

EUBOEAN IO¹

In the early sixth century Io was associated with Peloponnesian Argos. Most traditions place Io firmly in the Peloponnese, and modern commentators have not doubted that that is where she belongs. Aeschylus puts her there, as does Herodotus (1.1.3). [Apollodorus], who probably reflects the earlier tradition of the sixth-century *Catalogue of Women* (which is attributed to Hesiod but probably not written by him),² says that Io was descended from Argos, who was the son of Zeus and Niobe (2.1.2); so too do the later traditions of the scholiast to Euripides' *Orestes* (932) and Pausanias (2.16.1). Acusilaus of Argos, on the other hand, makes Argos her uncle (*FGrHist* 2 F 26).

Although it is generally assumed that Io was in origin a local cult figure of the Argolid,³ there is evidence to suggest that Io may also have had other associations in addition to her Peloponnesian connections, and which may even pre-date them. In the tradition preserved in [Apollodorus], and which we also find in Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound* and *Supplices*, Io in cow form was driven mad by Hera and wandered to Egypt, where she gave birth to Epaphus on the banks of the Nile ([Apollod.] 2.1.3; Aesch. *Prom.* 844–52 [cf. 707–35, 790–815, 829–43]; *Supp.* 219–315). An alternative version of Io's story took her not to Egypt but to the island of Euboea. It is generally assumed that this variant indicates a stage in the development of the Peloponnesian myth when the Greeks' horizon was not yet large enough to take Io's wanderings as far as the Nile.⁴ In this paper I want to suggest that the Euboean version reflects a genuine alternative to the Peloponnesian tradition,⁵ that in fact there was a 'Euboean' Io as

¹ A first attempt at this paper was presented to a departmental research seminar in the Department of Classics and Ancient History at the University of Exeter. I would like to thank my colleagues for their comments and encouragement, especially Professor T. P. Wiseman, who read a draft and made a number of invaluable suggestions. I would also like to thank the University of Exeter for funding a study-trip to Greece, and the British School of Archaeology at Athens for allowing me full access to their facilities. I would also like to thank my travelling companion on this trip, Catherine Brunskill, for bearing with patience and good humour the trials and tribulations of Io and her wanderings.

The following abbreviations will be used: T. W. Allen, *The Homeric Catalogue of Ships* (Oxford, 1921) = Allen, *Homeric Catalogue of Ships*; S. Dakaris, *Dodona* (Athens, 1993) = Dakaris, *Dodona*; K. Dowden, *Death and the Maiden. Girls' Initiation Rites in Greek Mythology* (London, 1989) = Dowden, *Death and the Maiden*; R. Fowler, 'Genealogical thinking, Hesiod's *Catalogue*, and the creation of the Hellenes', *PCPhS* 44 (1998/9), 1–19 = Fowler, 'Genealogical thinking'; J. Hall, *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity* (Cambridge, 1997) = Hall, *Ethnic Identity*; N. G. L. Hammond, *Epirus* (Oxford, 1967) = Hammond, *Epirus*; I. Malkin, *The Returns of Odysseus. Colonization and Ethnicity* (Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1998) = Malkin, *Returns of Odysseus*; H. W. Parke, *The Oracles of Zeus: Dodona, Olympia, Ammon* (Oxford, 1967) = Parke, *Oracles of Zeus*; F. de Polignac, *Cult, Territory, and the Origins of the Greek City State* (trans. J. Lloyd) (Chicago, 1995; published in English as a revised translation of *Naissance de la cité grecque* [Paris, 1984]) = de Polignac, *Cult, Territory, and the Origins of the Greek City-State*; M. L. West, *The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women* (Oxford, 1985) = West, *Catalogue*.

² West, *Catalogue*, 127–8.

³ West, *Catalogue*; 145–6; Dowden, *Death and the Maiden*, ch. 6; N. Yalouris, *LIMC* 5(1) (1990), 663.

⁴ See West, *Catalogue*, 149–51; Dowden, *Death and the Maiden*, 124.

⁵ See A. B. Cook, *Zeus: A Study in Ancient Religion* (Cambridge, 1914), 1.462–3. Note also E. Hall, 'When a myth is not a myth', in M. R. Lefkowitz and G. R. Rogers, *Black Athena Revisited* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1996), 338.

well as an Io in the Peloponnese, and that the two versions were probably rationalized in the eighth or seventh centuries, the different strands being incorporated into a canonical version which was widely accepted by the fifth century.⁶

1. IO AND EUBOEA

The Euboean material appears first in a fragment of the Hesiodic *Aegimius*, which if it is to be attributed to Hesiod dates to c. 700 B.C.,⁷ and which claims that the island of Euboea was named after Io's cow shape (fr. 296 Merkelbach–West). Strabo too says that there is a story that Io came to the island and gave birth to Epaphus in a cave there (10.1.3).⁸ Other sources claim that Io lived on the island (*Etym. Mag.* 389.2–6), that Hermes killed Argos Panoptes there at the place called Argoura (Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀργούρα), and that Euboea was called ἀργυβόειος, the island of white cattle (Ael. *De Nat. An.* 12.36).⁹ While much of the Euboean material can probably be dismissed as late attempts to fill out the Euboean variant, it must be admitted that the Euboean version is persistent in the face of the dominant Peloponnesian tradition. Further, there are other indications that the Peloponnesian myth, when unpicked, is not as consistent as it originally appears, and that other considerations make the possibility of a genuinely alternative Euboean myth-cycle more feasible.

This is not to say that there was not also a Peloponnesian Io. There is reason for believing Io was also a local Peloponnesian cult, because of the strength of the connection between Io and Inachus, who in Herodotus and the tragedians is named as her father (Aesch. *Prom.* 589–90; Soph. *Electra* 4–5; Hdt. 1.1; cf. Plut. *De Her. Malignitate* 11; Lucian, *Dial. Deorum* 3; *Dial. Marin.* 7.1; Paus. 1.25.1, 3.18.13; Ovid. *Met.* 1.583–5; Hyg. *Fab.* 145; Diod. 3.74.1, 5.60.4), although this may also be no more than a fifth-century abbreviation of the myth. More particularly, this Peloponnesian Io probably also belonged in origin to the Heraeum and the Argolic plain rather than the city Argos, since, whatever the date for the founding of the cult of Hera at the Heraeum (and it has been suggested that it may have originally been a cult-centre for the whole Argolid),¹⁰ the archaeological record seems to indicate that the Heraeum did

⁶ Compare the recent work of Irad Malkin (*Returns of Odysseus*) who has recently discussed how the *nostoi* myths with their variants and alternatives coexisted and interacted with each other.

