

## Chapter 8

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### **Megarians’ Tears: Localism and Dislocation in the *Megarika***

Those who weep through compulsion or without genuine emotion, explains the paremiographer Zenobios, shed ‘Megarians’ Tears’. He offers two etiologies, the first historical, the second horticultural (5.8):

They say that Bakchios, a Corinthian, married the daughter of Klytios, king of the Megarians, and that when she died the Megarians were forced by Klytios to send young women and men to Corinth to mourn for his daughter. Others say, however, that a great deal of garlic is reputed to grow in the land of the Megarians, for which reason the proverb is applied to those who weep disingenuously, since those who have eaten a lot of garlic shed tears continuously from its pungency. So tears that come not from feelings nor from depth but from the surface they call ‘Megarians’ Tears’.<sup>1</sup>

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1 Μεγαρέων δάκρυα: αὕτη τέτακται ἐπὶ τῶν πρὸς βίαν δακρύντων, καὶ μὴ ἐπὶ οἰκείῳ πάθει. Λέγουσι γὰρ Βάκχιόν τινα Κορίνθιον γῆμαι τὴν Κλυτίου τοῦ Μεγαρέων βασιλέως θυγατέρα· ἣς ἀποθανούσης, ἀναγκασθῆναι τοὺς Μεγαρέας ὑπὸ τοῦ Κλυτίου πέμπειν παρθένους καὶ ἡιθέους εἰς Κόρινθον τοὺς μέλλοντας αὐτοῦ τὴν θυγατέρα καταθρηνησεῖν. Οἱ δὲ φασιν, ὅτι πλεῖστα δοκεῖ φύεσθαι ἐν τῇ Μεγαρέων σκόροδα· ἔνθεν τὴν παροιμίαν εἰρησθαι ἐπὶ τῶν προσποιητῶς δακρύντων, παρόσον οἱ ἐμπιπλάμενοι τῶν σκορόδων ἀποδακρύνουσι συνεχῶς ὑπὸ τῆς δριμύτητος. “Ὅθεν τὰ μὴ ἐκ παθῶν μηδὲ ἐκ βάθους δάκρυα, ἀλλ’ ἐξ ἐπιπολῆς, Μεγαρέων δάκρυα ἔλεγον.

The expression serves as a good starting point for a study of Megarian local historiography not because it suggests the frustration that attends any scrutiny of the *Megarika* – the tears one sheds in trying to marshal these meager fragments are quite sincere – but rather because, together with Zenobios's commentary, it helps to foreground two themes that recur with some frequency in Megarian cultural memory. On the one hand, tears: the Megarians' constitutive narrative is punctuated by scenes of death, burial, and lamentation, forced or otherwise. On the other hand, tensions with nearby poleis: Megara framed its past to a large extent by its interactions with its neighbours, Corinth, along with Argos and Sikyon, on one side and Athens and Boiotia on the other.

Zenobios, who compiled his three books of proverbs at Rome under the emperor Hadrian, offers one of the fullest but by no means the only explanation of 'Megarians' Tears'.<sup>2</sup> Our earliest discussion comes, in fact, from the Atthidographer Demon,<sup>3</sup> who wrote a compendium of proverbs around the end of the fourth century BCE and who interpreted another phrase, 'Korinthos son of Zeus', by drawing on a similar nexus of traditions as would Zenobios for 'Megarians' Tears' (*FGrH* 327 F19).<sup>4</sup> Megara was originally a colony of Corinth, Demon explained, and once so much under Corinthian sway that every time one of the Bacchiads died, Megarians were compelled to travel to Corinth and publicly grieve over the corpse. Gradually, however, the Megarians began to gain in strength and

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2 For Zenobios, whose collection of proverbs drew primarily on the earlier work of Loukillos of Tarrha and Didymos (*Suda* Z73), see Bühler 1987: 33–38.

3 Indeed, the expression was itself probably Athenian in origin: a fragment, perhaps, of Attic comedy (Kock 1880: F872) related to what was perceived as manipulative yet ultimately bootless whining following Athenian legislation against Megara in the 430s BCE.

4 = *Schol. Pind., Nem.* 7.155b: παροιμία ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῶν τὰ αὐτὰ λεγόντων ὁ Διὸς Κόρινθος ..... δοκεῖ οὖν ἀπὸ τοιοῦτου τινὸς εἰρηῆσθαι ἢ παροιμία· Μεγαρέας φασι Κορινθίων ἀποίκους, καὶ πολλὰ τοῖς Κορινθίοις κατ' ἰσχὺν τῆς πόλεως ὑπέκειν. ἄλλα τε γὰρ πλείονα τοὺς Κορινθίους προστάσσειν, καὶ τῶν Βακχιαδῶν εἴ τις τελευτήσῃ (διώικουν δὲ οὗτοι τὴν πόλιν), ἔδει Μεγαρέων ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας ἐλθόντας εἰς Κόρινθον συγκηδεύειν τὸν νεκρὸν [τῶν Βακχιαδῶν]. ὡς δὲ ὕβρεως οὐδὲν ἀπέλειπον οἱ Κορινθιοί, τὰ δὲ τῶν Μεγαρέων ἔρωτο, καὶ πρὸς ἐλπίσι τοῦ μηδὲν παθεῖν ἀποστάντας αὐτούς, ἀλλ' ἀφεῖναιτ', πέμπουσι δὴ <τα> πρέσβεις οἱ Κορινθιοὶ κατηγορήσοντες τῶν Μεγαρέων, οἳ προσελθόντες εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἄλλα τε πολλὰ διεξῆλθον καὶ τέλος ὅτι δικαίως <ἄν> στενάξειεν ἐπὶ τοῖς γενομένοις ὁ Διὸς Κόρινθος, εἰ μὴ λήψοιτο δίκην παρ' αὐτῶν. ἐφ' οἷς παροξυνθέντες οἱ Μεγαρεῖς τοὺς <τε> πρέσβεις <παραχρήμα> λίθοις ἔβαλον· καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν ἐπιβοη<θη>σάντων τινῶν τοῖς Κορινθίοις, καὶ μάχης γενομένης νικήσαντες, φυγῆ τῶν Κορινθίων ἀποχωρούντων, ἐφεπόμενοι καὶ κτείνοντες ἅμα παίειν, <ἀλλήλοισ> τὸν Διὸς Κόρινθος ἐκέλευον. ὅθεν φησὶν ὁ Δήμων, ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ τῶν ἄγαν <μὲν ὑπὲρ>σεμνυνομένων, κακῶς <δὲ>καὶ δειλῶς ἀπαλλαττόντων, τὴν παροιμίαν ταύτην τετάχθαι.

autonomy; and when the Corinthians complained – “Korinthos son of Zeus”, they said, would “sigh” at this new state of affairs –, the Megarians took a stand and drove their oppressors away, adding insult to injury in the ensuing battle by encouraging one another to attack and kill ‘Korinthos son of Zeus’. The expression that concerns Demon here has nothing strictly to do with Megara; already by the time of Pindar (*Nem.* 7.155b) it apparently referred to idle repetition or tiresome drivel, as if the Corinthians were known for belaboring the dubious divinity of their eponym.<sup>5</sup> Yet Demon chose to expound ‘Korinthos son of Zeus’ not simply through the obvious rubric of Corinth but by bringing Megara into the mix as well, by positing a period of Megarian subjugation and an uprising whose success was capped off by the commandeering of a Corinthian tag.<sup>6</sup> In so doing, Demon highlights a common Megarian maneuver, or at any rate a maneuver commonly identified in Megarian tradition: the repackaging of outside and often hostile material (in this case the Corinthians’ taunt) for local use.

The circumstances that Demon adduced to explain the forced weeping of the Megarians, we see, differ markedly from those later forwarded by Zenobios. In Zenobios’s account, the tears are compelled at the behest not of Corinthians but of the Megarians’ own king, the otherwise unknown Klytios. The variation offers us another example of Megarian appropriation, yet in this case of a different order; for here it is not the Megarians as protagonists who co-opt outside material but the paremiographer himself, taking initiative away from Corinth and assigning it to Megara. Zenobios’s contemporary Diogenianos also emphasized Megarian agency in his discussion of the proverb, but he took the process a step further, generalizing the scenario and relocating the action entirely to Megara. Whenever any Megarian king died, he reasoned, his wife would oblige the populace to grieve for him.<sup>7</sup> Later Byzantine paremiologists took a different tack, with Photios and the

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5 For other explanations of ‘Korinthos son of Zeus’, see Zen. 3.21; *Schol.* Pind. *Nem.* 7.155a; *Schol.* Aristoph. *Ran.* 439; *Schol.* Pl. *Euthyd.* 292 (= Ephor. *FGrH* 70 F19); Pausan. Att. Δ17; Tim. Soph. Δ983a; and *Suda* Δ1207 (but cf. *Suda* O40). See the commentary of Jacoby 1954: 217–218.

6 For the historicity of Corinthian rule over Megara, possible but by no means certain, see Hanell 1934: 75–91; Salmon 1972: 197–198; Legon 1981: 60–70; and Parker, ‘Ephoros (70)’, commentary to F19, in *BNJ*.

7 6.34: Μεγαρέων δάκρυα: ἐπὶ τῶν πρὸς βίαν δακρυόντων. Τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῶν ἀποθανόντος ἠναγκάσθησαν πάντες ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ γυναικὸς δακρῦσαι. Ὁμοία τῆ, Πρὸς σῆμα μητριᾶς θρηνεῖν.

