Genealogy and Social History

Genealogy and Social History:

Understanding the Global Past through Family Case Studies

Edited by

Eric Martone

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This book is dedicated to my children, Domenic and Gianna,
and in memory of my grandmother, Mary Ágni Mosca.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

Finding your roots has become a major industry.[1] In recent years, genealogical websites and government agencies have made millions of valuable historical documents digitally available to the public, making access to such records easier than ever before. Genealogical research, which typically involves research into vital records, census records, and similar documents, is often performed by genealogists, archivists, or other individuals outside academia rather than professional historians, historical sociologists, anthropologists, and others. However, there is a tremendous amount of information that can be gleaned from these documents to aid academics interested in the history of local communities and social history. This edited collection presents several chapters in which scholars across the globe present historically researched and contextualized family case studies as a lens to enrich our understanding of the past.

In the first chapter, "Building Identities on Epic Genealogies: The Ancient Phocians," Thomas Alexander Husøy focuses on important characters in Phocian genealogies to establish how these contributed to the evolution of the Phocian ethnicity by fostering links to important Hellenic epics and mythical traditions. Therefore, it examines how the Phocians constructed their heroic ancestry through important heroes.

Izabella Parowicz's chapter, "Dr. Leopold Goeppner's (1766-1824) Pioneering Fight Against Smallpox," portrays Dr. Leopold Goeppner (1765-1824), district physicist of Schwiebus (Pol. *Świebodzin*), who as early as 1801 started vaccinating his patients against smallpox. His efforts are presented in the light of vaccination history and the fight of European doctors against both the virus of smallpox and resistance to vaccination.

Eric Martone's chapter, "Diversity and Mobility in Upper Hungary, 1750-1910," examines the Ágni family as a case study. The Ágni family moved from the Kassa (now Košice, Slovakia) region to the Füzér area in northeastern Hungary, eventually settling in the small village of Nyíri. Although the family remained a fixture within Nyíri for most of the period under study, the Ágni family's history suggests a fluidity of populations, as families moved from local village to village. Members of the Ágni family,

mostly peasant "dwarfholders," made frequent marriages to individuals outside their home village. Beginning in the 1890s, family members again began moving elsewhere, typically to nearby towns for employment, or in some cases, to the United States. Also, the progenitor of the family, Mihály Ágni, was Greek Catholic, and so were all (or almost all) his male descendants. However, his wife, Anna Lakatós, was Roman Catholic. This trend continued, and some of his descendants even married Protestants or descendants of Protestants. This was not unusual in this portion of remote Upper Hungary, as parish registers often featured marriages of couples of different denominations. The Ágni family's generational histories thus help illustrate Upper Hungary's ethnic diversity, religious diversity, and the movement of local peasant populations.

Parowicz's second chapter, "Forgotten Civil Officers of the January Uprising in the Prussian Partition of Poland: The Case of Konstanty Oksza-Brzeski (1813-1870)," reconstructs the biography of Konstanty Oksza-Brzeski, a Polish estate administrator imprisoned by Prussian authorities for helping his compatriots fight against Russia in the January Uprising (1863-1864). In light of his experiences, the phenomenon of cross-border solidarity between Poles living in the Prussian and the Russian partition is explained.

Meanwhile, Martone's second chapter, "Hungarians in Transcarpathia, 1800-1918," examines the Orosz family from the small village of Sislocz in Ung County, Hungary (now Ukraine) as a case study. The Orosz family's history sheds light on the ethnic complexity and diversity of the population that lived within Hungary's (and Transcarpathia's) borders. Most of the surnames in the Orosz family tree, including the surname of Orosz itself, imply Slavic origins.

In "What's in a Name? Constructing the Walker Williams Family of Mississippi and Virginia," Alisea W. McLeod focuses on the Walker-Williams family, African Americans once owned by Tidewater, Virginia planter William H. Hull. From a variety of sources, she draws an indirect relationship between the family's slave experience and a direct relationship between the family's wartime migration—emancipation—and their post-war agricultural enterprise.

Next, Luke Bagwell traces a history of Norwegian immigration to the Southeastern United States (and more specifically, Charleston, South Carolina) from the nineteenth to early twentieth centuries in "From Sokndal to Charleston: A History of Norwegian Emigration to the American

Southeast and the Preservation of Immigrant Stories." Focusing on the journey of Oscar Tonnes Holand, this chapter aims to use his experiences to demonstrate the importance of the preservation of these stories for future generations.

Over the years, the idea that history is the biography of great men as postulated by Thomas Carlyle continues to prove itself right, even as the most fundamental strand of history, as an academic discipline, harps on the trinity of man, events, and society. Upon the foregoing premise, Patrick Chukwudike Okpalaeke's chapter strictly employs the historical research method, laced with primary sourced evidence via oral tradition in accentuating the personality of the man called Okpalaeke—the progenitor of today's Okpalaeke family—in a narrative that hinges on genealogy and social history. More specifically, the chapter traces the life and time of Okpalaeke, as well as his immediate family structure. It further investigates his inter-society relations in Umuna, and subsequently traces the growth and expansion of his family. The socio-cultural, economic, and religious aspects of Okpalaeke's life are also examined. Even so, a thoroughly conducted examination of the progression of the family underscores the overarching impact of the family in the area of Umuna, located in present-day Imo State of Nigeria.

In the subsequent chapter, Andrew Peiser recounts the story of Marianne Peiser growing up in Breslau, Germany, and her harrowing experiences under the Nazi regime during the 1930s. Based upon her writings and other unpublished family archival sources, the story is placed within its historical context, making it both a biography as well as a historical narrative that uses her early life as a case study of the larger German Jewish experience.

Finally, in "The Fate of 'Non-Aryan' Chemistry Students at Rostock University in Nazi Germany: Restoring Family and Professional Biographies," the team of Gisela Boeck, Hannes Christen, and Tim Peppel give information on the legal basis and fates of so-called "Non-Aryan" Chemistry students at Rostock University in Nazi Germany. The investigation includes thorough genealogical research on three exemplarily chosen biographies to get a deeper understanding of the circumstances leading to their designation as "Non-Aryans."

