

Wolf-warriors, the Argonauts, and the foundation of Trebizond*

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Abstract

Trebizond (Greek Trapezus, Turkish Trabzon) is situated on the coast of the Black Sea, opposite to the actual Russian seaside resort Sochi, in the historical Pontic region or North East Anatolia (now Turkey). This paper tries to contribute to the tradition about the foundation of this city assuming a late Indo-European heritage feature playing a role as well as a deeper connection with Trebizond's presumable second mother-city in Arcadia on the Peloponnesus. Passages incorporated containing some names and facts thought to be important are added.

Keywords: Indo-European (IE), Trapezus (Trebizond), wolfing, wolf-warriors, the Argonauts, foundations

* This is the full version of a paper read during the 1st International Conference on *The Interchange of Civilizations in the Mediterranean Area* held on 29 April-1 May, 2010, in Pusan, Korea. I express my gratitude to the anonymous Readers whose remarks contributed to improving the paper. Responsibility for any remaining deficiency is mine.

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1. Pontos

The Pontic region was one of the sceneries of a spectacular expedition led by Iason (Jason) in which several renowned heroes also participated. Chronologically, this must have been the time of the last or the last but one generation of heroes before the Trojan War. History and myth are intertwined, nevertheless the Trojan War (better: clashes) was a historical reality: it may be put approximately into the first decades of the 12th c. B.C.¹⁾ The Pontic region was, much later, also the scenery, and Trebizond itself a stage, of the March of the Ten Thousand in 402/401 B.C. as described by Xenophon.

2. The Argonauts

Argonauts was the name of the crew of the famous ship Argo the reputation of which survived in myth and in later literary tradition. As Adrados, an eminent Hellenist put it (2005: 62; cf. Adrados 1998), the founding of the Greek colonies marked the culminations of resumption of the travels of exploration and commerce. What Adrados wants to underline is the Greek colonizing mechanism expanding both towards the West and the East, an endeavour which evidently must have been preceded by explorations. Mycenaean settlements, e.g., could be located in early Latium in Italy. In *Pontus*, Asia and the West, the Greeks had followed in the footsteps of the Mycenaean and the exploration myths of the *Argonauts*, of Heracles and Odysseus. The *Odyssey* described the navigations of Odysseus in the Western Mediterranean, linking the Mycenaean navigations and those of the eighth c., i.e. Homer's epoch.²⁾

- 1) On the historicity of this event see what C.W. Blegen, one of the excavators of Troy, writes (Blegen 1975). He identifies layer VIIa with Priam's Troy and remarks that archaeological research shows that such an event took place around 1250 B.C. (p. 163). This does not exclude several other clashes the archaeological evidence for which belong to other layers of the Trojan site.
- 2) One should not forget that the *Odyssey*, like the *Iliad*, is a literary product uniting different chronological and cultural layers, and containing also ideology. Their aim was to provide basic knowledge and guide-lines for the educated people of the classical epoch, well down to Roman times. Among the various topics of the *Odyssey*,

The Argonauts were led - as myth says - by Iason to Kolchis in order to get the Golden Fleece.³⁾ According to various sources the crew consisted of about 60 persons, and 28 of the names are common to all sources. Among them was e.g. Herakles (Hercules) who, in any case did not remain with them during the whole expedition, Lynkeus the Spy⁴⁾, and Argos who had constructed their vessel, the Argo (Geisau 1979: 537). The main source is the long poem *The Argonautica* (ΑΡΓΟΝΑΥΤΙΚΑ) composed by Apollonius Rhodius (3rd c. B.C.),⁵⁾ and there is a number of secondary sources. The story, the details of the expedition and the return of the crew give the impression that this was a reconnaissance mission followed, at least in the Black Sea region, by a founding activity.⁶⁾ In the mission I would like to see a late

also Mediterranean sailor-tales and folklore motives were united. Some stories, as it has been remarked, originated even in an early Argonaut epic (for details, see e.g. A. Lesky, *DtP* 2, 1979: 1201-1208, H.V. Geisau, *ib.* 1979: 238-243).

- 3) What this exactly was is subject to discussion. A fleece is the coat of wool that covers a sheep or a similar animal. There might have been a motive of ancient "gold fever" as some scholars assume.
- 4) Scholars accept that the name is connected to "lynx" (cf. Greek λύγξ), an animal with an especially sharp sight. The etymological dictionaries (GEW, DELG, Beekes 2010) give the basic information. Other useful details are provided by Nordheider (1989), Lockwood (1995), Adams - Mallory (1997), and Heidermanns (2001). I would agree with the latter arguing that the figurative usage is based on the fact that the animal has extra-sharp eyes, and not on another fact, viz. that the animal's eyes are shining during the night. "Luchsauge" is proverbial in German, and Adams and Mallory share the same view, and also cite the corresponding English phrase "lynx-eyed" with reference to the sharp eyesight. There is no disagreement among the scholars reducing Greek "lynx" to a root *leuk-/louk- (cf. Greek λευκός, Latin *lux*). The nasal infix, also present in Lithuanian, Armenian, and akin Sanskrit *riśant-*, seems to be of verbal origin (cf. Heidermanns *ib.* p. 2). What I would underline is that Greek λύκος ('wolf'), too, may be reduced to this root, i.e. it has a connection with 'light'. See, for the last time I have knowledge of, McCone 2006. Λυκόλυγξ ('Wolfluchs', "wolf-lynx") existed, too, as found in papyrological sources (cf. GEW II 141). The sharp eyes of Lynkeus are mentioned by Ap. Rhod. e.g. in I 151-152, and IV 1466-1467.
- 5) Apollonius, born in Alexandria, Egypt, is called "The Rhodian" because, due to a quarrel around literary aims, he left Alexandria for Rhodus. There he reworked his poem which became a great success. Posterity is indebted to him because the Tale of the Argonauts told often before in verse and prose by many authors has perished. (W.H. Race, in the LCL edition of Ap. Rhod., 2008, gives a short survey of life and work of the poet. Cf. also R.C. Seaton's more detailed account, in the earlier LCL edition, 1912: VII ff.).