*Suda* removing the element of abasement altogether and linking the weeping solely to garlic, which the Megarid allegedly produced in spades.<sup>8</sup>

Can we detect a gradual localization and adulteration of the explanations offered for ‘Megarians’ Tears’ from Demon onwards, with a putative phase of foreign domination supplanted by the authority of local kings and an act of degradation by a harmless response to local crops?<sup>9</sup> There are, of course, difficulties with using ‘Megarians’ Tears’ and its etiology to map the contours of Megarian cultural memory.<sup>10</sup> Nevertheless, it is not unreasonable to see the Megarians as themselves partly responsible for effacing or reinterpreting an early period of dependence to Corinth, whatever its historicity, and even for obscuring the ignominy of forced weeping altogether. Just as the Megarians in Demon’s story seize upon the Corinthian slogan ‘Korinthos son of Zeus’ and turn it on its head, so too might the historical Megarians in and after the late fifth century BCE have reinterpreted insults about crocodile tears and garlic and repurposed slanderous rumors associated with these insults, with the resulting traditions eventually finding their way into Megarian local historiography and thence to Zenobios. It is just this sort of pirating and sanitizing of hostile traditions, after all, that Plutarch imputes to the Megarians; by whitewashing the character of Skiron, he remarks in his *Life of Theseus*, Megarian

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8 Phot. M172: ἐπεὶ πλεῖστα ἐν τῇ Μεγαρίδι σκόροδα φύεται, εἰς παροιμίαν ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τῶν προσποητῶς δακρύντων. *Suda* M383 (Adler): Μεγαρέων δάκρυα: ἐπεὶ πλεῖστα ἐν τῇ Μεγαρίδι σκόροδα φύεται, εἰς παροιμίαν ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τῶν προσποητῶς καὶ πρὸς βίαν δακρύντων, καὶ μὴ ἐπὶ οἰκείῳ πάθει. Μεγαρεύς, ἡ εὐθεΐα. See also Hesych. M484 and Mak. Chrysokeph. 5.88.

9 This is essentially the assessment of van Wees (2003: 62–63), who suggests in his essay on helotage that “These later versions [of the explanation of ‘Megarians’ Tears’] are easily understood as attempts to clean up the earlier story, from a Megarian point of view, by removing the stigma of once having been so humiliated by their neighbours”; but cf. Salmon 1972: 192 and Figueira 1985a: 264 (Diogenianos’s account, Figueira suggests, is not localizing but in fact ‘banalizing’ and “perhaps a result of careless abbreviation”).

10 For one thing, the garlic is not purely a Byzantine addition; Zenobios, as we have seen, already mentions it as a possible culprit, and Megara’s special claim to the vegetable had been proposed as long ago as Aristophanes (e.g. *Acharn.* 515–538 and 755–770). Not all late sources, moreover, prioritize the garlic to the exclusion of other explanations; in the fifteenth century, Michael Apostolius is still admitting that ‘Megarians’ Tears’ might have something to do with a dead Megarian king (11.10). Any hypothetical Megarian reaction to the story preserved by Demon about a period of Corinthian domination, finally, would surely have surfaced well before Zenobios, with changes in Megarian memory unlikely to have aligned themselves so neatly to the protracted development of the paremiology between Demon and Photios.

historians “attacked tradition” and “made war on the past” (*Thes.* 10):<sup>11</sup> Skiron was not a highwayman, insist ‘the historians from Megara’, but a punisher of highwaymen (*FGrH* 487 F1).<sup>12</sup> It is perhaps no coincidence that the figure whom Plutarch, and indeed many subsequent discussions of Megarian tradition, tout as a symbol of Megarian revisionism is Skiron, that quintessential bandit, whose penchant was to rob those transiting the Megarid and hurl them into the sea.<sup>13</sup>

Megarians would not be unusual either in generating an intentional history that reacted in some way to their neighbours or even in borrowing episodes wholesale from the cultural memory of other communities, like Corinth and Athens, and recasting them so as to emphasize local impetus and influence; it is never in a vacuum that a community constructs its past.<sup>14</sup> Yet the *Megarika* and the local traditions on which they drew did take an idiosyncratic approach to this appropriation, I argue, relying less on outward aggression than on inward allure. Situated as it was, in the words of Stephanos of Byzantion, “on the isthmus between the Peloponnese on the one hand and Attica and Boiotia on the other,”<sup>15</sup> the Megarid engendered a community whose collective memory was itself isthmian: not only restricted by and responsive to the traditions originating from either side but also adept in capitalizing on its intermedial position. By magnetizing the Megarid, by pulling Argives, Sikyonians, Boiotians, and Athenians inwards and burying them in Megarian land, the Megarian community advertised its territory as a conduit for Greeks and a thoroughfare of central importance. Before we explore this particular property of Megarian localism in more detail, however, it will be useful to provide some background to the *Megarika* and their authors.

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11 = *FGrH* 487 F1: οἱ δὲ Μεγαρόθεν συγγραφεῖς ὁμόσε τῆι φήμῃ βαδίζοντες καὶ τῷ πολλῷ χρόνῳ κατὰ Σιμωνίδην πολεμοῦντες οὔθ' ὑβριστὴν οὔτε ληιστὴν γεγονέναι τὸν Σκείρωνά φασιν ἀλλὰ ληιστῶν μὲν κολαστὴν, ἀγαθῶν δὲ καὶ δικαίων οἰκεῖον ἀνδρῶν καὶ φίλον.

12 οὔθ' ὑβριστὴν οὔτε ληιστὴν γεγονέναι τὸν Σκείρωνά φασιν ἀλλὰ ληιστῶν μὲν κολαστὴν. According to Pausanias, in fact, the Megarians believed that Skiron, the son of Pylas and son-in-law of Pandion, had challenged Nisos for kingship and ended up as Megara's polemarch (1.39.6 [= *FGrH* 487 F3] and 1.44.6).

13 For Skiron, see Hanell 1934: 40–48; Wickersham 1991: 18–22; and Higbie 1997: 5, 294–295.

14 For the concept of ‘intentional history’, see Gehrke 2001; see also Gehrke 2003 and 2010.

15 Steph. Byz. s.v. *Megara*.

## The *Megarika*

Modern students of the *Megarika* tend to take Plutarch's lead in emphasizing the general reactivity of Megarian memory to foreign traditions and its affinity for plagiarism – without legends of their own, wrote Martin Vogt, Megarians resorted to “borrowing and stealing” from their neighbours<sup>16</sup> –, as well as the significant role that Athens played in this dynamic. For Donald Prakken, the *Megarika* represented an ongoing “literary and historical polemic ... against Athens”;<sup>17</sup> for Felix Jacoby, Megara was always struggling under the weight of Athens, continually on the defensive and relying, in the absence of real political power, on an overblown and fanciful chauvinism;<sup>18</sup> and for Thomas J. Figueira, it was the ongoing conflict with Athens over the so-called *Hiera Orgas* that provided in the mid-fourth century BCE a “context for this intense Megarian effort to defend the honor of their community” through the writing of *Megarika*.<sup>19</sup> Even Luigi Piccirilli's landmark edition of the *Megarika*, which sought in part to wrest Megara's historiography from Athens' grasp,<sup>20</sup> assigns the efflorescence of local historiography at Megara to a time of political decadence in the shadow of a culturally prestigious Athens.<sup>21</sup>

As these studies make clear, it is difficult to avoid exaggerating Athens' contribution to the construction of Megarian identity since so many of our sources about Megara are Athenian or at any rate focalized by Athens. Save for what little we can cull from the *Theognidea*,<sup>22</sup> most of our earliest references to the Megarian past come down to us

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16 “Bei der Dürftigkeit der megarischen Sage und Geschichte war man aber darauf angewiesen, teils durch Anlehnungen und selbst durch Räubereien aus fremden Sagenkreisen, teils durch blanke Erfindungen die Bedeutung des Heimatlandes künstlich herauszuputzen: die Spuren dieser Ruhmredigkeit, die für die spätere Kleinstadt charakteristisch ist, haben wir in manchen sagenhaften und auch scheinbar historischen Berichten gefunden” (Vogt 1902: 743). According to Laqueur (1926: 1105), moreover, the work of the local historians at Megara, was “von vornherein stark unter dem Gesichtspunkt der Aussenpolitik gebildet”.

17 Prakken 1944: 123.

18 “Aber dann muss man auch die lächerliche Seite dieses Lokalpatriotismus einer Stadt betonen, die schon im Verlaufe des 6. Jhdts ihre alte Bedeutung zu verlieren beginnt und sich literarisch immer in der Verteidigungsstellung befindet. Es genügt auf die Reihe der Gräber zu verweisen, die Megara für sich beansprucht” (Jacoby 1955: 229 n.6; but cf. 389 for the influence of other communities on Megarian local historiography).

19 Figueira 1985b: 119.

20 Piccirilli 1975: v.

21 *op. cit.*, vi.

22 We find, for example, an allusion in lines 773–782 to Alkathous's wall effectively keeping the Persians at bay. Nothing survives from the other early Megarian poet, Philiadas, except an epitaph for the Thespians who died at Thermopylai.

embedded in Athenian cultural memory. Herodotus mentions Megara's war with Athens over Salamis only in the context of Peisistratos' coup (1.59.4), for example, and he dates the Dorian colonization of Megara in accordance to Athenian chronology, the kingship of Kodros (5.76).<sup>23</sup> Thucydides, for his part, alludes to the tyrant Theagenes, but only so far as he impinges on Kylon's revolt (1.126.3-11).<sup>24</sup> Even later writers like Strabo (9.1.4-8) and Pausanias (1.40-44) append their accounts of Megara to their respective books on Attica,<sup>25</sup> while Plutarch, who does explicitly cite Megarian local historians, does so only in his *Lives* of the Athenians Solon and Theseus.<sup>26</sup>

On occasion, our sources provide glimpses of connections to communities other than Athens. Hellanikos, for example, who notably wrote no separate work on Megara (as he had on Argos, Arkadia, Athens, Boiotia, Thessaly, and his own Lesbos),<sup>27</sup> integrated elements of early Megarian history into his *Deukalionia* (FGrH 4 F18)<sup>28</sup> and treated the eponymous Megareus, whom he envisaged as a Boiotian, in his chronology framed by the

Hereas does quote an anonymous verse about the murder in Aphidna of Skiron's son (FGrH 486 F2: τὸν ἐν εὐρυχώρῳ ποτ' Ἀφίδνῃ / μαρνάμενον Θησεὺς Ἐλένης ἔνεκ' ἠυκόμοιο / κτεῖνεν), but Plutarch, who preserves the lines (*Thes.* 32.6-7), tells us nothing about the provenance of the poet or the overall theme of the poem (see Hanell 1934: 11 n.2).