Notes

[1] See: Neal Ungerleider, "Ancestors, Inc.: Inside The Remarkable Rise Of The Genealogy Industry," *Fastcompany.com*, 15 July 2015. Accessed 25 February 2021. https://www.fastcompany.com/3048513/ancestors-inc-inside-the-remarkable-rise-of-the-genealogy-industry; Daniel Cossins, "Genealogy is Big Business," *Who Do You Think You Are? Magazine*, 7 August 2009. Accessed 25 February 2021. http://www.whodoyouthinkyouaremagazine.com/blog/family-history/genealogy-big-business; Alan Farnham, "Who's Your Daddy? Genealogy Becomes $1.6B Hobby," ABC News, 24 October 2012. Accessed 25 February 2021. http://abcnews.go.com/Business/genealogy-hot-hobby-worth-16b-mormons/story?id=17544242

CHAPTER ONE

BUILDING IDENTITIES
ON LEGENDARY GENEALOGIES:
THE ANCIENT PHOCIANS[1]

THOMAS ALEXANDER HUSØY

Introduction

The field of Social History refers to the study of the lived experience of the past; as a branch of historical scholarship, it focuses on social structures and organizations in societies. For the purpose of this chapter, I will apply the definition of "lived experience" as provided in *The Blackwell Dictionary of Western Philosophy*:

> "a term for what is immediately given to individual consciousness regarding one's own thought and feeling. It can also be used for the experience which orients a person's self-conception and around which an individual organize itself. Through lived experience, the meaning of a particular life history unfolds. We can understand society as our world on the basis of our lived experience of the forces that moves society."[2]

In this chapter, I shall investigate the mythical genealogies of the Phocians, a regional ethnic group in Central Greece, near the famous sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi; hence, I will apply this definition to a whole ethnic group instead of to individuals. I aim to show how mythical stories can orient the changing self-conception of ethnic groups in Greek antiquity by emphasizing how these legends contributed to the evolution of such groups' identities and political affairs. By a regional ethnic group, I mean an identity group that functions as an ethnic group but is based within a region in a multi-levelled process of ethnicity.[3] As my focal point is on mythical genealogies, I shall analyze how these genealogical constructs function as identity builders for the Phocians. As such, this chapter focuses not necessarily on a lived experience of a real past, as much as on a lived experience of a

mythical heritage. Yet, as Johnathan Friedman points out, we can read history as a mythical construction representing the past in the light of identities in the present.[4] For the ancient Greeks, their myths of origin, genealogical connections, and mythical golden age represented a very real idea of their past and origin. It is through these myths that ethnic groups, diplomacy, and relations between the various Hellenic groups were constructed. As Robert Fowler points out, the mythical genealogies of the ancient Greeks can be read as a map to which thousands of stories and international connections between cities and regions can be observed; these provided the listeners with their supposed history and place in the world.[5] Whilst I have chosen to center my attention upon the Phocians here, the upcoming analysis is helpful for deciphering how identity correlates with genealogies and how studying these enriches our understanding of ancient Greece.

I shall analyze three genealogical case studies and interpret what they might mean for the ethnic identity of the Phocians in the Archaic and Classical periods. My approach to this undertaking is to analyze the symbolism of some famous key characters in the genealogies in question. There are two main heroic characters regarded as eponymous heroes for the Phocian regional ethnic group, namely Phocus from the island of Aegina and Phocus from the powerful city-state of Corinth. Next to these, we can observe an interesting genealogy in the account of the Latin poet Hyginus, with distinct links to the powerful northern region of Thessaly. Throughout, I shall highlight key characters in the Hellenic mythical system, which played a role in how the Phocians thought of their past, and as such, what would have been the lived experience of the Phocians during the Archaic and Classical periods.

The type of stories and genealogies I am analyzing here were used to organize the Greeks into larger identity groups such as the Hellenes, but also more localized groups like the Phocians or Athenians. In the monumental volume, *Ethnic Groups and Their Boundaries: The Social Organisation of Culture Difference,* edited by Fredrik Barth, the concept of ethnicity was applied as a method of social organization between ethnic groups.[6] And since Jonathan Hall's landmark volume *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity* in 1997, classicists and ancient historians have produced several works focusing on ethnicity and Greek antiquity.[7] Hall's definition of ethnicity highlights a shared common territory, shared history, and a myth of descent as the most important elements in constructing ethnic groups. Not all Greek genealogies served a purpose like this, but as Hall also points out, the genealogies of regional eponymous heroes were flexible and, therefore,

ideal for such a purpose.[8] Whilst I put more of an emphasis on cultural factors in my work, this article will primarily focus on the usage of genealogies in the construction of the Phocian identity. Among the principal reasons for the flexibility of these genealogies were the changing political situations of the Hellenic world.[9] I shall organize this discussion into three small case studies focusing on individual mythical characters and what they mean for the organization and international connections of the Phocians:

1. The first case study will highlight the genealogy of Corinthian Phocus and show how this genealogy provided the Phocians with their connections to the Hellenes, the important city-state of Corinth through the hero Sisyphus, before looking into the divine parent of Phocus, Poseidon. This will end with an analysis of Phocus himself and his mythical contributions in unifying the region.

2. The second case study shall look at Aeginetan Phocus, which briefly will mention his grandparents. Next, the focus will be on the mythical connection to his parents King Aeacus of Aegina and Psamathe, his famous half-brothers Peleus and Telamon, before looking at the role of Phocus and his two sons, Panopeus and Crisus, and their symbolic purpose for incorporating further territory into Phocis.