⁷ Other possibilities are Cercops of Miletus (?sixth century) and Cleinias of Carystus.

⁸ Although Strabo also gives an alternative tradition that the island was named after the heroine Euboea (10.1.3), who was also said to have given her name to the hill Euboea in the Argolid (Paus. 2.17.1–2).

⁹ See A. B. Cook (n. 5), 1.462–3.

¹⁰ Foundation of cult: R. A. Tomlinson (*Argos and the Argolid* [London, 1972], 33–4) suggested that it probably precedes the erection of sanctuary buildings, although he later admitted that there was little or no evidence of continuity between the Mycenaean period and the eighth century (id., *Greek Sanctuaries* [London, 1976], 90–2); cf. Dowden, *Death and the Maiden*, ch. 6. Catherine Morgan, *Athletes & Oracles. The Transformation of Olympia and Delphi in the Eighth Century* (Cambridge, 1990), 12 gives a date in the last quarter of the eighth century for the first dedications and the building of the mock-Mycenaean temple platform. Cult-centre for Argolid: Tomlinson, *Argos and the Argolid*, 65, 203–4; cf. Strabo 8.6.10 (although note de Polignac, *Cult, Territory, and the Origins of the Greek City-state*, 52 n. 47). Note also Dowden (above, ch. 6), who sees the Heraeum as a fundamentally Mycenaean sanctuary, in respect of both chronology and topography. He also sees it as belonging to the 'Argive land', giving rise to the Homeric references to Argive Hera. On the other hand, Morgan (above, 12) says she 'would dismiss the commonly held view that the sanctuary was a shared cult place used by all the sites on the plain as a symbol of pan-Argive unity, and instead prefer to see it from an Argive perspective as a propagandist attempt to legitimise a territorial claim and to reinforce Argive influence in the

not come under Argos' control until the late seventh or early sixth century.¹¹ Further, although Callimachus describes a procession linking Argos and the Inachus (in which Athena Acria was carried from the city to the river: *On the Bath of Pallas*),¹² Pausanias (2.15.4) may indicate that the Inachus properly belongs to Hera and the Heraeum rather than Argos, and the cow-shaped Io looks as though she should have a close association with the ox-eyed goddess (see, for example, Homer, *Il.* 1.551, 568).¹³ This would suggest that Io did not enter the Argive genealogies until a late stage. The later linking of the myth of Io and the Heraeum with Argos may then have served as a way of symbolically legitimating Argos' control of the sanctuary.

The Euboean element of the myth also has (as it would seem) a *prima facie* connection to the Heraeum (rather than Argos) because the sanctuary was situated on the hill Euboea. Pausanias says the hill was given its name after Euboea, a heroine who, with Prosymna and Acraea (who also give their names to local geographical features), was the daughter of the river Asterion, whose waters were used at the Heraeum for purifications and sacrifices (Paus. 2.17.1–2). This heroine is quite distinct from the alternative namesake for the island Euboea, the heroine Euboea (Strabo 10.1.3); the story connected to the hill may be a later invention in order to give the site local significance.

2. IO AND DODONA

It still needs to be shown that Euboean Io is a variant, not a derivative, of Peloponnesian Io. The link between Io and Euboea independent of the Peloponnesian version may be supported by the role played by Dodona in the Io myth. In the Aeschylean story, the ancient sanctuary of Zeus and his wife at Dodona plays an important part. In the first place, Aeschylus has Io's father send to Delphi and Dodona to discover the meaning of his daughter's dreams (*Prom.* 658–60). Parke notes that it is unusual to see Delphi and Dodona linked in this way, and assumes that Dodona was added to give the myth a 'primitive' feel.¹⁴ Yet this seems unlikely. Consistently, Dodona plays the leading part over Delphi (despite the fact that in the *Prometheus* it said that Io is driven from home because of the oracles of Loxias: 669–71). Dodona is Io's first port of call after she first sets out on her wanderings and it is Dodona which significantly foretells that Io will become the bride of Zeus (*Prom.* 829–35). She also gives her name to the gulf nearby, the Ionian Gulf, from which she departs on the next stage of her journey (*Prom.* 841).

In antiquity, Dodona was thought to be the oldest of the Greek sanctuaries (Hdt.

northern plain'. However, reference to the procession, which as de Polignac points out 'as early as the archaic period testified to Argos' determination to manifest sovereignty there' (above, 52–3, cf. 63) belongs to the fifth century: Euripides, *Electra*, 171–4. There is no reason why this manifestation of sovereignty could not belong after an early sixth-century acquisition of the sanctuary, serving to reinforce in a very physical sense Argos' control.

¹¹ I. Strøm, 'The early sanctuary of the Argive Heraion and its external relations (8th–early 6th cent. B.C.)', *Proceedings of the Danish Institute at Athens* 2 (1998), 37–125; Hall, *Ethnic Identity*, 89–107. Compare T. Kelly, *A History of Argos to 500 B.C.* (Minneapolis, 1976), 54–5, who dates the growth of Argos' influence to the period in which the Heraeum was built in part because of the assumption that the Argives were behind it. Dowden (*Death and the Maiden*, ch. 6) dates the Heraeum to the Bronze Age and argues for a Mycenaean (the city) foundation of the cult. Cf. M. P. Nilsson, *The Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology* ([1932] Berkeley, 1972), 62–3.

¹² Cf. de Polignac, *Cults, Territory, and the Origins of the Greek City-state*, 81–2.

¹³ J. Pinsent, *Greek Mythology* (rev. edn, Twickenham, 1982), 45.

¹⁴ Parke, *Oracles of Zeus*, 51 (although see also n. 47 below).

2.52.2), and the oracle is woven into the myths of the Greeks' prehistory. Ephorus says that Dodona was founded by the Pelasgians (*FGrHist* 70 F 142 = Strabo 7.7.10), who themselves were generally thought to be some kind of proto-Greeks (see esp. Th. 1.3.2).¹⁵ Although Herodotus says he had it from the Egyptian priests and the priestesses from Dodona that the sanctuary was founded by the Egyptians (2.54–5), he himself draws strong connections between the Pelasgians and the sanctuary. For example, he says the Pelasgians were advised by the oracle at Dodona to accept the Egyptian names for the gods (2.52), and draws parallels between the ritual practices of divination in Egypt and at Dodona (2.58–9). In the fifth and fourth centuries, at least, the Greeks liked to think of Dodona as their spiritual, and sometimes actual, homeland (cf. Arist. *Met.* 352a).