23 Herodotus refers elsewhere to Megarians, both individually and *en masse*. Yet his unflattering treatment of the Megarians at Plataia (9.14, 21, 28.6, 31.5, 69.2, 85.2; cf. 8.1.1, 8.45, 8.74.2, and 9.1 for earlier Megarian contributions to the Greek defense) was surely affected by the anti-Megarianism to which he was exposed during his sojourn at Athens.

24 Thucydides' sources for the foundation of Megara Hyblaea and Selinous in Sicily by the Megarians Lamis and Pamillos (6.4) are not entirely clear (see Hornblower 2008: 272-278), but they were certainly not Megarian. For Thucydides' failure to engage with Megara's role in the early phases of the Peloponnesian War, see Rood 1998: 68-69, 214-215.

25 According to both writers, the Megarid was originally part of Attica (Strab. 9.1.5; Paus. 1.39.4), and even though, as we shall see, Pausanias retains local Megarian traditions, he sometimes sifts these through an Athenian sieve (see, for example, 1.5.3 and 1.39.4 on the tomb of Pandion). We should note, too, that Pausanias even blames Megara's eventual decline in the Roman period on the assassination of the Athenian herald Anthemokritos in the fifth century (1.36.3)!

26 *Lyk.* 1.8 = Dieuchidas FGrH 48 F5; *Thes.* 20 and 32.4 = Hereas FGrH 486 F1-2; *Sol.* 10 = FGrH 486 F4. It is at *Thes.* 10, moreover, that Plutarch refers to 'historians from Megara' (= FGrH 487 F1; see also *Perikl.* 30.3 = FGrH 487 F13). It is noteworthy that Plutarch, critical though he is of Herodotus's local biases, does not bother to challenge the depiction of the Megarians in the *Histories* (*de Mal. Her.* 872c).

27 Ἀργολικά (FGrH 4 F36); Περὶ Ἀρκαδίας (F37, 161-162); Ἀτθίς (F38-49); Βοιωτικά (F50-51); Θετταλικά (F52 and 201); and Λεσβιακά (F33-5).

28 = FGrH 4 T21 = FGrH 485 T1/F1 = Clem. *Strom.* 6.26.8. Hellanikos also mentioned Megara in his *Atthis* (FGrH 323a F7 = *s.v. Pegai*: Πηγαί. Ἀνδοκίδης ἐν τῷ Περὶ εἰρήνης [3.3], εἰ γνήσιος. Πηγαί τόπος ἐν Μεγάρῳις, ὡς ἐν δ τῆς Ἀτθίδος φησὶν Ἐλλάνικος).

Priestesses of Hera at Argos (*FGrH* 4 F78).<sup>29</sup> But by and large it is Athens that sets the tone of ancient discussions about Megara, and these tend either to echo the anti-Megarianism of mid-fifth-century Athenian discourse or at any rate to ideate Megara in direct opposition to Athens. Thanks in part to the careers of notable Athenians like Plato, Androtion, and Leokrates,<sup>30</sup> Megara even earned the reputation as a haven for Athenian exiles; the Cynic Teles, who evidently spent some time at Megara after the Chremonidean War, depicts in his treatise *On Exile* a Megarian countryside swollen with the graves of Athenian rejects (29h).<sup>31</sup> It is no surprise that Teles' contemporary Chrysippos, when demonstrating the dangers of treating universals as particulars, chose Megara and Athens as the prime binary pair: "If someone is in Megara", he quipped, "he is not in Athens."<sup>32</sup>

It is not until the second half of the fourth century that Megarians begin to write prose works exploring the Megarian community and its past, for the first time preserving Megarian traditions in a Megarian framework. We know of five writers of Megarian local history (*Megarika*) before Strabo and Pausanias:<sup>33</sup> Praxion (*FGrH* 484),<sup>34</sup> whose history was

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29 = Steph. Byz. *s.v. Nisaia*: ἀπὸ Νίσου τοῦ Πανδίωνος. Ἑλλάνικος ἐν Ἱερειῶν ᾠ· καὶ ἐν τῇ β̄ καὶ Ἰνίσαιάν τ' εἶλε καὶ Νίσον τὸν Πανδίωνος καὶ Μεγαρέα τὸν Ὀγχήστιον (cf. Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.210 and Paus. 1.39.5).

30 See respectively Diog.Laert. 3.6, 2.106; Plut. *de Ex.* 14 605c-d (= *FGrH* 324 T14); and Lyk. 1.21.

31 τί δὲ καὶ διαφέρειν ἂν δόξαι ἐπὶ ξένης ταφῆναι ἢ ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ; οὐκ ἀηδῶς γὰρ τις τῶν Ἀττικῶν φυγάδων λαιδορουμένου τινὸς αὐτῷ καὶ λέγοντος ἄλλ' οὐδὲ ταφήσῃ ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οἱ ἀσεβεῖς Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῇ Μεγαρικῇ ὥσπερ μὲν οὖν <φησὶν> οἱ εὐσεβεῖς Μεγαρέων ἐν τῇ Μεγαρικῇ. τί γὰρ τὸ διάφορον; ἢ οὐ πανταχόθεν, φησὶν ὁ Ἀριστιππος, ἴση καὶ ὁμοία ἢ εἰς ἄδου ὁδός; For Teles, see O'Neil 1977.

32 See F278–279 (*SVF* von Arnim) = Simplic. *in Aristot. Categ.* F.26E and Diog.Laert. 7.186: Εἴ τις ἔστιν ἐν Μεγάροις, οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν Ἀθήναις· ἄνθρωπος δὲ ἔστιν ἐν Μεγάροις· οὐκ ἄρα ἔστιν ἄνθρωπος ἐν Ἀθήναις.

33 The title *Megarika* is explicitly given to the works of Praxion (*FGrH* 484 F1), Dieuchidas (*FGrH* F2a, 3–6), and Heragoras (*FGrH* F3 = *BNJ* 486A F1A and B). Plutarch, who is alone in citing Hereas, preserves no title for his work. A localized title like *Megarika*, of course, does not on its own prove that the cited text was a local history (see Marincola 1999: 295). But our citations do indeed suggest that the title is used by scholiasts (*FGrH* 485 F2b and 3, 486 F3), by Plutarch (*FGrH* 485 F5), by Harpokration (*FGrH* 484 F1 and 485 F2a), by Clement (*FGrH* 485 F4, cf. F1), and by Diogenes Laertius (*FGrH* 485 F6) to refer to works of local history, viz. narratives, dealing to some degree with the past, that were limited in scope by the real or imagined territory of a single community. We know, moreover, of other 'Megarian' texts that were not local histories, and these have their own system of nomenclature: Simylos's *Μεγαρική*, which was probably a comedy (see Jacoby 1955: *Noten* 229–30 n. 7), and Theophrastus's *Μεγαρικός* (Diog. Laert. 5.44; 6.22), likely a philosophical treatise. For the shadowy Πραξιτέλης ὁ περιηγητής (Plut. *Quaest. Conv.* 5.3.7 675e), who wrote somewhere of Ino and Melikertes, see below (n. 80). Thorough surveys of the *Megarika* have been undertaken by Vogt (1902: 737–743), Jacoby (1955: Text 389–400 and *Noten* 229–237), Piccirilli (1975), and now Liddel, whose commentary and translation of the Megarian local historians is an exemplary addition to *BNJ* (2007). See also the interesting treatment of Okin 1985: 11–14 and Figueira 1985b: 133–134.

at least two books long (F2); Dieuchidas (*FGrH* 485), whose *Megarika* extended to at least five books (F6); Hereas (*FGrH* 486); Heragoras (*BNJ* 486A);<sup>35</sup> and Aristotle, whose *Politeia of the Megarians* certainly drew on and so must to some extent have resembled the *Megarika*.<sup>36</sup> The fragments from these works are slender and few – we have under thirty<sup>37</sup> –, and much of what remains, as we saw in the case of Plutarch, has been preserved in very Athenian contexts.<sup>38</sup> Nevertheless, there is enough to provide a general impression of the *Megarika*, both in terms of authorship and content, and to suggest that in many ways the phenomenon of local historiography manifested itself similarly at Megara as at other Greek communities.

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34 Donald Prakken argued (1941: 348 n. 2) that Praxion was a phantom and that the sole reference to his work on Megara (Harpokrat. *s.v.* *Skiron* = *FGrH* 484 F1) should be emended, the fragment reassigned to Dieuchidas (<Διευχίδας... ὁ> Πραξιῶν<ος>). But Prakken's argument (seconded later by Davison 1959: 221) was adroitly dismissed by Jacoby (1955: *Noten* 230 n.2) and Dover (1966: 205 n.4).

35 Jacoby, following von Willamowitz (1880: 8), treated Hereas and Heragoras together under *FGrH* 486, explaining the biformity of the name through hypocorism (1955: 394); Piccirilli wisely distinguished two separate historians (1974: 287-422 and 1975: 51-56, 75), as has Liddel, who provides Heragoras with his own *BNJ* number: 486A.