IE heritage.⁷⁾ Such a heritage would not be unrelated since the expansion of the Indo-Europeans, the motifs, nature and chronology of which are still discussed, yielded, among many others, the three major cultures of the Ancient World, the Greek, the Indian and the Roman one. It is not unimportant perhaps to remark that the Argo was thought to be the swiftest ship of its time. Etymologically, the name must have meant both 'nimble, quick', and 'shining'.⁸⁾ The Argonauts arrived, on their trip, through the Danube, and then the Rhine, allegedly, even at the Arctic Ocean. The first Argonaut reference is, by the way, Od. 12, 69ff. where also Iason is mentioned. Like analysing the Homeric poems resulted in some historical insights, one may assume a prehistoric core reality here, too.

3. The Wolf

Wolf is the name of the animal which will be important in this investigation, in Greek *lykos* (λύκος), in Latin *lupus*. Several other names and

- 6) On the expansion of the Indo-Europeans much has been written. Martinet for one, who is known for his dynamic approaches, suggests a gradual expansion between Ireland and India everywhere, and reckons - logically in our opinion - with succeeding conquering waves where first ones were reiterated by following ones (see 2008: 31). First waves, in our opinion, would either be preceded by explorations or would equal such undertakings. Françoise Bader connects the foundations, at least in a few cases, with the institution of the *ver sacrum* in Ancient Italy. More important is, however, the whole of the content of her article: she connects the individual expansions with an appropriate ideology and a respective name-giving (Bader 2002; for the Italian institution, pp. 72-73; cf. also Cieminski 2008: 111ff.).
- 7) Cf. to this: "Il a pu s'agir de classes d'âge encouragées par les plus âgés et peu à peu évoluées vers un statut original au sein de la société, presque marginal souvent [...] et les expéditions militaires confiées spécifiquement à des jeunes, organisés souvent en *Männerbünde* [...] ou encore l'image mythique des *iuvenes* latins - les compagnons de Remus et Romulus, les *Celeres* - ou ritualisée - les *Luperques* -, et tous les groupes de jeunes guerriers du légendaire grec, *Argonautes* [underlinings mine], Thespiades, Parthéniens" (Sergent 1995: 349-385).
- 8) GEW I 132-133, Salmons 1997: 194, DELG 104, Beekes 2010: 126. For a further IE connection, cf. the warrior Arjuna, son of the Vedic god of war Indra. The name, semantically, and linguistically, is clearly akin to Greek *argos* (cf. EWAiA I 253-254; on Arjuna's role cf. Williams 2003: 59-62). A's deeds are nested in the Indian epic Mahabharata.

variants, English and German *wolf*/*Wolf* included, are etymologically all related.⁹⁾ The wolf, together with the bear, was the primary dangerous wild carnivorous with whom the Eurasian Indo-European-speaking people had to deal, and this beast was important not only as an animal enemy but also as partner, image, symbol, and even part of the society at the time of the Indo-European unity (i.e. until about 5000 B.C. the latest), remaining important, we may add, down to the present day.¹⁰⁾ Accordingly, there is a large number of names containing the word, often also in compounds and derivatives.

Lykos (cf. Geisau 1979[a]) was a frequent name in Ancient Greece (as is *Wolf* among the Germans). For our purposes that person seems to be of importance which gave his son Daskylos as a leader to the Argonauts:

ξυνῆ μὲν πάντεσσιν ὁμόστολον ὕμιν ἐπεσθαι | Δάσκυλον ὄτρυνέω, ἐμόν υἱέα: - 'To accompany all of you and share your voyage, I am sending Dascylus, my own son' (Ap. Rhod. II 802-803, W.H. Race, LCL, 2008, pp. 176-177).¹¹⁾ We may add that there are numerous small rivers in the Pontic region having the name *Lykos*.¹²⁾

- 9) It is clear that the complex, with regard to cultural anthropology, goes well beyond the IE world (see e.g. Schulhof 1915: 210 ff., Dunnigan 1995: 432) and that "the wolf was anathema for agricultural societies" (Dunnigan *ib.*) but our focus will be the IE one where this animal obtained a central place in a social structure which, as interpretations seem to suggest, was highly elaborated, and sophisticated enough to serve as a basis for an overall and successful expansion. Similarly, this is not the place to deal with the important, perhaps the most ancient, archetypal approach to any animal in a Jungian sense.
- 10) Adams et al. 1997: 647, Colarusso 2006: 50.
- 11) The etymology of the name *Daskylos* is not clear. I would avoid zoic guesses even if they could help our purposes (see for this Pape-Benseler 1911: 274), it remains, however a fact that he was the son of a person named *Lykos*, and that he acted as a guide to the Argonauts. The name reappears in Asia Minor toponyms. It is unimportant if the Bithynian city Daskyleion, e.g., received its name from another *Daskylos*. *Daskylos* could have been, originally, a generic name. Another son of Lykaon was *Daseatas* (cf. Pape-Benseler *ib.*), founder of *Dasea*, cited from Pausanias *infra*.
- 12) As M. Meier-Brügger remarked during the 2007 *Indo-European Summer School* for which he was responsible (cf. Egetmeyer 2007), Asia Minor, judging from its name material (Lykia, Lykaonia, Luwian (language), Hittite *luqqa-land* etc.) might be regarded a "Wolf Land", and a Round Table could be organized dealing with the issue. This writer was present.

4. Autolykos

There are a few persons in Greek tradition having the puzzling name *Autolykos* two of which appear, in our opinion, important. The *first* inhabitant of the ravines of Mount Parnassus in Central Greece to be attested in Greek literature is none other than Autolykos, the “werewolf”. His grandson was Odysseus, whom he taught to hunt, and it was there that Odysseus suffered the wound that was to reveal his identity according to the *Odyssey*. The fact that Odysseus was named by his grandfather, who in doing so attempted to fix his own nature in words (i.e. *anger*, *wrath*, *λύσσα*) becomes significant:

Παρνησόνδ' ἔλθόντα μετ' Αὐτόλυκόν τε καὶ υἱας,
μητρὸς ἑῆς πάτερ' ἐσθλόν, ὃς ἀνθρώπους ἐκέκαστο
κλεπτοσύνη θ' ὄρκῳ τε θεὸς δέ οἱ αὐτὸς ἔδωκεν
Ἑρμείας τῷ γὰρ κεχαρισμένα μηρία καῖεν
ἀρνῶν ἡδ' ἐρίφων· ὃ δέ οἱ πρόφρων ἅμ' ὀπήδει.