3. The final case study shall investigate the reference to heroic characters named Phocus in the Latin *Fabulae* by Hyginus, focusing primarily on the genealogical connections to the mythical heroes Elatus and Caeneus. Unlike the two other mythical characters called Phocus mentioned above, I shall not try to date the origin of his story; however, it is not impossible that these characters, too, might show a cultural memory dating back to the Archaic or Classical period of Ancient Greek history.

These mythical genealogies are connected to a myth of descent, which we can use to decipher the origin of ethnic groups, both in antiquity and the modern world. The historical-sociologist Anthony Smith outlines two types of myth of descent in his concept of ethnosymbolism:

1. The genealogical myth highlights an unbroken lineage from a heroic, noble, or divine ancestor for the community. It is important to emphasize that to be the eponym of a Greek regional ethnic group, the hero was often thought to be descended from a divine parent.[10]

2. Ideological-cultural myth, a "spiritual kinship" with the ancestors, or a relationship proclaimed in "ideals believed to be derived from ancient examples in remote periods".[11]

The principal focus in this chapter will be on genealogical myths and the mythical families and characters with which the Phocians as a group claimed to be connected to through their supposed ancestors. I should highlight here that many of the Phocian communities did not claim to be descended from any character named Phocus but rather considered them ancient characters who came to Phocis and became kings of the region.[12] Therefore, the story also suggests an ideological-cultural element of the Phocian genealogical origin. Since I am examining mythical family trees, I shall put the primary focus on the first of these, genealogical myths, before coming back to the ideological-cultural construct in my concluding remarks. Hence, this study will highlight how reading the genealogies of ancient Greece can contribute to enriching our understanding of ancient history. The male characters take priority in these heroic lineages because the women are infrequently mentioned; however, we should view female characters as equally crucial in Hellenic genealogies. As Fowler puts it, the functions of the female characters are as the glue applied to the male heroic building blocks to construct a genealogy.[13] Thus regarding the female characters as crucial for understanding this process, I shall include them where possible, such as Psamathe in the lineage of Aeginetan Phocis.

The family of Corinthian Phocus

In the second century CE, the travel writer Pausanias visited Phocis on his travels through Greece, where he collected local histories either transmitted through earlier writers or as oral storytelling.[14] He starts his account of Phocis thus:

> γῆς δὲ τῆς Φωκίδος, ὅσον μὲν περὶ Τιθορέαν καὶ Δελφούς ἐστιν αὐτῆς, ἐκ παλαιοτάτου φανερὰ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο εἰληφυῖά ἐστιν ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς Κορινθίου Φώκου τοῦ Ὀρνυτίωνος.

> The land of Phocis, as much as around Tithorea and Delphi, took its name from a man Phocus of Corinth, the son of Ornytion, in very ancient times.[15]

Earlier in his work, Pausanias reveals that Ornytion is the son of the more famous heroic character Sisyphus, son of Aeolus, and the king of the powerful city-state Corinth.[16] Pausanias wrote long after the Phocians had been incorporated into the Roman world, yet the story reveals a much older tale, perhaps dating back to the time between the eighth and the sixth century BCE.
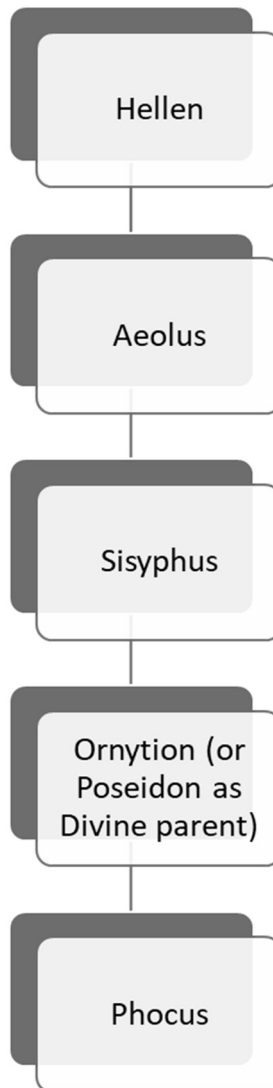
Figure 1: Genealogy of Corinthian Phocus

One of the principal functions of mythical family systems in Hellenic mythology is to construct links between regions and thus create a social construct between the ethnic groups living in said regions. As a son of

Aeolus, Sisyphus provides a connection between Phocis and the northern region of Thessaly and Corinth to the south of Phocis. The Thessalian link went through Aeolus, the mythical son of Hellen.[17] Thessaly was an influential region in northern Greece in the seventh and sixth centuries, which came to dominate Central Greece following the so-called First Sacred War in the early sixth century.[18] We should see the true importance of this level of the genealogical tree for the Phocians as the connection to the Hellenes through the Aeolians (the descendants of Aeolus) in a direct line. The lived experience for the Archaic and Classical Phocians represented by this level is the ability to associate themselves with the Hellenes as Aeolians. The connection to Aeolus allowed the Phocian conception of themselves to become a part of the wider Hellenic community. As a group, the Aeolians were one of the most well-known groups within the Hellenic world, alongside the Dorians and Ionians. The period when they seemed to have been the most significant in ancestor myths and historical development seems to have been the Archaic period of Greek history (eighth to the early fifth century), as seen in their prominence in the genealogical poem *Catalogue of Women* dating to the early sixth century.[19]

The next crucial character of this genealogy is the famous hero Sisyphus, who is among the oldest and most famous of the Greek heroic characters.[20] Sisyphus is perhaps best known for his punishment in Tartarus, where he is sentenced to push a boulder up a hill, but every time he reaches the top, the boulder rolls back down.[21] He received this punishment because of his trickery, which allowed him to cheat death twice:[22]

