for closure in the *Anabasis*.

Each of the places or peoples I discuss in this chapter reappears to some degree or another in Apollonius' *Argonautica*, often in similar roles. By considering each of these tribes and the Ten Thousand's contact with each of them, I establish that there is a literary model onto which Apollonius maps his own Argonautic landscape. With stories that predate Xenophon's text in narrative time, the *Argonautica* retrojects aetiologies and backstories that create a mythological history for Greek contact with this area of the Black Sea. The Argonautic journey is not the only mythological association with this area; the figure of Heracles both spans the entirety of the Ten Thousand's itinerary and

[11] Calpe Harbor is a stopping point between Heraclea Pontica and Byzantium, and it is an outpost in the middle of territory occupied by hostile Bithynian Thracians (6.4.1-4)

has a particular relationship with the Acherusian Headland. The multiple occurrences of Heracles, a Panhellenic hero and traditional protector of civilization,[12] in this work serves both to underline the Panhellenic nature of Xenophon's narrative[13] and to point towards the mythological foundations of Greek settlement in the region, a theme which Apollonius elaborates and embellishes. The Acherusian Headland features the legendary location of Heracles' descent into the underworld to retrieve the dog Cerberus (6.2.2), and Xenophon prays to Heracles the Leader before the Ten Thousand leave Heraclea (6.2.15). By explicitly linking this area with Heracles, Xenophon underlines the notion that this stop represents the Ten Thousand's arrival at a place dominated by Greek culture.

Before I continue with my project to assess the Greekness/non-Greekness or familiarity/strangeness of the peoples the Ten Thousand encounter on their return from the interior of the Persian empire, I must first make clear my parameters and framework for evaluating this quality. Greekness, Hellenization, and civilization are complex topics, of which the Ten Thousand's journey is just one small component. A comparison with Herodotus, the most famous Greek traveller to foreign lands, is worthwhile because his work sets the standard, at least for modern scholars, on how to consider the Greeks in relation to the other peoples they encountrered in the Mediterranean. As outlined by Hartog (1988), in Herodotus' *Histories*, Greekness is often defined by means of a contrast with another civilization. Hartog refers to this idea, by which any quality of a foreign group Herodotus describes is drawn into an implicit comparison and contrast with

[12] See below, pp. 28-30.
[13] For a good discussion of pan-Hellenism in the *Anabasis*, see Dillery (1995), Chapter 2, and Rood (2004). Against these, see Flower (2012), 170-188, 194-201.

the Greek way of life, as "systematic differentiation" (pp. 8-9). In particular, Herodotus has an Athenian speaker in his *History* single out language, bloodline, customs, and ritual as the true markers of Greek culture (8.144).[14] All four of these cultural indicators are present in varying degrees in Xenophon's work. Customs – the general way of life as evidenced through diet, dress, and cultural norms of interaction, among other areas – will be the main lens through which I look at the Ten Thousand's encounters with foreign tribes in the Black Sea. In the *Argonautica*, bloodline and ritual are more important, as I will discuss later. In general, I argue, Xenophon draws the foreign tribes into contrast with the Ten Thousand in a way that emphasizes the pan-Hellenism and unity of the army of the Ten Thousand.

Most scholarship on the *Anabasis* and the peoples and spaces it covers focus more on the overall experience of the sea-coast by the Ten Thousand than examining in detail their reactions to and relations with the specific peoples they encounter there. For example, Rood (2004) argues that the march inland, the march to the sea, and the march along the sea are three distinct phases in Xenophon's narrative, as determined by which measurements Xenophon uses to describe distances. Purves (2010) looks at similar questions – how ancient Greek authors talk about space – through a number of different authors and works. Her chapter on Xenophon's *Anabasis* is particularly useful in differentiating the attitudes Xenophon shows towards different kinds of space, but she

[14] For a more nuanced take on these categories as definite cultural markers, see Rood (2006), especially pp. 302-304. However, I will take these markers at face-value for the duration of the project, as I do not think that this speech was meant to be hugely controversial, and that these qualities would have been fairly widely accepted as markers of Greek culture.

does not look at specific encounters on the sea-coast in much detail. Manfredi (1986) takes a comprehensive, exhaustive approach to various sections of the Ten Thousand's journey, but does not draw many explicit thematic arguments or similarities between these phases. Most similar to my aims is Rood (2011), which, although looking at Xenophon in comparison with a much later writer, Arrian, contextualizes the information these works provide about the Black Sea within the overall aims of each author. I am greatly indebted to his work, and I am, to some degree, applying his lens to Apollonius. However, his work focuses more on the structure and how the geographical segments of Arrian's work are explicitly and conscientiously linked to Xenophon's work, whereas I am interested more in the specific information provided about certain peoples and places, which Apollonius does not acknowledge at any point. In addition to looking at how Xenophon conveys the southern coast of the Black Sea as a liminal space in its own right, this chapter also serves, at least in part, to establish a literary precedent for Apollonius' *Argonautica* with regard to how Greek travellers and Greek writers conceive of the space along the Black Sea coast through which they are travelling.

Pontic Peoples

I argue that the people with whom the Ten Thousand interact during their voyage along the southern coast of the Black Sea become less hostile and strange and instead more welcoming and with more familiar customs, as the Ten Thousand progress westward from the view of the Sea at Mount Theches to the Bosphorus. The effect of these encounters is to make clear to the reader the transition from non-Greek to Greek in this area and to create a more vivid picture of the southern coast of the Black Sea and the

Ten Thousand's journey there. This vividness draws the reader into the story and makes its actions seem more present and immediate, so that the reader becomes increasingly invested in the Ten Thousand's journey.[15] The interactions with the various tribes that follow the Ten Thousand's arrival at Trapezus represent the return to an area marked by Greek settlement and contact, as the peoples become more welcoming and outwardly exhibit Greek customs and norms. This transition is the inverse of the one experienced by the Argonauts, as they travel in the opposite direction.

I begin my survey with the interaction between the Ten Thousand and the Macronians, a potentially hostile people whom a member of the Ten Thousand identifies as his own people (4.8.1-5). This recognition scene sets the tone for this portion of Xenophon's narrative by underlining the themes of homecoming. The cry of "The Sea! The Sea!" that arises from the army of the Ten Thousand when they first catch sight of the Black Sea from the summit of Mount Theches (4.7.24) marks the return of the Greeks to the known world of the sea-coast.[16] The Ten Thousand feel a sense of relief and return upon catching sight of the sea, like the soldier who recognizes the Macronians as his native tribe from which he was taken away. With the help of this soldier, the Macronians facilitate the Ten Thousand's arrival at Trapezus, a city which Xenophon identifies as being inhabited by Greeks and as a Sinopian colony in the territory of Colchis (4.8.22).[17]

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[15] On focalization, vividness, and the story structure of Xenophon's *Anabasis*, see Grethlein (2013), 53-91.

[16] Manfredi (1986), 229 asserts that the sea promises safer and more familiar travel than the land.

[17] This is a common pattern of Greek cities lying within the territory of a native tribe. For more information on this phenomenon, see Koshelenko and Kuznetsov (1996), which notes that Greek colonies, particularly those in Colchis, had no independent land or

As hostile and as foreign as the Macronians initially appear – with dress, armor, and battle cries (4.8.3) – they help the Ten Thousand along their journey, promising to deliver them to the sea (4.8.7). Thus, the homecoming of this one soldier both signifies and creates circumstances which ease the Ten Thousand's arrival at the sea-coast, the final step in their return to Greece.

The tension between native tribes and Greek colonies is a theme that runs throughout this portion of the Ten Thousand's journey. The Greek cities in this region are located within the midst of territory dominated by a local tribe. At times, the residents of these colonies leverage the Ten Thousand's desire for spoils and riches to get them to attack and pillage the surrounding areas. The city of Trapezus, inhabited by Greeks, lies within the territory of the unambiguously non-Greek Colchians. The contrast Xenophon emphasizes between the unfamiliar and antagonistic Colchians and the Greek residents of Trapezus sets the tone for future interactions between native peoples and Greek colonizers, becoming a paradigm of hostile opposition.[18]

Xenophon emphasizes Trapezus' Greekness by contrasting it with the hostility of the Colchians and their separation from both the Trapezuntians and the Ten Thousand. He specifies that Trapezus is a Greek-inhabited city on the Black Sea, a colony of Sinope located within the territory of the Colchians (πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα οἰκουμένην ἐν τῷ

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economic base, serving instead as trade mediators between the Greek mainland and Colchis. Braund (1994), 134 notes that Trapezus is both a Hellenic city but also in Colchian/enemy territory. See also Roy (2007), 69.

[18] The Colchians of Xenophon's narrative, living in the area around Trapezus, do not inhabit the same area as the Colchians in Apollonius' *Argonautica*; in that poem, the Colchians dwell near the river Phasis, further north and east on the coast of the Black Sea than Trapezus.

Εὐξείνῳ Πόντῳ, Σινωπέων ἀποικίαν ἐν τῇ Κόλχων χώρᾳ, 4.8.22). Xenophon ignores any possible cultural contact or exchange between the Greek and Sinopian city of Trapezus and the surrounding Colchian area. Despite a long-standing Greek association with Colchis and, thus, one would expect, a certain degree of familiarity or perhaps even exchange between the two cultures,[19] Xenophon provides little information about the Colchians aside from their hostility. The lack of nuance or detail in his depiction makes them appear all the more foreign. When the Ten Thousand first encounter them, the Colchians are ready for battle (4.8.9), and a brief skirmish, culminating in Colchian retreat, follows (4.8.17-19). The absence of interaction between the Colchians and the Ten Thousand or any expository description of the Colchians leaves the reader with only the knowledge of their hostility towards the Greeks they encounter. With such limited information, the reader must conclude that violence and aggression are the dominant traits of this foreign people, placing them in opposition to their Greek neighbors.

On the other hand, Xenophon depicts Trapezus as thoroughly Greek. This antagonism between Greek and native is both a function of and emphasizes the distance of this region from the Hellas. While political conflicts were common among Greek cities, such hostility from a foreign neighbor was not a regular concern of those in the Greek mainland, and so despite the Greekness of the Trapezuntians, the Ten Thousand are far from home. Once the Ten Thousand reach Trapezus, they receive a welcome, gifts of hospitality, and support for continued hostility against Colchis (4.8.22-24). The Ten

[19] For Greek contact with Colchis in general, see Koshelenko and Kuznetsov (1996), Braund (1994), 1-117, and Braund (1998). Braund (1994), 132-135 explains that Xenophon provides an oversimplified portrait about the relationship between the coast and the hinterlands. See above, p. 14, n. 17 and p. 15, n. 18.