- ‘when Odysseus had gone to Parnassus to visit Autolykus and the sons of Autolykus, his mother’s noble father, who excelled all men in thievery and in oaths. It was a god himself that had given him this skill, even Hermes, for to him he was wont to burn acceptable sacrifices of the thighs of lambs and kids; so Hermes befriended him with a ready heart’ (Od. 19, 394-398, A.T. Murray, LCL, II, 1956, pp. 256-257).¹³

The Indo-European references are clear, and initiation motifs with the theme of cattle theft and hunting are quite probable.¹⁴ To cite Rubin and Sale, “Autolykus had the unusual double quality of being legitimately antisocial”.¹⁵ In this connection Hermes’ figure is important. Hermes is an

13) Cf. to this: Dans l’ *Odyssee*, on indique seulement qu’ A. vénère Hermès qui, en retour, le gratifie de dons magiques [...] (Touchefeu 1986: 55). See an interesting comparative study by Diez De Velasco who discusses, among others, Hermes, one aspect of whom was helping the thieves (1993: 22).

14) E. Wüst, *RE XVII*, 1909-13, Burkert 1983: 120.131, Graf 2003 [=1997], Sakellariou 2009: 235.

15) “By going to Parnassus, to his maternal grandfather’s home, for initiation, Odysseus internalizes and affirms features of his character which derive from Autolykus. This man, Homer tells us, surpassed all others in thievery and the art of the oath: «The god Hermes had endowed him, for he had pleased him by burning thigh bones of

epitermios divinity, a god of *limits* in all senses, helping also the thieves.¹⁶ The suitable one to grant the ability by which Autolykos could make his booty invisible or even transform it.

On the name-giving of Odysseus cf. the following:

Αὐτόλυκος δ' ἔλθων Ἰθάκης ἐς πῖνα δῆμον
παῖδα νέον γεγαῶτα κηχῆσατο θυγατέρος ἦς 400
τόν ῥά οἱ Εὐρύκλεια φίλοις ἐπὶ γούνασι θῆκε
παυομένῳ δόρπιο, ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἕκ τ' ὀνόμαζεν
“Αὐτόλυκ', αὐτὸς νῦν ὄνομ' εὔρεο ὅτι κε θῆαι
παιδὸς παιδί φιλῶ· πολυάρητος δέ τοι ἔστιν.”
Τὴν δ' αὖτ' Αὐτόλυκος ἀπαμείβετο φάνησέν τε 405
“Γαμβρός ἐμός θυγάτηρ τε, τίθεσθ' ὄνομ' ὅτι κεν εἴπω·
πολλοῖσιν γὰρ ἐγὼ γε Ὀδυσσάμενος τόδ' ἰκάνω,
ἀνδράσιν ἡδὲ γυναῖξιν ἀνά χθόνα πουλυβότειραν.¹⁷
τῷ δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς ὄνομ' ἔστω ἐπάνυμον. [...]”

- ‘Now Autolykus, on coming once to the rich land of Ithaca, had found his daughter’s son a babe new-born, and when he was finishing his supper, Eurycleia laid the child upon his knees and spoke, and addressed him:

lambs and kids, and the god freely gave him his favor» (396-397). Autolykus has the unusual double quality of being legitimately antisocial, a thief with divine sanction. In addition to the specific gifts he gives his grandson on this important visit, he | also transmits to Odysseus an inherited right to transgress legitimately; without this right such transgressions could well be deemed hubristic and would by poetic logic lead to early demise. Odysseus does indeed pay for his bold behavior, but not the ultimate penalty. In fact, because a god, Hermes, indirectly blesses his actions, he can explore social, moral and sexual boundaries with relative safety. He is socialized by a liar and a thief, but by one who has endeared himself to a god” (Rubin & Sale 1983: 147-148). For Hermes, cf. Diez de Velasco 1993.

16) “A deity of ambiguity, he is the lord of the lands with diffused frontiers. [...] He is the support of the traveller who crosses the frontier of the known country, of the foreigner far from his fatherland; he indicates the ambiguous point of confluence of the territory of two *poleis*; he helps thieves [...], working on the fringe of the social system. [...] As herald of Zeus he unifies the human world with the reigns of the gods. He is the central divinity in the space construction of the Greeks [...], he determines the links among the different ambits that give structure to the social and religious Greek imagery. A deity of transitions [...]” (Diez de Velasco 1993: 22-23).

17) πουλυβότειραν: βατιάνειραν.

“Autolykus, find now thyself a name to give to thy child’s own child; be sure he has long been prayed for.”

Then Autolykus answered her, and said: “My daughter’s husband and my daughter, give him whatsoever name I say. Lo, inasmuch as I am come hither as one that has been angered with many, both men and women, over the fruitful earth, | therefore let the name by which the child is named be Odysseus’ (Od. 19, 399-409, A.T. Murray, LCL, II, 1956, pp. 256-259).¹⁸

There is another Autolykos among the Argonauts: Son of Deimachos from Tricca who was the mythical founder of Sinope. This is essential because Trebizond (Trapezunt) was thought to have been founded by the Sinopeans. Deimachos accompanied Heracles in the Argonaut expedition:

ἔνθα δὲ Τρικκαίοιο ἀγαθοῦ Δημάχοιο 955
 υἱέος, Δηλιέων τε καὶ Ἀυτόλυκος Φλογίος τε,
 τῆμος ἔθ’ Ἡρακλῆος ἀποπλοαχθέντες ἔναιον.