36 Aristotle's work on Megara belongs to the corpus of 158 *Politeiai* that he himself wrote or whose composition he oversaw in the third quarter of the fourth century BCE (see in general Gigon 1987: 561-564 and Hose 2002: 15-105, 127-261). For the question of authorship, see Rhodes 1981: 50-51, 58-63 and Keaney 1992: 5-17. The existence of a *Politeia of the Megarians* (which Okin and Figueira interestingly attribute to Chamaileon of Herakleia [Okin 1985: 19; Figueira 1985b: 137-139]), is proven by Strabo (7.7.2 = Gigon 1987: 561), who says that in his *Politeiai* of the Akarnanians, Aitolians, Opuntians, Leukadians, and Megarians Aristotle treated the Leleges' conquest of Boiotia. There are references to Megara also in the *Politics* (3.1280b14, 4.1300a17, 5.1302b31, 5.1304b35, 5.1305a24), a text that probably preceded but nevertheless engaged with a similar set of traditions as the *Politeiai* (see Rhodes 1981: 58-59). Like the *Politeia of the Athenians*, Aristotle's work on Megara probably drew on local sources, perhaps the *Megarika* that Dieuchidas was writing at just about this time (for a good discussion of the sources of the *Ath.Pol.*, see Rhodes 1981: 15-30; for Aristotle's use of emic local historiography at Samos and Sparta in addition to Athens, see Tober forthcoming 2018).

37 Jacoby identified one fragment for Praxion (*FGrH* 484), eleven for Dieuchidas (*FGrH* 485), four for Hereas/Heragoras (*FGrH* 486), and thirteen anonymous fragments, which he collected under the heading of *Sammelzitate*. Piccirilli, on the other hand, followed Müller in assigning an additional fragment to Dieuchidas (*viz.* Parthen. *Narr.Am.* 13), separated Hereas from Heragoras, to whom he attached an additional reference (F1b = Eudok. *Viol.* 1021), and greatly expanded the corpus of anonymous fragments. Liddel, meanwhile, has chosen the middle ground, jettisoning Piccirilli's category "Frammenti Adespoti di Provenienza Megarese", and significantly reducing the fragments that Piccirilli included under the rubric "Frammenti Adespoti de Fonti Indicate Come οι Μεγαρεῖς" (he excludes Piccirilli F2b, 5, 6b, 9, 11, 12, 14, 17, 18, 19, and 21a-b).

38 Of the 16 discrete fragments from the *Megarika* of Praxion, Hereas/Heragoras, and Dieuchidas included by Jacoby in his collection, nearly half come from Athenocentric sources: three from Harpokration, one from a scholion to Aristophanes, and four from Plutarch's *Lives* of Theseus and Solon.

For one thing, aside from Aristotle and Heragoras, about whom nothing is known, the writers of *Megarika* were themselves Megarian.<sup>39</sup> Only Hereas, it is true, is explicitly called a Megarian, on two occasions by Plutarch (*Thes.* 20.1-2 and *Sol.* 10.5 = *FGrH* 486 F1 and 4).<sup>40</sup> Yet Plutarch speaks elsewhere, as we have seen, of ‘the historians from Megara’ (*Thes.* 10 = *FGrH* 487 F1), so he was clearly aware of more than one native historian.<sup>41</sup> Epigraphy provides further testimony. For a Megarian Dieuchidas appears with some frequency in the list of Delphic Naopoioi in the years leading up to the completion of the temple (338/7-330/29 BCE) – the name is rare enough to warrant the connection –, and he is there sometimes even identified as the ‘son of Praxion’.<sup>42</sup> If we can indeed match up this pair of Megarians to our historians, Dieuchidas was evidently continuing or amending the history of his father, a phenomenon not in fact uncommon in the Greek world.<sup>43</sup>

Like many other Greek local historians, moreover, these Megarians not only were members of the community about which they were writing but seem also to have enjoyed in that community positions of political or religious authority.<sup>44</sup> Dieuchidas, once again, repeatedly represented his community at Delphi in the fraught decade following the Battle

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39 For the tendency of Greek local historians to write about their own communities, see Tober 2017.

40 Ἡρέας ὁ Μεγαρεύς.

41 The phrase that Plutarch uses, οἱ δὲ Μεγαρόθεν συγγραφεῖς, is unusual in its prioritization of the historians' provenance (but cf. Plutarch's similar references to Naxian historians: *FGrH* 501 F1-3). When the local historians of Athens are cited collectively, it is the texts' contents that are usually at issue (see Jacoby 1949: 1-2), and the same can be said for historians from Argos (*FGrH* 311 T1 and F2), Euboea (*FGrH* 427 F1-2), Aiolia (*FGrH* 301 F1), Chios (*FGrH* 395 F1), and Miletus (*FGrH* 496 F1).

42 *CID* 2.32, 75-76, 79A, 97, 99 (= *FD* III.5.20, 49-50, 48+63, 58, 60A); Dieuchidas is listed as Praxion's son on two occasions (*CID* 2.76 and 97). For the Naopoioi as an institution, see Bourguet 1896; Roux 1979: 95-135; and Sánchez 2001: 124-152. For the equation between the historian and temple official – the name Dieuchidas, which is frequently muddled in the manuscripts (see Piccirilli 1975: 13), is in fact unattested elsewhere –, see Bourguet 1896: 233-234 n.1. Jacoby, who does not treat these inscriptions as *Testimonia* for Dieuchidas, nevertheless finds the correlation persuasive (1955: *Noten*, 231 n.5), as have others before him and since (see e.g. Schwartz 1903: 480-481, Prakken 1941: 349, and Piccirilli 1975: 14-15); but cf. Keil (1897: 413, n.1) and Davison (1959: 221), who argued that the historian lived a good deal after the Naopoiios, from whom he borrowed the name in order to give his book “a certain cachet of antiquity”. Clement uses the cletic adjective *megarikos* with reference to Dieuchidas (*Strom.* 6.26.8 = *FGrH* 485 T1), but this must mean first and foremost that he was treating Dieuchidas as an author of *Megarika* not that he considered him a Megarian.

43 See the comments of Liddel in the “Biographical Essay” appended to his commentary on Praxion's *Megarika*. Modern examples of the phenomenon abound; we can think, for example, of the Florentine *Nuova Cronica* begun by Giovanni Villani and extended first by his brother and then by his nephew.

44 For an overview of the public life of Greek historians, see Meißner 1992: 215-315.

of Chaironeia, and, as Georges Roux has shown, the men chosen from the Amphictyonic poleis as Naopoioi were very frequently from families locally well-positioned.<sup>45</sup> Hereas, for his part, may also have participated actively in the Megarian community. For at the beginning of the third century we find a Hereas, son of Aleios, as Theoros dedicating offerings to Apollo Prostasterios (*IG* 7.39),<sup>46</sup> and this Hereas is perhaps himself the father of a Kallikrates who appears in a Megarian inscription dated to the middle of the third century (*IG* 7.141) and who is awarded proxeny at Delphi just after the Chremonidean War (*FD* III.1.189). Other inscriptions may perhaps also be brought into this discussion.<sup>47</sup> But the point in any case is that in Megara, as in a good many Greek communities, the decision to write local history was generally undertaken by locals who had a particular stake in claiming authority over their community's collective past.<sup>48</sup>

Megarian local historians, finally, adopted in their narratives a position toward their home community similar to that of other Greek local historians: even though they intended their work in part for local consumption, they nevertheless tended to imply a foreign audience, expounding details of Megarian behavior as if for the benefit of outsiders and generally engaging in what I have elsewhere called self-ethnography.<sup>49</sup> Hereas detailed Megarian burial customs, for example, claiming, as Plutarch reports in his *Life of Solon* (10.1–6 = *FGrH* 486 F4), that at Megara the dead were buried facing west, with more than one body per tomb.<sup>50</sup> This is normally, and quite reasonably, understood in the context in which

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45 107–8. In the years that Dieuchidas served, we find on the board trierarchs from Athens, the son of a priest at Epidaurus, and an Aleuad from Larisa named Medeios, to name just a few examples.

46 On Apollo Prostasterios at Megara, see Smith 2008: 117–118; on the *theōroi*, see Boesch 1908. The link between the priest and the historian is not firm, although Hereas's discussion of Megarian and Athenian burial custom (*FGrH* 486 F4, for which see below) may indicate, as Prakken suggested (1944: 122–123), that he was writing after the reforms of Demetrios of Phaleron (317 BCE), a date that jibes with the activity of the homonymous Theoros.

47 See Liddel, “Biographical Essay”, in “Hereas of Megara (486)”, in *BNJ*.

48 Local historiography, to the extent that it allowed a Greek to forward a version of his community's cultural memory that endorsed his own activities and view of the past, seems to have fulfilled in the poleis a similar role as autobiography and memoir would in the Roman Republic (see Tober 2017).

49 For the frequent incongruity between a Greek local historian's intended and implied audience and for the phenomenon of self-ethnography in general, see Tober 2017.

50 Ἡρέας δ' ὁ Μεγαρεὺς ἐνιστάμενος λέγει καὶ Μεγαρεῖς πρὸς ἐσπέραν τετραμμένα τὰ σώματα τῶν νεκρῶν τιθέναι – καὶ μείζον ἔτι τούτων, μίαν ἕκαστον Ἀθηναίων ἔχειν θήκην, Μεγαρέων δὲ καὶ τρεῖς καὶ τέτταρας ἐν μιᾷ κεῖσθαι. τῶ μέντοι Σόλωνι καὶ Πυθικοῦς τινὰς βοηθῆσαι λέγουσι χρησμούς, ἐν οἷς ὁ θεὸς Ἰαονίαν τὴν Σαλαμίνα προσηγόρευσε. ταύτην τὴν δίκην ἐδίκασαν Σπαρτιατῶν πέντε ἄνδρες· Κριτολαΐδας, Ἀμομφάρετος, Ὑψιχίδας, Ἀναξίλας, Κλεομένης.