Dodona also appears prominently in early literature. In Homer, Odysseus consulted the oracle (*Od.* 14.427–30, 19.296–9), and Achilles worshipped 'Pelasgian' Zeus there (*Il.* 16.233). Apollonius Rhodius says that a piece of Dodonean oak was inserted into Jason's Argo (1.526–7, 4.582–3), which may be preserved from an early epic version of the Argonauts.¹⁶ All this goes to show that Dodona had an early importance for the Greek world, particularly in the formative years of the epics at the end of the Dark Age.

The antiquity of cult activity at the site is also borne out by the archaeological record. Mycenaean contacts with Dodona date back to the fifteenth century.¹⁷ However, Zeus was not the only, or even the original, occupant of the sanctuary. There is also evidence of an earlier chthonic cult, probably connected with the Great Goddess.¹⁸ Evidence for this earlier cult is both literary and archaeological. The archaeological record seems to indicate two distinct strata, the earliest of which has been associated with the goddess' worship.¹⁹ A Mycenaean gold bezel dating from the fifteenth century has also been discovered at Mycenae depicting what appears to be an ancient earth mother under the sacred oak with her three priestesses (reflected in Herodotus' three priestesses of Zeus: 2.55.2?), which Dakaris links with Dodona.²⁰ Pausanias also seems to make reference to a hymn sung by the priestesses which seems to refer to a mother-goddess figure (Paus. 10.12.10),²¹ and a fragment of the *Catalogue of Women* also appears to allude to the chthonic and pastoral nature of the Dodonian cult ([Hesiod] fr. 240 Merkelbach–West)

Yet the dating of Zeus' arrival at Dodona is fraught with difficulties. As we have seen, the Mycenaeans first came into contact with the sanctuary in the sixteenth or fifteenth centuries. Dakaris argues that the two levels of cult finds reflect the shift from Great Goddess to Zeus, and claims that they correspond to two groups of place names and ethnics, one pre-Greek (Pindos, Thyamis, Alessos, Tmaros), and the other Greek

¹⁵ On Greek attempts to create a prehistory for themselves, see E. J. Bickermann, 'Origines Gentium', *CPh* 47 (1952), 65–81; E. Hall (n. 5), 338–41.

¹⁶ Although see Hammond, *Epirus*, 368 n. 1.

¹⁷ Dakaris, *Dodona*, 7–8; M. B. Sakellariou, *Ηπειρος* (Athens, 1997), 36. Hammond, *Epirus*, 319 with 321–2, 325–7.

¹⁸ Although it is does not disturb the line of the argument being proposed here, it should be noted that Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood ('Myth as history: the previous owners of the Delphic oracle', in J. Bremmer [ed.], *Interpretations of Greek Mythology* [London, 1987], 215–41) has shown how, at Delphi, myths of 'Previous Owners' 'cannot be explained as cultic history' but should be understood as an expression of 'significant Greek collective representations'. That is, the stories of Gaia and Themis and the foundation of oracle at the Delphi must be understood as articulations of 'certain important perceptions about the Delphic Apollo, the oracle, and the cosmos'. Cf. Morgan (n. 10), 148–9.

¹⁹ Dakaris, *Dodona*, 8.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Hammond, *Epirus*, 368–9.

(Helli-Selli, Hellopia, Dodone, Thesprotos), and links the arrival of Zeus with the arrival of the 'Greek' Thesprotians.²² Hammond too identifies the arrival of Greek-speaking Myceneans with the introduction of Zeus.²³ Yet both Dakaris' and Hammond's arguments are, at least in part, informed by a belief in the Dorian invasion, whose authenticity is currently debated.²⁴ If it is right to associate the bezel depicting the goddess with Dodona, Zeus' arrival at Dodona did not, at least immediately, coincide with Mycenean influence at the sanctuary. Nevertheless, Zeus is thought to have Indo-European roots, and is known (with Hera) from the Linear B inscriptions from Pylos.²⁵

However, there also seems to have been a break in the archaeological record at Dodona between the twelfth and eighth centuries.²⁶ Parke points out there is no direct evidence of a cult of Zeus at the sanctuary before the eighth century,²⁷ when a precinct of bronze cauldrons like that at Olympia, and probably inspired by it, was constructed.²⁸ Snodgrass has noted how Bronze Age sites (even domestic ones) were adopted for cultic use in the Dark Ages, and de Polignac points out how often the Dark Age reuse of older, Bronze Age, sites, giving the impression of continuity, also involved change of some kind, such as a change of deity.²⁹ It may be that Zeus came to Dodona sometime in the Dark Ages, probably as the Greek world opened up again and Dodona once more came into contact with the south. Although the archaeological record does not appear to indicate continuity at the sanctuary, much of the imagery of the nature goddess seems to have been incorporated into the new cult, suggesting a strong cultic memory attached to the site, and probably even vestigial cultic practices.

Zeus' wife also finds a place at Dodona, although here she is Dione rather than Hera (interestingly a 'feminized' reflection of her husband, in name at least).³⁰ She was probably in origin the Great Goddess, reincarnated as Zeus' wife. We have already noted a natural connection between Io and Zeus' wife, Hera. It is possible that the same connection should be inferred for Io with Zeus' Dodonian wife. That Io is called the bride of Zeus by the oracle at Dodona invites the possibility that the relationship between Zeus and Io represents and mediates the hierogamy which seems to have been effected between the old chthonic goddess and Zeus, just as Io sometimes also seems to be a 'mortal' substitute for Hera.³¹ In any case, the role of Dodona in the myth seems to indicate a date for the circulation of the Io-myth which is contemporary with, and

²² Dakaris, *Dodona*, 7–8; note also Hammond, *Epirus*, 331–5, 369, who identifies an axehead dated to L.H. III as a votive offering to Zeus the god of war, although Dakaris (*Archaeological Guide to Dodona* (trans. E. Kirk-Deftereou) [Ioannina, 1969], 84–6) associates double-bladed axes with the Minoan/Mycenean earth-mother.

²³ Hammond, *Epirus*, 369.

²⁴ For example: R. Osborne, *Greece in the Making 1200–479 B.C.* (London, 1996), 33–7; Hall, *Ethnic Identity*, 184–5.

²⁵ S. Hiller, *RE Suppl.* xv.1001–9; M. Tiverios, *LIMC* 8/1 (1997), 315–16.

²⁶ Dakaris (n. 22, 1969), 83; cf. Hammond, *Epirus*, 411–12; Parke, *Oracles of Zeus*, 98–9.

²⁷ Parke, *Oracles of Zeus*, 39–40.