– ‘In that place still lived the sons of noble Deimachus of Tricca¹⁹) - Deileon, Autolykus, and Phlogius - ever since they became separated from Heracles’²⁰) (Ap. Rhod. II 955-957, W.H. Race, LCL 2008, pp. 188-189, underlining mine). What is most interesting to my mind, he taught wrestling to Heracles:

ἔδιδάχθη δὲ Ἡρακλῆς [...] παλαίειν [...] ὑπὸ Ἀυτόλυκου (Apollod. II 4, 91 [63], R. Wagner 1894, p. 69) - ‘Hercules was taught [...] to wrestle by Autolykus’, J.G. Frazer, LCL, I 1921, p. 175, underlinings are mine). The information is important because Heracles is in the Greek mythology both the most Indo-European and the most authentic Greek hero on the one hand, and the “wolves” can be regarded, as will be argued, as members of the most combat-ready troops in the Indo-European antiquity on the other, amounting to a considerable time-depth.

This name and its origin have been interpreted variously, e.g. as ‘the wolf himself’. Literally, this may be correct but what would ‘the wolf himself’ or ‘itself’ mean? Wüst (1955) remarks that “the relationship to be expressed

18) Quoting from the LCL edition on “Child of Wrath”; see the note on i. 62. [Vol. I, p. 7(2): In the Greek there is a play upon the verb δόδουσο and the name Ὀδυσσεύς the latter suggesting the meaning “man of wrath”. See XIX, 409]. Underlinings are of the present writer.

19) A city in Thessaly (*Iliad* 2.729), actual Trikkala.

20) During his expedition against the Amazons.

by the two elements is not clear”. He then asks if Autolykos was a werewolf. This can hardly be denied. Our suggestion to interpret this figure is that this was, at least in the beginning, a generic name. “Wolves” in Indo-European antiquity, not necessarily animals but ‘wolf warriors’, constituted indeed the best fighting subjects. There is a considerable literature to this issue.²¹) An “Autolykos”, “the Wolf Himself”²²) would mean the “First” or the “Best Werewolf” implying all those activities, functions and positions such beings occupied.²³) “Wolfish behaviour” resulting in *rage* or *lyssa* which was a concomitant of such activities as McCone has explained in numerous contributions, should not be excluded.

The element “Wer-” or “were-” in *Werwolf*/ *werewolf* is important: etymologically it equals Latin *vir*²⁴), but this word designates more than a simple male; it usually means an *outstanding* man, a ‘hero’. Aeneas, the national hero of the Romans, is a *vir* in Vergilius’ epic, the *Aeneid*. The marked attention fits well in the semantics we meet in the present discussion.

21) McCone’s respective contributions are important. See e.g. his 2002 study where his earlier publications are also dealt with. Cf. also Colarusso 2006: 50.

22) Cf. “αὐτός”, the pronoun corroborates Autolykos, in Od. 19, 403, *supra*. This might mean that “Autolykos” was felt by the compilers of the Odyssey, already as a proper name. I wonder if the restricted use of “he”, “she” in Modern Greek, (i.e. αὐτός, αὐτή) originates in a warning from misuse. These personal pronouns are stigmatized if used in the presence of a person in concern or if they refer to beloved persons familiar both to the speaker and the audience. See also the following footnote on “αὐτός [...] λύκος”.

23) Cf. names and titles like Automedon, Autoonos/Autonoe (compare to this Antinoos), Autophonos (as contrasted with Polyphontes, Πολυφόντης?), autokrator, automatos etc. There are several instances of the great respect the pronoun “autos” implied, e.g. the Pythagorean phrase “αὐτός ἔφαρ’ (=‘he said it himself’) which involved that no dispute was permitted. Consider also this passage:

ὡς δ’ αὐτὸς σὺν τοῖσι Λύκος κίε, μὲρτ’ ὀπάσσας | δῶρα φέρειν ἅμα δ’ υἷα δόμων
 ἔκπεμπε νέεσθαι - ‘and Lykos himself went with them, after giving them countless | gifts to take along. And he sent his son from home to go with them’ (Ap. Rhod. II 812-814, W.H. Race, LCL 2008, pp. 178-179, underlinings are mine).

24) See Kluge-Seebold 2002: 983.985 (s.vv. *Welt* and *Werwolf*). English *world* corresponds to German *Welt*. The importance of the word is shown by the fact, that in some puzzling way, the concept “world” is its derivative.

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5. Lyssa

In Homeric epic, a few of the greatest heroes are from time to time visited on the battlefield by a mad raging fury that makes them invincible.²⁵ This fury is called *lyssa* (λύσσα), which is a derivative of λύκος 'wolf'. It is as if they temporarily become wolves. Some Homeric passages could exemplify this:

κρατερῇ δὲ ἐ λύσσα δέδυκεν - 'mighty madness hath possessed him [i.e. Hector]' (Il. 9,239, A.T. Murray, LCL 1924, I: pp. 398-399),

λύσσαν ἔχων ὀλοήν - 'in his [i.e. Hector's] baneful rage' (Il. 9,305, A.T. Murray, LCL 1924, I: pp. 404-405),

λύσσα δὲ οἱ κῆρ | αἰὲν ἔχε κρατερῇ - 'for fierce madness ever possessed his [i.e. Achilles'] heart' (Il. 21,542-543, A.T. Murray, LCL 1925, II: pp. 448-449).

6. Wolfish Aspects

In other IE cultures the term 'wolf' is applied to brigands and outlaws who live in the wild as McCone pointed out repeatedly. This form of assimilation to the wolf is not unconnected to the widespread belief in lycanthropy, the idea that certain persons (women as well as men) on occasion transform themselves into wolves. The wolf-image ordinarily would be attached to the Dumézilian aggressive second function warrior.²⁶ The presence of animals should not surprise us: it is enough to think of the Indian tradition with the frequent appearance of various animals among the humans, and of Colarusso's impressive reconstruction (2006: 50) where beside wolves

25) Although there is a clear difference between the elite shock-troops the members of which (the "wolves") are characterized by a strong team spirit and the much more individual berserk type warriors (such as Achilles and Hector), there are also interferences which, however, cannot be discussed here.