Plutarch cites it, Salamis, with Hereas refuting a claim put in the mouth of Solon by an Atthidographer who had apparently exploited archaeological anthropology to prove Athenian tenure of the island.<sup>51</sup> Yet whatever his aims, the Megarian Hereas clearly took pains in his history of Megara (geared, at least in part, for a local audience) to elucidate Megarian practice.<sup>52</sup> Dieuchidas also included descriptions of epichoric custom, expounding the Megarian practice of placing a tongue on an altar after a sacrifice, for example, a gesture that he linked to an early exploit of Alkathous (*FGrH* 485 F10),<sup>53</sup> and elsewhere commenting on the so-called Aguius, a type of column, evidently a common feature of the Megarian landscape, that he associated with the Dorians (*FGrH* 485 F2b).<sup>54</sup> This is the sole fragment from any *Megarika*, incidentally, that has been preserved verbatim, and although there are some problems with the text, we see that Dieuchidas expressly adopts the position of an outsider, twice employing with reference to his own community the phrase ἔτι καὶ νῦν, a tag that often signals an ethnographic register.<sup>55</sup>

Other evidence for the interest of Megarian local historians in Megarian custom comes from Plutarch's collection of *Greek Questions*, if indeed behind it lurk, as Karl Giesen persuasively argued, Aristotle's *Politeiai*, and if these texts did themselves draw on emic local historiography.<sup>56</sup> Four of Plutarch's *Greek Questions* deal exclusively with Megara (# 16–18 and 59). One explains the peculiar Megarian use of the term 'spear-friend' by

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51 See Jacoby 1955: 395; Piccirilli 1975: 67–73; and Liddel ad loc. See also Prakken 1944, and Higbie 1997: 299–305.

52 Plutarch does not purport to be quoting Hereas's text verbatim, it is true, but his use of the present infinitive suggests that Hereas was not writing about defunct Megarian practice.

53 = *Schol. Apol. Rhod. Arg.* 1.516–518c: Διευχίδας ἐν τοῖς Μεγαρικοῖς ἱστορεῖ, ὅτι Ἀλκάθους ὁ Πέλοπος διὰ τὸν Χρυσίππου φόνον φυγαδευθεὶς ἐκ τῶν Ἰμεγάρων ἤρχετο κατοικήσων εἰς ἑτέραν πόλιν. ὡς δὲ περιέπεσε λέοντι λυμαιομένῳ τὰ Μέγαρα, ἐφ' ὃν καὶ ἕτεροι ἦσαν ἀπεσταλμένοι ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Μεγάρων, καταγωνίζεται τοῦτον καὶ τὴν γλῶτταν αὐτοῦ εἰς πῆραν θέμενος ἤρχετο πάλιν εἰς τὰ Μέγαρα· καὶ ἀπαγγελλόντων τῶν ἀπεσταλμένων ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν ὅτι αὐτοὶ εἰσιν οἱ κατηγονησμένοι, προσκομίσας τὴν πῆραν ἤλεγξεν αὐτούς. διόπερ θύσας τοῖς θεοῖς ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸ τελευταῖον τὴν γλῶσσαν ἐπέθηκεν τοῖς βωμοῖς· καὶ ἀπὸ τότε ἔθος τοῦτο διέμεινε Μεγαρεῦσιν.

54 = *Schol. Aristoph. Vesp.* 875(V): περὶ τοῦ Ἀγυιέως Ἀπόλλωνος Διευχίδας οὕτως γράφει· ἐν δὲ τῷ ἰατρῷ τούτῳ διαμένει ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐστὶ καὶ ὡς τ' Ἀγυιεύς τῶν Δωριέων οἰκησάντων ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἀνάθημα· καὶ οὗτος καταμηνύει ὅτι Δωριέων ἐστὶ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Ἡτούτοις γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰς στρατιὰς φάσματος οἱ Δωριεῖς ἀπομιμούμενοι τὰς ἀγυιάς ἰσθᾶσιν ἔτι καὶ νῦν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι. Harpokration also refers to Dieuchidas's discussion of the Aguius, although he does not claim to be citing the historian verbatim (*FGrH* 485 F2a).

55 See Tober 2017.

56 Giesen 1901: 461–465; see also Halliday 1928: 92–95.

postulating a period of stasis at Megara caused by tensions with Corinth; here, it is worth noting, the Corinthians who allegedly foment the Megarian civil war are described as “plotting to subjugate the Megarid,” not, as Demon would have it, already as successful conquerors let alone colonists of the region (*Ait.* 17 = *Mor.* 295 b–c). Two other *Questions* presuppose a period of ‘unbridled democracy’ following the tyranny of Theagenes; the first focuses on a law limiting interest on loans (παλιτωκία: *Ait.* 18 = *Mor.* 295 c–d), the second on the origins of a group of Megarians known as ‘Wagon-Rollers’ (*Ait.* 59 = *Mor.* 304 e–f). While certainly revealing a concern for local custom, these last *logoi* also suggest that some *Megarika* may actually have pursued Megarian history into the historical period.<sup>57</sup>

The remaining *Question* (*Ait.* 16 = *Mor.* 295 a–b) deals with an item of clothing worn by Megarian women: the so-called Apharoma. When Nisos was king, Plutarch writes, he married a Boiotian woman, Abrote, daughter of Onchestos and sister of Megareus, a woman of great repute and so beloved by the Megarians that when she died they mourned for her on their own accord. Nisos, wishing to maintain his wife’s memory among his people, ordered the townswomen to adopt the sort of dress Abrote had once worn, and he named the garment after her. Apollo evidently approved of this custom; for whenever the Megarian women wanted to change their clothing, his oracle forbade it.<sup>58</sup> The compulsory lamentation following the death of a Megarian potentate recalls the explanations of ‘Megarians’ Tears’ with which we began. The expression of mourning for Abrote, to be sure, is sartorial not lachrymal; but like Zenobios and Diogenianos, Plutarch (relying perhaps ultimately on local sources)<sup>59</sup> explains Megarian praxis through death and

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57 Although cf. Figueira 1985b: 119–121.

58 τί τὸ καλούμενον ὑπὸ Μεγαρέων ἀφάρωμα: Νίσος, ἀφ’ οὗ προσηγορεύθη Νίσαια, βασιλεύων ἐκ Βοιωτίας ἔγημεν Ἀβρώτην, Ὀρχήστου θυγατέρα, Μεγαρέως δ’ ἀδελφὴν, γυναῖκα καὶ τῷ φρονεῖν ὡς ἔοικε περιττὴν καὶ σώφρονα διαφερόντως. ἀποθανούσης δ’ αὐτῆς, οἱ τε Μεγαρεῖς ἐπένησαν ἐκουσίως καὶ ὁ Νίσος αἰδίαν τινὰ μνήμην καὶ δόξαν αὐτῆς καταστῆναι βουλόμενος ἐκέλευε τὰς ἀστὰς φορεῖν ἣν ἐκείνη στολὴν ἔφορει, καὶ τὴν στολὴν ἀφάρωμα δι’ ἐκείνην ὠνόμασε. δοκεῖ δὲ τῇ δόξῃ τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ ὁ θεὸς βοηθῆσαι: πολλάκις γὰρ τὰς ἐσθῆτας ἀλλάξαι βουλομένας τὰς Μεγαρίδας χρησμῶ διεκώλυσε.

59 In his commentary on “Question 16”, Halliday suspects that “the tone of the last sentence” of the passage suggests that it did not come from a Megarian source, “and this is borne out by the details” (1928: 92), viz. that in Plutarch’s account Nisos’ wife was Boiotian and that it was her (Boiotian) brother, Megareus, who gave his name to the polis. Okin agrees, arguing that Plutarch’s source here cannot be (directly or indirectly) “Megarian historical tradition” since Plutarch “totally ignores Megara’s version of its own early history” (1985: 14). But Pausanias’s tortuous foundation narrative that

mourning and, more to the point, interprets this mourning as initially local, spontaneous, and genuine.

### **Localism in the *Megarika***

The writers of *Megarika* typify Greek local historians not only in the role they played in their home community and the pose they struck in relation to this community but also in their broad conception of Megara's historiographical compass and command over the past. For like their counterparts in other communities, they incorporated within the confines of a locally restricted narrative a range of nonlocal material.<sup>60</sup> Where the *Megarika* most markedly diverge from other local histories, however, is in the particular means by which they effected this incorporation.

Many local histories augmented the prestige of the focal locality by exploiting centrifugal force, by casting the local outward. The *Atthides*, for example, sent Theseus to Corinth, Crete, and the Black Sea;<sup>61</sup> the *Thessalika* pushed Armenos beyond Pontos to found Armenia;<sup>62</sup> and the Spartan *Politeiai* led Lykourgos to Iberia, Libya, and India.<sup>63</sup> These enterprising locals, largely inhabiting the early period of a community's past, were rarely made responsible for full-scale conquests of outside regions; their travels more frequently

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Halliday and Okin seem to have in mind (1.39.5) does not directly contradict Plutarch – what 'the Megarians' object to in Pausanias's account is the 'Cretan War' and the alleged capture of the city in the reign of Nisos –, and even if Pausanias did in fact intend to say that the Megarians of his day rejected all links with Boiotia, there is no reason to deny that all Megarians, or indeed a particular Megarian historian, may five hundred years earlier have nursed other ideas about the *ktisis*. Hellanikos derived Megareus from Boiotia (*FGrH* 4 F78; see above n. 28), and it was Hellanikos who allegedly gave Dieuchidas his starting point (*FGrH* 485 T1/F1 = Clem. *Strom.* 6.26.8): Μελησαγόρου γὰρ ἔκλεψεν .... καὶ Ἀνδροτίων καὶ Φιλόχορος Διευχίδας τε ὁ Μεγαρικός, τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ λόγου ἐκ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Δευκαλιωνείας μετέβαλεν (see Piccirilli 1975: 18). It is worth noting that Pausanias treats Deukalion in his section on Megara, saying that Megareus escaped the flood by following a crane to the heights of Mt. Geraneia and that Dieuchidas somewhere treated the mountain (*FGrH* 485 F8; cf. *Etym. Mag.* 228 [Gaisford], *s.v. Geraneia*). For Boiotian claims on Megara see Hornblower (1996: 240–241) on Thuc. 4.72.1.