Thousand use Trapezus as a base for ransacking Colchis (4.8.22), and the Trapezuntians help the Ten Thousand secure more goods from the Colchians (4.8.23). Reaching Trapezus marks a transition in the type of journey the Ten Thousand must undertake. They are no longer struggling for basic survival, and their focus now is on returning home and acquiring as much wealth and spoils as possible. The Trapezuntians leverage the Ten Thousand's desire for spoils in order to have them attack the neighboring peoples, namely the Colchians, instead of their own city.[20] Moreover, Xenophon mentions that at Trapezus, the Ten Thousand make sacrifices in thanksgiving for their arrival in friendly lands (4.8.25), as promised earlier in the narrative (3.2.9). One of the gods to whom the Ten Thousand sacrifice and in whose honor they hold games (4.8.25-28), an inherently Greek activity, is Heracles, whom they thank for the safe conduct of the army (ἡγεμόσυνα, 4.8.25).[21] That this thanksgiving and these games occurs at this point emphasizes the familiarity, friendliness, and Greekness of the Trapezuntians. However, the hostility of the Colchians ensures that the Ten Thousand are aware of their distance from achieving their homecoming. They are still in the land of the Colchians (4.8.22-24), and so far away from home that soon after leaving one member of the army daydreams about sailing back to Greece, stretched out on his back like Odysseus (5.1.2).[22] That a

[20] Xenophon explains to the men of Sinope that if a people provided gifts or a market, they were happy but if they did not, then the Ten Thousand had no choice but to ransack them (5.5.13-18). Roy (2004), 277-280 argues that the nature of a mercenary expedition like the one in the *Anabasis* often led to pillaging.
[21] On the Greekness of games, see Herodotus 8.26.
[22] The allusions to the *Odyssey* in the *Anabasis* connect these two *nostos* stories. Earlier in the *Anabasis,* in a speech to the army, Xenophon expresses fear that if they spend too much time in the Persian empire, the Ten Thousand might become like the Lotus-eaters (Cf. *Od*. 9.82-104) and forget the way home (3.2.25).

member of the Ten Thousand could make such a comment evoking the long-lost hero of the *Odyssey* and lamenting their distance from Greece at this point in the narrative indicates the army's awareness that they are still far from returning home.

While the Colchians and Trapezuntians represent the native-colonist dichotomy, the Mossynoecians provide an opportunity to draw a contrast between Greeks and natives primarily in terms of their customs. Even though the Ten Thousand have progressed quite far from the land of the Colchians at this point in the narrative, they are still among foreign peoples in strange lands, far from home. The utter otherness of the Mossynoecians reinforces to the reader that, while colonized and settled by Greeks, the southern coast of the Black Sea is still not a totally Greek space. For Xenophon, the Black Sea acts not as a spectrum, running from non-Greek to Greek on an east to west axis, but as an entire liminal zone, with gradations of Greek and non-Greek all throughout it. The Mossynoecians are by far the most foreign people across whom the Ten Thousand come on their journey. Xenophon asserts and underlines their strangeness by utilizing established Greek approaches to ethnography, like that of Herodotus, which make note of cultural norms and practices. He declares the Mossynoecians to be the most barbarian people the army encounters on its entire journey (βαρβαρωτάτους, 5.5.34).[23] By employing usual markers of foreignness, like discussions of diet, sexual practices, and armor,[24] Xenophon utilizes a kind of ethnographic shorthand to mark out the Mossynoecians as different and this area on the Black Sea coast as not Greek.

[23] On the Mossynoecians as uniquely different, see Roy (2007), 71-74.
[24] On these aspects of culture, see Cusset (2004).

While significantly shorter and with less detail than Herodotus' description of the Egyptians (Hdt. 2.5-2.99), Xenophon's account contains much of the same kinds of information, appealing to Herodotus' authoritative style of ethnography in a way that underlines the Mossynoecian's differentness. In describing the Ten Thousand's preparations to invade the territory of the hostile Mossynoecians,[25] Xenophon relates information about the Mossynoecians' unique canoes (5.4.11), armor and weapons (5.4.12-13),[26] and dances (5.4.14). Xenophon tells the reader about the king of the Mossynoecians who resides in a tower (μόσσυν), guarded by all the Mossynoecians (5.4.26). He gives evidence about the Mossynoecian diet (c.f. Hdt. 2.35-36), describing their odd cuisine, which features dolphin meat and fat, nuts and nut breads, and strong wine (5.4.28-29).[27] Another focus of Xenophon's ethnographic digression on the Mossynoecians is their children. He mentions how the Mossynoecians fatten the children of wealthy families on nuts such that they become almost as wide as they are tall (5.4.32), and he remarks on the children's pale white skin and their ornate tattoos (5.4.32-33). All of these details are straightforward, simple markers of foreignness that, when lined up one right after another as they are in this passage, overwhelm the reader with a sense of awe at the Mossynoecians' strangeness and reinforce the Ten Thousand's distance from Hellas.

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[25] Initially, the first group of Mossynoecians whom the Ten Thousand meet refuse them passage, a stance which indicates their hostility and inability to abide by the norms of ξενία (5.4.2). However, another group of Mossynoecians allies itself with the Ten Thousand and (5.4.5-9), in return for safe passage, the Ten Thousand agree to invade the land of the other group of Mossynoecians (5.4.10).

[26] Herodotus also remarks on the armor of the Mossynoecians (7.78).

[27] Cusset (2004), 39-40 describes food as a particularly distinguishing cultural feature. See also Roy (2007), 72-75.

Central to Xenophon's account is the notion that the Mossynoecians are so far removed from Greek customs (τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν νόμων, 5.4.34) that they observe the inverse of Greek private and public norms. This inversion gives the impression that the Mossynoecians inhabit a strange Black Sea "Twilight Zone" that underlines both the region's status as a liminal space and the Mossynoecianss position on the outer limits of it. For instance, they would talk and laugh to themselves and dance when no one was around (5.4.34). Xenophon is particularly perturbed by the desire of the Mossynoecians to have sex with the women in the Ten Thousand's entourage in public (5.4.34). This observation immediately precedes Xenophon's assertion that these people were the "the most foreign, and most removed from the Greek customs" (βαρβαρωτάτους πλεῖστον τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν νόμων κεχωρισμένους, 5.4.34).[28] It is not the Mossynoecian desire for sexual intercourse that sets them apart, but their desire to do it in the open. This depiction echoes Herodotus' ethnographies, particularly his explanation of Egyptian customs of intercourse.[29] Thus, primarily by means of their strange customs are the Mossynoecians are marked as foreign. This is analogous to the situation found in Apollonius' description of the Mossynoecians, as I will discuss in Chapter 2. The similarities between Xenophon's and Apollonius' depictions of this people give the tribe an extra-chronological quality because it seems to have changed so little in the nearly a thousand years that was meant to have passed between the times of the narratives. The Mossynoecians almost seem to live in a vacuum, unaffected by other factors in the Black

[28] Cf. the Egyptians' ἤθεά τε καὶ νόμους in Herodotus, 2.35.
[29] Herodotus mentions sex in public and promiscuous sex as customs of residents of the Caspian Sea area (1.203), of the Massagetae (1.216), of Indian tribes (3.101), and of the Auses (4.180), a Libyan tribe.

Sea region, occupying some sort of loophole in the itinerary through this area that marks the Black Sea littoral as a strange and exotic place.

Two tribes, the Chalybians and the Tibarenians, appear in the Ten Thousand's itinerary in close succession. They are both less foreign in their customs than the Mossynoecians, but they are also quite different from each other in ways that bring out the changing nature of the relationships the Ten Thousand have with the native tribes. However, they are different in straightforward, recognizable ways that allow the reader to at least categorize them respectively as hard, rugged barbarians and soft, pliant barbarians. These characterizations add depth and color to Xenophon's depiction of the southern coast of the Black Sea as a liminal space, bringing the tribes in this area to life in a way that shows and does not just tell the reader that these peoples are different from Greeks.

The Chalybians are remarkably hostile to the Ten Thousand and are a warlike people, the embodiment of the stereotype of disciplined, rugged people coming from harsh, unfruitful land.[30] Xenophon records that the Chalybians are actually subject to the Mossynoecians (5.5.1). These people earn their living by iron-working (5.5.1).[31] Before passing through their territory, the Ten Thousand run across this tribe earlier in the narrative, at which point they were particularly antagonistic. At 4.4.18, the leaders of the Ten Thousand find out that Chalybian and Taochian mercenaries—led by the hostile Persian Tiribazus—plan to attack them. Later, as the Ten Thousand make plans to enter the Chalybian territory, they encounter a group of enemies, including the Chalybians,

[30] On the most clear articulation of the relationship between landscape and people, see Herodotus 9.122.3.
[31] On iron in the Black Sea area, see Drews (1976), 26-31.

who intend to block their passage (4.6.4-9). Xenophon comments upon the exceptional bravery of the Chalybians, calling them the bravest of the tribes the Ten Thousand encounter (ἀλκιμώτατοι, 4.7.15). He describes their armor and style of fighting, which culminates in their decapitation of their dead enemies and a song and dance to terrify those enemies still alive (4.7.16). They carried spears fifteen cubits long, and a knife as long as a Laconian dagger (4.7.16).[32] While not as strange as the Mossynoecians in terms of inverting Greek customs, the Chalybians receive the next lengthiest ethnographical digression in this section of Xenophon's narrative.[33] They are set apart by how warlike they are, a reality that reinforces for the reader that the Ten Thousand are still in a fairly foreign land and have not yet reached the familiar lands and peoples of Hellas.

In the episode with the Tibarenians, in contrast with the Chalybians, the reader observes a wealthier, more pliant, and softer foreign tribe. This dichotomy shows the range of foreignness possible, and the Ten Thousand's exposure to these two extremes in such short succession underlines their distance from home and familiar peoples. The Tibarenians are not presented as a threat to the Ten Thousand at all. If anything, the Ten Thousand are more of a threat to them. Xenophon notes the level ground of the Tibarenian territory, and the accessibility of their fortresses on the coast as factors that make the Tibarenians susceptible to attack (5.5.2). The desire of the generals to attack the Tibarenians in order to acquire something for the army indicates that this tribe must have

[32] Dillery notes that "this spear is impossibly long" (p. 360, n.47). The possibility of Xenophon's exaggeration here reinforces our understanding of how strange and foreign these people must have appeared. Cf. Roy (2007), 73.
[33] Vassileva (1998), 74-76 notes that there is an abundance of information about this and other tribes in the region and singles out specifically the appearance of the Chalybians in Homer's *Iliad* 2.857.

been adequately wealthy (5.5.2). However, the omens never turn out promising, and so the Ten Thousand instead accept gifts of hospitality (τὰ ξένια, 5.5.2-3).[34] This shift in responses to foreign peoples, from survival to plunder, continues to be in flux throughout the rest of the Ten Thousand's journey along the sea-coast. The differences in the Ten Thousand's experience and perception of foreigners – both as potential sources of resources or booty and as threats – is both a determining factor and a consequence of the status of the southern coast of the Black Sea as a liminal space between non-Greek and Greek. The Tibarenians and the Chalybians do not receive such a detailed ethnographical treatment as the Mossynoecians do; their foreignness is shown instead by the ways in which they interact with the Ten Thousand and how the Ten Thousand respond to them.

The Paphlagonians are marked as foreign both by their mode of interacting with the Ten Thousand and by some of the specific ethnographical information Xenophon provides, albeit implicitly. The Ten Thousand's stop in the territory of the Paphlagonians somewhat follows the model set up by their interactions with the Tibarenians, as in this episode the Paphlagonians eventually actively seek out the Ten Thousand in order to establish a friendly, mutually beneficial relationship with them. Despite the threats of Hecatonymus, the Sinopian representative for Cotyora, a colony of Sinope at which the Ten Thousand have arrived, that the Sinopians will ally with the Paphlagonians against the Ten Thousand (5.5.12) and the warnings about Paphlagonian hostility made by Hecatonymus (5.6.6-8), the Paphlagonians eventually prove to be welcoming and

[34] The Tibarenians also appear in Herodotus 3.94 and 7.78. In these instances, the Tibarenians are shown to be among the nations that pay tribute to Darius, and they are singled out for their armor, which is similar to that of the Macrones, the Mossynoecians, and the Moschi, a tribe that does not appear in the *Anabasis*.

friendly to the Ten Thousand, with the result that neither side harms the other (6.1.1). Nevertheless, their interactions get off to a rocky start. The Ten Thousand initially begin pillaging the countryside, which hostile actions the Paphlagonians counter by capturing the stragglers (6.1.1). Eventually, Corylas, the king of the Paphlagonians, sends ambassadors to the Greeks to seek a treaty (6.1.2-4). This is the first time that a foreign tribe takes the initiative in seeking an alliance with the Ten Thousand. Thus, the interactions between the Ten Thousand and the Paphlagonians mark an increase in the level of hospitality shown to the wandering Greek army.