26) The first shaping of this largely accepted, sometimes disputed, and by others also enlarged theory, is Dumézil 1958. According to this, the "first function" was the political and spiritual leadership, the "second" was the warrior dimension, and the "third" the productive forces. The intricate relations among these three layers have been discussed largely.

also other animals have a place. Colarusso also reckons with a detailed security structure for the early IE society (see p. 27 ff.). If all this is correct we may assume a sophisticated, well organized core society, ideologically and otherwise perfectly prepared for acts of war.

7. Foundation

The most ancient wolfish aspect, or at least, a very important one, was connected with *foundations*. This would mean that destruction and construction were associated and the fact strangely reminds of philosophical-mythological interpretations on concomitant positive-negative aspects of gods, like the double nature of the Indian Shiwa.²⁷ I add that I don't believe that the Indo-Europeans were just an uncivilized war-like, aggressive, expanding and only a destructive population. On the contrary, they seem to have acted on a clearly formulated plan, elaborated by a high level ideology, remnants of which we encounter in mythology, in literary tradition and elsewhere. Their conquering trend did not imply destructions necessarily, they kept from previous cultures as much as possible, and this resulted, in the end, in developing prestigious cultures of which Greek is one.

In this paper, however, it is the positive wolf-warrior aspect that will interest us more since we find "wolves"²⁸ in key positions both among the Argonauts (cf. Daskylos) and in founding settlements along the South-Eastern Black Sea coast, traditionally called the Pontic region and elsewhere.²⁹

A parallel instance to this are the ancient traditions on Lykaon in Arcadia whose sons effected foundations of cities in that region, and at least in one case, also Italy appeared - through the person of Euander (Euandros) - a target

27) It should be investigated whether this is a pure coincidence or there is something deeper. I would underline that foundations had a cosmic bearing in Graeco-Roman antiquity. Shiwa, too, is associated to cosmic functions, and his figure is very ancient. See a short presentation in Williams (2003: 267-270).

28) Cf.: "Wolf symbolism embraces the dual aspects of man's good and evil nature. Although the dark, menacing image of the fearless predator and ravaging killer preponderates wolves also personify a protective spirit and the nurturing mother" etc. (Dunnigan 1995: 431).

29) See for some remarks, Katonis 2008.

of Arcadian activity. Asia Minor seems largely to have been a territory of “wolves”, such as Lykia, archaic Lukka (Hittite “luqqa”-land), Lydia, Lykaonia (?), and the root found in the name of the Luwian language (one closely related to Hittite). I has been assumed that the name of the animal is represented in these words through different linguistics layers. An ancient fact but a recent insight is “o-pi-lu-ke-u-sa-se” (the word being an aorist participle), expressing a practice by a “wolf” (i.e. obviously a special kind of warrior) who participated in the construction of an Apollo-shrine on Cyprus presumably in the 12th c. B.C. The construction was part of the foundation of New-Paphos after the Trojan War. This was announced by B.M. Egetmeyer in 2007 in Berlin. He added that several wolf masks were found on Cyprus whereas in Arcadia it is known that priests wearing masks were active (cf. Egetmeyer 2007 *infra*). The reconstructed word **opilukos* can be identified with *epilykos* (name and office involving the noun *lykos*).

The participle *o-pi-lu-ke-u-sa-se* brings to mind the Ἐπιλυκεῖον in Athens, the office of the polemarch (War-lord) named this way because built or restored by Epilycus as Aristotle informs us³⁰). The identification of the syllabogram “lu” in a New-Paphian inscription yielded the above *participium aoristi* of a historically non-attested verb. But the connection is clear. To the nouns Epilykeion, Epilykos, that cannot be a mere chance, a semantically related verb is to be attached. *opi-* has to be interpreted as the preverb *epi-* (ἐπι-).³¹ From the participle the existence of a noun **opilykos* (=epilykos) can be inferred. Such a person (a “wolf” or a “wolfing soldier”) erected, according to the text, the entrance of the subterranean shrine of Apollo during the *founding process* of New-Paphos on Cyprus. The inscription says: “[...] *o-pi-lu-ke-u-sa-se e-pi-pa-si-ne ka-te-te-ke [...]*” (i.e. *Ἐπιλυκεύσας ἐπίβασιν κατέθηκε ‘by wolfing [he] placed the entrance’ [in the text, then, a name

30) Cf. this *warlike* context: “ὁ δὲ πολέμαρχος τὸ Ἐπιλυκεῖον (ὃ πρότερον μὲν ἐκαλεῖτο πολεμ- | αρχεῖον, ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἐπιλυκος ἀνφοδομήσεν καὶ κατασκευάσεν αὐτὸ πολεμορχήσας, Ἐπιλυκεῖον ἐκλήθη) - ‘and the War-lord [had] the Epilyceum (which formerly used to be called the War-lord’s House, but because Epilycus on becoming War-lord rebuilt and furnished it, it received the name of Epilyceum)’, (Arist. Ath. 3,5, H. Rackham, LCL, 1921, pp. 16-19, my underlinings).

31) “opi-”, meaning ‘epi-’ is hypothetically dealt with in earlier research, where words like “ὀπι(σ)θεν” were assumed to belong to the same root complex, but later became attested for Mycenaean Greek (Chantraine 1967: 7[§5]) which comes chronologically near to the epoch of the founding ceremony here discussed.

follows in dative, being the indirect object of the sentence]). Egetmeyer emphasized that this was a “very ancient custom”, used during the founding ceremonies, here possibly as a revival. He also quoted McCone whose respective contributions were challenged earlier but who seems now to be generally accepted.³² I would agree both with Egetmeyer and, more generally, with MacCone. Tradition says that the city on the western coast of Cyprus was built after the Trojan War under the leadership of the *Arcadian* Agapenor. The information handed down has been corroborated by archaeological investigations pleading for a founding around 1000 B.C. The semantics of *opi-/epi-* allows for, even suggests a military *transfer*, a *dropping* or a *deployment*.³³ The new reading is of considerable significance because it indicates the early functions of “wolves”, indeed of elite warriors.³⁴ Linguistic features in the so-called Arcado-Cypriot dialect are well known in Greek linguistics. The Arcadian colonisation of Cyprus is familiar from historical sources. But Arcadian founding contributions are well known also from the Western part of the Mediterranean world. Thus, the Roman *lupercalia*, an ancient purifying and fertility ceremony, began in the *Lupercal*, the sacred cave of Faunus Lupercus on the *oldest* point of Ancient Rome, the Palatine Hill. It is now generally accepted that the members of the rite, the *Luperci*, were werewolves and that the first *Lupercus* in Rome was Euander, the son of Hermes, coming from the land of the Arcadian wolf-man, Lykaon.³⁵

32) Egetmeyer 2007 (lectures on 5th and 6th Sept. 2007). The audience, this writer comprised, followed Egetmeyer with great attention, and the correctness of McCone’s suggestions was widely acknowledged by them.