²⁸ Hammond, *Epirus*, 429, 433. Note that Coulson has argued for a western Greek *koine* in the Dark Age involving western Messenia, Achaea, Elis, Acarnania, Ithaca, and Epirus: N. D. E. Coulson, 'The "protogeometric" from Polis reconsidered', *ABSA* 86 (1991), 44; cf. A. M. Snodgrass, *The Dark Age of Greece* (Edinburgh, 1971), 339; J. N. Coldstream, *Geometric Greece* (London, 1977), 187; Malkin, *Returns of Odysseus*, 69.

²⁹ Snodgrass (n. 28), 394–401; de Polignac, *Cults, Territory, and the Origins of the Greek City-state*, 27–31.

³⁰ E. Simon, *LIMC* 3/1 (1986), 411.

³¹ N. Yalouris, *LIMC* 5/1 (1990), 664; cf. W. Burkert, *Structure and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual* (Berkeley, 1979), 6–7; Dowden, *Death and the Maiden*, 142–4. Note also Hammond,

perhaps precedes, the consolidation of the Argive plain and the foundation of the Heraeum in the late eighth century. It also suggests this element of the myth originated in a part of the Greek world that looked to the north-west: if the myth had been exclusively Peloponnesian, Dodona's importance would surely have been eclipsed by Delphi, as seems to have happened in later versions.³²

There is also evidence for early contacts between Euboea and Dodona at the end of the Dark Age and the beginning of the archaic period. Both Philochorus (*FGrHist* 328 F 225 = Strabo 7.7.10) and [Hesiod] make a connection between the regions around Dodona and Euboea, both of which they say were called Hellopia/Ellopia (fr. 240 Merkelbach–West = Strabo 7.7.10).³³ Although this does little more than show that the ancients made a connection between the two, that this tradition preserves a more substantive association and perhaps even kinship seems to be indicated both by Pausanias' comment that Abantis in Thesprotia was colonized by Euboeans and Locrians (Paus. 5.22.3–4; [Scymnus] 442–4), as well as by evidence that Euboeans were operating along the east Italian and Epirote coasts from the late ninth or early eighth century.³⁴ Perhaps Io's wanderings were a means of articulating and defining (seduction at Dodona, birth at Euboea) the journey of these early traders.³⁵

And this may bring us back to Io, albeit by a rather circuitous route. Strabo says that Euboea was called Ellopia after Ellops, the son of Ion (Strabo 10.1.3). West has argued that Xuthus and his son Ion were Euboean in origin, while Achaeus came from the facing coast on the Malian Gulf.³⁶ That Euboea and the area around southern Thessaly and the Malian Gulf acted as a 'region' is in itself of importance (and we will return to that later), but surely it is not too difficult to suggest that Ion is Io in male form, just as we will see below that Danae also appears to have become Danaus. As noted earlier, the Aeschylean tradition has Io give her name to the Ionian gulf (*Prom.* 733–4), although Theopompus (*FGrHist* 115 F 129 = Strabo 7.5.9) gives a different explanation for the name of the strait. Although it is taking things too far to suggest that Io's apparent connection with Dodona was responsible for the name of the gulf, it is perhaps not too unrealistic to suggest that the Euboeans were—despite Herodotus' naïve assertion that the Euboeans were not themselves Ionians (Hdt. 1.146.1)!

Nevertheless, what seems to have emerged so far is that the heroine Io is closely linked with Dodona, where she is described as the bride of Zeus, and that she travels to Euboea, and in a cave on the island gives birth to a son, Epaphus.

Epirus, 369. See also D. Lyons, *Gender and Immortality. Heroines in Ancient Myth and Cult* (Princeton, 1997), 96–9.

³² Parke (*Oracles of Zeus*, 13–14) discusses the rivalry between Dodona and Delphi as played out in the epic of the Argonautica. He describes how the myth, which seems to have originated in Thessaly and in which Dodona plays a key part, appears to have incorporated a superficial Delphic overlay, probably at a stage after Thessaly gained significant influence in the amphictyony which controlled the Pythian sanctuary. 'It was not surprising', he argues, 'that in these circumstances an epic which had originally been Thessalian and connected with Dodona became more Pan-Hellenic and tended to give room for mention of Delphi, the great oracular centre of Archaic Greece.' Something similar seems to have happened to Io's myth.

³³ Note also the myths from Dodona involving Hellus (Philostratus, *Imagines*, 2.33), and the Helli/Selli (Hom. *Il.* 16.234–5; Arist. *Met.* 352b; Strabo 7.7.10); see also Parke, *Oracles of Zeus*, 7, 20–33, 35–6.

³⁴ See Malkin, *Returns of Odysseus*, 74–87.

³⁵ On the function of myths of wandering and Io's wanderings in particular, see J. M. Davison, 'Myth and the periphery', in D. C. Pozzi and J. M. Wickersham (edd.), *Myth and the Polis* (Ithaca, 1991), 49–63.

³⁶ West, *Catalogue*, 57–8.

3. IO AND ABAS

Io's Euboean connection is further supported by her relationship in the Peloponnesian tradition to the Euboean Abas. As we have seen above, Io probably came late to the Argive genealogies of the Inachids. What is even more interesting, and more to the point, is that when she joins the Inachids, she already seems to have Euboean associations.

In the Inachid genealogy Abas is the son of Lynceus and Hypermetra, the children of Aegyptus and Danaus, and so one of the descendants of Io ([Apollod.] 2.2.1; cf. [Hesiod], fr. 129.3, 135.2 Merkelbach–West). Abas himself had close and independent associations with Euboea; so close, in fact, that the Euboeans were called Abantes (Hom. *Il.* 2.536–44; cf. [Hesiod] fr. 204.52–3, 244 Merkelbach–West with West, *Catalogue*, 99; Hdt. 1.146.1), that Abas, the eponym of the Abantes, appears in Euboean genealogies as the son of Poseidon and Arethousa (Aristocrates, *FGrHist* 591 F 7; Hyg. *Fab.* 157.1),³⁷ and that Euboea was sometimes called Abantis (Hesiod, fr. 296 Merkelbach–West = Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀβαντις; Strabo 10.1.3). West accounts for Abas' presence among the Inachids by arguing that he is 'the mark' left as a result of the invention by the Euboeans of the Euboean variant, derived from the Peloponnesian original, and claims that the Euboean tradition arose because of the coincidence with the name of the hill, Euboea, encouraging the Euboeans to appropriate the myth.³⁸ This solution presupposes two different strands of contact between Euboea and the Heraeum in the adaptation of the myth: the first, which inspired the creation of the Euboean variant, and then a second (Abas having been assimilated to Io's genealogy), which brought the Abas tradition back to the Heraeum.