- The first time occurred when Sisyphus witnessed Zeus kidnap the nymph Aegina and provided this information to her father, the river-god Asopus, in exchange for a spring on top of the Acrocorinth, the acropolis of the Corinthians.[23] In his revenge, Zeus commanded the Greek god of death, Thanatos, to seize Sisyphus; however, Sisyphus tricked Thanatos, chaining him up instead, leading to a situation where no one was able to die until the war god Ares freed Thanatos.[24] After this, Thanatos took Sisyphus to the underworld.
- Here, Sisyphus once more cheats death by asking his wife not to perform his funeral rites. He then pleaded with Persephone to permit him to return to ensure that the funeral rites were done correctly. Sisyphus remained in Corinth, breaking his promise to return to the underworld, instead he lived to old age.[25]

A connection to the heroic character of Sisyphus provides an ancestral link to a cunning trickster who outsmarted the gods by cheating death. Zeus'

punishment of Sisyphus is meant to warn humans not to attempt to outmaneuver the gods; yet, for the Corinthians, he represents an ancient king and a crucial part of the myth history of their *polis.* For the Phocians, however, the importance of Sisyphus is twofold; first, as pointed out above, Sisyphus' grandfather was Hellen, providing the Phocians with a direct link to the larger Hellenic identity. As a lived experience of the past, through Sisyphus, we observe a heroic character that enabled the Phocians to associate themselves with the city of Corinth.[26] It is this connection that is important for the self-conception of the Phocian ethnic group as it provided a bond between the leading city just south of the Corinthian Gulf and the Phocians on the north coast.

Mythical genealogical connections like these often develop due to contact between regions. The connection between Sisyphus and Phocis may have developed because of Corinthian activity around Delphi in the eighth and seventh century.[27] A method of ethnic renewal or construction is to create connections to the same or a related group, often one that is more advanced or powerful; Corinth was the leading city-state in the Corinthian Gulf, and archaeological evidence suggests that Corinth had a strong influence on the coast of Phocis.[28] Therefore, from the perspective of ethnic renewal, we can suggest that this would have impacted the Phocians and their identity already in the Archaic period.

In the passage quoted above, Pausanias lists Sisyphus' son Ornytion as the father of Phocus. As we have seen, this branch of the family tree provided undeniable connections to Thessaly and the powerful city of Corinth. Yet, to be an eponymous hero of a regional ethnic group Phocus needed divine heritage. Again, we find this heritage in Pausanias' account, as he mentions the sea-god Poseidon as the father of Phocus.[29] As a god, Poseidon was one of the chief deities of the Corinthians. Poseidon was the lord of the sea. Corinth and Phocis were located across the Corinthian Gulf from one another; perhaps we can see the lord of the sea as the father of Phocus as a representation of the maritime connections between the two.[30] Another important aspect of this level is the separation of the Phocians from the Aeolian line of Thessaly. In the sixth century, the Thessalians became the chief enemies of the Phocians. Their hatred was well known, and Herodotus informs us that the only reason for the Phocians to fight on the Hellenic side during the Persian Wars was the Thessalian choice to fight on the side of the Persians.[31] The organizational importance of a connection to Poseidon emphasizes two factors: first, a genealogical connection to the gods, and second, a separation between the Phocians away from their arch-rivals in Thessaly.

The last level of this genealogy I shall discuss here is that of Ornytion and Phocus himself and what they meant for the territorial organization of Phocis. According to the story, the communities of Hyampolis and Tithorea were fighting a war against the nearby Opuntian Locrians, and the Corinthians Ornytion and Phocus travelled to Phocis to aid them.[32] Pausanias' account suggests that only the territories around Tithorea and Mount Parnassus became Phocis when the myth of Corinthian Phocus arrived in the region in the eighth and seventh century. The story goes that Phocus first arrived in Delphi, one of the most important Panhellenic sanctuaries, before travelling from here to Tithorea and Hyampolis to help in the conflict against the Locrians. As Jeremy McInerney observes, when these communities adopted Phocus as their eponymous hero, it was not as the founder of the Phocian ethnic group but as a common hero of these communities.[33] Yet, as the common hero who aided them in conquering the Locrian community of Daphnous, Phocus became the eponym of a regional ethnic group northeast of Mount Parnassus, based around Tithorea and Hyampolis. In addition, it is possible that some communities along the Corinthian Gulf adopted Phocus as well, for we can see Corinthian influences in places like Medeon and Crisa.[34] The stories also show the development of the mythical connections to Corinthian Phocus developing further up the Cephessius Valley, as the community of Drymaia claimed to have once been called Nauboleis. In the account of Pausanias, the eponymous hero of the Nauboleis was Naubolos, whom Pausanias calls a son of Aeginetan Phocus.[35] Yet, it is likely that he was originally the brother of Corinthian Phocus, as this fits better with the geopolitical development of the Archaic period.[36] In the Hellenistic epic poem, *Argonautica* by Apollonius of Rhodes, Naubolos was mentioned as a son of Ornytion, which makes him a brother of Phocus.[37] In the generations of Ornytion, Phocus, and Naubolos, we see a clear connection to communities in the Cephessius Valley and some coastal communities. The lived experience in this can then be observed in the relationships with Thessaly and Corinth for a portion of Phocis; however, the communities of eastern and possibly southwestern Phocis remained outside. Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier speculates that perhaps the powerful city of Orchomenos in the neighboring region Boeotia once controlled eastern Phocis.[38] We can therefore suggest that the order of the two eponymous heroes mentioned by Pausanias fits with the myth-historical development in Phocis.

Ancient texts like the *Iliad* and the *Argonautica* provide the names of other heroic characters that relate to the genealogy of Corinthian Phocus.[39] Yet, I will here change my attention from the genealogy of Corinthian Phocus to that of Phocus from Aegina, the second eponymous hero of the region.