33) To the semantics, cf. the Liddle-Scott-Jones lexicon listing a number of attestations of the preposition, prefix and preverb ἐπί, ἐπι- (LSJ, pp. 621-675, and also for ἐφ-, pp. 740 ff., further *infra*). E.g. ἐπίβασις - attested in the inscription as *e-pi-pa-si-ne*, means in classical Greek ‘approach’, and also ‘attack’. To the whole question cf. the discussion in the second volume of Schwyzler’s *Griechische Grammatik*: “Neben dem Akk. der räumlichen und zeitlichen Erstreckung (o. S. 68 ff.) hatte ἐ. wohl seit indogermanischer Zeit die Schattierung ‘über-hin’ (this last remark fits especially well with the Paphos foundation I discuss in the paper; Schwyzler-Debrunner 1988: 471[5]). The etymological dictionaries (GEW I 533., DELG 358) give further details. It might be relevant that also the verb πῆξω (‘press’) seems to belong to the complex.

34) See e.g. Colarusso’s construction (2006: 50), and Adams et al. (1997).

35) “Daß die Luperci ursprünglich ein Männerbund von Werwölfen waren, ist bei der heutigen Forschungsstand eine akzeptable Grundannahme [...]. Im Lupercal, einer

Arcadia, the 'Bear-Land', with additional, well tangible "Wolf" presence - two ancient IE components - appears thus an important centre with bearing on exploration and founding processes in at least three different directions of the prehistoric and the Ancient Mediterranean World.

The *lyssa* (λύσσα), the dictionary definition of which is '(martial) rage, fury, frenzy, raging madness, fanaticism'-is a mental and physical condition not unknown in Homer that reaches the fighting heroes, e.g. Hector. Etymologically, the word is explained from *lykos* (λύκος, wolf) since the rage was thought to be a frequent malady of wolves. The connection with this animal is certain even if the etymology **leuk-* 'light' (cf. Latin *lux*) is preferred. There is a recent attempt by McCone to find a semantic link between 'wolf' and 'light'.³⁶

8. Hieros

There are frequent attestations of the adjective *hieros* ('holy', 'consecrated', 'filled with' or 'manifesting divine power', 'supernatural') in this connexion. I tried to interpret this word elsewhere as part of the ideology of the expanding Indo-Europeans.³⁷ This designation is frequent in Homer but it appears also in the region in question, e.g. as the epithet of a harbour.

8.1 Trapezus

According to myth, *Trapezus* was a "Table-land" in Arcadia³⁸, where

Höhle am Fuß des Palatins, wurden der Sage nach Romulus und Remus von einer Wölfin genährt. Als Begründer und erster Lupercus galt Euander, ein Göttersohn aus Arkadien" (Cieminski 2002: 111). One remembers that Autolykos, Odysseus' grandfather received his privileges also from Hermes. A god endowed him and he became a thief with divine sanction.

36) DELG 651, Beekes 2010: 879-880, cf. however McCone 2006: 100 with a new suggestion. To the topic of 'light' cf. moreover: "In classical times the wolf [...] symbolized transition. The «hour of the wolf» [...] is the time of emergence from darkness into light or, contrarily, of reversion to the world of darkness and ignorance" (Dunnigan: 1995: 431).

37) Cf. Danoff 1979: 928, Katonis 2008. Among its meanings are 'glorious, excellent, strong' etc. (see Beekes 2010: 580).

Lykaon, the ancestral king of the Arcadians entertained the gods, Zeus included, in a sacrificial meal. But the sacrificial meal turned into cannibalism, for Lykaon slaughtered a young boy upon the altar and poured out his blood on that altar; then he and his helpers "mixed the boy's entrails in with the sacrificial meal and brought it to the *table* (Gk *trapeza*, τράπεζα)".³⁹ The divine punishment followed. Zeus overturned the dining table, graphically putting an end to the newly formed community, and hurled a bolt of lightning into Lykaon's house. Lykaon himself turned into a *wolf* (Burkert 1983: 86).⁴⁰

38) E. Meyer 1937: 2213, Id. 1979: 928.

39) See one of the sources: Ζεὺς δὲ αὐτῶν βουλόμενος τὴν ἀσέβειαν πειρᾶσθαι εἰκασθεὶς ἀνδρὶ χερνήτη παραγίνεται. οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ξένια [...] καλέσαντες, σφάζαντες ἕνα τῶν ἐπιχωρίων παῖδα, τοῖς ἱεροῖς τὰ τοῦτου σπλάγχνα συναναμίξαντες παρέθεσαν [...]. Ζεὺς δὲ <μυσαχθεὶς> [...] τὴν | μὲν τράπεζαν ἀνέτρεψε, ἐνθα νῦν Τραπεζοῦς καλεῖται ὁ τόπος, Λυκάονα δὲ καὶ τοῦς τοῦτου παῖδας ἐκεραυνώσε [...] - 'Zeus, desirous of putting their impiety to the proof, came to them in the likeness of a day-labourer. They offered him hospitality and having slaughtered a male child of the natives, they mixed his bowels with the sacrifices, and set them before him [...]. But Zeus in disgust upset the | table at the place which is still called *Trapezus*, [...] and blasted *Lycaon* and his sons by thunderbolts [...]' (Apollod. 3,8,1 [3,98], J.G. Frazer, LCL, I, 1921, pp. 388-391, my underlinings). This myth has several parallels. Frazer comments on them and also refers to further authors and passages writing on the same topic (ib. pp. 390-393). According to this version of the legend Apollodorus apparently accepted - as Frazer remarks (p. 390) - Lycaon was a righteous king, and it was by the wickedness and impiety of his sons that divine anger stroke down. Nicolaus Damascenus gives the same account. According to a number of other versions Lycaon committed this crime himself. Some more details have been provided by Dräger (2005: 553-555).