Other evidence suggests that Io, Epaphus, and Abas belong together as a unit, and that they were incorporated into the main Argive genealogical stemma (at least as it appears in the main sixth-century tradition of the *Catalogue of Women*) at a relatively late stage. Recent discussion of ancient genealogies has centred on how they were invented and reinvented by societies as a way of explaining the present through a refiguring of the past.³⁹ Additions were made, lineages rearranged, and stories retold as societies changed the face of the past they wanted to show to themselves and the outside world. Hall, in particular, by explaining the formation of genealogies, has also shown how they can be dissected and broken up into their constituent parts. He establishes among his criteria for identifying 'fracture' points the principle that relationships between heroines and gods often indicate a place where a break has been made and new material has been fitted in, just as 'the conjunction of a single mother and semi-divine child can be taken as signifying a new genealogeme'. On this basis, Io herself appears to mark a point of departure from the main Inachid stemma (see Figure 1).⁴⁰ That Abas is the bottom end of Io's genealogeme seems to be indicated by the fracture point Hall identifies with Proetus and Acrisius and the division and exchange of land between them.⁴¹

³⁷ For Arethousa and Euboea, cf. Strabo 1.3.16, 10.1.13. See also West, *Catalogue*, 99.

³⁸ West, *Catalogue*, 145–6. For the hill and the Heraeum: Paus. 2.17.1–2; Steph. Byz. s.v. Εὐβόια.

³⁹ See esp. Hall, *Ethnic Identity* 56–65, 83–9, 93–9; Fowler, 'Genealogical thinking', 1–19.

⁴⁰ That Io's genealogy is inherently unstable is also indicated by the variety of fathers attributed to her: Peiren in the *Catalogue of Women* ([Hesiod] fr. 124 Merkelbach–West) and Acusilaus (*FGrHist* 2 F 26 = fr. 124 Merkelbach–West); Iasus in the Scholiast to Euripides' *Orestes* (932), Pausanias (2.16.1), and [Apollodorus] (2.1.3).

⁴¹ Hall, *Ethnic Identity*, 94–5.

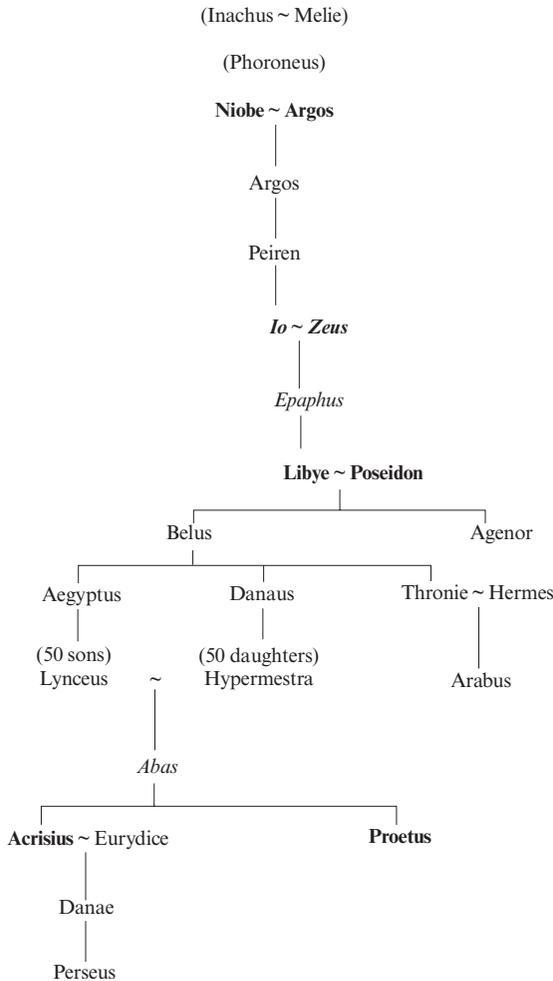


FIGURE 1. A section of the stemma of the Inachidae from the *Catalogue of Women* (after West, *Catalogue*, 177). ‘Fracture points’ are in bold; Io’s Euboean stemma is italicized.

Within the section of stemma from Io to Abas Io’s ‘granddaughter’, Libye (who married Poseidon), also indicates another break as the genealogy moves into an African digression. It is at this point that the Egyptian material, which West argues is a separate stratum dating to a late stage in composition after Cyrene had grown in importance and Naucratis was established on a more official basis, has been incorporated into the stemma.⁴² According to the *Catalogue of Women*, Libye’s son, Belus, has two sons Aegyptus and Danaus. The story goes that the fifty sons of Aegyptus wanted to marry the fifty daughters of Danaus. The daughters of Danaus

⁴² West, *Catalogue*, 149, 154. Martin Bernal (*Black Athena. The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilisation* [London, 1991; first published 1987], 95) tries to construct ‘real’ African antecedents for Io from this material. For a critique of Bernal’s method and his inappropriate use of myth, see Hall (n. 5), 333–48.

finally pretend to give in, but on their wedding night the girls murder their husbands. All, that is, except Hypermestra, who falls in love with Lynceus and saves his life. West has noted the fairy-tale element in the story of fifty sons and fifty daughters.⁴³ But the marriage of the son of Aegyptus and daughter of Danaus serves a purpose genealogically. The distortion of the stemma caused by the brothers, Aegyptus and Danaus, is resolved by marrying Lynceus to Hypermestra (who gives birth to Abas) reuniting the two strands. Lynceus too looks suspiciously like an interpolation (he becomes the king of Argos through his marriage with the king's daughter, and descent is henceforth traced through him and not his wife: Paus. 2.16.1), and Hall identifies him as a separate genealogeme which has been grafted onto the stemma.⁴⁴ If this material is extracted, the genealogy from Io to Abas runs: Io, Epaphus, Danaus, Abas.