60 See above (n. 33) for the implications of the title *Megarika*.

61 For Theseus's travels, see e.g. Hellanikos *FGrH* F323a F14–17; Kleidemos *FGrH* 323 F17; Demon *FGrH* 327 F5; and Philochorus *FGrH* 328 F17, 110–111.

62 *FGrH* 129F1 and *FGrH* 130F1.

63 *FGrH* 591 F2.

served as indicators of one community's influence over another or at any rate its involvement in the wider world. While we know that in at least one *Megarika* (that of Hereas) at least one Megarian (Skiron's son Halykos) makes it to Aphidna in Attica to face Theseus in battle (*FGrH* 486 F2), Megarian historians generally annexed outside material by applying the opposite, centripetal, force and drawing the outside world in.<sup>64</sup>

In many local histories, this inward movement is best observed in the ideation of an original locality that exceeded, sometimes radically, the actual bounds of the civic community in the historians' own day; the *Atticides* tended to include the Megarid in the kingdom of Pandion, the *Argolika* to posit an ur-Argos that comprised much of the northern Peloponnesos.<sup>65</sup> Yet, while the *Megarika* do seem to have retrojected this sort of idealized territory, envisioning a primeval realm that included Salamis and probably Perachora as well,<sup>66</sup> our evidence suggests that in Megarian memory centripetalism worked less to extend Megara's size than to increase its mass. By exploiting Megara's arterial status, Megarian historians found frequent occasion to intercept distinguished visitors as they traversed the isthmus and keep hold of them by burying them securely in Megarian soil.

Hereas's discussion of Megarian burial practices and the paremiology of 'Megarians' Tears' with which we began have provided us the opportunity already to note how the Megarian

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64 There were other means, of course, by which Megarian historians addressed nonlocal material. One common strategy was simply to integrate (through digressions) into a narrative focalized by Megara episodes culled from the cultural memory of other communities: of Athens (*BNJ* 486a F1, *FGrH* 486 F1, and *FGrH* 485 F6), for example; of Sparta (*FGrH* 484 F4-5); and of Rhodes (*FGrH* 485 F7; Dieuchidas's *logos* of the Rhodian *ktisis* is in fact thick with detail about the exploits of the children of Triopas and about the hospitality of an otherwise unknown Rhodian named Thamneus). In each case, Megarian historians imposed a Megarian framework onto other communities' pasts, applying the same heuristic tools with which they worked and reworked their own community's history and using Megara as a lens through which to focus the history of the wider Greek world.

65 For Athens, see *FGrH* 328 107; cf. Strab. 9.1.5; Paus. 39.4-6, and Plut. *Thes.* 25.3. For Argos, see *FGrH* 70 F115 and *FGrH* 334 F39; cf. Strab. 8.6.5.

66 For Salamis, see Hereas *FGrH* 486 F4 (with F1 and 485 F6). Regarding Perachora, Plutarch tantalizingly claims in his *Greek Questions* that 'long ago' some Megarians were known as Heraeis and Piraeis (#17 = *Mor.* 295b): τὸ παλαιὸν ἡ Μεγαρίσις ὤκειτο κατὰ κώμας, εἰς πέντε μέρη νενεμημένων τῶν πολιτῶν. ἐκαλοῦντο δὲ Ἡραεῖσι καὶ Πιραεῖσι καὶ Μεγαρεῖσι καὶ Κυνοσοῦρεῖσι καὶ Τριποδίσκεισι. That his discussion here ultimately depends on Aristotle's *Politeia* is corroborated by Aristotle's reference to Megarian *komai* in the *Poetics* (1448a29-39). On the Perachora, see Salmon 1972; on the synoecism of Megara in general, see Robu 2014: 15-33.

community constructed its past with recourse to corpses and their interment. The best place to observe Megarian preoccupation with graves, however, is Pausanias's Megarian itinerary. The whole *Periegesis*, it is true, brims with tombs. Yet Pausanias supposes for the Megarians a particularly rich relationship with the dead: at Megara, he proclaims, there are graves even within the walls of the polis (1.43.3)!<sup>67</sup> This relationship is neatly encapsulated by the anecdote Pausanias preserves about the otherwise unknown Aisymnos (1.43.3). After the fall of the monarchy, he explains, Aisymnos, whose reputation at Megara was second to none, asked Apollo how his community might thrive in the absence of its kings. Told to take counsel with the many, Aisymnos and his countrymen naturally understood this as a reference not to the *dēmos* but to the dead, and they accordingly built their *bouleutērion* in such a way as to incorporate the tombs of their heroes.<sup>68</sup> Far from symbolizing stagnation and moribundity,<sup>69</sup> the dead here contribute actively to the negotiation of civic identity at Megara. For Hereas, too, in fact, graves implied something both about the past (Megara's onetime possession of Salamis) and about the present (Megarians behave fundamentally differently from their Athenian neighbours).

As in the case of Aisymnos's *bouleutērion*, many of Megara's graves were assigned to local heroes. Hereas wrote that Skiron's son Halykos had his tomb at Megara, even though he had been killed at Attica (*FGrH* 486 F2). And Pausanias provides a litany of other dead Megarians, noting as he wandered through the isthmus the graves of Alkathous, his wife Pyrgo, and his daughter Iphinoë (1.43.4 = *FGrH* 487 F6);<sup>70</sup> of Megareus (1.42.1 = *FGrH*

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67 For Pausanias's appraisal of Megara's graves, see Muller 1981: 218–22.

68 εἰσι δὲ τάφοι Μεγαρεῦσιν ἐν τῇ πόλει: καὶ τὸν μὲν τοῖς ἀποθανοῦσιν ἐποίησαν κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστρατείαν τοῦ Μήδου, τὸ δὲ Αἰσύμνιον καλούμενον μνημα ἦν καὶ τοῦτο ἡρώων. Ὑπερίωνος δὲ τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος – οὗτος γὰρ Μεγαρέων ἐβασίλευσεν ὕστατος – τούτου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀποθανόντος ὑπὸ Σανδίωνος διὰ πλεονεξίαν καὶ ὕβριν, βασιλεύεσθαι μὲν οὐκέτι ὑπὸ ἐνὸς ἐδόκει σφίσι, εἶναι δὲ ἄρχοντας αἰρετοῦς καὶ ἀνὰ μέρος ἀκούειν ἀλλήλων. ἐνταῦθα Αἰσύμνος οὐδενὸς τὰ ἐς δόξαν Μεγαρέων δεύτερος παρὰ τὸν θεὸν ἦλθεν ἐς Δελφούς, ἐλθὼν δὲ ἡρώτα τρόπον τίνα εὐδαιμονήσουσι: καὶ οἱ καὶ ἄλλα ὁ θεὸς ἔχρησε καὶ Μεγαρέας εὖ πράξειν, ἦν μετὰ τῶν πλειόνων βουλευέσωνται. τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος ἐς τοὺς τεθνεῶτας ἔχειν νομίζοντες βουλευτήριον ἐνταῦθα ᾠκοδόμησαν, ἵνα σφίσι ὁ τάφος τῶν ἡρώων ἐντὸς τοῦ βουλευτηρίου γένηται. For similarities between this oracle and that given to the Tarentines in Polybius (8.28.7), see Fontenrose 1978: 71. For the placement of the graves at Megara and its effects on the mythic space of the city, see Bohringer 1980: esp. 13–18 and, more generally, Pfister 1912: 445–465, esp. 459–462. For the office of *aisymnetes* at Megara, see Figueira 1985b: 140 and Herda 2016: 55–60.

69 Pace Jacoby 1955: *Noten* 229 n. 6.

70 cf. 1.39 (= *FGrH* 487 F3) for a different assessment of Iphinoë, see Dowden 1989: 78–80.

487 F5) and his son Timalkos (1.42.4 = Piccirilli 5.F8b = *BNJ* 487 F14b); of Tereus (1.41.8 = *FGrH* 487 F8); and of the Olympic victor Orsippos (1.44.1 = *FGrH* 487 F11). In each of these cases, it is true, Pausanias derives his information from 'the Megarians', not explicitly from the 'writers of *Megarika*'. Yet, even if he did on occasion rely on information imparted to him orally by local guides – it is only at Megara, in fact, that Pausanias mentions being led around directly by an expounder of local matters (1.41.2; see 42.4) –, so much of what he attributes loosely to 'the Megarians' jibes with the fragments, retained elsewhere, of the *Megarika*.<sup>71</sup> If this indeed implies a familiarity (direct or indirect) with the texts of Praxion, Dieuchidas, Hereas, and Heragoras, we would be justified in treating Pausanias's account as a potential storehouse of quotations from and references to Megarian local historiography. Indeed, we might even be able to identify fragments of the *Megarika* in places where Pausanias has not explicitly adduced 'the Megarians' as a source, concluding, for example, that Megarian historians had themselves included the story of Aisymnos and mentioned the graves of Kar (1.44.6), of additional sons of Alkathous (1.41.6 and 1.43.2) and of Megareus (1.43.2), and of the descendants of Melampous (1.43.5). If, however, Pausanias behaved aberrantly at Megara and relied there solely on oral sources, his testimony nevertheless suggests a remarkable perseverance and conservatism for Megarian tradition. This in and of itself should make his narrative, to whatever extent it adumbrates the contents of any specific *Megarika*, an accurate gauge for Megarian beliefs in the late Classical and Hellenistic periods and confirmation that the Megarians' constitutive narrative was exceptionally attentive to the dead.

