Herodotus describes the aftermath of Adrastus’ accidental killing of Atys (1.45):\(^1\)

Παρῆσαν δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο οἱ Λυδοὶ φέροντες τὸν νεκρὸν ὑπίσκεψι δὲ ἐίπετο οἱ ὁ φονεὺς. Στὰς δὲ οὗτος πρὸ τοῦ νεκροῦ παρεθεῖται ἐνωτός Κροῖσος προτέινον τὰς χεῖρας ἐπικατασφάξαι μιν κελεύοντες τῷ νεκρῷ λέγοντος τὴν ποτέρην ἐνωτοῦ συμφορήν καὶ ὡς ἐπ’ ἔκεινῃ τῶν καθήραντα ἄποιλεξικάς εἴη οὔτε ἵνα Βιώσιμον. Κροῖσος δὲ τοῦτον ἀκούσας τὸν τε Ἀδρηστον κατοικτίρει καίπερ ἐὼν ἐν κακῷ οἰκήσει πρὸ τοῦ νεκροῦ παρεδίδου ἑωυτὸν Κροῖσῳ προτείνων τὰς χεῖρας ἐπικατασφάξαι ιν κελεύων τῷ νεκρῷ λέγοντος τὴν τε προτέρην ἑωυτοῦ συφορήν καὶ ὡς ἐπ’ ἐκείνῃ τὸν καθήραντα ἀπολωλεκὼς οὐδὲ οἱ εἴη βιώσι. Κροῖσος δὲ τούτων ἀκούσας τόν τε Ἀδρηστον κατοικτίρει καίπερ ἐὼν ἐν κακῷ οἰκήσει πρὸς αὐτόν· Ἑχω ὦ ἔξειν παρὰ σίο πάσαν τὴν δίκην ἐπίδη σειμών τοσοῦτο καταδικάζει ής ζανατον. Εἰς δὲ οὐ τοῦτον καὶ τῆς τοῦ κακοῦ αἴτιος εἰ μὴ ὅσον ἐξεργάσαο αἴτιοι ἐν αἰτιο προεσήαινε τὰ μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι. Κροῖσος μὲν νυν ἐξαψε ὡς οἰκὸς ἐνωτοῦ παῖδα. Ἀδρηστος δὲ ὁ Γορδίεω τοῦ Μίδεω οὗτος ὁ φονεὺς μὲν τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ ἀδελφοῦ εἰς τοῦ καθήραντος ἀπείτε ἡμερίνη τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐγένετο περὶ τὸ σήμα συγκινοσκόμους ἐναξιοποιεῖ τῶν αὐτοῦ ἢδει βαρυσυφορώτατος ἐπικατασφάξει τῷ τύμβῳ ἑωυτῶν.

Herodotus says that Croesus buried his son ὡς οἰκὸς ὧν (3), as Rawlinson puts it, «with such honours as befitted the occasion».\(^2\) No doubt he did give his son a proper funeral: would that not go without saying?\(^3\) Of course, redundancy and fullness of expression are among Herodotus’ most endearing faults. Nevertheless, given the Greek — or rather, the more generally human — horror of fathers burying their sons, and the fact that Atys is not named in this sentence, but referred to as τὸν ἑωυτοῦ παῖδα, I wonder whether Herodotus wrote that Croesus buried his own son ὡς οἰκὸς ὧν.

The best parallels are always found in the same author and work: here we have one in the same episode. In explaining to Croesus why Tellus of Athens was the most fortu-

---

\(^1\) Herodotus is quoted from the edition of C. HUDE (Oxford, 1927\(^3\)).

\(^2\) Though not entirely satisfactory, this seems preferable to the alternative translations, «it is likely» (LSJ\(^9\) s.v. ἔοικα) and «as was natural» (J. E. POWELL, A Lexicon to Herodotus [Cambridge, 1938], s.v. ὀἶκα). It would indeed have been unnatural in the extreme if Croesus had left his son (or anyone else who had not grievously annoyed him) unburied, and that makes his burial of Atys more than merely «likely». In short, the words are even more redundant in these translations than in RAWLINSON’S.

\(^3\) It would not go without saying if Croesus’ other son, the mute one, had died. A father who can say what he says to Atys (αἰς . . . μοὶ μούνος τυγχάνεις ὡς παῖς· τὸν γὰρ δὴ ἔτερον διεθεσμένον οὐκ εἰναι μοι λογίζωμαι, 1.38.2) would no doubt have been capable of having the other son buried secretly or without any of the usual ceremonies, if he had died instead of Atys.
nate of all the men he knew (1.30.4-5), Herodotus’ Solon puts the survival of all of his children and grandchildren second on the list of reasons:4

Τέλλῳ τούτῳ μὲν τῆς πόλεως εὖ ήκούσης παῖδες ἦσαν καλοὶ τε κάγαδεὶ καὶ σφι εἶδε ἢπιστείκνα ἐκενάμενα καὶ πάντα παραμέλήνατα τούτο δὲ τοῦ βίου εὖ ἢπιντι ὡς τά παρʼ ἡμῖν τελευτή τοῦ βίου λαμπροστάτη ἐπαγένετο· κτλ.

Tellus is of course a sort of ‘anti-Croesus’. The pathos of a father burying his own son fits well with the other paradoxes in the story, that Adrastus has unintentionally killed first his own brother and then the son of the one who purified him: all three acts are παρὰ φύσιν, though the first is far commoner than the other two. Corruption would have been easy, and might be explained in either of two ways: omission of οὐκ before οἰκ- by haplography,5 and interpolation — or should we call this sort of willful deletion ‘exterpolation’? — due to offense at the idea that Croesus would not have given Atys a proper funeral.

4 Similarly, Plato’s (or Pseudo-Plato’s) Hippias of Elis lists burying one’s parents and being buried by one’s children as essential ingredients of the most beautiful life: Λέγω τούτων ἀλλ’ καὶ παντί καὶ παντοχος κάλλιστον εἶναι αὐτῷ, πλησιότι, ὑγιαντι, τιμομένων ἀπὸ τῶν Ἄλλων, ἀρισκομένων ἐς γῆς, τοὺς αὐτοῦ γονίας τελευτήσαντας καλοὺς παραστάλατι, ὧτο τῶν αὐτοῦ ἐκχύνων καλοὺς καὶ μεγαλοπρεποὺς ταφῆναι (Hip. Maj. 291d9-e2). A magnificent burial is important, but it is clearly subordinated to the question of who is burying whom.

5 Though not impossible, haplography is obviously less likely if Herodotus wrote ἐοικὸς, as printed in the recent Teubner text of H. B. ROSÉN (Leipzig, 1987). The apparatus reads «ἐοικὸς Α οἰκὸς cbMQSV». 