The Family of Aeginetan Phocus

In some ways, the stories of Aeginetan Phocus and Corinthian Phocus are entwined, as the grandfather of Corinthian Phocus, Sisyphus, witnessed Zeus kidnap Aegina, daughter of Asopus. In this analysis, I shall start with the main myths of King Aeacus of Aegina, the son of Aegina and Zeus. Whilst the myth of Corinthian Phocus has a more local character, the myth of Aeginetan Phocus had a Panhellenic reach, and we can connect it to several regions. Following this, I shall change the emphasis to Phocus and his half-brothers Telamon and Peleus, before finishing this section by examining the sons of Aeginetan Phocus, Crisus and Panopeus, as mythical representations of the expansion of the ethnic group. As Smith observes, ethnic groups often construct a link to a Golden Age.[40] For Hellenic groups, this golden age is usually found in important mythical traditions such as the Trojan War, the journey of the Argonauts, and other events of the heroic age. Yet, none of the Phocian characters plays important roles in these events; hence, it would have been important to make these connections through genealogical links to other significant heroes.[41] The sources also reveal an attempt at unifying the Corinthian and Aeginetan lineage for the Phocians, as we can observe a story of Aeginetan Phocus marrying Asterodea in the Archaic poem *Catalogue of Women*, a daughter of Sisyphus' brother Deion. This brother is an early king of Phocis in later accounts such as that of Pseudo-Apollodorus.[42]
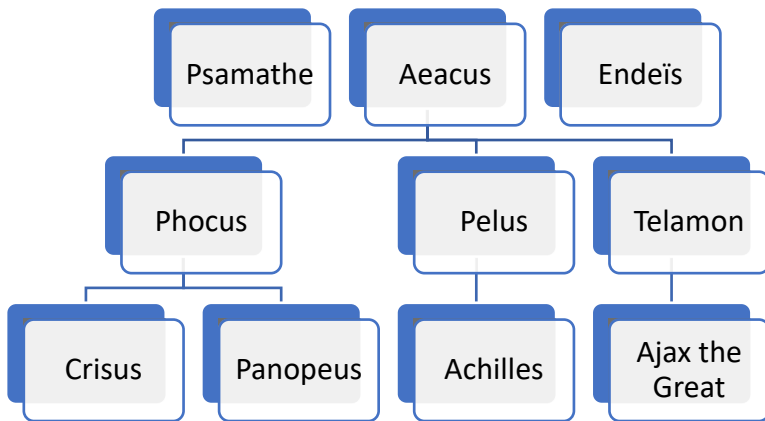

Figure 2: Genealogy of Aeacus and his descendants

Aeacus was the father of Phocus and an important character in Panhellenic myths. Whilst Sisyphus was being punished in the underworld by pushing

the boulder up the hill, Aeacus had a more honorable afterlife. Together with the Cretan characters Minos and Rhadamanthus, Aeacus served as one of the judges of the underworld.[43] Aeacus himself was the son of the nymph Aegina and Zeus, and as such, he had a fully divine heritage. His sense of justice and piety was famous among the Greeks, as both gods and mortals alike would summon him for judgement on their disputes.[44] A genealogical connection to Aeacus constructed a mythical link to one of the most just and pious characters in Greek mythology, as a contrast to the links to the cunning trickster Sisyphus. In addition, it also constructed a kinship bond with the island of Aegina and the neighboring region of Boeotia.[45]

We can observe an interesting narrative about Aeacus' life in the account of the Theban poet Pindar, who provides us with a story of Aeacus building the walls of Troy with the Olympians Poseidon and Apollo.[46] Whilst the Phocian characters played a minor role in the Trojan War narrative themselves, they could claim a connection to the narrative of Troy through Aeacus. In this poem, Pindar mentions a story about three serpents attacking the new walls of Troy, with two of them dying and the third leaping away crying.[47] He further suggests that the god Apollo interpreted the serpents as an omen that the first and third generation after Aeacus would destroy the city of Troy.[48] Stories of prophecies and omens like these are sometimes later creations to explain events in fantastic manners. They become a part of the ethnic and mythical narrative of ethnic groups.[49] The first generation mentioned in this prophecy refers to Telamon, who attacked Troy with Heracles.[50] The second generation is represented by Achilles and Ajax the Great, who fell outside the city walls; the third generation is included as Achilles' son played a crucial role in the sack of Troy, and Epeios, grandson of Phocus, built the Trojan Horse.[51] The Phocians appear in the *Catalogue of Ships*. Yet, none of their leaders is distinguished in the narrative, though, Epeios, whilst a descendant of Aeginetan Phocus is never mentioned as a Phocian leader in the war. Still, the Phocians were genealogically connected to some of the most important characters in the *Iliad* and the history of Troy.[52]

Aeginetan Phocus himself was the son of Aeacus and the daughter of the sea god Nereus, Psamathe.[53] The two famous heroes mentioned above, Peleus and Telamon, were the half-brothers of Phocus, who murdered him out of jealousy.[54] The first important thing here is the link between Aeginetan Phocus and his mother Psamathe, a Nereid nymph associated with sandy beaches. The late source Pseudo-Apollodorus presents the story as Psamathe attempting to flee the embrace of Aeacus by turning herself into a seal, and it was as a seal that she conceived Phocus.[55] Again, we see

a mythical tale connecting the Phocians to the sea. McInerney highlights that the name Phocus in the ancient Greek language connects the Phocians to the maritime, as the feminine form of his name translates to seal (phokē).[56] He further implies that the quarrel between the sons of Aeacus represent the conflict between land and sea, as Phocus and his mother Psamathe were connected to the sea whilst his brothers were associated with the land.[57]

As mentioned above, Phocus' half-brothers jealously murdered him, leaving the righteous Aeacus no option but to send them into exile; Telamon then went to the island of Salamis, whilst Peleus set off to the region of Phthia in Thessaly, north of Phocis.[58] Yet, the most important aspect of the Phocian link to these heroes is the genealogical link to mythical characters associated with important mythical narratives such as the Argonauts journey to Colchis to recover the Golden Fleece. Above I mentioned the hatred between the Phocians and Thessalians as recorded by Herodotus. We can also observe this animosity in this genealogy, which provides a story where the killer of the eponymous hero of Phocis, Peleus, settled in the territory of their principal rival in Thessalian Phthia.[59] The relationship with Peleus also represents the organization of the border between Phocis and the neighboring region of Locris through a myth found in the late account of Antoninus Liberalis.[60]