What stands out about Megara's graves, in the *Megarika* and in Pausanias's account, is how many of them were alleged to be occupied by non-Megarians, in particular non-

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71 On Pausanias's use of local traditions and oral sources, see Lacroix 1994 and Pretzeler 2005: esp. 241–7. For the guides on whom Pausanias claims occasionally to rely, see Jones 2001. On Pausanias's use of written sources, see Jacoby 1955: 60–62 (remarks directed specifically at Pausanias's *Argolika* but in fact more widely applicable); Habicht 1998: esp. 64–94 on epigraphical sources; and Cameron 2004: 235–237. For Pausanias's probable use of written sources in the case of Megara, including emic *Megarika*, see Piccirilli 1975: 81–82, who points out the significant overlap between what Pausanias attributes loosely to 'the Megarians' and the fragments from earlier *Megarika*, and Liddel, "Biographical Essay", in "Anonymous, *On Megara (De Megara)* (487)" in *BNJ*. Pausanias's complaint that "there has been an omission" among the Megarian *exēgētai* about a particular sanctuary to Athena Aiantis on Megara's acropolis (1.42.4: τὰ δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ Μεγαρέων μὲν παρεῖται τοῖς ἐξηγηταῖς) suggests, for what it is worth, that he is not thinking of a local guide's momentary lapse of memory but of a written corpus to which he has access.

Megarians originating from either side of the isthmus. Dieuchidas reports in the third book of his *Megarika*, for example, that Adrastus was buried in Megara and that the tomb to which Sikyonians laid claim was only a cenotaph (*FGrH* 485 F3).<sup>72</sup> The scholiast to Pindar who preserves this fragment (*Nem.* 9.30a) says nothing of the circumstances behind Adrastus's burial in Megara; but there is no reason to suspect that Dieuchidas had made Adrastus a Megarian, and he likely explained the hero's death as would Pausanias: that he succumbed to old age and grief over the death of his son while leading his army back to Argos from Thebes (1.43.1).<sup>73</sup> It was a similar journey, according to Pausanias, that brought the Argive Koroibos to Megara. He was compelled by the Pythia to walk south from Delphi and settle wherever the tripod that he was struggling to carry happened to fall – he made it all the way to Mt. Geraneia, Pausanias says, before he dropped his heavy load; and although it was there that Koroibos spent the rest of his days, founding a village that he named Tripodiskoi after the incident, it was in the agora of Megara that he was buried (1.43.7–8).<sup>74</sup> Alkmene came to Megara along the reverse trajectory, happening to expire, 'the Megarians say,' while walking from Argos to Thebes (1.41.1 = *BNJ* 487 F15).<sup>75</sup> About her burial, Pausanias continues, the Herakleidai were immediately at loggerheads: some wanted to return the corpse to Argos, others to take it on to Thebes, where Amphitryon

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72 = *Schol. Pind Nem.* 9.30 περί τῆς Ἀδράστου εἰς Σικυῶνα μεταστάσεως Ἡρόδοτος μὲν οὕτω φησὶν ... ἄπαις δὲ ὁ Πόλυβος τελευτῶν διδοῖ Ἀδρήστῳ τὴν χώραν. Μέναιχιμος δὲ ὁ Σικυῶνιος οὕτω γράφει ... Ἀδραστός δὲ ... ἦλθεν εἰς Σικυῶνα, καὶ τὴν Πολύβου τοῦ μητροπάτορος βασιλείαν παραλαβὼν ἐβασίλευσε τῆς Σικυῶνος, καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἥρας τῆς Ἀλέας καλουμένης ἱερὸν καθ' ὄνπερ ᾤκει τόπον ἰδρύσατο.....Διευχίδας δὲ ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ τῶν Μεγαρικῶν τὸ μὲν κενήριον τοῦ Ἀδράστου ἐν Σικυῶνι φησιν, ἀποκεῖσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν Μεγάρῳ. See Hanell 1934: 97 and Jacoby 1955: 391 and *Noten* 232, n. 20. For Adrastus's connection to Sikyon, see *Hdt* 5.67.

73 Piccirilli considers this reference a fragment from the *Megarika* although Pausanias does not attribute the anecdote expressly to 'the Megarians' (1975: 5.15). See *Pind. Pyth.* 8.48 for an early reference to Adrastus's return to Argos.

74 = Piccirilli 1975: 5.19. While Pausanias does not explicitly assign this story to 'the Megarians', he does claim to have seen elegiac verses carved on the temple to Apollo that Koroibos allegedly built at Tripodiskoi, verses that told of the hero's early exploits (the carved images above the verse, which showed Koroibos slaying Poine, were the oldest stone *agal mata* of which Pausanias knew). Pausanias assigns no provenance to Koroibos, but his assertion that the hero slew Poine "ἐς χάριν Ἀργείοις" does not in itself imply that Pausanias considered him to be a Megarian (*pace* Rigsby 1987: 97).

75 Jacoby did not include this passage in his category *Sammelzitate*, but Liddel is surely correct that the subject 'the Megarians' ought to be carried over from 1.40.5.

and Alkmene's grandchildren had been laid to rest.<sup>76</sup> Apollo intervened, suggesting that they split the difference and bury Alkmene in Megara.

Other celebrated nonlocals in Pausanias's account ended up at Megara for other reasons. Some had come on campaign, like Herakles' son, Hyllos, who accompanied the Herakleidai on their invasion of the Peloponnesos and died at the hands of the Arkadian Echemos (1.41.2).<sup>77</sup> Some had come to rule, such as the Athenian Pandion (1.39.4) or the Egyptian Lelex (1.44.3). Others had been on the run, fleeing oppression, like Eurystheus, who escaped from Athens after battling the Herakleidai, losing his life to Iolaus not in Marathon but at Megara (1.44.10). Some came already dead, like Adrastos's son Aigialeus, who was struck down at Glisas in the first battle of the second Argive invasion, carried by his kinsmen to Pagai, and buried in what would henceforth be known as the Aigialeion (1.44.4). Others came to Megara expressly to die. So Iphigenia, whose father evidently brought her there before the expedition to Troy (1.43.1 = *FGrH* 487 F10).<sup>78</sup> So too Hippolyta, who 'the Megarians say' withdrew to Megara after the defeat of the Amazons in Attica and once there sank into a fatal depression (*FGrH* 487 F10).

Extreme grief is itself a common theme. It motivates the death not only of Hippolyta and Adrastos, but also of Autonoë, who had left Thebes and come to Megara, according to Pausanias, in mourning for her son Aktaion – she eventually died from her pains in the village of Ereneia (1.44.5).<sup>79</sup> And grief also attends Ino's death. It was at Megara, Pausanias writes, from the so-called Molourian Rock, that the Theban princess, fleeing her mad husband Athamas, flung herself and her swaddled son into the sea (1.44.7-8). Plutarch preserves a similar story in his *Table Talk* (675e = Piccirilli 5.4b = *BNJ* 487 F7a), attributing to an otherwise unknown periegete named Praxiteles the variant in which Ino rushed down toward the sea along the so-called Path of the Beauty.<sup>80</sup> The lifeless Melikertes

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<sup>76</sup> See Plut. *Lys.* 28 and *De Socr. Gen.* 5 for the tradition that Alkmene's grave was also shown at Haliartos.

<sup>77</sup> = Piccirilli 1975: 6 F9; see also 1.44.10 = Piccirilli 5 F17.

<sup>78</sup> See also Philodem. *De Pietate* = *P.Herc.* 248 F3.13-6. Aulis's claim was apparently not secure, for Pausanias here also mentions an Arkadian version of Iphigenia's fate, and the *Attides* seem to have placed her death in Attica (*FGrH* 325 F14), perhaps, as Jacoby surmised, in answer to Megarian claims (Jacoby 1955: 186-188 and Jacoby 1931/1961: 345-455); see also d'Alessio 2012: 44-45 and Bremmer 2014: 176-177).

<sup>79</sup> For Ereneia, see Muller 1982: 379-405.

<sup>80</sup> See Piccirilli 1975: 100-101.

drifted or was carried by a dolphin to the coast of Corinth where he was honored as Palaimon.<sup>81</sup> But Ino's body could not escape Megara's gravitational pull. Although she leaped far out to sea, Pausanias writes, the waves returned her to the Megarian coast, where she was found by the granddaughters of Lelex and buried not far from the prytaneion (1.42.7 = *FGrH* 487 F7).<sup>82</sup>

This episode is the source of another lugubrious Megarian proverb: 'The Sorrows of Ino'. Zenobios once again provides the fullest commentary (4.38):

Ino, the daughter of Kadmos, had two sons with Athamas: Learchos and Melikertes, and a daughter, Eurykleia. These were shot and killed by Athamas, when he went mad. And with Melikertes, Ino threw herself into the sea by the Molourian rock, and, when she was swept by the waves to Megara, the Megarians pulled her out, attended to her corpse generously, and called her Leukothea.... On account of these things, then, there is the expression 'The Sorrows (*achē*) of Ino'. For achos is grief that renders mute (*achaneis*) those who suffer hardships.<sup>83</sup>

Unlike 'Megarians' Tears', a phrase that views the Megarians as outsiders, 'Ino's sorrows' may well have had a local origin; its paremiology, at any rate, belongs comfortably to the Megarian community, touching on features of Megarian topography and cult as it does and presenting the Megarians not as vassals but as reverential hosts. Yet, like the proverb

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81 See also Paus. 2.1.3.