West in fact recognizes a 'Euboean version in which Abas was attached to Io's line, perhaps initially as the son of Epaphos', and envisages this being overlaid with, and incorporated into, an Argive/Boeotian stemma (in which Danaus was the son of Epaphus, the son of Io), which was in turn later overlaid with oriental elements.⁴⁵ However, Danaus' role in the genealogy seems to be more complicated. In the middle of the African digression, Danaus appears as one of the sons of Belus. In terms of the genealogy, he makes the link between the Inachids, on the one hand, and Danae and the Perseids on the other, and gives coherence to the section of stemma from Io to Perseus. Hall argues that Danae and her offspring probably belong to a separate genealogeme from the rest of the Inachids,⁴⁶ yet Danae must surely belong in some sense with Danaus. If we see Io's genealogeme and Danae's genealogeme as distinct entities, at first glance Danaus creates a problem. But a solution is possibly not difficult to find. West has noted how female eponyms are often given a male reduplication, and argues that 'the original Danaoi must have been the descendants of Danae, that is of Perseus and his sons, heroes associated with the great Bronze Age fortresses of Mycenae, Midea, and Tiryns. Zeus and Danae stood at the head of this genealogy.'⁴⁷ It seems that when a bridge was needed to connect the genealogeme of the Inachids with the Perseids, the 'she' was turned into a 'he', Danae became Danaus, and he then became the eponym of the Danaids. This is consistent with Danaus 'arrival' at Argos (Paus. 2.16.1),⁴⁸ and is supported by Fowler's suggestion that Argos and Danaus were not originally vertical descendants; instead, he argues, since the Homeric Greeks were called both Danaï and Argives, 'there must have been an Argos and a Danaos. Since nothing was known of them – no stories existed – they are simply put in a straight line as vertical descendants.'⁴⁹ More probably, there was an Argos and a Danae. Homer

⁴³ West, *Catalogue*, 151 and n. 55. West also suggests that the number fifty was probably reduplicated from the fifty sons of Arcadian Lycaon.

⁴⁴ Hall, *Ethnic Identity*, 89.

⁴⁵ West, *Catalogue*, 149–51.

⁴⁶ Hall, *Ethnic Identity*, 88–9.

⁴⁷ West, *Catalogue*, 16 and n. 47, 145.

⁴⁸ On the importance of the fact of 'arrivals' in genealogies (as opposed to their places of departure), see Hall, *Ethnic Identity*, 87–8: 'In tracing back genealogies from child to parent, there was a danger of infinite regress to which two solutions were possible—either an autochthonous *Urvater*, or the arrival of a *Stammvater* whose ancestry could be ignored since it had no specifically local significance. . . . The arrival of a dynastic culture hero can regularly be viewed as the initiation of a new genealogeme.'

⁴⁹ Fowler, 'Genealogical thinking', 8. Fowler also takes up Meyer's original idea that Io was actually the mother of Danaus. But as I have argued, Danaus' function in the genealogy is to act as lynch-pin between the two parts of the genealogy, and to connect Io and her stemma to Danae and the Perseids who follow.

knew of Danae (*Il.* 14.319), but shows no knowledge of Danaus. If Danaus is not occupying a place in the genealogy in his own right, but is fulfilling a function by creating and easing continuity in the stemma, he does not hamper the identification of a discrete genealogical unit, consisting of Io, Epaphus, and Abas. Although Io and Epaphus must be the basic unit, they seem to have also acquired Abas at some stage, probably before the genealogeme was incorporated into the Inachid material. This most likely occurred at a point in the eighth century after the foundation of the cult at the Heraeum and before Argos' control spread to the Heraeum in the late seventh or early sixth century. This also coincides with the period of Euboea's growth and influence in the Mediterranean (Pithecoussae was founded perhaps as early as 770), which declined at the end of the eighth century.⁵⁰ It may be that, rather than the Euboean myth arising out of an Argive antecedent, the story linking Io, Epaphus, and Abas with the Heraeum bears testimony to Euboean predominance in mainland Greece.

As we have seen, Abas is Euboean. The consequence seems to be that, at least at some stage, Io was Euboean too. In forming the story of Io at the Heraeum, two different Io stories may have become welded together: Inachus and Io (and Epaphus?); and Io and Epaphus (and Abas), so that Io, the daughter of Inachus, becomes one with Euboean Io, who brings (at least) Abas with her to the Heraeum.

4. EUBOEA, DODONA, AND ARGOS

But if Io belongs to Euboea, we appear to have lost sight of Argos; but Io must have been 'Argive' in some sense, since she is surrounded by too many Argoses (as well as her genealogical connection with Argos, the eponym of the Argives, Hera also sets as a guard over her the many-eyed beast, Argos Panoptes). Perhaps Argos is the monster and not the place, although the beast looks like a later addition to the story?⁵¹

There was not just one place called Argos in Greece in antiquity, but probably sixteen or more.⁵² The foundation myths of a number of these Argoses relate them to Peloponnesian Argos, creating the illusion of an Argive empire. Argos Hippatum on the Acheron was said to have been founded by Diomedes (Appian, *Syr.* 63), as was Argos Hippium in Apulia (Strabo 5.1.9). Thucydides says Amphilocheian Argos (which had its own River Inachus, and which Sophocles said flowed from the Pindus mountains, through Amphilochia, across the sea to the Peloponnese: *apud* Strabo 6.2.4) was founded by Amphilocheus, son of Amphitryon, after the Trojan Wars (Th. 2.68.4; Strabo 6.2.4; cf. 7.5.8), although other sources say it was founded by Alcmaeon, his brother (Strabo 7.7.7). Argos Oresticum was founded, of course, by Orestes (Strabo 7.7.8). Although the repetition of the river name Inachus suggests there may have been an early connection between some of these Argoses, as Kelly has shown these northern

⁵⁰ J. Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas. Their Early Colonies and Trade* (London, 1999⁴), 165–8. On the Euboeans' movements in the Mediterranean at the end of the Dark Age, see D. Ridgway, *The First Western Greeks* (Cambridge, 1992), 11–30.

⁵¹ Dowden, *Death and the Maiden*, 126.

⁵² See Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἄργος who gives eleven. More can be added to this list: see G. Hirschfeld et al., *RE* ii.787–90; note also Hammond, *Epirus*, 540 (on Ampelius, *Lib. Mem.* 8); id., *A History of Macedonia*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1972), 79–80 (on Argos near Stobi). The repetition of place names is not uncommon. For example, there were at least four Euboeas: the island, the hill, a city in Macedonia (Steph. Byz. s.v. *Εὐβοία*), a settlement on Coreyra, as well as on Lemnos, and a Chalcidian foundation in Sicily (Strabo 10.1.15) (cf. Malkin, *Returns of Odysseus*, 77); see also Allen, *Homeric Catalogue of Ships*, esp. 110–12.

Argoses cannot have been Dark Age foundations of Peloponnesian Argos.⁵³ Further, Malkin has argued that the Homeric foundation myths attached to ‘colonies’ such as these were adopted and internalized by cities and royal houses as a way of playing out local competitions and hierarchies.⁵⁴ In fact, the proliferation of Argoses itself suggests that ἄργος at some stage (possibly in the Bronze Age?) may have been originally, as Allen has noted, a common noun.⁵⁵ Strabo says there was a Thessalian and Macedonian usage which meant ‘plain’ (9.5.5), and Stephanus of Byzantium says that almost every Argos is on a plain near the sea.