The last characters I shall discuss in this section are the sons of Phocus: Crisus and Panopeus, and their symbolic meaning for the political organization of Phocis. As seen in the discussion on Corinthian Phocus, the German archaeologist Niemeier suggests that the nearby city of Orchomenos, in the region of Boeotia, controlled eastern Phocis.[61] In the later account of Pausanias, we find a genealogical connection that provides a link between eastern Phocis and the city of Orchomenos. Here, the mythical character Phlegyas, eponym of the mythical Phlegyans, ascended to the Orchomenian throne and from here ravaged central Greece, as far as the important sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi.[62] We see the Phlegyans attested in this region as early as the sixth century, as they are mentioned in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* as a group residing near Orchomenos.[63] In the discussion of Corinthian Phocus, we saw how this hero and his brother Naubolos became associated with Tithorea, Hyampolis, Drymaia, and other locations in Phocis. A similar role can be deciphered for the sons of Aeginetan Phocus. The first son, Panopeus, represents the incorporation of a city of the same name into the territory of the Phocians. The other son Crisus served a similar role and symbolized the incorporation of the territories around Crisa, presumably at this time held by a group called the

Cragalidai.[64] We can suggest the function of the heroic characters of Panopeus and Crisus to be a genealogical explanation of the incorporation of southwestern and eastern Phocis.[65] Such a development in the mythical narrative may have been a process that began following the First Sacred War in the early sixth century and finished by the end of that century.[66] The southwestern part of Phocis remained outside of the regional ethnic community. We observe this in the genealogical poem *Catalogue of Women,* which mentions that Panopeus and Crisus were rivals even before they were born.[67] The social organization of these characters represents the split between southwestern and the rest of Phocis throughout most of antiquity. By applying the concept of "lived experience" to these characters, we can suggest that the brothers represent a self-conception of the southwestern and eastern parts of Phocis, which made them Phocian by ethnic identity.[68] Furthermore, the rivalry between the brothers as mentioned in the *Catalogue of Women,* can be seen as a mythical representation of the ethnic conception of the rivalry between southwestern Phocis and the rest of the region.[69]
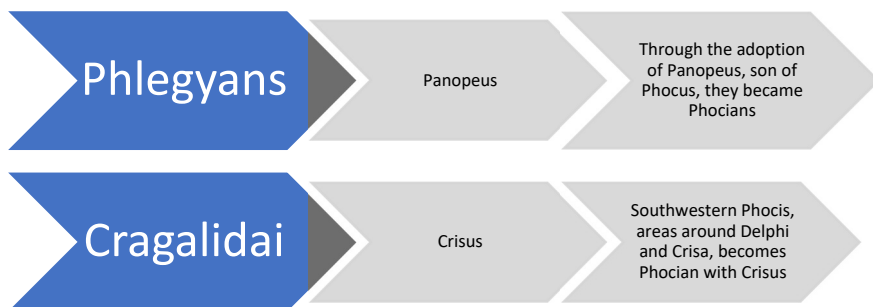

Figure 3: Simple illustration of the changing identities of eastern and southwestern Phocis – also, see reference in note 65.
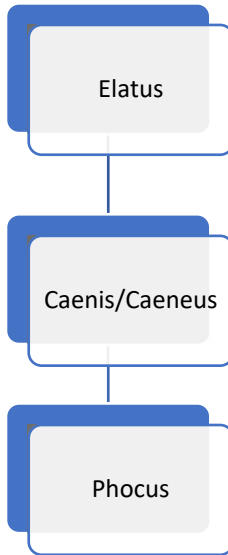
Phocian genealogies in Hyginus' *Fabulae*

Figure 4: Genealogy of Phocus in Hyginus' *Fabulae* 14.4

The last part of this study shall investigate the mention of a possible Phocian eponym in the *Fabulae* by the Latin poet Hyginus. In his work, Hyginus reports two distinct characters named Phocus: one soldier in the Trojan War and one Argonaut. The first is most likely a confusion in the translation from Greek to Latin, as Hyginus suggests that this character was a builder.[70] In earlier Greek texts, we have another Phocian hero, Epeios, as the master builder who built the Trojan Horse; hence, it is possible that the hero Phocus son of Danaus in the *Fabulae*, really represents Epeios. Hyginus as an author has been criticized for translational errors in his work, which can be deciphered with a close analysis of the *Fabulae*.[71] Yet, as Kristopher Fletcher points out, we can decipher translation errors even in the works of prominent Latin writers like Cicero and Vergil.[72] Therefore, a mistake like making Epeios the builder, Phocus should not defer us from consulting more reliable parts of Hyginus' work. The second hero named Phocus by Hyginus is of interest for my purpose. Hyginus lists this character together with Priasus as the sons of Caeneus, Argonauts from Magnesia in Thessaly.[73] There are three relevant levels: the grandfather Elatus, his child Caeneus,[74] and Phocus himself as the possible eponym. Though we have few details about this Phocus, his ancestry with Elatus and Caeneus remains significant.
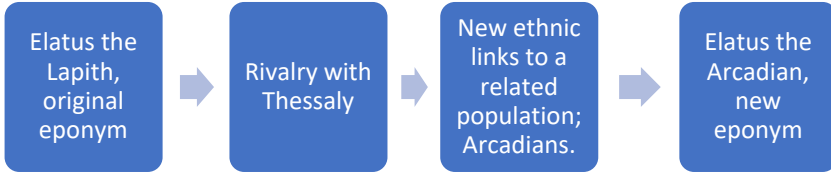
Figure 5: Possible change of eponym with reasons.