82 κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐς τὸ πρυτανεῖον ὁδὸν Ἰνοῦς ἐστὶν ἠρώων, περὶ δὲ αὐτὸ θριγκὸς λίθων: πεφύκασι δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἐλαΐαι. μόνοι δὲ εἰσὶν Ἑλλήνων Μεγαρεῖς οἱ λέγοντες τὸν νεκρὸν τῆς Ἰνοῦς ἐς τὰ παραθαλάσσια σφισιν ἐκπεσεῖν τῆς χώρας, Κλησῶ δὲ καὶ Ταυρόπολιν εὐρεῖν τε καὶ θάψαι – θυγατέρας δὲ αὐτὰς εἶναι Κλήσωνος τοῦ Λέλεγος –, καὶ Λευκοθέαν τε ὀνομασθῆναι παρὰ σφίσι πρῶτοις φασὶν αὐτὴν καὶ θυσίαν ἄγειν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος.

83 Ἰνοῦς ἄχη: Ἰνώ ἢ Κάδμου συνελθοῦσα Ἀθάμαντι δύο ἐγέννησε παῖδας, Λέαρχον καὶ Μελικέρτην, καὶ θυγατέρα Εὐρύκλειαν. Οὗτοι ὑπὸ Ἀθάμαντος μανέντος κατετοξεύθησαν. Μετὰ δὲ Μελικέρτου ἡ Ἰνώ ἔρριψεν ἑαυτὴν εἰς τὴν πρὸς τῷ Μολουρίῳ θάλατταν. Καὶ τὴν μὲν εἰς Μέγαρα προσβρασθεῖσαν Μεγαρεῖς ἀνελόμενοι καὶ πολυτελῶς κηδεύσαντες ἐκάλεσαν Λευκοθέαν· τὸν δὲ εἰς Κόρινθον Κορίνθιοι θάψαντες Μελικέρτην ἄγουσιν ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἀγῶνα τὰ Ἰσθμια. Διὰ δὲ ταῦτα εἴρηται Ἰνοῦς ἄχη. Ἄχος γὰρ ἢ λύπη, ἀχανεῖς ποιοῦσα τοὺς κακῶς παθόντας. Ταῦτα δὲ δηλώσει καὶ Μενεκράτης ὁ Τύριος. Menekrates the Tyrian, cited here, is otherwise unknown (*FHG* II 344 F6). This etiology comes, in fact, from a tenth-century revision of Zenobios: the so-called *Zenobios Parisinus* (Ps.-Zenobios), a text that often interpolates mythological exegesis from the *Library* (for Ps.-Zenobios, see Kenens 2014: esp. 160-163). 'Ino's Sorrows', which appears as early as Ibykos (F282b Campbell), is similarly treated in Arsen. 9.61; [Plut.] *de Prov. Alex.* 6; and *Suda* I 381.

with which we began, this one too shows the Megarians using lamentation as a means of appropriation, in this case of Ino and her anguish, behind which lie events much more at home in a history of Boiotia. Megara was not the only community that staked a claim on Ino – Pausanias mentions in his book on Messenia a place along the coastal road near Korone where Ino was said to have emerged from the sea as the divine Leukothea (4.34.4). But the Megarians managed to take permanent control of Ino through obsequies, latching on to her body before her apotheosis and binding it evermore to the Megarid.<sup>84</sup>

Graves of nonlocals do of course appear in other communities' local histories and cultural memory.<sup>85</sup> Pausanias himself records a good many such graves outside of Megara: in Athens, the tombs of Antiope (1.2.1), Deucalion (1.13.3), and Oedipus (1.28.8); in Corinth that of Medea's children (2.3.6); the grave of Penelope allegedly lay at Mantinea (8.12.6); that of Anchises on the road to Orchomenos (8.12.8). But the burial of nonlocals is a phenomenon especially connected to Megara. Of the more than seventy graves that Pausanias notes in Attica, only fourteen belong to foreigners, and these include historical personages: the Plataians who died at Marathon (1.32.3), the Kleonaians who came to Athens' assistance in 457 BCE (1.29.7), and Thessalians and Cretans who died fighting on behalf of the Athenians in 431 (1.29.6). Of the 27 graves that Pausanias places in the Megarid, on the other hand, a full half belong to nonlocals, and of the local occupants many come from the families of Alkathous and Megareus alone. Megara was well known for its tombs: in one striking epigram, Aratos even considered them as quintessential to Megara as columns were to Corinth (*AP* 12.129);<sup>86</sup> and Sulpicius Rufus may not have had only Megarian decrepitude in mind when he wrote Cicero in 45 BCE that the city was an

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84 See Nagy 1985: 79–80.

85 Lykeas wrote in his *Argolika* about Ariadne's burial at Argos (*FGrH* 312 F4); the tomb of Idmon crops up in histories of Pontic Herakleia (*FGrH* 430 F2 and 432 F15); and the Tegean Ariaitos, who wrote in his *Arkadika* about the Peloponnesian sojourn of several Trojans (*FGrH* 316 F1), seems to have located the graves of at least Aineias and Kapys in Arkadia (cf. Dionys. Hal. 1.54.1–2).

86 Ἀργεῖος Φιλοκλῆς Ἄργει καλός, αἴ τε Κορίνθου/ στήλαι καὶ Μεγαρέων ταῦτ' ἄφ' ἑσθ' ἰδὼσι τάφοι/ γέγραπται καὶ μέχρι  
λοετρῶν Ἀμφιαράου/ ὡς καλός. ἀλλ' ὀλίγον· γράμμασι λειπόμεθα./ τῶδ' οὐ γὰρ πέτραι ἐπιμάρτυρες, ἀλλὰ Ῥιηνός/  
αὐτὸς ἰδὼν, ἑτέρου δ' ἐστὶ περισσότερος.

“oppidi cadaver” (*Ad Fam.* 4.5.4).<sup>87</sup> The impression that we get from Pausanias, however, as from Dieuchidas and Teles the Cynic, is of a Megara pregnant with foreign bones.

When Megarians took it upon themselves in the late fourth and early third centuries to write about their community, they did so by recognizing that its past lay alongside, intersected with, reacted to, impinged upon other communities' pasts. This ecumenical approach to local history was not unusual so far as Greek communities of the late Classical and Hellenistic periods were concerned. What does distinguish the localism articulated by the *Megarika*, by the traditions on which these texts drew and which continued to animate the Megarian community into the age of Pausanias, was the dislocation and removal to Megara of figures from the cultural memories of other communities. These dislocations did not, however, constitute plagiarisms or “Räubereien”, as Martin Vogt once wrote, by which the Megarians sought “die Bedeutung des Heimatlandes künstlich herauszuputzen”.<sup>88</sup> As our survey has suggested, rather than megarize these transplants by postulating local origins, Megarian memory generally maintained their foreignness, preferring to bury them as Thebans, as Argives, as Sikyonians. Megara's self-avowed liminality was an influential trope, the foreignness of its graves axiomatic. This is evident in Pausanias's account – so accustomed is he to assign Megarian graves to nonlocals that he readily interpreted even bona fide Megarians as foreigners<sup>89</sup> – and elsewhere, too. According to Theokritos, in fact, Diokles, for whom the Megarians celebrated the Diokleia and whose tomb Megarian boys long venerated, was an Athenian exile (12.27–34).<sup>90</sup>

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87 post me erat Aegina, ante me Megara, dextra Piraeus, sinistra Corinthus, quae oppida quodam tempore florentissima fuerunt, nunc prostrata et diruta ante oculos iacent . . . tot oppidum cadavera.

88 Vogt 1920: 743.

89 He makes into a Samian, for example, the celebrated Megarian flautist Telephanes (1.44.6: cf. Dem. 21.17; Athen. 8.351e; and *PA* 7.159), who is called a Megarian not only by Ps.-Plutarch (*De Mus.* 1137f–1138a) but also in a fourth-century choragic inscription from Salamis (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 3093). For Telephanes' grave, see Herda 2016: 79–81.

90 The scholiast to Theokritos gives some background to the circumstances of Diokles' death and the Diokleia held in his honor (12.27–33e), as do scholiasts to Pindar (*Ol.* 7.157; 13.156a and *Pyth.* 8.112 and 9.161). Aristophanes has his Megarian interlocutor swearing ‘By Diokles!’ in the *Acharnians* (774), which suggests an early recognition of local origins of the hero. Diokles was associated with Eleusis (see the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* 153, 474, 477 and *SEG* 53.48 A.fr.3.III.71), as Plutarch tells us (*Theos.* 10), which may explain the confusion in our sources about his origin.

Nor should these memorials be understood only as attempts to foster kinship with outside communities, let alone as vestiges of an authentic cultural heritage that Megara once shared with its neighbours.<sup>91</sup> Such relationships may indeed have existed, and there were certainly occasions when the Megarians, or groups thereof, found it beneficial to retroject ties with Boiotia or with Dorian communities to the south, or when this sort of localism, which limned the Megarid as a facilitator of movement across the isthmus, would have seemed especially attractive: in the lead-up to the Peloponnesian War, to be sure, but also in the mid fourth century, when the Megarians were faced with new and shifting hegemonies to the south and north,<sup>92</sup> as well as in the decades after Chaironeia, the age of Dieuchidas, when they found themselves negotiating yet another series of alliances.

But in whichever direction the Megarian community at any one time faced, by preserving the alterity of its corpses, by dragging eminent Greeks from both sides of the isthmus, over land or from the sea, and anchoring them to Megarian earth through burial, through the monumentalization of tombs and the mechanism of remembered tears, the Megarians were able to construct a past that foregrounded their territory's vital faculty to bridge the Peloponnese and the rest of peninsular Greece, articulating a local identity that was parochial and cosmopolitan at once.

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91 See Pfister 1909: 28-29 n.80 for the contention that the Boiotian graves at Megara were indicative of Boiotian cult.

92 See Legon 1981: 298-299 and Smith (this volume).

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