In response to this embassy, the Ten Thousand invite the Paphlagonian ambassadors to dinner, marking the first major personal interaction of this sort between the leaders of the Ten Thousand and members of a tribe on the Black Sea coast (6.1.3-4). At this dinner, various Greek ethnic groups perform tribal war-dances, much to the delight of the Paphlagonian guests (6.1.5-13). The Paphlagonian reactions to these dances – shouting (6.2.6), thinking these dances strange (6.2.12), and asking questions about them (6.2.13) – act to inform the reader about what the Paphlagonians found strange with regard to the dances and, thus, about how the Paphlagonian customs differ. In this situation, the focalization switches such that the Ten Thousand appear to be the strange people showing off their different customs. After the dinner, the Ten Thousand and the Paphlagonians conclude a truce, and the army is able to pass through their territory safely (6.1.14). Instead of the Ten Thousand entering into hostilities to continue to plunder Paphlagonian land or the Paphlagonians taking up arms to protect their lands, the two groups enter into a mutually beneficial relationship. Moreover, the cultural exchange that

takes place during dinner serves to turn the tables on the Ten Thousand. Despite the shift in point of view, these two peoples are clearly different, and so we can understand that the Paphlagonians appear strange and foreign to the Ten Thousand, as the Ten Thousand appear strange and foreign to the Paphlagonians.

As I have shown throughout this section, Xenophon broadcasts the Greekness or foreignness of the peoples the Ten Thousand encounter by explaining how they differ from Greeks outwardly in their customs or ways of life and by assessing the hostility or welcome they provide to the travelling army, and how the two groups interact with one another. There is no linear progression of Greekness or foreignness, but instead the itinerary follows a model that shows pockets of Greek culture and civilization within territory controlled by the native tribes of varying levels of strangeness. However, the question of when and where the Ten Thousand emerge from this liminal space is never made clear in the narrative, nor in the modern scholarship.

The Question of Closure

I will close my argument by evaluating two Greek cities, Heraclea Pontica and Byzantium, and how the two ostensibly Greek cities differ with respect to the way in which they treat the Ten Thousand and to the way in which Xenophon chooses to describe them. Since the *Anabasis* does not have a clear-cut end point or goal, these two cities each have claims to marking the army's arrival back in Hellas. Xenophon explains that Byzantium, on the Bosporus, is the first real Greek city the army has encountered on its return journey (7.1.29). However, the residents of Heraclea Pontica, a Megarian colony in the land of the Mariandynians, offer the Ten Thousand a much more

straightforward and generous welcome, providing a more meaningful closure to the Black Sea portion of the narrative. Determining the end or *telos* of the Ten Thousand's journey through this liminal space is key to ascertaining when the Ten Thousand exit this transitional phase of the journey and arrive back in Hellas. However, the location of that shift is unclear and subject to interpretation. In what follows, I argue that Heraclea Pontica in some ways makes more sense as the locus of this transition.

Byzantium would seem to be a logical point at which the Ten Thousand's journey finds some degree of closure, but intractability of the conflict they encounter there denies them a conclusion to their troubles. At the gate between the Black Sea and the Propontis, the city in a way marks the edge of Hellas proper. Xenophon refers to it as the first Greek city he and his army have arrived at in their journey (7.1.29), and the Ten Thousand debate how they should respond to their treatment at the hands of fellow Greeks (7.1.30). While Xenophon emphasizes the Greekness of both Heraclea Pontica and Byzantium, explaining that between these two cities dwell only barbarian Thracians (6.4.2), Byzantium seems to have a special Greek quality to it to make it the first Greek city (7.1.29). However, the treatment the Ten Thousand receive in Byzantium is negative and denies the possibility of this being their *telos*. The Ten Thousand are refused payment by the Spartan commander Anaxibius who tells them to get provisions from Thracian villages (7.1.12-17), causing the mercenaries to riot in Byzantium (7.1.18-20). At Byzantium, the Ten Thousand never experience a sense of *nostos* or homecoming. They merely encounter a new conflict and new potential leaders.

The residents of Heraclea Pontica, on the other hand, are welcoming and hospitable towards the Ten Thousand, offering them lavish hospitality gifts (6.2.1-3). The Heracleots come out to meet the mercenaries and provide them with provisions without Xenophon recording any of the Ten Thousand having to request them. Conflict arises when certain members of the Ten Thousand want to demand even more resources and goods from the Heracleots (6.2.4-5). However, Xenophon and another leader, Cheirisophus, resist this proposal, particularly because it does not seem right to them to force a Hellenic city to give them more than it was prepared to offer (6.2.6). While the Heracleots are not the same people as the hospitable and friendly Mariandynians whose relationship with the Argonauts I will discuss below,[35] the similar treatment of Greek travellers in this same location marks this city out as a place where travellers are treated with the appropriate hospitality and welcome. Moreover, after this point, the army splits up for the first time in the narrative. This episode features the Arcadians and the Achaeans splitting off from the Peloponnesians and Lacedaemonians (6.2.9-10), and Xenophon setting off with his own troops (6.2.15-19).[36] Such splintering is indicative of the Ten Thousand's confidence in their safety and ability to return. While they end up reuniting soon after (6.4.9), they feel that they can break off into smaller groups because they think they have overcome the worst and the strangest parts of their journey. Unlike the residents of Byzantium, the supposed first truly Greek city at which the Ten Thousand stop, the Heracleots seem an appropriate people to represent the Ten

[35] See below, pp. 47-49.
[36] Grethlein (2013), 80-81 notes that this is the first of five times that Xenophon attempts to leave the army.

Thousand's return to Greece, as this episode imparts a sense of relief to the reader and to the characters within the narrative.

Heracles the Leader

However, the Greekness of the colony and the welcome provided by the Heracleots is not the only reason why this stop is relevant to how Xenophon constructs Greek civilization in the Black Sea. The Acherusian headland on which Heraclea is situated features prominently in the story of Heracles and his labors, and Heracles is a Panhellenic hero, acting as an outpost of Greek culture in a foreign and distant land. The figure of Heracles is contradictory; what concerns my study in particular is his ability to be both a "culture hero and culture villain" (Padilla (1998), 22). By slaying monsters, giants, and animals, he is able to tame the uncivilized world in a way that allows civilization and culture to flourish.[37] However, his own violence and inability to abide by the norms of the civilization whose existence he provides for and protects by means of this same violence prevent him from participating in society.[38] Moreover, Heracles easily transgresses both physical and cultural boundaries.[39] Drawing on such research on Heracles' role in Greek literature and culture, I argue that Heracles has a special part to

[37] Galinsky (1972), 81-82 likens Heracles and Dionysus as "civilizers;" at p. 145, he compares him to Aeneas in the same role. All three of these gods/heroes are children of both divine and mortal parentage. I would tentatively argue that this mixed parentage allows these figures certain abilities and talents (see below, n. 39) that include spreading human civilization to more remote areas. On Heracles as a spreader of civilization, see also Romm (1992), 68-70, Padilla (1998), 22-24.
[38] On this, see Galinsky (1972), 4 and Padilla (1998), 24-25.
[39] Galinsky (1972), 3 assesses that Heracles "was the one true Panhellenic hero," as evidenced by the wide spread of his cult centers. Romm (1992), 17-18 attributes Heracles' ability to span geographical boundaries, like the Pillars of Hercules, to his status between mortal and immortal; see also Padilla (1998), 1-2.

play in the *Anabasis*, as he represents the spread of Greek civilization and culture to the furthest stretches of the world and also the force needed to establish security in order for culture to flourish.

Xenophon's mention of Heracles' mythological descent into the underworld at this location draws attention to Heracles' role as a Panhellenic culture hero and as a defender of Greek civilization, in particular in the further reaches of the known world. Moreover, Xenophon links the location's association with the Heracles myth with the hospitality shown by the Heracleots. Emphasizing the relationship between this geographical location and the Panhellenic, civilizing hero Heracles, Xenophon points to this episode as the site of the Ten Thousand's mythologically and religiously sanctioned re-entry into Greek civilization. The Acherusian headland was a mythical location of Heracles' descent to the underworld to retrieve the dog Cerberus (6.2.2). Xenophon states that the Ten Thousand anchor at the spot "where they now show the marks of his descent, reaching to a depth of more than two stadia" (ᾗ νῦν τὰ σημεῖα δεικνύασι τῆς καταβάσεως τὸ βὰθος πλέον ἢ ἐπὶ δύο στάδια, 6.2.2). The details Xenophon provides – the measurements of the site and the fact that some sort of sign points out the site – indicate that the location was well known enough for Xenophon to recognize and visit it. Immediately after relating the location of the ship's anchor to Heracles' trip to Hades, Xenophon describes the warm welcome given by the Heracleots (6.2.3). The immediate juxtaposition of the gifts of hospitality offered by the Heracleots and the description of the location of Heracles' κατάβασις, with no intervening narrative or description, suggests a connection between the two occasions. He specifies that the Heracleots came

to the Ten Thousand at that very same location (ἐνταῦθα), offering gifts of hospitality (ξένια, 6.2.3). Thus, the hospitality and the Greekness of the Heracleots, as well as their close connection with this important place in the Heracles myth, all reinforce one another. I argue that this correlation communicates to the reader the message that the Ten Thousand have arrived in a recognizably Greek space. Nevertheless, the location of Heracles' κατάβασις in the Acherusian Headland is not the only thing linking this part of the world and the people who inhabit it with the Greek mythological hero.

The character of Heracles pervades other aspects of this episode, further underlining his significance as a hero with a wide appeal to many Greeks, especially those in areas further from the center of the Greek world. Heracles' travels and labors prefigure the arrival of Greeks in more distant lands and their own efforts to settle and build colonies. Xenophon sacrifices to Heracles the Leader for guidance as he contemplates breaking away from the group and setting off on his own (6.2.15). He reports that the god indicated that he should remain with his troops. So, Xenophon continues with his portion of the fractured army after the Arcadians and the Achaeans, Cheirisophus' troops, and Xenophon's troops each proceed their own separate ways. Dillery asserts in the Loeb edition that Xenophon consulted this particular god because of his local importance (p. 486, n. 18).[40] Yet this is not the first time Xenophon has sacrificed to Heracles in this stretch of the journey, as Heracles was one of the gods to whom he sacrificed when the Ten Thousand first reached the coast (4.8.25).[41] Thus, sacrifices to Heracles form a ring composition that frames the journey of the Ten

[40] However, he does not cite any authority for this information.
[41] See above, p. 17, n. 21.

Thousand between Trapezus and Heraclea.[42] These sacrifices act as bookends that frame the bulk of the Black Sea portion of the Ten Thousand's journey. This structure promotes Heraclea Pontica as a possible conceptual stopping point for the Ten Thousand's journey. Heracles permeates this entire episode, indicating both his specific, local importance due to the location of his entrance to the underworld in this region and also his greater significance as a culture hero who protects the spread of Greek culture to various parts of the world by slaying monsters so that civilization can flourish in their absence.