Several mythical characters have the name Elatus in Greek mythology. In the context of Phocis, there are particularly two we need to keep in mind, that being, Elatus the Lapith and Elatus the Arcadian. These are important as the largest settlement in Phocis was the city-state Elateia, which became the center of the Phocian federal state in the Hellenistic period.[75] The traditional story talks of Elatus the Arcadian arriving in Phocis to aid the Phocians in their war against the Phlegyans, in Panopeus, before he became the king of Elateia, and the city took its name from him.[76] Yet, a link to the Peloponnesian region of Arcadia does not necessarily make sense before the fifth century. Instead, a link to the Lapiths, a group mythically associated with Thessaly, makes more sense as Thessaly had a strong influence in this part of Central Greece during the Archaic period. Therefore, perhaps, we can read this genealogy as a memory of the Thessalian position in Phocis in the sixth century.[77] Elatus the Lapith's direct link to the Thessalians is the most important aspect of this genealogy for the current purpose. Another key element can be observed with Elatus being the eponym of Elateia and positioned higher than the regional eponym Phocus in this genealogy. From an ethnosymbolic point of view, we can suggest that this hints at the importance of Elateia as the largest settlement in the region. Yet as the relationship with the Thessalians declined throughout the sixth century, a new link may have been needed. Ethnosymbolic links can be constructed by borrowing myths and symbols from the same or related populations, which for the Phocians included other Hellenic regional ethnic groups.[78] In this context, the more traditional story of a link to Elatus the Arcadian fit in as another heroic character that could take the role as an eponym of Elateia. A possible date for this story may be the fifth century, through an inscription set up at Delphi, sometimes attributed to the Elateans.[79] It is then possible

to observe a story of changing eponyms for a community in Phocis in these genealogies. Elatus the Lapith as a character is attested in Archaic sources, and whilst impossible to say with certainty, may have influenced affairs in Central Greece.[80] As the rivalry between Phocis and Thessaly grew, the Phocians in Elateia may then have developed a connection to Arcadia to separate themselves from their northern adversaries.

The final mythical character in this version of the genealogy that is of interest here is Caeneus, originally Caenis, daughter of Elatus. According to the *Catalogue of Women*, after an affair with Poseidon, the sea god offered her a wish, and Caenis requested to be transformed into a man and made invulnerable.[81] According to the sixth century BCE historian Acusilaus from Argos, the transformation of Caeneus occurred so that she could not carry children, either of divine or mortal provenance.[82] Poseidon granted this, transforming Caenis into Caeneus. Yet, according to Hyginus, Caeneus had two children who took part in the Argonautic expedition, one of which was Phocus, who does not appear in any other ancient lists over Argonauts.[83] As a heroic character, Caeneus was perhaps most famous for the war against the Centaurs,[84] which was brought on by his arrogance; due to his invulnerability, he demanded that people treat him as a god, facing the wrath of the king of the Olympians, Zeus. As we see in the account of Acusilaus, it was because of Caeneus' arrogance that Zeus stirred the Centaurs against him, resulting in a fateful end in which he was buried alive.[85] From an ethnosymbolic perspective, a connection to Caeneus provided a link to Thessalian myths, particularly the Lapiths and the Centaurs. We see the lived experience of such a connection as the experience of Thessalian influence in Phocis, particularly in the city-state of Elateia. As times changed and the relationship with Thessaly declined. Elatus the Arcadian took the place of the Lapith, and the cultural memory of Elatus the Lapith faded into obscurity and may no longer have featured as a part of the Phocian ethnic self-conception. Yet, I must emphasize that Hyginus was a Roman writer known to have made some translational errors from Greek to Latin.[86] In this paper, I have chosen to include this genealogy as it is an intriguing story that shows a potential connection to Thessaly, which, if accepted, fits into the political situations of earlier periods. The genealogy of Elatus and Caeneus is already attested in Archaic sources, and it is conceivable that the Phocian connection existed from this time.

Concluding Remarks

Throughout this article, I have focused on how mythical narratives and genealogies can enrich our understanding of identities in Ancient Greece by examining key characters in various Phocian genealogies. I specifically chose the region of Phocis as an example, as the genealogical stories of Phocis are intriguing and connect to several of the most important heroic characters from the Greek heroic age. As Friedman suggests, we can see history as a mythical construction relating to identities in the present.[87] Mythical genealogies represent this for the ancient Greeks; therefore, the genealogical connections represent how they thought of their past, international connections, and ethnic identities. These mythical genealogies represent the narrative of the self and the power of ethnic groups in Greek antiquity,[88] as well as ancient Greek political and social organization.

In my introduction, I mentioned Smith's two types of myth of descent: genealogical and ideological-cultural myths. Both types of origin myths can be observed within Phocis in antiquity. The mythical families discussed above clearly fit into the genealogical system. To the Phocians, these characters migrated into the region. Though they were not considered to be the direct ancestors of the people of Phocis, they were connected through the actions of the mythical characters named Phocus. In these stories, we can also call these Phocian myths ideological-cultural myths of descent, as they function as ideas of connections to other regional groups like the Aeginetans, Corinthians, and Thessalians, and represents a spiritual kinship. From a cultural and ideological aspect, we have also observed how these myths provide links to important mythical characters such as the cunning Sisyphus, just Aeacus, or the Argonautic heroes Telamon and Peleus. By studying heroic and divine genealogies in ancient Greece, we can enrich our understanding of the social organization of ethnic groups, myths of origin, and interconnections between regional groups in the Archaic and Classical periods of Greek history. Furthermore, we observe how these characters may represent the lived experience of kinship with other regions, as links can be seen between Sisyphus and Corinth, Elatus and Thessaly, and Aeacus to Aegina. The lived experience here shows how the Phocians were considered to be connected to other regional identity groups, represented in the symbolic meaning of their mythical ancestors. An analysis of the genealogies of the Phocians allows us to understand their society and its changes throughout antiquity. Similar techniques can be utilized to understand other parts of ancient Greece through applying concepts such as the lived experience and ethnosymbolism to the ethnic groups of ancient Greece.