The Argos most interesting to us, however, is Homer’s ‘Pelasgian Argos’ in the ‘Catalogue of Ships’ (*Il.* 2.681–5),⁵⁶ which the natural reading of Homer’s texts suggests was the name for the whole of Achilles’ kingdom. The precise limits of this region are debated. While it is generally accepted that the Catalogue is referring to the Sperchean valley and the Malian plain,⁵⁷ in antiquity it was thought Pelasgian Argos must have been the plain of Thessalian Larisa, and Drews, arguing that Achilles’ kingdom must have included the mountains, follows Strabo (5.2.4, cf. 9.5.5) in defining it as ‘the entire area from the Spercheus river north to the Peneus, and from the sea west to the Pindus range’.⁵⁸

More to the point, it seems that this Argos had connections with Dodona, since Homer says that Achilles worshipped ‘Pelasgian’ Zeus there (*Il.* 16.233).⁵⁹ While the link between the two is not inevitable, it is at least suggestive.⁶⁰ However, there does seem to be a geographical difficulty in associating Pelasgian Argos (if we take this to be either just the Sperchean valley and Malian plain, or the plain of Larisa as well) with the sanctuary in Epirus. This was a problem which also worried Strabo’s sources, who tried to solve it by suggesting that on the direction of an oracle of the Delphic Apollo Zeus’ temple was moved from Scotussa in Pelasgiotis to Epirus (Strabo 7.7.12, 7 F 1: this based, of course, on the fact that they also placed Pelasgian Argos in this area).⁶¹ But such drastic measures are not necessary. As we have already seen, at the end of the Dark Ages traffic was moving by sea from Euboea to the Epirote coast. Herodotus was also aware of an ancient land route connecting Dodona, the Malian Gulf, and Euboea (4.33.2).⁶² Desborough has also argued for a region from the second half of the tenth

⁵³ Kelly (n. 11), ch. 3.

⁵⁴ Malkin, *Returns of Odysseus*, 134–40, 150–5, 172–3.

⁵⁵ Allen, *Homeric Catalogue of Ships*, 108–13.

⁵⁶ The Catalogue itself is thought to have been composed at a very early date, probably at the end of the Mycenaean period: see Allen, *Homeric Catalogue of Ships*, 168–9; V. Burr, *NEΩN KATAΛΟΓΟΣ* (*Klio* Beiheft 49, n.f. 36; Leipzig, 1944); D. L. Page, *History and the Homeric Iliad* (Berkeley, 1959), 120–4; R. Hope Simpson and J. F. Lazenby, *The Catalogue of Ships in Homer’s Iliad* (Oxford, 1970), 153–75.

⁵⁷ See e.g. Allen, *Homeric Catalogue of Ships*, 108–13; G. S. Kirk, *The Iliad: A Commentary*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, 1985), 228–9.

⁵⁸ R. Drews, ‘Argos and the Argives in the *Iliad*’, *CPh* 74 (1979), 115–20.

⁵⁹ It is sometimes suggested that ‘Pelasgian’ here must have religious rather than ethnic connotations (e.g. Allen, *Homeric Catalogue of Ships*, 108). Note also Parke (*Oracles of Zeus*, 3–4, 7) who argues that Homer described Dodona as ‘Pelasgian’ in the *Iliad* for its northern and Thessalian associations.

⁶⁰ Although Parke (*Oracles of Zeus*, 4) has little confidence in the light either of these passages can throw on the other.

⁶¹ A suggestion which Jacoby (see commentary on Apollodorus, *FGrHist* 244 F 189) found attractive, but note Parke, *Oracles of Zeus*, 5.

⁶² Hammond (*Epirus*, 331, 367) identifies this as a trade route, coming down from the north and crossing to the Malian Gulf. He also solves the problem of distance between Phthia and Dodona by making Achilles and his Hellenes north-western tribesmen who moved to the Malian

century onwards centring on Euboea, but which also took in Thessaly and the northern Cyclades, and which was clearly defined by pottery styles and was increasingly outward looking, showing evidence of contact with western Macedonia and the eastern Mediterranean.⁶³ A connection between Dodona and Thessaly is perhaps confirmed by Dodonian foundation myths which suggest Thessalian attempts to appropriate the sanctuary by supplying a Thessalian founder (Hyg. *Fab.* 225 [cf. schol. T. *Il.* 16.234 with Parke, *Oracles of Zeus*, 36]).⁶⁴ Euboea, Pelasgian Argos, and Dodona may, after all, form an appropriate and coherent alternative context for Io and her wanderings.

5. IO: THE DEVELOPMENT OF A MYTH

Myths have a history, which they not only pass through, but also carry with them through time. Although their general form may change with constant retelling, and although the purposes for which they are told may alter, they retain the footprints of other times and other incarnations, each layer becoming integrated with the next, and the joins between them becoming rationalized and indistinct. As a consequence, the untangling of the history of a myth is complex. The evidence may be before us, but it is evidence which is not easy to read or to interpret.

The orthodoxy is that there was one Io, who developed certain spin-off stories, of which the Euboean variant was one. What I have tried to suggest is that there are other ways of configuring the puzzle. Perhaps there are two, or even more, Ios: an Io of the Argolid (and especially connected with the Inachus), who at some stage came to belong to the Heraeum, as well as an Io of Pelasgian Argos, Dodona, and Euboea, who also came to be assimilated to the Heraeum myth, and eventually the Argive genealogies. That two separate myths have become conflated should cause us no difficulties. Io herself seems to have become associated with and (in varying degrees and at different times) conflated with another heroine, Callithoe/Callithyia. Callithoe/Callithyia is called the first priestess of Argive Hera in the *Phoronis* (fr. 4 = Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1.24.164), dating to c. 600 B.C. Plutarch knows a more elaborate tradition which claims she was not only the first priestess, but also the daughter of Peiras (Io is called the daughter of Peiren in the *Catalogue*), who is named as the founder of the Heraeum (Plut. fr. 158 Sandbach; cf. Aristid. *Or.* 45.3), and was almost certainly Tiryinthian in origin, only becoming Argive as a result of aggressive mythologizing by Argos as its sphere of influence widened to take in Tiryns.⁶⁵ And as

Gulf (for which he finds support in the alleged connection between Neoptolemus and the Molossians). This is not convincing.

⁶³ V. Desborough, 'The background to Euboean participation in early Greek maritime enterprise', in F. Emmison and R. Stephens (edd.), *Tribute to an Antiquary: Essays Presented to Marc Fitch by Some of his Friends* (London, 1976), 32–6; cf. D. Ridgway, *The First Western Greeks* (Cambridge, 1992), 16, 22.