Conclusions

From looking individually at a number of the episodes Xenophon describes in this portion of the Ten Thousand's journey, I conclude that he treats the Black Sea as a whole as a liminal, transitional space. The foreignness of the peoples the Ten Thousand encounter does not decrease linearly as the army travels from east to west, but instead, with much fluctuation and with pockets both of Greekness and of non-Greekness, they travel from the foreign lands of the Colchians to the recognizably Greek Heraclea Pontica and the explicitly Greek city of Byzantium. Xenophon communicates this shift in culture by taking note of the hostility or welcome offered to the Ten Thousand by the various peoples and also by cataloguing their distinct cultural customs. The Macronians and the Colchians are the most hostile; the Mossynoecians, the most foreign in their customs. Xenophon highlights the Greekness of the Heracleots with his account of the Acherusian Headland and its association with Heracles and his labors. Heraclea's suitability as a

[42] The sacrifices to Heracles at Trapezus (see above, p. 17) had been promised in return for the Ten Thousand's safe passage through the Persian empire (3.2.9).

point of closure for this portion of the Ten Thousand's journey is highlighted by the importance of Heracles to this location.

Xenophon's *Anabasis* provides a lens through which to view Apollonius' later narrative of a Greek band of soldiers travelling through the same geographical area. The two works are decidedly different: whereas Xenophon's account is historically and autobiographically based, Apollonius' text is an epic poem set in mythological time. Apollonius' Argonauts travel in the opposite direction from that in which the Ten Thousand do. Nevertheless, the two authors communicate Greekness and non-Greekness in similar ways – focusing on the nature of the interactions between the foreign people and the band of travelling Greeks as well as on the outward display of foreign customs. In the following chapter, I argue that Apollonius adopts and adapts some of the information presented by Xenophon about these tribes in order to create a literary, mythical backstory to the Greek settlement, colonization, and contact which Xenophon and his Ten Thousand experience. Additionally, I contend that Apollonius adopts Xenophon's framework for dealing with this area, so that as the Argonauts travel from Iolchos to Colchis, they experience the opposite phenomenon, moving from Greek to non-Greek in this liminal space of the Black Sea littoral, with similar termini.

Chapter 2:
Apollonius of Rhodes' *Argonautica* into the Unknown

This chapter argues that Apollonius uses the same paradigms of hospitality and hostility, familiarity and strangeness presented in Xenophon's *Anabasis* to create a vivid, geographically realistic[43] picture of the Argonautic journey along the southern coast of the Black Sea. The Argonautic voyage is a trip into the unknown and the uncivilized, the inverse of Xenophon's itinerary. The similarities between the information presented in Xenophon's *Anabasis* and the details provided in Apollonius' *Argonautica* place Apollonius' epic depiction of this region in mythical time in dialogue with Xenophon's non-fictional, first-hand account of the contemporary Black Sea coast. The overall effect of this intertextuality is to imbue Apollonius' poem with a sense of realism and accuracy; because the same geographical and ethnographical details appear in Xenophon's account, the *Argonautica* feels grounded in the landscape, accessible and perhaps even familiar to his audience through other literary accounts like Xenophon's.[44] Moreover, by retrojecting aetiologies and details about the landscape and the peoples of the journey that appear in the *Anabasis*, Argonautica creates a mythical back-story to later Greek contact with and settlement in this region. By mapping this story onto Xenophon's itinerary in particular, Apollonius creates a precedent for travel specifically by a cooperative group of

[43] Zanker (1987), 115, 116-118, 125-126 contextualizes Apollonius' geographical realism within a larger context of "the appeal to science" undertaken by many Alexandrian poets.
[44] Zanker (1987), 113 describes the aim of this phenomenon as seeking "to confer immediacy and credibility on poetic subject-matter, in particular upon myth, or to define the distance between myth and the present."

individuals drawn from all over Greece. This Panhellenic thrust finds its crystallization in Apollonius' *Argonautica*, as it does in Xenophon's *Anabasis*, in the character of Heracles.

In this chapter, I will examine the same peoples and places I discussed in the previous chapter, showing that Apollonius utilizes already known information about these tribes. The effect of this relationship between the narrative time and times of composition results in Apollonius' *Argonautica* being grounded in a relatively contemporary, real-life setting. Geographically speaking, the Argonauts' journey is a mirror image of that of the Ten Thousand. While the Ten Thousand are travelling westward towards Hellas and home, the Argonauts are setting off eastward into the unknown. Both groups progress in vaguely counter-clockwise directions: the Ten Thousand visit the southern coast of the Black Sea towards the end of their return trip, but the Argonauts encounter it the outward leg of their journey. Whereas each stop in this area for the Ten Thousand features a people of a varying and unpredictable level of hospitality and welcome, in the *Argonautica*, as Jason and his company sail further east, each stop presents a stranger landscape and a more foreign people.[45] Because the Argonauts' voyage takes place earlier in narrative time, the reader is to understand that in the intervening millennium, partially due to the effects of the Argonauts' visit, seen in Apollonius' many aetiologies, this area becomes more settled by Greeks and, therefore, more recognizably civilized. Apollonius' reader might understand the contemporary state

[45] The comparison of this portion of Apollonius' narrative with the genre of the *periplus* is a common scholarly assertion. Meyer (2001), 218-220 cites the genre as one of the main organizational templates for Book 2 of the *Argonautica*. Moreau (2001), 332-333 traces the origins of setting the Argonautic journey within the context of real-world geography.

of affairs on the Black Sea littoral to be the result of both journeys because of the implications of the intertextual geographical and ethnographical details.

I have limited my study to the part of the Argonauts' itinerary between the Symplegades and their arrival at Colchis—the entire stretch of their outward journey that occurs in the Black Sea. Apollonius clearly envisions this part of the journey as a whole unit. The prophet Phineus—whom the Argonauts encounter earlier in their journey—provides Jason with a preview of their itinerary, beginning from their passage through the Symplegades. Phineus will tell Jason about the journey ahead, only as far as the dragon guarding the Golden Fleece in Colchis (2.402-407).[46] Following Apollonius' division makes sense, as this leg of the journey forms a liminal space, from Greek to non-Greek, as the Argonauts proceed further into foreign and uncharted territory. I want to examine how Apollonius delineates this transition in comparison with how Xenophon treats the same area in his *Anabasis*. The effect of comparing geography and ethnography of the *Argonautica* with the same features of the *Anabasis*, in particular, as opposed to the descriptions of the Black Sea littoral found in other ancient authors, is to align the journeys of the Argonauts and of the Ten Thousand. Both these journeys were undertaken by Panhellenic armies gathered from all over Greece, and both focus on the intense desire on the part of each group of travellers to achieve a hard-won homecoming. This similarity then encourages the reader to contemplate the differences in how each author

[46] Phineus lists the Acherusian Headland as the first place where the Argonauts should put in, and the Mariandynians as the first people they will encounter (2.345-352). Even when Jason asks for more information or for guidance about the return journey (2.411-417), Phineus refuses to speak any further (2.425).

describes the customs, cultures, and treatment of travellers demonstrated by various groups of people.

As I demonstrated in the previous chapter, Xenophon portrays the southern coast of the Black Sea, between Trapezus and the Bosporus, as a transitional space, a threshold between the Hellenic world and the unknown reaches of the northern Persian empire. Whereas Xenophon and the Ten Thousand's itinerary as they travel westward along the Black Sea littoral has no certain *telos*, the Argonauts' journey eastward in the Black Sea has a very clear goal in mind: to reach Colchis and retrieve the Golden Fleece. Apollonius' narrative differs further from Xenophon's in that Apollonius constructs along this stretch of coastline a linear spectrum of foreignness and familiarity. Much of Book 2 acts as a transition between the familiarity of Greece and the strangeness and foreignness the Argonauts encounter in Colchis. In Book 2, as the Argonauts get further from Iolchus, their point of departure, the peoples and places they come across become more foreign. This phenomenon of gradual transition from Greek to non-Greek as the Argonauts progress eastward is much more pronounced than the changes the Ten Thousand experience as they travel westward. Whereas the Black Sea is for the Ten Thousand a liminal space with varying degrees of foreignness and Greekness throughout, the same area for the Argonauts demonstrates a linear development in foreignness from west to east. This difference makes the Black Sea of Apollonius' *Argonautica* more distant and exotic than the region presented in Xenophon's *Anabasis*. This disparity implies a culture change that takes place over an extended period of time between the Argonauts' trip and that of the Ten Thousand, a change that is possibly even a result of the Argonautic

mission. Moreover, the discrepancy in the degree and extent of foreignness in the Black Sea between the *Argonautica* and the *Anabasis* allows Apollonius to cast his Argonauts as the predecessors to later Greek travellers, including the Ten Thousand. Because the Black Sea littoral features a greater amount of Greek civilization all across its east-west axis when the Ten Thousand visit it than when the Argonauts do, one can understand that the spread of Greek civilization throughout the Black Sea is a product of the earlier voyage of the Argonauts.

Contextualizing Book 2 of Apollonius' poem within the known tradition of travel in the Black Sea contributes to a more nuanced understanding of how the poem contrasts Greek and non-Greek in a period in which those definitions were undergoing change.[47] Book 2 and the actual voyage of the Argonauts to Colchis is one of the least studied portions of the text. The existing scholarship tends to treat the geographic and ethnographic details given in this book as incidental embellishment instead of part of a larger structure. For example, Levin (1971) admirably seeks to draw more attention to these two books, arguing that they are "an intelligently planned and organized larger division" of the entire poem (p. 5). This volume falls short of making any concise arguments about the first half of the *Argonautica*, essentially becoming a catalogue of observations about each episode of the first two books of the poem. Thalmann (2011) argues persuasively for Apollonius' literary prefiguration of the Greek colonization that has occurred in many of the locations featured in the *Argonautica*, but only one episode in Book 2 – the Acherusian Headland – receives detailed attention. Harder (1994) notes

[47] On this, see Hunter (1989), 81-83.

that ethnographic and geographic detail in the *Argonautica* are secondary to the adventures of the Argonauts, with some exceptions (pp. 18-19). On the contrary, Cusset (2004) views Apollonius' poem as an exploration of the difference between civilized and savage. He emphasizes Apollonius' debt to past writers, particularly Herodotus and Xenophon, and notes that Xenophon's Ten Thousand, unlike Apollonius' Argonauts, had to enter into some sort of relationship – whether friendly or hostile – with every people they encountered, while the Argonauts could simply sail past (pp. 42-44). My study seeks both to question and to further the observations made by Harder (1994) and Cusset (2004). This paper considers Book 2 both with respect to the specific details it includes about various tribes and the intertextualities to be found in this ethnographical information and in relation to the rest of the *Argonautica*, as a means to ground the poem within a realistic setting, recognizable as the location for Books 4-7 of Xenophon's *Anabasis*. The commonalities between the two narrative backdrops encourage the reader to see the Argonautic voyage as a precursor to that of the Ten Thousand, as it occurred earlier in narrative time.

Pointing out the ways in which Apollonius utilizes information also presented in Xenophon's *Anabasis*, I show that Apollonius alludes to a long, rich history of Greek contact and travel along the southern coast of the Black Sea and retrojects his poem's journey as the literary predecessor to subsequent Greek travel in the area. The effect of placing the *Argonautica* in dialogue specifically with the *Anabasis* is to bridge together these two journeys as well as the visits to the region by Heracles in order to create the Black Sea as a locus of the intersection between myth and reality, as well as between

Greek and non-Greek. There are other tribes and places mentioned in this section of the *Argonautica* which do not appear in Xenophon's *Anabasis* and which are not the subjects of my current study. I have chosen to omit those parts of Jason's itinerary because I want to focus my efforts on the intertextuality between the *Argonautica* and the *Anabasis*. Writing in the third century BCE, Apollonius' story comes towards the end of the literary and scholarly development of the Argo's path through the Black Sea (Moreau (2001), 334). Apollonius could be drawing from any number of centuries' worth of geographical and ethnographical descriptions of the region or mythological versions of the Argonautic voyage to construct his story's itinerary.[48] As in the previous chapter, I shall discuss each people and place in turn in the order in which the narrator describes them. By doing so, I can show that the Argonautic journey is the inverse of that of the Ten Thousand, moving from the most hospitable and similar to Greek tribe to the least welcoming and most foreign.