40) There is some scepticism in scholarship in accepting the etymon *trapeza* for the name of a polis; cf. Hughes (1991: 104) who interprets the name rather as remnant of a detail in ritual. With regard to another interpretation, I would remark that the identifying of a city *Trapezum*, either in Arcadia or in the Pontic region, taken from geography, is less probable. Some modern historians either ignore or separate the Arcadian town from the Pontic one and try to explain the latter from the geographical shape of the whole region which may be interpreted as trapezoidal. See e.g. Map in K. Fotiadis' book on the "Genocide of the Pontic Greeks" (Athens 2004, in Greek), and the introductory remarks. Such an interpretation is not convincing. Why should a city get its name of a territory the form of which was a question of shaping in the course of history? It is certain that first the Black Sea coastline was colonized. I would give credit to Pausanias' and Stephanus' evidence.

8.2 Wolf Geography

Whatever the right interpretation of the Arcadian geographical name Lykosura (Λυκόσουρα), 'Wolf-tail', (grammatically, this seems to have been coined on the analogy of Kynosura, Κυνόσουρα, 'Dog-tail', in Arcadia, Attica and elsewhere) it must be relevant that this city laid claim to being the *oldest* in the world. Pausanias and Steph. Byz. comment on both cities called *Trapezus*, and on *Lykosura*:

καὶ Μακαρία τε καὶ Δασέα καὶ Τραπεζοῦς ἀπὸ τῶν Λυκάωνος ἐκλήθησαν καὶ αὗται [sc. αἱ πόλεις] παίδων - 'and similarly Macaria, Dasea, and *Trapezus* were named after the sons of Lycaon' (Paus. 8,3,3, W.H.S. Jones, LCL 1933, pp. 354-355), and

Τραπεζοῦς, πόλις πρὸς τῷ Εὐξείνῳ πόντῳ, Σινωπέων | ἄποικος. ἐκαλεῖτο καὶ Οὐζηνίς. [...] ἔστι καὶ Ἀρκαδίας πόλις Τραπεζοῦς, ἀπὸ Τραπεζοῦντος | παιδὸς Λυκάωνος, ὡς Πανουσανίας ὀγδόῳ. ἔστι καὶ ἄλλη πλη- | 15 σίον τοῦ Ἀραβικοῦ κόλπου. ὁ πολίτης Τραπεζοῦντιος [...] | [...] καὶ ἡ χώρα Τραπεζουντία. [...] (Steph. Byz., Meineke p. 631, no English translation exists, underlinings are mine).

On *Lykosura*, Pausanias remarks the following (the notice on "making cities" may be relevant):

Ἀνωτέρω δὲ ὀλίγον τεύχους τε περίβολος τῆς Λυκοσούρας ἔστι καὶ οἰκίτορες ἔνεισιν οὐ πολλοί. πόλεων δέ, ὅποσας ἐπὶ τῇ ἡπειρῷ ἔδειξε γῆ καὶ ἐν νήσοις, Λυκόσουρά ἔστι πρεσβυτάτη, καὶ ταύτην εἶδεν ὁ ἥλιος πρώτην ἀπὸ ταύτης δὲ οἱ λοιποὶ ποιῆσθαι πόλεις μεμαθήκασιν ἄνθρωποι - 'A little farther up is the circuit of the wall of Lykosura, in which there are a few inhabitants. Of all the cities that earth has ever shown, whether on mainland or on islands, Lykosura is the oldest, and was the first that the sun beheld; from it the rest of mankind have learned how to make them cities', (Paus. 8, 38,1, W.H.S. Jones, LCL 1933, pp. 90-91, underlinings are mine).⁴¹

Although it is the Pontic Trebizond which is our focus, it is not uninteresting that the Arcadian *Trapezus* had an involvement in foundations too (Danoff 1979: 928). According to early tradition a certain Aipyros ruled there, a descendent of Kypselos who had been a founder himself (Sakellariou 2009: 235).⁴²

41) Cf. accordingly, Autolycus who was the *first* inhabitant of the ravines of Parnassus (*supra*).

9. Historical Trapezus/Heros Ktistes

Historical Trapezus is thought to have been founded in 756 B.C. by Sinopeans, but several mythological and semi-mythological data give us the right⁴³ to dive deeper into prehistory. The fact that it was emphasized being a "Greek polis" ("πόλις Ἑλληνίς") whereas its Greek inscriptions frequently show misspellings, and that there was an earlier name Oizenis (Οὐζηνίς) make probable that there had been a much earlier pre-Greek settlement Hellenized in a series of foundings one of which was that by the Sinopeans. Has the name *Oizenis* to do with "Αζηνίς", and through this, with Arcadia (cf. Pape - Benseler 1911 : 22, and Sakellariou 2009: 513.642 ff.)? It may have had some bearing on its prehistory that the ancient sources (quoted e.g. by Ruge 1937) do not depict Trapezus as especially attractive. Similarly, the climatic and the navigational conditions were not the best. Yet, the city is mentioned frequently, and, though much later, i.e. in the first half of the 2nd millennium A.D. it became an important political and cultural centre. In classical antiquity, they were aware of their Arcadian origin, and the emblem of the city we find on coins was a table and a bunch of grapes (Ruge 1937: 2216).