Notes

[1] This chapter represents a piece of my PhD research at Swansea University, which investigates the correlation between levels of identity and federalism in Ancient Greece. I am grateful to my supervisor Maria Pretzler for reading early drafts of this chapter, as well as my partner for motivating me to write this piece and for useful comments in the process of writing this work. Furthermore, I am thankful to the editor of this volume, Eric Martone, for accepting my paper. Finally, some of the ideas in this paper were presented during the online seminar series *Classical Mondays at the Sun* in April 2020, and ideas presented in this article have been enhanced by the useful comments and questions arising from this presentation. Ancient texts used are those found in the Loeb Classical Library, with fragments taken from *Brill's New Jacoby* (*BNJ*); the text cited by Hyginus is from www.topostext.com. I claim any potential mistakes to be my own.

[2] N. Bunnin and J. Yu, *The Blackwell Dictionary of Western Philosophy* (Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 391. The term was applied by the German philosopher Wilhelm Dilthey. As a definition for a larger group rather than the individual it may read as "a term for what is immediately given to group consciousness regarding the group's own thoughts and feelings. It can also be used for the experience which orients an ethnic group's self-conception and around which the members of the group organise itself. Through lived experience, the meaning of the history of the group unfolds. We can understand society as our world based on our lived experience of the forces that moves society."

[3] For a suggestion for a process like this see K. Vlassopoulos who lists four stages in this process: kinship (trans-regional), Hellenic (historic), territorial (regional), community (city). See K. Vlassopoulos, "Ethnicity and the Greek Historian: Re-Thinking our Assumptions," *Bulletin of the Institute for Classical Studies* 58, 2 (2015), 1-13 (12).

[4] J. Friedman, "Myth, History, and Political Identity," *Cultural Anthropology* 7, 2 (1992) 194-210 (195).

[5] R. Fowler, "Genealogical Thinking: Hesiod's *Catalogue* and the Creation of the Hellens," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society,* 44 (1998), 1-19 (1).

[6] F. Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organisation of Culture Difference* (Oslo, Norway: Universitetsforlaget, 1969).

[7] J. Hall, *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1997); for a list of publications focusing on ethnicity in ancient Greece after Hall's *Ethnic Identity* see Vlassopoulos, "Ethnicity and the Greek Historian," 2, n. 9.

[8] J. Hall, *Hellenicity: Between Ethnicity and Culture* (London, UK: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 25-29; Hall is here using the Hellenic genealogy as an example. For his definition of ethnicity see Hall *Ethnic Identity* 32-33.

[9] As E. Franchi asserts, "genealogies can also reveal so much about the interstate (interethnic) relations because of their well-known malleability; they constantly need to adapt to new situations." See E. Franchi, "Genealogies and Violence. Central Greece in the Making" in *The Dancing Floor of Ares: Local Conflict and Regional*

Violence in Central Greece, eds. H. Beck and F. Marchand (Ancient History Bulletin Online Supplement Series, 2020), 138-167 (139).

[10] As P. Van den Berghe observes, the most common type of myth of origin are those which can be traced back to divine links. Similar logic can be applied to ethnic groups in Greek antiquity, as these groups often can be tied to heroic and divine ancestry. See P. Van den Berghe, *The Ethnic Phenomenon* (London, UK: Greenwood Press, 1981), 15-16.

[11] A. Smith, *Myths and Memories of the Nation* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1999), 57-58, 70-71. Also, see Hall, *Hellenicity,* 15, who prefers to refer to Smith's "genealogical myth" as "synecdochical" to emphasize a direct lineage between ancestors. He also suggests that ancient Greek genealogies were "metaphorical" genealogies as a direct lineage is not "explicitly professed." Here, I shall apply Smith's terminology.

[12] We observe this as their stories mention that they arrived in Phocis to interfere in international warfare, and through the many strong local identities in Phocis, not claiming a connection to the eponymous hero. For more details, see J. McInerney, *The Folds of Parnassos: Land and Ethnicity in Ancient Phokis* (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1999), 127-134. J. McInerney also maintains that "they became Phocian by ascription" in J. McInerney, "Phokis" in *Federalism in Greek Antiquity,* eds. H. Beck and P. Funke (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 199-221 (204-205).

[13] Fowler, "Genealogical Thinking," 5-6: "The point about maternal filiation within a patrilineal system provides a particularly good signpost on the map, for it tells us to look out for the ways in which patrilineal groups have been grafted on to others by means of women; the women will be situated at the fracture-points." For the definition used for fracture points, see Hall, *Ethnic Identity,* 1997, 41-42.

[14] For oral storytelling and Pausanias' method see M. Pretzler, "Pausanias and Oral Tradition," *The Classical Quarterly* 55,1 (2005), 235-249.

[15] Pausanias 10.1.1.

[16] Pausanias 2.4.3.

[17] Aeolus, son of Hellen; *Catalogue of Women* frag 5 (Most), Pseudo-Apollodorus 1.7.3.

[18] Detailed discussion on this conflict exceeds the confines of this article; however, for a list of scholarship on the Greek sacred wars, see E. Franchi, "The Ambivalent Legacy of the Crisaens: Athens' Interstate Relations (and the Phocian Factor in 4th Century Public Discourse," *Klio,* 102, 2 (2020), 509-545 (510 n 1).

[19] As Fowler points out, the Aeolians are more prominent than other groups in this poem but would never be so again, for the group's significance significantly declined during the fifth century; further, they survive in the mythography but disappear from historical writings. See Fowler, "Genealogical Thinking," 9. Aston points out that Thessaly may have been one of the early places to produce ancient epics, and in note 23, she mentions the *Catalogue of Women* specifically. See Aston "Centaurs and Lapiths in the Landscape of Thessaly" in *Myths on the Map: The Stories Landscape of Ancient Greece*, ed. G. Hawes (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2017), 83-105 (93-94, 105). For the possibility of early Greek epics, see M. West, "The Rise of Greek Epic," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 108 (1988), 151-172.