Before I go through each tribe systematically, I will first turn my attention towards the role of Heracles in this part of the *Argonautica*, since the previous chapter left off with Heracles. I closed my analysis of the Ten Thousand's experiences in the Black Sea by discussing how the figure of Heracles works to connect real-life Greek colonization and settlement in this region with Heracles' mythical status as a culture hero and spreader of Greek civilization. In the *Argonautica*, Heracles has an additional role; he

[48] For example, Pearson (1938) discusses Apollonius' debt to the old geographers, particularly Hecataeus. Zanker (1987) emphasizes, on the other hand, Timagetus, Ephorus, and Nymphodorus, among others. Moreau (2001), 328-329 explains the transformation of the *periplus* of the Argonautic journey as a result of how, as Greek colonization progressed throughout the Black Sea region, scholars and writers from the various cities in the area began to insert their own hometowns into the story of the Argo.

acts a foil to Jason's style of leadership. Despite his sudden departure from the narrative at the end of Book 1, his larger than life figure remains fresh in the reader's mind.

In what follows, I address the relevance of Heracles to the Argonauts' stop in the Acherusian Headland. I argue that the gloomy overtones in the description of the nearby entrance to Hades and the κατάβασις-related language allude to Heracles' descent into the underworld from this location. By referencing Heracles' labors in the Black Sea,[49] Apollonius reminds the reader that the Argonauts' journey into this area has a mythological precedent in one of Heracles' labors. This reference to the presence of Heracles in the Black Sea before the Argonauts' arrive there allows the Argonautic voyage to act as a bridge between the solitary figure of Heracles and the Ten Thousand as travellers in the region. As I discussed in the previous chapter, Heracles has a specific association with this geographical location in the historical time of Xenophon's work; Apollonius utilizes the figure of Heracles in much the same way. In fact, Apollonius uses Heracles' relationship with the same physical location in his poem in order to provide an aetiology that, in turn, provides a mythological background for Xenophon's description of the same place. Thus, Heracles becomes a marker of familiarity and Greekness in both narratives. His presence in both works signifies the arrival of the travellers in question at a point where Greek identity is present but contested.

Because my argument will follow Apollonius' itinerary, as it did with Xenophon's, and Apollonius' Argonauts travel in the opposite direction from

[49] Both the κατάβασις to retrieve Cerberus (as I argue, 2.734-745) and his seizure of the girdle of the Amazonian queen Hippolyte, recounted to Jason by Lycus, king of the Mariandynians (2.774-779). Thus, the combination of these factors underlines the significance of Heracles to this region.

Xenophon's Ten Thousand, an inverted chapter structure is appropriate. Therefore, the stopping points for my argument about the *Anabasis* – the city of Byzantium on the Bosporus and the colony of Heraclea Pontica – become the points of departure for this phase of my study. In this case, the passage of the Argo through the Symplegades, the mythical appellation of the Bosporus strait, serves as a fitting entry. The Symplegades are the first obstacle the Argonauts must face after leaving Phineus, the prophet who outlines for them the rest of their journey up to Colchis. He advises them as to how to pass through these clashing rocks, through which no one else has safely traveled, and which act as the gateway to the Black Sea (2.317-346). Immediately after passing through the Symplegades, the Argonauts' first stop is at the Acherusian Headland, where they first encounter the evidence of Heracles' earlier journey.

The Absent Heracles

As in the visit of the Ten Thousand to the Acherusian Headland and Heraclea Pontica, Hearcles' role as a spreader and protector of civilization is pronounced.[50] In the *Argonautica*, he appears as a precedent for Jason and his crew when they stop in the same location. Heracles comes to act as a prototype for the Greek contact that the Argonauts bring to this part of the world, and the Argonauts therefore become a bridge between his journey and the arrival of the Ten Thousand in the same location. To demonstrate this connection, I shall first establish that Apollonius' description of the Acherusian Headland makes clear this location's association with the underworld and Heracles' descent to

[50] See above, pp. 28-29 and associated notes for an overview of how the figure of Heracles functions in the Greek imagination concerning travel and the spread of civilization.

Hades. Although it has not occurred yet in narrative time, I contend that Heracles' descent into the underworld, the commemoration of which Xenophon describes in the *Anabasis*, is foreshadowed in this episode because of this location's later importance, as featured in the *Anabasis*. I conclude that Heracles acts as a precursor to the Argonauts, themselves mythological predecessors to the Ten Thousand, as a traveller and a spreader of Greek civilization beyond the Symplegades. Placing the Argonauts in this moderating role between Heracles and the Ten Thousand emphasizes the role their journey has in preparing the Black Sea region for later Greek travellers. While Heracles has already been to this part of the world, as Lycus informs Jason, the Argonautic voyage is very different: on the one hand, Heracles subdues tribes, fights with the Amazons, and kidnaps Cerberus; on the other hand, the Argonauts are on an expedition to retrieve the Golden Fleece. Thus, Heracles is a superhuman, violent force, to whom Greeks might look in their time of need, as Xenophon does,[51] but Jason might serve as a more approachable hero with whom other travelling Greeks might feasibly identify.[52]

By emphasizing the gloominess of the landscape and its connection with Hades by means of the repetition of κατα- language, Apollonius forces the reader to acknowledge the association between this location and the underworld and in particular Heracles' descent to it. He describes the downward slope of the land towards the cave of Hades (ἐκ δ' αὐτῆς εἴσω κατακέκλιται ἤπειρόνδε / κοίλη ὕπαιθα νάπη, ἵνα τε σπέος ἔστ' Ἀίδαο, "Down from [the headland] towards the interior slopes a hollow valley,

[51] See above, pp. 30-31.
[52] On Heracles acting as a traditional, archaic foil to Jason's more human heroism, see Lawall (1966), Beye (1982), 83-84, 93-98, Clauss (1993), 2, 13. On Heracles in the *Argonautica* in general, see Clauss (1993), Chapter 8.

where the cave of Hades lies," 2.734-735). The use of the verb κατακέκλιται indicates the direction of the gradation, and calls to mind the idea of the heroic καταβάσις, or descent into the underworld.[53] Moreover, Apollonius' description of the entire landscape emphasizes its gloominess and eeriness:

> σιγὴ δ'οὔ ποτε τήν γε κατὰ βλοσυρὴν ἔχει ἄκρην,
> ἀλλ' ἄμυδις πόντοιό θ'ὑπὸ στένει ἠχήεντος
> φύλλων τε πνοιῇσι τινασσομένων μυχίῃσιν.
> ἔνθα δὲ καὶ προχοαὶ ποταμοῦ Ἀχέροντος ἔασιν,
> ὅς τε διὲξ ἄκρης ἀνερεύγεται εἰς ἅλα βάλλων
> ἠοίην, κοίλη δὲ φάραγξ κατάγει μιν ἄνωθεν.
>
> Silence never envelops that grim headland, but moaning arises from both the echoing sea and the leaves rustled by the breezes from the depths. Here too is the mouth of the Acheron river, which gushes through the headland and issues into the eastern sea, for a hollow ravine carries it down from above. (2.740-745)

The attribution of the adjective βλοσυρὴν ("gloomy") to the headland and the mention of the Acheron river both evoke the location's connection to the underworld.[54] Thus, this ekphrastic description becomes, in a way, a scene of καταβάσις for Jason and the Argonauts.[55]

Although Apollonius explicitly connects this location with Hades (in Phineus' preview: 2.353-356, 2.735), he does not mention Heracles' descent here, an omission that is in effect almost a *praeteritio*, calling more attention to the fact that this event has

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[53] In the earliest uses of the word, and in most uses before Xenophon, with the exceptions of the historians Herodotus and Thucydides, a καταβάσις is always a καταβάσις εἰς Ἅιδου. Thus, it is not out of the question for this to have been an association in both Xenophon's and his audience's minds.

[54] Williams (1989), 116-120 discusses the dark and sinister episodes in the surrounding text to which this description connects.

[55] Kyriakou (1995), 257-259 notes the similarities between the description of this landscape and the description of the entrance to the underworld in the land of the Cimmerians in Homer's *Odyssey* (11.13-22). Homer's description emphasizes the darkness of this place.

not taken place yet in narrative time. Phineus even describes the καταβάσις of the path that descends into Hades (ἔνθα μὲν εἰς Ἀίδαο καταιβάτις ἐστὶ κέλευθος, "Here is a path that descends to the abode of Hades," 2.353), in a direct verbal reference to the notion of the heroic καταβάσις which Heracles will perform here.[56] Indeed, Xenophon calls the Acherusian headland the place where Heracles undertook to καταβῆναι to the dog Cerberus, and mentions the contemporary indications of the location of this καταβάσις (*Anabasis* 6.2.2). Thus, καταβάσις terminology describing this same place has already been used by Xenophon to reference Heracles' heroic descent. Apollonius does not mention Heracles' journey because it has not happened in the narrative time yet; nevertheless, the reader cannot avoid associating that event with this place.

However, the references in the description of the Acherusian Headland and the location of Hades are not the only facets of this episode that bring Heracles to the fore; as the Argonauts learn after stopping in the land of the Mariandynians, Heracles has been there before them, conquering hostile tribes on behalf of the Mariandynians, and prefiguring the arrival of the Argonauts as a civilizing force. After hearing of Jason and the Argonauts' travels and travails, Lycus, king of the Mariandynians, reveals that Heracles has visited the Mariandynians and is a great friend to them. Lycus explains that Heracles stopped in that same location on one of his twelve labors – to retrieve the belt of the queen of the Amazons, Hippolyte (2.775-779). While in the land of the

[56] Cf. ἔνθα λέγεται ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Κέρβερον κύνα καταβῆναι ᾗ νῦν τὰ σημεῖα δεκνύασι τῆς καταβάσεως τὸ βάθος πλέον ἢ ἐπὶ δύο στάδια ("where Heracles is said to have descended to Hades after the dog Cerberus, at a spot where they now show the marks of his descent, reaching to a depth of more than two stadia," Xenophon, *Anabasis* 6.2.2); see above, pp. 29.

Mariandynians, he participated in the funeral games for Lycus' brother Priolas who had been killed by the Mysians (2.780-785). Heracles' quest to subdue the Amazonian queen and his participation in the funeral games all speak to his essential Greekness.[57] Heracles also brought under the power of Lycus' father numerous surrounding tribes. In fact, Lycus relates that the Mariandynians lamented Heracles' absence while the Bebrycians, whom the Argonauts have just defeated (2.1-129), ransacked their lands (2.138-144, 2.792-795). Thus, Jason's interactions and conversation with Lycus, the king of the Mariandynians, reveals another role this location has in Heracles' story, since, in this same place, Heracles proved himself to be a great defender of civilization.