⁶⁴ Note also Parke, *Oracles of Zeus*, 5–6, who, in accounting for the fact that the Perrhaebians of the *Iliad* lived around Dodona (2.749–50) although in historic times they lived in the foothills of Olympus, argues that Strabo (9.5.20) wrongly identifies the Titaessus as the Europus, which flows into Tempe. Instead, Parke speculates that it was 'a tributary high up the Peneus not far from the Metsovo pass into Epirus. It could then be supposed that Goneus' kingdom lay in the upper valley of the Peneios and that he controlled the country round Dodona on the other side of the watershed.'

⁶⁵ See F. Jacoby, 'ΙΩ ΚΑΛΛΙΘΥΕΣΣΑ', *Hermes* 57 (1922), 366–74; Dowden, *Death and the Maiden*, 118–20.

Io Callithyessa (Hesych. s.v. Ἰὼ Καλλιθύεσσα), the heroine(s) become not the first priestess of Hera, but of Athena!⁶⁶

An alternative explanation for the two myths of Io, I suggest, lies both in the phenomena of continuity and discontinuity now so familiar with connections between the early archaic period and the periods that preceded it, and the resulting parallel regionalisms of the early archaic world, which eventually melted into more unified narratives as the Greek world too became more unified. The Io myth probably has a long and variable history. Io may in fact be reminiscent of another, older, figure, known widely through the Mediterranean (although in different forms),⁶⁷ some of whose features she adopted. Indeed Io is not the only metamorphic story involving cows. Europa is another maiden who was to be seduced by Zeus – although this time she did not take a bovine form, he did – and carried her to Crete where she founded a cult ([Hesiod] fr. 140 Merkelbach–West). What is more, it has been suggested that Europa too has links with Dodona (she is said to have given birth to a son Dodon/Dodonos, had a festival called the Hellotia, and is sometimes herself called Hellotis/Hellotia: Acestodorus, *FrHistGr* Müller 2.434 = Steph. Byz. s.v. Δωδώνη; schol. T. *Il.* 16.233; Athen. 678 A–B; *Etyim. Mag.* s.v. Ἐλλωτία).⁶⁸ These two maidens, who have significantly bovine links, who travel, and who and are seduced by Zeus (whether before or after their travelling), and who share a common connection with Dodona, look as though they should belong together, or at least have common roots.

Nevertheless, Europa has no Argos. The distinctive element in the Io myth seems to be that Io belongs with Argos. This does not mean, however, that Io had to belong to a particular Argos. It seems that any Argos would do, and that this myth of wandering, itself wandered and was adapted to local circumstances. Consistent with their general applicability, the Io traditions took on lives of their own, evolving separately according to the spheres in which they were told, and articulating the needs of the different communities.

Finally, two important points seem to emerge from this enquiry. Firstly, entwined in the myth-cycle of Io, which we have come to think of as belonging exclusively to the Peloponnesian Argives, seems to lie another myth-cycle which was the story of the Euboeans and their connection with Dodona. In recent years, the adventurous spirit of the Euboeans of the late Dark Age/early Archaic period has become increasingly apparent as they travelled both east and west. From their connections with Io, not only can we start to see the geographical context of their movements and their sense of regionalism (which seems to have involved not southern Greece but Thessaly and the north-west), but also we can catch a glimmer of the way that they ‘thought their way’ through this space. By recognizing that there was an Io story which was exclusively theirs, we are able to add tone and colour to these rather shadowy early travellers as we see them carrying a wandering story with them that somehow articulated, defined, and made sense of their own journeys: just as they wandered to Dodona and back again, so did Io. Io also makes the ritual connection between this eastern Thessalian/Euboean

⁶⁶ See D. Lyons, *Gender and Immortality: Heroines in Ancient Myth and Cult* (Princeton, 1997), 202, 206.

⁶⁷ Cow-shaped goddesses were known elsewhere in the ancient Mediterranean. Although Io and Isis later came to be associated with each other (e.g. Hdt. 2.41.1–2; Diod. 1.24.8; Lucian, *Dial. Deorum* 3; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1.21.106; Propertius 2.33.3–7; Juvenal, *Sat.* 6.526–9; Statius, *Silv.* 3.2.101–2; Hyg. *Fab.* 145; [Apollod.] 2.1.2; cf. F. Solmensen, *Isis Among the Greeks and Romans* [Cambridge, MA, 1979], 15–21), might not their similarities be based on a common antecedent?

⁶⁸ Cook (n. 5) 1.524–5; cf. J. Escher, *RE* vi.1287–8.

region and Dodona, and her story of seduction, impregnation, and child-bearing articulates in 'human' terms the hierogamy between Zeus and his predecessor, and also provides for and allows human access to the divine at the ritualistic level. Further, it is difficult in this context not to think of these wanderers as 'Ionians'.

Secondly, the Io story emphasizes the importance of Dodona in the earliest years of the Archaic period when the peoples of the Greek mainland was just starting to re-emerge from the dark years and to rediscover their sense of commonality with their neighbours. The difference between the Peloponnesian and Argive/Euboean Io-traditions can be seen most obviously in the role that Dodona comes to play. Europa too can be linked with the sanctuary. As Malkin has shown, the Homeric epics and their alternatives also use the sanctuary as a significant touchstone for their stories.⁶⁹ The Herodotean evidence for a route between Dodona, the Malian Gulf, and Euboea easily accounts for the importance of the sanctuary, and we seem to have a glimpse here of Dodona in its glory days, when it was at the centre of activity as traffic moved along the Epirote coast and across the southern mountain passes. However, this was not to last, and the eerie mystery of the sanctuary of Zeus was superseded by more central interests in the Greek mainland and the grandeur of Delphi.

With the decline of the Euboeans, perhaps after the Lelantine war, and the increased importance of other areas in Greece, particularly the Argolid, Euboean Io lost her distinct identity and became part of the Peloponnesian myth. This may have been an attempt at mythological imperialism on the part of the Argives, perhaps reflecting their increased presence in the Peloponnese. The acquisition of the Heraeum in fact as well as in myth at the beginning of the sixth century must have been crucial in the development of the Io myth-cycle. In the face of this aggressively asserted variant, Io's Euboean wanderings became a mere shadow. Meanwhile, the sanctuary of Zeus at Dodona fell into decline or at least into the gloom of the northern mountains, and the memory of that other Argos, Homer's Pelasgian Argos, disappeared almost altogether.

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⁶⁹ Malkin, *Returns of Odysseus*, ch. 4.