Let's remember that (*Heros ktistes* (ἥρωας κτίστης [=oikistes, οικιστής]) in the sense of city founder could be a god (e.g. Apollo), one of the heroes (frequently Herakles/Hercules) or a human accorded the status of hero, but also a real human being (Frateantonio - Eder 2005: 114). Such data come down well to historical times. Alexander himself founded several cities which still exist. Apollonius Rhodius, for one, has many references to foundation legends (e.g. 1, 735 ff., 1, 1321 ff., 2, 746 ff., 4, 1470 ff.), so we should not doubt the historicity in the issue. But the wolf-content and the "wolfish behaviour" take us back to the oldest layers of IE antiquity. Consider the following:

Ἀυτόλυκον, [...] ὃν ἐκεῖνοι οἰκιστὴν ἐνόμιζον καὶ ἐτίμων ὡς θεόν· ἦν δὲ καὶ μαντεῖον αὐτοῦ· δοκεῖ δὲ τῶν Ἰάσονι συμπλευσάντων εἶναι καὶ κατασχεῖν τοῦτον τὸν τόπον - 'Autolycus, [...] whom they regarded as founder of their city and honoured as god. The city had also an oracle of Autolycus. He is:

42) I wonder if Τραπεζῶ (Trapezo), mentioned by Hesychius, meaning 'table-bearer' and a priestess of Athena in Athens has any kind of involvement.

43) Ruge 1937, Olshausen 2009: 865.

thought to have been one of those who went on the voyage with Jason and to have taken possession of this place' (Str. XII 546, H.L. Jones, LCL, 1928, pp. 390-391, underlining mine).

Several analyses of the early IE society exist. An important thrust was given by the influential work of G. Dumézil. He repeatedly analyzed e.g. the warrior-function which seems to be, if not the most important, at least the most IE feature. We know today that at the time of the expansion not only a complex social structure existed but that there was also a rivalry among the leading layers. The warrior "state" with its leaders and commons seems to have constituted at least one half of the leading forces, and one third of the whole society. Elite combatants seem to have been of two kinds: beside the "wolfish" shock-troops, possibly with other "animals" involved, the heroes. It is conspicuous that the heroes have names like those who participated in the Argonaut expedition whereas the others remain mostly nameless "animals".⁴⁴ The heroes remind of the *berserk* warriors, the so called "mad" individuals like Herakles, Hector, Achilles, the Celtic Cú Chulainn (*cú* means the wolf descendant 'dog'), and many more. A hero could be of the Achilles and the Hector type, and also a "heros ktistes", a 'founding hero' - their fame, the most important thing for them -, lived on. The "wolves" worked in the background.

10. Conclusion

Through the points here forwarded I would like to suggest that the founding process of Trebizond, with its extended implications reaching as far as Arcadia, was the result of a wolfing action, like that of Sinope, an action directly attested for Sinope; assumed for the daughter-city of the latter. Sinope was founded by a *heros ktistes*, yet a "wolf", here having a name (a "social climber" werewolf?). No such attestation exists for Trapezus but this lack is counter-balanced by the relationship to Sinope, and by the quite probable, in our opinion, connections to Arcadia.

It is in this connection that Autolykos, again, becomes essential. As is

44) The fact that yet Sinope was founded by an eponym Autolykos (Plu. Luc. 23,4) shows the complicated nature of these legends. Plutarchus is, in any case, a relatively late source.

frequent in Greek oral history, there are different accounts on founding actions. Autolykos' act, as of a mythical figure, could be questioned on the evidence of authors like Eusebius. Manoledakis (2010) re-examined the whole complex adducing considerable evidence, and argues rather decidedly in favour of an early foundation, and of accepting the existence of an Autolykos in that process (see e.g. pp. 566.568-569). With regard to Trapezus, he remarks that obviously its foundation must have taken place after that of Sinope (e.g. p. 569). Relying on the evidence and the arguments adduced I would maintain that a certain credit should not be denied to mythological tradition; rather such tradition should be regarded as one of the sources research can each time take into consideration. According to the tradition, Autolykos, the founder, accompanied Iason. On the founding act and its sources, among them - in an opaque way - Ap. Rhod. 2, 946-947.955-958, see Pape - Benseler (1911: 1397). What can be assumed as a meaning for the name of the city (cf. Σινωπίσσα=ἄσχημονήσσα, Pape - Benseler *ib.*) is not exactly flattering for an etymon. The "right" and the "wrong" side of an adventurer expedition - one would remark. An incomprehension is not justified. One remembers the case of Rome. Very mediocre, even base origins, incredible greatness much later. The phrase "the glory that was Greece and the grandeur that was Rome" is, still today, proverbial in English.

Trapezunt (Trebizond), despite antique deprecations, was perhaps the most important Pontic city, indeed, important until the first decades of the 20th c. A.D., and yet an insight into its foundation myth has to err in the prehistoric darkness. This is due to the difference between the two founding acts, that of Sinope and that of Trebizond. In this paper I have tried to contribute both to proving the creation of the latter and to explaining early Greek colonizing activities in a prehistoric perspective. Trapezunt seems to have been important enough in history to bestow equal attention on it. In prehistory, it may have been even more important than its mother-city.

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(Wüst, E., *Odysseus* - *RE* XVII, 1937: 1905-1996)

Date for the submission of article: 20. September. 2010
Date for the final screening: 15. November. 2010
Date for the confirmation of publication: 25. November. 2010

Representing Change and Stagnation in the Arab World:

Re-thinking a Research Design

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Abstract

This article refutes a common approach to studying democratization in the Arab world using examples from Morocco and Egypt. Egypt is commonly regarded as a case for near-complete stagnation, whereas Morocco represents the more dynamic monarchies in the region. The article posits that the theoretical underpinnings frequently used in research hinder us to see and analyse change appropriately. Reform-minded agents that cooperate with the state should not be dismissed as "puppets of the system" because then external observers damage their credibility. It especially refutes research designs that exclude civil society from the analyses. Rather, the author argues that NGOs should be regarded as one-issue parties; a phenomenon that can also be witnessed in industrialized countries with decreasing legitimacy of political parties. The author calls for more empirical, long-term research on civil society in the region with respect to its inner, societal as well as international dynamic.

Keywords: Transformation Processes, Political Sociology, Civil Society, Semi-Authoritarian State, Arab World

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