The figure of Heracles is important to the Argonauts' journey through this region because like Heracles (and sometimes with Heracles in their number), they are ridding the world of monsters and monstrous people, making it a safer place for civilization to thrive. By travelling into a land filled with foreign and hostile people, the Argonauts fulfill a similar function to that of Heracles by furthering the extent of Greek culture. For example, with Heracles still among them, the Argonauts slew the monstrous, fearsome Earthborn men at Cyzicus (1.989-1011). Thus, Heracles' function as a Greek culture hero and protector, alluded to throughout the Argonauts' stop in the land of the Mariandynians, foreshadows the Argonauts taking on a similar role for other locations of Greek contact and settlement in the Black Sea region. Even as they experience the southern coast of the Black Sea as a liminal space between Greek and non-Greek, the Argonauts are able to alter that dynamic by making the Black Sea area more exposed to Greek culture than it

[57] For participation in games as a Greek activity, see above, p. 17, n. 21.

was before their journey by interacting with people like the Doliones, the Mariandynians, and the Colchians. Thus, the reader can foresee the Argonautic journey having the same foundational force as Heracles' slaying of monsters throughout the Mediterranean in order to make it safe for human civilization.[58] However, while Heracles can provide essential protection for civilized communities by taming and slaying monsters, he himself cannot remain in society and must live outside of it. In this regard, the Argonauts act as an intermediary between Heracles' solitary travels and labors and the travelling polis of the Ten Thousand.

Strangers in a Strange Land

In this section, I argue that the gradual accumulation of strangeness in the peoples the Argonauts encounter prepares both the Argonauts and the reader for the encounter with the Colchians, the most foreign people featured in the poem. With each people and place the Argonauts pass by, their surroundings become more foreign, so that the strangeness they run into at Colchis is not as much as of a shock and is, indeed, a culmination of their experiences so far in their journey. As in the *Anabasis*, the peoples and places most welcoming and recognizable to the travelling Greeks as civilized are the closest to the center of Greek culture. While the Ten Thousand experience a gradual increase in familiarity as they travel westward, the peoples and places the Argonauts encounter become progressively stranger as they travel eastward, especially once they pass through the Symplegades.[59]

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[58] For Heracles' function as civilizer, see above, pp. 28-29.
[59] The difference between East and West is so pronounced in the poem that Clauss (2000), 26 argues that it is an aetiology for the conflict between East and West.

The first people the Argonauts encounter in the Black Sea are the Mariandynians, who turn out to be the most hospitable, welcoming people out of the entire Argonautic journey. As they are the first people the Argonauts meet after they pass through the Symplegades, this encounter sets the gold standard for appropriate behavior demonstrated by non-Greeks in the Black Sea in Apollonius' poem, drawing into a greater contrast the hostility and strangeness of the peoples the Argonauts pass by or encounter later in the narrative. In the *Argonautica*, the Mariandynians' hospitality is evident particularly in contrast to the Bebrycians whom the Argonauts just fought, who embody the opposite of ξενία – hostility towards guests.[60] The Mariandynians are the perfect hosts, much like the Heracleots whom the Ten Thousand meet in the *Anabasis*. The Mariandynians gladly welcome the Argonauts, concluding a pact and offering them a feast in friendship (2.755-760). Such hospitality marks this area as one that is under the influence of Greek norms of hospitality. This friendliness shown to the Argonauts by the Mariandynians prefigures the welcome and gifts offered to the Ten Thousand by the Heracleots who occupy the same region at the time when Xenophon's story takes place.

In elaborating on this episode, which takes place at the site of the future colony Heraclea Pontica, Apollonius looks both forwards (in literary time) and backwards (chronologically) to the importance of this interaction in Xenophon's account as one that sets the tone for Greek/native interactions. The Ten Thousand experienced similar

[60] Displays of ξενία towards guests was an essential quality of a civilized, law-abiding society, evidenced as early as the *Odyssey*. At 6.120-126, upon waking up on Scheria, Odysseus wonders whether the inhabitants of that land are law-abiding, god-fearing, and ξενία-loving. At 8.572-576, Alkinous uses a similar formulation when asking Odysseus about the peoples he has met and whether they were civilized or not.

hospitality and friendliness at the same point in their journey in the opposite direction, in the Greek city of Heraclea Pontica, located in the same location on the Acherusian Headland in the territory of the Mariandynians.[61] The experiences of the Argonauts and of the Ten Thousand map onto each other and create an overall picture of Greekness and proper host behavior at this outpost that is a major stopping point for both armies. In fact, Apollonius references this later settlement when he describes how, "in later generations" (ἐν ὀψιγόνοισι, 2.746),[62] Nisaean Megarians – who founded the city Heraclea – named the Acheron river the Soönautes river. This aetiology is a crystal clear link between the geographical feature in Apollonius' narrative and its real-world, present-day existence.

The Mariandynians' friendliness does not stop with the warm welcome offered to the Argonauts; King Lycus takes two steps to permanently associate himself and his people with the Argonautic mission, one of which has lasting implications for the Greekness of this site. The permanence of the impact the Argonauts' stop has on this community links the idea of Greek travel in the Black Sea with this location, building upon the connection already established by the journeys of Heracles. First, Lycus sends his son, Dascylus, along with the Argonauts, assuring them that because he is with them, they will receive a welcome from other tribes (2.802-805). While this promise never comes into play in the rest of the narrative, Lycus' generosity is nevertheless an unambiguous vote of confidence in Jason and the Argonauts. Second, as a commemoration of the Argonauts' stop at the Acherusian Headland, Lycus builds a

[61] See above, pp. 26-27.
[62] Apollonius uses this word five times in his poem (Cf. 1.1062, 2.842, 4.252, 4.653), always to indicate an aetiology.

temple for the Dioscuri, the sons of Tyndareus (2.806-807). He intends it to be a kind of beacon for sailors on the sea, and he plans to set aside fields for them, οἷα θεοῖσιν ("as for gods," 2.809). Thus, Apollonius embeds in this story an aetiology for the worship of the Dioscuri, who become protectors of sailors (2.807-808).[63] Not only are the Mariandynians welcoming and hospitable to the Argonauts, but they also establish a cult center for gods who are important in Greek culture. Consequently, the first people the Argonauts encounter in the Black Sea – the Mariandynians – are welcoming, and Apollonius shows them to have associations with Greek mythic and cultic figures, namely Heracles and the Dioscuri. They are all but Greek. The Greekness of this native community both prefigures and explains (in a literary way) the later establishment of the Megarian colony Heraclea Pontica in this location. The connection of this episode with both the journeys of Heracles and the return trip of the Ten Thousand encourages the reader to understand the Argonautic voyage as a link between these two trips. The *Argonautica* thus becomes part of the story of the expansion of Greek travel and contact with the Black Sea area, spanning from the brief visits of Heracles to the full-fledged colonies and settlements the Ten Thousand encounter.

The section of the Argonauts' journey between departing from the Mariandynians and the Acherusian Headland and arriving at Colchis is filled with descriptions of progressively stranger and more foreign tribes. This evolution of foreignness over the course of the journey solidifies the role of the southern coast of the Black Sea as a transitional space through which the Argonauts must travel both to reach Colchis and to

[63] Compare also with the aetiology the Argonauts' visit provides for worship of the goddess Rhea at Cyzicus (1.1117-1149).

prepare for their interactions with the foreign Colchians. After the Argonauts depart from the Acherusian headland, the peoples mentioned next in the course of the Argonauts' journey do not have a major impact on the plot or on the Argonauts, but give the reader a sense of the continued transformation of the landscape through which the Argonauts pass. The Argonauts do not come into contact with any of these tribes (the Paphlagonians, the Chalybians, and the Tibarenians); they merely sail past. Nevertheless, Apollonius includes them in a move that alludes both to the traditional *periplus* itinerary of the southern coast Black Sea and to Xenophon's *Anabasis*.[64] However, the inclusion of these tribes in the *Argonautica* is not merely a literary commonplace but also functions to habituate the travellers and the reader to the foreign customs that become more common and more exotic as they progress eastward.

While foreign, the Paphlagonians are still recognizable and fairly familiar to the Argonauts on the spectrum from Greek to non-Greek. They occupy an intermediate position on the spectrum between Greek and non-Greek, similar to the function of the Paphlagonians in the *Anabasis*. Although the Argonauts do not interact with the Paphlagonians, they learn that they have some connections to Greece. These links bring the Paphlagonians into contact with Greek civilization in such a way that eases the Argonauts' transition into the unknown of the Black Sea and prepares them for the stranger peoples ahead. Phineus refers to the Paphlagonians as the Pelopian Paphlagonians, descended from the Greek mythological figure Pelops (2.357-359). That

[64] For more explanation of why and how these tribes are important to the structure of the poem, see Levin (1971), 197-199, who argues that these peoples fill in the gap between the stops at the Acherusian Headland and the Island of Ares.

such a prominent Greek figure appears to be related to a tribe on the southern coast of the Black Sea gives the Paphlagonians at least a hint of Greekness. Moreover, Lycus reports to Jason that the Paphlagonians yielded without a fight to the one Greek they have encountered already, Heracles (2.790-791). The Paphlagonians yield to Heracles of their own accord (αὔτως, 2.790). This information shows that the Paphlagonians are not as aggressive as some tribes, like the Bebrycians, with whom the Argonauts fight. This willingness to comply with Greek travellers prefigures the relationship the Ten Thousand have with their contemporary Paphlagonians and so even more clearly situates the Paphlagonians as a kind of midway point in the Argonauts' journey by mapping their route onto the fixed version of the Ten Thousand's itinerary.

While the reader hears about the Paphlagonians from Lycus and Phineus, this tribe does not actually appear in the course of the Argonauts' itinerary. However, the places and details mentioned when Apollonius is describing the area which the Paphlagonians inhabit are important to Greek mythology and culture. This information adds a mythological dimension to Xenophon's straightforward narrative about the same place and people,[65] and shows the reader that, while not vital to the plot of the *Argonautica*, this region still forms part of the transitional zone between Greek and non-Greek. Apollonius mentions the streams of the river Parthenius, in which the goddess Artemis bathes (2.936-939) and tells of the association the virgin Sinope has with the river Halys and the shore in that region, the future cite of the colony Sinope, important to

[65] For Xenophon's treatment of the Paphlagonians, see above, pp. 23-25.

Xenophon's *Anabasis*.[66] These two rivers form the traditional boundaries of the Paphlagonian territory.[67] Thus, while the Paphlagonians themselves do not appear in the narrative at this point, the area which a Greek audience might know they inhabit is related to other important Greek mythological stories, bringing the Paphlagonians further into the sphere of Greek civilization.

The other tribes in this portion of the text – the Chalybians, the Tibarenians, and the Macrones – do not figure much into the plot of the poem. Because of their irrelevance to the plot here, I argue, their connections to the paths of the typical *periplus* of the Black Sea coast,[68] as well as their mention in the journey of Ten Thousand, are brought to the forefront. The tribes I discuss below all appear in Xenophon's *Anabasis*, as discussed previously in Chapter 1. These intertextualities put the *Argonautica* into dialogue with these earlier texts, in particular the *Anabasis*, with the result that the Argonautic journey acts retroactively to prefigure these texts that take place later in narrative time. Moreover, the ethnographical details provided by the narrator serve to ease the transition from familiar, welcoming, and Greek-like peoples to the extremely foreign Mossynoecians and extremely hostile Colchians.

The presence of these tribes in the narrative helps ground Apollonius' poem in the context of what is already known of the landscapes and peoples of the southern coast of

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[66] Many of the Greek cities along the southern coast of the Black Sea are Sinopian colonies. The Ten Thousand encounter Hecatonymus, a representative of the Sinopians, at Cotyora, a Sinopian colony (5.5), and they arrive at Sinope at 6.1 and are received warmly.

[67] Herodotus indicates that the Paphlagonians live west of the Halys (1.28); Strabo (6.4, 7.3, 7.4) situates the Paphlagonians with respect to the Halys river and the other tribes in the area.

[68] Meyer (2001) and Rubio (1992) on the *periplus* genre and the *Argonautica*.

the Black Sea. While the Chalybians are non-Greek, their differences are admirable, in that they make them tough and rugged, not weak and effeminate. The Chalybians are somewhat foreign to the Greeks, in that they do not farm or practice any kind of agriculture. Instead, they trade metal that they work out of the earth in exchange for food (2.1000-1008).[69] Phineus describes them as the "most wretched" men (2.374-376) who inhabit very harsh land.[70] The Argonauts coast along their land, and do not stop. The Tibarenians are presented as even odder than the Chalybians, since they have inverted gender norms.[71] The men groan while the women are in childbirth (2.1009-1014), and after giving birth, the women take care of the men instead of the other way around. Where the Chalybians live on poor land and must work hard to extract metal from it, the Tibarenians, according to Phineus (2.377), are rich in sheep. The Argonauts speed past these people as well. Thus, these two peoples, mentioned right after each other, form their own mini-progression from more Greek to less Greek.

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[69] Metallurgy was in fact common in the area. Fusillo (1985), 162 argues that the metallurgy of the region could not be the only reason to include some of these peoples – particularly the Chalybians – in the narrative. He argues, and I agree, that the peoples described in this section of the narrative represent a gradual transformation of traditional Greek society; Fusillo pays particular attention to gender norms and family structures (p. 164).

[70] The form used here (σμυγερώτατοι, 2.374) is only attested in Apollonius. It is a variation on the adjective μογερός, used primarily by dramatists. The usage of this singular adjective draws attention to the characterization of the Chalybians and their unique differentness. Also, this description suggests an affinity for the end of Herodotus' *Histories*, when Cyrus insists that the Persians inhabit rugged lands so that they too might be rugged (9.122).

[71] Apollonius' account has the sequence in which the Argonauts encounter first the Chalybians and the Tibarenians reversed from that Xenophon, in that the same peoples appear in the same order in each text, even though the groups are travelling in the opposite direction and so should come upon the tribes in opposite order.

Finally, the Macrones (who appear after the Mossynoecians, whom I will discuss below) are included in the Argonauts' itinerary seemingly at random. They have no involvement with the Argonauts, and Apollonius does not include much information about them at all. Phineus mentions that they occupy the land just past the island of Ares (2.393-394), and the narrator mentions them by name when the Argonauts sail past (2.1242). These are just a few of the peoples and places included in this portion of the *Argonautica* that do not fit into the narrative in any other way than their brief mention in the *periplus* of the Argonauts. The use of some of the same details given in Xenophon's account reminds the reader of what this area looks like later in Greek history and how these peoples respond to Greek travellers. Apollonius' poem gives these real tribes, attested in other Greek literature, mythological backstories, simultaneously making the setting for his poem more realistic and making the peoples of the Black Sea more mythical and legendary. The further the Argonauts are from their point of departure in Greece, the stranger their surroundings become. While the tribes I have discussed above have their eccentricities, the next two tribes I consider, the Mossynoecians and the Colchians, are the most explicitly foreign of those in this portion of the *Argonautica*. I argue that the strangeness of the Mossynoecians, perhaps the most striking similarity between this narrative and Xenophon's, help set the bar high for the reader's expectations of the Colchians, building suspense before their journey reaches its culmination.

The Strangest of the Strange

The Mossynoecians are the most foreign people the Argonauts encounter besides the Colchians; their foreign mores are very different from Greek ones, and are in fact the

exact opposite in some cases. The eccentricities of the Mossynoecians prepare both the reader and the Argonauts for the strangeness to come when the Argonauts finally arrive at Aia.

The Mossynoecians are foreign in traditionally documented, recognizably strange ways. While their differences from Greek culture are shocking, they are not outside the realm of comprehension for a Greek audience. Both Xenophon's and Apollonius' accounts cite the Mossynoecian inversion of the Greek public-private divide as the tribe's most prominent differentiating quality.[72] Xenophon and Apollonius are particularly concerned with how this public/private divide relates to Mossynoecian sexual practices, noting their proclivity for sex in the open in one of the more remarkable similarities between the two accounts.[73] No other Greek author before these two notes this aspect of Mossynoecian society. Despite Herodotus' proclivity for commenting on strange sexual behaviors,[74] he does not show any knowledge of this facet of Mossynoecians culture.

While scholars have noted the singularity of the similar descriptions of the Mossynoecians given by Xenophon and Apollonius and hinted at a relationship between

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[72] Both authors also mention specifically the wooden towers (μόσσυνες, *Argonautica* 2.1015-1017) that the Mossynoecians inhabit. Apollonius notes that the tribe derives their name from these towers, a detail not in Xenophon's account. Both authors are concerned with how the king's tower figures into the governance of the Mossynoecians. Apollonius relates that the king of the Mossynoecians sits in the highest tower, handing down judgments to his people. If he gives errs in his judgments, the people keep him locked up with no food for a day (2.1026-1029). On the other hand, Xenophon's account describes how the king resides in a tower on the citadel, and all the various groups of Mossynoecians maintain him in his tower (5.4.26). Xenophon gives this information only to explain that the Ten Thousand, fighting on behalf of the friendly Mossynoecians, having captured the king's citadel, burned him up along with the towers.

[73] Apollonius at 2.1023-1025, and Xenophon at 5.4.34; see above, pp. 20-21.

[74] E.g. the Massagetae, 1.215-216; the Nasamones, 4.172; the Auseans 4.180.5-6.

them,[75] they have failed to address the implications of this similarity. I argue that these intertextual parallels about Mossynoecian customs gives this tribe an extra-chronological quality, in that the reader can view them as not having changed in the time in between the legendary voyage of the Argonauts and the recent travels of the Ten Thousand. Xenophon and Apollonius stand out as similar in their knowledge and treatment of the Mossynoecians.[76] The tribe does appear briefly in the works of other previous writers, but to a much lesser extent than it does in these two works. Pearson (1938) asserts that Apollonius was very dependent on the "old geographers," chief among them Hecataeus, in developing his knowledge of the Black Sea area, in terms of both detailed information and thematic choices. The Mossynoecians make their debut in the fragments of Hecataeus of Miletus. Writing at the end of the 6th to the beginning of the 5th centuries BCE, Hecataeus records that the Mossynoecians inhabit the land near the Scythians (Jacoby 1a.1.F. frag. 204, 205). The Mossynoecians appear twice, cursorily, in Herodotus: they are one of a number of tribes who pay tribute to the Persian king (3.94.6), and they carry armor similar to that of the Moschoi (7.78.3). Nevertheless, I conclude, with Cusset (2004), 39-42, that Apollonius' digression about the Mossynoecians owes more to Xenophon than to Herodotus in terms of detail, particularly for the Mossynoecian episode.

[75] Pearson (1938), 448-449 mentions the overlap concerning the Mossynoecians as well and suggests that Apollonius drew from the old geographers who were a common source for later writers. Xenophon seems to be the exception in his opinion. Cusset (2004), 42-43 asserts that Apollonius was a reader of Xenophon, especially with regard to this geographical area. Fantuzzi and Hunter (2004), 129-131 notes their similarity in subject material, particularly the Acherusian headland and the Mossynoecians.

[76] Delage (1930), 175-179 compiles the appearances of the Mossynoecians in Greek literature and settles on Xenophon as Apollonius' primary source in this episode.

Outside of a few other scanty references,[77] and later scholiasts and Christian writers reiterating the descriptions of earlier writers, these are all of the extant references to the tribe in Greek literature. No other earlier or contemporary source addresses the Mossynoecians' inversion of Greek ideas about public and private customs, nor makes mention of their towers. Therefore, I conclude, the intertextual references to the Mossynoecians in Xenophon's *Anabasis* and in Apollonius' *Argonautica* are the most significant extant sources about the Mossynoecians; each author emphasizes the tribe's strangeness. However, both authors approach the topic of the Mossynoecians' foreignness in ways recognizable from other Greek historiographical and ethnographical writings, particularly prominent in Herodotus' *Histories*.[78]

Moreover, the consistency of the information provided by both of these accounts interacts with the difference in narrative time I have been discussing throughout this paper in order to impart to the reader a sense that the tribe is unchanged and almost extra-chronological in their insensitivity to the vagaries of time. The Acherusian Headland, for example, and the people who inhabit it are not the same in both works, and the landscape which the Ten Thousand visit even bears the markings of the Argonauts' earlier stop there. Thus, one can understand that this area was thought to have changed in the

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[77] A fragment of the fourth century BCE astronomer Eudoxus refers to τὸ κτητικὸν Μοσσυνοικικός (Frag. 281.1), but it is unclear what this means. The *Periplus Scylacis* (pseudo-Scylax, 4th century BCE) mentions their city Choirades, near the Island of Ares (86.1). The Island of Ares figures into both Phineus' geography (*Arg*. 2.382-387) and the Argonauts' subsequent journey (2.1030-1089); it is there that the Argonauts encounter the sons of Phrixus (2.1090-1327). The Mossynoecians also appear in Ephorus (Frag. 2a.70.F. frag. 43.2), Hecataeus (1a.1.F. frag. 205.1), and Ctesias (3c.688.F. frag. 56).

[78] For the similarities between Xenophon's and Apollonius' treatment of the Mossynoecians and comparable episodes and information in Herodotus' *Histories*, see above, pp. 18-21.

intervening millennium. This is not the case with the Mossynoecians. However, the Argonauts do not interact with this tribe, so there is no way for them (or Apollonius' reader) to know how the Mossynoecains treat strangers and whether in this respect also Apollonius' account echoes Xenophon's. Nevertheless, the strangeness of the Mossynoecians shows the reader what to expect from the Colchians.

The final tribe I will deal with in this project is that of the Colchians. The Colchians are the most foreign people on this part of the Argonauts' journey. They display both strange customs and are hostile to outsiders, a combination of non-Greek qualities that reflects their position as the people furthest from the known Greek world and as the most alien.[79] Their strangeness and hostility are the culmination of the Argonauts' journey into the unknown. Moreover, these outward cultural markers prepare the reader and the Argonauts for the trials they must undergo in order to retrieve the Golden Fleece and return home safely. Peculiar and non-Greek Colchian customs are prominent from the very beginning of the Argonauts' and the reader's exposure to this tribe. The increasing foreignness of the peoples whom the Argonauts have encountered thus far and the unfamiliarity of the landscape surrounding them have built throughout the poem towards the Argonauts' arrival at Colchis and the confrontation between Jason and Aietes. Jason's conversation with Phineus sets up foreboding expectations for Jason's experiences in Phasis. Phineus describes the Colchians to Jason as "warlike" (ἀρήιοι,

[79] The location of Aia, the kingdom of Aietes, was not always located in the city of Colchis. As Moreau (2001), 325-327, over time this place came to be identified with Colchis and the river Phasis. Tsetskhladze (1994), 114-115 addresses this issue in the context of determining when Greek penetration of the Black Sea region began, concluding that it occurred in the second half of the 7th century.

2.397). This word choice is particularly relevant to Jason's mission, since the fire-breathing oxen he must yoke and use to sow the dragon teeth dwell in the plain of Ares (3.409-415). Shocked at the enormity of the journey ahead of him, Jason responds to Phineus, lamenting that he doesn't know how he will reach Colchian Aea, which "lies at the end of the Black Sea and of the world" (Πόντου καὶ γαίης ἐπικέκλιται ἐσχατιῇσιν, 2.418), much less return home successfully. This conversation foreshadows the hostility of the Colchians and the distance between them and Greece, both physical and cultural. This foreboding description is augmented when Jason and the Argonauts encounter the sons of Phrixus on the island of Ares, who tell Jason how cruel and dangerous Aietes is (2.1200-1203). These characterizations of Aietes and the aggression of the Colchians prove to be accurate, as Jason finds out.

Colchis is foreign and intimidating to the Greeks led by Jason not only because of the behavior of King Aietes and the Colchian reputation for aggression, but also because of some of their cultural customs, in particular their funeral practices. By imbuing this episode with various markers of non-Greekness, Apollonius prepares the reader for the trials Jason must endure in order to retrieve the Golden Fleece and return home. Jason and his retinue come upon the outcome of the Colchian funeral practices on their approach to the city. Apollonius describes how Jason and the sons of Phrixus catch sight of many trees planted in rows, from the uppermost branches of which hang the bodies of deceased Colchians, bound with cords (3.199-209). He reports that it is sacrilegious (οὐδ'...ἔστι θέμις, 3.204-205) for them to bury the bodies of men in the ground, but instead hang them from trees, wrapped in untanned oxhides (2.205-207); the women, on

the other hand, are buried in the ground (3.207-209). Apollonius comments that this is "the manner of their custom" (ἡ γάρ τε δίκη θεσμοῖο τέτυκται, 3.209). This matter-of-fact statement of different cultural customs reminds the reader of Herodotus' passage relating Darius' comparison of Greek and Indian burial customs (3.38).[80] The similarity to Herodotus' *Histories* establishes burial customs as an appropriate reference point from which to draw contrasts between cultures. Because the Colchians are so foreign by this one standard of burial customs, one can deduce that they might be alien and hostile to Greeks in other ways as well.

Thus, both in their hostility to visitors and in their cultural practices, the Colchians prove themselves to be the most foreign people Jason and the Argonauts encounter in the outward leg of their journey. The time they spend at Colchis, the focus of Book 3 of the poem, is the climax of the poem. While Book 4 is full of travels to distant lands where the Argonauts encounter foreign peoples, as Harder (1994) explains, Book 4 is also a voyage into the fantastical, almost imaginary, farthest reaches of the world. As compared with Books 1-2, which Apollonius sets in a known, geographically verifiable landscape, Book 4 is much more disconnected from reality (Harder (1994), especially pp. 19-20). The outward journey of the Argonauts in Books 1-2 is a trip into a world already visited by Greeks, both in narrative time (e.g., Heracles) and in chronological time (e.g. the Ten Thousand). By mapping the Argonauts' voyage onto these stories, Apollonius connects Greek contact with and colonization of the Black Sea region with myth and myth with the real history of Greek settlement.

[80] Apollonius emphasizes the δίκη and θεσμός of a culture, whereas Herodotus' concern is νόμος; however, the content of the two situations is comparable.

Conclusions

While Xenophon's depiction of the Black Sea as a liminal space focuses on the fluctuations and variations in culture and civilization across the southern coast, Apollonius depicts the transition from Greek to non-Greek as a linear progression along a defined spectrum. This progressive build-up of foreignness and strangeness among the peoples by whom the Argonauts tend to pass prepares the reader by creating tension and suspense for the Argonauts' arrival at Colchis, "the end of the world" according to Jason (2.418).[81] If the Argonauts' itinerary includes such people as the Paphlagonians, the Tibarenians, and the Mossynoecians, then until the Argonauts' arrival at the river Phasis one can only wonder what strange customs and foreign character the Colchians will demonstrate. Thus, by scaling back the amount of familiarity and Greekness the Ten Thousand observe during their journey in this region at the turn of the fourth century, Apollonius depicts the Argonautic voyage as one that alters the ethnographic landscape of the Black Sea littoral. On one end of this leg of the journey, the Mariandynians are clearly familiar with Greeks and Greek culture, and as the reader knows from Xenophon's *Anabasis*, the Acherusian Headland will later be the location of the important colony Heraclea Pontica. On the other end, the Colchians are distinctly foreign and unwelcoming to the Argonauts. The Colchians are still hostile and un-Greek when the Ten Thousand encounter them later in narrative time. While promising to the Ten Thousand as the first Hellenic city they have visited in a long time and the first stop they

[81] See above, p. 59.

make along the sea coast, the colony Trapezus seems to just occupy some space in this region, and has not had a civilizing impact on the native tribe.

This phenomenon mimics the effects of Heracles' trip through the same region shown throughout Book 2 of the *Argonautica*. As I have demonstrated in this chapter, the Argonauts represent a bridge between the violent, primordial labors of Heracles[82] and the journey of the mercenary army of the Ten Thosuand through the same region. Just as the Argonautic voyage prefigures that of the Ten Thousand by predating their experiences of the same peoples and showing how the ethnographic landscape of the Black Sea littoral is altered in the intervening millennium, the references and allusions to Heracles' trips through this area show how the Argonauts, too, interact with the previous journeys and Greek contact with these peoples. The alignment of the Argonautic journey with Books 4-7 of the *Anabasis* in particular draws similarities and invites comparison of the similar Panhellenic nature of these expeditions and the goals of each trip. As I shall discuss in my conclusion, the Ten Thousand's march through the Persian empire comes to be understood as a foreshadowing and prefiguration of yet another famous Greek journey, that of Alexander.

[82] See above, pp. 41-46.

Conclusion

Intertextualities between the geographical and ethnographical information about the Black Sea littoral presented by Xenophon and Apollonius of Rhodes give this liminal space between non-Greek and Greek an added role as the locus of intersection between myth and history. Due to discrepancies between narrative time and time of composition, these two pieces of literature work together to create a long-range view of the history and understanding of Greek civilization and contact with this region. Each journey builds upon those that precede it in this area, in particular the adventures of Heracles alluded to in both works, to show how repeated exposure to Greek travellers change or does not change the customs, identity, and attitudes of the peoples living on the Black Sea.

In Xenophon's *Anabasis*, the entire Black Sea functions as a transitional area, with pockets of Greekness and non-Greekness all along the coast. This coastal area, and the distribution of Greekness and foreignness within it, shows the marks of the Argonautic voyage, although it precedes Apollonius' version of this story. Because of the spread of Greek colonization throughout the Black Sea by this point in time, the Ten Thousand encounter many explicitly Hellenic cities and people. However, these cities are situated in the territory of native tribes that have varying amounts and degrees of foreign customs. I have shown how Xenophon uses both the reactions of the Ten Thousand and the peoples they encounter towards each other and the customs displayed by these peoples to mark each tribe as Greek, non-Greek, or somewhere in the middle. There is not a clear, linear progression of the foreignness or familiarity of these tribes. As Xenophon and the Ten Thousand move east to west, they get closer and closer to

returning home to Hellas, but that point of return is never fixed or certain. Faced with this absence of certainty, I have argued that, while Byzantium, on the Bosporus, is often singled out as the first truly Greek city the Ten Thousand visit, their stop at Heraclea Pontica also marks a logical stopping point for their journey. Heraclea's association with the mythical figure Heracles and the sacrifices Xenophon makes to him there form a book-end to the sacrifices of thanksgiving the Ten Thousand make when they initially reach Trapezus, their first stop on the Black Sea coast. This location and its connection to the Heracles story and the Argonautic voyage in the *Anabasis* plays into how I read this same location in the *Argonautica*, since Apollonius retrojects more information about Heracles' visit to this area and portrays the native tribe of Mariandynians as hospitable, friendly, and with similar customs to the Greeks. When taken together, the cohesion between these two episodes marks the Acherusian Headland even more strongly as a Greek or at least heavily Greek-influenced location in both accounts.

The connection of Heracles to the Acherusian Headland in both works marks this promontory as a particularly prominent locus of intersection between myth and reality. It is a convenient place at which to view how the Argonauts' journey likewise acts as a bridge between the Heracles story and Xenophon's account of the march of the Ten Thousand. A mythical voyage, the Argonautic journey is similar to Heracles' labors, as both Heracles and Jason set out to retrieve items from this area; however, the Argonautic journey is similar to the march of the Ten Thousand because both Panhellenic groups are marked out by their need for cooperation amongst members to succeed in foreign lands. Thus, by manipulating the relationship between the time of composition and the time at

which his story takes place, Apollonius writes about a journey that precedes and conscientiously anticipates another journey—the Ten Thousand's trip—that had already taken place before his own lifetime. This coincidence gives other instances of Greek travel relevance to a Greek mythological and historical understanding of the world, specifically the Black Sea.

Apollonius maps his epic poem onto the real-world geography and ethnography presented in Xenophon's *Anabasis* in such a way that retrojects a mythological backstory for Greek contact and civilization in the region. His Argonauts travel from west to east, moving from Greek to non-Greek, so the geography and peoples they encounter proceed mostly in a mirror image from the itinerary presented in the *Anabasis*. However, unlike in the *Anabasis*, the foreignness of the peoples and places at which the Argonauts stop increases in a direct linear pattern. This progression of strangeness prepares both the Argonauts and the reader for the ultimate foreign tribe they encounter, the Colchians. Whereas the identity and culture of the peoples whom the Ten Thousand meet is usually uncertain and unknown until the two groups come into contact,[83] the Argonauts, following the generally accurate itinerary of Phineus,[84] constantly anticipate the nature of the peoples they encounter and figure out among themselves the best way to approach them. This creates greater suspense for the reader and dread for the Argonauts, as they move closer and closer to Colchis. The effect of this anticipation is to foreground the

[83] An interesting example of this phenomenon is the Paphlagonians, about whose hostility and aggression the Sinopian representative Hecatonymus warns Xenophon (5.6.6-8). However, the Ten Thousand and the Paphlagonians eventually conclude a mutually beneficial and agreeable truce, on which see above, pp. 23-24.
[84] See above, p. 35.

foreignness of the Colchians, attested by Xenophon's *Anabasis*, as a constant throughout the intervening millennium between the narrative times of each work.[85]

As I mentioned in the introduction, Braund (1998) suggests the Argonauts became a prototype by which Greek colonists and travellers might view and come to understand their presence in the far reaches of Greek civilization in the Black Sea (p. 290; see above, p. 6). However, with this paper, I would like to offer an alternative perspective. The *Argonautica* does provide a model with which one might understand the importance of historical Greek travel in the Black Sea; however, one can also read Apollonius' *Argonautica* through the lens provided by Xenophon's *Anabasis*. While the linear progress from familiar to foreign in the liminal space of the Black Sea in the *Argonautica* is very different from the fluctuations in familiarity and foreignness presented in the *Anabasis*, without the model of Xenophon's *Anabasis*, the Argonautic journey of Apollonius' poem would be through lands even less recognizable to a Greek audience and a meaningless succession of random tribes and places. The Ten Thousand's travel through this region provides the groundwork for the Argonauts' gradual transition into the foreign, far-removed world of Aietes' Colchis. Like the Argonautic voyage, the Ten Thousand's trip also acts as a theoretical model for later Greek travel in the region, as Polybius (3.6.10) cites the march of the Ten Thousand into Persia and their safe return as a cause for the invasion of Asia by Alexander the Great. This citation projects the *Anabasis* as a model by which to understand this subsequent incursion in much the same way as Apollonius presents the Argonauts as a precursor to the Ten Thousand. In looking

[85] However, the geographical location of the Colchians does change. See above, p. 15, n. 18 and also p. 58, n. 79.

at the *Argonautica* with the *Anabasis* in mind, we can reach an even richer understanding of intertextuality and allusion within Apollonius' *Argonautica*.

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